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

REPORT ON

THE PILOT SURVEY

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1 INTRODUCTION TO THE COUNTRY-BASED CASE STUDY

The immigration of Romanian Roma into Spain began in the early 1990s. The first news in the press concerning Romani families residing in Spain appeared in 1991 and 1992. The immigration of Romanian citizens increased notably since 1998 and this process included many Romani families. Thus, Romani immigrants have been in Spain for nearly a quarter of a century, during which they moved to all regions of the country and can be found, today, in most cities and in many towns. Many children from Romani families were born and/or raised in Spain. In many ways they are Spanish; they have been exposed to Spanish languages and local social processes since their infancy.

Thus, we are now contemplating a socially mature and culturally complex phenomenon. Immigrant Roma adaptations and cultural change are relatively diverse and increasingly heterogeneous. Many Roma are invisible as 'Roma', albeit known as Romanian or Bulgarian. Some have lived continuously in the same place for a decade or more. Others have continued to travel, moving back and forth between Romania and other European countries such as Italy, the UK, Germany and France, where they have relatives that help them to stay or to settle.

Given these conditions, the estimated population can only be approximated. The immigrated Roma in Spain appear to be in the tens of thousands, but estimations vary widely, from a few thousands to the clearly overestimated figure of 125.000 "foreign gitanos" advanced by Fundación Secretariado Gitano (2012).

1.1 General profile of the community

We have explored ten different networks or "communities" of Romanian Roma in Spain (see Table 1). They include an estimated population of 730 to 900 people. For the first complete survey we expect to study at least eight of these networks and include data from 350 to 500 people.

1.1.1 Background and origin

The target population described in Table 1 belongs to six different cultural and linguistic Romani groups in Spain, and represents most of the socioeconomic adaptations of this population, as well as a variety of regional origins in Romania. In the Pilot Survey we focus on four of these networks that correspond to four different cultural groups.

1.1.2 Access to housing

Access to housing for Roma immigrants in Spain has been unusually varied. There have been instances of relatively adequate rented apartments and houses and even houses that have been acquired, mostly under protected – but also free – market conditions, but also of dismal conditions of people living in camps of shacks or squatting abandoned buildings. The inclusion of Romania into the EC in 2007 has allowed more Romanian nationals to access to public social housing programs, as well to social benefits. This had important positive consequences on the improvement of school access for Romanian Roma and for the reduction of school drop out.

1.1.3 Access to health care

Spanish public healthcare has been public, free and universal since 1987. Most experts agree that it has improved notably in the last three decades, and today is comparable to some of the best health systems in Western Europe. It is also widely agreed that the system is oversaturated, and patients suffer from long waiting lists and overcrowded services. The economic crisis has exacerbated these problems. The access of foreigner citizens varies depending on their conditions of legal or illegal migrants. Up until now, Romanian Roma have been enjoying access to health care in Spain, but their situation may be changing for worse.

In 2012, severe cuts were imposed upon the Spanish national health system. According to the new measures, illegal immigrants were to be refused medical assistance except in cases of emergency such as serious illnesses and accidents. Roma have been affected by these policy shifts to varying degrees, depending on whether or not the Autonomous Communities implemented such measures. One of the

consequences of these cost-cutting measures is that Roma have begun to use emergency rather than primary health care services. Emergency services rarely deny care to its patients. Our research team is paying increasing attention to this issue.

1.1.4 Access to education

In Spain all children from 6 to 16 years-of-age are required to attend primary and secondary schools. Due for pressure from public authorities as well as for their families' internalized conviction, most Roma children attend school in Spain. Often they are starting to attend infant schools at 4 or 5 years of age. Their experience in Spanish schools is a major area of research. In the Pilot Survey we observed that many Roma children are relatively content in their schools. This is especially the case when they live in stable, clean and comfortable homes, and there is regularity in their daily schedules. The main problems reported both by teachers and local experts are irregular attendance, motivated by changes in residence due to changing labor opportunities of the parents, as well as low expectations of professors, parents and students themselves, both resulting in academic failure and dropout along the compulsory school cycle. But there are success stories and the widespread acceptance of Roma children in Spanish schools shows seeds of hope that have to be cared for and developed.

1.1.5 Employment

Romanian Roma seem to have low "human capital" from a labor market standpoint. They generally have few formal professional competences and qualifications and rarely obtain formal, stable jobs. Most of their occupations along their labor histories swing between formal and informal labor market, and include recycling of metals, domestic service, and seasonal harvest work. Individual level of income are usually really low. Recycling metals and other refuse goods is another common income-generating activity, and is often complemented with begging. Multinuclear domestic groups are often a cooperative response for reducing costs and adding small incomes in a whole domestic budget.

1.1.6 Public debates

If compared to other European national contexts, public debates focused on Romanian Roma have been limited in scope and intensity in Spain in recent years. Generally they have ensued as a result of developments abroad, mainly in France, the UK and Italy. Thus, a recent case concerning high school student Leonarda Dibrani received great attention in the media and became a national issue. The leading pro-Roma NGO FSG (*Fundación Secretariado Gitano)* awarded Leonarda its yearly award in 2013, as a symbol of the discrimination suffered by many Roma in Europe. The "moral panic" generated in the UK mass media by the end of 2013 from the alleged "avalanche" of "Romanians" received considerable attention in Spanish media and public forums.

In Spain, the issue of Roma's immigration is much less important and present in mass media discourse, specially if compared to topics such as the spending review and austerity measures implemented by governments since 2010, the independence movement in Catalonia, or the proposed changes in the "abortion" law by the conservative PP government. One event, however, has generated certain public debate: the trial of the Mayor of Badalona in November 2013 a crime of inciting hate towards and discrimination against Romanian Roma. Badalona is the third-largest city in Catalonia (with approximately 220,000 inhabitants) and a large population of Spanish *Gitanos* and Romanian Roma. In his municipal campaign, Popular Party candidate Xavier Garcia Albiol distributed pamphlets against the "*rumanos*", 'Romanians'. When pressed he clarified that he was referring only to the "*gitanos rumanos* [i.e. 'Romanian Gypsies'] that have come to Spain to steal". García Albiol won by a landslide. The public prosecutor recommended a year in prison and a heavy fine for García Albiol. Instead, in a very controversial sentence, he was acquitted.

1.2 Policy and outreach

There have been few policy developments targeting Roma primarily or specifically. Only in the late 1990s and early 2000s there were certain programs developed concerning the dismantlement of various Roma camps in Madrid and relocation of the Roma families living there.

Most public programs and policies concerning health, compulsory education, social assistance, work permits and so forth are intended for foreign immigrants, in general, or Romanian immigrants, in particular. In other words, they are based on national rather than ethnic status.

The majority of outreach actions concern school attendance for Roma children. Social workers, in connection with local schools, contact parents when signs arise of irregular attendance or permanent absenteeism of school-age children in the vicinity. Regular school attendance for children frequently is a requirement for the procurement of basic income subsidies or grants for Romani families.

1.2.1 Local authority engagement

The University of Granada has established a dialogue with the local and regional authorities in the main areas of our research. We have been able to progress towards concrete negotiations concerning a general agreement with Granada City Council (*Ayuntamiento de Granada*) finally signed in November 26, 2013.

Similar agreements are ready to be signed with Lucena City Council (*Ayuntamiento de Lucena*) and preparatory round tables have been held with the Bormujos City Council (*Ayuntamiento de Bormujos*), in the province of Seville.

On March 14th 2014 the First National Workshop has been celebrated in Granada and hosted stakeholders of each of the mentioned institutions. Experts in the fields of migrations studies, rights of foreign EC nationals, education, health and local authorities interventions will coordinate round tables in which participants will be invited to intervene and promote open discussions.

1.2.2 Voluntary sector engagement

Several NGOs are working locally on issues concerning immigration and immigrant populations and communities. We have established an agreement to work collaboratively on MigRom with the Red Cross of Andalusia (*Cruz Roja Andalucía*). We also have contacts with *Andalucía Acoge*, an NGO that promotes the rights and welfare of immigrants, most often concerning the demands of sub-Saharan Africans, Moroccans and South Americans.

1.2.3 Project links

The MigRom project is establishing links with other EU projects and involved institutions in order to promote the sharing of knowledge, the valorization of outputs and results and inter-institutional coordination and cooperation. Through the collaboration with the NGO Taller ACSA (*Taller de Antropología y Ciencias Sociales Aplicadas*), we established links for: The EU Lifelong Learning Project "RedhNet: Romani People, Educational and Housing Policies: Key Links to Share" oriented to create a network of institutions in which practices on coordination between Housing and Education Policies directed to Romani People are shared (http://www.redhnet.eu) and the project "WE: Wor(l)ds which Exclude", a comparative research on housing policies in Europe towards Romani populations.

2 THE PILOT SURVEY: BACKGROUND

Romani immigrant groups in Spain are heterogeneous. Some are very visible to the majority population and are quickly identified by them as "*gitanos rumanos*", or Romanian Gypsies. Others are perceived as Romanian or simply foreigners in increasingly diverse and multinational neighborhoods.

Roma families in Spain have lived under many different arrangements and circumstances, including houses, apartments, abandoned buildings and settlements of makeshift barracks ("*chabolas*"). Despite being highly visible and politically relevant, however, settlements – including camps or slums – are not the principle main type of residence employed by Roma in Spain today. Most Romanian Roma in Spain live among the general population and utilize the same types of housing as lower class Spaniards, either apartments or small houses. In certain cases, families reside for periods in abandoned houses or even public buildings. Nonetheless, some or most of their relatives generally live in apartments or houses in the same or a nearby locality.

In any case, the use of "communities" or settlements as units of analysis does not seem adequate for theoretical, methodological and practical reasons. In their daily lives, most immigrants "depend on multiple and constant interconnections" within and across borders (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc, 1995, p. 48). Those interconnections are more frequent, intense and rich among relatives by birth and marriage.

We intend to use kin networks as defined by the subjects themselves as our unit of analysis and define such networks by means of observing when, how and under which circumstances groups of families coalesce in a specific area to form settlements or distribute themselves across the urban space of one or several cities.

The structure, composition and size of these networks is a critical area of migration research, as well as how such networks relate to other fuzzy or ill-defined social entities such as "families", "domestic units", lineages or migration-ensembles.

In this pilot survey, we have begun the study of networks principally in areas of Granada and Lucena, a rural town in Cordoba.

2.1 The research team

For this pilot, the research team consists of:

- Juan Gamella, coordinator of the UGR team;
- Giuseppe Beluschi Fabeni, post-doc researcher;
- Elisabeth Gómez Oehler, researcher;
- Nuria Morales Ruiz, researcher;
- Vasile Muntean, Romani research assistant (from Romanian Čurara Roma group);
- Daniel Romeo Stoian, Romani research assistant (from Romanian Spoitori Roma group);
- Claudia Iancu, Romani research assistant (from Romanian Spoitori Roma group)
- Cayetano Fernández Ortega, Romani research assistant (from Spanish *Gitano* group);
- Juan Pérez Pérez, research assistant on mass media analysis;
- Arturo Álvarez Roldán (assistance in research methods);
- Carmen Castilla Vázquez (assistance in anthropology of religion and conversion)
- Francisco Jimenez Bautista (assistance in human ecology, urban anthropology and conflict resolution processes);
- Ester Massó Guijarro (assistance in gender and minority studies).

We also received assistance from several social workers that are in direct contact with Roma populations, especially in the Cordoba region. Especially we want to acknowledge the help of Juan Ruiz Tavira, a seasoned social worker, for over five year working directly with Roma immigrants.

There are four Romani assistants in the UGR team:

Vasile Muntean, 23, a Romanian from Transylvania who has lived in Spain since 2001, attended Spanish schools and obtained a high school diploma in 2007. He has collaborated fully with the Pilot Survey since September 2013 as a key informant, discussant and adviser and as an interviewer and interview and transcription assistant. In 2013 he was formally hired by the UGR as a technical assistant.

Claudia Stoian, 22, a young Roma woman, and her husband, Daniel Stoian, 23. They are from Călărași and speak the Spoitori dialect. The couple has contributed to the Pilot Survey as informants and consultants and as facilitators for contacting and

interviewing members of their and other networks of Roma in Granada and Malaga. They have also assisted in transcribing parts of interviews and translating them to Spanish.

Cayetano Fernández Ortega, a graduate student in Social Anthropology from a Spanish Gitano family. He collaborated with our team from June to September 2013, at which point he moved to Budapest to study English and Romani with a grant from the Open Foundation. He plans to return to Spain and our project by July 2013. Mr. Fernández Ortega contributed to the Pilot Survey as a field researcher. He developed a good rapport with several Roma families in Granada and, more especially, Cordoba. He carried out several interviews, made observations – some of considerable insight – and engaged in conversations.

