The immigration of Romanian Roma to Western Europe:

Causes, effects, and future engagement strategies (MigRom)

EXTENDED SURVEY REPORT

(Second draft)

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1. Methodology

1.1. Communities surveyed

1.1.1. Communities or networks?

The use of "communities" or settlements as units of analysis does not seem adequate to our case for theoretical, methodological and practical reasons. We have used kin networks defined by the subjects themselves instead. 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 and dynamic social entities such as "families", "domestic units", lineages or ethnic enclaves. Members of these networks live in constant transnational interaction with significant others, mostly close relatives, in other regions and countries of Europe. In their daily lives, most Roma 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.

According to the perspective of the social actor or the social observer, the Romanian Roma who live in a town or a region and are linked among themselves by ties of kinship, or common language, territorial origin or cultural background can be seen as networks of networks, more or less bounded groups or communities. The form of conceptualizing and even "counting" in or out the different members depends on the perspective and purpose of the account. We have decided to use family networks as the main form of constructing our research sample because it is a form that better represents how actors themselves experience and communicate the relations that link each other. These networks are part of social fields or networks of networks that are usually part of larger linguistic, cultural and geographic communities.

The assistance of pre-existing ethnic communities and networks can be crucial in the process of migration. This is especially important concerning manual labor migrants with low human capital in international labor markets. Portes and Rumbaut (1999) express this 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).

Transnational networks of consanguineous and affinal kin are a key resource in the Roma migration. Due to the wide usage of digital technology, today information and influence circulate among nodes of these networks almost instantly. The constant communication generates a shared knowledge about events and history of the families and of related people.

1.2.1 Target Population: Sampling and methods of data collection

The network approach provided a method for obtaining an open and varied sample of households. For this Extended Survey we have developed a sample of groups that seeks to represent the varied forms of Roma migration to Spain and offer a sort of microcosm of the reality of these people in the country. We have included groups from different Romanian regions, diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds as well as adaptation to different types of local environments - rural-urban and peripheral-suburban - and groups who engaged in a variety of trades, occupations and income-generating activities. In their adaptation to local opportunities these peoples have made homes using the available housing of cities, towns and slums (in some cases creating informal settlements), following different grades of territorial dispersion. In some cases, they are ethnically visible and recognized as *'Gitanos rumanos'* ('Romanian *Gitanos'*) by the surrounding local society, and they seem to stress some of their ethnic traits. Other groups in our sample, however, prefer to maintain a 'low' profile and just be seen as *"rumanos"* ('Romanians'), in this way avoiding potential discrimination.

This report is based on the analysis of basic data on these seven family networks including 543 persons (see Table 1). It should be considered as a form of intentional sample, as we decided which areas to begin our study based on practical reasons. But once the local families were connected, we proceeded to look for all members of the family networks living in the study area using both genealogical research and chain referral methods.

The chosen family networks have representatives in localities we can easily access in the provinces of Granada, Malaga, Seville and Cordoba. Although we interviewed and observed Roma individuals and families in other regions (Madrid, Murcia, Canary Islands and Basque Country), we could not collect comparable data of those networks finally included in this Survey.

All these networks are part of "transnational social fields" (Molina, Petermann, & Herz, 2012) or networks of networks which include people who live today in many European countries, in some cases resembling a diaspora. For example, in the sample, we found children born in at least 8 countries: Romania, Spain, Italy, France, Germany, UK, Argentina and Ireland. Some of them have also lived in Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Sweden and Poland, and even in American and Asian countries. Some of the sample's individuals have had very cosmopolitan experiences. Others have lived only in Romania and Spain. Adults originally come from many different Romanian counties (*județi*) such as Alba, Bistrița-Năsăud, Braşov, Bucharest, Călărași, Cluj-Napoca, Constanţa, Dolj, Hunedoara, Ialomița, Timiş and so forth. At the time of this report changes had occurred in this population, including a dozen births, ruptures in certain households and some new arrivals from Romania and movements to other countries. We will consider all changes during the Follow-Up Survey. All the people in the sample are of Romanian nationality; all of them would identify themselves as Roma (or in certain cases as *ţigani de vatra* or *laieşi*) and all but members of one network speak a Romani dialect as their native language.

We have used a combination of methods informed by ethnographic fieldwork that include formal interviews using ad-hoc thematic questionnaires and taped informal conversations with single individuals or small groups. We have also done archival research of documents provided by subjects themselves, always under a commitment to confidentiality, meaning immediate codification in order to insure the anonymity of all information.

Some interviews now consist of over 40 hours of taped conversations in a combination of languages, mostly Spanish and Romani. We have tried to understand and collect spontaneous discourse in Romani language in an effort to uncover the common-sense constructs of the subjects of study as they were expressed on their

own terms. We hope to provide the results of this more qualitative data in further reports.

The Fieldwork Guide accepted by the Consortium in September 2013 has been used as the main guide for defining themes, variables and questions. From this Guide we defined a list of 50 basic variables to guide our Extended Survey.

The first goal was to choose and contact a sample of networks, households and individuals that could be both feasible to the survey and representative or illustrative of the larger reality of Romanian Roma living in Spain. Secondly, we tried to establish reliable and valid data on a basic list of variables, including socio-demographic data on all household members, kinship relationships, educational, labor and migration history, health problems and access to health care. We developed various short ad-hoc questionnaires and forms concerning concrete parts of the survey, such as family composition, dates of birth, relations with places and communities of origin or education achievements. Often it was difficult even to obtain reliable information from a basic list of variables, due to our difficulties in communicating to informants about why we might be interested in these sorts of questions. It was crucial, as ethno-methodologists established long ago, to grasp the meanings the actors themselves assigned to these questions, regardless of the form in which they were presented to them (Cicourel, 1964, p. 61; Molina et al., 2012). These instruments will be made available in the MigRom webpage.

Table 1: Seven family networks included in the Extended Survey. Cultural and social features

	Cultural group (Self-adscription)	***Place of Origin (Judet)***	***Region Romania***	***Language Dialect***	***Households (N)***	***Persons (N)***	***Areas of residence in Spain***
NET01	*1. Čurara Roma*	*H., Bistrița (Cluj, Bistrița)*	*Transylvania Banat*	*Korturare Romani (Matras 2013)*	*11*	*84*	*Granada, Seville, Malaga and Murcia*
NET02	*2. Spoitori Roma*	*Călărași*	*Muntenia*	*Spoitoresc* Romani	*6*	*58*	*Granada, Malaga,*
NET03	*3. Čurara Roma*	*C.(Cluj)*	*Transylvania*	*Korturare* Romani (Matras 2013)	*28*	*148*	*Granada*
NET04	*4. Ursari*	*Segarcea, Craiova (Dolj)*	*Oltenia*	*Ursari* Romani	*9*	*68*	*Córdoba*
NET05	*5. Lajeshi*	*Slobozia*	*Ialomița*	*Romanian*	*2*	*8*	*Córdoba, Seville*
NET06	*6. Kangliari*	*Tanderei, Fetesti (Ialomița)*	*Muntenia-Dobrogea*	*Romani*	*9*	*95*	*Madrid, Seville, Barcelona*
NET07	*7. Čurara*	*S.(Cluj)*	*Transylvania*	*Korturare* Romani (Matras, 2013)	*16*	*82*	*Granada*
Total					*81*	*543*	

1.1. Basic socio-demographic data

As mentioned, our survey is based on a sample of 543 individuals. They lived in 81 households in the early months of 2014[1]. In 518 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 will refer to these 518 individuals.

1.2.2 Age and sex distribution (518 people)

There are 50.6% males and 49.4% females in this extended sample. If this were an adequate representation of the population of Roma immigrants at large, this would be a normal or equilibrated sex ratio for a very young population. Moreover, this sex distribution might 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 represents a whole population that has established itself in the new country and maintains a particular 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 2013.

The sample seems to be part of a very young population. The median age is 16 years (15.5 years for males; 16 years for females) and the average age is 18.9 years (18.9 for males; 19.1 for females). Consider for instance that by 2013 the Spanish population had an estimated median age of 41.3 years[2] (40 years for males and 42.6 years for females).

In Table 2 we present a summary of the age and sex distribution of this Extended Sample. In Chart 1 we present the corresponding age pyramid of this

[1] In the first half of 2014 we discovered 11 new births among this population. These children were not included in this survey; we will analyze natality in 2014 in the Follow-Up Survey in 2015.

[2] The median age is the age that divides a population in two numerically equal groups. Half the people in the population are younger than this age and half are older. This index summarizes the age distribution of a population (taken from CIA World Factbook, http://www.indexmundi.com/spain/median_age.html).

population. 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, young people predominate: more than half of the people in the sample (58%) are less than 20 years of age, and 46.5% are less than 15 years of age, compared with 14.4% of the Spanish population at large. Second, children of school age (3 to 16 years old) account for 41 per cent of the sample. If these results were to be extrapolated to the immigrant Romanian Roma 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. There is only one person over 70, a 72 year-old man. There are only 19 people that are 50 years or more, that is, 3.7% of the whole group of households. This is probably due to a combination of historical processes working together such as: a high mortality regime that only began to change in recent decades, 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 produce a relatively low life expectancy rate as compared to their fellow citizens in Romania. Most likely we are contemplating the youngest European population.

We have checked the presence of elders from these same families both in Romania and in other European countries and our tentative conclusion is that their number is limited everywhere. If this were true it would be a consequence of a lower life expectancy among Romanian Roma. However, further research is needed on this point.

Table 2: Age and sex distribution of the sample of Romanian Roma immigrants studied in the Extended Survey (N: 518)

Age Period	*Women*	*Men*	*Total*	*Women*	*Men*	*Total*	*Cum%*
0 to 4 years	42	50	92	8.1	9.7	17.8	17.8
5 to 9 years	41	43	84	7.9	8.3	16.2	34
10 to 14 years	32	33	65	6.2	6.4	12.5	46.5
15 to 19 years	34	23	57	6.6	4.4	11	57.5
20 to 24 years	25	29	54	4.8	5,6	10.4	68
25 to 29 years	21	20	41	4.1	3.9	7.9	75,9
30 to 34 years	24	18	42	4.6	3.5	8.1	84
35 to 39 years	16	20	36	3.1	3.9	6.9	90.9
40 to 44 years	7	8	15	1.4	1.5	2.9	93.8
45 to 49 years	5	8	13	1	1.5	2.5	96.3
50 to 54 years	4	4	8	0.8	0.8	1.5	97.9
55 to 59 years	2	2	4	0.4	0.4	0.8	98.6
60 to 64 years	2	1	3	0.4	0.2	0.6	99.2
65 to 69 years	2	1	3	0.4	0.2	0.6	99.8
70 to 74 years	0	1	1	0	0.2	0.2	100
Total	**257**	**261**	**518**	**49.6**	**50.4**	**100**	

All these aspects of the surveyed population can be noticed in the age pyramid that is presented in Chart 1. Worthy of mention is the importance of the lower levels of the age structure of this population that were subjected to processes of high fertility and high mortality until recently.

However, some elements of the pyramid require explanation, such as the peculiar "break" in the male cohort of 15 to 19 years of age, in which there are more girls than boys. This may be a product of the small sample studied, wherein there was a temporary abundance of daughters. On the other hand, an "excess" of women also might be attributed to the process of incorporation of young wives into their husbands' homes. In fact, of the 34 women in the 15 to 19 years old cohort, 14 were married women living with their husbands and/or in-laws. Is that number larger than that of the daughters of these families that also married and left for the home of their husbands? Why? We do not have answers to these questions yet, but the main point here is that the demographic characteristics of Roma populations must be related to their marriage and domestic arrangements, and possibly pose specific demands of public policies and programs.

Chart 1: Age pyramid of the population studied in the Extended Survey. Seven family networks of Romanian Roma in Spain (N: 518)

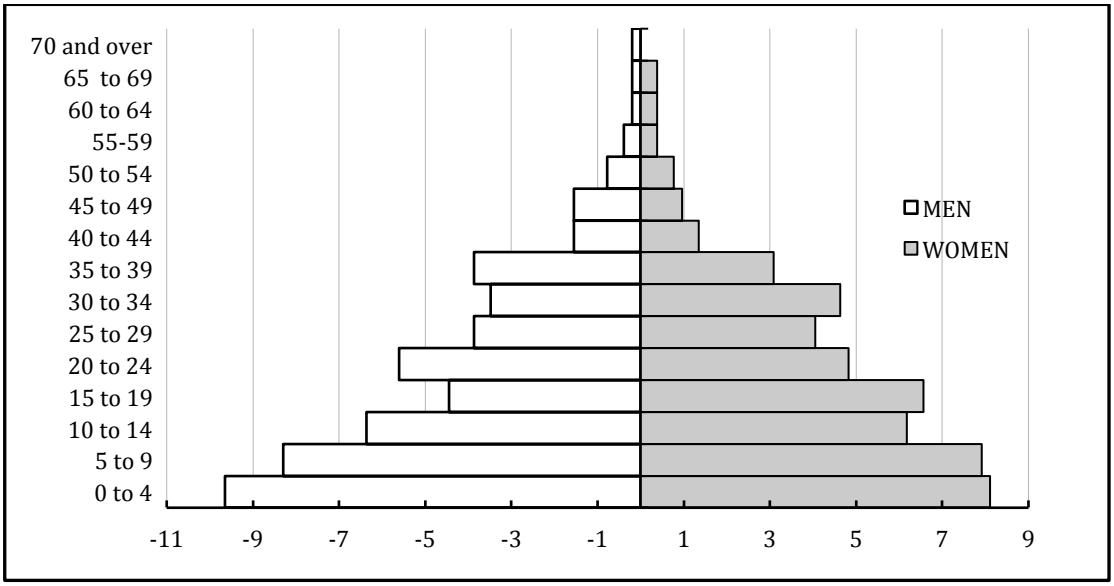


Table 3: Mean and median age of members of each network (N: 518)

	N	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Median*	*Max*	*Q1*	*Q3*
NET01	84	20.0	16.3	18	71	6	27
NET02	58	22.7	15,1	24	53	8	32
NET03	133	17.4	12.6	14	59	7	30
NET04	68	18.0	13.1	15,5	52	6.5	27.5
NET05	8	32.5	13.9	32.5	49	24	44.5
NET06	95	16.6	14.9	13	66	5	24
NET07	72	19.7	16.2	14	63	6.5	33
Total	*518*	*18.9*	*14.7*	*16*	*71*	*6*	*29*

Almost all household networks have a very young population, meaning a large proportion of minors and few elders. The average median age ranges from 14 to 24 years of age, except for Net05, which is an exception in relation to most parameters in that it is formed by only two households living in a medium-sized town by adults with few children.

1.2.3 Natality

We have estimated the birth rates of this sample for the last four years, that is, between 2010 and 2013. The results appear in Table 4 and must be considered approximate, as we could not accurately establish the amount of loss due to mortality

or migration. We assumed that the target population had a mortality rate of about 10 per thousand, and migration gains and losses did not affect its total size, which, in fact, is unlikely. With these provisos, the resulting estimation of the crude birth rate is 34.2 births per thousand for the 4-year period considered. The range of natality was within the range of 30 to 40 per thousand during the whole period under consideration. Those oscillations are normal in such a small sample.

Table 4: Estimated Crude Birth Rates (CBR) in the sample of Romanian Roma immigrants studied during the 2010-2013 period (N: 518)

Year	*Births (N)*	*Deaths (Estimated) (N)*	*Population (Estimated)*	*Crude Birth Rate*	*CBR (3-year moving average)*
2013	16	5	532	30.1	33.5
2012	21	5	516	40.7	35,6
2011	15	5	506	29.6	37.5
2010	18	5	493	36.5	40.5
2010-2013	17.5		512	34.2	

CBR (3-year moving averages): the years 2008 and 2009 were also considered for these calculations. If these results were applied to the target population at large, we would expect crude birth rates for the different Roma groups in Spain in the range of 30 to 40 per thousand. The total average would be around 35 per thousand. Notwithstanding the limitations of the data, this is a very high natality rate for Europe today. It is about three times the birth rate in both Spain and Romania.

Hence Roma migration has a reproductive character and includes reproductive strategies that need to be taken into consideration in research and policy. Birth rates and young children are major factors to be considered in relation to this population and contribute to its needs, expectations and limitations.

Each year, approximately 18 to 20 children are born to these families. One in four households have a newborn child every year. This means that most families have babies to care for almost continuously. This requires a considerable amount of work and attention, which is mostly a female task. Therefore, if co-resident women helped mothers to raise babies, the mothers would benefit from larger households and the

presence of relatives nearby. This, in turn, might diminish the cost of having children and encourage fertility, a hypothesis sustained by Bereczkei (1998) but these ideas need to be explored in relation to different household arrangements and situated within the larger field of normative obligations and tasks of married women during fertile years.

1.2.4 Age dependency ratios

If we attend to the age dependency ratios[3], a set of indexes used to measure the relationship between those who cannot be in the labor force (the dependent part), and those who could work (the productive part), there is a striking contrast between the Roma population and the majority populations among whom they live[4].

Thus, in this sample, the total age dependency ratio is 89.7%. This means that there are approximately 90 children and elders for every 100 people of "working age". In other terms, people who necessarily depend on the work of others amount to about half of the population.

In comparison, the whole population of Romania and Spain has much smaller dependency ratios: 43% in the case of Romania and 50% in the case of Spain (World Factbook 2014). In theory, each productive person sustains a smaller portion of dependents.

Moreover, the composition of the dependent population in each case is completely different. As can be seen in Table 5, the Elderly Dependency Ratio (number of people aged 65 and over as a percentage of the population aged 15 to 65) is very small among the Roma, but very high both in Spain and in Romania. In both countries the proportion of elders is growing quickly, and both populations are also aging quickly.

[3] The age dependency ratio is the ratio of dependents (people younger than 15 and older than 64, typically out of the labor force) to working-age people, those between ages 15 to 64. It is used as an index of the burden of the theoretically productive sector of the population in supporting the population that is growing older or aging.

[4] Obviously, the assumptions behind these indexes are rarely correct. Many of those people who comprise the "productive part" of the population are not working or producing anything, and many elders make considerable contributions to the support of their children and grandchildren.

Table 5: Age dependency ratios of the survey sample (N: 518), and the total population of Spain and Romania, 2014

	Total Dependency Ratio	*Child Dependency Ratio*[5]	*Elderly Dependency Ratio*[6]
Roma networks	89.7	88.3	1.5
Spain	50.3	23.2	27.1
Romania	43.6	21.7	21.9

Source for Romania and Spain: The World Factbook, 2014[7]

The child dependency ratio, however, is very high among the Roma surveyed, and is decreasing in both Romania and Spain. Note that the proportion of children in the surveyed Roma groups (88%) is four times that of the "majority" population among whom they live. Today there are as many elders in Romania as children; in Spain the proportion of elderly dependents is four percentage points higher than that of children, a bad omen for the future of this country. Among the surveyed Roma, children are fifty times more numerous than elders, a consequence of a demographic regime that until recently had very high levels of both natality and mortality.

1.2.5 Generations

It is clear therefore that the generational composition of the Roma populations is a crucial aspect of the migration process, its nature and its consequences. On the other hand, the relative weight, agency and influence of each generation marks the links maintained with the place of origin.

We will briefly analyze the main generational groups observed in the survey sample and present some considerations about the forms in which generations emerge in the social world of these Roma groups. Here a new generation emerges every 18 to 20 years (compared with 30 years among majority populations). Most women become grandparents in their late 30s and men in their early 40s. If kinship

[5] The child dependency ratio is the ratio of the youth population (ages 0-14) per 100 people of working age (ages 15-64).

[6] Elderly Dependency Ratio: The ratio of the elderly population (ages 65+) per 100 people of working age (ages 15-64).

[7] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2261.html; accessed Nov. 25, 2014.

roles and life projects are taken into consideration, however, generations among the Roma tend to overlap; that is, older siblings often have brothers and sisters that are 20 or more years younger. This means that mothers and grown daughters coincide in pregnancies during part of their reproductive years. It is thus common to see some nephews and uncles of the same age growing up together. Moreover, intergenerational marriages, such as those among cousins once removed, are accepted and relatively frequent. This is not the case for uncle- and niece- or aunt- and nephew-marriages, whose unions are vehemently rejected and considered taboo.

Four major generations

In the groups studied there seem to be four major generational groups according to age, kinship roles and place in the family network: 1) elders or grandparents, some of whom are already great-grandparents; 2) adults and middle-aged persons, who may be in different stages of their parenting career, and some who may have small grandchildren; 3) young adults with children and 4) Grandchildren.

Those generational groups overlap and are internally subdivided. However, they are important and are related to other crucial aspects in the internal divisions of the target population; that is, their migratory experience and their historical experience in relation to major sociopolitical changes experienced by the Romanian people in the last half a century.

Elders: Grandparents and great-grandparents in their 60s and 70s (few were over 80). Born mostly in the 1930s and 1940s

Elders were born in the 1930s and 1940s and are in their sixties and seventies. There are few in our sample, only 6 or 7 people. For instance, in Granada we know Stefan, born in 1942 in the Cluj-Napoca region, who moved to Spain in 1997 when in his fifties. Stefan has had seven children with his wife, Lina, born in 1949. His three sons also live in Granada with their spouses and children. The oldest one, born in 1968 already has grandchildren. Stefan and Lina also have a daughter living nearby who is married to a paternal cousin, the son of a deceased brother of Stefan and also a member of this network. Stefan first travelled to Spain in his fifties and has never learned Spanish well. He says he does not like to live in Spain and he would have preferred to remain in Romania, which he travels to whenever he can. By mid-2014 he was planning to move there permanently.

Stefan has pursued different occupations, all low paid. In the recent years he was receiving some social benefits that complemented begging at traffic lights. A few weeks after the completion of the Survey he moved to his birthplace in Romania.

Stefan is respected because of his age and the prestige of his family, but his leadership and influence is limited to his sons and grandsons. He is not a prominent figure among the large Roma Korturare families of Transylvania and Banat, unlike his brother Averescu (known as "Veresco"), born in 1949, who is often called on by conflicting groups to mediate and preside over a *krisja* (internal process of conflict solution) due to his authority, competence and wealth. Veresco accumulates much "respect" or "honor" (*pačiuv*) and exemplifies the type of transnational Roma leader who would belong to this generation.

When we explored the genealogies of our Roma friends and informants we paid special attention to the living members of the older generations. They live today in different European countries, besides Romania. However, we found few survivors. There are relatively few elders among Roma living in their late seventies and eighties. It seems that life expectancy rates remain lower than those of their neighbors in the majority populations of Spain, the U.K., France and Romania.

Members of this generation are crucial for the preservation of a shared historical memory and it is urgent that their life histories and the memories concerning past generations be collected.

Adults and middle-aged parents. Born mostly in the 1950s, 1960s and late 1970s

Energetic and in their prime, adults and middle-aged parents are the most active and influential actors in the social world of the Roma. Their main responsibilities are those of middle-aged parents who are active in the marriage agreements, negotiations and transactions of their children. In the early stages of this generation the younger "parents" may be raising kids, so they will be more limited in their ability to pursue goals beyond their households such as political work. However, among the younger members of this generation are emerging leaders who have wide-ranging influence beyond their immediate families. For instance, Rupa, born in 1977 and a father of three who has been in Spain since 2002, is a young representative of this generational group. Rupa is one of the few Roma of the seven networks who holds a

permanent job as a mechanic, which he later lost due to the long-lasting disease of a brother with whom he stayed in the hospital for over a month. However, Rupa opened his own business buying and selling cars that he repaired and used his contacts in the car-repairing business. He is doing well. He is reliable and competent and is respected both by Spaniards and Romanians alike.

Rupa had a first wife with whom he did not have children. They broke up, and he then married his cousin who is his present wife of ten years. As his kids are small, more than a decade will pass before he negotiates their marriages and becomes a grandfather. Therefore, his familial roles are not completely in sync with his social influence and authority.

Young adults: young parents. Approximately 18 to 35 year-olds

This group comprises the generation of people who are beginning to build their lives as independent adults and parents and are married with small children or soon to be married. The younger people in this generation are beginning to have children; the older ones have teenage sons and daughters in need of guidance, supervision and support.

For instance, a typical member of this generation would be Bebi, 22, the youngest brother of Rupa who was born in 1992 in Germany but mostly raised in Spain where he moved in 2003 following his older brothers and his widow mother. He did not benefit much from the school years in Spain and therefore he reads and writes with some difficulty, although he speaks the language proficiently. Bebi married Murga, the daughter of a cousin he initially met through Facebook two years ago, while she was living in Dublin, Ireland, with her family. It was a costly wedding arranged by the parents but with the happy agreement of the fiancés themselves. Afterwards, Murga moved to Spain to live with her husband and his family. They had a child in 2013. Bebi works irregularly at low paying jobs and when nothing else is available, he makes some money as an informal parking attendant, an occupation that has granted him some City Council fines. The couple depends on the support of Bebi's older brothers and his mother. Murga understands Spanish, but has some difficulty speaking. She speaks English fluently, however, something she could use professionally in the future. But presently her horizon mostly consists of the flat she shares with her

mother-in-law and brother-in-law and his wife and children. There she tends to her baby and rarely leaves the premises.

Children and grand-children, 0 to 17 years of age

Among this generation we find many babies, children and teenagers growing up in different age groups, but still mostly single. However, some youngsters begin parenting at a young age (see Section 4.4.1).

The relative weight of each of these generational groups is presented in Table 6. Note that most Roma in Spain belong to two generational groups, young adults still raising children (33%) but beginning to arrange, negotiate or accept the marriage of their children, and the children themselves (58%). This adult and middle-aged generation, for all purposes the most experienced and powerful group, includes less than 10% of the whole sample.

Table 6: Generational groups among the Roma population. Twenty-year cohorts of Romanian Roma in seven family networks (N: 518)

Age groups	*Women*	*Men*	*Total (N)*	*Total %*	*Kinship roles*
60 to 71	4	3	7	1.4	***Grandparents- Elders***
40 to 59	18	22	40	7.7	***Parents-Adults***
20 to 39	86	87	173	33.4	***Parents-Young Adults***
0 to 19	153	145	298	57.5	***Children***
Total	**261**	**257**	**518**		***Total***

1.2.6 Historical watersheds

Another dimension of the generational divide concerns the major historical changes that have affected the life of the Romanian people and, particularly, the Roma minority.

December 1989 is a watershed for all Romanians. The events triggered by the fall the communist regime reverberated throughout the lives of all people in this country. As we will indicate in Chapter 4, the fall of Ceausescu brought about immediate changes in reproductive health opportunities for women, including Roma women, such that the gender aspect of these historical changes is a crucial area to investigate. Economically the 1990s were difficult years for Roma minorities all over

Eastern Europe. The change affected all generations, but those born and raised in the new period experienced the constraints and conditions of life in the post-war and communist period. On the other hand, the new generations could not imagine how life was during Ceaușescu's Romania (1965-1989).

We are collecting life histories of Roma immigrants in Spain in order to document how they lived through the recent history of Romania, both in Ceaușescu's time (1967-1989) and afterwards. We have begun to collect data in our interviews about the ways in which Romanian Roma in Spain remember historical periods and transformations.

1.2.7 Migration: A second generation is emerging

If we look at the migration process, there is a generation of Roma immigrants who were born in the destination countries and have not lived in Romania except for short periods. In our sample, over half (52%) of those under 16 years of age were born abroad such as in Spain, the U.K., Italy, France and so forth. They have their parents' Romanian nationality, but most of them, especially those born within the last decade, have grown apart from Romania, its language and institutions. This percentage increases among the youngest, those born within the last decade. Most of them may be growing apart from Romania, its language and institutions.

Few elders are included in this population. Their experience and knowledge would have been very valued in the past. Today power lies to a large extend, but not always, among the middle-age generations of adults.

1.2.8 Demographic structure as a source of ethnic differentiation

The demographic structure of the Roma immigrant population is the first and perhaps most important of the differences with the host Spanish population at large. Ethnic differences in these cases have a dramatic demographic component, thereby influencing all aspects of social and individual life.

This group appears to be part of a **very young and fast-growing population** with a strong reproductive orientation. There is no comparable group in Spain or Romania with so many children and thus with such a need for child-oriented services

such as schools and pediatric health services. Similarly, there is no comparable group with so few elders.

Even the artificial assumptions behind dependency ratios are taken into account, important collective trends and differences can be discerned that are crucial for policy making. Put in postmodern jargon, these are the clearest signs of the "otherness" of Roma peoples when considered as "populations". They provide indexes of the potential needs in social services deriving from demographic trends and age structures. For instance, the low elderly dependency ratio of these minorities makes relatively light the pressure on state resources to fund their pensions and the healthcare needs of their ageing people. Conversely, the largest need is clearly situated in infant and primary schools, health services for children and teens and birth wards and nurseries to support women with small children. The education and training of teenagers of both sexes linked to job opportunities is also a clear policy priority.

1.3 Team Structure

The Universidad de Granada (UGR) MigRom team comprises a four-tier group of researchers, assistants and advisors:

1. A **core of three researchers** in charge of WP1, WP2 and WP3 that are permanently dedicated to the project and are responsible for all reports and events:

   A. **Team Coordinator**: Prof. Juan Francisco Gamella, professor of Anthropology, University of Granada, responsible for management, team coordination, fieldwork coordination, community engagement efforts, analysis, output and the writing of results.

   B. **Main Senior Researcher**: Dr. Giuseppe Beluschi-Fabeni, expert in Romani Studies, proficient in Romani. Dr. Beluschi Fabeni, together with the Team Coordinator, organized and directed all ethnographic research, analysis and output, and helped with community engagement efforts. He also collaborated in the writing of reports, and made scientific contributions to the project and assisted in their dissemination.

   B. **Senior Assistant Researcher**: **Elisabeth Gómez Oehler**, M.A. in International Cooperation, anthropologist, and social worker. Ms. Gómez Oehler is in charge of coordinating and implementing all community

engagement efforts, especially those with the four local authorities directly linked to MigRom through formal agreements. She also participated in ethnographic and archival fieldwork, assisted in project management, output and written reports.

2. **Fieldworkers and assistant researchers.** During certain periods of the project, UGR-MigRom benefited from the cooperation of three **assistant researchers**, graduate students with experience in the study of Romani groups:

A. Nuria Morales Ruiz, anthropologist and part-time researcher. She assisted with the on-the-job training and supervising of Roma assistants, and carried out fieldwork among Roma families with special attention to young women and gender issues. She also collaborated with the team's efforts concerning community engagement initiatives.

B. Juan Pérez Pérez, Ph.D. Candidate in Anthropology, BA in Anthropology and teacher experienced in minority students. Mr. Pérez was (along with the Coordinator) responsible for the design and collection of the Media-Press database. He also assisted with Community Engagement especially in relation to education.

C. Sebijan Fezjula, Roma from Macedonia who carried out an internship funded by Central European University in Budapest in the fall of 2014. She interviewed Roma women in the family networks surveyed, and provided insights concerning gender issues and the heterogeneity of Roma groups.

3. Four **Romani assistants** have contributed to the UGR team:

A. Vasile Muntean, 24, a young Roma from Transylvania who has lived in Spain since 2001. Mr. Muntean attended Spanish schools and obtained a high school diploma in 2007. He collaborated fully with MigRom since September 2013 as a key informant, discussant and adviser. He has also collected data and transcribed interviews. In 2014 he was selected in a public tender and was formally hired by the UGR as a research assistant.

B. Claudia Iancu Stoian, 23, a young Roma woman, and her husband, Daniel R. Stoian, 24. 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 Roma networks in Granada, Malaga and other regions. They also assisted in transcribing parts of interviews and translating them to Spanish.

C. 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 CEU in Budapest with a grant from the Open Foundation. He returned to Spain and to MigRom in August 2014. Mr. Fernández Ortega contributes to MigRom as a field researcher. He developed a good rapport with several Roma families in Granada and, more especially, in Lucena (Cordoba) where he has undertaken several ethnographic fieldwork campaigns. 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. This exchange tends to be extremely rewarding both in theoretical and practical terms, and can offer important and original engagement strategies for the future.

We organized formal training sessions for our assistants concerning ethics principles and protocols, techniques of observation, interviewing, field-notes taking and interview transcription. However, most of their training took 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.

Each Romani assistant worked in direct collaboration with one researcher, who taught and assisted with the fieldwork process and desk work (transcriptions, fieldwork notes and the archiving of fieldwork material), under the supervision of the PhD researcher and the coordinator of the project.

4. **Four University Professors** contributed as **senior advisors at** different moments of the project and concerning specific research problems. They advised and

helped the team with technical and theoretical issues, and contributed to the analysis of data and proposed ideas for analysis and publications. They are: 1) Prof. Arturo Álvarez Roldán, expert on ethnographic research methods, qualitative analysis and oral history; Prof. Carmen Castilla, expert on Anthropology of Religion, Religious Conversion and Gender; Prof. Francisco Jiménez Bautista, expert on racism, conflict and conflict resolution and the research of racism; and Prof. Ester Massó, expert on gender issues and feminist movements in ethnic and national minorities.

1.4 Research problems

Any research on immigrated Roma groups presents certain problems to the team working in the field. Let us summarize some of the more evident ones at this time.

1.4.1 Problems in establishing, getting to know and sampling the target population

In Spain official documents or censuses do not record ethnic affiliation. Civil registers do not code ethnicity either. Nationality is the key identity marker concerning foreigners. Therefore, all Romanian Roma are primarily Romanians. Moreover, who is a Roma and who is not? How should Roma be identified? Should the language, dress, moral codes or definition of outsiders be the critical marker for identification?

Given these concerns, we have followed mostly a criterion of self-identification. We have identified as Romanian Roma those Romanian nationals in our fieldwork who defined themselves and their communities as Roma or in clearly related terms such as *ţigani* or *Spoitori*. In this last case, for example, many people who identify themselves as '*Spoitori*' deny being 'really *Roma*', and identify other Romani groups (usually Vlax speakers, which they call *laxoje*) as the 'real *Roma*'. *Spoitori* also maintain certain ethnic 'invisibility' and generally present themselves just as *'Romanians'*, thereby avoiding, for example, elements associated with Romani styles of dress. Nevertheless, *Spoitori* speak a Romani dialect and are proud of their self-adscription as *Spoitori*.

Six out of the seven networks included in the Extended Survey spoke a Romani dialect. Dialect differences do not always permit people to communicate with each other in Romani. In these cases, speakers use the Romanian language. Only one small

family network did not speak Romanes . Yet, the problem of identification and labeling are crucial to initiating research. It is a recurrent problem for researchers in the field, and certain disagreement remains among experts and scholars in Romani Studies.

The size, structure and location of the Romanian Roma population in Spain are unknown. It is probably wrong to imagine it as a fixed entity that can be easily numbered and described. A part of this population appears to have relatively stable lives and stay for many years in the same town and city. However, other families and groups of families move with relative frequency both within Spanish borders and abroad. This complicates the process of establishing the target population and the survey samples.

1.4.2 Problems of access and rapport

Once the research sample or group was established, another problem arose: how to access and develop rapport with at least some sectors, families and individuals in the selected groups.

Our team benefited from the rapport created by Dr. Beluschi Fabeni in his years of contact and friendship with *Korturare* Roma from Transylvania during his Ph.D. research. Unfortunately all the core families with whom Beluschi Fabeni had worked with from 2003 to 2007 left Spain in 2011 for the U.K. However, a group of families related to those close to Dr. Beluschi Fabeni remained here and that was our starting point for one of the seven networks studied.