Mr. Fernández Ortega has served as a bridge between local Romani groups (*Gitanos*) and Romanian Roma immigrants. We believe this exchange can be extremely rewarding both in theoretical and practical terms, and can offer important and original engagement strategies for the future.

We have organized formal training sessions for our assistants concerning ethics principles and protocols, and techniques of observation, interviewing, writing field notes and transcribing interviews. However, most of their training has taken place 'on the job'. Ethics commitments were explained, for example, when we asked them to translate into their own Romani dialects informed consent sheets for data collection, or when they were interviewed as informants, interviewed other informants or transcribed other informants' interviews. They quickly developed their own ideas and models about the project and its goals. Assistants attended team meetings and observed the discussions of the researchers on the shortcomings and urgencies of or changes in the project. We have not insisted on standard written Romani codification, as the collection of samples of spontaneous ways of writing Romani by the collaborators is considered to be relevant. Each Romani assistant has been working in collaboration with one researcher, who taught and helped him/her along the fieldwork process and during the desktop work (transcriptions, fieldwork notes, archiving of

fieldwork material), under the supervision of the PhD researcher and coordinator of the project.

2.2 Pilot survey strategy

As previously stated, one critical aspect of our research strategy has been to focus on networks and groups of related families and households as they are defined and categorized by the consultants themselves. Often these "kin networks" extend over several cities, provinces and even countries. Both in theoretical and practical terms it is extremely relevant to know how they live in different contexts and circumstances.

We explored ten such networks in varying detail and depth, as shown in Table 1. We contacted families from all these networks, including three visits to the "El Gallinero" camp in Madrid. This exploratory trip was intended to delineate the Roma "communities" to be included in our research.

The sampling strategy undertaken involves a variety of groups, circumstances and migratory histories, and consists of many different Roma groups according to parameters such as place of origin in Romania, Romani dialect spoken, visibility/invisibility as "*Gitanos rumanos*" in Spain, forms of economic and spatial adaptation, etc. We plan to include ten networks from six or seven different Roma groups. A summary of identified target communities is shown in Table 1.

In the Pilot Survey, we studied four of the networks: numbers 1, 3, 7 and 8, as shown in Table 1. The pilot survey allowed us to develop a clearer idea of the options available to us and advisable for undertaking ethnographic research. In other words, the specific ways in which the Romanian Romani population in Spain is highly heterogeneous became more apparent to us, for instance, in terms of the visual communication of ethnic elements, origin, language competences (most people speak different Romani dialects, some speak only Romanian), the principle forms of economic adaptation, housing standards, or the different relationships to systems of education, health and social assistance.

Our target population was initially identified by means of a network approach in three main localities: Granada, Lucena and Madrid. Later, following our informants'

networks, we included households in the city of Malaga, and eventually intend to contact other households in Murcia, Cordoba, Seville and Madrid.

This network approach provided a method for obtaining an open and varied sample of households. The sampling procedures, based on convenience criteria and on snowball technics of selecting informants, allowed to obtain basic data and a first insights on general trends.

Consequently, the size and number of the target population undoubtedly will grow along with the fieldwork. The goal is to obtain a diverse and inclusive final sample that is representative of the main problems and situations experienced by Romanian Roma in Spain throughout their migratory process.

TABLE 1

Profile of the Roma family's networks explored for the Pilot Survey, Spain, 2013

Self-designation	Places Of Origin	County	Romani Dialect[1]	House holds (N)	People (Estim.)	Area of Residence
1.Spoitori Roma	Călărași	Călărași	RO-016	15-17	45-60	Granada, Malaga,
2.Čurara/Kortu rare Roma	Salaveni (pseud.)	Cluj	RO-013,15	20-25	70-100	Granada
3. idem	Calaş (pseud.)	Cluj	RO-013,15	8-14	100-110	Granada Seville, Malaga Murcia
4. idem	Nazeu (pseud.)	Cluj	RO-013,15	8-10	40-50	Granada
5. Romunguri	Cojocna	Cluj	Romanes	5-7	25-35	Granada
6. Lajeshi	Bucharest	Bucharest	Romanian	5-7	25-35	Granada
7. Lajeshi	Slobozia	Ialomiţa	Romanian	2	8	Cordoba
8. Ursari	Segarcea, Craiova	Dolj	Romanes	8-10	53-65	Cordoba
9. Spoitori	Bucharest	Bucharest	RO-016	4-6	20-30	Cordoba
10. Kangliari	Ţăndărei	Ialomița	RO-064	65-75	330-380	Madrid

[1] Notation refers to the sample list of Romani Morpho-Syntax dialect in the RMS Database of the Romani project. When we do not know the correspondence with the spoken dialect of our informants with the RMS Database, we just indicate "Romanes". "Romanian" means that individuals do not speak Romani as native language.

2.3 Data collection strategies

The research strategy foresaw ethnographic fieldwork based on participant observation, with topics-focused conversations with as many informants as possible, and interviews based on semi-structured questionnaires with a range of consultants distributed by sex, age and cultural orientation. We also consulted documents provided by our informants themselves and the database from news and media reports on Romanian Roma in Spain.

2.3.1 Formal taped interviews

For the Pilot Survey, we carried out 17 taped interviews. All of the taped interviews were complemented by long sessions of participatory observation that included many informal conversations, and by the collection of pictures and videos owned and/or produced by informants themselves or by fieldworkers.

The interview process was conducted both in Romani and Spanish. Informants and/or researchers switched between Romani, Spanish and Romanian languages, as the questions or the circumstances required.

A single–session interview, however, is not an adequate work unit for this type of project. Some interviews lasted for about 90 minutes in a single session while others took over 12 hours over a period of five or six sessions. We consider different instances of a formal, taped conversation with an informant as part of a single interview. In fact, we contend that this type of interview is the most informative, profound and fruitful. Thus, even if the formal interview is useful and provides a form of establishing common goals, the quality and depth of conversations and other fieldwork activities also need to be considered.

Both observations and informal conversations with informants and among themselves are extremely important sources of information and understanding. When concerning Roma assistants, these issues become more relevant. It will be our task to put all this experience together among the different partners. A common methodological paper would be of considerable interest and a relevant contribution to the MigRom project.

Social and cultural differences vary from network to network, and from household to household, thereby resulting in different forms of rapport and access to informants, implementation of one methodology or another, and, in general, different settings for ethnographic fieldwork.

Consequently, in some cases we were able to record hours of conversation with one or more informants, and collect data on several related people and households. In other cases, informants were more reluctant to speak in front of a tape recorder or about other people. Thus, depending on personal or group idiosyncrasies, we adapted the direction of our discussion toward either a more general survey or more personal histories, and as much as possible we archived data emerging from non-recorded interviews or from informal exchanges by means of fieldwork notes.

The largest interview included over 12 hours of taped conversations in Spanish and Romani. The shortest one lasted 20 minutes. In this last case, however, after taping 20 minutes of taped conversation in a park, we spent over three hours with the informant's family in their own house and spoke with them about their problems, concerns and wishes. Although we did not tape record this encounter, we did take many photographs that we brought back to our Roma informants later. The experience was much richer than the tape revealed, and generated many notes and ideas. One Romani assistant returned on several occasions to stay and talk with people in this household, obtain critical information and document their daily lives.

In some cases, valuable and trusting informants talked for hours with us but did not want to be taped. In general, when discussing certain issues, taping changes the whole atmosphere and the depth of the conversation. This needs to be taken into account. On the other hand, effective informants often provide information about several households and individuals, both from his immediate family and beyond. Thus, a formal, structured interview does not compare to a long, rich and extended conversation. Nonetheless, both techniques are necessary depending on the theme pursued. Hence, the main method of research is ethnographic fieldwork participant observation and a continuous dialogue with our Romani informants.

We also began to obtain data from the collaboration and assistance of local professionals working with Roma families, including teachers, social workers, health

professionals, etc. Issues of confidentiality and informed consent by both the persons discussed and professionals are crucial here. We tried to limit our knowledge to anonymous cases or to general, collective trends, and not personal data. However, the viewpoint of professionals and local authorities is extremely important to understanding engagement strategies and policy options. Professional reports complement the information provided by Roma. The challenge is to obtain an understanding of these different sectors of the integration equation from multiple viewpoints. The danger lies in being misunderstood by different parties, or worse yet, being accused of betraying their differing interests.

Fieldwork also resulted in the production of a great number of photographs and short films. They will be used internally in the data analysis and interpretation process and its dissemination to a wider public will follow strictly the agreed etic procedures.

2.3.2 Other Instruments

For the ethnographic research, we developed an Open-ended Questionnaire in Spanish based on thematic areas agreed by the MigRom Consortium. Hence, experiences emerging from fieldwork have been used to improve and complete the instrument.

To archive and analyze materials and data emerging from the fieldwork, we have developed:

- A systematic grid of attributes and variables both numerical-quantitative and qualitative-nominal that derive from the Questionnaire and are organized according to the areas and themes of the Fieldwork Guidelines. This material is entered in Excel files, and data corresponding to variables are inserted in an anonymous way that impede individuals to be recognized.
- A Codebook that is associated with the database, wherein key variables and their values are described.
- The completed database will provide the basic statistical variables of the population studied.

Qualitative data proceeding from fieldwork material (such as field notes, pictures, recordings, videos, etc.) will be organized in order to be analyzed using a qualitative codification program (Nvivo 9).

2.3.3 Database of news about Romanian Roma in Spain

We are developing a systematic database of news and reports concerning Romanian Roma in the printed press and on Internet. We are systematically searching the five main national Spanish newspapers (*El País*, *La Vanguardia*, *ABC*, *Público* and *El Mundo*) that represent very different political ideologies, as well as certain local newspapers in the research area, from 1990 to 2013. So far we have collected, organized and catalogued over 2,411.

Additionally, we are also collecting readers' responses to some of the most dramatic and popular news. These comments are an important source of data for studying the main cultural models and frames of interpretation of Roma's presence in Spain.

The material collected from newspaper is very rich and allows for both an analysis of the forms and structures of media representation and discourse (Erjavec, 2004) as well as an event-analysis of the history of Roma migration to Spain. This database provides our ethnographic research with a deeper understanding of the diversity (and recurrence) of local Roma adaptations in Spain as well as a broader understanding of more than two decades of "local reactions to the Roma immigrants, and processes of friction as well as integration" (MigRom Grant Agreement: 3).

3 PILOT SURVEY RESULTS

3.1 Socio-demographic data

3.1.1 Sample, place and localization

We have studies four family networks, from four distinct Roma groups proceeding from different Romanian regions including a total of 192 individuals:

Network 01 (NetLC01): 53 persons, 8 households

Network 02 (NetLC02): 9 persons, 2 households

Network 03 (NetGR01): 70 persons, 8 households

Network 04 (NetGR02): 60 persons, 8 households

NetLC01 - This network is formed by self-defined *"*Ursari Roma*"* people from Segarcea and the surrounding Dolj region. The network includes eight households with 53 people. They have lived for several years in a town in the province of Cordoba of approximately 41,000 people. These families are connected to approximately 20 other domestic units in nearby agro-towns in eastern Andalusia and the nearby provinces of Ciudad Real and Albacete in La Mancha region. They are notable for pursuing rural adaptation and concentrating their labor in seasonal agricultural work, especially during the cropping seasons for olives, grapes, fruits and vegetables in several Spanish regions (See Graphic 1 in Appendix 1).

NetLC02 - This group is formed by two domestic groups of Lajeshi people from Slobozia, Ialomiţa. They include two domestic families of eight people. Although these families have relatives in Seville and other Andalusian provinces, they are more isolated than other Roma. This is an interesting network precisely because of its isolation and small size.

NetGR01 - This network includes Korturare or Čurara Roma from the region around Cluj, in Transylvania. Several informants used both ethnonyms to communicate different aspects of their collective identity. Here we use them to identify a large group

of related families who speak the same dialect variant. Concerning the social taxonomy used by informants refer to Beluschi (2013); for linguistic features of the spoken dialect, see the Romani Morpho-Syntax Database[2] and Matras (2013). Most people in this network belong to the 'Jonesči Roma', that is, descendants of a common ancestor who died in the 1940s. Originally they appear to have formed a large and internally segmented patrilineal/patrilocal category of related persons, most of whom were born or lived in Calaş, a rural center of 9,000 inhabitants in Transylvania. The Jonesči are linked by affinal and descent ties to other groups in different areas of Transylvania and Timiş. Altogether they constitute a wide network of patrilocal families that have migrated to Western Europe since the early 1990s and currently comprise a scattered transnational constellation of families in many countries across two continents (some have moved to the US and other American countries). The first people from this network arrived in Granada in 1997. Since 2011, the largest segment of this group moved to England and a smaller portion moved to Germany, where they are now living. In September 2013 we found 68 persons from 8 households from this group living permanently in Granada. Among them are some of the pioneers who came to Spain in 1997 (see Figure 3). Some of them were able to achieve better housing and income-generating activities in Spain than their uncles and cousins, who eventually left (See Graphic 2 in Appendix 1).

NetGr02 - This network is formed by Spoitori Roma families from Călărași and Oltenita. The network includes eight households in which we identified 62 people. Four households reside in Granada and four in Malaga, where they are connected with more Spoitori Roma from Călărași. More families linked with this network live in the Canary Islands and Basque Country. Many members of this network came to Granada between 2003 and 2004 (see Graphic 3 in Appendix 1).

These four local networks are part of larger kin networks that extend over various regions and countries. Transnational networks have become a crucial resource for Roma migration. Presently, information and influence circulates among nodes of

[2] http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/rms/

these networks almost entirely due to the wide use of digital technologies. Constant communication results in the generation of a "common knowledge" base concerning the events and the history of the "family" and related people.

Assistance from pre-existing ethnic communities and networks can be crucial in the migration process. This is especially important in relation to manual labor migrants with low human capital in international labor markets. Portes and Rumbaut (1999, p. 33) express this very clearly: "Manual labor migrants… are not guided by recruiting agents, but by spontaneous individual and family decisions, usually based on the presence in certain places of kin and friends who can provide shelter and assistance" (p. 33). The study of immigrant networks is thus crucial to understanding the causes, effects and engagement strategies in the immigration of Romanian Roma to Western Europe (See Chart 3 in Appendix 1).

This report is based on the data we collected from the aforementioned family networks. These included people who were living in Spain during most or all of the year 2013 (for Guidelines point 1.1 Place and Localization, please see above). Our survey found 192 individuals living in 26 households. In 149 cases we were able to obtain basic socio-demographic data of some reliability, triangulating the information gathered from interviews and, in some cases, personal and family documents. This exploratory analysis of socio-demographic data mainly refers to these 149 individuals.

3.1.2 Age and gender distribution (from households sample)

This sample is comprised of 50.6% males and 49.6% females. If this were an adequate representation of the population of Roma immigrants at large, it would constitute a normal or even gender ratio for a very young population. Moreover, this gender distribution can also point to a migration pattern in which whole domestic families (see below for some conceptual precisions on this term) are reconstituted in the target country. Put otherwise, this appears to represent a whole population that has established itself in the new country and maintains a cultural system of reproduction.

All ages are represented in the sample. The age range is 71 years, as members of these networks were born from 1942 to the present year, 2013. The sample appears

to represent a very young population if we consider, for instance, that by 2013 the Spanish population had an estimated median age of 41.3 years[3] (40 years for males; 42.6 years for females). The median age is 19 years (20 years for males; 17.5 years for females) and the average age is 20.5 years (21 for males, and 20.4 for females).

In Table 1 we present a summary of the age and gender distributions of this pilot sample. Although there are some inconsistencies due to the small number of people considered, the results offer important conclusions and hypotheses to be tested in future research.

First, the youth population is predominant: Approximately half of the people in this sample (52%) are less than 20 years of age, and 37.6% are less than 15 years of age, as compared to 14.4% in the Spanish population at large. Second, children of school age (3 to 16 years of age) account for 35% of the sample. If this result were to be extrapolated to the immigrant Romanian Roma population in Spain, they would comprise the population with the highest proportion of children of school age in the country. There are few elderly people in these families. Only one person is over 70, a 71-year-old man. Only five people are over 50. This is probably due to a combination of historical processes working together, such as: a high mortality regime that only began to change in the post-war period, very high natality and fertility rates that began to decline several decades later and very difficult life conditions that include lack of health care services, unemployment or underemployment, few educational opportunities, poverty, exclusion and so forth. These combined factors most likely contributed to a relatively low life expectancy rate as compared to their fellow citizens in Romania.

There is some variation among the four networks. The second network is in many ways different to the other three both in size and structure.

The age dependency ratio[4] is not especially high: 53, compared with 43 for Romania and 49 for Spain in 2012 (World Bank 2013) [5]. The composition of the

[3] The median age is the age that divides a population into two numerically equal groups. This index summarizes the age distribution of a population. Data taken from the CIA World Factbook, www.indexmundi.com/spain/median_age.html.

[4] The dependency ratio is the ratio of dependents (people younger than 15 and older than 64, typically outside of the labor force) of the working age people, those between the ages of 15 and 64. It is

dependent population in each case is completely different. The old age dependency ratio (number of people aged 65 and over as a percentage of the labor force) is very small among the Roma, but increasingly high in Spain and growing in Romania; both populations are aging very fast. The child dependency ratio, however, is very high among Roma and decreasing in the majority populations.

Natality

This is a very small sample, if we consider the live births found in these families between 2010 and 2013 and estimated a crude birth rate of 26 per 1000. The highest natality rate occurred in the year 2010 with 36 births per 1000 persons. If these results were to be extrapolated to the Roma population at large, we might expect a crude birth rate for the Roma population in Spain of around 30 per 1000. This is a high level of natality in the European context, and even thrice the birth rate of both Spain and Romania. Roma migration has a reproductive character and includes reproductive strategies that need to be taken into consideration both in research and policy.

Mortality

We recorded four deaths in the last four years among these families, which is a high number considering the relatively young age of its population. Life expectancy data is not easy to obtain and probably does not exist for Roma people anywhere. However, it appears to be considerably lower than the Spanish or Romanian population at large.

In sum

The demographic structure of the Roma immigrant population is the first and perhaps the most important of the differences with the host Spanish population at large. Ethnic differences in this case have a dramatic demographic component with consequences in all aspects of social and individual life that are, nonetheless, frequently ignored.

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usually used as an index of the burden of the productive sector of the population in that it supports the sector of population that is growing up or aging.

[5] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.DPND, accessed Feb. 20, 2014.

This group appears to be part of a very young and fast-growing population with a reproductive orientation. It does not resemble any other group in Spain or Romania and, consequently, highlights a considerable need for child-oriented services, from schools to pediatric health services. Likewise, there is no comparable group in Spain or Romania with so few elders.

This difference seems also to result from a population in transition. Data indicates that the onset of a permanent decline in infant and child mortality among this population began some decades ago, although we did not find reliable data on this in Romania or elsewhere. Inside this very young and fast-growing population, fertility rates appear to be in decline and their associated social and cultural processes are of the most important aspects of Roma life at the present time. One goal of this project will be to try to elucidate these processes as much as possible. Let us review some of the data produced by our pilot survey.

TABLE 2

Age and gender distribution of the sample of Roma immigrants studied in the Pilot Survey (N: 149)

Age group	Women (N)	Men (N)	Women (%)	Men (%)	Total(%)	Cm.(%)
0 to 4	11	11	7.4	7.4	14.8	14.8
5 to 9	11	13	7.4	8.7	16.1	30.9
10 to 14	6	4	4.0	2.7	6.7	37.6
15 to 19	14	7	9.4	4.7	14.1	51.7
20 to 25	5	12	3.4	8.1	11.4	63.1
25 to 29	7	7	4.7	4.7	9.4	72.5
30 to 34	8	6	5.4	4.0	9.4	81.9
35 to 39	4	5	2.7	3.4	6.0	87.9
40 to 45	3	3	2.0	2.0	4.0	91.9
45 to 49	1	5	0.7	3.4	4.0	96.0
50 to 54	4	1	2.7	0.7	3.4	99.3
55 or more	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.7	100
Total	**74**	**75**	**49.7**	**50.3**	**100**	

3.1.3 Households: Size, structure (and development cycles).

In this section, we aim to advance the knowledge of different dimensions of households as concrete units in which Roma maintain and reproduce their individual and collective existence. We would like to develop an integrated knowledge of household size, composition and development, as well as the cultural principles that guide the formation, growth and fission of domestic units, including the cultural constructs of leadership and management, the division of tasks by age and gender and the mutual obligations obtained among their members. We place special importance upon the cultural analysis of "the system of symbols and meanings by which people construe these units and the configuration of activities, emotions, and dilemmas they attach to them" (Yanagisako, 1984, p. 330).

Following Carter (1984) we define the household dimension of domestic groups in terms of the tasks that are culturally attributed to its members (see the classic papers McC. Netting, Wilk, & Arnauld, 1984). Thus a household would be "a collection of persons who work together to provide mutual care, including the provision of food, shelter, clothing, and health care as well as socialization" (Carter 1984: 52) and also sexual reproduction. But although households everywhere may be defined as task-oriented social units, "the precise pattern of task allocation is variable" (Ibid.) and its study is a crucial research goal with regards to Roma immigrant populations.

The first issue we observe in relation to the Roma is the difficulty of separating the "familial" dimension (the origin of the bonds of its members in kinship, marriage, adoption, etc.) from the household (task-group) dimension of domestic units.

Both dimensions are complementary and mixed in the discourse and social actions of the Roma and in the folk categories they use to express their perceptions of and judgments about their daily lives. Thus, polysemic terms (such *familja*, "family", and *vatra*, home or house, in the case of Čurara/Korturare Roma) are mutually constitutive in their capacity to create strong bonds of solidarity and unity (for a detailed description of the mutual constitution of these terms in the Churara/Korturare Roma social universe see Beluschi Fabeni, 2013, pp. 226-229). Perhaps the most crucial task of Roma family households is that of sexual and social reproduction and the nurturing of children. Most of the Roma households we

encountered in migration are reproductive units: they include couples in different stages of their reproductive cycle. Children of different ages and needs are omnipresent; they are crucial to and the most valuable asset of the group, and perhaps their most visible "production".

We studied 23 (out of 26) different households in the four networks surveyed. We have collected detailed data about their histories and internal lives from interviews and visits to 11 of them. In five cases, we were able to observe the daily life of these households, spend time with their members, prepare and eat food with them, work and even sleep on the premises, etc. We present these households as they existed in form and size during the period of observation. Prior to and after the observation period they might change, since they need to be understood as flexible units that repeatedly expand, contract, break and are reconstituted.

These 23 households varied considerably in size and morphology. They also changed during the time of observation, and need to be regarded as maintaining a constant state of flux, although some of them have kept the same composition for years. The measures we provide are indicative of a period in time: that of the pilot survey during the fall of 2013. We will indicate some of the observed changes and variations in individual households in our examples.

Most Roma households in the sample (83%) had eight members or less when the survey was conducted. Households with nine members or more are rare and probably the result of a "provisional" arrangement. Members of households with 13 or 19 members tend to view their large size as a reaction to present circumstances, which they plan to change. In any case, Roma households are much larger than "normal" Spanish or Romanian homes. On average, they have seven people, while in Spain average household size was 2.6 in 2012; in Romania it was 2.9[6]. Significantly, people living alone constitute the fastest growing type of household in Western Europe. This arrangement is rare among the Roma. It is probably even more unusual among the immigrant communities and networks. Isolation and loneliness is not

[6] Data from Eurostat, Average household size: http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui. Last updated: 14-02-2014.

common among Roma. In fact this situation may be feared and one of the reasons for the efficacy of social control mechanisms of families and communities.

TABLE 3

Roma households in the four kin networks studied. Number of members per household at the time of observation (N: 23)

Residents in the household	*Households (N)*	*Households (%)*	*Cumulative %*
3	1	4.3	4.3
4	2	8.7	13.0
5	2	8.7	21.7
6	4	17.4	39.1
7	5	21.7	60.9
8	5	21.7	82.6
9	1	4.3	87.0
11	1	4.3	91.3
13	1	4.3	95.7
19	1	4.3	100.0
Total	**23**	**100.0**	

In Tables 3 and 4 we provide the results of our survey. It is simply a still photograph of a living process, and needs to be taken as part of a longitudinal study. Synchronic, cross-sectional views of households can be very confusing and distort the processes involving their development (Hammel & Laslett, 1974) .

Nevertheless, the morphology of households surveyed seems to be more much complex than that found among Spanish households at large. As can be seen in Table 4, nearly 60% of all domestic units in the sample are extended or multiple households that include more than one couple and three or more generations. The most common type is that formed by an older couple living with their unmarried children, one married son and the son's spouse and children who are hence raised in the home of their grandparents. A variety of this type is usually known as a "stem" family and historically is found in different European societies (and in Japan) associated with

primogeniture, undivided inheritance patterns and agricultural propertied classes (Berkner, 1972; Segalen, 2004; Yanagisako, 1984). Obviously the principles guiding this domestic formation among the Roma are different and derive from a distinct development sequence. Here crucial decisions and norms derive from rules and expectations concerning postmarital residence, marriage transactions and the institution of the in-coming *bori* (daughter and sister in-law).