In all other cases rapport had to be created anew. It took time and mutual accommodation. First we selected the Roma assistants. Once they were part of the team, access and rapport was facilitated, yet problems kept arising.

The use of Romani was crucial for many interactions: it opened many doors and helped to gain the trust of many individuals who were suspicious of our inquiries. Four members of our team are proficient in the Romani language. And all field researchers are learning it.

1.4.3 Problems of obtaining basic information on most issues

Many families have insecure legal and economic situations. They are afraid of public officials. Often they have experienced what they believed to be unjustified

threats and episodes of harassment from public authorities, including the police, social workers and even health or education professionals. They are resistant to outsiders and stress social introversion such that outsiders are not trusted. Thus, too much questioning is neither welcome nor understood. There is no neutral questioning. For most Roma, any question-answer form can be understood as interrogation. It takes time and effort to build trust. Often we did not have enough time and hence alarmed our informants when we rushed them.

Why would we need to know the number of children of a couple and their exact month and year of birth? Given that one of the most prevalent fears of Roma parents was that social services could take their children away, this apparently neutral and basic question became very complicated. A complex process of triangulation, comparing information from different sources and immediate codification in order to protect the families' identities made the basic establishment of data of a selected sample a time consuming process.

2. The impact of migration on origin communities

2.2 Returnees

(Our team did not address this issue)

2.3 Transfer of resources: effect on origin communities

(Our team did not address this issue)

2.4 Transfer of resources: patterns among migrants

Families in the sample maintain a wide range of relations with their places and communities of origin that coalesce in attitudes and practices related to flows of material resources (remittances for supporting relatives, investments, payment of debts, marriage transactions, and others) and symbolic transactions. Relations with people "back there" also provide motives and reasons to endure difficult conditions in the immigration countries and plans to return or to stay.

In our sample, we found examples of people whose daily efforts in Spain were directed toward generating remittances and creating the conditions for a future and definitive return in Romania. However, there were also individuals and families that had definitively abandoned this option, or that sustained dreams of returning in the near future and successfully establishing a business, even when it seemed unrealistic due to their financial situation.

Here we will firstly draft a model of the sets of factors generating different relations with both places and communities of origin, and also the aspirations to return (or stay or move elsewhere) among the people of the seven networks surveyed. Following this, we also present some typical profiles. This analytical model model will be tested in further stages of the research.

2.4.1 Communities of reference and localities of origin

Relations with localities of origin are complex and multidimensional. They derive from a multiplicity of factors, including kinship and friendship bonds, income-generating activities, housing conditions and state entitlements both in the country of origin and in the new country.

Thus, a multidimensional framework must be developed to adequately describe and analyze the diversity of situations observed in the Extended Survey. In order to do this, we conceptualize them as **sets of functions** that the locality of origin plays in the life of migrants.

Moreover, at least three decisive variables intervene to generate variation of such relations:

1. The **territorial dispersion of the community of reference**
2. The **age, generation and migratory experience** of individuals
3. The role played by the **locality of destination** in their life.

We distinguish, therefore, between locality of origin and community of reference. **Locality of origin** is the city, town, neighborhood or village where the individuals were residing before migration, and/or where they go back to when they return to Romania. It is their place of reference in the origin country. The geographical dispersal in Romania of the localities of origin varies: some networks come from a single locality while others are dispersed in a county or region. Inside a family network we can find from one to several locality of origin.

By **community of reference** we are referring to the whole group of moral and cultural references. As a consequence of international migration, the community of reference can be scattered across many countries.

Example 1. Net01 is a part of larger network of families coming from H. and dispersed in several countries. In turn, Net01 is also part of a system of kin groups that lived in many localities in a territory that includes several important cities in Transylvania and Banat. Currently this 'system' of family groups and networks is scattered across Europe and in North America. As a result, the community of reference of an individual of Net01 can be formed by individuals and families that are living in Granada, but also other families in the UK, Ireland and other Spanish localities as well as Timişoara, Hunedoara and H. This system of families from different Romanian localities and now living in numerous other countries forms a (fuzzily demarcated)

marriage community bounded by cultural, geographic and linguistic origins. This endogamic community is also characterized by the dominance of virilocal-patrilocal patterns of postmarital residence. This means that women move from one locality to another when they marry. Currently, this displacement of women at marriage has an international dimension. This process has many consequences, for instance, it is common that young individuals in Net01 have consanguineous relatives coming from different Romanian localities 300 km. apart from one another. Generally speaking, the generalized patrilocal ideology of Net01 means that people lean towards the locality of the father. However, links of locality on their maternal side also can be very important, especially when they are also the locality of origin of their (potential or current) spouse.

Example 2. Families of Net03 proceed from a rural commune in the Cluj district about 20k from h., the place of origin of net01. This commune is formed by six villages that included about 2,600 inhabitants by 2007, of which 11% were Hungarians and 9% Romani. Most people work in agriculture and forestry jobs, although there is some activity in the tourist sector. Even if the migratory fortune of Net03 had been deeply related to Net01, it still would represent a different relationship scenario between the community of reference and the locality of origin. As we describe in Chapter 3.2, compared to the marriage links of net01, that extend over two Romanian regions (and now over all of Europe), people in net03 and net07 tend to marry within the county of origin. According to the gathered data, practically all localities of origin of members of Net03 were located in the western part of the province of the county. However, the greater part of people who were not born in C. proceeded from H. (the town of Net01) and S. (the village of Net07). More detailed data on marriage patterns will be collected in further steps of the research fieldwork. Notably, the majority of members of Net03 considered C. their locality of origin, and only some of them were linked with villages close to C. However, this is only one aspect of the differences concerning the relationship between communities of reference and localities of origin of Net01. The second important difference is that almost all the Roma community migrating abroad from C. went to Granada, with only a few exceptions of households living in Manchester. Thus, Net03 seems to be a community that migrated to one Spanish locality and whose members for the most part consider only one Romanian locality to

be the locality of origin. Another element of peculiarity in the relationship between the community of reference and the locality of origin concerns the high proportion of Romani population that migrated. Even if we cannot offer exact demographic data on it, it is likely that the totality of the Romani individuals of C. have at least one close relative who migrated regularly to Granada.

Example 3. Finally Net02 represents a third example of the relationship between a migrated community and its locality of origin. Net02 is a small part of a numerous Romani community proceeding mainly from Călărași, a medium-sized city of around 65,000 inhabitants in 2011, but also the town of Olteniţa. There, Spoitori are a numerous Romani minority. The Călărași's population decreased drastically between 2002 and 2011. Its economy is based on (weak) industrial sector, service and agricultural sectors (see for example Berescu, 2013). The history of migration of Spoitori from Călărași is exceptional if compared with other migration histories of people in our sample, particularly because of the southeastward flow that lasted until 2000. Nevertheless, today a large proportion of Spoitori from Călărași has migrated mainly to Naples and Rome. Net02 members, who are residing between the cities of Malaga and Granada, are constantly in contact with families living in Italy, especially in Naples. Except in summer, when families return en masse to Călărași, the Spoitori community residing in Naples assumes a referent role for Net02 in Spain, because the large majority of Net02-related families live there, as well as a large part of the Spoitori community from Călărași. In some ways, Net02 in Granada and Malaga is a satellite to the community of reference that spanning the locality of origin in Romania and the main city of migration, Naples, Italy. Consequently, the relationship that members of Net02 have with their localities of origin (Călărași or Olteniţa) is deeply influenced by the relationship that Naples' and Rome's communities have with Călărași.

The distinction between communities of reference and localities of origin is central to our analysis. While the locality of origin is a definite spot (or spots) on the map, with its own local society and economic context, the community of reference of an individual can be dispersed across several countries and is a direct consequence of the history of migration of its own original community of reference in Romania. The individuals' relationship with the locality of origin is influenced by the relationships that other families and related people have with that place.

2.4.2 Functions of the localities of origin in the lives of Romani migrants

For each function of the locality of origin in the life of an individual, we describe the following elements:

- **Frequency and schedule for returning to Romania**. For example, seasonal rural employment in Romania encourages people to returning yearly and during the same period of the year. In contrast, the need to bury one's deceased in the cemetery of their locality of origin and celebrate the funeral is associated with a less predictable frequency and pattern of returning home.
- **Remittances** transferred. The main axis considered is the nature of the remittances (monetary and/or goods) and the formality and informality of channels through which remittances are transferred.
- Description of the **symbolic and/or historical context**.
- Potential economic **impact** of specific local business sectors, but also in relation to other relevant dimensions.

The locality of origin can play a function as:

a) The desired place for building a house.

- Return pattern: the return pattern varies according to individual or household planning and generally is independent on the return schedule of the community of reference. People tend to go back at least once a year and with the goal of caring for the house and undergoing reforms. Most people go home for summer 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, as is the yearly economic cycle in the locality of migration.
- Remittances: remittances are transferred through formal channels when individuals abroad depend upon relatives living in the locality of origin to take care of the property. In these cases, sums of money are usually sent throughout the year via international transfer agencies. These sums are not usually higher than several hundreds of euros and are used for regular property maintenance. Monetary remittances used for extraordinary reforms and acquisition of lands or buildings are usually brought in cash when individuals return home. Goods sent from abroad generally consist of minor furniture or furnishing and household appliances.
- Symbolic and/or historical context. The improvement of housing conditions in Romania is an important element of the migratory projects of the surveyed families. It must be contextualized within a general desire to return to Romania under better living conditions. From the initial phases of migration of

each of the networks of families, remittances and saved earnings from migrant families are invested not only towards 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. Overcoming territorial segregation also pushes people to move to new and better neighborhoods in the localities of origin (Beluschi Fabeni, 2013b; Berescu, 2013). However, real estate in Romania has also acquires significance among the communities of reference concerning the migratory success of individuals and families.

- Local impact in the community of origin: There is economic impact on the local building sector, changes in the urban landscape and changes in the socio-spatial structure of the cities.
- Empirical observations: Net01 (hyper-visible '*villas*', of with big large dimensions and in some ways extravagant and sumptuous styles), in center of the city, and movement from outside to the center of the city; Net02 ('invisible' movement to the central areas of the city), Net03 (improvement of houses *in loco* as well as movement to other villages areas).

b) Where the dead are buried:

- Returns occur after the death of a family member in order to undertake the funeral celebration and burial. Generally all close relatives of the deceased go back and accompany the remains. Further mourning rites are celebrated abroad.
- Remittances: the perceived obligatory nature of burying the remains of the dead in the locality of origin means that families spend as much as is necessary for sending the deceased home and celebrating the funeral there. The cost of transporting the remains is generally over thousands euros. The moral value associated with honoring and respecting the deceased as well as family prestige can mean that the celebrations become more expensive. People who travel home bring monetary remittances.
- Historical and symbolic context: among all the surveyed communities the dead are buried in the locality of origin. As far as we could know, up to now there have been no exceptions. This behavior generates an important symbolic commitment to such places. International dispersion of migrated networks generates a demand for video and music services. These films circulate among families and are used for the mourning rites celebrated abroad.
- Local impact in the community of origin: This includes business related to the transportation of the remains, restaurants, religious services, other costs related to celebrations (including video production, professional services, musicians, food and alcohol).

c) It is the place where summer holidays are spent.

- Return pattern: families return yearly for summer.
- Remittances: monetary remittances transferred informally by people who

travel home.

- Historical and symbolic context: surveyed individuals who spend summers in their localities of origin go 'home' looking for a break from the daily work abroad.
- Local impact in the community of origin: restaurants business, local shops, nightclubs and so forth.
- Net02 and Net03 have a regular schedule to return to Romania yearly each summer. Members consider this period as 'holidays'. Other networks do not strictly follow the summer return pattern.

d) Place for income-generating activities: sale of imported cars and seasonal rural work.

- Return pattern: depending on the economic activities (during any time of the year or in summer)
- Remittances: formal remittances usually consist of vehicles imported from other countries and their sale. Both activities generate earnings that can be also remitted to emigration countries.
- Historical and symbolic context. Work in wild mushrooms harvesting traditionally have been a seasonal economic activity for individuals of our sample coming from rural contexts of Transylvania. The mushroom market grew after 1990 as a result of an increase in international demand and exportation freedom. Cars are mainly imported from the UK, where the price of used vehicles is generally lower than in other countries of emigration.
- Impact in the community of origin: contribution to local rural activity and the generation of a local market.
- Empirical observation: Net03 is linked to mushroom harvesting in rural areas of Cluj-Napoca County.

e) It is a place for investing in and starting a business

- Return pattern: depends on the availability of capital to invest.
- Remittances: used to buy land or infrastructure.
- Historical and symbolic context: none of individuals of our sample remitted money for this purpose. However, it is a common migratory project among the examined family networks.
- Impact in the community of origin: no information was available at this stage of the research.
- Empirical observation: entrepreneurial initiatives were mainly found among Net02.

f) It is where significant dependent relative live:

- Return pattern: once a year, on average.

- Remittances: usually via formal channels. Remittances were destined towards the livelihood expenses of relatives in Romania (i.e., food, health, daily house expenses).
- Historical and symbolic context: to be studied in further steps of the research.
- Impact of the community: to be studied.

g) It is the only place where wedding take place (for some specific groups)

- Return pattern: this type of return pattern tends to be common among individuals and households within the community of reference. Families abroad gather in the locality of origin to celebrate weddings, usually in the summer. Celebrations occur only between July and August when the majority of the emigrated families go back to Romania.
- Remittances: informal channels. Usually individuals take the sum of money they plan to spend for the celebration with them.
- Symbolic context: the majority of the family networks explored do not follow this pattern and they celebrate marriages in the place where the bride's (or, less frequently, the groom's) family lives, in Romania or abroad. However, one family network is an exception in this. The majority of marriages in Net02 were celebrated in the locality of origin. A complex system of god-parenthood relations involved in weddings and the international dispersion of communities are key elements to explaining this behavior.
- Local impact in the community of origin. Economic impact on businesses related to the wedding industry, such as restaurants and food, clothes, jewelers, taxis and musicians.
- Empirical observations: Only in the case of Net02 were weddings celebrated in the locality of origin.

2.4.3 Profiles of relationships with the origin communities.

Migration for economic reasons

Declared migratory project: "to make money to invest in Romania and definitively return in the future". Residence in Spain is mainly for economical purposes. Income from abroad is destined for improving real estate in Romania, often at the expense of housing conditions in Spain. The projects for future enterprises in Romania are also important motivations in economic strategies. In many cases, close relatives, especially elder ones, live in the locality of origin and are dependents that receive remittances. They maintain ongoing contact with people at home and participate in the social life there. This profile is more common in generation among individuals who

left Romania older than 30/40 years and have weaker symbolic and social links with the locality of emigration.

Increasingly permanent status as long term, or "bi-sited" migrants.

The declared migratory project combines elements of the 'economic migrants' profile 1 but includes elements of a deeper integration in the locality of migration. Income from abroad is destined to improve real estate in Romania, and projected enterprises in Romania are also a motivation underlying economic strategies. Close and dependent elder relatives often live in Romania and receive remittances.

However, housing conditions and the general quality of life in Spain also motivate monetary investments. Cultural and social integration in the locality of migration is higher than in the former profile example. Individuals have a better command of the Spanish language and the general local sociocultural context. They have networks of weak and also strong social ties outside of the local migrant community.

Even if the idea of a definitive return does not disappear, it coexists with, or can progressively be replaced by efforts to have a 'normal life' during the periods spent at home. It is a pattern of **permanent or, at least, long-term "bi-sited" residence.**

This profile appears in people who left Romania younger than 30 years. The lengthening of time abroad (in comparison with the initial expectations of the migrants) has occurred as a result of Romania's difficulties in developing a stable economy, their ability to offer jobs opportunities and last year's economic crisis, which slowed down many migrants' projects and forced them to focus on remitting earnings to Romania. In a circular relationship between causes and effects, the more time spent abroad means that more factors that anchor people to their host country emerge. In addition to the initial desires of many migrants, the years spent abroad became more than was originally expected.

Unrealistic return project as a result of a successful migration experience

In this profile individuals and families make clear their desire to go back to Romania. Despite this desire, actual efforts or investment towards returning, as well as the frequency of actual returns to the locality of origin, are in fact very low.

One of the key elements of this profile is the absence of real estate properties in Romania. It is also more likely that elder and dependent relatives are living in Spain. Reunification of families (1st or -1 generation of emigrants) and international dispersal of the community and significant relatives are other key elements of failing to return and permanent settlement in the emigration country.

An improved general quality of life abroad is the main target of daily monetary investments. However, in cases in which families have great sums of money at their disposal, it is generally invested in real estate in Romania. Cultural and social integration in the locality of migration is high. Individuals have a strong command of the Spanish language and the general local sociocultural context. They have networks of weak and also strong social ties outside of the local migrant community. They attain decent livelihood standards in Spain in terms of economic conditions and housing (in some cases including property). Individuals grown abroad, especially those whose mobility has been limited to a city or region, are often the most representative of this profile. They assert they 'will go back one day', but it is questionable whether an actual return would match their expectations and needs. Often their vision of life in Romania is biased and colored by a sense of nostalgia for home. This unrealistic return project of young adults must be seen within a wider social framework: they form parts of households that are well settled in the host country. Integration and acculturation in the host country are high.

Unrealistic return project as a result of an unsuccessful migration experience

The unrealistic project of returning home is also present among individuals observed in the sample suffering from low socio-economic conditions. The protracted poverty did not allow them to maintain a property or house in Romania and afford the expenses for travelling home. In a sense, they are 'trapped abroad' and 'frozen out'. Nonetheless, it should be noted that living as a poor person in Spain might not be as hard as in Romania, at least in terms of certain guaranteed basic public services, such as education or healthcare.

No return projects and successful adaptation in the host country

Finally there are individuals who do not consider returning as a future option, mainly because of a lack of employment opportunities in Romania, a lack of

educational opportunities for their children, and a lack of properties. Young people in this profile tend to demonstrate a condition of symbolic and affective uprooting from Romania, especially when they do not have affective links with people there. The link with Romania is often merely bureaucratic.

3. Networks and migration history

3.2 Networks as pull factors

The increase in Romanian migration to Spain reflects the expansion of employment opportunities in this country from 1996 to 2008, especially in the sectors of construction and related industries and services. Directly and indirectly, Romanian Roma were attracted by these opportunities and the higher standard of living that Spanish economic growth offered. Since 2008, the drastic worsening of Spanish labor and economic conditions encouraged emigration to other countries and reduced the attractiveness of migrating to Spain. Nevertheless, a considerable part of the surveyed Romani population remained and, in some cases, grew in number.

Based on our sample, Roma individuals with formal and/or stable jobs are exceptions to the rule. The large majority of households rely on informal and marginal economic activities, mostly related to the collection of waste material, recycling and begging (see paragraph 6.1). Nevertheless, the widespread lack of formal employment is not a strict consequence of the economic crisis. Even before 2008, the employment rate within sample was not manifestly higher. Consequently, pull factors directly related to formal employment opportunities seem to have a marginal or indirect role in explaining Romani migration to Spain.

Today Spain is among the European countries with the highest unemployment rate and our sample shows a population with the lowest human capital. Migrating to and remaining in Spain would appear not to make sense if we did not take into account other resources upon which Romani migration rely such as collaboration within and mutual support between households that result in large migrant networks within the host society.

Social networks represent a 'crucial meso-level' (Faist, 1997) for explaining migrations that connects processes that occur within international economic scenarios to the individual decision level. How have these networks worked within the context of the historical development of Romani migration? How do they act as a resource for adaptation within the host country and across the international diaspora?

According to network theory, as applied to international migration, migrant networks can be defined as "a web of social ties that links potential migrants in

sending communities to people and institutions in receiving areas" (Massey & García España, 1987, p. 733). When a well-developed migrant network emerges it lowers the cost of international movement as well as of adaptation within the host country. The more the network grows, the less the migration costs: "With each person that becomes a migrant, the cost of migration is reduced for a set of friends and relatives, inducing them to migrate and further expanding the network" (Massey & García España, 1987, p. 733).

In this respect, Romani migratory networks appear to have three particular features that differentiate them from other migrant groups:

1. They have a clear family base. The married couple is generally the unit of migratory movement, although more members of the household often also migrate with the head couple, especially children and parents.
2. A higher birth rate among Roma results in larger households.
3. Household group does not migrate alone; rather, they tend to move with others related through kinship and they generate networks of households within the host country.

The migration of the Romanian no-Romani population has similar, but also different, characteristics in terms of structures of the networks in which migrants are inserted. Firstly, the demographic structure of the majority Romanian migrant population has a noticeable 'familial nature' with a strong tendency towards rapid family reunification. For example, between the years 2002-2003, 30% of Romanian residents in Spain were enrolled in early care and primary education, a higher rate when compared to other migrant groups proceeding from Eastern Europe (Ferrero Turrión, 2005, p. 32). Romanian migrant networks tend to be based on privileged kinship ties (Bleahu, 2004, pp. 27-29). Thus, it seems that among the migration experiences of Romanians, the ties with relatives that are not part of the nuclear family tend to lose importance (Aparicio & Tornos, 2005, p. 76). Indeed, more detailed research on the demographic structure of Romanian migrant networks in Spain is surely needed. However, it is clear that among non-Romani Romanians there is less of a tendency to create migrant networks of numerous households then among Roma. Secondly, among non-Romani Romanians, households tend to have fewer members due to a lower average of children per couple, when compared with Roma families' trends.

Roma family networks are part of larger communities of reference. As we mentioned in the previous chapter, a community of reference can be located in various localities, between Romania and abroad, and include a several hundreds of people, but it can also be spread across several countries and even thousands of individuals. These networks act as the primary milieus of social reference and circulation of information and individuals, and they generate migratory potential to different extents. Piemontese and Beluschi Fabeni (2014) define the migratory potential in terms of the likelihood of individuals to respond to adaptation hardships faced in the place of residence with emigration to other places (in the same or other countries). It is determined by the amount of information at one's disposal, by the number of links to people who are able to offer support in a new host territory, and by the range of territories in which both resources are available. The higher these variables are, the higher the migratory potential.

Individuals' and households' ties with people beyond their own family networks as well as institutions in the host country serve to decrease migration costs, facilitate adaptation and, consequently, influence the development of the communities' migration histories.

The features of Romani migration we listed above generate a special type of adaptation pattern in the host countries that consists in a partial transplantation of the community of kin that pre-exists in the socio-territorial organization to the localities of origin. Abroad, such migrant networks of people have a great capacity for reproducing community life and the sociocultural environment of the individual. This type of social capital, facilitated by networks that "tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups", has been defined as a type of 'bonding social capital' (Putnam, 2000). It ensures individuals a strong surrounding sociocultural context, capable of providing socio-emotive support and moral references as well as a context of economic transactions. The reproduced community acts then as a powerful mechanism of adaptation in the host country thereby reducing the risk of poverty and isolation. When many local communities in diverse countries are connected through such strong ties, they are able to transmit information quickly.

However, a strong bonding social capital, ethnically and kinship based, can have limited positive effects in relation to the search for job opportunities, especially

when people inside the networks do not dispose of information about it. Notably, Granovetter (1973, 1983) highlights that the importance of social ties that go beyond the family, the ethnic group, or whichever networks an individual might make by way of strong and durable ties. Despite the familial networks' considerable potential for providing cultural and emotive support, the information found within them is redundant. The weak ties that link individuals to others in a different socioeconomic position have the capacity for offering innovative and useful information in a social network. Putnam (2000) defines these types of ties as networks that are "outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages"; they represent a 'bridging' social capital. Horizontal bridging links – that provide connections to other social groups with a similar socioeconomic power – but especially vertical bridging links – those that provide links to people in higher socioeconomic positions or to private and public institutions – are key channels for the flow of information about economic or job opportunities into Romani family networks.

Among the surveyed family networks, we observed a general scarcity of bridging social capital and, at the same time, a strong bonding one. The latter type appears to be central to understanding how the Romani population has been able to migrate to Spain and weather out the risks of poverty and exclusions and after the increasing lack of employment opportunities and general economic crisis. On the other hand, the weakness of human capital within networks and the lack of links with heterogeneous contexts (the lack of bridging ties) explain their marginalization from economic opportunities. However, certain public interventions, for example, by the Social Service Department of the Granada City Council, permitted the emergence of certain durable commitments between Romani families and the local authorities, with positive consequences in relation to school attendance and housing conditions.

The questions we try to answer here are: When and how were these migrant networks developed in Spain and, more precisely, in which research areas? How have these networks evolved? How did they change, grow or diminish since the first pioneers arrived in Madrid, Granada, Seville or Cordoba? Where did they come from? Where did they go? And which kinds of support were migrants offered?

In the next section, we trace the structure and migratory history of the family networks studied in the Extended Survey in the attempt to answer some of these

questions. Many other questions remain unanswered, such as why some of the relatives of the studied networks did not migrate. In our case, we study these processes in connection with networks 01, 02, 03 and 07, which include people from four Romanian localities and whose migration patterns show important influences beyond kinship or relatedness.

3.2.1 Networks 01, 03 and 07.

The families of Net01, 03, 07 mainly proceed from three localities in the province of Cluj-Napoca, H., C. and S.[8] respectively. A few other families come from different localities. These families include both people born in the core localities as well as their spouses, mostly wives, who come from a larger range of places in several regions, and who acted on the cultural norms of virilocality and patrilocality. Internal interfamily bonds permit us to refer to three separate networks from three different local communities in Romania. This differentiation also coincides with different but interconnected migration histories and patterns of adaptation in Spain.

The three networks belong to one common cultural context that their members perceive as an element of differentiation in face of other Romani groups. '*Korturare'* and '*Čurara'* are ethnonyms sometimes used by members of these networks to communicate aspects of their collective identity. There is, however, some ambiguity in these terms, and some individuals within the networks even refuse them as categories of self-identification. When used, these ethnonyms identify a large group of related families who speak the same dialect and are related to different extents by kinship, marriage and vicinity links. For the social taxonomy used by informants refer to Beluschi Fabeni (2013b, 2013c); for linguistic features of the spoken dialect, see the Romani Morpho-Syntax Database (Romani Project, 1998) and Matras (2013). Beyond their common linguistic and cultural background, processes of reciprocal differentiation based on social prestige and internal endogamic boundaries also emerge

[8] Given the limited dimensions of these towns, and consequently the difficulties related to preserving the anonymity of the studied population, we use abbreviations to refer to the localities of origin.

3.2.2 Network 01 – a local network of an international diaspora.

Structure and dynamics in migration and adaptation in Net01

At the beginning of 2014 we found eleven households from this family network living permanently in Granada. Among them were some of the pioneers who arrived in Spain in 1997 and were able to maintain better housing and income-generating activities than their uncles and cousins who had left.

The core group of people in this network belongs to the *'Jonesči Roma'*, that is, descendants of a common ancestor born between 1890 and 1900. Originally they seem to have formed a large and internally segmented patrilineal/patrilocal category or group in H., 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 this region and Banat. Altogether they constitute a wide network of patrilocal communities that have migrated to Western Europe since the early 1990s and who form today a transnational constellation of families in many countries across two continents (some have moved to the U.S. and other American countries). Maternal ties between members of each group and, consequently, a wide network of communities is dispersed across several Romanian and other European cities. It is a source of information, influence, and support and, more importantly, a wide endogamic context.

Also included within this network are other families in Granada that do not recognize themselves as '*Jonesči* Roma', nor do they come from H. Rather, they are members of other patrilocal groups of the original regional network to which the *Jonesči Roma* belong. In their words they are 'kin of kin', from Timişoara and Bistriţa-Năsăud County. People in these two households are distantly related to the '*Jonesči* Roma' by marriage links. They lived in the vicinity of the *Jonesči* for over a year and received some help and support from them in their migratory and adaptation efforts.

People in this network live in the urban area of the city, and most of them in standard quality and low cost rentals in working class neighborhoods. Only in two cases they own their house. They mostly carry out economic activities related to begging and scrap metal collection, with the exception of two men who work as a car dealers and a restaurant employee, respectively.

Families of Net01 are connected with other ones living in several European

countries: the UK, Ireland, Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, USA, Canada and Switzerland. In comparison to other networks of the sample, families of Net01 have the most links to other countries. Additionally, they probably have the longest migration history and experience, and have developed a certain level of cosmopolitanism.

The first migration of *Jonesči* Roma from H. and related patrilocal-virilocal groups from other Transylvanian localities occurred in 1990 with the emigration of a very large group to Germany, where they were recognized and hosted as asylum seekers.

This experience in Germany put them in contact for the first time with other *Roma* groups proceeding from Romanian regions. For example, during those years, the category of '*cynderene'* emerged among '*Jonesči* Roma'. The term originates from the demonym of people of the city of Ţăndărei, but progressively it has been generalized to refer to all Roma who speak a Romani variant similar to the *Čurara/Korturare Roma* but come from the Southern Regions of Romania. This experience is emblematic of the importance of the migration of Roma groups from the area of Ţăndărei, from where it appears that one of the earliest Romani migrations from Romania began. Today, family networks from that area are present in almost all of the target territories of the MigRom project research.

Following 1992, many of the *Jonesči* Roma were repatriated or spontaneously moved back to Romania, while others directly migrated to other EU countries. From 1994 on, members of these networks moved to France, Italy, Belgium, and Holland. Even Argentina and Brazil (from where they had been returning to Europe up until 2004) were main destinations. In 1996, many families also moved to Ireland and the UK.

The first people from this network arrived in Madrid in 1996 and Granada in 1997. This period coincides with the initial phases of economic expansion in the country and precedes by a couple of years the growing immigration movement from Romania. The first families of Net01 to arrive in Madrid moved from France where they had been living in the outskirts of the city in makeshift camps. One of our informants who was there remembers that they did not know anyone in Madrid and simply went there because 'it was the only city we knew'. However, a few months

later, more families from H. arrived in Madrid by way of France, Italy and Romania. . In Madrid most of the families lived in informal settlements in vans and tents. At some point perhaps 20 *Jonesči* families may have gathered in Madrid.

Two elements are remarkable here. On the one hand, *Jonesči* Roma, and other related families groups of their endogamic network, **were already scattered across several European countries by the end of 1990**. Groups of families had been living continuously in France, the UK, Ireland, Belgium and Italy. On the other hand, in 1998, no more than 2500 Romanians lived in Spain. Together with the so-called *'cynderene'*, who, as our informants told us, were already living in Madrid when they got there, the *Jonesči* Roma migrated to Spain when it had not yet been considered a main destination for Romanian migrations. Therefore, **not only were they pioneer migrants within the context of Romani migration, but also, in some cases, pioneers of Romanian migration to Spain.**

Narrations by Net01 families about staying in Madrid suggest a city "already taken by *cynderene* Roma" who had monopolized the spots for begging. The potential tensions with other Roma groups who were better adapted than the newly arrived groups were among one of the stated motivations for leaving Madrid. Our informants also perceived that the city was 'too big' and opted to search out smaller cities where adaptation might be easier. Other motivating factors for leaving the city will be explored in further stages of research.

Our reconstruction shows that some families ventured to other regions of Spain until they eventually arrived in Andalusia. Others migrated to Ireland and the UK, were they joined other familiars who were already there. Yet other related *Korturare* families (Timişoara, Hunedoara and Oradea, among others) followed similar international routes of Net01 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. Families of *Jonesči* Roma lived periodically in shack dwellings ("*chabolas*") near Seville and Malaga between 1997 and 2001.

In late 1997, four families from H. arrived in Granada, where they rented houses and flats and soon were joined by others staying in Seville or Malaga. When asked about why they chose to come to Granada, they agreed that one of the main

motivations was that “there were no Roma”. Certain pioneer families acted as a pull pole for other relatives that were already in Spain, as well as France and Romania. As we will see, they also served as a reference for the first *Čurara/Korturare* families of Net 03 and Net07.

During the period from 2006 to 2010, the Net01 group was very numerous in Granada. From 2011 to 2013, the largest segment of this group moved to England, and a smaller portion to Germany. Better public welfare conditions motivated the recent migration to the UK. Related families already living in the country, some of them since 1997, generated information about it within the network. However, some households and individuals that migrated to Germany returned to Granada and have gone back to Germany repeatedly.

Remarks on Network 01

- Net01 can be situated within a wide and **complex network of sub-networks of families living in several European countries**. We cannot say that the small group of Net01 families living in Granada now has been ‘frozen out’ of its network of close relatives that left Granada, nor from other far-off (in terms of kinship and territorial residence) families. Communication with people abroad is a daily activity and has been facilitated by digital communication technology, the cost of which is cheaper every day. The use of Smartphones has radically changed international communications, thereby allowing people to continually remain online on several social platforms (Facebook and YouTube are among those that predominate) and make direct phone calls via free or low cost internet applications such as Libon or Tango). International travel, particularly with low-cost airline companies, have permitted people to visit each other across different countries especially to participate in weddings, which are celebrated all over the international territory. Thus, Net01 is part of a wider network of families spread across many European states and North America; **a multi-sited diaspora**. This represents an increased potential for international migrations by its members.
- Connections created by 25 years of migrations of Roma from H. and related Roma from the Transylvania and Banat regions cover a constellation of countries that can act as a pull to certain territories as well as a catalyst for further migrations. **The model of Romani migration wherein Romania is perceived as being simply a country of origin for migrations and other European countries as having a mere role as a destination needs to be rearticulated. Each country, today, is viewed in its double role as a place of origin and destination for migratory flows.** This is especially significant when migration phenomena occur within the EU. An extreme example of this leap forward from a model of bidirectional migration (from the country of origin to the host one and back) pertains to Romani families related to Net01 who arrived in Ireland before 1997. As many children, born in that country,

obtained Irish nationality, at least from a juridical point of view, but with consequences in many areas of life, Romania it is no longer their country of origin.

- Among our sample, families of Net01 other than Jonesči Roma currently living in other countries seem to be the **ones who first left Romania (in early 1990), passed through the greatest number of countries (excepting Baltic countries, all of the EU27 member countries, plus Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, USA and Canada) and currently have some relatives in the greatest number of countries.** This capacity for migrating shown by Net01 since 1990 is probably related to, among others, the following factors:
  - The geographical dispersal until 1990, in Romania, of the network of other kinship groups of which the *Jonesči* Roma were inserted a part. **Numerous strong links scattered across a vast area of approximately 40,000 km2 offer a potential for heterogeneous and innovative information than that of other less geographically-scattered and urban communities. It represents an important difference in terms of migratory potential both in relation to other Roma networks, which we analyze below, and the non-Roma (majority) Romanian population**.
  - The **traditional preference** of Roma of Net01 for **acting as middlemen in economic activities** can also explain certain attitudes of towards the assumption of risk, which is necessary for pioneers in migrations. This is another difference from other *Čurara/Korturare* families from C. and S., who seem uninterested in assuming the roles of dealer or intermediary.

- Today **the patrilocal organization of geographic dispersal throughout the region of origin is partially reproduced at an international scale.** Net01 in Granada counts on other networks of families residing in cities close to Granada such as Malaga, Murcia or Seville. The pattern of forming migratory groups of households related to one another via the male siblings, who tend to migrate together, has been maintained throughout all phases of migration. However, segmentation processes are also known to occur as a result of varied success with adaptation to the host countries as well as population growth (see Chapter 1). These **differences in THE territorial dispersal** from countries of origin of the *Čurara/Korturare* networks, in turn, generate different **structures of communities in the territories of migration**.

3.2.3 Network 03 and Network 07 – The rural aspect of *Čurara/Korturare* migration.

It seems that the group of families of Net01 in Granada not only attracted their relatives from H., but also other *Čurara/Korturare Roma* living in nearby rural villages such as C. (approximately 2,200 inhabitants) and S. (approximately 1,200 inhabitants), two small rural towns 20 km from H. Roma of Net01 were only connected to Roma of C. and S. by a few kinship links.

Consequently, they did not form a community by means of marriage, but rather because they knew each other long before 1990. The relationships between Roma of H., C. and S. also can be explained by the role of the town of H. in the micro-region. In fact, H. was a central point within the larger rural area for the location of markets, hospitals, transport services and other public and private services not available to the smaller surrounding villages. This town was a place of reference for many Roma (and non-Roma) living in the surrounding rural-mountain area.

Net03 structure

The majority of members of Net 03 are from C., a small community in Cluj-Napoca County. In Granada most of them live in standard-quality rental housing (whether free market or state-subsided housing). Their main economic activities consist of begging, scrap metal collection, summer mushroom harvesting in Romania and domestic service. Net03 families have relative that migrated to Manchester, UK directly from C. as well as from Granada.

All of the **Net03**'s 29 households studied (see Chart 2) are related through affinity and/or consanguinity (with the exception of three households (at the moment we do not have data on their kin relations). It is a common sociocultural feature of Net01, 03 and 07 that near-consanguineous relatives of an individual become, through marriage, relatives through affinity. Frequent marriages between first cousins facilitate the emergence of parenthood with a multiply affinal and consanguineous links.

In Net03**,** 26 households are linked through sibling relationships. We identified 9 groups of siblings in this network. These groups are formed by a minimum of 2 siblings and a maximum of 6. Four (6, 7, 8, 9) and two (1, 2) of them are linked to one another by marriage. In one case (6, 9), two siblings were married to two other siblings.

Of particular interest is a concentration of migrations from a particular Romanian village to (mainly two districts of) a Spanish city in a peculiar transference process that is less international and varied than those found in the other networks. This network is related to network 7.

Structure of Net07

Six sibling groups, with spouses and children, constitute Net07 (see Chart 3). IN total 16 households are linked through kinship relations and form two family branches that most likely are related. At present, however, we do not know the exact links between the people in these two branches. Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence indicating that they are relatives who are linked by common ancestors. Most Net07 households reside in two quasi-slum settlements located in the same neighborhood of the city. The settlements are situated on private property and the groups of families share the payment of a unique monthly rent of approximately 400 Euros. They have built a dozen dwellings or shacks in an abandoned farmhouse, following the Spanish tradition of "*chabolismo*", a type of slum development that was peopled by working immigrants in large cities in the 1950s and 1960s and then taken over mostly by Spanish Gitanos (see Gamella & Pernas, 2006; Nogués Sáenz, 2010).

Granada City Council interventions in these settlements have been mostly directed to ensure the school attendance of minors. The collection of scrap metal and begging are the main strategies of income generation employed by this group.

Even if Granada appears to be the principal destination for Net07 migrations, the UK and France also are migration destinations for some of the families. Certain other Romani families reside in those countries that are from S. and linked by kinship to the families in Granada. However, the pull power of links abroad seems to have been weak.

Branch 01, to the right of Chart 3, includes ten households and approximately 45 people. These households are linked to two couples of the older generation, with certain married children and grandchildren living nearby. First, there is a couple (both partners born in the 1950s) that lives with one of the sons, his wife and their son in a sort or "stem family" household [48].

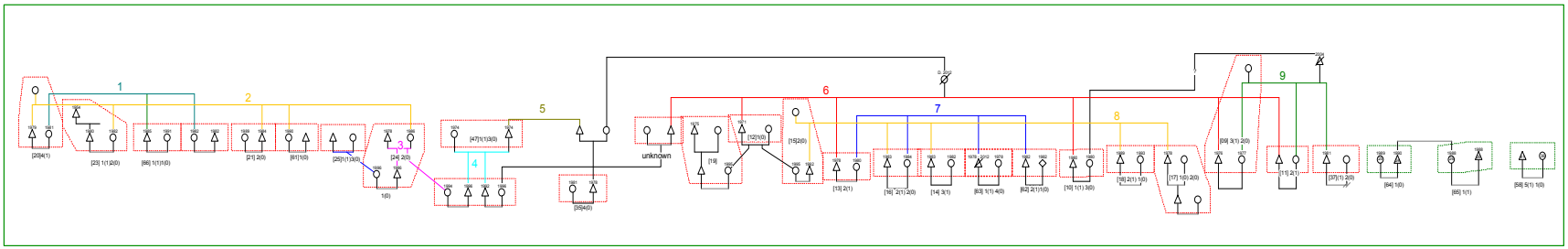
In related households are three daughters of the first couple, with their husbands and children, and another brother with his wife and children. All of them live in the same neighborhood. There are two households more, linked to the former siblings group by marriage: the wife of the youngest child and his parents and one married sister living in two households nearby.

Twenty-two individuals form branch 02. This network is formed by two groups

of siblings related through a marriage [44]. The first group includes three sisters and one brother. One of the sisters is a stepsister of the other group.

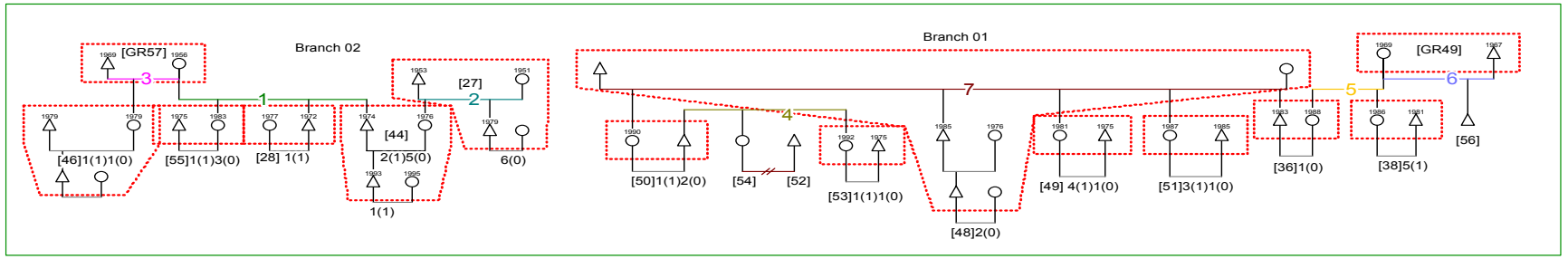
This family network is linked primarily by relations of birth and marriage. Peculiarly, the supposed principle of virilocality-patrilocality (women follow their husbands to live in his community) is not so apparent here. This poses an important question that needs to be clarified by undertaking a genealogical study of this group, as well as their studying their life stories and motives for this seemingly counterintuitive result.

Chart 2: Kinship relations between households of Net03[9]



[9] Legend: a circle represent a female individual, a triangle represents males. [Domestic Unit code] N (1= sons in the UD) N (0= daughters in the UD). For example, [23] 1(1)2(0) is household n. 23, in which an unmarried son and two unmarried daughters are living. Married children of a couple living in the same household are noted using symbols. The children reported here can also be adopted or have consanguinity with at least one parent. The number of children in the UD does not include children already indicated by symbols (for example, the principal couple of [44] in Net07 has 8 children: 7, indicated by number, and 1 married son, indicated by the male symbol (triangle)]. The chart reports the households and their members as residing continuously in Granada between Sep. 2013 and Sep. 2014 and the sibling relationships that link them. It also reports other known kin relationships until -2 generation (starting from the principal couple as generation 0). The data recollected until now does not allow for detailed descriptions. The role of -2 generations links in migratory patterns must also be further explored. For each group of siblings we indicate those who are living in Granada. The number of siblings represented in the chart does not correspond with the totality of a group of siblings.

Chart 3: Kinship relations between households of Net07



Networks dynamics in migrations and adaptation of net03 and net07

Despite the few kinship links between the three networks, the migration history of Net03 and Net 07 is connected to Net01's. The families knew each other from before 1990 since Roma from C. and S. have relatives that live in H. We tried to understand and reconstruct how Net03's migration to Granada started and developed. It seems that a marriage bond could have been instrumental, among others. In 2000 a couple with children travelled from C. to Cluj-Napoca and from there to Granada by bus. They met with the husband's sister, who was married to a Net01 man and had been living in the city for two years. The presence of that first family from C. soon generated a flow of families from C. to Granada. In this case as well, family relations played a central role. The aforementioned brother-sister link that allowed the first family from C. to migrate to Spain was one of six siblings in total, all of whom soon reached Granada with their spouses and children. In Granada they encountered support from this first family and soon obtained a house of their own. In turn, each of these families acted as a pull factor for other closely related families. From 2002 on, families from S. (Net07), who were related to families from C., also began to arrive in Granada. The Roma community of C. (Net 03) and S. (Net07) grew rapidly and, by 2003, more than 30 families were living in the city. The migration histories of Net03 and Net07 began in 2000, approximately ten years after Net01's, by means of a direct route from those localities to Granada. However, some families migrated to Argentina in 1998 and came back to Europe between 2001 and 2004 (they arrived in Madrid by plane and then joined relatives in Granada). These earlier cases of migration from C. will be explored in further stages of research.

Seasonal migration from C. to Granada became common to the majority of the network's families following a progressive process of generalized school enrollment of children in primary school. From September to June, the majority of Net03 families reside in Granada, while almost all of them move to C during the summer. All the families are still deeply linked to their native localities and have houses there. Seasonal mushroom collecting, which is held in the summer, is also an economic motivation for returning. More data on Net07's migration histories needs to be gathered in further phases of the research. From what we know so far, in 2013

only a few Net03 families began to migrate to Manchester and the UK, and the entire network of families was still residing in Granada.

As we mentioned above, Massey and Garcia España (1987) assert that a migrant network lowers the cost of international movement and adaptation to the host country. The question is: Which specific costs have been reduced and what specific information has been key to the development of these particular family networks? It is evident that support from pioneer and early migrant networks is varied and concerns many aspects of migratory flows and adaptation within the host context. However, in our case study, reciprocal support in housing costs and income generation opportunities has been a central factor of development in the migratory process.

With respect to housing, the closeness of family relations facilitated the creation of cohabitating households in shared flats or houses. In the history of Net03's migratory development, the capacity of the first migrating families to host newcomers in rented or squatted houses resulted in the passage from the initial stage of the pioneers' arrival to a new stage of development in the migratory network. The inclination to create groups of cohabitating families does not only respond to culturally foreseen expectations of solidarity. Multi-households cohabitating groups drastically lowered the costs of adaptation. Specifically, they lowered the cost of rent, but also increased the efficacy of productive and reproductive work and the management of material housing resources through members' daily cooperation in diversified tasks.

In the case of squatted buildings, the presence of several entire families was also a decisive factor in the adaptation history of Romani family networks in Granada for several reasons. Firstly, the presence of the main members of the household signified the fulfillment of all basic roles and tasks related to production, reproduction and cooperation with other households. Cohabitating groups have a great capacity to recreate a familiar environment in squatted buildings that often are deteriorated and lacking basic services and comfort. This refers not only to elementary needs (such as having a water supply or the shared use of limited cooking fire) but also to physical modification of space (such as furnishing and decorating) in order to reproduce as much as possible a home. In this way, not only are the material costs lowered by the

internal cooperation of family networks, but also the affective costs generated by migration are mitigated. On the other hand, squatting in a family group allows for greater negotiation power with respect to interventions by public authorities, especially concerning evacuations. In this sense, not only do the number of people living in a squatted place makes the difference but also the presence of minors. The creation of housing resources generated by the social capital from family networks can probably be generalized to encompass other Romani networks, and will be tested in further stages of research. It is similarly common among other migratory groups (for example, see the mentioned Aparicio & Tornos, 2005). In the experiences of these specific networks (Net 03 and 07), beginning in 2007 the creation of large groups of households squatting together in abandoned buildings made them a visible target for social intervention by the local city authorities. The enrollment of children in school (as well as other requirements directed towards minors such as vaccinations) in exchange for support towards improved housing conditions (protected rents or economic aids) has been key towards the creation of a commitment between the families of these networks and the city's social affairs department. This intervention strategy permitted a high rate of families to obtain standardized housing and an increase in the number of minors in primary school. The existence of extended and dense networks of families permitted the rapid circulation of different kinds of information, and signified a rapid increase of commitment with and reciprocal trust between social workers and a wide number of families. These public interventions represent a pivotal moment for Net03 and Net07. Most of the families, especially from Net03, continued to live in rented flats and school attendance in primary school has increased considerably.

With respect to strategies of income generation, as we mentioned above, the formal employment rate was also very low among these networks during the early years of residence in Spain. Until 2007, the situation was further aggravated by difficulties obtaining work permits for non-EU citizens. Activities related to different forms of collection were the most commonly practiced strategies for income generation. These activities, until around 2008, were also much more profitable than today. Consequently, it was by means of these and other informal and marginal strategies of income generation that information circulated within the family network

in Granada, as well as between local networks settled across different cities or states.

Strategies related to begging, scrap metal collection or recycling vary from one local context to another and depend on the existence and availability of market niches. These variations relate to several factors: local or national laws, the specificities of local industries, the sociocultural context of the inhabitants, competition with other social groups and so forth. For example, flower-selling on the streets in Granada and other Andalusian cities is practiced by South Asian migrants and we have not observed Roma who attempted to enter this economic niche. Conversely, in several English and Irish cities Roma do sell flowers in establishments associated with nightlife. Variations also appear within the local context. For example, in Cordoba's urban areas many Roma collect and sell paper to recycling companies, whereas in Granada only scrap metal is collected. Begging strategies also vary from place to place. Whereas in Granada churches entrances are a favored place for begging, in England begging takes place through the sale of magazines produced by organizations with charitable purposes such as the Big Issue. Religious and cultural societal attitudes towards charity, among other factors, help to produce specific niches for begging and the knowledge needed to exploit them. "*So žal athe?", "So žal othe?",* 'What works here?', 'What works there?' are questions that circulate among connected family networks in different localities and countries. A key characteristic of these street-level informal economic activities is their ability to be implemented almost immediately upon the arrival of the migrant. This unique aspect of having at one's disposal the necessary information and social capital for the immediate implementation of specific economic activities is what a well-settled network of relatives provides. Notably, information on economic resources that circulates within and between local networks within a region or several countries can serve to regulate migratory flows from and to the involved territories. In any case, information on formal job opportunities are only one part (and in our case a marginal one) of the information on economic resources that produces push and pull dynamics. In Chapter 6 we analyze informal economic strategies observed in our fieldwork.

Remarks on Net03 and Net 07

- With respect to Net03, we have encountered basically an instance of **bidirectional migration** between C. and Granada. Demographic data on the

dimensions of the Romani population in C. are still missing and we cannot know, at present, the exact proportions of the C. Romani population that have migrated to Granada and is living habitually in this city. The Romanian census of 2002 indicates 237 inhabitants in C. who were self-declared *'romii'*. According to the 2002 census about 9% of the inhabitants were of Romani ethnicity.[10]

- That year, migrations to Granada had already begun and many people were abroad at the time of census data collection. It is difficult, at this stage of the research, to know what proportion of the population the 2002 census is referring to. However, there is no doubt that a very important proportion of the Romani C. population was interested in migrating to Granada. It may be possible to speak of **a bi-sited community**, wherein around one half of the community members reside in Granada the most of the year. This migratory pattern is quite different to the one of Net01, which we defined as multi-sited because of its dispersal across several countries. Further research will shed more light on such socio-territorial differences.
- If we compare the **migratory potential** (see definition above) of Net01 and Net03 and 07 in 2000, it seems that the range of choices of territories to emigrate to and the social support within them were significantly broader for Net01. These families were already linked to other family networks residing in many European and South American countries. Net03 and Net07, on the contrary, were just beginning to migrate at that time. These two networks were only able to count on links with members of Net01 already in Granada (data on migrations to Argentina are missing at the moment). In Romania, Net03 as well as Net07 did not belong to a network of family groups scattered between Transylvania and the Banat, as was the case of Net 01. Endogamic groups of Net03 and Net 07 seem to have been circumscribed to a rural and much more limited area than Net01. The social and information capital that facilitated the initial stages of emigration was drastically lower when compared to that held by Net 01. Thus, in terms of choices, Granada represented a unique destination for international migration; especially for Net03 (the migration history of Net07 requires further research). From 2000 on, these networks drastically increased their numbers in Granada and maintained their dimension until 2014. Interestingly, Net03 and Net07 began to migrate massively on the basis of certain weak ties connecting them with Net01. Rural or urban origins, or at least social connections to rural or urban localities, seem to have played an important part in determining an early or late migration start.
- Paradoxically, one of the keys to adaptation in Granada, especially for Net03, seems to have been the lack of migration experience, the lack of links with relatives in other countries, and the generally lack of labor skills among members of both networks. As compared to Net01, the lack of capacities and resources for economically exploiting territories outside the urban area of the

[10] http://www.edrc.ro/recensamant.jsp?regiune_id=2140&judet_id=2295&localitate_id=2316

city, the lack of alternative territories or countries to migrate to and the general absence of international migratory experiences and knowledge within the network meant that these families, more than others, became targets of control and social intervention by local authorities. Moreover, further emigrations (since 2009) of other Romanian Roma groups reduced both the opportunities for Romani to beg within the city as well as increased the 'pressure' from public social services. The existence of a dense social capital within family networks seems to have contributed to the initial positive attitudes of a few families towards local authorities' interventions quickly became more generalized. As a result many changes occurred among Romani families, especially with respect to primary school attendance, vaccinations, and other children care-related behaviors, which were required by Social Services as conditions for implementing social housing programs and providing other aids that indirectly targeting the improvement of housing conditions. In these cases, networks acted as effective channels for circulating information on strategies and new social values necessary for achieving constructive negotiations with local authorities. The level of commitment from Net03 and Net07 to local authorities' plans was never reached by families belonging to Net01, who left Granada beginning in 2008.

3.3 Network 02

Members of Net02 are from Călărași and Oltenița. They live in urban areas of Granada and Malaga. The main strategies for income generation they have adopted are scrap metal collection and resale of recycled goods in open-air markets. Other less frequent economic activities are begging and domestic service. They general live in standard-quality houses rented from the free market. The network includes eight households in which 58 people were living at the beginning of 2014. Four households reside in Granada and four in Malaga, where they are connected with more Spoitori Roma from Călărași. Many members of this network came to Granada between 2003 and 2004 and have close relatives in Naples, Rome and Siracusa, Italy, with whom they maintain close communication. More families linked with this network live in the Canary Islands and Basque Country.

Networks dynamics in the migration and adaptation of Net02

- They had sporadic experiences as migrant workers before 1990 within the context of economic cooperation between Romania and Iraq. Contacted informants provided experiences as workers in transport enterprises and construction abroad.
- After 1990, they migrated to Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Turkey: employment in construction, the informal cross-border market, begging, the collection of scrap metals and other recycling and waste products.

- In 2001, Italy became the main destination for much Roma migration from Călărași, even though Germany was also sought after. 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 rental housing.
- Net02's presence in Granada began around 2004 and does not appear to have exceeded eighty or ninety individuals; even today it does not surpass forty. Currently, many families and individuals related to NetGR02 have returned to Italy (Naples, Rome and Sicily) or moved to Malaga and, in the case of one family, the Canary Islands.

Continuous movement between southern Italy and southern Spain, resulting in a fluctuating number of Spoitori families living in Granada and Malaga, basically relates to two elements. One is the difference in housing conditions between Italy and Spain. While in Italy, especially Naples, most Spoitori Roma live in slum settlements, in Spain all of them live in houses. The difference is motivated by difficulties with access to standard housing conditions in Italy, but also autonomous decisions made by families who prefer to live in slums in order to save money and invest it in housing projects in Romania. The second element that has motivated people to move from Naples to Granada and Malaga is the absence of legal guarantees in Granada and Malaga that families suffered in the Italian city, especially in relation to police abuse.

New Spoitori individuals or families arriving in Granada and Malaga have generally counted on the support of families already residing in those cities, both in terms of housing solutions and income generation strategies. As described in Chapter 6, recycling activities among Spoitori in Granada and Malaga is based on inter-familial cooperation that permits them to take advantage of more opportunities and reduce costs. This form of organization also allows new arrivals to be incorporated into the search for work opportunities and represents a work force contribution to the families.

3.4 Network 04

This network consists of nine households self-defined as "Ursari Roma" from Segarcea and the surrounding Dolj region. At the beginning of 2014, it had 68 people. They have lived for several years in a town of approximately 41,000 people in the province of Cordoba.

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 and other fruits and vegetables in several Spanish regions. The interregional dispersal of all these households is a fundamental resource for seeking out jobs. The seasonal agricultural employment market is geographically dispersed. In many cases, the selection and hiring processes are undertaken directly by the owner of the farm, a person in charge or even external intermediaries. Public employment offices are rarely used and, at present, significant informal employment can be found in this sector.

The first members of this group arrived in Spain in 2002 and were joined by other members in the following years. They have close relatives in France and Italy and, by mid-2014, one of these families had moved to Sweden where some in-laws had found work for them.

3.5 Network 05

This group consists of two domestic groups of '*Laieşi*' people from Slobozia, Ialomiţa. They comprise 9 people who have relatives in Seville and other Andalusian provinces but are more isolated than is usually the case in Roma immigration. It is an interesting network precisely due to its isolation and small size. However, relatives spend time with them in town or they visit them in areas of Seville.

3.6 Network 06

Nine domestic families consisting of 95 "*Kangljari* Roma" individuals formed this network in January 2014. They have been living in B. for the last three years in a town in the periphery of Seville, the largest Andalusian city. B. has grown rapidly from an agro-town into a middle-ranged town servicing the Seville metropolitan area.

Thus today the town is well-endowed with primary and secondary schools, a hospital and a range of social services. The local Roma population has used all of these services.

Members of this network come from Ţăndărei, (12,000 inhabitants) people in

the Ialomiţa region and Feteşti (34,000 inhabitants) on the Danubian Plain, about 35km. from Ţăndărei and approximately 150 km. from Bucharest. Some of the spouses of the group were also born in other localities of the same region, such as Slobozia and Călărași, as well as other Romanian provinces, including Alba Julia, Transylvania, Argeş and so forth.

This group seems to have followed similar patterns as other Roma from the Ţăndărei area currently living in Madrid and Manchester (Matras, Beluschi Fabeni, Leggio, & Vránová, 2009). They also speak very similar (or the same) Romani dialects catalogued as RO- 066 and RO- 064 in the RMS Database.

They initially migrated to Germany between 1990 and 1992 and arrived in Spain in the mid-1990s. They have lived in several regions of Spain, including Madrid, where they lived during the late 1990s, Catalonia, between 2002 and 2007 and Andalusia. Most of these families have also lived more or less extended periods in Germany, the U.K. and France. Their housing experiences are varied. They have lived in shantytowns in Spain, as well as in squatter and rented houses.

Four households in this network consist of two elders with their married sons (and one daughter) and their grandsons. The other four households also include cousins of the "core patrigroup" and more distant relatives by birth or marriage and origin in the Ţăndărei -Fetești region.

The entire household lives in rented houses in different parts of the municipal territories and pays around 450-500 Euros per month. The survey of families is in the initial phase in what concerns income generating activities and related patterns of mobility. The data we have at disposal at the present time indicates that begging is one of the strategies implemented. Some of the households also have adopted patterns of circular migration between B. and the Barcelona area, where other family members are living.

4. Changes to family Structure

4.2 Generation profiles

Generations present in Spain: see Chapter 1.2.

4.3 Reproduction

4.3.1 A culturally distinct reproductive regime

For generations Romanian Roma groups have sustained cultural systems of sexual reproduction that differ from those of their Rumanian neighbors. Now they contrast even more with reproductive trends in Spain and the other Western European countries of migration. These systems are internally heterogeneous, so our models must be seen as simplifications that should be qualified to provide an adequate representation of the variation and change that we have observed.

The main factors of these reproductive regimes concern the specific combinations of "demographic behaviors" that follow norms that are somehow stable in time (Livi Bacci, 1998). These combinations of practices imply values, beliefs norms and dispositions that are interiorized by social actors. Normative orientations could be explored in discourses. However, such discourses are not always confirmed in practice or in the filtered results of practice that are demographic data.

In the not too distant past, it seems that the Roma elders of those in our sample tended to enter in marriage at a young age and have long reproductive careers. This probably occurred in response to a situation of high mortality, especially infant and child mortality. Probably the growth of Roma population was slow until mortality crises stopped and childhood mortality declined decisively. The onset of the definitive downturn of childhood mortality among Roma children seems to have begun sometime between 1965 and 1989, the period of Ceaușescu's regime. However, we are not aware of data or models on the decline of infant and child mortality among Roma children in Romania. We will keep reviewing the available Romanian publications in this field.

In any case, the so called "old" or "traditional" forms of behavior seem to have undergone a transformation in the last decades. First, there is evidence of a decline in infant and child mortality (see Burlea, 2012), a process that also has been confirmed in the life histories of the women in our study sample. We have learned from the women of the older generations of a diminishing number of child and infant deaths since the 1970s and 1980s. This has affected the life projects of Roma women.

Second, most births happen within socially recognized unions that are considered common law "marriages" by the partners themselves, their families and communities. Marriage is critical to the social organization of reproduction among Roma groups. Our data seems to support the theory that, notwithstanding internal variations, Romanian Roma sustain a marriage system that is crucial to their reproductive practices, and that differs notably from the European or Malthusian marriage system that has characterized Western Europe in modern times (Macfarlane, 1986) (Hajnal, 1965) (Voigtländer & Voth, 2009).

For Roma, marriage is generally a socially sanctioned, known and public relationship with an important institutional base. Vernacular understandings of marriage do not coincide with official definitions by state authorities. In a number of cases we learned of men and women in our sample who were married "on paper" to other persons than those with whom they lived and had children. But who is with whom and who is the "real" father of so and so seems to be a public – but internal to Roma - issue. In fact, the community works powerfully to produce and share information that would be considered as private I other context or within the majority population at large.

4.3.2 Family size

Household structure, size and dynamics

Here we analyze different dimensions of domestic families or households as concrete units in which Roma reproduce their individual and collective existence. In some important senses, these households are corporate groups linked by an ideology or relatedness. They are key units of ownership, consumption, decision, residence and social reproduction. Most favorable and unfavorable events affect all their members, even if costs and benefits are not born equally. Roma households are rarely

egalitarian. They have internal hierarchies and some members enjoy more benefits than others. Women, especially young married women, tend to have more obligations. They often are "multiburdened" (Oprea, 2004).

The seven family networks studied include and connect households as much as persons. We review the domestic units found in these networks and especially attend to 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 shared 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 classic papers in 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, p. 52), and sexual reproduction. But though 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 for Roma immigrant populations.

The first issue we observe is the difficulty of separating the "familial" dimension (the origin of the bonds of its members in birth, marriage, adoption, etc.) from the household (task-group) dimension of domestic units. Often the acknowledged kinship bond is transformed or enriched through the crucial processes of nurturing and caring for dependents. Both dimensions are complementary and mixed in the discourse and social action of Roma and in the folk categories they use to express their perceptions and judgments about their daily life. Thus, polysemic terms (such as *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 (Beluschi Fabeni, 2013b, pp. 226-229).

Perhaps the most crucial task of Roma 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 the most valuable asset of the group and perhaps their most visible "product". Children make Roma adults the subjects of more rights and more obligations in the new country.

A sample of 81 households

In the seven networks surveyed we established 81 different households. We collected detailed data about their histories and internal dynamics from interviews and visits to approximately two dozen of them. In nine cases, we were able to observe the daily life of these households, spending time with their members and participating in certain ceremonies such as a wedding or funerary ritual. We present these households as they existed in form and size during the period of observation. Prior to and after the observation period they probably changed, since they need to be understood as flexible units that repeatedly expand, contract, break and are reconstituted.

These households 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. Other households split and resulted in the creation of new homes, often in other countries thereby lending these domestic experiences a crucial transnational character.

These measurements are indicative of the survey period, the first half of 2014. We indicate some of the observed changes and variations in individual households in certain examples.

Household size and structure

These 81 households varied considerably in size and morphology. As can be seen in Table 7 most of these homes (79%) had eight members or less. The most common household size was between 4 and 8 persons. Households in this range amounted to 58% of the sample. Households including 9 members or more were rare and probably the result of a "provisional" arrangement. Members of these households tended to see these arrangements as a reaction to their current circumstances, which they planned to change. In any case, Roma households were much larger than "normal" Spanish or Romanian homes. On average, they totaled 6.7 people, while in

Spain the average household size was 2.6 in 2012; in Romania it was 2.9 (Eurostat 2014)[11].

Table 7 Roma households in the seven kin networks surveyed. Number of members per household at the time of observation (81 households, 543 persons)

Number of Residents	*Households (N)*	*Households %*	*Cumulative %*	*Total Number of Persons*	*Persons (%)*	*Cum. Persons (%)*
1	3	3.7	3.7	3	0.6	0.6
2	2	2.5	6.2	4	0.7	1.3
3	5	6.2	12.3	15	2.8	4.1
4	13	16.0	28.4	52	9.6	13.6
5	8	9.9	38.3	40	7.4	21.0
6	17	21.0	59.3	102	18.8	39.8
7	7	8.6	67.9	49	9.0	48.8
8	9	11.1	79.0	72	13.3	62.1
9	5	6.2	85,2	45	8.3	70.3
10	1	1.2	86.4	10	1.8	72.2
11	2	2.5	88.9	22	4.1	76.2
12	2	2.5	91.4	24	4.4	80.7
13	2	2.5	93.8	26	4.8	85,5
14	2	2.5	96.3	28	5,2	90.6
15	1	1.2	97.5	15	2.8	93.4
17	1	1.2	98.8	17	3.1	96.5
19	1	1.2	100.0	19	3.5	
Total	**81**	**100**		**543**	**100**	**100.0**

Notably, 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 within immigrant communities and networks. We found only two cases of persons living alone in our sample. They were the result of recent conflicts among spouses, and separations. They are usually seen as temporary arrangements. Isolation

11. Data from Eurostat: http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nuiLast updated: 14-02-2014.

and loneliness is not common among the Roma. In fact this situation may be feared and, therefore, one of the reasons for the efficacy of social control mechanisms among families and communities.

Table 8: Roma households in seven family networks. Types of households by their morphology: relationships between members. Frequency, percentages of each type, average number of members per type and average age of the heads of household. Ordered by frequency (N: 81)

Type of household	*N*	*%*	*N. of members per type (Mean)*	*Age of household head (Mean)*
Couple with unmarried children	37	45,7	5,6	33.9
Couple with unmarried children and one married child with his/her own children ("stem" family)	15	18.5	9.6	42.2
Couple with children and other family members (parents, siblings of wife/husband, etc.)	8	9.9	7.1	29.6
Couple with unmarried children and several married children and grandchildren	8	9.9	12.4	51.9
Couples of several siblings and their children	4	4.9	10.0	31.3
Couple with no children	3	3.7	1.7	48
Mother with children and other dependents	3	3.7	7.3	37
Person living alone	2	2.5	1,0	35
Several brothers and one sister	1	1.2	4.0	22
Total	**81**	**100**	**6.7**	**37.1**

Household structures

In Tables 7 and 8 we provide the results of our survey. It is just a still life 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).

1. Nuclear or conjugal families: couples with or without unmarried children

The most frequent type of household found in the extended sample is **the nuclear or conjugal family,** meaning a couple and their unmarried children. This type of household comprises 45.7% of all homes, but only 37% live in these arrangements. When we add couples without children (3.7%) the numbers come to almost a half of all households. The ideal of the nuclear family is also strong among the Roma; most

young couples, and especially young wives, express their desire to have an independent house. This issue may signal 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 nuclear phase in which it is customary for couples to establish an independent household and, eventually, incorporate the first married son and the related wife, and so forth into it. Thus, at a certain moment in their history, almost all Roma households are expected to be nuclear or conjugal. In fact, couples are often economic independent units even when they share a home with parents or other couples and their children. As some of our informants explained, "Every couple/adult man has their/his own money. But they have to contribute [to the household]". Couples tend to develop their own budget and economic project at marriage, even if they remain dependent upon parents or relatives for years or decades to come.

2. Joint family with one married son: stem family

The second most common type (18.5%) is that formed by an older couple living with their unmarried children, one married son and the son's spouse and children who are 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) in relation to primogeniture, undivided inheritance patterns and agrarian propertied classes (see Berkner, 1972; Segalen, 1986; Yanagisako, 1984). Obviously the principles guiding this domestic formation among Roma are different and derive from a distinct development sequence. Here key decisions respond to norms and expectations concerning early marriage and maternity, post-marital residence, marriage transactions and the institution of the incoming *bori* (daughter- and sister- in-law).

Let's briefly examine some examples of this type of domestic unit.

- A26. In this household we find a couple of grandparents (who are 59 and 57 years old, respectively) with one married son, his wife and their four small children.

- A44. This house has 12 members. A couple of young grandparents (the mother is 36 and the father is 39) with their eight children, and the 18-year-old wife of the oldest son (20) and their 2-year-old child.
- A40. In this 9-person home we find a husband and wife of 45 and 40 years of age, respectively, with their 3 single children, and living with their 25-year-old son, his wife and their two small children.

3. Elder woman with married children and grandchildren

In some cases, a widow lives with her married sons and their wives and offspring. This usually occurs to a home of the prior two types following the death (or abandonment) of the father. We found three cases of this type. However, this does not reflect a matrifocal type of household and the principles that underlie its formation have nothing to do with female-headed households in other cultural areas (Smith, 1996). For example:

- A63. In this house we find a 36-year-old widow with five children, 5 to 16 years of age. Her husband died three years earlier. Several brothers of the deceased husband lived nearby.
- A43. This household was lead by a 40-year-old widow with 6 children, between 9 and 22 years of age. Her husband died unexpectedly 8 years ago. Two of her late husband's nephews also live with them. Their mother died, and their father is in jail in Romania.
- C07. Here we have a 36-year-old divorced mother with two children and a married daughter of 20, her husband and three small children. This type shows a pattern that also could be classified as Type 5a. But the head of household is clearly the young grandmother. This clearly represents an "extended" or complex type of household.

4. Patrigroups: Paternal or vertically extended joint family

Another common type of household is formed by parents with unmarried children and two or more married children with their spouses and children, a kind of extended or multiple household with several reproductive couples and a patriarchal figure reflecting "vertical" dominance, meaning some form of "patrigroup". We found

8 examples of this three-generation home, representing 10% of all households. For instance, we find:

- D.01. A two-story attached house with the 16 family members: the grandparents (50 and 48 years of age, respectively), two married sons, their spouses and nine children (6 and 3 children per brother, respectively).
- A22. A middle-aged couple (43 and 37, respectively) with four unmarried children and two sons (24 and 21, respectively) married and with their wives and four children. In total, 13 people lived in the house, as well as a newborn child in early 2014. Thus, certain small children grew up with their nephews, as they belonged to the same generation.
- B01. The largest domestic unit in the sample with 19 people living together in a house: the grandparents (both 50 years old), four of their sons and their wives and children. There were a total of 9 children in the three-generation homes.