The second most frequent type of household is the nuclear or conjugal family. They amount to 26% of all homes. The ideal of the nuclear family is also strong among the Roma, and most young couples, and especially young wives, express their desire for an independent household. This may mark a gender difference between young husbands and wives, especially in those cases in which the daughters-in-law are unhappy in their relationships with their in-laws. We need to remember as well that most stem families pass through phases in which they have nuclear family structures (Berkner, 1972). In fact, the development cycle of Roma households may include an expected phase in which all couples need to establish their own independent household and, eventually, incorporate the first married son and the related *bori*, etc. Thus, at a certain moment in their history, almost all Roma households are expected to be nuclear or conjugal; that is, they consist of a couple with their unmarried children. To study this comparatively in different Roma networks both in migration and in Romania would be an important subject for future publications.

Males seem to head all of the domestic units surveyed. Even if a widowed mother is the most senior and respected person in a household, the "owner" usually was her oldest son or some other male. Among the Roma, female-headed households are not the norm, morally or statistically. Even when widows or grandmothers play a major authority role, the leading role and ownership often will fall upon her grown-up children, cousins or brothers. This, however, does not mean that women are not influential in household decisions. But contrary to what we are accustomed to seeing under other conditions of poverty and exclusion (see Stack 1974, for a classic view), males are able to maintain united families, and make viable unions with life-partners, which is very different to what is reported in other contexts of recurrent poverty and mother-centeredness (Chant & Campling, 1997). However, the female-headed

households we have found in some of these networks in other moments (see Beluschi 2013a: Chapter 5) indicate that the results presented here need to be taken as provisional, since some of them may be a consequence of the small sample.

TABLE 4

Roma households in four kin networks. Types of households by their morphology: relationships among members. Frequency, percentages and average number of members per type (N: 23)

Type of household	*N*	*%*	*Number of members per type (average)*	*Age of household head (average)*
Couple with unmarried children	6	26.1	6	33.5
Couple with children and other family members (parents, siblings of wife/husband, etc.)	3	13.0	5	36.5
Couple with unmarried children and one married child with his/her own children ("stem" family)	8	34.8	6.6	39.9
Couple with unmarried and several married children and grandchildren	3	13.0	14.3	55.7
Couples of several siblings and their children	3	13.0	8.3	37.3
TOTAL	**23**	**100.0**	**7.5**	**39.3**

Eventually, studies of households in different countries of migration need to be compared to that in Romania. Do these Roma generate widely divergent household structures in the receiving countries to those they have or had in their original communities?

The largest households found in this survey may be in response to harsh conditions in the receiving country. In Spain housing has been expensive and Roma may have had difficulties renting adequate living quarters. It could be that immigration and the difficulty of finding housing, especially adequate housing for children, is forcing Roma to form larger and more complex households than those they generally form in Romania. Provisional housing arrangements may result in large concentrations of people (over 15 persons) sharing a small apartment or abandoned house for some months.

Behind these arrangements there is often a complex family history and set of moral obligations culturally patterned and personally generated and experienced. Solidarity and generosity are not the only trends at work, however. There are also tensions, conflicts and confrontations, but we have not found in our sample the feuding violence reported in some other Romani contexts (Gay y Blasco, 1999; Grönfors, 1986; Piasere, 1991; San Román, 1976, 1997).

The flexibility and capacity of sharing with a large network of kin and friends is perhaps the main point to be made here. The negative reaction that such large numbers of people produce in neighbors, homeowners, social workers and other local professionals should not be discounted either.

In Figures 1, 2 and 3 we offered a snapshot of the households of every one of the three major networks as they appear during the time of data collection. Some changes since have transformed certain households. Here we provide some examples.

NetLC01. Household LC01. Florin's home[7]

During all of 2013 this family lived in a rented, comfortable three-stores house in the middle of a large and prosperous Andalusia town. The house has four bedrooms, a large living room and a large terrace over the roof, overlooking the town. Monthly rents in this town are relatively cheaper than in the nearest cities. They were paying 300 Euros.

This family includes the dominant couple with three male children, the oldest of whom was married and living in the house with two small kids and his wife. This is a

[7] All personal name of informants are pseudonyms.

typical "stem family" if we consider only its structure. But the origin of this formation lies not in primogeniture but in the institution of the resident daughter-/sister-in-law (the *bori*). The household incorporates a clear gender and generational hierarchy.

Florin is the visible and executive head of household. He makes most decisions, although his wife is also very influential. The married son and the daughter-in-law mostly follow suit. The son is relatively content, but the *bori* longs to have her own house, and often feels trapped by oppressive circumstances.

The two adult women work in, as well as out of, the house. From 2012 to the beginning of 2014, only they could work legally in Spain. The gender distribution of labor in relation to household reproductive and social roles has been in flux. Recently it has been more difficult for the adult males to get work. The father has been ill, and the adult son does not have a legal work permit. He is illiterate and does not have a driving license. His children are learning to read and write in school, but he is unable to help them with their homework because of his lack of skills, which he is ashamed of. There are tensions both among the couple and between the *bori* and her in-laws. She has not visited Romania since 2008, when she first came to Spain. She wants to visit her mother and brother who live there, but lacks the money. She has considered leaving her husband and in-laws.

NetLC02. Household LC07. Cornel and Mirian's home.

This domestic unit consists of two related couples that lived together in a small, empty and ruined house they "squatted" in. Subsequently the owner gave them permission to stay temporarily. The first couple is that of Cornel, a 49-year-old widow who married Marian, a 46-year-old divorcee five years ago. In turn, Cornel's only son, Ion, married Marian's daughter. Now the four of them are living together in an abandoned one-story house in the outskirts of town. The house has a small kitchen, a living room and a bedroom. It has no electricity or running water. The family gets the water from a public faucet nearby, and has built a makeshift latrine in an empty plot of land across the street that the owner lets them use. The handy Cornel has planted a small garden in the plot, and has a couple of chickens as well. Using a computer and plug-in Internet service, the young couple maintain daily contact with familiars abroad,

through Facebook and Skype. The younger couple sleeps in the bedroom, and their parents in the living room that doubles as a dining room.

These four people have relatives in town but they are not on good terms with and rarely see them. In fact, they rely more on people from other Roma networks, social workers and Spanish friends.

Both couples are very close and cope with the lack of income and the difficult living conditions as the best they can. However, they have considerable problems as they lack legal driving licenses, their large illiteracy and great difficulty speaking Spanish. The situation of this family is often dramatic. Cornel often drinks too much and engages in fights. In one case he punched the son of Florin, of the *Ursari* network living in town, in the face. As Florin's family had been a support for Cornel's people, their situation worsened. However, in November 2013, the social worker in charge of immigrants helped to obtain a minimum rent subsidy (about 500 Euros per month) for six months. This provided them with some relief.

This is the type of household that conflicts with most available typologies. Is it nuclear and simple, or complex and multiple? It includes more than one sexual and potentially reproductive couple sharing the domestic space. It has one kitchen and one single food budget, but two beds for sexually active couples, these being finally the things historians count (or imagine) in censuses. But in what myriad ways do the members of all these households relate to each other?

NetGr01. Household GR30. Ion and Micaela's home.

Ion, 35, is the eldest brother of a family that moved to Spain in 2000 after the early death of his father in Romania. For several years Ion had a decent job in a motor garage, and he bought a small house in a working-class neighborhood. The house is relatively inexpensive and has three bedrooms. Ion pays a mortgage not much higher than what he would pay as rent. Ion lives in this apartment with his wife, Micaela, and three small children, Raduţ, Ion's younger brother, and Raduţ's 25-year-old wife and their daughter. There are eight people in all: two brothers, their wives and their young children. The younger brother accepts that this is not "his home", but rather a provisional although indefinite arrangement that will last until he has the means to

rent and maintain his own space. He and his wife wish they could have their own house. Currently they help Ion with utilities and other expenses rather than pay rent, and they buy food for everyone as often as they can. Raduţ has never had a permanent job, and survives doing small services and jobs for a variety of people both in the city and in the countryside.

NetGr01. Household GR26. Gheorghe's home.

Across the street from Ion's apartment is his brother Gheorghe's apartment. Gheorghe lives with his wife and three kids, his mother and his recently married youngest brother, Ion, and his wife. In total, eight persons in what can be considered a complex extended or multiple household with three generations of closely related people. According to all the accounts collected, this is Gheorghe's home. He pays the rent, since he has a decent and permanent job. Thus, kin seniority and authority do not correspond to household ownership or headship in this case. Although the widowed mother of the four brothers lives nearby in Granada, is tightly bonded to them and is well respected and obeyed, household ownership follows a different logic. According to this alternative logic, the *bori* (daughter-in-law) would have ownership of the house rather than the mother-in-law. This could be a testing ground for the institutional relations between women in Roma households and families, a crucial topic for the study of young Roma women.

More recently, this cleavage in traditional intergenerational roles has taken a new turn, resulting in a further "deconstruction" of the household during the first months of 2014. Specifically, Gheorghe was granted subsidized housing and moved there with his wife and children. His mother, brother and brother's wife have moved with the elder brother to the three-bedroom house, which is currently being shared today by 11 people. One member's improved welfare has affected the other members negatively. But they are adapting to the new circumstances and will try to cope with them the best they can. The young couples say they would like ideally to have their own houses, not far from each other, and include the brothers' mother in one of them. It remains to be seen what the future will bring to this fraternal group.

NetGr02. Household GR01. Ionuţ and Marcela's house.

Ionuţ, 23, is married to Marcela, 21 and they have a 4-year-old daughter. They live in a three-room apartment in Granada's peripheral neighborhood and pay 350 Euros per month, plus utility expenses. He works collecting scraps and other objects that he resells in underground market. She works as a house cleaner and goes begging in the morning when her Spanish employers don't call her to clean. She has found all of her jobs through her begging activities. Their daughter is in her last year of nursery school and goes to school every day.

Ionuţ came here in 2004 with his parents, his older brother and younger sister. Three of Ionuţ's aunts' (his father's sisters) families also immigrated to Granada. Ionuţ married Marcela five years ago and she came to Spain to live with him. It was her first experience abroad. Ionuţ's brother was married one year before Ionuţ and went to Italy around 2008. After a couple of years Ionuţ's parents and sister followed the elder brother to Italy and they are currently living in Sicily.

Many conflicts between the four families meant that today Ionuţ and Marcela feel quite alone and prefer to avoid close contact with the families of two of his aunts who are still living in Granada. The third aunt went to live in Malaga, and Ionuţ and Marcela go there often to visit and consider them the only family support they have in Spain.

During 2013, some people lived with them in their apartment. One was a friend who was tired of living in a Napoli slum and came here to try his luck. He helped Ionuţ out with scrap collecting and stayed from June to December. The other person was Marcela's 17–year-old brother, who also came from the Napoli slum. He was going to get married and wanted to see if he could get a job in Spain. He did not try very hard, and after some weeks, said he was 'dying of nostalgia' for his beloved in Napoli and returned to Italy shortly thereafter.

Some ideas and conclusions

Roma households are diverse and dynamic entities formed by the cooperative activities of people. The roles women in household dynamics and how they change

throughout their life course needs to be reassessed. This is a crucial area of future research. Roma domestic groups as "conceptually concrete social arrangements, are informed by a number of analytically distinct cultural principles" (Carter 1984: 45). In the case under study it is difficult to separate the two major analytical dimensions of the domestic unit: the familial dimension and the culturally recognized tasks.

Households need to be described and defined both in terms of the culturally recognized tasks for which members are responsible and also according to the relationships among their members. They perform these tasks "on behalf of and by assigning duties to their personnel and by deploying their resources" (Carter 1984: 45). But usually Roma households also have a familial dimension that is critical to understanding both the tasks they perform and the allocation of resources and duties.

Roma households are hierarchical in several crucial dimensions: gender, age, seniority and even personal preference. The dialectics between mutual goals and differential benefits always need to be taken into consideration, especially in relation to young women, who often appear to work for the benefit of others most of the time.

Some Roma households appear more stable than others in terms of composition, locality and viability. The factors for stability and viability of households need to be studied in this project.

In the case of the households we have studied during a short period of their development, there are probably different social mechanisms working simultaneously by means of a shared system of notions and values.

However, some studies have challenged the importance of households as permanent-stable social units and stressed the importance of the cooperation among kin networks as a strategy used by the poor to fence off negative changes in their income opportunities. As Carol Stack concluded in her classic study of poor families in a US city: "That one can repeatedly join the households of kin is a great source of security among those living in poverty, and they come to depend upon it" (Stack, 1974, p. 123). The forms in which kin networks alter household limits and distinctions is a main topic in the research of Romani migrations.

Fertility decline and control among Romani women

There are signs of a possible change occurring in the reproductive strategies of Roma women of different generations. They would reflect a clash in the normative orientations of younger women. Reproductive changes are also a product of the transformations that are taking place in marriage practices and institutions, the patterns of household formation and fission and in the pressures and opportunities offered by migration and the transnational experience. Decline in fertility rates is a crucial sign of demographic transition of contemporary populations. The migratory processes of Roma of the last quarter of a century would make this transition a transnational phenomenon. But we might go beyond demographic processes to contemplate a complete transformation in marriage, kinship and gender systems.