5. Fratrigroups: horizontally extended joint family

Another important type of complex household consists of several married brothers with their spouses and children. This is a form of "fratrigroup", or poly-nuclear household which has a horizontal or collateral model of dominance. We found 4 examples of this type of household such as, for instance:

- D09. The 11 members of this family shared an attached house they had been renting for over one year. This group was comprised of two brothers of 24 and 22 years of age, respectively, their wives and their 7 children, born within the previous 7 years.

The morphology of the households surveyed seems to be more complex in terms of co-residing generations and couples than that found among Spanish households at large. As can be seen in Table 3, between 33 and 47 percent of all domestic units in the sample were multiple or extended households (Segalen, 1986, pp. 20-22). They consisted of more than one couple, and/or three or more generations. They made up about 60 percent of the surveyed population.

Males seem to head most of the domestic units surveyed. In three cases, women theoretically were the heads of their homes; in two cases they were widows.

But even in these cases, in which the mother was the most senior and respected person in a household, usually the oldest son or some other male was the head of household in face of other Roma males in ceremonial or political contexts. And sometimes these roles did not coincided either with the "owner" of the house, be it the proprietor, heir or leaser of the premises, and who was legally responsible in face of no-Roma authorities and legal systems... Considerable permutations are possible among these household roles.

Among the Roma, female-headed households are not the norm, morally or statistically. Even when widows or grandmothers play a major authoritative role, the leading role and ownership often falls to her grown-up children, cousins or brothers. This, however, does not mean that women are not influential in household decision-making. However, contrary to what we are accustomed to seeing in other instances of poverty and exclusion (for a classical view, see Stack, 1974), Roma men and women are able to maintain united families and make viable unions with life-partners. This is very different to what is reported in other contexts of recurrent poverty and mother-centeredness (Chant & Campling, 1997; Smith, 1996).

Eventually, studies of households in different migrant-receiving countries need to be compared to those in Romania. Do, for instance, migrating Roma generate household structures in the receiving countries that are widely divergent from those they have had in their original communities?

The largest households found in this survey may have resulted from the harsh living 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, forces 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.

Often foreshadowing such arrangements is a complex family history and set of moral obligations that are culturally patterned and generated and experienced in particularly specific ways. Solidarity and generosity are not the only trends at work; there are also tensions, conflicts and confrontations. However, in our sample we have

not found the cases of feuding violence that have been reported in certain other Romani contexts (Gay y Blasco, 1999; Grönfors, 1986; Piasere, 1991; San Román, 1976, 1997).

The flexibility with and capacity for sharing among 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 Chart 2 and 3 of Chapter 3, we offered a snapshot of the households of each of the three major networks as they appeared during the time of data collection. Some changes have since transformed certain households. We provide some examples below:

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 one of Granada's peripheral neighborhoods and pay 350 Euros per month plus utility expenses. He works collecting scraps and other objects that he resells in the underground market. She works as a house cleaner and begs in the morning when her Spanish employers do not 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 to Spain 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 earlier than Ionuţ and went to Italy around 2008. After a couple of years, Ionuţ's parents and sister followed the elder brother to Italy; they are currently living in Sicily.

Multiple conflicts between the four families have 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 they consider them the only familial 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. After some weeks, he said he was 'dying of nostalgia' for his beloved in Napoli and returned to Italy shortly thereafter. In early 2014, Marcela got pregnant following six years without having children. They expected their second child by November 2014. We will describe the changes that this brings in the Follow-Up report.

Gica's house, C01

Since early 2013 this family lived in a rented, comfortable three-story house in the middle of a large and prosperous Andalusian town. The house had four bedrooms, a large living room and a large terrace on the roof overlooking the town. Rent in this town was relatively cheaper than in the nearest cities: they paid 300 Euros.

This family consisted of a dominant couple with three male children, the oldest of which was married and lived in the house with two small kids and his wife. This is a typical "stem family", when examined from the viewpoint of structure. But the origin of this formation lies not in primogeniture but, rather, in relation to the resident daughter-/sister-in-law, also known as the *bori.* This household structure had a clear gender and generational hierarchy. Gica was the visible and executive head of household. He made most decisions, although his wife was also very influential. The married son and the daughter-in-law mostly followed suit. The son was relatively content, but the *bori* longed to have her own house, and often felt trapped by the oppressive circumstances.

The two adult women worked in, as well as outside 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 was in constant flux. Towards the end of the period of study, it had been more difficult for the adult males to get paid jobs. The father had been ill, and the adult son did not have a legal work permit. He was illiterate and did not have a driving license. His children were learning to read and write in school, but he was unable to help them with their homework due to his lack of skills, which he was ashamed of. There are tensions both among the

couple and between the *bori* and her in-laws. She had not visited Romania since she had first come to Spain in 2008. She wanted to visit her mother and brother who lived there, but lacked the means to do so. His aunt's family often spent time in the large house with her husband and three children. Later on, the young couple became independent and could sustain themselves and their two children. They worked for several seasons harvesting crops.

By the end of 2013 the family had received a "minimum [labor] insertion income" subsidy grant from the Regional Government that amounted to about 500 Euros. This provided them with a brief relief from the extreme difficulties they had been confronting. However, after six months the grant was not renewed. By mid-2014, Gica left Spain with his wife and two younger children. The older son remained in the house with his wife and two kids. During the second half of 2014 other important changes took place in this household both in terms of its composition and its relationship to surrounding society. Presently, we are documenting these changes and they will be incorporated in the Follow-Up survey.

Cornel and Marian's and Donus and Stella's home. Net04, C11

This domestic unit consists of two related couples "squatting" together in a small, empty and ruined house. Subsequently the owner gave them permission to stay temporarily. The first couple consists of Cornel, a 49-year-old widow who had married Marian, a 46-year-old divorcee, five years earlier. In turn, Cornel's only son, Donus, married Marian's daughter, Stela. In 2013 and 2014 the four of them lived together in an abandoned one-story house in the outskirts of town. The house had a small kitchen, a living room and a bedroom. It had no electricity or running water. The family got water from a public faucet nearby, and built a makeshift latrine in an empty plot of land across the street which the owner let them use. The handy Cornel had planted a small garden in the empty plot, and had a couple of chickens as well. Using a computer and plug-in internet service, the young couple maintained daily contact with family members abroad via *Facebook* and *Skype*. The younger couple slept in the bedroom and their parents occupied the living room that doubled as a dining room.

These four people had relatives in town but they rarely saw them and were not on good terms with them. In fact, they relied more on people from other Roma

networks, as well as social workers and Spanish friends. Both couples were very close and coped with the lack of income and the difficult housing conditions the best they could. But they had many problems as they lacked legal driving licenses despite having two cars.

They both had been arrested several times. In one case, some copper pipes had been found in their car and both males of the household ended up in prison. Cornel's sentence was suspended providing he worked in community-related services. Cornel was largely illiterate and had considerable trouble speaking Spanish. The family's situation was often dramatic. Cornel often drank too much and got in fights. In one case he punched Gica's son, who was from the *Ursari* network living in town, in the face. Since Gica's family had provided Cornel's people with support, their relationship worsened. However, in November 2013, the social worker in charge of immigrants helped to obtain a minimum rent subsidy (about 480 Euros per month) for them for six months. This gave them some relief. In 2014, Cornel got a job in a fruit-packing factory and things improved.

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 sexually and potentially reproductive couple sharing a domestic space. It has one kitchen and one single food budget, but two beds for sexually active couples, these being, in the end, the things historians count (or imagine) in censuses. But in what myriad ways did the members of all these households relate to each other?

Three related households. Network 01

Kale and Zorinka's, A30

Kale, 35, was the eldest brother of a family that moved to Spain between 2000 and 2002, following the early death of his father in Romania. For several years Kale had a decent job in a motor garage and he bought a small house in a working-class neighborhood. The house was relatively inexpensive and had three bedrooms. Kale paid a mortgage that was not much higher than what he would have paid as rent. By the end of 2013 Ion lived in this apartment with his wife, Zorinka, and three small children, Reitan, Ion's younger brother, and Reitan's 25-year-old wife and their daughter. There were eight people in all: two brothers, their wives and their young

children. The younger brother accepted that this was not "his home", but rather a provisional although indefinite arrangement until he found the means to rent and maintain his own space. He and his wife wished they could have their own house. At the time they helped Ion with utilities and other expenses rather than pay rent, and they bought food for everyone as often as they could.

In early 2004, Reitan got a part-time job, his first regular job, and was able to rent a house nearby. It was an old, two story, three-bedroom house owned by a Gitano woman who had recently moved to a new flat. Reitan moved there with his wife, his youngest brother and his mother. In the new home there were two young couples with a child each, and the husbands' mother. The three parts of the family maintained separate budgets but contributed to the household through separate, discrete installments. Reitan complained that his younger brother did not contribute, and that he had to pay all the bills. The mother, who begged daily and brought home lots of food, also helped irregularly with paying the bills. There was some tension among the three women concerning household tasks. They accused the spouse of the younger brother of shirking most of her duties just as her husband was accused of shirking work.

In the other house, Kale lived with Zorinka and their three children. At first everybody felt relieved. Things seemed to have improved and everybody had more space and comfort. Zorinka, however, started to complain about feeling lonely in the house when children were in school and somewhat overburdened when they were at home and said she needed to go out to buy food or get work. She had grown used to leaving the kids under the supervision of her mother-in-law or sisters-in law. They all visited each other frequently at both homes. They liked to be together and often missed each other.

Bosnoe's home, A26

Across the street from Kale's flat was his brother Bosnoe's apartment. At the end of 2013, Bosnoe lived with his wife and three kids, his mother, his recently married youngest brother, Bebi, and Bebi's wife, Lina. There were eight persons in total in what can be considered a multiple household with three generations of closely related people.

According to all accounts, this was Bosnoe's home. He paid the rent, as he had a decent permanent job. Thus, kin seniority and authority did not correspond in this case to household ownership or being the head of household. Although the widowed mother was well respected and obeyed, household power followed a different logic. In this case, the *bori* (daughter-in-law) had ownership of the house rather than the mother-in-law.

During the Pilot Survey this cleavage in traditional intergenerational roles had taken a new turn, resulting in a further "deconstruction" of the household during the first months of 2014. Specifically, Bosnoe was granted subsidized housing and moved there with his wife and children. His mother, brother and brother's wife moved in with Kale, the elder brother, to the three-bedroom house, which is currently being shared today by 11 people. One member's improved welfare affected the other members negatively. But they adapted to the new circumstances and tried to cope as best they could. The young couples said they wanted their own houses, not far from each other, and to include the brothers' mother in one of them.

In turn, by April 2014 the unit separated into two new households. The two younger brothers lived with their spouses and children and the widowed mother moved a bit farther away to a three-bedroom house in order to create a new home: Reitano's home.

Reitano's new home, A29

Upon getting a part-time temporary job, Reitan rented a house and established a new, independent household. He took the main room upstairs for himself, his wife and small child. Bebi and his wife Lina shared another room with their baby girl. The mother had the smallest room. They had a bathroom upstairs, kitchen and living-room downstairs.

Reitano was the "owner" since he was responsible for the rent and utilities, although the house was shared by everyone. Bebi was unemployed and received some money from "parking" cars. He contributed very little to the housing expenses. The mother begged daily and contributed to food and some money for expenses. There were three economic units in this household, each with its own budget and "savings plan". The moral obligations of the family kept them together. But some tensions

emerged both among the brothers, and among the three women in the house. These mostly concern monetary contributions and the distribution of domestic tasks and obligations. These were almost exclusively women's tasks and are often felt as a lack of respect for each other and especially for the mother-in-law (developments of this household will be observed in further research steps)

4.3.3 Women's work and women's load

In the Roma households surveyed we found mostly segregated and unequal gender duties and roles. Domestic chores were almost always considered feminine labor and responsibilities. In other words, cleaning the house, washing and mending clothes, obtaining food and cooking it, and caring for children and dependent elders were considered gendered tasks. Men rarely performed them. Moreover, according to the dominant gender ideology they should not do them, less so publicly and in front of strangers, or they would lose face and the respect of the *'lume'*, the significant people and moral community.

Organization of labor in relation to supply and transformation of food is important in households with so many minors. It is perhaps overlooked because it is mostly considered "women's work" (Robertson, 1991, p. 83). Men contributed to household food provisions via resources, especially monetary resources. Also, they might go to the supermarket and buy food with their partners since this meant confronting the public or non-Roma world, where food comes from. But the responsibility for overseeing that enough food was available in the house, the preparation and cooking of meals and even setting the table, as well as cleaning the dishes, were considered female tasks. Women were also expected to supervise women's chores. In other words, the performance of junior women was made accountable to the senior women.

There is no custom of sharing housework among spouses. We did not find any emerging ideology of gender equality in the discourse of Roma informants. Men seemed to pay little attention to those basic household tasks upon which they and their families depended for survival. They simply took them for granted as a part of the "normal" flow of Roma life. Most women came to their marriages expecting unequal partnerships and highly differentiated gender roles. Nevertheless, women's roles

within the household dynamics were expected to change throughout their life course. As they grew older, it was expected that they would gain authority and come to control the work of the junior women in the house. Therefore, age was an important structuring principle in Roma families. Nonetheless, some changes are occurring mostly among those couples and households that are more isolated from their original family networks.

With respect to non-household resources, even though the main burden of making money tends to lie, at least ideologically, with the men, Roma women were expected to contribute as well, and were raised learning that their duty is to go out and get resources from the "*gaže*" world. Therefore, female Roma were not limited to the private, domestic sphere. In fact they were often more visible than men in the public realm where they were commonly identified as "*gitanas rumanas*", "those with the long skirts and hair scarves".

However, despite women providing provisions and money towards the household economy, they are rarely awarded the privileges of male providers. This is not unlike what has been reported about working-class homes in majority societies (see, for instance, Miller & Sassler, 2012), despite the existence of certain important ideological differences. The connection between masculinity and domestic privileges is marked among the seven networks studied, despite certain variations among groups and families that need to be explored.

It also seems mostly accurate that "most Roma agree that women hold the family together emotionally and culturally, and in addition many families survive on women's incomes" (Silverman, 2012, p. 110). We have found many cases in which women, especially older ones, were highly respected and admired by their adult children and grandchildren by their dedication to their families.

Among the males of the sample heard discourses of equality concerning domestic tasks are not frequent (nor in other aspects relating to reproduction and gender). This contrasts with Spanish society at large, where the gender equality discourse is dominant in public, although gender differences and masculine privileges remain entrenched in many areas of daily life, including domestic work. However, among some of the young mothers and daughter-in-laws we found symptoms of tiredness, and desires and claims for more balanced relationships and sharing of tasks

with their spouses. The claim for equality is more visible in the discourse of younger women. We also found a handful of Roma men who were more ready to help and share in domestic tasks, and who were willing to accept less segregated roles and jobs. They tend to be more independent from family and community relationships. Therefore, not only the household size and structure impinges on gender dynamics, but the situation in a more or less dense network of related households and family members is known to affect gender roles and gender segregation (Bott, 1971).

Some conclusions

Roma households are diverse and dynamic entities formed by the cooperative actions of people. As "conceptually concrete social arrangements" they are "informed by a number of analytically distinct cultural principles" (Carter, 1984, p. 45). In the case under study it is difficult to separate the two major analytical dimensions of the domestic unit: the familial dimension and culturally recognized tasks. Households need to be described and defined in terms of the culturally recognized tasks for which members are responsible and also according to the relationships between their members. They perform these tasks "on behalf of and by assigning duties to their personnel and by deploying their resources" (Carter, 1984, p. 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 relation to several crucial dimensions: gender, age, seniority, marital status and even personal choices. The dialectics between mutual goals and differential benefits always needs 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.

Many Roma households are nuclear, but they are rarely isolated. On the contrary, they depend on households of consanguineous relatives or in-laws who, if possible, live nearby. Networks of households are thus crucial to the daily life of all members, and the redistribution of resources among households poses a limit to cooperative action in isolated homes.

However, the permanent flow of emotional support, care and resources between households does not contradict their internal inequality. The dialectics between joint goals and differential benefits always need to be taken into

consideration, especially concerning young women, who often seem to be working for the benefit of others most of the time.

Some Roma households appear more stable than others in terms of composition, locality and viability. Household's stability and viability need to be further studied. Some important studies have challenged the importance of households as permanent or stable social units and stressed the importance of the daily cooperation among kin networks residing in several households as a strategy used by the poor to fence off negative changes in their income opportunities. As 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" (1974, p. 123).

4.4 Child bearing and family planning by age of women

There are signs of a possible change occurring in the reproductive strategies of Roma women of different generations. This would reflect a clash in the normative orientations of younger women.

4.4.1 An extended sample of Roma mothers

The Extended Survey allowed us to study an extended sample of Roma women living in Spain. Of the 81 domestic units surveyed we found 132 women who had had a partner or were married according to their group's definition. These 132 women were the potential sample to study. Of these 132 "married" women, 126 were 18 years-of age or older and 6 were younger. Of this potential sample, we were able to reconstruct the reproductive life of 93 women who had been married and lived as a couple according to the understandings, definitions and norms of their own community. In all cases but two, these women had had children. In one case the marriage had occurred during the survey, and no children were yet born to the couple. There was one adult Roma woman who had not had children. We were able to partially reconstruct the

reproductive histories of these 93 Roma women. This sample included 70.5 percent of the total sample of 132 married women found in the seven networks[12].

These 93 Roma women were born between 1950 and 1999, and ranged in age between 14 and 63. They belonged to the three major generations described previously, although there were some very young mothers who belonged to the youngest generation, that is, that of minors or children. Most of the women in this sample were born between the 1980s and 1990s and their reproductive "careers" were not yet finished.

The basic reconstruction of their reproductive histories is based on the list of their known living children and their respective dates of birth, and the birth dates of their partners/husbands. In some cases we also were able to record other aspects of their reproductive health and lives, including the history of their marriages, the loss of children or pregnancies, the use of contraceptive methods and their ideas, values and normative orientations about the number and composition of offspring they expected to have.

We used different methods to gather information on this subject, including interviews of the women themselves and their relatives, and checking their documents and records. The information was immediately codified and entered into a database in an anonymous manner. Only the month and year of birth of each woman and her children was recorded. Let us review some of the **major results** that emerged from the analysis of the surveyed data:

Universal marriage: low levels of celibacy

In the groups we study, few Roma women are unwed in their adulthood. There is no woman in our sample who remained celibate after 24. All had at least one socially recognized partner or husband. Total celibacy was also rare among Roma women who live in Romania and in other countries and are related to our informants in Spain. We explored this in our interviews and collected only a handful of cases for the whole set of transnational networks. Celibacy, especially among women, was associated with

[12] In the follow-up report we plan to continue collecting information from the other women in the extended research sample. According to our knowledge, these other women do not appear to show a different pattern of fertility, nuptiality or maternity than those in the research sample. But this has to be confirmed in further research.

(and attributed to) physical or mental disabilities or what they perceived to be a lack of beauty or attractiveness.

This coincides with the life histories and the declared goals and values of the people interviewed. Single life did not mean much in Roma culture. The ideal life of an adult was considered to be that of a sexual, fertile couple with a gendered division of tasks and responsibilities among partners. Hence, marriage in Roma society is not an individual choice but a collective necessity. Obviously there are exceptions, and the number of young Roma who live alternative lives to the "traditional" model is growing. But these are not common in the networks studied.

Homosexuality is not contemplated as a life option either. We did not find persons who defined themselves or were defined by others as gay or lesbian, or who lived as homosexual couples in the networks or transnational communities studied. Perhaps there has been no place even now for persons with this orientation and life project in the communities to which these networks belong. This subject requires careful and respectful consideration and further research.

Early marriage and maternity

Marriage tends to be universal, and often we found some urgency both in parents and teenagers in establishing the right matches. Both the moral and statistical norms contemplate teenage marriage. In our sample, the average age of individuals at their first marriage is 16.4 years of age, although there is some variation and some unions take place earlier or later.

Poverty and exclusion often lead to early marriages in many underprivileged groups throughout the world. However, among Roma groups early marriages appear to be widespread and do not appear to be exclusively associated with poor or "traditional" communities. We found instances of this in all the networks surveyed. In Roma communities teenage marriage appears to be a complex, historically situated cultural strategy that may have worked in the past as a means of cultural resistance, affirmation and perpetuation. However, in the present context of declining mortality, longer life expectancy and the need for long-term formal education, teenage marriage is having new and unprecedented consequences for Roma families.

The birth of the first child: Early maternity

The age of mothers giving birth for the first time is a crucial indicator in the reproductive patterns of a population. It influences the total number of births that a woman might have, which, in turn, impacts the size, composition, and growth of the population. Moreover, the mother's age "plays a strong role in a wide range of birth outcomes (e.g. birth weight, multiple births, and birth defects), so it is critical to track the average age at which women have their first birth" (Mathews & Hamilton, p. 1). In Table 1, we show the results of the analysis of this variable[13] in our sample of 93 Roma women, 91 of whom had borne children.

As can be seen in Table 9, children came early to these families. The average age of women who had given birth to their first child for the entire sample was 17.5 years of age. Half of these mothers had had their first child before their eighteenth birthday. All had had their first birth between 13 and 24.5 years of age. Almost half of them had borne a child before their seventeenth birthday; about 75% before 19. The average age of the first known birth remained low as compared to society at large for almost 50 years in these Roma families.

First pregnancies among this group of women commonly occurred at 16 or later. But in a number of cases they occurred at 15 years-of-age or earlier.

As can be seen in Table 9, the mean age of the mother at the birth of her first child remained low for all five-year cohorts in our sample. The average and median age of women at their first births oscillated between 16 and 18.4 years old. This means that unions are normally established between 15 to 17 years of age. The whole range of first maternities varies from 13 to 24.5 years old, a difference of over ten years. It is not uncommon to find Roma women who are mothers at 15 together with sisters or cousins who have their first child at 24. The whole range of "early" maternities need further study. A small portion of the pregnancies documented in our sample occurred at 12 and 13 years of age. "Child pregnancies" are the source of stigmatization for the

[13] The table shows the "exact" age of the mother. It was calculated whenever the month and year of both mother's and child's birthdates were known. Decimal figures were used to account for the detailed data gathered by this method.

entire Roma communities, and their occurrence, even if exceptional, is easily manipulated by mass media.

Table 9: Age of mothers at the birth of their first known child. Romanian Roma women in seven family networks living in Spain, January 2014 (N: 91)

Birth period	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Median*	*Min*	*Max*	*Q1*	*Q3*	*N*
1950 to 1954	16.0		16	16	16	16	16	1
1955 to 1959	18.3	1.1	18.3	17.5	19	17.5	19	2
1960 to 1964	16.5	0.7	16.5	16	17	16	17	2
1965 to 1969	15,8	0.8	16	15	16.5	15	16.5	3
1970 to 1974	18.4	3.4	17.5	15	23.3	15.6	21.5	6
1975 to 1979	17.4	2.5	16.9	13	21.5	15.9	19.1	12
1980 to 1984	18.0	2.5	18	14.6	24.5	15.6	19	21
1985 to 1989	18.4	2.8	18.6	14	24.5	15.8	20	18
1990 to 1994	17.3	2.1	16.9	13.5	20.5	16.0	18.9	18
1995 to 1999	15,6	1.3	15,5	14.2	18.3	14.5	16.1	8
Total	17.5	2.4	17.2	13	24.5	15.6	19	91

In sum, our data confirms a pattern of teen marriage followed by pregnancy as a long-term "habitus" in these Roma groups. This cultural pattern has remained stable for the last half a century (1960s to 2010s)

Table 10: Age of mothers at the birth of their first known child by 20-year cohorts. Romanian Roma women from seven family networks living in Spain (N: 91)

Birth period	*Mean*	*Std. dev.*	*Median*	*Min*	*Max*	*Q1*	*Q3*	*N*
1950 to 1969	16.6	1.2	16.3	15	19	16	17.25	8
1970 to 1989	18.0	2.6	18	13	24.5	15.8	19.5	57
1990 to 1999	16.8	2.0	16.3	13.5	20.5	15.4	18.3	26
Total	17.5	2.4	17.2	13	24.5	15.6	19	91

With respect to generational differences, it can be observed among younger cohorts that some women delay in the birth of first children. Table 10 shows the data on the age at first birth aggregated by 20-year cohorts. Note that the oldest cohort, born between the 1950s and 1960s entered maternity at an earlier age on average (16.6) than their daughters born between 1970s and 1980s (18.0). The reproductive

life of these younger Roma women occurred mostly after the fall of the Ceausescu regime. Note as well that there is more variation in this variable among the younger generation. In this case, the standard deviation of age at first birth is two times larger than the others.

In spite of this, the generation of "granddaughters" born between 1990 and 1999 appear to be having children at an earlier age again (16.8 years on average). It must be noted, however, that they are the most precocious of their generation. Many women of the same age have not had children yet. Hence the final average from this cohort will be different and most likely older.

Husbands' ages

The male partners or husbands of these women are commonly of the same age group, especially with regards to first marriages. In our sample, 93 husbands or male partners of the women surveyed were 2.33 years older than their wives. In 9 cases (9.7%) wives were older than their husbands. Only in three cases did the husband belong to an older generation; that is, he was at least 15 years older than his wife. In these cases, none of the couples were first spouses. The cultural norm for Roma marriages is that both spouses must be from the same generation and age cohort. Ideally, husbands should be a bit older than their wives. There is not much difference in this to the normative orientation of both Spaniards and Romanians at large.

Family size: A decreasing number of children

The 93 women in the Extended Sample had a total of 326 known living children born between 1966 and 2013. They had 3.5 living children on average. But this is not very significant since the sample includes women from 3 or 4 generations. The maximum number of living children is 8. At the time of the study, two women had not yet had children. These are conservative estimates, however, as they only account for the known children born to these women. The data presented here most likely underestimates the fertility rates of this group of women, especially those of older generations. In the cases in which we were able to gather information on the delicate issues of childhood deaths, abortions and adoptions of newly-born children, the total number of pregnancies increased between 10 and 30 percent.

Table 11: Number of living children of Romanian Roma immigrant women from 8 family networks, Spain, 2014 (N: 93)

Birth period	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Median*	*Max*	*Q1*	*Q3*	*N*	*Age range*
1950 to 1954	8.0	-	8	8	8	8	1	***59 to 64***
1955 to 1959	7.5	0.7	7.5	8	7	8	2	***54 to 58***
1960 to 1964	5,5	0.7	5,5	6	5	6	2	***49 to 53***
1965 to 1969	5,3	0.6	5	6	5	6	3	***44 to 48***
1970 to 1974	4.8	2.0	4.5	8	4	6	6	***39 to 43***
1975 to 1979	4.8	2.3	4.5	8	3	7	2	***34 to 38***
1980 to 1984	4.0	1.3	4	6	3	5	1	***29 to 33***
1985 to 1989	2.6	1.4	2	5	2	4	19	***24 to 28***
1990 to 1994	2.6	1.2	2	5	2	3	18	***19 to 23***
1995 to 1999	1.1	0.6	1	2	1	1	9	***14 to 18***
Total	3.5	2.0	3	8	2	5	93	***Total***

Table 11 also shows that each younger cohort has fewer children than the previous one. This is significant in relation to those cohorts whose reproductive histories have likely finished, meaning women born between 1950 and 1975, that is, those who are at least 40 years-of-age. They include two generations of women: grandmothers and middle-aged mothers.

The oldest generation probably represents partially those Romanian Roma women who may have started to control their fertility, most likely by choosing not to have children in their 30s. Hence these women may belong to generations in which the norm of unrestricted fertility does not apply. Both the generation of mothers (born between 1960 and 1979) and daughters (born after 1980) appear to have controlled their fertility using diverse methods.

The salient point is that they did so intentionally; they controlled their fertility after having a number of children that they and their spouses may have considered to be adequate. Nonetheless, our results mostly highlight a group of Roma women who may end up having more children. So these data must be completed with more data from older women obtained from different countries including Romania.

A decline in fertility rates is a crucial sign of demographic transition among contemporary populations. The present Roma diaspora makes this a transnational

phenomenon**.** It is likely that demographic changes are a result of as well as a stimulus to complex transformations in marriage, kinship and gender systems.

Table 12: Age of Roma women in seven family networks at the birth of their last known child. Grouped by decade of birth of mothers. Measures of central tendency and dispersion and average of the present age of the women in each cohort (N: 91)

Decade of birth	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Median*	*Min*	*Max*	*Age (Mean)*	*N*
1950 to 1959	34.3	2.3	33	3	37	57.7	3
1960 to 1969	29.4	5.3	27	25	38	48.6	5
1970 to 1979	29.1	5.1	30	21	36	36.9	18
1980 to 1989	25.5	4.3	26	16	33	28.5	39
1990 to 1999	19.2	2.3	20	14	22	19.7	26

As shown in Table 12, the older Roma women in our sample seem to have been completing the reproductive stage of their lives in their thirties. Similarly, new generations seem to follow the same pattern. This probably marks the beginning of fertility transition for the Roma population. It may have started in the late 1980s and 1990s. Note that the crucial cohort for this shift is the women born in the 1970s, since they are the younger group that may have completed their reproductive "careers" and are well represented in our sample. Table 13 appears to corroborate this.

Table 13: Years since last child per decade of birth of women. Measures of central tendency and dispersion

Decade of birth	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Median*	*Min*	*Max*	*Q1*	*Q3*	*N*
1950 to 1959	24.3	5,9	22	20	31	20	31	3
1960 to 1969	20.2	4.2	21	13	24	21	22	5
1970 to 1979	8.8	4.6	7.5	2	17	6	13	18
1980 to 1989	4.2	3.2	4	0	11	1	6	37
1990 to 1999	1.8	1.1	2	0	4	1	2	25

The three older cohorts of women in our sample, those born in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, appear to have ceased having children years or even decades ago.

The women born in the 1970s who are still fertile have been without children for almost 9 years on average. Most of them seem to be actively seeking to end their reproductive life. Even when accounting for the exceptions the trend is clear: mature Roma women have used their agency to control their reproductive lives many years before menopause.

Table 14: Total reproductive period of 91 women in seven Roma networks residing in Spain. Years passed between the birth of the first and last known children, central tendencies and dispersion measures and mean of present age.

Birth decade	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Median*	*Min*	*Max*	*N*	*Present Age (mean)*
1950 to 1959	16.7	1.5	17	15	18	3	57.7
1960 to 1969	13.4	5,1	11	10	22	5	48.6
1970 to 1979	11.6	5,5	12.5	2	21	18	36.9
1980 to 1989	7.8	4.7	7	0	18	37	28.5
1990 to 1999	2.5	2.2	3	0	6	25	19.7

One clear consequence of this transformation is a reduction in the length of time devoted to pregnancies, giving birth and raising children. Table 14 shows the length of time in years that passed between the birth of the first and the last child of the Roma women in the extended sample. Again, the most relevant data concerns women born before 1979, as they are likely to have ceased having children.

Women in their late 50s and 60s had children over the course of 17 years on average. As our data may underestimate actual fertility rates, these women may have spent between 20 and 30 years of their lives bearing and bringing up children. The following generations appear to have spent a considerably shorter period (more than a 30% reduction). Thus, their reproductive career is expected to be much shorter.

In consequence, Roma women are devoting a smaller part of their lives to bearing and raising children. They became mothers in their adolescence and will likely spend about ten years having children and raising them. Moreover, as younger generations are expected to live longer, this trend is likely to increase. Roma women contemplate larger portions of their lives with no small children to care and strive for.

4.4.2 Childbearing and family planning by age of women

Certain important evidences result from our survey. However, they need to be organized in a coherent model of fertility transition that can be tested with data from larger samples and from other Roma groups. This model must account for the differences between generations active in the migration process and who now live in different countries of Europe. Our data mainly concerns three generations that loosely correspond to those of grandmothers, mothers and adult daughters. There is considerable overlap between generations when defined by kinship roles, as explained previously. However, certain preliminary hypotheses can be proposed as a result of our research:

1) The oldest generation (born in the 1930s, 1940s and early 1950s) had most of their children during the Ceausescu regime. Many Roma women of this generation seem to have continued living under a regime of "unrestricted fertility". There is only one women of this generation in our current sample. Hence, this data needs to be completed in the future.

2) Within the cohort of women born in the late 1950s we find the first group of Roma women to undergo systematic control of their fertility, partly with the assistance of family planning services and contraceptive methods. They were in their 30s when Ceaușescu was overthrown. The main strategy of these women seems to have been that of **stopping** their reproductive lives after about two decades of intensive fertility. Those who were most successful in achieving this goal were probably those who had the approbation of their husbands. It is not easy to investigate the methods they followed, although some informants have referred to a variety of procedures, both traditional and modern. Most likely these women benefited from the improved availability of safer reproductive health services in Romania[14] after the end of the repressive policies of the 25-year-long Ceaușescu dictatorship (Hord, Herny, France, & Merril, 1991; Keil & Andreescu, 1999; Kligman, 1998). A portion of Roma women of

[14] During the Ceausescu dictatorship, "all contraceptive methods were forbidden and induced abortion was available only for women who met extremely narrow criteria" (Hord et al.1991: 231). Just after the uprising that overthrew Ceausescu, the new government removed the prohibition on contraceptive use and legalized abortion. The changes instituted thereafter led to the improved availability of safer reproductive health services and to a dramatic drop in maternal mortality (*Ibid.*).

this generation, however, seems even today to have followed a regime of unrestricted fertility.

3) Successive cohorts seem to have maintained a culturally distinct pattern of early maternity within a specific marriage system. But they have begun to strive for smaller families. According to our conversations with Roma women of different generations, the ideal number of children has decreased among the younger. While grandmothers would like "large families" of 6 to 8 children, their daughters would be happy with a smaller number (4 to 6), and the ideal number for the new younger cohorts has become further reduced (3 on average).

The gender parity of the offspring is a crucial aspect in these preferences and it has a considerable effect on actual decisions and outcomes. Although sons are preferred in a society of intense virilocal-patrilocal orientation, daughters are also highly valued. These preferences are underscored by a multitude of emotional, symbolic and practical reasons, including the help that girls provide in domestic and care tasks, and their agency in marriage agreements and transactions. However, expressed desires concerning size and composition of offspring are merely one aspect to consider in relation to fertility outcomes. Actual fertility practices are conditioned by many different factors.

A growing proportion of 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, usually with the acquiescence and help of their husbands.

This pattern of early marriage followed by the birth of one or two children and the intentional postponement of new pregnancies introduces both new reproductive and familial patterns and new normative orientations into the lives of Romani women. This reproductive pattern contrasts dramatically with that of Spanish and Romanian women at large.

These differences concern not only aspects of fertility levels and rates, but also pregnancy planning itself: one’s age at first marriage, the use of contraceptives,

adolescent fertility, etc. Perhaps reproductive differences today are greater than ever before, and migration accentuates these differences, as Spain presents a very extreme case in some of the crucial variables considered[15]. Clearly different cultural systems are at play among Roma groups and their dominant neighbors; this includes values, norms and even notions of what makes a person and good life.

4.4.3 Some reproductive stories

Let us see some examples that illustrate the processes observed in our survey:

Stela is a Roma widow. She lost her husband when she was 38 and was left with 7 children; the youngest was 5 years old. The situation in Romania at the time was very difficult, so she travelled to Spain where two brothers of her husband were living with their families. Eventually all his sons moved with her to Spain, and her three daughters married away and live today in three different countries.