We were able to partially reconstruct the reproductive history of 22 Roma women in the four networks surveyed. Born from 1954 to 1994, they belong to three major cohorts: the oldest one, born between 1954 and 1965; two cohorts of mothers born between 1966 and 1985; and the younger generation born between 1985 and 1994.

TABLE 5

Number of children, age at birth of first child and years that passed since last child was born for 22 married Roma women in four kin networks.

Period of birth Mothers	*Number of children*	*Age at birth of first child (average)*	*Age at birth of first child (median)*	*Years since last child (average)*	*Average age Today*	*N.*
1954-1965	5.5	18	18	17.5	53	2
1966-1975	4.25	18	17.5	10	40.3	4
1976-1985	3.3	16.8	15.5	7.8	32	6
1986-1995	1.5	18.7	19	3.8	23.5	10
Total	**2.8**	**18.1**	**17**	**7.4**	**31.5**	**22**

These three main generations loosely correspond to that of grandmothers, mothers and adult daughters. The oldest generation had their children during the final decades of the Ceausescu regime and the early years of the transition to democracy. The older women in this cohort were most likely of the first group of Roma women to undergo systematic control of their fertility with the assistance of family planning services and contraceptive methods. Many other Roma women of this generation, however, seem to have followed a regime of unrestricted fertility.

Table 5 summarizes some of the main data obtained from data analysis of these reproductive stories. Mothers in their forties today appear to have completed the reproductive stage of their lives in there thirties, after having had a relatively large number of children (four to six). However, many Roma women in the youngest cohort, including those who are now in their early twenties, seem to be postponing new pregnancies for several years after the birth of their first child. Many of these Roma women use family planning services and contraceptive methods to space or significantly postpone the birth of children after the first one or two pregnancies. Migration may have facilitated the use of these services and methods in different ways, and usually with the acquiescence and the help of their husbands. This is a

crucial area of research from the perspective of gender studies, reproductive health and cultural change.

Here we describe some cases to clarify some of the processes discovered through the Pilot Survey.

Luludži, a Romani woman from the south of Romania was born in 1989. She was first married at 16, but was separated from her husband a year later. Following this, she joined her present partner, Florin, at the age of 18. After living together for a few months, she became pregnant with her first son, who was born in 2007. Three months after giving birth she became pregnant again and had a daughter. Luludži's daughter currently is five years old and goes to a public Spanish school. Luludži does not want to have more children, at least in the foreseeable future. She lives with her in-laws in a house ruled by her father-in-law and would like to have her own house and live independently with her husband and children. Luludži has been using condoms and the pill. However, three years ago she got pregnant again while living in Spain. She decided to use the public family planning services in her neighborhood in order to terminate the pregnancy. This year she got pregnant again unexpectedly. She is having a third child, although she says these were not her plans.

Maržina is a Roma woman from eastern Romania, born in 1992. She married Manuel at the age of 17. At 19, she had her first child, a daughter. In the past five years she has had no more children. She wears an IDU (intrauterine device), which was implanted while in Spain. "My Spanish girlfriends helped me to get it", she told us. She says she would like to have more children, but when things are better. Her husband also wants more children and nags her about it off and on.

This pattern of early marriage followed by the birth of one or two children and a considerable postponement of new pregnancies introduces both new reproductive and familial patterns and new normative orientations in the life of Romani women. This reproductive pattern contrasts dramatically with that of Spanish or Romanian women at large. These differences concern not only aspects of fertility levels and rates, but also pregnancy planning itself; clearly different cultural systems are at play.

Not all young Roma are following this pattern. For instance, Maria, a Roma woman born in 1985 has never used birth control methods. Currently 28 years old, she has had four children. She had her first child at the age of 15, and another three children in the following 12 years, all of them while living as an immigrant in Italy and Spain. Apparently she nursed all her children for several years, and this may have helped her to space her pregnancies. In any case and unlike other women in the sample, she is not limiting her fertility, and she may have more children in the following years.

Another case that does not fit the rule concerns Micaela, a "*lajeshi*" woman, born in 1989. She first married at the age of 17 and soon divorced. At 20, she joined her present partner. They have been together for over five years and have no children. They both want to have children in the future, but not now. They say the conditions in which they live are too difficult for raising kids adequately. We know from common friends that she has used family planning services, but we have not yet developed sufficient rapport and confidence with her to ask her about the methods she is following for preventing unwanted pregnancies.

In the small sample studied, the average age of estimated first marriage is 17.1. In two cases in which we were able to directly interview the women or their husbands, both confirmed that the pregnancy was sought soon after the union. That is, the birth of a child follows the union as an expected consequence of marriage. However, several years lapse without new children, as the young wife actively controls her fertility, usually with the acquiescence of her husband. The declared ideal number of children is between three and four. But an important number of young Roma women are spacing their childbirths and postponing second pregnancies.

This change has come about in two ways: firstly, through a new reproductive career of lower and more restricted fertility rates, and, secondly, by means of timed pregnancies that diverge from those followed by older generations of Roma women. Today they seem to be increasing their capacity to control their fertility by themselves, with or without the cooperation of their male partners. This is new, historically, and may involve a change in the role of Roma women concerning their reproductive rights.

Demographers describe human fertility as being constituted by two central dimensions: the *tempo*, that is, the timing of the first and subsequent childbirths, and the *quantum*, or total number of children. It is a truism today that most developed countries have witnessed "a rising mean age at first birth since the 1970s, coupled with an increasing proportion of births among mothers at advanced ages, albeit with considerable country-level variation". This process is generally referred to as "the postponement of childbearing", and it has become the central focus of fertility research in late-modern societies (Balbo, Billari, & Mills, 2013, p. 3).

Roma women seem to be undergoing a transformation both in the *tempo* and the *quantum* of their reproductive life. They seem to be using the capacity for fertility control offered by available health services. Additionally, they also appear to be experiencing and generating a cultural change that goes beyond the adoption of contraceptive innovations. In this process their male partners are also actively involved, as well as other family and community members.

If this finding could be extrapolated to larger sectors of the Roma population, we might be contemplating a culturally specific "postponement transition", that would be *non-Malthusian*, that is, not based on late marriage or late first birth as for many other European women.

Many young Roma women appear to be introducing a critical element of agency into a process of cultural change of unknown implications. How does this "silent transformation" relate to the role of Romani women in their marriages, households, families and communities? Is this process somehow liberating the "multi-burdened" Romani women from some of their obligations at least for some years? Does this allow children to be better tended and cared for? Will these demographic changes contribute to the needed empowerment of Roma women in the near future? These are important questions in a central area of research for the MigRom project.

Issues concerning reproduction and its social organization are mostly absent from the literature concerning gender systems of Roma people, even in the literature that is Romani and/or more actively feminist. From another angle, the denial of or inattention to the agency of Roma women, especially in relation to issues of marriage, family organization and patrilineal networks coincides with an often paternalistic

attitude of both experts and militants that results in the failure to adequately address issues of both gender subordination and the empowerment experienced by Roma women. As Oprea (2004) has pointed out, Roma women, as with women of other minorities, "are often forced to choose their race over their gender in an effort to avoid shedding negative light on their already oppressed communities". In this sense we agree with her that "with regard to Romani women in particular, both academics and activists must reflect on how the issues they have chosen to write about and/or espouse have excluded the experiences and voices of Romani women — overall, how their empowerment has come at the price of the disempowerment of Romani women" (p. 39).

3.2 Migratory history and experience

3.2.1 Migratory movements and travel: a reconstruction of the history, migration; countries and places of residence.

NetGR01: Čurara/Korturare from Calaş.

The first migration of Čurara/Korturare Roma from Calaş, and more linked patrilocal groups from other Transylvanian localities, began in 1990 with a nearly massive emigration to Germany where they were recognized and hosted as asylum seekers. After Romania's 1992 declaration as a safe country[8], many of them were repatriated or spontaneously moved back to Romania, while others directly moved to other EU countries. From 1994 on, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and even Argentina and Brazil were the main destinations. In 1996 many families moved to Ireland and the UK. In the same year, a group of families arrived in Madrid, where they stayed for only a few months and lived in non-authorized settlements of vans and tends. From there they travelled through the country until they arrived in Andalusia, where they lived in shacks settlements near Seville and Malaga, where related families from other Transylvanian localities were already living. In late 1997, some families from Calaş reached Granada. They were pioneers that acted as a pull pole for other relatives that were already in Spain as well as France and Romania. A group of more than one hundred Jonesči Roma from Calaş lived in Granada until 2009. At certain points, the high international mobility of related individuals resulted in a population increase in Granada of more than two hundred individuals. After 2009, many families from Calaş progressively began to emigrate to the UK and, in some cases, to Ireland and Germany. NetGR01 is what remains of the Calaş families today in Granada. Interestingly, the elders of NetGR01 were those who first reached Granada in 1997 and who reached the best housing and economical condition in this city.

[8] Conclusions on Countries in Which There is Generally No Serious Risk of Persecution ("London Resolution") (1992).

Numerous families, related through kin and marriage with the Calaş ones, proceeding from cities in Transylvania and Banat, followed similar international of the Calaş groups and became established in many Southern Spanish cities such as Huelva, Seville, Malaga, Jaen and Murcia. Similarly, many are now residing in Italy, UK, Ireland, Belgium and Germany. Consequently, NetGR01 is part of a wider network of families spread over Spain, as well as other European states, and they have high potential for international migrations.

The patrilocal patterns of NetGR01 (i.e. of the Čurara/Korturare) are of considerable consequence to their migration socio-history. Typically, chains of male siblings (brothers and cousins) have served as the links by which migratory family sub-groups have formed. Consequently, strings of brothers generally migrated abroad together from their native locality to the same destinations. In contrast, women left their native families to join those of their husbands and, consequently, followed the migration itineraries of their in-laws. For this reason almost all male members of the NetGR01 were born in Calaş and share similar migratory phases and routes, both through Europe since 1990 and Spain since 1996. In contrast, many of their wives, born in Romanian localities other than Calaş, have heterogeneous migratory histories (in terms of routes and phases) until they got married. For example, one of our informants (24 years old) grew up in Timisoara, lived in Belgium and arrived in Murcia, Spain, around 2001, with her family of origin. She came to Granada five years ago when she married in a Jonesči family. Notably, in the late 1990s she spent several months with her father, brother and part of her uncle's family in Malaysia where, based on her account, they earned a discrete sum of money begging.

Migrations to Malaysia are anecdotal. Yet they are representative of a predisposition towards the exploration of migration opportunities and an employment of informational and social capital in order to migrate, which in many ways is characteristic of Roma we interviewed, particularly those proceeding from Romanian urban contexts.

Virilocality and early marriage contribute to generate important gender differences in international migration experiences. However these differences can result mitigated by marriages between first cousins, which is considered normal

among *NetGr01* (and among Čurara/Korturare Roma in general). Consequently many women proceed from the same Romanian locality as their husbands, or have lived in the same town of destination before getting married. In other cases, separated or widowed women have followed their brothers' families.

Other Čurara/Korturare Roma: From Salaveni, Nazeu and Calaş to Granada

As we stated above, a new migratory flow of Čurara/Korturare families began in 2000 from Salaveni (approximately 2,200 inhabitants) and Nazeu (approximately 1,200 inhabitants) (pseudonyms) to Granada. Salaveni and Nazeu are rural villages 15 km from Calaş. There were only a few kinship links between Čurara/*Korturare* from Salaveni/Nazeu and Calaş. However, the families knew each other from before 1990 since Čurara/Korturare from Salaveni and Nazeu have relatives that live in Calaş. These weak ties between the three Čurara/Korturare groups since 2000 resulted in an flows of families from Salaveni and Nazeu to Granada.

Despite having little prestige among the Calaş Roma, families from Salaveni and Nazeu nonetheless were able to migrate to Granada thanks to certain Calaş family members' initial support. Granada, facilitated by the Almeria – Cluj-Napoca bus line, represented a unique destination of international migration for the Salaveni and Nazeu until around 2010. At this point, certain families began to migrate to Catalonia and the UK. Until recently Nazeu and Salaveni Roma were considerably lacking in international migration experience and were highly dependent upon the *Calaş* families' regional and transnational networks. Thus, their adaptation patterns in Granada were different to those of the Roma from Calaş, in particular, concerning responses to social services support for schooling (Chapter 5) and, in many cases but with considerable exceptions, in relation to housing (see Chapter 4). The history of local authority interventions among parts of the Nazeu Romani population in Granada has been partially explored by Piemontese (2011) and is one of the topics to be collaboratively examined in further depth with the Granada City Council.