Stela was born in 1959, married at 16 and had her first child at 17. In the next 15 years she had 8 live children. One daughter died in 1982 as an infant. The other seven survived to the present and have children of their own. During the first 16 years of her 21-year marriage, Stela had a child approximately every two years. At 32 she stopped having children. Five years later her husband died after a protracted disease. Apparently she never used contraceptive methods. But after the birth of her first child she underwent surgery to stop having children.

Stela is highly respected by her sons and daughters-in-law. Her children see her as an example of devotion, sacrifice and hard work. As she has been doing for decades, Stela gets up early and goes to several selected places in Granada to beg for many long hours. Many of her neighborhood donors have known her for many years. They give her money (but not as much as before the recession) and also food they buy at a nearby supermarket at which door she also begs. Stela spends part of her income on

[15] In the last decade there has been a notable convergence in data on Spanish and Romanian populations with respect to crucial reproductive parameters such as the mean age of first marriage, mean age of first birth, total fertility rates and the proportion of non-marital births, although some important differences remain. In the follow-up research we intend to carefully study the history of population policies in both countries and how Roma may have been affected by and reacted to these different policy environments (Hărăguş & Oaneş, 2009) (Bradatan & Firebaugh, 2007) (Rotariu, 2006).

tobacco, as she is a heavy chain smoker. The rest goes to paying bills and her children's and grandchildren's needs.

Stela is an example of women born in the 1950s that stopped having children in their early 30s after having numerous offspring. A growing number of younger women are not delaying their first (and second) births after marriage, but they are spacing or postponing subsequent pregnancies.

Luludži, a Romani woman from Romania was born in 1989. She was first married at 16, but then separated from her husband a year later. Following this, at the age of 18, she joined her present partner Šandor. After living together for a few months, she became pregnant with her first son, who was born in 2007. Three months later she became pregnant again and had a daughter. Luludži's two children go to a Spanish public 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 while living in Spain. She decided to use the public family planning services in her neighborhood in order to terminate the pregnancy. In 2013 she got pregnant again unexpectedly. After much hesitation, she ended her pregnancy via the Spanish public health system.

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 not had more children. She wears an IUD (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. Finally, by late 2013, she got rid of the IUD and soon became pregnant. In the second half of 2014 she gave birth to a second daughter.

Conclusions

A decline in fertility rates is a crucial sign of demographic transitions in 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.

These changes are also a product of the transformations that are taking place in marriage practices and institutions, patterns in household formation and fission and the pressures and opportunities offered by migration and the transnational experience.

Issues concerning reproduction and its social organization are mostly absent from the literature concerning gender systems of Roma people, even among those more actively feminist. Women's agency, especially in relation to issues of marriage, family organization and patrilineal networks coincides with an often paternalistic attitude by both experts and militants which results in the failure to adequately address issues of both gender subordination and the empowerment of Roma women. As Oprea (2004) has pointed out, Roma women, as 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).

Demographers describe human fertility as being constituted by two central dimensions: *tempo*, that is, the timing of the first and subsequent childbirths, and *quantum*, or the 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" (Balbo, Billari, & Mills, 2013, p. 3). This process is generally referred to as "the postponement of childbearing", and has become the central focus of fertility research in late-modern societies.

Roma women seem to be undergoing a transformation both in the *tempo* and *quantum* of their reproductive lives. Young Roma women today seem to be using reproductive services made available by public health services. Additionally, they 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.

Regarding generations and internal personal differences, we might be contemplating a culturally specific "postponement transition", that would be *non-Malthusian*, that is, not based on a model of late marriages or late first births as used by many other European women. This change has come about in two ways: firstly, by means of a new reproductive career of lower 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 with more or less involvement from their male partners. This is new, historically, and may involve a change in the role of Roma women concerning their reproductive rights.

Many young Roma women appear to be introducing a critical element of agency into a process of cultural change of unknown implications. How does the fertility transition 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 some of the questions that have yet to be answered.

5. Local Policy

> *"Local authorities have very concrete and direct competences when it comes to Roma and Sinti inclusion;* ***they decide on how education, health, infrastructure and utilities are made available to all citizens****"* (Mirjam Karoly, ODIHR's Senior Adviser for Roma and Sinti Issues, November 2014).[16]

5.2 Local authorities in Spain: Introductory comments

Municipal autonomy is a crucial aspect of public administration. However, local government institutions vary considerably among the countries represented in The MigRom Project and the EU at large. Therefore, it seems necessary to offer some background information on this level of government in Spain, in order to better understand the chances for and limitations to any form of community engagement.

Who are the local authorities in Spain? What are their competences? How do their actions affect the social inclusion and daily life of immigrants, particularly Roma immigrants? What about voluntary organizations and the third sector? What can they do to improve both the inclusion and promotion of these people? Who handles policy? Are local governments in Spain the crucial actors in this process? What triggers intervention and by whom?

5.2.1 The Spanish administrative system: four tiers of government

There are **four major tiers** of government in Spain. At the highest level we find the state, central or national government and legislature. The central government is responsible for spending about 22% of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) or about 50% of the state's budget, including social security costs (Eurostat 2014).

The **second tier** is formed by the autonomous governments that rule in the 17 Autonomous Communities. Autonomous governments are accountable for the regional parliaments that are elected within each Autonomous Community. They spend about 16% of the GDP or about 36% of the state's budget and design and

[16] Press release from the Expert meeting organized by the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in Warsaw on 28 November 2014.

implement most policies concerning education, health care, land planning and social services provided in their territories. The regional powers are clearly the main beneficiaries of decentralization occurring within Spain in the last four decades.

In turn, the Autonomous Communities are divided into 50 provinces, which generally have been designated by the name of their capital cities: Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Valencia, Granada, etc. The present provincial division was established by 1833, and provinces, although increasingly redundant, have shown an amazing historical resilience both as geographical and political entities.[17] Provinces preserve much symbolic power, being the source of individual and collective identities. They are also the main electoral constituency in general elections. Today, in the decentralized quasi-federal Spain, the role of provinces in public administration concerns primarily the provincial councils or *Diputaciones Provinciales*, which constitutes **the third tier** of government in Spain. They include representatives from all local governments in each province. *Diputaciones* play an important role in providing management and support services to small local entities that lack resources of their own (Council of Europe 2013).[18]

Each province includes a number of municipalities of different sizes and importance. Today, in Spain, there are over 8,100 municipalities with city councils or *Ayuntamientos*.[19] Each local entity is given powers, structure, and boundaries by a national or state law, as well as by directives of the regional governments[20]. City councils or *ayuntamientos* are **the fourth** and **lowest tier** of administration in Spain,

[17] For most of their history, provinces served as transmission belts for the rulings and policies of the central government. Even today, there are government delegates that control police forces and law enforcement in each province.

[18] Some Autonomous Communities, such as Navarre, Murcia or Rioja, have only one province, so the Provincial Council (*Diputación*) was replaced by the regional government.

[19] According to the National Register of Local Government Units, in October 2012, in Spain there were 8,117 municipalities, 50 provinces, 11 islands, 1,024 commonwealths (*mancomunidades*), 81 districts (*comarcas*), 3 metropolitan areas and 3,721 territorial entities smaller than municipalities mostly in the Autonomous Community of Castile and Leon. Sometimes entities are grouped in a variety of territorial entities with a geographical, administrative and historical component that can be difficult to understand.

[20] The last law establishing the limits of local government in Spain is from 2003, and was revised in 2006. (These laws can be read at: http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Admin/l57-2003.html, retrieved November 3, 2014). At the time of writing, the central government was designing a profound reform of the local administrations in order to reduce costly redundancies. These local administration reforms had been rejected by most of the opposition, which was comprised mostly of nationalist parties in the Basque Country and Catalonia but also the socialist party.

the level meant to be the closest to the citizens and their daily lives. Each municipality has a mayor (*alcalde*) and councilmen (*concejales*). Every four years there are municipal elections. The councilmen are elected by the local residents every four years, and in turn, these councilmen elect the mayor in each city or town.

There are many differences between larger city governments and those of rural towns and villages. Larger cities have problems that require greater competences and resources, and often include larger metropolitan areas that need to be included in planning and the provision of public services. On the other hand, many municipalities are too small to provide the public services required by their inhabitants. In these cases, as stated above, the provincial councils (*Diputaciones Provinciales*) provide public services for groups of localities with fewer inhabitants (usually under 20,000) in their respective provinces. Constant tension exists between uniformity in municipal governments and exceptionality and variation in larger cities.

Obviously the size of the local entity directly affects the resources held by its city council. Madrid, Barcelona and other large cities have many resources and can provide many services and establish many different programs. However, regional governments control key public services, such as health care, education, most of social housing and many social benefits. The central government controls pensions and unemployment subsidies that are paid through the social security system.

In consequence, municipal governments in Spain rarely have the competences and resources they have in other European countries, where local governments commonly represent the second tier of administration and therefore have much greater power. This is the case in France, Italy and the UK, and even more clearly in Scandinavian countries. This is evident in the proportion of state resources that are in the hands of local governments. Local Spanish governments spend a bit over 14% of the state budget, as compared to 22% to 35% in the other European countries.[21]

[21] In 2013, public expenditure by local governments was estimated at 11.6% of the GDP in the UK, 11.9% in France, 14.8% in Italy and 9.2% in Romania, as opposed to only 5.8% in Spain (Eurostat 2014). In contrast, the regional level of expenditure was very high in Spain, about 15.5% of the GDP. Only Germany, a federal state, came close to that figure in the EU. German regional governments spend 12.9% of the GDP (Eurostat 2014, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/refreshTableAction.do?tab=table&plugin=1&pcode=tec00023&language=en, accessed December 5, 2014).

Therefore, local authorities in Spain are critically dependent upon regional governments, which is less common in other EU countries. This applies both to the provision of critical public services and the development of policies and directives. Therefore "community engagement" takes on a different meaning in Spain, insofar as it has a significant regional component.

Spain is today one of the most decentralized countries in Europe. However, this particular form of regional decentralization, developed since 1978, can have been detrimental to local governments and autonomy. That is, arguably it has mostly benefitted regional elites and centers of power to the detriment of municipal autonomy and municipal power. This may have been especially serious for middle-sized cities and towns.

These problems are aggravated by the frequent overlapping of competences and interventions at different levels of public administration. There is a clear trend towards municipal governments taking and being charged with an increasing number of tasks. However, their budgets have not increased proportionally. Thus, the duplication of functions results in the loss of financial resources for municipal institutions, as well as a loss of efficiency in the public services delivered to citizens.

With few exceptions, Spanish municipalities lack fiscal autonomy and are forced to act within the powers and budgets delegated to them by higher levels of government. Their main autonomous source of funds has been real estate and the construction industry working within their territories. Municipal authorities have crucial competences of urban planning and construction permits. Most municipal governments depend on income from the construction projects approved in their territories. The construction industry boom from 1996 to 2007 fueled municipal budgets and made them dependent on the expansion of the construction industry. It became a tremendous potential source of corruption in municipal governments of all sizes and resulted in aberrant planning and the inefficient use of resources.

The collapse of the 2008-2009 housing bubble resulted in a drastic drop in municipal incomes. Many local governments went financially bust: they could not pay their workers, customers and suppliers. Thousands of local firms went out of business

when their public debts were not satisfied. Since mid-2010, when Spain faced bankruptcy, the policy has been one of austerity and cuts in all areas of public administration in an effort to make them more efficient and to save core services such as health care, education and pensions. The main policy in Spain of the last four years can be easily summarized: austerity, cutting costs, saving, reducing public services and doing more with less.

5.2.2 Local authorities' engagement with Roma immigrants

"The social integration of Roma migrants… always has a very strong local dimension" (ERTF, 2013, p. 2). In Spain local authorities play a large role in providing services such as transportation, social work, land planning and housing, especially in large cities with large budgets. However the main agents in key public services such as education, health care, benefits and pensions, law enforcement, immigration policy and so forth do not work for local governments but rather regional (or central) governments and follow those policies and directives. Hence Mirjam Karoly´s opening statement should be strongly qualified in the case of Spain.

Social workers as powerful local authorities

Generally speaking, Roma immigrants' first entry into public services involves social workers and the associated professionals working for local governments. These professionals help Roma to find schools for their children, obtain access to the health care system and apply for social benefits and social housing assistance. But they can also become agents of social control: they visit slums and verify whether children are neglected or living in undesirable conditions and they can denounce the parents after receiving a call from school authorities if the children do not attend school. They have the ability to initiate such procedure and, therefore, can be considered people of power.

Usually a case engagement protocol is developed and the social worker connects the Roma family with agencies and programs that may meet their needs. This linking of the family to other public or third-sector agencies is a key aspect of this local tier of the administration. Following this, the family in question generally enters into contact with the second tier of administration. Specifically, schools, health care

centers, hospitals and the economic offices that decide on benefits claims are managed by regional authorities from the Autonomous Communities.

Social workers, however, remain among the most important actors in the engagement process between immigrant Roma families and the administration and its services. They manage the specific cases, usually organized by areas of residence, and they play a crucial role in assisting Romanian Roma with updating the documents needed to obtain benefits and subsidies that they would otherwise lack or be unable to find.

In fact, in our observation of Roma family life, and discussions and exchanges with both Roma informants and professionals, we were convinced that most Roma parents believe that **social workers are more powerful** than teachers, health professionals or bureaucrats. Concerning school issues, teachers are seen as having authority. However, real power is seen to lie with the social worker. This actor seems to have crucial power that can change the life of the family. For example, they can bring about the removal of child custody, one of the greatest fears of Roma parents anywhere. Conversely, they can arrange the paperwork for obtaining a "*Renta Básica de Inserción*" (RMI), a basic income support that can help sustain a family for six months or more.

Other local authorities not working for municipal governments

There are other local authorities that provide key services for Roma but do not work for local governments. For instance, in the urban neighborhoods where most local Roma families live, the directors of primary schools, as well as heads of local health centers do not work for the municipal government, nor do they follow municipal policies or directives. They depend on the regional government and any program, change or initiative that they want to implement has to be authorized by autonomous authorities in the regional capital. Hence local policy designs are also very dependent upon supralocal powers.

Policy and immigration in Spain

The four tiers of Spanish administration in their respective competences establish policy, understood as the set of principles that guide public decisions and protocols. The general framework for dealing with foreign residents and immigrants is

established in the immigration laws proposed by central government and the state parliament. The main legal document is the *Ley de Extranjería* or Aliens Act (to be developed).

But the policies concerning public services are designed at regional levels and implemented at the local level by agents of local and regional administrations. The recession has increased the power of the central government, as cost cuts put limitations on the policy making by regional and local levels.

Austerity and efficiency principles have resulted in the reduction and elimination of many public services, entitlements and benefits. Many of these reductions concern foreign immigrants (see Chapter 6). At the lower levels of administration local professionals and authorities have reacted to this policy by confronting those who suffer directly from such cuts. They have had to work against some of the basic policy principles that have guided their decisions and protocols for years.

Public policies and strategies concerning Roma

There does not seem to be any precise public policy concerning Roma immigrants in Spain. These people are largely invisible to the two higher tiers of government. Nevertheless, they continue to engage with the lowest tier by making demands, showing needs and justifying entitlements to local authorities.

Local authorities have developed and experimented with a handful of specific tailor-made programs for Roma immigrants. But for the most part Roma in Spain have benefited from the mainstream social programs already in place. That these programs, such as desegregated schools, open health centers and housing or rent subsidies, have been as open to them as the rest of legal residents is a key aspect of Spanish policy towards immigrants and minorities. In fact, to a certain extent, the Spanish social system can be defined as ethnically- and nationally- blind concerning entitlements.

International declarations are rather vague and self-complacent and originated from other countries' situations not always similar to the Spanish one (see for instance Council of Europe, 2011).

5.2.3 The handling of policy at the local level: three principles

Our observations of family life in Roma households and the discussions and exchanges with Roma and public servants at different levels reveal patterns and principles about how policy is handled, enforced and actually experienced daily and at the local level by social workers, social educators, teachers, health-care professionals and officers in charge of benefits, pensions, etc.

Some principles emerge with considerable clarity, even if they are rarely formulated in policy documents. They go beyond the explicit values of social work and the ideological formulations of intellectual or leaders. They are attitudes and principles of action that are interiorized by most social workers in their daily lives.

Such principles are very important in relation to how Roma issues and concerns are handled. They emerge clearly from the discourse analysis of these entry-level social actors as they explain, rationalize or describe what they do for the Roma ("*para los Gitano's rumanos*"). We present three implicit principles that we observed and include a few examples of statements of principles made by public officials:

1. Normalization: The goal of intervention is to normalize the lives of persons and families, to help them to live "normal" lives like the rest of the population. Normality is the key to "integration" or "inclusion". Integration is an obvious goal, and it is obvious when it happens, although it is very difficult to define beyond generalizations and common places. Integration, contrary to exclusion and marginality, is a formal, explicit objective. But it lacks the operational force of these other implicitly policy-centered principles. It needs to be deconstructed in the areas of citizens' participation and ownership: work, education and politics. The first policy of authorities is that of "normalization", meaning basically the transformation of every individual and family into "normal", mainstream or "integrated" persons and groups. The criteria for normalcy is supposedly self-evident. Often, there is some surprise in noting "how normal" many Roma families are, compared to the prevalent stereotypes:

> *The first thing we noted is that many of these families acted normally, and that they were trying to regularize their situation: they sent their children to school, demanded benefits, their healthcare card… Then we applied what we call "the Care Plan for Romanian families". First we tried to identify the families, all their members, to collect their birth dates and documents... But this is not easy... Most*

have the same names" (Social Worker, meeting with 11 local professionals, September 2014).[22]

Integration or inclusion has a crucial component of "normalcy" or standardization as it is usually defined by social workers and related professionals.

2. ***Neutrality****:* ethnic, national and religious

Neutrality dealing with people from different religious, linguistic and cultural backgrounds is rooted in a set of core values of social work and related services. In the formulation of their principles, they see themselves as working for the "welfare" of "disadvantaged groups". In their view, social work is a profession aimed at improving the social and economic conditions of disadvantaged groups. Their target populations include mostly those who are very dependent and less able to fend for themselves and negotiate the system. Among the values social workers everywhere like to declare is their "enduring commitment to vulnerable and oppressed populations, and its simultaneous preoccupation with individual well-being and social justice" (Reamer 2013: 19).

3. Full entitlements: The social workers we observed and spoke with often stressed that they saw their work as seeking to help their clients to get all of the services and benefits that they were entitled to. In the case of Roma, we observed that they saw their role as that of trying to help Roma immigrants fulfill all the conditions necessary for obtaining the benefits that they were entitled to. Most professionals were aware that their role as facilitators and keepers of the different doors to services and entitlements gave them much power, and there are cases of prejudice or discrimination against specific types of persons or groups. But the moral principle that guides this policy is that of "full entitlement" and most social workers see it as a kind of basic professional oath.

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[22] From the original Spanish text:"*Lo primero que vimos es que había bastantes de estas familias que* ***actuaban con normalidad,*** *que buscaban* ***regularizar*** *su situación: que escolarizaban a sus niños, que venían demandando ayudas, tarjeta sanitaria… Entonces empezamos a trabajar lo que nosotros llamamos: "El plan de actuación con familias rumanas". Lo primero tratamos de identificar a las familias, tener los datos de todos los miembros… Cosa que no es fácil, por la nomenclatura, por todas las familias que se llaman de la misma manera".*

In recent years, this implicit principle often clashed with the state policy of reducing costs and cutting programs and benefits. Roma were the first to suffer from the present situation. And most complain about it. Personal practice may contradict these principles. Roma friends often point to the personal differences of social workers: "if you are lucky and get a good one..." But even if personal prejudices are inevitable, the principles guiding the work seem clear. These principles are linked with explicit and implicit values and also to the main normative orientations of the profession (working for "social change", social inclusion, human rights and improving the social and economic life conditions of disadvantaged groups, social change, etc.) and even the values of the profession as they are enshrined.

Clearly contradictions abound. Normalization is never neutral; it is always constructed from a set of cultural and social values and preferences. Thus the principle of neutrality is contradicted on some crucial issues. In the case of Romanian Roma it is important to understand interfaces of conflict between different values, goals and cultural representation.

These principles are related to the profession's core values, which shape the profession's self-definition and practitioner's priorities (Reamer, 2013). Social workers commonly view their primary goal as that of helping people in need and to address social problems. The values of social work are described in the most important sources for social workers such as the National Association of Social Workers in the U.S. That is the values of service, social justice, dignity and worth of the person, importance of human relationships, integrity and competence.[23] However, the specific policy principles considered here are not core values or general principles that can apply to almost anything, but rather specific principles observed as implicit in the practice of those social workers dealing with Roma immigrants and other target populations.

5.2.4 The voluntary sector

The voluntary sector in Spain has grown and diversified enormously in recent decades, running parallel to the expansion of the new democratic, decentralized state. In large part, the structure of this sector is isomorphic with the four-tiers of

[23] https://www.socialworkers.org/pubs/code/code.asp

administration described earlier. The expansion of regional governments and their associated levels has given rise to a voluntary sector with a regional structure that largely identifies the area of intervention with the respective autonomous community.

The voluntary sector in Spain is highly dependent on different levels of public administrations and their funds. It has grown exponentially in the last decades, especially during the 1996-2007. It is often influenced by dominant political parties and thus, political interests.

The Catholic Church has maintained an important role in many sectors, since the secular and regular clergy have historically played a crucial part in giving succor and charity. In fact, in the early years of growth of NGOs in Spain most voluntary associations were heavily influenced by the Catholic tradition of caring. Among the more important NGOs at the state level that have included Roma families in their efforts, we need to cite:

Caritas Spain

Caritas Spain or "*Caritas Española*" is the Catholic Church's official organization for charity and social relief in Spain. The Conference Episcopal, the Conference of Spanish Bishops, created it. Each bishop leads and represents his own diocese that mostly coincides with a Spanish province. There are 68 dioceses, including a military one. Caritas Spain defines itself as a confederation of Catholic relief, development and social service. It has national headquarters in Madrid. It provides general assistance to the regional dioceses in all their social interventions including all sorts of populations in need. Caritas also has an important line of research and publication.

Red Cross (Cruz Roja)

The Red Cross is one of the biggest humanitarian voluntary associations in Spain. It operates throughout all of the country and its organization closely follows that of the Spanish administration described earlier.[24] Immigrants, refugees, asylum

[24] The Spanish Red Cross structure "is based on the administrative divisions of the state and covers the whole country. The society is composed of 730 local regional branches, 50 provincial committees, and 17 regional committees… All the governance and management bodies are elected from among the members and volunteers through a legislative procedure carried out every four years".

http://www.redcross.eu/en/Who-we-are/MEMBERS/Spanish-Red-Cross/.

seekers and displaced persons are the main target groups for the Spanish Red Cross. "The society is active in terms of reception, social integration, protection of rights and tracing services. In 2003, the Spanish RC provided help to 5,242 refugees or asylum seekers and 183,225 migrants" (Ibid). Concerning Roma immigrants, probably its main initiative is its program of support of illegal settlements of immigrants, mostly in the provinces of Andalusia (CRE 2014). There, Romanian nationals were the third group of persons in numbers of demands, following Moroccans and sub-Saharan Africans. There were over 3,000 demands from "Romanian" immigrants and displaced families. Most of these Romanians appear to be Roma. We have visited some of these settlements with Red Cross teams and confirmed that the "*Rumanos*" treated there were Romani speakers.

Red Crozz activities consist in helping the people in the most destitute settlements of immigrants to attend their basic demands, develop an individual case approach, including cultural mediation, immediate help and succor and the channeling of claims and needs to the adequate social services in the vicinity (Cruz Roja Española, 2014, pp. 46-48).

Roma and pro-Roma NGOs

In the area of "Gitano Associations", which mostly refers to Spanish Romani people, there was a burgeoning of NGOs in the late 1980s and 1990s, partially fueled by the growth of the "social sector" lead by the new Autonomous Governments.

Two basic types of NGOs tended to work in the area: *Gitano* NGOs lead by Gitano people, and mostly including Gitano members, and pro-Roma NGOs that were mostly started by non-Roma, although their membership was generally mixed (Mirga, 2011). The most successful pro-Roma NGO in Spain has been ***Fundación Secretariado Gitano* (FSG).** Today, FSG is the spearhead for a whole movement of pro-Roma associations that has grown considerably since the mid-1980s in connection with the growth of Autonomous Governments. In the past decade, it has become the leading Spanish NGO specializing in Roma issues. This has created some antagonism with Roma NGOs, especially those that are Roma-led and properly considered "Roma Associations" not simply "pro-Roma Associations" (such as *Unión Romani*, a branch of the International Romani Union).

Fundación Secretariado Gitano **(FSG)** is a derivation of the "Secretariats" of Evangelization of the Catholic Church. In the 1960s the “Gypsies” of different countries were seen as one of these groups in need of evangelization. Catholic Church came into contact with Romani groups in Europe at the time when when the Pentecostal movement was spreading among them. Today the links between the FSG and the Catholic Church are more indirect and subtle. FSG began as an NGO in 1982 and in 2002 became a foundation, a much more favorable legal entity in Spanish law.

The FSG commenced its activities in the 1960s, although it was not until 1982 that it was legally established as an association. In 2001, it was constituted as a foundation. According to the FSG, its "mission" is “to promote the access of Roma to rights, services, goods and social resources on an equal footing with the rest of the citizenry" (FSG 2012). The FSG has centered its efforts mostly on Spanish Gitanos or *Calé* in Spain. But they are open to Roma, and have developed some research and some intervention programs for them since 2006. FSG works in most regions of Spain. It adapts to the regional decentralization, but its scope is national.

It is likely that some Romanian and Bulgarian Roma may have participated in the main FSG program, ACCEDER, which is devoted to the training and employment for Spanish Gitanos. FSG has developed specific programs for the Roma immigrants in Spain. Since 2006, the main goal of these programs was to "facilitate the complete inclusion of the Roma immigrants ("*inmigrantes gitanos*") in Spain". The program used mainly cultural mediation, and worked mostly in four areas: basic attention, education, housing and employment. The program started in 2006 in nine Spanish cities and was later expanded to four other cities.[25]

By the end of 2009, FSG established a branch in Bucharest named *Fundaţia Secretariatul Romilor* (FSR) in order to "manage directly the programs for the promotion and improvement of life conditions of the Roma population in Romania". The strategy is to use EU structural funds (mostly FEDER and FSE) to promote the Roma minority and establish FSG as a main developer of programs and initiatives in

[25] http://www.gitanos.org/que-hacemos/areas/employment/programas/84299.html.en

this country. In recent years FSG and FSR have developed some projects on primary education and sought to adapt the ACCEDER project to several Romanian cities.[26]

Roma NGOs in Spain: The emergence of "Gitano associations"

Gitano associations adopted regional identities in order to receive funding. In the late 1980s and 1990s there was a sudden emergence of several hundred Gitano associations of all types and in most cities and regions.

Additionally, most of these local entities saw the need to federate themselves at regional or state levels. There have been "Roma federations" in Catalonia, Andalusia, the Basque Country, as well as at the national level. The most notorious has been Unión Romaní, which defines itself as a branch of the International Romani Union and has been led by Juan de Dios Ramirez Heredia, a noted Gitano representative and a deputy in the national and European parliaments. After a long decade of prominence and increasing budgets there was a protracted recession that predated the more recent economic recession. The present outlook for the Gitano NGO sector is not bright. In relation to Roma immigrants there is very little to account for: a few rather nominal projects and a considerable lack of integration of Roma immigrants into the ranks and files of associations, to say nothing of a notable absence from leadership positions.

5.2.5 What motivates or triggers intervention?

In Spain, specific (often urgent) intervention often has been triggered by visibility, media denouncements and political scandals. In most cases, the presence or involvement of minors, especially small children has been a crucial factor in interventions. Minors mark the difference between Roma and migrant groups into Western Europe.

As occurred in France and Italy, the visibility of shantytowns and alarm concerning their growth and consolidation has provoked evictions that, in turn, have generated denouncements, alarm and political accusations (some of them international) against the authorities that decided upon the evictions.

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[26] http://www.gitanos.org/rumania/programas/

The first episode that become a protracted case of political confrontation and damage control occurred in **Madrid in 1999** when a group of Roma families were evicted from the camp of shanty huts, tents and vans they occupied in a desolated area in the northern periphery of Madrid. The crucial denouncement that triggered the intervention was the presence of children under terrible sanitary conditions.

The death of one of the families' toddlers from a car accident generated a public uproar and accusations of insensibility and poor planning on behalf of the municipality. A whole program of camps and schooling for the children of these families was developed in the following months.

Another intervention: **Begging with children**

Seville 2003: This intervention concerns the eviction of a group of Roma families from the shack settlement under a bridge in Seville. Some of the adult members were expelled from Spain and sent back to Romania. But families with children could not be expelled and the intervention backfired. Courts intervened and failed against the regional and municipal governments that had collaborated in the eviction process.

Minors often play a key role in triggering urgent and forced interventions. They introduce a new set of concerns, duties and rights both for Roma adults in charge but also on the part of public authorities. Living conditions that normally would be tolerated or ignored by local authorities become unbearable when they involve (especially young) children.

5.3 Formal agreements for community engagement

We have signed agreements for collaboration, support and teaching and training of staff with four institutions in the area where we have been undertaking most of our fieldwork and engagement:

1. The Ayuntamiento (City Council) of the city of Granada
2. The city council of the town of Lucena (about 40,000 people) in the province of Cordoba

3. The city council of Bormujos (in the periphery of Seville capital), population: about 20,000 people
4. Red Cross Andalusia. Red Cross has a program of assistance in settlements inhabited mostly by immigrants, a considerable part of whom are Roma.

All four institutions work daily with Romanian Roma immigrants. The MigRom Project at the University of Granada signed formal agreements of collaboration with them. We are preparing specific training programs for each institution. We plan to compile the knowledge and experiences in the Second Workshop for Local Authorities in March 2014.

6. Social inclusion

Portes and Rumbaut (1999) state that the process by which immigrants are "making it in the new society" is more complex than usually assumed, and is not solely dependent upon "the motivation and abilities that immigrants bring with them" because "complex and involuntary forces confront the foreign born as an objective reality that channels them in different directions" (p. 93). Three major fields and sets of forces define the most important aspects of foreign immigrants' inclusion in the new country:

1. The policies of the receiving government
2. Labor market conditions
3. The particular characteristics of the ethnic communities, networks and groups in question

"The combination of positive and negative features encountered at each of these levels determines the distinct mode of the newcomer's incorporation" (Portes et al., 1999, p. 85). In this chapter we analyze the evolution of some of these forces in relation to Romanian Roma in Spain. We provide some background on the major migratory waves that Romanian Roma have been a part of, as well as the evolution of Spanish labor markets and policies and programs concerning especially Romanian immigrants. This information relates to the occupations and income-generating activities they and their supporting networks have exercised that we explored in prior chapters.

6.1 Employment

Certain basic developments need to be considered to understand the situation of Romanian Roma within (or outside of) the Spanish labor market:

1. The exponential growth of Romanian migration into Spain economic immigrants in Spain
2. The rapid deterioration of the Spanish labor market after 2008
3. The accession of Romania to the EU in 2007 and subsequent transition process that ended in January 2014

6.1.1 Romanians in Spain and the Spanish labor market

The number of Romanian residents in Spain has grown exponentially in the past decade. In 1999 there were just over 3,000 Romanians inscribed in local censuses. By 2011, there were near 900,000, about three hundred times more.[27]

They have surpassed Moroccans, Ecuadorians and the British as the largest national group of foreign residents. They total nearly 16% of all foreign residents, or one in six. Their number is larger than the population of many Spanish provinces. In Europe, only Italy has a larger number of Romanians living it its territory (see Table 15). But since 2004, the percentage of Romanians with respect to the total Italian population has been considerably lower than in Spain. In Italy, Romanians have never been more than 1.6% of the total population (about 1.35% in recent years) while in Spain they came close to 2% of the total population (see Table 15 and Chart 4).

The rapid rise in Romanian immigration to both Spain and Italy can be observed in Graphs 4 and 5. In both countries Romanians live a consolidated transnational experience. That is, many of them travel regularly back and forth between their places of destination and places of origin and maintain links across national borders. A growing number of Romanian children and youngsters are born in the new countries and are bilingual and, in many senses, bi-national.

In Spain, the settlement of such a large number of Romanians was a surprising, unpredictable and transformative process. Clearly it needs to be situated within the context of the rapid and unpredictable flows of international migration that transformed Spain in less than a decade[28]. But Romania was not a likely candidate.

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[27] Precise official figures state that 2,258 Romanian nationals were inscribed in 1998 versus 864,279 by 2011.

[28] In the last twenty years the rate of increase of the international immigrant flows to Spain has been extremely intense. In early 1990, foreigners living in Spain were barely 1.5% of the total population, and Spain immigration rate was not especially high. In 2000 they made up 2.3% of the population. In contrast, during the following decade, Spain became one of the main receivers of immigrants in the world: 600,000 in 2006 alone. By the end of the decade foreign-born residents amounted to 12% of the enlarged Spanish population. By the end of the 20th century, Spain no longer belonged to the group of twenty countries with the highest immigration rates. Nevertheless, by 2005 it was the tenth country in the world in terms of absolute numbers of foreign immigrants (2013).

Table 15: Romanian citizens officially registered in local censuses in Spain and Italy by the end of each year. Absolute values and percentages of the total population in each country (2001-2013)

Year	*Romanian residents in Spain*	*Romanian residents in Italy*	*Spain (% of total population)*	*Italy (% of total population)*
2001	31,641	74,885	0.1	0.1
2002	67,279	95,039	0.2	0.2
2003	137,347	177,812	0.3	0.3
2004	207,960	248,849	0.5	0.4
2005	317,366	297,570	0.7	0.5
2006	407,159	342,200	0.9	0.6
2007	527,019	625,278	1.2	1.1
2008	728,967	796,477	1.6	1.3
2009	796,576	887,763	1.7	1.5
2010	829,715	968,576	1.8	1.6
2011	864,278	823,100	1.8	1.4
2012	798,970	834,465	1.7	1.4
2013	769,608	823,100	1.6	1.4

Source: Italy: Insituto Nazionale di Statistica (www.istat.it). Spain: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (www.INE.es)

The preference of Romanian migrants for Italy and Spain may due to the relative volume of the informal and underground economies in Spain and Italy and the high demand for semi-skilled and unskilled workers in both countries in labor-intensive sectors such as the construction industry, tourism and fruit farming. However, unlike Spain, Italy has had a historically close relationship with Romania, both culturally and economically. This relationship has increased in the past decade. The similarity in languages spoken in the three countries also has facilitated the integration of newcomers (see also Pajares, 2007, 2008; Viruela Martínez, 2004; Viruela Martínez & Viruela, 2008)

These graphs also highlight differences among the rhythms of Romanian migration in both countries. The major acceleration of Romanian migration to Spain seems to have begun in 2001, whereas the formal incorporation of Romania into the EU in 2007 does not seem to have influenced the rate of increase much. In the case of Italy, on the other hand, migration from Romania accelerated rapidly in 2007. The

economic recession in both countries seems to have produced a decrease in migration of Romanians and a decisive turning point between 2010 and 2011. However, until that period the movement westward remained alive. Restrictions on the rights of Romanian workers do not seem to have affected migration processes when viewed as a whole.