Another important difference between the Roma population from Calaş, on the one hand, and the Nazeus and Salavenis, on the other hand, is that whereas over half of the Calaş Roma living in Granada from 1996 until 2000 migrated to the UK in 2011 -

with the exception of the well-adapted NetGR01 - in contrast, a large population (estimated at over 220 people) of Nazeu and Salaveni Roma continued to reside in Granada as of 2013.

NetGR02: Spoitori Roma from Călărași (NetGR02)

The international migration history of Spoitori Roma families from Călărași who are currently living in Granada and Malaga began before 1990 within the context of economic cooperation between Romania and Iraq. Contacted informants provided experiences as workers in transport enterprises and construction in that country. At this phase of research, we are unclear as to how many Roma from Călărași worked abroad during that period. It is likely that they represent only a few cases. Nonetheless, they continually appear in the discourse of young informants and they form part of the migration experience imaginary.

Călărași's location on the Bulgarian border, its large population (around 55,000 inhabitants) and its economic and historical links to the Southern Balkans has meant that, after Romania and Bulgaria's regimes change, Western Europe was not considered a primary destination. NetGR02 members were not an exception to this rule and, therefore, they did not emigrate to Western Europe prior to 2001.

After 1990, they migrated to Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Turkey. The duration of stay in each of those countries varies. Usually, though, migrating families or individuals took care to not overstay the three-month visitor's permit.

In 2001 Italy became the principle destination of much Roma migration from Călărași, even though Germany was also sought after. Staying periods became longer than three months and resulted in the loss of legal conditions of permanence. Central and Southern Italian cities such as Rome, Pescara, Reggio Calabria, Caserta and Avellino became important destinations. However, Naples soon became the main target, such that large Spoitori Roma populations from Călărași still live there today in slum settlements as well as standard house rentals.

Călărași's Spoitori presence in Granada began around 2004. In Granada this population never appears to have exceeded eighty or ninety individuals, and today does not reach even forty. Currently, many families and individuals related to NerGR02

have returned to Italy (Naples, Rome and Sicily) or moved to Malaga, and, in the case of one family, the Canarias Island. At the present, Malaga's Spoitori Roma population is quite larger than in Granada and reaches approximately one hundred individuals. In any case, there was insufficient data at the time of research, and the estimated population of Spoitori Roma in Malaga has yet to be confirmed.

NetLC.01

NetLC.01 families come from the towns of Craiova, Segarcea and Bechet in the Dolj district. They arrived in Spain around 2004, and migrated through rural towns in Andalusia, Castilla La Mancha and Extremadura regions in search of agricultural job opportunities mainly in the underground economy. They currently live in Lucena as of 2006 and are connected with approximately 20 other domestic units in nearby agro-towns of the Cordoba province as well as Ciudad Real and Albacete in the La Mancha region. Our knowledge of the migration history of this network is based on just one of its branch, and it need to be contrasted with other families' histories in further step of the research.

NetLC.02

This group resided in Birmingham for two months in early 2010 following a tip from friends concerning a construction job that did not pan out in the end. After a period of extremely low-paid work in which the mother worked for a Romanian family as a baby sitter, they decided to move to Lucena, where related family groups had resided three years earlier. These related families left Spain before 2013 and therefore, at the present, the family does not have kin networks in Lucena. However, they do have kinship networks in Seville where they often go to take advantage of different job opportunities. Upon their arrival in Spain in 2010, none of the four family members had returned to Romania.

3.2.2 Motives for migrating and push and pull factors

The motives for migrating are highly interconnected and relate to different aspects concerning individual, family and community needs, values and opportunities.

Moreover, the motivational factors for leaving Romania are merely one aspect of a more complex system of motivations pushing people not only to leave but also to stay abroad, move from one country to another, spend shorter or larger periods in Romania or even return there forever. We describe above some of the main typologies of observed motives and needs that interact with migratory movements in different directions between Romania and other European countries.

The culture of emigration

One important aspect that must be taken into account is a generalized 'culture of emigration' that emerged in Romania after the 1989 change of regime. This consists in the contemplation of leaving the country as a possible best option for improving one's living conditions and socio-economical status in Romania and is strongly related to social and information capital available via social networks of individuals, families and communities.

The differences in availability of social and information capital concerning ways of and opportunities for leaving the country resulted in different time frames for emigration, wherein people more connected with urban centers generally emigrated earlier than other families outside of urban areas.

Roma from Calaş, for example, initially emigrated in 1990 to Germany as asylum seekers following, and having received support from, earlier immigrant Romani families from Timisoara, Hunedoara, Arad and Cluj-Napoca to which Roma from Calaş were related by kinship links. This information capital and logistical support pushed them to leave Romania almost ten years earlier than other Čurara/Korturare families from the surrounding rural areas less connected with Roma from urban centers.

As we described above, the emigration of Čurara/Korturare family groups proceeding from Transylvania and Banat regions began with Germany as the main destination country. However, as far back as 1996, the interregional distribution of family groups in Romania had become an international and transnational reality for 'colonies' of families residing in several European cities and it offered individuals the possibility of moving between cities in search of opportunities to improve their families living conditions. This transnational community was maintained and

reproduced by means of heterogeneous usage of communication technologies, which were highly useful in helping people to adapt themselves to conditions of geographical dispersal and shorten the distance between their loved ones or people of reference. Although it might seem obvious, the progressive 'normalization' of a internationally disperse community of reference, and its incorporation into and reproduction through the daily behaviour and culture of migrants, must be taken into account not only as an important source motivating emigration, but also as a condition for encouraging people to postpone the project of returning home.

Among Spoitori Roma from Călărași, in the example of NetGR01, its members migrated to Serbia, Bulgaria and Turkey as an economic-based emigration related both to the underground economy as well as other types of job opportunities. By 2002, Italy had become the primary destination country for Spoitori Roma families from Călărași. Historical and geopolitical explanations concerning why, from 2001 on, Roma from Călărași preferred to migrate to Italy rather than the Southern Balkans requires further exploration in the next phase of research. Suffice to say, they are assuredly related to changes in Bulgarian border controls as well as shifts in Serbian and Turkish job markets.

"There was nothing left to do there": the escape from severe poverty.

The situation of Roma from Calaş in 1990 was clearly related to a dramatic and even historic case of exclusion. All of the family group surrounding NetGR01 (its broader community of families) were living *po plaj*, 'on the hill', a nucleus of houses two kilometres outside of town, where only Roma families lived, in a situation of clear socio-geographical exclusion. Informants in Granada do not present their living conditions before 1989 in a positive light, due to the general lack of infrastructure and services of the town outskirts where they were used to live. However, memories of pre-migration among aged people are sometimes characterized by nostalgic narratives about a minimum welfare guaranteed by the State that was lost after the '*revolucje'*. The regime change resulted in the sudden disappearance of minimum basic resources that the Communist regime had guaranteed. Consequently, the geographic and social

exclusion on *o plaj (*'the hill'*)* metamorphosed into an unsustainable situation of poverty.

Prior to 1990, the vast majority of Roma from Calaş had had low qualified jobs as sweepers for the local council or low-level workers in construction companies as well as agricultural cooperatives. Black markets for the acquisition and sale of animals and other goods have been, for many people, an illegal means of survival that has nonetheless been tolerated by the state. Deflated salaries, mass layoffs and no real perceived opportunities of employment after the 1989 revolution encouraged Roma to embrace the alternative of emigrating to Germany, as had many other related families from other cities.

Improvement of housing conditions in Romania (see also 4.2 and 4.4)

The improvement of housing conditions in Romania is an important element of the migratory projects of the surveyed families, that must be contextualized in a general wish of returning in Romania in improved life conditions. From the initial phases of migration of each of the networks of families, remittances and saved earnings from migrant families have been invested not only in the reformation of owned houses but also towards the purchase of new ones, frequently in new areas of the city, town or village of origin. Moving to new and better neighborhoods in the localities of origin is a common phenomenon among all networks. The improvement of housing conditions is considered a motive for leaving, and is also related to other patterns of internal social organization, such as the tendency to create new autonomous households just after marriage (NetGR02) or preserve an extended viri-patrilocal household. Buying or building a new house, moving to a better neighborhood and home reforms are designed to avert territorial exclusion and low living standards.

The need for remittances to enable the completion of the housing projects that served as the initial motivation for early migrations is greater now than was initially foreseen and, furthermore, income has decreased in the last five years for many families. Consequently, longer-lasting housing projects intervene as a motive for continuing to live abroad for larger periods than was previously planned.

Frequently, family members directly work on their own housing reforms and construction, employing external professionals only for specific and professionalized interventions. In other cases, external workers are contracted. Regardless, families' time frames for staying abroad and going back home, whether for the whole family or only certain members, are defined by time frames guiding reform and construction work. Most people go home for summer to continue to work on their houses, while the rest of the year is for earning money abroad that can be invested in the home improvement projects. Climate conditions are pivotal, since harsh Romanian winters can be an impediment to reform and construction work. Additionally, as we will discuss later, other factors such as the academic calendar for children or a general slowing down of the economy in the case of Southern Spain can motivate the time frames selected for family migration.

Housing conditions in the destination countries

As we mentioned previously, a considerable part of the Spoitori Roma community from Călărași migrated to Italy around 2002. Currently the greater part of those families lives in slum settlements near Napoli. The living conditions in those settlements are characterized by a lack of hygiene and sanitary services. Many relatives of NetGR02 families are living in such '*kampos'* (Romani, from Italian '*campo'*). Consequently, for families in Granada or Malaga, Spain, migrations to and from Italy are also likely since family members may stay with their relatives, whether for shorter or longer periods. One important factor guiding the decision to migrate between Spain and Italy precisely concerns the significant difference in housing conditions between the two countries.

Our informants in Spain have all experienced residence in Italian *'kampos'* at some point in their migratory experience and their perceptions of them are ambivalent. On the one hand, the precariousness of sanitary conditions all over the settlements, the general difficulties of living in shacks without toilets or adequate insulation to protect against the harsh climate conditions, and the prevalence of rats, insects and their associated contagious risks, are motives for not returning to Italy. Quality of life for children is a primary factor that people weigh when reflecting upon

life in the '*barake'*, 'shuck'; parents do not want to expose their children to such harsh conditions.

Similarly, from the point of view of Napoli's settlement inhabitants, migrating to Spain, where relatives live in comfortable and normal houses can be attractive. In fact, between July and December 2013, seven people spent periods ranging from a couple of weeks to several months in Spain, thereby joining two of the households we have been observing throughout the entire period. We had informal conversations as well as formal interviews with the people in these households and they remarked upon the great comfort of their relatives' housing conditions.

On the other hand, camp life offers the considerable advantage of low-cost housing. A weekly payment covering electricity and other elementary settlement services is all inhabitants need afford, and the rest of the monetary income can be saved and transferred via remittances to Romania. In contrast, in Spain all NetGR02 families pay between 300 and 450 Euros to rent apartments plus utility expenses, as well as rental costs for garages or other spaces where daily collections of scrap can be stored, generally ranging between 50 and 100 Euros per month. One informant, reflecting on housing costs in Spain, expressed his frustration when he succinctly stated: "We did not come thus far just to survive!" For him and his family it was not difficult to earn enough money to pay for housing costs in Spain. However, money could not be saved at the end of the month, and it was impossible to continue housing construction work in Romania. In this context, migrating to Italy to live in camps can be considered a rational option that allows families obtain very low housing costs and, hence, save money to be remitted to Romania for housing projects.

Other motives for staying abroad related to housing are found in NetGR01. On the one hand, GR30 and GR29 are examples of families living in their own houses, which were bought under a protected market and through a bank loan with no social aid, respectively. On the other hand, the GR31 family has occupied an abandoned flat for the past two years. They paid an entrance fee to a person who claimed to be the owner but he had lost the property from a failure to pay the monthly loan. One of their declared main motives for continuing to live in the city when a large part of their relatives had gone to the UK or Germany precisely concerned the availability of that

free house. These three households, even under almost opposing conditions, did not migrate from Granada for housing-related reasons.

Access to Health Services

Another decisive factor that motivates people to travel to Western Europe is the quality and accessibility of health care services. In this case, migrants do not evaluate the Spanish health system as better than the Romanian one in terms of professional competency or quality of infrastructure so much as in terms of non-discriminatory access related to social class as well as ethnic distinctions. Although universal access to health services is guaranteed in Romania, advanced corruption ensures that all aspects of the health care process, from making an appointment with a specialist to receiving medicine and adequate treatments, are associated with bribes to make 'things easier and faster'.

Many informants have the perception that Roma are asked more frequently than non- Roma for bribes, and for higher sums than the one asked to *gaže*, in hospitals and, more generally, in the Romanian health care system. Furthermore, in their perceptions, this is because Roma returning to Romania from abroad are generally perceived as richer than Romanians living in Romania.