Chart 4: Romanian citizens that officially resided in Spain and Italy. Absolute values, 2001-2013

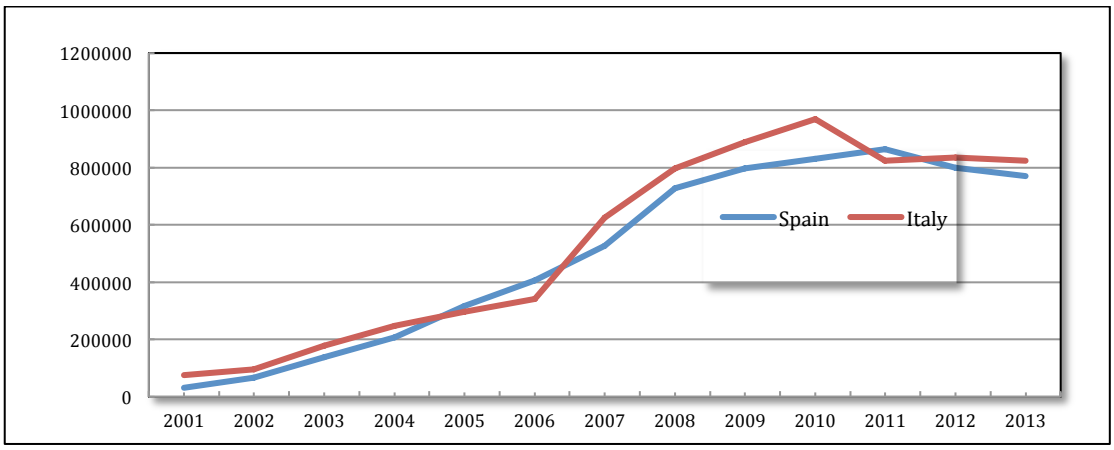
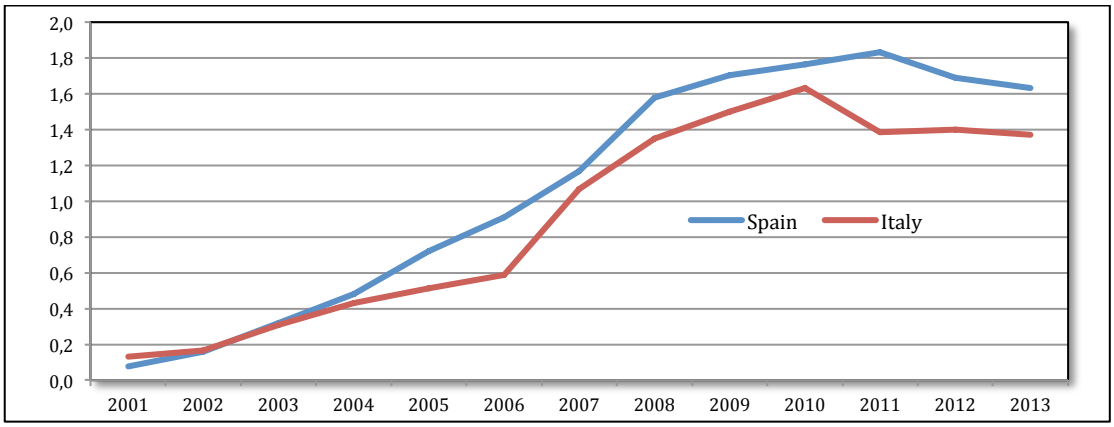


Chart 5: Romanian citizens that officially resided in Spain and Italy. Proportion of Romanian residents to the whole population, 2001-2013 (%)



Source: Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (www.istat.it) and Instituto Nacional de Estadística (www. INE. es). Prepared by the authors.

The economic recession and the rapid rise of unemployment dramatically affected Romanian and other immigrants. The lack of jobs precipitated the number of returns. The migratory flow stopped and even was reversed. However, the presence of Romanians in Spain must be considered permanent and movement continues to be cyclical (Marcu, 2011): thousands of Romanians come to Spain every year, although a

few thousand also return to Romania. In consequence, the net number of Romanians officially living in Spain has been decreasing since 2011, but slowly. Romanians in Spain, as like many contemporary immigrants in other parts of the world (Itzigsohn, 2001), retain lasting ties with their country of origin. Their identities, social practices and outlooks transcend national boundaries.

6.1.2 Romanian workers tardy access to the EU

In 2002 Romanian citizens obtained the right to travel to any Schengen Area countries without a visa**.** On January 1, 2007, Romania and Bulgaria became EU members thereby allowing their nationals the ability to reside freely in other EU countries. However**,** fearing mass migration from these countries, which were the poorest in the EU, nine member states imposed transitional controls on workers from the two countries. Different countries established restrictions for different periods of time. France, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and the UK, for instance, decided to exercise these controls for the longest possible term, until January 1, 2014. This was not the case of Spain. Spain initially applied a two-year restriction period that should have ended in December 2008. The optimistic government led by President Rodríguez Zapatero were convinced Spain was able to absorb all Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants into its booming economy. By 2009, however, the situation had deteriorated so drastically that Spain decided to reinstate the restrictions for two more years, until the end of 2012. Interestingly, the restriction was applied to Romanians but not to Bulgarians. From our interviews of certain important officials in government at the time, we learned that the growing numbers of Romanian immigration appeared to be a decisive (and threatening) reason for the policy change. Even in the midst of the recession, the number of Romanians in Spain continued to increase. Thus, in 2012 the then conservative PP government extended the restrictions for another year, in line with the more restrictive countries.

Nevertheless, the available data seems to indicate that these regulations were not very influential upon the evolution of Romanian migration into Spain. The main turning points in this process did not coincide with the main legal changes. Similarly, the lifting of restrictions in January 2014 was rather uneventful. In fact, most Spaniards were unaware that it had taken place. Peculiarly, what made the Spanish news was the

dramatic coverage of the issue in the UK and their subtle and not so subtle defamation campaign against Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants. These alarming reports appeared in most Spanish newspapers.

In sum, the ending of restrictions seems to have had little effect on the evolution of Romanian migration. This is also true in those countries that imposed the longest-lasting restrictions. The debate on immigration from Eastern Europe had centered on fears the 2014 deregulation would cause an "immigration flood". The fact that such an emergency was not going to happen could almost be predicted by the data available, as a simple look at Graphs 4 and 5 show. Millions of Romanians and Bulgarians were able to move from their countries to Western Europe long before the restrictions were lifted. And many moved back as well.

Romanians travelled to Spain in the greatest numbers during the years the restrictions were in place. In 2014 more Romanian citizens moved back to Romania than to Spain. Thus the ending of restrictions was irrelevant in the long-term process of mobility studied here. Contrary to the obsession with European policy that has suffused studies on Roma, in fact, most of that "policy" is largely irrelevant to the daily decisions of common people.

6.1.3 Romanian Roma as part of a Romanian migratory flow

The migration of Romanian Roma to Spain is only a small part of the larger migratory flow of Romanians at large. However, Roma often are the most notorious and visible of Romanians. In fact, in the Spanish discourse, "*rumano*" (Romanian) is often used to refer to "*gitano rumano*", or Romanian Roma. This synecdoche is frequently used and highly prejudiced, as most Spaniards are aware that most Romanians are not "*gitanos*". And they also know that "*gitanos rumanos*" are not like Spanish Gitanos or Calé. This misnomer continues to reappear in the discourse and contributes to the consolidation of a very common bias.

Peculiarly, few Spaniards have heard of "*gitanos búlgaros*" or identified Bulgarian Roma as a people specific social group or minority. This latter group has remained largely invisible, mostly undistinguished from the rest of Bulgarians.

Interestingly, several groups of Roma seem to have been pioneers among the Romanians in their arrival to and exploration of Spanish regions. In our exploration of

documents and oral history of some of the pioneers of at least three of the family networks surveyed, we found that the first Romanian Roma had arrived as early as 1991-1992, and by the end of the decade Roma settlements had already been established in most of the main Spanish cities (for a detailed description of this initial period, see also Beluschi Fabeni, 2013b).

In many respects, a majority of Roma has maintained considerable distance from the large groups of Romanians in Spain. They behave as two different and separate populations. In fact, most Romanian Roma have reproductive, domestic and productive strategies that are different to those of Romanians at large (see Castro Martín & Rosero-Bixby, 2011; Reher, 2009). We plan to develop this comparison in the Follow-up Survey.

On the other hand, immigrant Roma in Spain have never been framed as a 'security issue' in a way that resembles what happened in Italy in 2007 or France in 2010 (Nacu, 2010). *Gitanos rumanos* have never been a priority in the Spanish public policy agenda, although there have been some notorious cases that we will examine in the Follow-up Survey.

6.1.4 The employment recession in Spain, 2008-2014

After a decade of surprising growth between 1996 and 2007, the Spanish economy dramatically slumped in 2008. In the three years following these events, the jobless rate tripled to 26%, the highest in the OCDE and four times the US level. Unemployment became the greatest concern in Spanish society.

The bursting of the housing bubble in 2008 caused a collapse in sales and a crash in the construction industry. In only the first three months of 2009, over 800,000 jobs were lost. In hindsight, prior Spanish dependence upon the construction sector for the welfare of the Spanish economy seems incredible, even foolish. In 2006 alone, the construction of over 750,000 houses was started in Spain, more than Germany, France and Italy combined (Chislett, 2014). The construction and related sectors generated considerable demand for semi-skilled and unskilled workers, a large part of which was met by foreign immigrants. Many immigrants worked under shady circumstances and were themselves clients of the construction sector. Specifically, they obtained flats and houses on cheap credit provided by savings and loan banks.

These banks were the main creditors of the building promoters and were controlled by regional and local politicians. The bursting of the housing and financial bubble changed many lives irreversibly.

Low interest rates and a strong currency in a country of home-owners fuelled the demand for housing. The traditional belief of real state a safe haven, so prevalent in Spain, together with the increasing demand from tourists for real estate in coastal areas and from immigrants precipitated inflation of the real estate bubble (see Chapter 5.1).

In January 2014, one out of every four adult Spaniards was out of work, or over five million people. Among people under 30, over half were unemployed. It may take decades until the situation resembles that of 2006. What are the employment opportunities available to Roma under these circumstances?

Table 16: Unemployment rates in selected European countries and the EU as a whole. December 2014

Country	*Romania*	*France*	*Italy*	*Germany*	*UK*	*Spain*	*EU*
Unemployment Rate	6.7	10.4	13.2	4.9	6.0	23.7	11.5

Source: Eurostat

It must be noted, however, that a part of Spanish unemployment is structural and relates to the national political economy, including the importance of seasonal sectors and of the shadow economy. During the last thirty years the unemployment rate has remained around double the average of most developed countries, even in times of expansion and growth. Between the boom years of 2005 and 2006, the unemployment rate was close to 8%, the lowest in decades, but high by Japanese or US standards. In this respect, the importance of informal transactions must also be considered.

Several causes may explain this situation: First, there was a lack of diversification of the economy, especially in the poorer regions of the interior and the south. Second, there was a high dependence on sectors with little added value and low productivity such as tourism and construction. Third, there was a general absence of sectors with high added value. Fourth, the combination of rigid labor market regulations and high severance payments discouraged employers from signing permanent contracts, which fostered an abuse of temporary contracts. Thus, the

characteristics of the Spanish labor market and its recent evolution need to be taken into account in any study of Roma occupations in the country and policy recommendations concerning them.

6.1.5 Austerity measures and legal framework shifts

In the national elections of November 2011, the Socialist Party (PSOE) was swept from power after two consecutive terms. Allegedly, a majority of voters blamed them for mismanaging the worst economic recession the country had experienced since the Civil War (1936-39) and postwar period. The conservative People's Party (PP) won by a landslide and obtained an absolute majority in Parliament.

In 2012 the Spanish economy experienced its second recession in three years. A quarter of the labor force was unemployed. Half of the banking system, especially the savings and loans sector, was bankrupt. The huge real state bubble had cut housing prices and this, together with the fall of the demand resulted in sharply reduced tax revenues. The state budget had a deficit of over 8%, and the public and private national debt was estimated at well over 250% of the GDP. A bailout by international and EU agencies seemed imminent. Some international experts warned of "an absolute and total crash" of the Spanish economy (Hidalgo).

In 2012 the new government implemented a €65 billion austerity program consisting primarily of tax increases and wage and benefit cuts. It also introduced major legal reforms that reduced the rights of workers with long-term contracts and limited entitlements in different areas of the welfare state.

6.1.6 A major shift in the legal framework concerning EU nationals

One special area of concern was foreign citizen access to public services such as health care, education, social assistance, housing support, non-contributory pensions, and basic-income programs. Among the austerity measures, the PP government introduced a major shift in the legal framework concerning the rights of foreign citizens. These changes were included in an omnibus urgent decree enacted in April

2012.[29] The manifest goal of the decree was to "assure the sustainability" of the public health system and "improve the quality and safety of its services". Interestingly, in one of its final addenda the decree introduced restrictive conditions to legal residence in Spain of EU nationals. Their right to reside for more than three months in the country would only be granted to those who were fully employed, actively searching for a job, completing a formal academic degree or had sufficient economic resources and health insurance.

These measures were widely criticized by immigrant associations and opposition parties.[30] They were viewed as an infringement on the rights of EU citizens, especially those who were more vulnerable. Condemnations were generally couched in terms of a betrayal to the principles of freedom of movement and residence viewed as crucial to the EU project itself. Such measures also spearheaded the creation of a type of two-tier structure of EU citizenship based on the country of origin and wealth.

Interestingly, the introduction of these new Spanish legislative measures precipitated an EU directive that apparently advanced the right of free movement to EU Citizens. The Directive 2004/38/EC[31] issued in 2004 became applicable to all EU countries as of April 2006. The Directive unified the existing EU instruments in order "to simplify and strengthen the right of free movement and residence for all EU citizens and their family members" (European Commission, 2009, p. 5).[32] The Directive clarified the motives for refusing entry to EU citizens or terminating the right of residence in EU countries. It also broadened the definition of family to include non-married partners. The nature of the conditions imposed on legal residents would depend on their status in the host EU country.

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[29] http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2012/04/24/pdfs/BOE-A-2012-5403.pdf

[30] One expert who had participated in legal reforms during the PSOE-led government advanced the idea that Romanian citizens were the main target of these and similar changes in Spain. Private Communication. March 2014.

[31] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2004:158:0077:0123:EN:PDF

[32] The Commission issued Guidelines in July 2009 on how EU countries could better transpose the Directive to fit their national laws and how it could be more effectively applied in everyday life. The guidelines can be found at http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2009:0313:FIN:EN:PDF

Spain did not implement these legal tools until 2012. The previous decade was one of less restrictions of immigrants into the country. The collapse of the economy from 2008 brought about considerable changes. A major concern was the use by foreign citizens of public health care services, especially those that were intensive, specialized and costly.

6.1.7 Restrictions in universal health care provision

Health care entitlements and services are one of the main reasons declared by Roma immigrants for remaining in Spain even in times of decreased employment and restricted monetary benefits.

Since 1986, healthcare in Spain has been free and universal. Most experts agree that the Public Health Care System (*Sistema Nacional de Salud*) has improved notably in the last three decades, and currently 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 rapidly aging Spanish population makes the present system difficult to maintain over the long term. The economic recession has exacerbated these problems in many ways. First, austerity program cuts have resulted in reduced resources for most public health services. In some regions, copayment for certain benefits such as prescription drugs has been introduced.

Secondly, the economic recession itself may have generated more demands from the health care system. It is obvious that "recession on this scale, and its economic consequences of unemployment, debt and losses of income, have potential health consequences" (Gili, Roca, Basu, McKee, & Stuckler, 2012, p. 103). For instance, a recent study of primary care services all over the country found that the "recession has significantly increased the frequency of mental health disorders and alcohol abuse among primary care attendees in Spain, particularly among families experiencing unemployment and mortgage payment difficulties" (Ibid.). A considerable portion of those experiencing unemployment and unmet debts are foreign immigrants. In 2012,

the rate of unemployment among foreign immigrants doubled that of Spanish citizens and surpassed 40%.[33]

Thirdly, the economic crisis is occasioning different forms of misuse and mismanagement of public resources. When these issues concern foreigners, they can become easily manipulated and transformed by the public imagination into xenophobia and racism. Few immigrants are more visible and resented than Romanian Roma.

The April 2012 decree was a response to all of these concerns. It included norms that, if taken to their last consequences, could mean a paradigm shift in the very nature of the public health system. At present, especially foreign health care users have to provide certain types of "insurance" in order to gain access to the system.

Some experts have interpreted these legal changes as the beginning of a paradigmatic transformation, "the transit from a health care system based on citizenship and residency to a more selective one and based on the condition of "insured" person that establishes a requirement of prior employment or contribution to the system" (Trigueros Martínez, 2014, pp. 21-22). According to these views, the economic recession serves the interests of those seeking to reduce the welfare state, privatize health care and reduce the rights of workers, dependents and the most vulnerable sectors of society.

Government supporters and representatives have repeatedly rejected these interpretations and insisted that the goal of the government is to preserve a free and universal health care system for all citizens and legal residents. However, they claim in the present circumstances basic public services can only be sustainable via the implementation of austerity measures.

The main area of debate, therefore, concerns the austerity measures being implemented. Were these the only viable measures for palliating the recession? Should the middle class and the most vulnerable sectors of society pay the higher toll?

No matter the answer, in relation to health care, one major limitation of the national changes made is that it is under the direction of regional governments (see

[33] According to a study of the trade union Comisiones Obreras in the Catalonia region in 2013, the unemployment rate of immigrants was 40.6% as compared to 20.7% for the autochthonous population (cited in Blanchair, 2013).

Chapter 5). Most Statutes of Autonomy, such as those of Catalonia, Andalusia and the Basque Country, declare the universal and free provision of health care as a basic right of the population. In fact, since 2012, most regional governments have been reluctant to implement the harshest aspects of the reform.

6.1.8 Impact on Roma

Roma immigrants have been affected by these policy shifts to varying degrees, depending on the region where they have lived. However, there have been few changes in most areas of their lives. They have had the use of emergency services if their condition required them, and in various regions their health care needs have been provided for.

Our interviews with social workers in Andalusian health centers in 2014 confirm that Roma immigrants received the health care they needed even when they were unemployed or uninsured. Furthermore, there were several administrative procedures that professionals were able to use for this purpose. For instance, the health care social worker we interviewed in mid-2014 explained to us the situation of all Roma minors in town and concluded:

> "There have been practically no noticeable changes. Minors are covered by their clinical history number in Andalusia. The problem is, of course, that other regions don't have the levels of sensibility that we have with this issue. If they are from families that move frequently I try to explain to them that my procedure may not work in Extremadura, and they have to talk to the Extremadura healthcare system to find out what kind of care their children are going to get there."[34] (Social Worker, Granada, 2014)

Although most people in need of health care end up receiving it, the more restrictive legal framework has generated categories of users and may result in the development of a two-tiered system in which people unemployed people may become second-class citizens. The situation is worse for foreign immigrants, especially those

[34] *"A nivel práctico no se nota. Los menores tienen su asistencia sanitaria cubierta con su número de historia clínica en Andalucía. Lo que pasa es que, claro, la sensibilidad que tenemos aquí con este tema ya no se traslada a otras comunidades autónomas. Yo cuando sé que son familias con alta movilidad tengo que explicarles muy bien que el procedimiento que yo le hago puede que no sea el mismo cuando emigre a Extremadura, y que tiene que ir al sistema sanitario extremeño y preguntar allí como van a atender a su hijo".*

with few chances of obtaining full employment, as is the case for most Romanian Roma.

6.1.9 Informal income-generating activities

Under the abovementioned circumstances there are not many job opportunities for groups with few or no professional qualifications and marketable skills and little proficiency speaking and writing in Spanish. Unfortunately, this is the profile of most of the Romanian Roma adults who have moved to Spain.

In our review of the job seeking process by the people in our extended sample a recurrent them we heard from social workers and professionals in labor offices was that there was little or nothing they could offer Roma job seekers: "Even for a cleaning job today a high school certificate is required. Most of these people are basically illiterate, at least in Spanish".

Moreover, the semi-skilled and unskilled labor sectors that have been open to Roma have been reduced drastically by the recession and increased competition. Spanish nationals today are fighting for these same jobs in the hotel and catering sectors related to tourism and seasonal agricultural work that, in the past, offered opportunities for foreign workers. Construction jobs have drastically decreased.

Given this background information, the main question remains: **What do the Roma in Spain do for a living? What are their main sources of income?** Let us briefly review them one by one.

Full-time and part-time regular jobs

In Spain at present, few Romanian Roma have regular, formal jobs. According to our sample, between 2013 and 2014 only 4 out of 121 adult males under 60 years of age had a full-time job with an employment contract. A middle-aged father of three worked in a car repair workshop. However, he lost the job and started his own business. Another Roma male in Granada worked as a cook in a restaurant. A young male in Córdoba worked in a fruit factory with a temporary contract, and another was hired in Granada by the University of Granada as an assistant in this MigRom Project.

None of the 124 adult women in the Extended Sample had a full-time job. In the past, some people in our sample had worked in construction jobs, mostly with temporary and project-specific contracts.

Some Roma have performed more or less formal part-time jobs. Most of these relate to female domestic work and cleaning. Roma women sometimes were able to work as cleaners in private houses. Some of these jobs derive from encounters with donors while begging (see below).

Seasonal agricultural work

Roma participate very actively in agricultural work in different Spanish regions. Spanish agriculture requires much seasonal work during fruits and vegetable harvesting seasons (among others, olives, grapes, garlic, oranges and melons. For instance, the huge olive plantations in the province of Jaen alone generated nearly 6 million work days during the record picking campaign of 2013-14 (Donaire, 2014). A large part of these laborers worked under the table. Workers generally earn approximately 56 Euros per (7 hour) shift and work approximately 35 days per harvest. Thus, for some Roma families the olive campaigns of southern Spain, which mark the beginning of the yearly picking season for other regions, are a haven for survival.

Working in seasonal agriculture has become a way of life for a sector of the Roma immigrants in Spain and possibly other southern European countries. In the last decade immigrant workers have become permanent members of the receiving nations' labor forces in agriculture (Hoggart & Mendoza, 1999). However, the recession is bringing this process to a halt since unemployed Spaniards (and the employers themselves) are now taking many of the seasonal jobs.

One of the networks (Network 04, in the province of Cordoba) included in our extended sample specialized in seasonal farm work in the regions of Andalusia, Castile-La Mancha and Valencia, and worked in the harvesting of olives, grapes, garlic, oranges, melons and so forth. This work implied travelling to different provinces and agricultural areas and establishing agreements with local employees. When several members of the family work together, the total income can compensate for the periods of unemployment. However, some of our informants have also described abuses by employers and brokers who took some of their wages and benefitted from their vulnerable and non-unionized situations.

In this group uncovered some serious problems concerning the documents necessary for obtaining formal contracts and benefiting from the agricultural subsidies in times of unemployment that are so important in regions such as Andalusia and

Extremadura. On the other hand, the working members of these families often ignored the need for paying the social security contributions of their contracts and developed debts with public administrations of several thousands of Euros. To their surprise the authorities claim these debts as soon as they receive any public benefits. Problems with legal documentation plague the lives of Romanian Roma families in Spain and their relationships with public authorities and the public administration at large.

Informal income-generating activities

The lack of job opportunities and widespread poverty generate a considerable supply of informal economic activities by Roma groups. By definition, informal activities "circumvent the costs and are excluded from the benefits" and rights of the formalized economy and formalized contracts. Underground and informal activities are available in many forms. For instance, Feige (1990), a pioneer in the analysis of these processes, distinguished between "illegal, unreported, unrecorded and informal economies" and examined "the conceptual and empirical linkages" among them (p. 989).

The importance of informal sectors and activities is not only claimed by developing economies; it is important within rich countries as well. The "blurry area of commerce that includes legal activity hidden deliberately from public authorities is a part of everyday life almost everywhere" (Schneider, 2013, p. 1). In Europe, for instance, this shadow economy has been estimated at €2.2 trillion in 2011 (Ibid.). The main contributors to this underground sector are Germany, Italy and France, that together account for "about 40 per cent of Europe's shadow economy. In Eastern Europe, the shadow economy is much larger in relation to the formal economy than it is in Western Europe". In Spain it is estimated at 19% of the GDP, 22% in Italy and 19.5% in the EU-27 .

The informal market is highly segmented. It exists in different markets that extend along many differentiated sectors. At one end of the spectrum we find relatively affluent workers who are often also employed in formal jobs. These workers double as informal workers, or perform part of their jobs without the formal contracts and controls of the official economy.

On the other end of the spectrum, there is the informal work performed by marginalized and excluded groups. Most (but not all) Roma can be located in this area

of the local economy involving goods or services with little added value and that require few skills and qualifications. Workers in survival activities tend to lack those forms of security associated with formal work such as job security and social security (health care).

The main determinant for Roma who subsume informal activities is that their access to formal activities is blocked and they lack alternative income-generating opportunities. Inside the informal activities we find an economy of survival (Castells & Portes, 1989) based primarily on low-quality occupations, low productivity and reduced incomes that cannot provide an escape from poverty, even when actors are sometimes capable of accumulating some capital. In the case of Roma, the dream is to use that extra capital towards the construction of a house in Romania.

The two most important activities performed by Roma in our sample are begging and the recycling of mostly metal waste materials. We found these informal activities in most Spanish cities and large towns where Romanian Roma had settled.

Begging: A universal last resource for Roma families

Begging has been a key resource for the survival of many Romanian Roma families throughout their settlement in all Western European countries. This income-generating activity has caused some Roma groups to be extremely visible and has contributed to their stigmatization. The most visible new beggars in Europe today are Roma women. The mass media recurrently make exaggerated and even malicious claims about the income of Roma beggars, their exploitation and criminal nature.[35] This contributes to the promotion of prejudice by which "a large proportion of the public seems to be convinced that begging is connected with deceit, fraud and organized crime" (Adriaenssens & Hendrickx, 2011, p. 24).

[35] Some of the dominant images associated with Romanian Roma beggars today have a long history and have reappeared since the 15th century in different forms. Upon review of the historical representations of beggars in European history, Adriaenssens and Hendrickx (2011) point to three powerful images that continually reappear: 1) that of fraudulent beggars who, for instance, use children or sham disabilities to evoke pity, 2) the image of 'professional' impostors working in an organized criminal network and 3) the idea that beggars acquire great wealth (Adriaenssens & Hendrickx, 2011). For an exploration of how these three dominant stereotypes are reinforced today in powerful media productions, please consult, for instance, the BBC documentary "Britain's Child Beggars", aired in 2011.

In our survey, we found that in all seven networks begging was a source of income for some families at different times. However, the practice of begging as a regular income-generating activity was much more common in some families than in others. In some families begging had been passed through recent generations.

There is a large tradition of begging, panhandling and soliciting in Romani history. But often we project into the past present circumstances and situations that are more innovative than expected. Thus, it is likely that begging by Roma as we know it today was not common in Ceausescu's Romania, and even today many of our informants tell us that they would be ashamed to beg in Romania, while in Spain they do so without embarrassment. In fact, there seems to be a particular Roma value system concerning begging. Begging does not seem to affect the respectability or even prestige of the family within the community, and families that claim to be the most respected can have some members that beg.

Here we define begging as a type of informal income-generating activity performed in a public space that consists of a receiver asking for a donation that is non-reciprocated, or that is symbolically reciprocated by a non-demanded good or service.[36]

In all its forms, soliciting/begging includes elements of a gift-economy. Even when it has some of the trimmings of a market transaction it is not a real-priced market transaction. The gift, usually money, is not reciprocated by goods or services demanded by the donor and with an established price. The receiver, however, immediately incorporates the donation into new monetary, market transactions. Therefore, the gift economy is limited, unrestricted by spheres of exchange and almost completely commoditized. The benefits of begging for the solicitant can be easily measured against and compared with other economic alternatives.

Like other street-level informal activities, begging maintains "a discordant relationship to the formal and mainstream uses" of the public space where it happens (Adriaenssens & Hendrickx, 2011, p. 24). Conflicts between competing informal uses and users of the same spaces are also common. There is not much information on how

[36]We expand upon and complement the definition provided by Adriaenssens and Hendrickx (2011, p. 25).

specific areas and territories are divided between different solicitants and beggars. We have received some anecdotal information from Roma informants and documented cases of threats, violence and the expulsion of some beggars by others. It is precisely in this sense that the protection of beggars by family members can further the impression of an organized ring with respect to begging.

We tentatively divide the begging practices we have observed Spain based on the actions of the participants and the structure of the activity of asking for money. We find two basic types of solicitation and several combinations of these types.

A. Passive begging: unreciprocated gifts

At one extreme we find those forms of begging or soliciting in which the actor does little to induce the donor beyond presenting herself, and the circumstances that can encourage such charity. Here we find Roma women who beg by sitting on the floor, extending the hand or a cup (paper coffee or Coca Cola cups have become a trademark of Roma women begging in Spain) and perhaps exposing a cardboard that explains the situation (Beluschi Fabeni, 2013b). In most cases this form of begging is performed by Roma women.

How much do they make?

During our fieldwork we followed three Roma women who had been begging for most of 2013 and 2014 and tried to document the amount they received on different days and during different seasons. The women spent on average five to six hours per day in one spot, mostly from morning until early afternoon. The preferred schedule was from 9:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m., following Spanish commercial habits. However, in warmer seasons they sometimes also tried their luck in the evenings. Their income oscillated considerably. Some days were much better than others, and these women cannot account for these differences. On bad days they averaged 5-9 Euros and on good days between 15-25 Euros.[37] Around Christmas and other main holidays they usually doubled their regular incomes.

Since 2008 in Spain, it has become increasingly difficult to subsist on begging. The economic recession has increased the number and variety of people begging.

More Spaniards are now begging for the first time in their lives. Besides, there is considerable "donor fatigue". The income generated by begging has diminished considerably. In the good years of the economy (2003-2007) some of these women or their relatives made 25 to 60 Euros per day, two to five times more than today.

The Roma women we observed and interview in Spain had preferred begging spots. Some had begged in the same spot for years and were known in the neighborhood and even had some regular donors. For instance, Gita (56) had been begging in the same street in downtown Granada for over 12 years. She preferred to beg at the main church door of one of the main thoroughfares of the city. Many local women knew and trusted her and would give her coins from time to time. Often she would move to the entrance of a nearby supermarket where buyers would often give her groceries to complement her income. She was always willing to accept foodstuffs (rice, chicken, sugar, pasta, milk, etc.) that she used to feed her family, which was one of her main responsibilities. Some givers would rather give food because they feel uneasy about how beggars use the money they earn. Donors have been influenced by messages broadcasted regularly by the media about how organized crime controls the income of Roma beggars. There is also a generalized feeling that many cash donations are spent on alcohol, tobacco or drugs by beggars or their "controllers".

These results are coherent with those found by Adriaenssens and Hendrickx in Brussels where they found that the "the great majority (85.4 per cent) of Brussels beggars fall into three types: male indigenous beggars and female Roma beggars alone or accompanied by children" (p. 29). Indigenous beggars are born in Belgium and/or speak French or Dutch as a mother tongue. They are often homeless and have a history of drug or alcohol addiction. Roma women beggars are mostly from Romania. Using observations, self-reports and a quasi-experimental version of participant observation these authors collected 268 standardized interviews. From them they concluded that the mean average begging time by Roma women alone was 4.8 hours per day. Roma women with children spent 4.4 hours per day on average. Their average daily earnings were €16.30. The indigenous male beggars spent more time begging on average and appeared to be making more money than Roma women, about €52 on average (p. 29, Table9). From these results these authors concluded that "begging is a survival activity. Therefore, the yields should not exceed the lower revenues of formal

work, or even stay below them" (p. 29). The wealth often attributed to Roma beggars did not materialize at all. Of particular importance, considering common media accusations, was the result that the use of children did not significantly increase the revenues of Roma beggars (p. 29).

The use of children in begging

In Spain it is forbidden to involve children in begging. This ban is strictly enforced both by local police and Social Services. It can derive in a process of removal of child custody, one of the greatest fears of Roma families. Hence children are rarely seen in or around begging spots. Roma women prefer to leave their children at home and, increasingly, at schools. In Granada, experiences of public intervention directed to school monitoring and parallel improvement of housing conditions has obtained certain success in terms of school enrollments of Romani children (Piemontese & Beluschi Fabeni, 2014). Schooling for children allows mothers with time to pursue different necessary activities both at home and in the public place.

This policy has been met with a broad social support, and it seems to have generated a visible change in the daily practices of Roma families. These changes need to be explored comparatively. In Spain the presence of children in begging spots has disappeared almost completely, although there are recurrent claims of such occurrences by the media. In our fieldwork in the city of Cordoba, we have been exploring some recent accusations of Roma mothers using children in begging that provoked scandal and a change in local policy. We will describe these results in the Follow-up Survey.

B. Active soliciting: car-parking, soliciting at traffic lights, busking

Men usually perform the most active forms of soliciting/begging, which is more ambiguous as the transaction often involved goods or services offered. For instance, Roma men have specialized in a form of begging in bars, cafés and their outdoor seating wherein the beggar leaves a small present on top of each table, sometimes with a small card explaining his situation (called ciduli by some Roma, see also Beluschi Fabeni, 2013b) and, after a while, comes back to retrieve the trifle (such as a cigarette lighter, key ring or pen) or the donation made by the customers at each table.

Begging at traffic lights

A more active form of begging takes place at traffic lights, a favorite place to solicit money from drivers or their companions when cars are at a standstill. Solicitors approach the cars when they are waiting and beg or offer a variety of small products such as boxes of facial tissues or air fresheners or services such as windshield cleaning. The presence of Roma men and (more rarely) women at traffic lights has become commonplace in most cities. However, they have considerable competition from other groups, mostly Africans but also Spaniards.

Among the networks surveyed we found at least six men who had begged at traffic lights at different times in recent years. In one case, one elder Roma man had been soliciting in the same corner for over nine years and received a quasi-regular income from this activity. He ended up being an established figure in the spot. In other words, he was known by drivers, police and pedestrians alike, and according to him, was trusted and even welcomed. Hence, the ways in which different individuals perform this work provides much variation concerning the crucial interactions that generate the "gift", thereby oftentimes making it a less impersonal relationship than those common among market exchanges.

Illegal parking attendants ("gorrillas" and "aparcacoches")

Illegal parking attendants have become a typical image in many Spanish cities especially in the south. Their presence started in the late 1980s. In its most marginalized form, it was a job performed by homeless people or drug addicts. Increasingly, other groups began to participate. In the mid-1990s we could find Roma, mostly from Romania, performing these services.

Today this work is performed in different forms. In some cities, such as Seville or Granada, parking areas are formally divided among different types of solicitors. In some open parking lots there are attendants that are formally licensed by the City Council. But in most cases the job is informal and even illegal. In most areas of the city, *aparcacoches* risk a fine if they are found pushing their services. In our fieldwork we followed several young Roma men who "parked cars" in a downtown area of Granada. In the summer of 2014 they were prosecuted by the local policemen and fined €80.00.

In most areas of the city this form of soliciting is illegal. Those performing this activity can be fined. Some of our Roma friends received 80€ fines for performing

illegal parking that were formally sent to their homes. Thus, this source of income is becoming more competitive and risky. This service is usually not demanded by the drivers. Therefore, some more or less subtle form coercion is often involved.