The capacity to pay bribes, as well as medicine and private services for relatives in Romania, is another important motivating factor for staying abroad and seeking monetary income.

We also found cases in which individuals, after living in Spain and having begun medical treatment in this country (cancer in one case, and cardiac catheterization following a heart attack in another case) moved to Italy and would return periodically for follow-up appointments.

An interesting insight emerging from the research concerns childbirth and the implementation of cesarean sections. It is a common perception among Romani women (particularly in NetGR02), and a documented fact in the case of Spain at least, that both in Spain and Italy the frequency with which Caesarian sections are implemented is considerably higher than in Romania, even when no risk is associated with the birth. This perception and fear about Caesarean sections has motivated

women in certain cases to travel to Romania in the final stage of pregnancy in order to give birth in a Romanian hospital.

Employment and work

Across all of the sample surveys, the search for job opportunities is an important motivating factor for migration. Among NetGR02 the massive loss of employment after 1989 and, later, the progressive reduction of job opportunities in Serbia and Turkey, combined with the reduction of possibilities related to the cross-border underground economy appear to provide a decisive impetus for migrating to Italy and Spain. Not only the lack of jobs in Romania but also the often higher salaries in Spain for the same type of job serve as motivational factors concerning whether to migrate.

One of the main reasons Romanian migrants began to move to Spain and Italy beginning in 1995 regards the high proportion of informal employment that has historically characterized both countries. Jobs workers in the agricultural sector have attracted many of our sample Romani families to rural areas in Spain.

Individuals with formal employment are also motivated not to emigrate, in order to not lose their job. Although, as in the case of an informant who has a permanent job in a restaurant, individuals with good work conditions foresee returning to Romania and investing their earnings in self-employment activities as part of their mid- to long- term migration projects.

Internal community dynamics as push-pull and motivational factors for migration

As we observed, the social organization of migration in all of the surveyed networks is deeply determined by kinship links. Consequently, family and interfamily relations and dynamics not only offer critical support to emigrating individuals, but they also represent push-pull reasons for doing so.

Marriage is one of the main motivational factors driving interregional as well as international movements. For example, the patrilocal patterns of NetGR01 Roma (i.e. the Čurara/Korturare of Cluj Napoca province) have had certain key consequences in

the socio-history of migration and on gender-based differences in migratory experiences. Chains of male siblings (brothers and cousins) represent the most common means of articulating migratory sub-groups of families. Consequently, chains of brothers generally have migrated together from their native locality to a shared destination abroad. In contrast, women leave their native families to join their husband's, which often means they migrate to where their in-laws live in other Spanish localities but also elsewhere in Europe.

For this reason, almost all male members of NetGR01 born in Calaş share similar migratory phases and routes through Europe since 1990 and Spain since 1996. For their part, numerous NetGr01women were born in Romanian localities other than Calaş and have heterogeneous migratory histories until the point at which they married into NetGR01 families. Comparatively, since 2000, the greater part of young women who migrated to Granada with their native families left the city when they reached a marriageable age and today are living in other Spanish cities (Seville, Murcia or Malaga) or other countries (United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, France or Romania).

These gendered differences are sometimes mitigated by the fact that marriage between first degree cousins is well accepted among *NetGr01* (and among all Čurara/Korturare Roma) and, consequently, many women proceed from the same Romanian locality as their husbands, or were living in the same town of destination before getting married. In other cases, separated or widowed women have followed their brothers' destination

This phenomenon also is increasing progressively among the Čurara/Korturare family groups proceeding from Salaveni and Nazeu. In the past three years, the Salavenis and Nazeus have also begun to migrate to United Kingdom and, consequently, expand their international diaspora of kinship groups.

The different ideologies concerning marriage, residence and family structures found in the network are reflected also through international movement. For example, whereas viripatrilocality is considered an important matrimonial move for recent married couples among NetGR01 and other Korturare/Čurara families, among NetGR02 (Spoitori Roma) there is stronger ideological pressure towards autonomy for new marriages.

Among Spoitori *NetGR02*, as soon as a couple is able to achieve a minimum of economic independence, the native families of both sides endeavor to fund a new separate household for the couple. In the case of NetGr01 (Čurara/Korturare), a couple's detachment from the patrilocal household usually takes more time.

Different values are associated with this phenomenon. Among Čurara/Korturare Roma uxorilocality is often shunned and the contribution of the daughter-in-law to the husband's native household are viewed as his parents' right as well as the duty of the new couple. Among Spoitori Roma the new couple is encouraged to invest in the foundation of a new household.

To sum up, firstly, young nuclear families among Spoitori Roma make decisions about where, when and with whom to migrate with less pressure from their native families than the Čurara/Korturare; secondly, cohabitation of young couples and parents in the same house responds more often to economical constraints among *NetGr02* (Spoitori from Călărași), whereas in the case of *NetGr01* (Čurara/Korturare from Transylvania) patrivirilocality as an ideology is explicitly mentioned. These decision-making processes and motivational factors are critical to the formation of general migration projects and will receive more in-depth attention at further phases of the research.

Finally, the community life cycle of celebrations and associated renewals of socio-symbolic relations are also critical to international movement. Spoitori Roma from Călărași, for example, do not celebrate weddings abroad and wait until summer when they all gather in Călărași. This phenomenon is deeply related to a complex system of god-parenthood and associated symbolic and monetary matrimonial transactions that we are still researching. Čurara/Korturare Roma, in contrast, celebrate weddings whenever and wherever and people travel across Europe (when economic resources permit them to) to join in celebration to which they are invited.

3.2.3 Current perceived need and aspirations

The needs and aspirations future migrants vary by age. In Granada, where Romanian Roma*ni* communities have settled for over a decade, a second generation is

growing up and socializing within the Spanish social context. For instance, many people under 20 years old speak Spanish as a second language. This stands in for Romanian, over which they have less control. Moreover, the younger individuals are, the more they tend to be bilingual in Spanish and Romani and ignore the Romanian language. Many preadolescents have never been to Romania. The schooling process is central to this socialization, and languages skills can be considered as an indicator of a wider process of adaptation. Spanish friends, for example, are increasingly common in the social networks of individuals of newer generations. Its members clearly identify themselves with the local Spanish context where they have grown up and, in this sense, they are deeply different from those individuals that, today, are older than 25 years and settled in Granada when they were approximately 15 years old. For the latter group, Romanian places of origin still have great symbolic importance, increasingly so the older they are. Housing projects, associated with monetary remittances, are an indicator of this. Even dreams of self-employment ventures in Romania are common among people older than 25 years as well as, interestingly enough, among individuals that have had empowering economic experiences due to employment success in Spain. In any case, the perspective of definitive returns seems unreal, and is sometimes perceived this way by informants as well, due to the absence of perceived possibilities in terms of employment and self-employment in Romania. At this precise historical moment, when begging is not profitable and scrap collecting and recycling activities do not offer decent incomes, as we will see below, emigration to other countries becomes a viable option, as demonstrated by emigration from Granada to the UK, Ireland and Germany by many Čurara/Korturare families or by returning to Italy of Spoitori.

3.3 Occupation, work and economic strategies

Roma are usually low-skilled labor workers. They tend to have few qualifications and skills that could serve them in the Spanish job market. On the other hand, the Spanish job market has deteriorated terribly in the last five years, particularly concerning low skilled workers. This affects the Roma opportunities for work.

3.3.1 In Romania before 1990

3.3.2 Economic strategies in different migration phases

Net GR01

As we described in the last chapter, many members of Net GR01 migrated from Calaş to Germany, just after the 1989 regime change, then later to France, Belgium and Holland, eventually reaching Spain in 1996. Others migrated directly to Spain from Nazeu and Salaveni. Families proceeding from these three localities form the studied Čurara/Korturare communities. Throughout the period before reaching Spain, their economic strategy had been based, on sporadic work in construction, in seasonal harvests but also on begging.

Net GR02

The traditional economy of Spoitori Roma appears to be itinerant services of cleaning metal pots. Individuals who are now about 50 years old remember their parents working in such activities. The production of bricks was also a common activity for many families until the 1990s, but members of the NetGR02 were also employed as industrial workers, team chiefs, truck drivers and, especially in the case of women, in the agricultural sector, for the seasonal harvest or industrial food production. After 1989 company closures and mass layoffs forced individuals to search for opportunities outside of Romania. Seasonal agricultural work, domestic ranching, itinerant buying and selling in the rural areas have been common forms of employment, especially for women. For a time, NetGR02 males had short-term jobs in the construction sector in

Serbia. However, between 1990 and 1997 the informal market for Bulgaria and Romania became one of the most important sources of income for them and the Romani population of Călărași more generally. Tobacco, clothing, liquor, medicine and other goods were bought in Bulgaria and sold in Romania. Informal market routes reached Turkey as well, although Turkey also provided certain types of employment and, above all, a niche in the recycled materials market.

Migration to Greece in early 2000 appears to be related to begging and resulted in shifts in the social organization of migration. Short-time migrations to Bulgaria, Serbia or Turkey were made by large by men, who used to stay abroad for periods of up to three months (in conformance with the duration of visa and tourist permits). In contrast, migrations to Greece were made by entire families (parents and children), which resulted in many school dropouts. Begging was also a common activity for NetGr02 members in Italy. In Spain, prior to 2007, NetGr02 males took jobs in seasonal agricultural work and construction, and females in domestic service. In sum, NetGr02 members have never fully been included in the formal job market; thus, informal strategies for obtaining monetary resources have included the sale of cigarette lighters in the street or from bar to bar and the sale of balloons in city squares with disguises.

3.3.3 Present occupation and strategies

Net Gr01

Income from begging has decreased progressively since 2006. What used to amount to over 30 Euros per day from begging has decreased to about 10 Euros today. Nevertheless, many elderly women still conserve the church door spot they occupied years ago, and the city map for begging has not changed.

Informal parking lots are increasingly occupied by new buildings, public parks, and so forth, or are regulated such that informal valets have become obsolete. Moreover, in the past three years, begging at car lots or acting as an unsolicited valet along the sidewalk has been declared illegal and local authorities have begun to penalize them. The informal scrap market has become one of the most common

sources of income adopted by men, who use vans or hand carts to collect metal from around the city. We still do not know how many people are involved in this activity among the Čurara/Korturare communities.

Examples of successful or improved employment careers also exist. One informant, 31 years old, works at an important restaurant in the city. After several years of begging, in 2006 he began to work as a dishwasher at the restaurant for a salary of 650 Euros per month. He progressively gained experience and skills in the kitchen and eventually was promoted to chef. At present, he receives a monthly salary of approximately 1500 Euros.

Net GR02

Today the recycling sector is, undoubtedly, the most important source of income for the Spoitori Roma we met in Granada and Malaga. Generally speaking, metal scrap collection is one of the main activities carried out by Roma today. However, NetGr02 reveals levels of intra- and inter- familial cooperation and exploitation of this sector that are not present among other Roma. Waste collection is not limited to metals, but also other objects or materials that can be reinserted in the market such as clothing, decorative objects and electric and electronic devices. Metals are sold to official recycling centers, whereas other goods are sold in weekly local street markets throughout the provinces of Malaga and Granada. Collection tends to be a male responsibility, but women also participate when they do not have other chores (i.e., childcare, cleaning jobs, etc.). Manual carts are used for collection in neighborhood areas, and vans are used for collection throughout the rest of the city as well as the province. Collected materials are stored in rented garages. In Malaga, ten families collectively rent a large garage for 350 Euros per month. Individual garages generally cost between 50 and 100 Euros per month. Families also cooperate to obtain permits for selling wares and occupying stalls in the street market, thereby ensuring the maintenance of a space that can be shared among families if necessary. Increased competition in scrap collection, a decrease in those same scraps due to the economic crisis and repressive policies by local councils towards scrap collectors are the main

threats to this economy that have allowed many families to maintain a decent life standard up until now.

Net LC01

The main economic source for LC01 Roma has been in the agricultural sector. LC01 Roma move about central and southern Spain according to the harvest calendar: vegetables in autumn and olives in winter and mostly fruit from October to May on the eastern coast. One of the main problems related to agricultural employment found among our informants is their exclusion from agricultural benefits, i.e. public aid for temporary rural employees to cover periods of inactivity. One reason for this exclusion relates to administrative requirements they cannot meet. They lack information about rights and duties related to employment contracts because they have not worked with formal contracts previously. Another reason is because employees often do not pay for their social benefits. Seasonal harvest work represents an employment niche for a broad sector of the migrant population in Spain, especially Eastern Europeans and North Africans. There has been a general refusal on behalf of the Spanish work force to do essentially hard manual work that is not well remunerated. However, that trend has shifted in the context of the current economic crisis. Today our informants have to cope with an influx of agricultural workers trying to reinsert themselves in this sector. These workers represent a significant source of competition, including among them many *Gitano* families residing in rural contexts. Consequently, Romanian Roma have begun to work more in the metal recycling market.

3.4 Housing

3.4.1 Present housing conditions. House, neighboorhood and locality

The urban dispersal of Romani families in Granada responds, and has responded in the past, to the price of and access to rented houses, but also to the availability of other forms of accommodation, including abandoned or semi-abandoned structures or, in some cases, slums. Housing for the Romani families surveyed vary from owned apartments to slums conditions, with few cases of illegal squatting situations.

Limitations to accessible housing upon arrival to Granada have lead Romani to elicit the interfamilial assistance and draw upon the potential for cooperation and mutual aid offered by inter-familial networks. Consequently, families proceeding from the same Romanian localities often exploit the same resources (whether concerning access to social housing or the informal or illegal occupation of semi-abandoned buildings) and reside in the same neighboorhoods or even the same street.

Romania's inclusion in the EU in 2007 was an important turning point in relation to the housing trajectories of Romanian Roma families. As EU nationals, they have access to social aid, among others, in the form of local public housing programs. Such programs, which often include schooling requisites for children, have influenced the current distribution of the Romani population in Granada.

Between 1997 and 2007 the housing history of a considerable amount of *Korturare/Čurara* families has been characterized appreciably by urban mobility, resulting from difficulties paying monthly rents and subsequent evictions, as well as squatting evictions ordered by local authorities. Until 2007, repressive interventions aimed to evictions were not accompanied by inclusive short-mid term measures. The rise in residential mobility has had negative repercussions such as lower school attendance for children.

Since 2007, and as consequence of certain cases of large groups of families squatting in public buildings, the City Council began to provide social and economic support in housing and educational inclusion. Such initiatives were made possible by Romanian migrants' recent achievement of EU national status. In his research

concerning Romanian Roma in Granada, Piemontese (2012) describes how the success of these measure depends on the capacity of social services to flexibly implement the social support resources at their disposal on a case by case basis. Piemontese's analysis focuses on public intervention in relation to families proceeding from Nazeu, and is based on interviews with social workers and Romani families. A complete historical panorama of housing policies towards the Romani community in Granada and its consequences for the historical housing patterns of these families is needed and will be explored in future phases of research.

In 2013, an overwhelming majority of Romani families residing in Granada lived in mainly three neighborhoods in the surrounding areas of the city center that are generally well-connected and have an array of services and infrastructures.

The District 1 is made up of several areas characterized by specific typologies of houses: high rise buildings (of up to nine floors) constructed in the 1960s, three- or four- floor buildings from the 1970s, old townhouses and other types of apartment buildings. The District 1 has been targeted for many social housing programs and a large population of Spanish *Gitano* families moved there from other neighborhoods. It is generally perceived and has been stigmatized as an entire marginalized and criminal area, even through real living conditions and welfare levels are not homogeneously distributed throughout the zone. In other words, this district contains enclaves of inhabitants that vary from severely poor to middle class. Public service infrastructure for this area covers education, health, employment opportunities and vocational training, utility services including water, electricity, gas and telephone, and generally meets normal standards even for Romanian Romani households that live there. The surveyed families actually living in the North area generally claim to appreciate the neighborhood. Additionally, the housing market in the Northern District offers certain advantages and in some ways more accessibility to housing. For example, *Gitano* landlords in particular do not usually require written guarantees, such as work contracts or pay slips, to rent out houses. Low prices and spacious housing allow large households to rent houses, and even sublet them, at a considerably lower cost per person. In relation to subletting, it is interesting how Čurara/Korturare clearly distinguish between sharing houses with other Čurara/Korturare families and having

"*kjiriaša'",* meaning families or individuals that sublet one or two rooms of their house. In all of the observed cases involving *'kjiriaša'*, the families that subletted rooms were not members of the Čurara/Korturare kin, often also proceeding from Calaş or nearby localities that the leasers already had known prior to migration. This kind of subletting was observed to be quite common until 2007. However, during the Migrom Pilot campaign no case was observed, basically due to emigrations to other countries of potential Romanian lessees.

The District 2 and 3 are also neighborhoods established in the 1950s. However, their social history and current image are different from the District 1. Both neighborhoods provide very decent services and living standards and are not marked by negative prejudices from local society. Due to the high quality services and general standards offered to their inhabitants, a gradual process of gentrification can be observed in these areas, especially in the District 3. A large proportion of Čurara families from Salaveni have lived in the District 2 since 2007, at which time they received social aid in the form of monetary rental housing assistance from the City Council as a means of and in relation to encouraging schooling for children. Both families from Salaveni and Nazeu (*Korturare/Čurara)* are residing in the District 2, as well as all of the Roma Spoitori families from Călărași. We know little about Čurara/Korturare housing conditions in Granada, in both district 2 and 3 as well as in slum dwellings of the District 1. The history of Roma urban mobility and their relationship to public interventions by the City Council will be one of the objectives of further research.

All NetGR02 families from Călărași live in rented apartments in high-rise buildings in the District 3 neighborhood of Granada. As we mentioned previously, part of this network also lives in the western part of central Malaga. Both areas have good services and infrastructures and low rental prices in comparison to other areas of both cities. All families of this network rent garages as well that they use to store for scrap, cloths and other mostly bulky objects that can be sold in local markets or at metal recycling centers.

3.4.2 Housing plans, investments and expectations

Without exception among our sample population, propertied housing in Romania is one of the primary reasons for migration. It is consistently factored into family decision-making processes and has influenced particular migratory trajectories. This does not mean that all migrating families end up being able to afford a plot of land for building a house, or an apartment to reform and improve. Nonetheless, much effort has been expended on the part of young and not-so-young generations in this direction. Furthermore, the inability to achieve this goal has been interpreted by individuals, as well as their communities of reference, as an important and frustrating failure. The dream of a '*khər ne Romənie*', 'a house in Romania' is common and is one of the central axes of migration projects (see Chapter 2).

3.5 Education

Migration histories are highly influential in the education of the members of the studied networks. For instance, certain age groups appear to have improved their skills, including linguistic abilities in several languages. Some groups however, seem to have less skills than both their parents and their children. They are the transmigrants for migration represents a disadvantage.

Among Čurara/Korturare families who started migrating in 1990 (see Chapter 2), for example, illegal migrant status caused them to suffer until 2007. These circumstances forced them into a state of continual mobility from settlement to settlement and state to state. This has meant that around half a generation of people born between approximately 1980 and 1995 were unable to attend school in a single location and, in some cases, in a single language for periods of over three or four years. This phenomenon also occurred among Spoitori Roma from Călărași after 2001, when the social organization of migration changed from single male migration to Bulgaria, Serbia or Turkey to the migration of an entire family to Greece, Italy or Spain. In these cases, several youngsters who had attended school previously dropped out in order to leave Romania with their parents. Individuals born during this period now have only basic, or in some cases no, reading and writing abilities, and they frequently switch between Romanian and Spanish. Those who have more reading and writing

skills do not have school certificates that can be used in the employment market. In many cases, this generation has less academic abilities than their parents. Nevertheless, we found a few exceptions in which individuals had obtained the compulsory school certificate in Spain as well as Romania.

School attendance has increased notably for the younger generations. In the observed family networks there is a general willingness towards schooling for children. Relationships between families and local authorities concerning children and schooling have been conflicting in the past, especially when frequent social services interventions have meant the withdrawal of children from their families and into public custody. However, cooperation between families and local social services seem to have improved lately, in part due to improved housing conditions and lower housing-related mobility for families.

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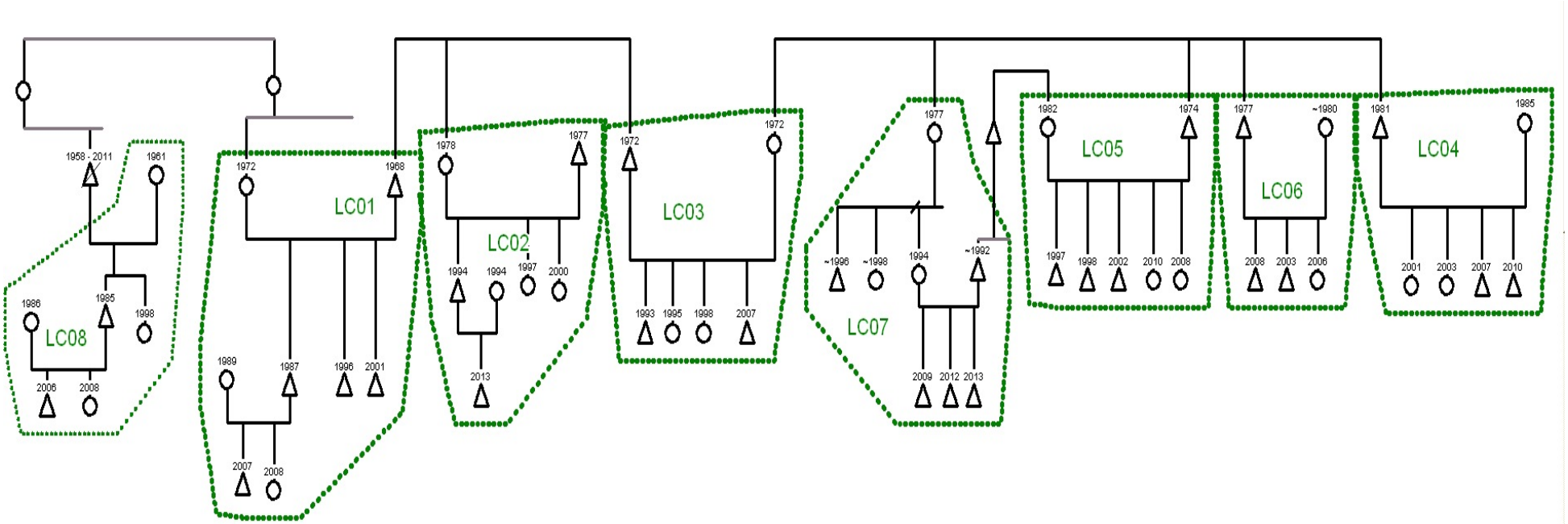
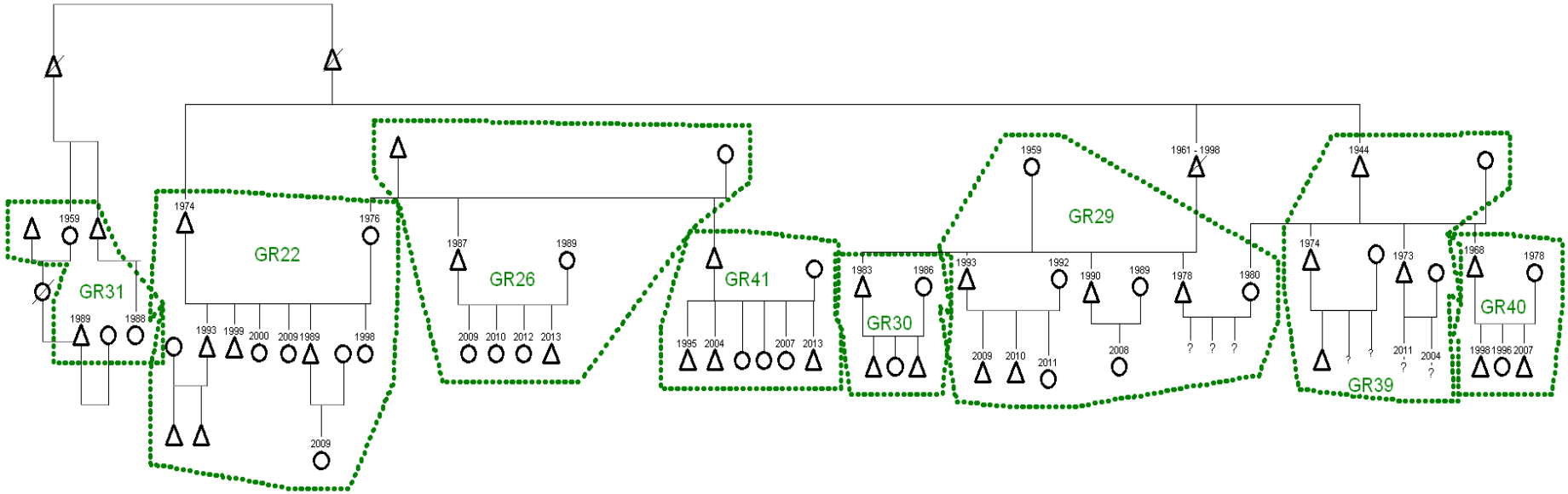
Appendix 1

Graphic 1: **NetLC01, in Lucena town, Córdoba.**



Graphic 2: NetGR01, in Granada.



Graphic 3 **NetGR02, in Granada and Malaga.**