Attending informal parking lots can be profitable when a whole parking lot is managed exclusively by one person or group of associated persons. Hence, these areas have become more difficult to manage and are increasingly controlled formally by the owners of the plot or by organized groups. Roma people have been increasingly excluded from these arrangements.

Street musicians: busking-cum-begging

Another form of seeking money is associated with the performance of music and, more rarely, juggling. Roma performers and musicians are found all over Europe that busk in public spaces in order to support their families. For instance, Grill (2012) vividly describes how unsolicited musical performances often include some form of begging, which he refers to as "street music-cum-begging" (p. 83). For instance, in relation to a group of Slovak Roma in Genève, Switzerland he describes the following techniques: "They usually go about in pairs, sometimes both playing, sometimes one playing and the other interacting and begging for money" (p. 83). Some street musicians offer services that are much appreciated by their clients, and thus, the donation they get is more similar to a reciprocal exchange than to a pure gift. But it is often difficult to separate certain forms of busking from begging (p. 83). One of the projects planned for the Follow-up Survey is to explore the world of Roma street musicians in Spain.

Foraging and recycling of waste materials

The Roma in our sample have participated in a variety of forms of foraging within the urban environment, especially for those goods that have been discarded by persons, families and corporations and can be easily recycled, reused or sold.

Discarded food collection

Sometimes Roma families have developed this strategy in times of need, or as a complement to other sources of income. Beluschi Fabeni (2013b, pp. 348-355) vividly describes these practices, which he observed for nearly two years between 2003 and 2006. It mostly occurred outside of supermarkets and superstores, usually around 10 pm or at closing time. Small groups of Roma relatives perused the trash containers and

retrieved products had been recently discarded. Different products included those with recent expiration dates, damaged fruits or meat, and the range of goods to recycle was much wider than might be expected. A family could sustain itself on these products almost completely, although there were obvious risks and the selection, preservation and transformation of goods had to be done carefully.

Following the economic recession, Roma foragers (or scavengers) were confronted with competitors from other local groups, as well as groups of "new age travellers" and hippy-like youngsters, mostly from other European countries.

The media paid much attention to these foraging practices during the economic recession. The image of Spaniards diving into garbage bins made the front pages of national and local newspapers. It is perhaps a sign of the times that these practices rarely received any attention during periods of abundance when the economy was booming.

Waste and metal recycling

Many Roma in Spain found work in foraging, recycling and selling different wasted and discarded materials such as paper, clothes, metals and electric and electronic appliances, to name a few. This is a very competitive market in which certain minority groups such as Gitanos or Spanish Romani had already specialized long before the first arrival of Romanian Roma to Spain.

We have interviewed and observed different groups of Roma from four of the seven family networks surveyed for this report on the work procedures and social organization of the trade. At variance are the size of the business, materials emphasized and organization of activities.

Perhaps the most visible and characteristic image of foraging is that of the Roma *'chatarrero'* (scrap collector and merchant), a poor Roma man pushing a handcart full of trimmings and discarded metal objects through the streets of the city. These can be found today in different Spanish cities. We observed them in Madrid, where they often interrupted heavy traffic and were not very popular. In fact, in our extended survey we followed mostly men (and a few women) from Network 07 who had specialized in this "lower-level", individualized and tiring form of transportation. Scrap collectors pushing their carts have become a new image in Spanish cities. It is

visible, picturesque and surprising. In fact for over forty years there were no similar carts and collectors on Spanish streets.

This form of collecting metal items is hard work. We have reconstructed the daily routine of some members of Network 07 who lived in the ruins of a farm on the outskirts of Granada. Beginning early in the morning, they would crisscross the city pushing their carts, looking for containers with building yard or industrial waste, visiting landfills and taking their scraps back a derelict yard where they would deposit, select and prepare the scraps for sale to wholesale scrap metal merchants that would come to their place with trucks for hauling the material away. In an average day, one of these Roma men from the Transylvanian countryside might push his cart for over 25 km. The first bicycle-pushed carts began to appear in Granada this past autumn.

Other Roma were able to buy small or large vans and work at a higher scale and in a much larger territory. Their income, but also their expenses, was generally higher. Most recycling materials were sold to wholesale merchants. As demand decreased in the economy at large, the demand for most of the recycling materials also dropped and prices went down.

Members of Network 02 practiced a particularly innovative form of foraging and reparation of discarded objects and goods designed for sale at flea markets along the Costa del Sol that has a relatively affluent tourist population all year long. Foraging and recycling is usually a family business in which several adults from one or several related households work together. Sometimes, however, a single individual undertakes the whole process of foraging, selecting, extracting and selling metal parts. These usually represent the humblest cases. These metal "scavengers" offer effective solutions for recycling toxic materials. The problems start when they interrupt traffic or are asked for their cart's papers when they park them in the wrong place.

Public benefits and rents

Public benefits are one of the social entitlements that figured most prominently in the discourses of our Roma informants when considering the advantages of different European countries as places of residence for themselves and their families. For instance, in the past two years, Britain and Germany had rated very highly among the Roma in our sample. Those who had relatives living in either of these countries extolled the ampleness of public benefits. In fact, during our survey one family moved

to Germany lured by the attraction of these coveted payments. In one case the desired results were not achieved as planned and so the family returned to Spain after losing the social housing they had been enjoying. Similarly, many families related to Network 01 moved to different English cities after spending years in Granada and their descriptions of British family and housing benefits were widely discussed by their relatives at large.

Roma in Spain have enjoyed different public benefits. Nevertheless, they vary by region and even city, since most overseen by the Autonomous or Local Governments. Social security payments, however, such as unemployment subsidies and pension payments, are directly handled by the central government.

The cuts introduced following the financial and economic recession resulted in a reduction of the amount of social benefits available from all four tiers of the public administration. Nevertheless public benefits and subsidies are still an important source of income for most Roma families. Let us examine some examples:

The *Renta Mínima de Inserción* (RMI), or basic guaranteed income, is an important resource for those families with total unemployment, as is the case for most Roma homes. This "social rent" is paid for six months and would amount to approximately €650 for a family of five. After another six months of waiting, it can be requested again. In exchange for receiving this minimum income the family must agree to fulfill a "contract" of commitments under the supervision of the social workers. For instance, all children of school age would be required to attend class regularly.

Child benefits are very low in Spain as direct payments. Fiscal benefits derived from children are more important, but they are irrelevant for most Roma families. There are, however, certain programs that do benefit Roma children. For instance, school feeding programs guarantee that all children in public schools get sufficient meals each day. They are especially important for children from vulnerable and poor families. Local governments in some towns and cities pay for the schoolbooks of children from needy families.

Certain local programs offer emergency help to vulnerable families. They can be used for paying the rent, electricity bills or solving problems with passports applications, inscribing newborn children, etc.

Most Roma families have difficulties providing the documentation necessary for obtaining the benefits claims. The lack of appropriate and updated documentation is a constant source of complaints from all of the social workers we interviewed. The problem, however, is often complex since some of the problems emerging in Spain actually need to be solved in Romania and require long administrative procedures.

6.2 Education

6.2.1 Introduction

Children of school age are the main age group of Romanian Roma in Spain. Hence, preschool and elementary school education are crucial for social integration (but also cultural transformation) of the younger Roma generations. In Spain today, education is free and compulsory from 6 to 16 years of age. This includes all children living in the country, both Spanish nationals and foreign citizens, even if their parents are not legal residents. The universality of the obligation to attend school in these years is a major principle that binds all tiers of the public administration (see Chapter 5.1).

The Spanish educational system is organized by state law at the highest level, or Fundamental Law (*Ley Orgánica 8/2013, de 9 de diciembre, para la mejora de la calidad educativa*),[38] which was approved by the national parliament. Regional governments, however, use their funding to manage and support all levels of education: childcare or preschool, primary, secondary and post-secondary school and even university. Let us briefly review the compulsory levels of education and explore how Roma children are included within them.

A. Childcare or preschool (*Educación Infantil*) comprises two cycles.

A1. The first cycle is for children from 0-3 years, and takes place basically in nursery schools or childcare centers that care for children in a safe and stimulating environment. This cycle is not universally free, although there are areas where it is partially or entirely supported by public funds.

A2. The second cycle of preschool education is for children from 3 to 6 years of age, and is free and universally covered by public funds. This education cycle prepares children for schooling and the evidence shows that a gradual incorporation of children, especially foreign children whose mother tongue is not Spanish (or Catalan, Gallego or Basque, in their respective regions), is beneficial to their performance in primary school.

[38] http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2013/12/10/pdfs/BOE-A-2013-12886.pdf

The **compulsory period** includes two major cycles:

B. Primary Education (*Educación Primaria***)** is for children from 6 to 12 years of age and has six courses. This elementary level of education is divided in three cycles that are increasingly demanding and difficult.

C. Compulsory Secondary Education (*Enseñanza Secundaria Obligatoria***)** is for children from 12 to 16 years of age, and comprises four courses. Usually this cycle is taught at secondary schools ("*Institutos*") together with post-compulsory *Bachillerato* or upper high school courses.

At the end of the compulsory period, students obtain a secondary school certificate. This is the lowest and most basic educational degree in the country. It is increasingly a prerequisite for most formal jobs. Following the compulsory period there are two years of higher secondary education (*Bachillerato*) required for access to university.

D. Post-Compulsory Secondary Education comprises two different options of two-year schooling from 16 to 18 years of age.

D1. One is more academic and oriented towards college education, the *Bachillerato* or **Upper High School** that comprises two courses, and is comparable to the US 11th and 12th grades, the French *Baccalaureate* or the A Levels in England.

D2. The other option is oriented towards **vocational or technical education**, and includes two years of specialized **Professional Training** and results in an FP (*Formación Professional*) diploma.

Many international specialized agencies have cautioned about the need for all children, especially those from vulnerable families, to complete at least the compulsory school period in order to reduce the risks of social exclusion. For instance, the UNESCO has warned that “those who do not complete at least compulsory education face high risks of living in poverty and have limited chances to realize their learning and working potential. Many of those with the lowest education levels come from families characterized by social disadvantage” (UNESCO, 2010, p. 155). The dominant professional and lay ideology accepts this viewpoint. In connection with Roma, the ‘EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020’ also insist on the need for integrating Roma children into quality school systems: “Member

States should, as a minimum, ensure primary school completion. They should also widen access to quality early childhood education and care and reduce the number of early school leavers from secondary education pursuant to the Europe 2020 strategy. Roma youngsters should be strongly encouraged to participate also in secondary and tertiary education" (European Commission, 2011, p. 6).

In Spain, attendance to school during the compulsory period is a strong requirement by all authorities and professionals working with immigrants. Often, regular school attendance from the children is a prerequisite to families seeding to obtain public benefits. On the other hand, an increasing number of Roma parents in our sample want their children to attend school, and take them both to nurseries and primary schools willingly. This partial convergence in goals and ideologies is an important trend to investigate.

6.2.2 Roma migrant pupils in the Spanish educative system

Our Extended Survey sample (see Chapter 1) included 543 Romanian Roma people and we were able to establish the birthdates of 518 of them. Through an analysis of this sample we were able to provide a model of the relative presence of Roma children in each of the levels of Spanish education (Table 17).

Table 17: Theoretical school demands by age: Roma children from the seven family networks studied, distributed in the levels of Spanish preschool and compulsory education they would be expected to attend (N: 518). Absolute values and percentages of the total sample.

Years of age	*School level*	*N*	*%*
0 to 2 years	Preschool education. First Cycle	52	10
3 to 5 years	Preschool education. Second Cycle	58	11
6 to 11 years	Primary school: Compulsory	93	18
12 to 15 years	Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO)	51	10
Total 0 to 15		254	49

Note that half the Romanian Roma population in Spain consists of children of compulsory school age, under 16-year-olds. Considering their demand of the public school system there is no comparable population in the country. The population profile of Spanish Gitanos was somewhat similar to this one, but with reduced fertility

in the past two decades. The effects of this "demographic transition" have been felt through their demand for schooling services.

Children of preschool age

About 10-12% of the whole group is comprised of infants and newborn children who need almost permanent care and attention by their caretakers, mostly their mothers, and to a lesser degree, supporting members of the family or other relatives living nearby. Roma women are very active in obtaining monetary and non-monetary resources for their families in public spaces. They often have small children in their care. Increasingly, at least in the networks we observed, Roma mothers leave their children at home with female relatives or put them in preschools near their homes while they go out begging, working, scrap collecting or shopping.

Another 10-12% of the Roma population includes children of 3, 4 and 5 years of age. They need almost constant care and supervision. With two to three children in their care on average, the burden for many Roma mothers is considerable. They receive help from other women at home, mostly the older girls in the house, and female in-laws.[39] Roma mothers in Spain are making increasing use of free preschool facilities available in their neighborhoods. The protracted use of these facilities facilitates Roma women's pursuit of incomes, and contributes to the disappearance of Roma children from begging activities. Professionals also point to the importance of these services in allowing older sisters to remain in school, as they are free from the need of helping their mothers to care for their younger siblings. They also point to the potential health advantages of schools, since food is freely provided in the school meal. Moreover, preschools and health centers cooperate towards the normalization of regular checkups, which help to prevent diseases, and the implementation of vaccination programs.

The austerity measures enforced by the Conservative government in 2012 limited the availability of public preschool services. This situation has been

[39] The support Roma mothers obtain from large households and family networks is crucial both to the social organization of the domestic realm and structures of reproduction at large. It is obviously critical for facilitating the international mobility of the "whole family", which is characteristic of Romanian Roma migrations. The role of family chains of support for Roma mothers is largely ignored in analyses of the Roma cultural practices and migration patterns.

exacerbated in the case of certain Roma families with documentation problems. Thus, at the present time there are actually cases in which demands by Roma parents seeking to send their children to public school facilities have gone unmet due to rejected applications as a result of missing documents.

Roma children in primary education

Children of primary school ages (from 6 to 12 years-of-age) comprise about 18-20% of the total Roma population. These children are Romanian citizens, although many of them have been born outside of Romania. They are becoming increasingly proficient in the Spanish language and Spanish life patterns, while forgetting or ignoring the Romanian language. What will their futures hold? Where will they live ten years from now? What values and mores will they follow and develop on their own?

Local authorities, especially social workers, pressure Roma parents to send children of this age group to school. But Roma parents have also increasingly internalized the need for their children to go to school. Hence, agreement between authorities and Roma parents on this issue signals an important shift in attitudes towards the schooling of their children.[40]

In sum, Roma children of this age group are almost completely enrolled in Spanish public schools in the neighborhoods where they live. They attend school with the other children in the neighborhood, whether Spaniards or foreigners, according to the local population profile. There is no segregation by nationality, ethnicity or religion in Spanish public schools. The main segregation derives from the socioeconomic differences of neighborhoods themselves. The poorest districts of the cities tend to have schools with a higher level of problems such as irregular attendance, violence or academic failure.

We visited most of the schools that Roma attended in the area of study. From our observations we concluded that many Roma children went to school happily once they had begun to understand the language and became accustomed to their teachers and classmates. It seems that the school experience of Roma children in elementary

[40] Several professionals confirmed that they perceived a clear shift in the attitudes of Roma parents towards preschool and primary school. Increasingly, they are demanding that their children be enrolled in schools and they are aware that regular attendance is a crucial requirement of the system.

school, especially during the early and middle years, is increasingly satisfactory. We were not aware of complaints of discrimination by teachers. On the contrary, the relationship with teachers was often warm and trustful.

There were, however, some recurrent problems regarding irregular attendance that could develop into absenteeism, early dropouts and alienation from the formal education system by a sector of Roma pupils. There were also conflicts with other children in some schools. However, there were also increasing cases of school success among Roma children at this level. In fact, some Roma children were doing quite well in primary school and even the early years of high school.

The secondary compulsory education level (12-16 years of age)

The number of Roma boys and girls that are required to attend secondary education is considerable. They represent 10-12 percent of the entire population. However, compared to the elementary years, in this cycle problems tend to accumulate and very few Roma youngsters end up obtaining their high school diplomas or consider continuing with their formal education.

At this level, problems tend to accumulate and school dropouts become generalized. During their teen years, Roma boys and girls become increasingly alienated from school demands and goals for many reasons. First, entering high school usually means moving to a new type of school that is less protective and more demanding than primary school. Sometimes this means that students have to travel to a different part of the city or even town. Many Roma parents fear this transition. Roma students also often have problems adapting to the new high school environment. Additionally, secondary education means that the complexity and difficulty of academic subjects increases and more homework is required. New, more advanced subject matter in math, physics, history and foreign languages, for instance, often serves to discourage a sector of students among whom Roma and other minorities are overrepresented. Moreover, the presence of peers, income-earning opportunities and romance offer powerful incentives to cut boring classes. This shift away from the school begins in this period, from 14 to 16 years of age. The process usually ends with school dropouts and unfinished degrees. In our sample we only found two adults with a high school certificates. Only one was obtained in Spain.

Most Roma adolescent students had irregular attendance, high dropout rates and low academic attainment. The very small group who continued on to high school and remained in the educational system suffered certain dilemmas regarding identity, as Romani students in other contexts (Levinson & Sparkes, 2006) (Abajo & Carrasco, 2004).

Certain curriculum adjustment programs have been effective in reducing school dropouts and helping some of the less advanced students to finish high school and receive their diplomas. We have studied some of these programs concerning Spanish Gitanos (Gamella, 2011; Grañeras, 2012). However, very few of the Roma teens in our sample have used these programs yet.

Secondary education: A cultural clash

A cultural clash often occurs at the level of secondary compulsory education. As one social educator who has worked with Roma families for years put it: "High school is always the bone of contention. At this moment we could only get one girl into the secondary level. The rest disconnects from the school system..."[41] The convergence among parents, children and professionals noted in elementary school tends to disappear when Roma become teenagers. The conflict is seen as more serious concerning Roma girl, specially in those cases in which they show academic promise. As in any cultural conflict, stereotypes abound and prejudices are put to work on both sides. There is considerable misunderstanding by school institutions and education professionals regarding the pressures and incentives that Roma children experience at home, and of the challenges they confront in their daily lives and life plans. The misunderstanding is probably more serious concerning Roma girls and young women.

Professionals consider formal education to be the only path to personal happiness and social integration. In this sense, teachers and other education professionals control families through their children. Any deviation from the expected "normalcy" can quickly be reported to Social Services, which, in turn, affect access to most public benefits and entitlements. Therefore schools are part of a system of social

[41] *"Secundaria sigue siendo el caballo de batalla… Ahora mismo, sólo una niña hemos conseguido que pase a Secundaria. El resto se desconecta del sistema escolar... Lo más que hemos conseguido es tenerlas en Primaria..."* (Social Educator, April 2014)

control that professionals judge as benign and beneficial for children, but that is not free from contradictions or from more or less subtle forms of cultural hegemony. In most of our interviews with social workers and educators, some show considerable awareness of their role as controllers and enforcers and the limits and ethical quandaries of their practices.

In sum, most professionals believe that only education can break the transmission of cycles of disadvantage across generations. However, they are usually less aware of the processes by which education policies also may perpetuate inequalities. Also they rarely perceive the cultural dislocation that pursuing an academic career may involve for Roma youngsters who can often experience contradictory demands from peers, home, their community and school.

Roma adolescents are skeptical about their chances of finishing academic or vocational programs that can lead to the attainment of jobs. The high rate of unemployment in Spain, even for those with technical or academic qualifications, makes the discourse for the cure-all power of formal education a bit less convincing.

Conversely, the pressures of helping the family with income-earning activities and marrying young are powerful. The permanence of early marriage patterns both for boys and girls is a major cultural difference from dominant society, and is still in operation among almost all of the families surveyed. But it should not be seen as an essential and unchanging attribute of Roma groups. It does not derive from a blind obedience to a supposedly self-perpetuating "tradition". Rather, it arises out of the current needs and demands of their social lives. Roma society is complex and pushes and pulls teens into establishing the bonds and commitments can sustain their lives in the future. A "good" marriage is what most parents want for their nubile children. From their experiences, it is a much safer alternative to any promise from a school system that takes so many years to provide the means to achieving a good life.

6.3 Representation

6.3.1 Emergence of Roma leadership in Spain

Among the Roma immigrants in Spain we have found few leaders beyond those of family networks. Locally, the different groups of Roma in a city may not even know each other, and their members rarely have the opportunity (or the willingness) to develop mutual trust and forms of cooperation. In the linguistic-cultural-geographic communities that have nurtured contemporary Roma transnational mobility, leaders may exist in the form of respected men who can mediate in conflicts and adjudicate disputes, even formally, as in the in *Kris Romani* processes (Beluschi Fabeni, 2013b; Marušiakova & Popov, 2005; Rojas Venegas & Gamboa Martínez, 2008; Weyrauch, 2001) [42]. But it is difficult for any aspiring leader to cross community limits.

Therefore, political influence tends to be limited by socio-cultural barriers among linguistic-cultural groups. However, Roma leaders might use their influence within the bounds of their own communities and then build their authority and their power base from it. One way this can occur is by establishing coalitions or mutual forms of support with similar leaders in other groups. The other either complementary or opposing strategy for emerging leaders is to obtain the support of non-Roma institutions, be they private or public. Influential brokers controlling resources beyond ethnic borders, especially state resources can create a power base beyond that of their families and communities. However, most likely, the first beneficiaries of this power will be the leaders' family, lineage and community members. This capacity for surpassing family and community boundaries is also shared by the emerging Pentecostal priests who have become organized through the emerging Evangelical churches, which include converted Roma.

Some emerging leaders seem to have followed both paths towards the establishment of structures of self-representation in its most typical form in Spain: minority-interest associations. Nevertheless, they do not seem to have been very

[42] Beluschi Fabeni (2013a; 2013b, pp. 319-355) offers a detailed description of the motives and structuring of this form of autonomous lawmaking and enforcement as it has been developed by groups of *Korturare* Roma in Spain.

successful. Presently the prospects of local, regional or national Roma leaders are rather poor in Spain both because of austerity cuts that limit public expense and the rise in unemployment. Both processes influencing many Roma to move to other countries and limit the potential power base of Roma leaders.

6.3.2 Roma NGOs and associations in Spain

Certain self-representation structures have appeared with respect to Roma. We discovered six NGOs or associations of "*Gitanos rumanos*", or Romanian Roma, operating between 2008 and 2014. They all functioned at local or regional levels and did not appear to cooperate among themselves. They were located in Badalona, in Barcelona's periphery, Alicante on the Levant coast, the Basque country, Cordoba in Andalusia, Pamplona, which is the capital of Navarre, and Madrid. Their main sources of support were their respective city councils and autonomous governments. Since 2012 they have been largely inactive, since public funding sources have mostly dried up.

The development of these associations seems to have been influenced by three parallel processes. First, there was a rise in Romanian associations in the past decade. As far as we know, the first one was founded in Castellon in the autonomous region of Valencia in the year 2000. By the end of 2014, an official list included 178 independent Romanian associations in 15 Autonomous Communities. They had a variety of interests and goals from political representation to the promotion of Romanian culture, sports, youth, etc. Some Roma participated in these associations and learned from such experiences.

Secondly, the expansion of an NGO movement among Spanish Gitanos in the form of Romani associations (*Associations Gitanas*) and pro-Romani associations (such as the *Foundation Secretariat Gitano*) paved the way for the development of Roma Romanian associations.[43] An important sector of this movement concerned the spread of the Pentecostal faith and churches among Spanish Gitanos. This process also

[43] In fact, all associations include the use of "*gitanos rumanos*" in their names or their targeted membership. For instance, in Bilbao of the Basque Country, we found the "Asociación Rrom de Gitanos Rumanos Cristianos de Euskadi".

occurred in relation to certain Romanian Roma families and, in both cases, generated new religious communities that went beyond familial and linguistic boundaries. This may have affected the internal governance of Roma groups and the emergence of new leaders; however, signs of this occurring in Spain are too feeble as of yet.

Gitano associations and pro-Gitano associations developed a few programs that were theoretically oriented towards Roma immigrants in Spain. More often, however, they offered programs (such as ACCEDER, in the case of FSG; see Chapter 5) to Roma immigrants. However, there seems to have been a notorious absence of Roma in the planning, elaboration and direction of these projects. To our knowledge, the advisory or executive committees of Gitano or pro-Gitano associations never included any Romanian or Bulgarian Roma.

Thirdly, some of the leaders of Roma associations in Spain had prior political experience in Romania. For instance, M. C. (born in 1965), the leader of *Hai Rromale*, a Roma association in the Valencia region, in Alicante, was a member a Roma party (*Partida Romilor*) in Romania. He told us that he followed the political developments of his country and maintained contact with Roma activists there.[44]

Hai Rromale, however, had not been very active in recent years. According to him, many Roma from the region had moved mostly to Germany. Mitica's dream was to found a Roma political party in Spain together with Gitanos. "In the localities where we are over 10 percent of the population, we could get at least a councilman", he told us. There are few signs, however, of such unions between Spanish and foreign Romani groups. They mostly ignore each other and rarely cooperate either individually or collectively.

Roma associations in Spain declared as manifest goals the promotion and integration of Roma in society, including their participation in public life and processes of political representation. They also emphasized their desire to work "in all areas that can contribute to improving the livelihood conditions of the Romanian Roma

[44] This two-way transnational political influence, facilitated today by digital technologies (such as *Facebook* and *Twitter*) may be a new factor in the mobilization and development of representative structures of European Roma.

community in Spain".[45] They tried to develop programs tailored to Roma groups concerning education, employment, health care and youth training, but there have been few concrete results and less completed projects. There has also been a lack of public support. They do not seem to have ever been important interlocutors with authorities. They have mostly figured in media and public representations, celebrations and festivities and have lacked followers and voluntary supporters. Compared to Roma's and especially pro-Roma NGOs such as Unión Romani or FSG, or larger Romanian associations such as FEDROM[46], these Roma NGOs seem to be few, dispersed and disorganized.

In sum there are considerable difficulties in the emergence of unified processes of governance and representation among the different groups of Romanian Roma in Spain. Considering the downturn in numbers of immigrants due to the economic recession and austerity measures, future prospects are not good. However, an important obstacle to a joint Roma representation and an unified leadership of Roma, even of local Roma, is the considerable distance between cultural-linguistic groups who often do not respect or trust each other. In fact, the very concept of a common Roma identity that is attributed to Roma by external actors (including MigRom researchers) is not shared by all Roma themselves, and certainly not as a grounds for common political action and representation.

[45] These are some of the declared objectives of the Romania Rromani association in its public presentation in Pamplona on the International Day of the Roma people, April 8th, 2011. See: http://www.gitanos.org/actualidad/archivo/60077.html. Compared to the main *Gitano* and especially pro-*gitano* ngos, such as the Unión Romani or the FSG (Fundación Secretariado Gitano), or larger Romanian associations such as FEDROM (Federación de Asociaciones Rumanas en España) , these roma NGOs seem to be few, dispersed and disorganized.

[46] In 2014 we found 22 Romanian NGOs that were active in Spain within that Federation. Please consult:: http://www.fedrom.org.

6.4 Public attitudes towards Roma

The UGR team has developed a media database that includes 3,065 articles and news reports about Romanian Roma that were published in the Spanish press from 1989 to 2014. Using the same key words in each case, we systematically searched the five main national Spanish newspapers (*El País*, *El Mundo*, *La Vanguardia*, *Público* and *ABC*) that represent different political and ideological orientations. We also collected a number of reports in provincial and regional newspapers concerning certain important cases and local events. In some cases we also collected the anonymous comments of readers regarding salient or notorious news. We collected, catalogued and began analysis of all of these texts and related photographs and videos.

This material is very rich and allows both an analysis of the forms and structures of media representation using, for instance, critical discourse analysis (Erjavec, 2001) and an event-analysis of the history of Roma migration to Spain since the beginning of the transnational mobility wave that started in 1990.

The research of mass media reports and news complements ethnographic fieldwork, the survey of Roma group-settlements in Spain and the study of "local reactions to the Roma immigrants, and processes of friction as well as integration", and related factors.

Parallel to this, we are also developing a corpus of brief interviews with people from different socioeconomic and educational levels that address their views of Roma in Spain and some of the main reports found in the press. We seek to understand how media representations found in the first analysis cohere, diverge or coalesce with personal experiences and discourses about both a group of people and a new ethnic category of considerable ambiguity: "*Gitanos rumanos*".

We are also planning to develop focused discussion groups with professionals working with Roma, such as local police, social workers, social educators, teachers and health professionals in order to analyze their perceptions of those Roma they have known directly and the Roma population at large. This may be the basis for a Ph.D. dissertation emerging from the MigRom Project.

We plan to analyze all these materials for the Follow-up Survey, in which the attitudes towards Roma in Spain will be one of our priorities.

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7. Summary and results

The migration of Romanian Roma to Spain began in the early 1990s. It increased considerably between 1997 and 2008 and has decreased since 2009. At present, Spain is not as attractive as other European countries as a migratory destination. In the past five years, many Roma families have left Spain. The estimations of the Roma population as a whole in Spain can only be approximated but appear to be in the tens of thousands. We could estimate the Romanian Roma population at a given moment in the regions where we are working, but not with respect to the entire country.

In our sample, some families have lived in the same Spanish city for over 17 years. Children were born and raised in Spain. In many ways they are Spanish; they speak Spanish, are accustomed to their neighborhoods and the local customs and services. Most likely, they would feel like strangers in most other countries. This is a complex phenomenon, since immigrant Roma adaptation is generally diverse and heterogeneous.

Many Roma are invisible as 'Roma', albeit recognized as Romanians or Bulgarians. Although some have lived in the same place for a decade or more, others have travelled, back and forth between Spain, Romania and other European countries such as Italy, the UK, Germany and France, where they have relatives.

1. Methodology

Communities surveyed: Seven local family networks

We studied local kin networks as defined by the subjects themselves and they are the main units of sampling and analysis. These networks are embedded in larger family networks that originated in different Romanian regions and are, in some cases, scattered across more than ten European countries. Transnational networks of consanguineous and affinal kin are a central element to take into account in the study of Roma migration.

We studied seven family networks from different regions and linguistic and cultural backgrounds. We tried managed to meet all network members residing in the study areas between October 2013 and March 2014. The obtained sample included

543 individuals living in 81 households, and who are members of seven family networks. This resulting sample is more representative than a pure chain referral or intentional sample.

The obtained sample includes a variety of groups that demonstrate the variation of Roma immigration to Spain. They live in diverse local environments, from large cities to rural towns, and have developed different forms of adaptation and income-generating activities.

Basic socio-demographic data

The demographic structure of the Roma population is perhaps most demonstrative of the differences with the majority population. The average age of this group was 18.9 years. The median age was 16, whereas in 2013 the median age of the Spanish population was 41.3 years. Most of the Roma people in Spain are children and teenagers (58% are under 20 years old).

Such a population structure has many consequences. On one hand, most households almost always have babies and small children, which requires a considerable amount of work and care, a task mainly carried out by women. Therefore, family and household networks are crucial for supporting women in their gendered duties. The population is in extreme need for child-oriented services and youth education and training programs.

On the other hand, there are few elderly people in these families. Only 4% are 50 years or older. Thus, community leaders have a broad range of ages. Some men in their late 30s and 40s are among the most active and decisive leaders in their households and family groups and even within the local or national ethnic community.

Nevertheless, children are fifty times more numerous than elders, a consequence of a demographic regime that has very high levels of natality and mortality. Significantly, the absence of elders in migration is likely related to the lower life expectancy of the source population.

In sum, this group seems to be part of a **very young and fast-growing population** with a strong reproductive orientation and lower life expectancy. We are potentially dealing with Europe's youngest population. The crude birth rate during the 2010-2013 term was 34.2 births per thousand. Even given the limitations of the sample, this a very high natality rate for Europe today. On the other hand, it is

probably a lower index of natality than a couple of decades ago. Thus, this is also a population **in transition**, wherein important demographic transformations are taking place.

Team structure

The UGR team includes two main researchers with considerable experience studying Romani groups, together with four Roma assistants from different cultural groups. It also includes three junior researchers who are doing their PhD dissertations on diverse aspects of Romani-related policy and culture. Finally it has benefited from the advice and support of four university professors and researchers with experience in different areas of social and cultural research.

Professionals and authorities from the local communities studied have also been very helpful in the entire process of establishing, approaching and becoming acquainted with the target population. Community engagement through the fieldwork process has had positive effects for both parties.

Research problems: access and the refusal to cooperate

We used a combination of methods that were informed by ethnographic fieldwork, including formal interviews using ad-hoc thematic questionnaires, informal interviews and conversations with individuals or small groups.

In all interviews we managed to explain the character and goals of the project in a way that could be understandable to the informants, and their consent was solicited. All data was immediately codified to render information anonymous and maintain confidentiality.

Linguistic barriers were important in some cases. Additionally, it was difficult to obtain reliable information concerning certain variables. Perhaps this is partly because it was hard to explain the reasons for asking certain questions to informants. For instance, it was difficult for informants to comprehend our interest in knowing the exact number of their children or their year of birth; or the exact amount they made collecting waste or begging. Even Roma assistants had a hard time asking and getting answers. In most cases it was important to grasp the meanings that the interviewees assigned to these questions, regardless of the form in which we presented the questions to them.

2.0 Impact of migration on origin communities

2.1 Returnees

Our team did not address this issue

2.2 Transfer of resources: effect on communities of origin

Our team did not address this issue

2.3 Transfer of resources: patterns among migrants

People of the sample maintained a wide range of relationships with their localities and communities of origin. We drafted a model in order to analyze the relationships with places and communities of origin and presented some ideal profiles of such relationships that were encountered in the sample.

In the analysis, the terms **'locality of origin'** and **'community of reference'** are differentiated. The first is the place and its local society where the individuals come from, return to and consider as their place of reference in Romania. The second term refers to the people that an individual or household considers being significant. The overlap between terms for individuals or household underscores important variations.

Thus we deconstructed these 'sets' of attitudes and practices, by identifying single 'functions' that the locality of origin can play. For each function we described the **frequency and number of return trips to Romania,** the **remittances** transferred (monetary and/or in terms of goods; formal or informal channels), the **symbolic and/or historical context** and its potential economic **impact**. At this stage of research, we identified the following functions of the locality of origin:

a. It is the desired place for building a house.
b. It is where the dead are buried.
c. It is the place summer holidays are spent.
d. It is a place for income-generating activities.
e. It is a place for investing in and starting a business.
f. It is where significant dependent relatives live.
g. It is the only place where weddings take place (in specific groups).

We also identified certain profiles of return project that the different relationships with communities of origin generate:

a. Migration for economic reasons.
b. Increasingly permanent status as long term, or “bi-sited” migrants.
c. Unrealistic return project as a result of a successful migration experience.
d. Unrealistic return project as a result of an unsuccessful migration experience.
e. No return projects and successful adaptation in the host country.

3. Networks and migration history

3.1 Networks as a pull factor

Roma migratory networks appear to have three particular features that differentiate them to some extent from other migrant groups in Western Europe:

1. They have a family base.
2. A higher birth rate among Roma that generates larger households
3. Domestic families do not migrate alone; rather, they tend to move in association with other households linked through kinship.

Roma family networks are part of larger communities of reference, or families that migrated to other countries or remained in Romania. For some of them the community of reference is located in a few localities, between Romania and abroad and includes a few hundred people. For others, it spreads across several countries and it includes over a thousand individuals. They are a source of information and support and, even, eligible choices for marriage; they are a moral reference; and they permit transnational communication and international flows of peoples and families.

At the local level, Romani migration generates new family communities in the places of destination, which serve as powerful mechanisms of adaptation. The existence of this strong social capital can explain how Roma in Spain have faced worsening economic conditions since 2008 and a general exposure to poverty and exclusion.

However, strong internal (ethnic- and kinship- based) links have limited positive effects in terms of the search for job opportunities. "Weak ties" (Granovetter, 1973, 1983) have the capacity for introducing innovative and useful information into a social network. These links constitute horizontal social capital –which bonds people to other social groups with similar socioeconomic power – or vertical social capital– occurring with people in a higher socioeconomic position, and with private and public

institutions (Putnam, 2000). They are key resources for gaining access to new job opportunities. In our sample we observed a general scarcity of such horizontal and vertical social capital. With viewpoint in mind, we analyzed the intervention experiences of Granada's Social Services department from 2007 on. Social intervention resulted in the emergence of certain durable commitments between Romani families and the local authorities, which, in turn, resulted in, improved school attendance and housing conditions. Thus, we explored the interconnections between local policies, migratory groups structures and migration history in order to understand patterns of incorporation and relocation within the host context.

Finally, international dispersion also influences how information is circulated and leads to effective or potential international relocations. It appears to be associated with the urban context of origin or, at least, with links to other urban communities, as well as earlier migrations**.** In some cases, communities that had historically occupied economic niches as middlemen demonstrated a higher level of international dispersion than those communities that had historically acted as a salaried workforce. However, these observations require more in-depth data analysis. We observed a wide range of international dispersion, across **'multi-sited diasporas'** of communities scattered over several countries and **'bi-sited communities'** of people that migrated from one Romanian locality to another Spanish one and today are deeply rooted in both places.

The theoretical **model** that assumes Romania as the only country of origin for migration and other European countries as the end destinations is thus inadequate. It needs to be replaced by a more sophisticated model wherein each country plays a dual role as receiver and sender in migratory flows.

4.0 Changes of family structure

4.1 Profile of generations

We identified **four major generational groups** according to age and kinship roles and place in the family network. They are not closed age groups, since age alone does not determine the social roles played by the individuals. Broadly speaking, these four major groups consist of:

1) Elders or grandparents, some of whom are already great-grandparents. They account for approximately 2% of the whole population. The low number of elderly among the Roma probably relates to their lower life expectancy. However, their number may be even further reduced among migrant communities.

2) Adults and middle-aged persons who are between approximately 40 and 60 years of age. They account for about 8% of the entire community. Men of this generation are the most active leaders of the families and communities. They are key actors in negotiating marriage alliances and mediating and adjudicating conflicts.

3) Young adults who have already married and had children, between 20 and 39 years of age. They comprise approximately one third of the entire group studied. Their social and political roles increase with age but also as a result of personal agency.

4) Children and grandchildren, most of whom remain single; they account for about 55% of the entire group. This group is most susceptible to transformations derived from the transnational experiences of their families.

Emerging from the two younger groups is a second-generation of Roma immigrants who have been born and/or raised in the countries of destination and have only lived in Romania for short periods. Some speak Romanian with difficulty and have adopted Spanish as second language (when Romani as first language). In our sample, over half (52%) of the children under 16 were born abroad in Spain, the UK, Italy, France and so forth.

It seems that across generations Romanian Roma groups have sustained systems of reproduction that differ from those of their Romanian neighbors. They contrast even more with reproductive trends in Spain and the other Western European

countries where they live. These systems are internally heterogeneous, so our models must necessarily be seen as simplifications.

The main factors of these reproductive regimes concern combinations of "demographic behavior" that follow norms that are somewhat stable in time (Livi Bacci 1998: 96). The institution of marriage is critical to the social organization of reproduction among Roma groups, and differs notably from the Malthusian marriage system that has characterized Western Europe in the modernization period.

Households

The sample includes 81 households. The seven family networks studied connect households as much as persons. Roma households tend to be in-flux groups linked by an ideology of relatedness with a corporate character. They are key units of ownership, consumption, decision-making, residence and social reproduction. Roma households are rarely egalitarian. They have internal hierarchies and some members enjoy more benefits than others. Women, especially young married women, tend to have more obligations. They often are "multiburdened" (Oprea 2004).

It is impossible to separate the familial dimension (the origin of the bonds of its members in birth, marriage, adoption, etc.) from the household (task-group) dimension of domestic units. Both are complementary and mixed in discourse and actions, as well as the folk categories used by Roma to express perceptions and judgments about their daily lives.

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 with a variety of needs are omnipresent; they are the most valuable asset of the group, and perhaps their most visible means of "production". The presence of children, so abundant and widespread, has had a meaningful influence upon the migratory project as a whole. Their presence has caused Roma adults to be more subject to rights and obligations of the new countries.

Households changed during the time of observation although some of them have maintained a similar composition over the years. They vary in size and morphology. The most common size includes 4 to 8 persons (58%). Households of 9 members or more are rare, and they can also result from provisional arrangements

that members tend to see as a temporary response to their present circumstances, rather than a definitive setup.

Roma households are much larger (statistically) than normal Spanish or Romanian ones. On average, they include 6.7 people, while in Spain the household size was 2.6 members in 2012 and 2.9 in Romania.

People living alone constitute the fastest growing type of household in Western Europe. This arrangement is rare among the Roma. Probably it is even more unusual among the immigrant communities and networks. Isolation and loneliness is not common among the Roma. In fact, some Roma fear that this situation may result from efficient government-led social control mechanisms upon families and communities.

The most frequent type of household in the sample is the nuclear or conjugal family, which is formed by a couple and its unmarried children. They amount to 45.7% of all homes, but only 37% of the people live in these arrangements.

The ideal of the nuclear family is not only strong among Western Europeans at large; most young Roma couples, especially the wives, express their desire to have their own home. This may mark a gender difference between young husbands and wives, especially in those cases in which the *boria* (daughters-in-law) are unhappy in their relationships with their in-laws. As Berkner (1972) pointed out, most stem families pass through phases of the nuclear family structure.

The second most common type of household (18.5%) is of that formed by an older couple living with their unmarried children or a married son and the son's spouse and children, who are raised in their grandparents' home.

Another common household is of that formed by parents with unmarried children and two or more married children with their spouses and children, thereby forming a kind of joint or multiple household with several reproductive couples and a patriarchal structure of "vertical" dominance, or some form of "patrigroup". We found 8 examples of this three-generation home, comprising 10% of all households.

Several married brothers with their spouses and children form another type of complex household. This is a kind of "fratrigroup", or poly-nuclear household with a horizontal or collateral structure of dominance. We found 4 examples of this type.

Women's work and women's burden

In the Roma households surveyed we found mostly segregated and unequal gender duties and roles. Domestic chores were almost always considered feminine forms of labor and responsibility. Men rarely performed them. Moreover, according to the dominant gender ideology they should not do them, less so publicly and in front of strangers.

The organization of food-related labor is an important task in households with so many minors. Men contributed by providing resources, especially monetary ones. But the responsibility for ensuring that there was enough food in the house, the preparation and cooking of meals and even setting the table and cleaning the dishes was undertaken by females.

Men seemed to pay little attention to those basic household tasks upon which they and their families depended for survival. Most women came to their marriages expecting unequal partnerships and highly differentiated gender roles. Nevertheless, women's roles within the household dynamics were expected to change throughout their life course. As they grew older, it was expected that they would gain authority and come to control the work of the junior women in the house.

However, despite women providing provisions and money towards the household economy, they are rarely awarded the privileges of male providers. This is not unlike what has been reported about working-class homes in majority societies, despite the existence of certain important ideological differences. The connection between masculinity and domestic privileges is marked among the seven networks studied, despite certain variations among groups and families that need to be explored.

Among the Roma males of the extended sample we have not heard discourses of equality concerning domestic tasks (nor in other aspects relating to reproduction and gender). This contrasts with Spanish society at large, where the gender equality discourse is dominant in public, although gender differences and masculine privileges remain entrenched in many areas of daily life, including domestic work.

The claim for equality is more visible in the discourse of younger women. We also found a handful of Roma men who were more ready to help and share in domestic tasks, and who were willing to accept less segregated roles and jobs. They tend to be more independent from family and community relationships. Therefore,

not only the household size and structure impinges on gender dynamics, but the situation in a more or less dense network of related households and family members is known to affect gender roles and gender segregation (Bott, 1971).

Child bearing and family planning by age of women

In the Extended Survey, we were able to reconstruct the reproductive lives of 93 women who had married and lived with their husbands according to the understandings, definitions and norms of their community. In all cases but two, these women had children.

They were born between 1950 and 1999, and had ranged in age from 14 to 63 years old. They belonged to three major generations that were described previously, although there are some very young mothers who belonged to the youngest generation, that is, that of minors. An analysis of the reproductive history of these women has produced some important results.

Universal marriage

For Roma people, marriage is a sanctioned relationship and it is regulated internally by the community of families. Consequently, vernacular conceptions of marriage do not always coincide with the official state definition.

There is no woman in our sample who remained celibate after 24. All had at least one socially recognized partner or husband. This coincides with the life histories and the declared goals and values of the people interviewed. Single life did not mean much in Roma culture. The ideal life of an adult was considered to be that of a sexual, fertile couple with a gendered division of tasks and responsibilities among partners. Hence, marriage in Roma society was not an individual choice but a collective necessity. Obviously there are exceptions, and the number of young Roma who live alternative lives to the "traditional" model is growing. But these are not common in the networks studied.

Homosexuality is not contemplated as a life option either. We did not find persons who defined themselves or were defined by others as gay or lesbian, or who lived as homosexual couples in the networks or transnational communities studied. Perhaps there has been no place even now for persons with this orientation and life

project in the communities to which these networks belong. This subject requires careful and respectful consideration and further research.

Early marriage and early maternity

In all of the networks studied, teenage marriage is the moral and statistical norm. In our sample, the average age of first marriage for women was 16.4 years of age, although there is considerable deviation from this norm.

Among most Romani groups teenage marriage appears to be a complex, historically situated cultural adaptation that may have served as a means of resistance, affirmation and self-perpetuation. However, in the present context of declining mortality, longer life expectancy and the need for long-term formal education, teenage marriage is having new and unprecedented consequences for Roma families.

The birth of the first child: Early maternity

The age of mothers giving birth for the first time is a crucial indicator in the reproductive patterns of a population. It influences the total number of births that a woman might have, which, in turn, impacts the size, composition, and growth of the population.

In our sample, Roma women had their first birth between 13 and 24.5 years of age. The average age for the birth of the first child was 17.5 years of age. Almost half of them had a child before their seventeenth birthday; about 75% before they turned 19.

The average and median age of women at the time of their first births oscillated between 16 and 18.4 years, which implies that unions are normally established between 15 and 17.5 years of age. It is not uncommon to find Roma women who are mothers at 15, as well as sisters or cousins who have their first child at the age of 24. The whole range of forms of "early" maternity needs to be considered.

A small portion of the pregnancies documented in our sample occurred at 12 and 13 years of age. "Child pregnancies" are a source of stigmatization for the whole Roma world, and their occurrence, even if exceptional, is easily manipulated by mass media.

Therefore, our data confirms a pattern of teenage marriages followed by pregnancy as a long-term "habitus" in these Roma groups. This pattern has remained stable for over half a century. In this respect, this is obviously a non-Malthusian European population.

Husbands' ages

The norm in Roma marriage is that both spouses must be of the same age group. Ideally, husbands should be a bit older than their wives. In our sample, husbands were on average 2.3 years older than their wives. There is not much difference in this to the normative orientation of both Spaniards and Romanians at large. In 9 cases (10%) wives were older. Only in three cases did the husband belong to an older generation; in this case, he was over 15 years older than his wife. In this last case, neither one of the couple was a first spouse.

4.2. Family size: A decreasing number of children

In the sample 93 women had 3.5 living children on average. This is not significant as the sample includes women from 3 or 4 generations. Our data may underestimate the fertility levels of this group of women, especially that of the older generations.

Each younger cohort of Roma women had fewer children than the previous one. This is significant in those cohorts whose reproductive history is likely to have ended: women born between 1950 and 1975, who are today 40 years-of-age and older. They include two generations of women: grandmothers and middle-aged mothers.

Roma women seem to be involved in a specific pattern of fertility transition. There is probably much heterogeneity in this respect among families, networks and communities. The process is today transnational as it is developing in different countries that offer different public services of family planning.

Our data mainly concerns three generations that loosely correspond to those of grandmothers, mothers and adult daughters.

1) The oldest generation (born in the 1930s, 1940s and early 1950s) had most of their children during the Ceausescu regime. Many Roma women of this generation seem to have continued living in a regime of unrestricted fertility. There is only one

woman of this generation in our sample. Our survey is not adequate to contribute to this issue.

2) The cohort of women born in the late 1950s and 1960s may include the first group of Roma women who underwent systematic control of their fertility, partly with the assistance of family planning services and contraceptive methods. They were in their 30s when Ceausescu was overthrown. Their main strategy seems to have been that of **stopping** their reproductive life after about two decades of intensive fertility. Most likely these women benefited from changes in state policies concerning contraceptive use and the improved availability of reproductive health services in Romania after the repressive policies of the 25-year dictatorship.

3) Successive cohorts seem to have maintained a culturally distinct pattern of early maternity within a specific marriage system. But they started to strive for smaller families.

According to our conversations with Roma women of different generations, the ideal number of children decreased with each generation. While grandmothers preferred "large families" of 6 to 8 children, their daughters were happy with a smaller number (4 to 6), and the ideal number for the new younger cohorts was even more reduced (usually 2 or 3). The final gender parity of the offspring is a crucial aspect in these preferences that has had a considerable effect on actual decisions and outcomes.

Many Roma women born in the 1980s and 1990s appeared to be using a family planning service and contraceptive methods to space or postpone the birth of children after the first and second pregnancies. Migration may have facilitated the use of these services and methods in different ways, usually with the acquiescence and help of their husbands.

Consequently, younger mothers are devoting a smaller part of their lives bearing and raising children. Besides, as younger generations are expected to live longer, this trend is likely to increase. Roma women contemplate larger portions of their lives with no small children to care and strive for.

This pattern of early marriage followed by the birth of one or two children and the intentional postponement of new pregnancies introduces both new reproductive and familial patterns and new normative orientations into the lives of Romani women.

This reproductive pattern contrasts dramatically with that of Spanish and Romanian women at large.

Different cultural systems are at play. They include values, norms and even conceptions of people, genders and life goals that need to be considered in all policy making.

A decline in fertility rates is a crucial sign of the demographic transition taking place among Romani populations. The present Roma diaspora makes this a transnational phenomenon**.** As with demographic changes they are both a result of and a stimulus to a complex transformation in marriage, kinship and gender systems.

5. Local Policy

Municipal autonomy is a crucial aspect of public administration. However, local or municipal governments in Spain rarely have the competences or the resources they have in France, Italy or the U.K., or in Scandinavian countries. This situation is evident in the much lower proportion of state resources in the hands of local governments in Spain.

Today Spain is one of the most decentralized countries in Europe. However, the particular form of regional decentralization developed since 1978 may have been detrimental for local governments and local autonomy. Arguably, it has mostly benefitted regional elites and regional power centers to the detriment of municipal autonomy and municipal power. This may have been especially serious for middle-sized cities and towns.

Problems are often aggravated by the frequent overlapping of competences and interventions by different levels of public administration. This often results in the loss of financial resources for municipal institutions, as well as a loss of efficiency in public services delivered to the citizens (Council of Europe 2013).

With few exceptions, Spanish municipalities lack fiscal autonomy. Their main autonomous source of funds has been the real estate sector. The boom of the construction industry from 1996 to 2007 fueled the municipal budgets and made them dependent on the expansion of the construction industry. This has been a source of corruption, aberrant planning and the misuse of investments.

The explosion of the housing bubble in 2008-2009 resulted in a drastic drop in municipalities' income. Many local governments went financially broke: they could not pay their workers, customers and suppliers. Thousands of local firms went out of business when their public debts were not satisfied. Since mid-2010, when Spain faced bankruptcy, the policy has been one of austerity that resulted in cuts in most areas of public administration in an effort to make them more efficient and to save the core services, such as health care, education and pensions.

5.1. Local authorities' engagement with Roma immigrants

The role of local intervention in the daily life of Roma people in Spain has to be understood within the present four-tiered structure of public administration.

In Spain, local authorities have a large role to play in providing services such as transport, social work, land planning, housing, etc. However the main agents in key public services such as education, health care, benefits and pensions, law enforcement, immigration policy, etc. do not work for local governments, but rather for regional or central governments, and they follow their policies and directives.

Generally speaking, Roma immigrants' first entry into public services involves social workers and the associated professionals working for local governments. These professionals help Roma to find schools for their children, obtain access to the health care system and apply for social benefits and social housing assistance. But they can also become agents of social control: they visit slums and verify whether children are neglected or living in undesirable conditions and they can denounce the parents after receiving a call from school authorities. Decisively, these local authorities can link Roma families with other crucial public services: schools, health centers, labor offices and finance offices controlling benefits. All these institutions, however, are managed by regional governments in most Autonomous Communities, and follow their directives and programs.

In sum, policies concerning public services are designed at regional levels, and implemented at the local level by agents of local and regional administrations. The present economic crisis has increased the power of the central government, as the cost cuts put limitations on the policy making by the local government levels.

This has resulted in the reduction and elimination of many public services, entitlements and benefits. Many of these reductions concern foreign immigrants. At the lower levels of administration local professionals and authorities have reacted to this policy by confronting those who suffer directly from such cuts. They have had to work against some of the basic policy principles that have guided their decisions and protocols for years.

Public policies and strategies concerning Roma

There does not seem to be any precise public policy concerning Roma immigrants in Spain. These people are largely invisible to the two higher tiers of government. Nevertheless, they continue to engage with the lowest tier by making demands, showing needs and justifying entitlements to local authorities.

Local authorities have developed and experimented with a handful of specific tailor-made programs for Roma immigrants. But for the most part Roma in Spain have benefited from the mainstream social programs already in place. That these programs, such as desegregated schools, open health centers and housing or rent subsidies, have been as open to them as the rest of legal residents is a key aspect of Spanish policy towards immigrants and minorities. In fact, to a certain extent, the Spanish social system can be defined as ethnically- and nationally- blind concerning entitlements.

The handling of policy at the local level

The observation of family life in Roma households, the discussions and exchanges both with Roma and with public servants at different levels reveals some elements of the handling of policy as they are lived and enforced daily at the local level, that is, by social workers, social educators, teachers, health-care professionals, and officers in charge of benefits, pensions, etc.

Some principles emerge with considerable clarity, even if they are rarely formulated in policy documents. They go beyond the explicit values of social work, and the ideological formulations of intellectual or opinion leaders. They are principles in action, dispositions that are interiorized by most social workers in their daily lives.

Normalization: The goal of intervention is to normalize the lives of persons and families, to help them to live what is considered a "normal" life as the rest of the population. Normality is the key to "integration" or inclusion.

Ethnic, religious and national neutrality. In the set of core values of social work and related services there seems to be a principle of neutrality concerning religious, ethnic and national differences. The ideal is to treat all clients equally, but it can also mean ignoring these differences in the resolution of claims and demands.

Full entitlements. Local professionals often stressed that they saw their work as an effort to help their clients to get all services and benefits that they were entitled to.

Obviously, those principles are often contradicted in daily practice, and are also a source of unjustified assumptions in dealing with "others".

Nevertheless, these principles also apply to Roma families. With the current legal restrictions concerning foreigners (see Chapter 6), these principles are often a source of confusion and hardship for many local professionals.

The voluntary sector

The voluntary sector in Spain has grown and diversified enormously in the last decades. In large part, the structure of this sector is isomorphic with the four-tier level administration prevalent in Spain. Hence we found most NGOs defining themselves mostly at regional levels, and creating "federations" that work nationally.

However, the Spanish voluntary sector is highly dependent on the different levels of public administrations and their funds. It has grown exponentially in the last decades, especially during the "prodigious decade" (1996-2007). It is often penetrated by dominant political parties and thus, by political interests.

In some sectors, the Catholic Church remains important, as historically both secular and regular clergy played a crucial part in succor and charity.

In the area of "Gitano Associations", or Romani people in Spain, there was a burgeoning of NGOs in the late 1980s and 1990s, partially fuelled by the growth of the "social sector" lead by the new Autonomous Governments.

The most successful pro-Roma NGO in Spain has been FSG (*Fundación Secretariado Gitano*). Today, FSG is the spearhead of the whole movement of pro-Roma associations that grew considerably since the mid-1980s in connection with the

growth of Autonomous Governments. FSG has developed specific programs for the Roma immigrants in Spain. In 2009 it also established a branch in Bucharest named *Fundatia Secretariatul Romilor* (FSR).

What motivates or triggers intervention?

In Spain, specific (often urgent) intervention mostly has been triggered by visibility, media denouncements and political scandals. In most cases, the presence or involvement of minors, especially small children in the problems denounced has been a crucial factor in interventions. Minors mark the difference between Roma's and other groups' migration into Western Europe.

As occurred in France and Italy, the visibility of shantytowns and alarm concerning their growth and consolidation has provoked evictions that, in turn, have generated denouncements, alarm and political accusations (some of them international) against the authorities that decided upon the evictions.

The first one happened in Madrid in 1999. Another one, also very notorious, took place in 2003 in Seville. In both cases, it was the presence of children (one of whom died overrun by a truck) that completely changed the nature of the process and showed the legal limitations of evictions and expulsions of Roma families and its political cost. It has never been tried again.

6. Social inclusion

The social integration and economic development of immigrants in new societies is complex. According to Portes and Rumbaut (1999), three major fields and sets of forces define the most important aspects of their inclusion in the new country:

1. The policies of the receiving government
2. The conditions of the labor market.
3. The characteristics of their own ethnic communities, networks and groups

In Chapter 6 we analyze the evolution of some elements of these forces concerning Romanian Roma in Spain, as well as provide some background on the major migration flows in which Romanian Roma have participated.

6.1 Employment

Four basic developments condition the situation of Romanian Roma facing the Spanish labor market:

1. The exponential growth of Romanian economic immigrants in Spain.
2. The rapid and extreme deterioration of the Spanish labor market after 2008.
3. The accession of Romania to the EU in 2007 and the restrictions that ended in January 2014.
4. The legal new legal framework enacted in 2012 in Spain restricting the chances for residing in Spain by EU nationals

The termination of temporary restrictions that ended in 2014 seems to have had little effect on the evolution of Romanian migration. This is also true in the other countries that imposed the longest restrictions. The debate on immigration from Eastern Europe has centered on fears that deregulation could cause an "immigration flood". This has not materialized. In fact, more Romanians were travelling to Spain more during the years when the restrictions were in place than in 2014.

The migration of Romanian Roma into Spain is just a small part of the large migratory flow of their countrymen. However, Roma often are the most notorious and visible of Romanians. In fact, often "*rumano*" (Romanian) means "*Gitano rumano*" in the Spanish discourse. However, most Spaniards know well that most Romanians are not "Gitanos". And they also know that the "*Gitanos rumanos*" are not like Spanish Gitanos or Calé. This misnamed category keeps reappearing and contributes to the consolidation of a very common bias and prejudice. Interestingly, several groups of Roma seem to have been pioneers among Romanians upon their arrival and exploration of Spanish regions.

Peculiarly, few Spaniards have heard about "*Gitano búlgaros*" or identified individuals of that category, Bulgarian Roma. They have remained largely invisible, mostly undistinguished from the rest of Bulgarians.

In many aspects, the majority of Roma have maintained considerable distance from the large groups of Romanian in Spain. They behave as two different and separate populations. In fact, most Romanian Roma have different reproductive, domestic and productive strategies than the Romanian majority population.

After a decade of surprising growth between 1996 and 2007, the Spanish economy dramatically slumped in 2008. In the next three years, the jobless rate tripled

to 26%, the highest in the OCDE and four times the US level. Unemployment became the greatest concern in Spanish society.

In these circumstances there are not many opportunities for groups with few or no professional qualifications and marketable skills, and they often lack spoken and writing proficiency in Spanish. Unfortunately, this is the profile of most of the Romanian Roma adults who have moved to Spain.

In our review of the process of job seeking of the people in our extended sample we recurrently heard from social workers and professionals in labor offices that there was little or nothing they could offer to Roma job seekers.

A major shift in the legal framework legal concerning EU nationals

In 2012, as part of the austerity reforms, the new conservative government enacted a major shift in the legal framework for establishing the rights of foreign citizens. The change was included in an "omnibus" urgent decree that apparently sought to "assure the sustainability" of the public health system and to "improve the quality and safety of its services". Interestingly, in one of its final addenda, the decree introduced restrictive conditions to legal residence in Spain for EU nationals. Now the right to reside for more than three months in the country will only be granted to those fully employed, searching actively for a job, completing a formal academic degree or having sufficient economic resources and health insurance.

These measures were widely criticized by immigrant associations and opposition parties. They were considered as an infringement on the rights of the most vulnerable of EU citizens. They were also denounced as a betrayal to the principles of freedom of movement and residence so crucial to the EU project.

Interestingly, however, these measures introduced into Spanish legislation an EU directive that was seen as advancing the right of free movement of EU Citizens. The Directive 2004/38/EC issued in 2004. Spain did not implement these legal tools until 2012. The previous decade was one of rather unrestricted movement of immigrants into the country. Things seemed to have changed drastically since the collapse of the economy in 2008. A major concern was the usage of public health care services by foreign citizens, especially those services that were more intensive, specialized and costly.

The restrictions in universal health care provision

Health care services are one of the main reasons declared by Roma immigrants to remain in Spain even in times of decreasing employment and restricted monetary benefits.

Since 1986, the healthcare system in Spain has been free and universal. Most experts agree that its Public Health Care System 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 rapid aging of the Spanish population makes the system difficult to maintain in the long term.

The financial crisis has made particularly unpopular the most notorious forms of misuse and mismanagement of public resources. When these concern foreigners, the issue is easily manipulated into a source of xenophobia and racism. Few immigrants are more visible and resented than Romanian Roma.

The 2012 decree was a response to these concerns. It included norms that, if they were taken to their last consequences, may mean a change of paradigm in the whole character of the public health system. Now some form of "insurance" has to be proved by users, especially foreigners.

Roma immigrants have been affected by these policy shifts to varying degrees, depending on the region where they lived. However, in most areas there has not been much change. They could use emergency services if their condition required them, and in various regions their health care needs have been provided.

Conversely, although in the end most persons in need may be get some care, the more restrictive legal framework has generated categories of users that eventually may develop into a two-tiered system of public services. The most vulnerable may became, *de facto*, second-class citizens concerning health care as well. The situation is worse for foreign immigrants, especially for those with low chances of getting full employment, like most Romanian Roma.

Full-time and part-time regular jobs

In Spain today few Romanian Roma have regular, formal jobs. In our sample only 4 out of 121 adult males under 60 in our sample had a full-time contracted job in 2013 or 2014.

Some Roma have performed part time jobs, more or less formalized. Most of these are related to female domestic work and cleaning. Roma women sometimes get work as cleaners in private houses. Some of these jobs derive from encounters with donors while begging (see below).

Seasonal agricultural work

A sector or Romanian Roma performs agricultural work in different Spanish regions. The Spanish agriculture needs much seasonal work in cropping seasons of fruits and vegetables such as olives, grapes, garlic, oranges and melons.

Working in seasonal agriculture has become a way of living for a sector of the Roma immigrant in Spain and, perhaps, other Southern European countries. In the last decade immigrant workers were becoming permanent members of the receiving nations' labor forces in agriculture. The recession is ending this process, as many of the seasonal jobs are now taken by unemployed Spaniards and by small owners themselves.

Informal income-generating activities

Lack of opportunities and widespread poverty generate a considerable supply of informal economic activities by Roma groups. By definition, informal activities "circumvent the costs and are excluded from the benefits" and rights of the formalized economy and the formalized contracts. Underground and informal activities are present in many forms.

The main determinant of the informal activity or Roma is that their access to formal activities is blocked and they lack alternative income-generating opportunities.

At the bottom end of informal activities we find an economy of survival (Castells & Portes, 1989) based primarily on low-quality occupations, low productivity and reduced incomes that do not allow an escape from poverty, even if actors sometimes are capable of accumulating some capital. In the case of Roma, the dream is to use that extra capital in the construction of a house in the place of origin.

The two most important activities performed by Roma in our sample are begging and recycling of waste materials, mostly metals. We found these informal activities in most Spanish cities and large towns where Romanian Roma have settled.

Begging: A universal last-resource for Roma families

Begging has been a key survival resource for many Roma families as they moved to Western Europe. This income-generating activity has made some Roma groups extremely prominent and contributed to their stigmatization. The most visible of the new beggars in Europe today are Roma women. The mass media recurrently make exaggerated and even malicious claims about the income of Roma beggars, their exploitation of minors and their criminal nature. We have found no evidence in the networks surveyed to support these extremely negative claims.

Here we define begging as a type of informal income-generating activity performed in a public space that consists of a receiver asking for a donation that is not reciprocated, or that is symbolically reciprocated by a non-demanded good or service. In all its forms, soliciting-begging includes elements of a gift-economy. Even when it has some of the trimmings of a market transaction it is not a real market transaction.

We find two basic types of soliciting that can be combined: a) passive begging, commonly performed by Roma women; and b) active soliciting that includes car-parking, soliciting at traffic lights, busking and music playing. Men usually perform the most active forms of soliciting/begging, which include some offer of goods or services in the transaction.

A common form of begging takes place at traffic lights, a favorite place to solicit money from drivers or their companions when cars are at a standstill. The washing of windshields or some small gifts can be offered as a counterpart. Illicit parking attendants have become a typical image of many Spanish cities, especially in the South. Their presence started in the late 1980s. In their most marginalized form it was a job performed by homeless people or drug addicts. Since the mid-1990s Roma have also performed services as illicit parking attendants. There are also many Roma among the street musicians found in Spanish cities.

Foraging and recycling of waste materials

Many Roma in Spain work in foraging, recycling and selling of different wasted and discarded materials such as paper, clothes, metals, electric and electronic appliances and so forth. This is a very competitive market in which some minority groups such as *Gitanos* or Spanish Romani had specialized long before the first arrival of Romanian Roma into Spain.

Perhaps the most visible image of the Roma *chatarrero* (scrap collector and scrap merchant) is that of the poor Roma men who push a hand cart full of trimmings and discarded metal objects through the streets of the city. These can be found today in different Spanish cities. This form of collecting and processing metal items is hard work.

Other Roma have been able to buy small or large vans and work at a higher scale and in a much larger territory. Their income but also their expenses are generally higher. Most recycling materials are sold to wholesale merchants. One of the networks studied, however, has specialized in repairing discarded utensils and furniture and selling them in street markets, mostly in tourist areas.

Public benefits and rents

Public benefits are one of the social entitlements that figure more prominently in the discourses of our Roma informants when considering the advantages of different European countries as places of residence. For instance, in the last two years, Britain and Germany rated very highly among the Roma in our sample. Those who had relatives in any of these countries extolled the generosity of their public benefits.

In Spain public benefits vary by region and even by city, as most are competence of autonomous or local governments. Social Security payments, however, such as the unemployment subsidies and the pensions, are directly paid by the central government budget.

The cuts introduced after the financial and economic crisis have reduced the amount of social benefits available by all four tiers of the public administration. Nevertheless public benefits and subsidies are still an important source of income for most Roma families. The most common of the benefits open to Roma who can not claim unemployment benefits is the RMI (*Renta Mínima de Inserción*). The basic

guaranteed income is an important resource for those families in which nobody has a job, as is the case in most Roma homes. This "social rent" is paid for six months, and for a family of five it would amount to about €650. After another six months of waiting it can be requested again.

Besides, there are local programs that offer emergency help to vulnerable families. They may help with house rent, or electricity bills or in solving problems concerning documents, such as passports or the inscription of newborn children in the Civil Register, etc. Child benefits are low in Spain as direct payments.

6.2. Education

Children of school age are the main age group of Romanian Roma in Spain. Hence, school and preschool institutions are crucial for the social integration (but also for the cultural transformation) of the younger Roma generations. In Spain today, education is free and compulsory from 6 to 16 years of age. This includes all children living in the country, both Spanish nationals and foreign citizens, even if their parents are not legal residents.

Many international specialized agencies have warned of the importance of all children, especially those from vulnerable families to complete at least the compulsory school period to reduce the risks of social exclusion.

Half the Romanian Roma population in Spain is made of children of compulsory school age.

Children in primary school ages (from 6 to 12 years-of-age) comprise about 18 to 20% of the total Roma population. These children are Romanian citizens, although many of them have been born outside of Romania. They are increasingly proficient in Spanish and versed in Spanish patterns of life.

Roma children in this age group are almost completely enrolled in Spanish public schools in the neighborhoods where they live. They attend school together with the other children in the neighborhood, whether Spaniards or foreigners, according to the local profile of the population. There is no segregation by nationality or ethnicity or religion in Spanish public schools. The main segregation derives from the socioeconomic differences of neighborhoods themselves. The worst districts of the

cities tend to have more problematic schools or schools with a higher level of problems such as irregular attendance, violence or academic failure.

There are, however, some recurrent problems such as irregular attendance that may develop into absenteeism, early dropout and alienation from formal education. There are also conflicts with other children in some schools. However, a growing number of Roma children are doing well in primary school, and even in the early years of high school.

Secondary education

When Roma children reach upper high school levels (14 to 16 years of age) problems tend to increase, and school dropout increases. In their teen years Roma boys and girls grow increasingly alienated from the school demands and goals.

Most Roma adolescent students miss classes, fail in their grades, and dropout without obtaining their diplomas. For the very small group who advance to high school and remain in the educational system suffer some identity dilemmas and confusing demands, as Romani students in other contexts.

There are curriculum adjustment programs that have been effective in reducing school dropout and helping some of the less advanced students to finish high school and getting their diplomas.

In this level of secondary compulsory education a cultural clash often occurs. As one social educator who has worked with Roma families for years put it squarely: "High school is always the bone of contention. At this moment we could only get one girl in the secondary level. The rest disconnects from the school system..." The cultural convergence among parents, children and professionals noted in elementary school disappears when Roma students become teenagers. The conflict is seen as more dramatic and unjust when it concerns Roma girls showing promise.

6.3. Representation

Among the Roma immigrants in Spain we have found few leaders beyond family networks. Locally, the different groups of Roma in a city may not know each other, and rarely their members have the opportunity (or the willingness) to develop mutual trust and cooperation. In the linguistic-cultural-geographic communities leaders may exist in the form of respected men who can mediate in conflicts and

adjudicate disputes, even formally, as in the in *kris romani* processes. But it is difficult for any aspiring leader to cross community limits.

Some emerging leaders seem to have followed both paths to establish self-representation structures in the most typical form in Spain: in the form of minority-interest associations. Nevertheless, they do not seem to have been very successful.

Some self-representation structures have appeared. We have found six NGOs or associations of "*gitanos rumanos*", that is, Romanian Roma, operating between 2008 and 2014 in different Spanish cities. Their main sources of support are the respective city councils and autonomous governments. Since 2012 they are largely inactive, as the sources of public funding have almost dried up.

6.4 Public attitudes to Roma

The UGR team is working on an analysis of a media database including 3,065 articles and news reports about Romanian Roma published in the Spanish press from 1989 to 2014. The results of this analysis will be included in the Follow-Up Report.

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