

**BABEȘ-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK
SOCIOLOGY DOCTORAL SCHOOL**

**MIGRATION OF THE ROMANIAN ROMA.
RETURN AND ITS EFFECTS ON ORIGIN COMMUNITIES**
PhD THESIS ABSTRACT

**PhD Thesis Supervisor
Prof. univ. dr. Veres Valér**

TOMA STEFANIA-ADRIANA
Babeș-Bolyai University
Faculty of Sociology and Social Work
Sociology Doctoral School

CLUJ-NAPOCA
2026

Contents of the Thesis

List of Tables	6
List of Maps	8
List of Photos	9
Acknowledgements.....	10
I. INTRODUCTION	12
II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	22
II.1 Migration and its effects - A short epitome.....	22
II.2. Migration theories: from push-pull factors to transnational agency – a not so obscure conceptual travel.....	24
II.2.1. The classic approaches: economics, rationality and structural functionalism	24
II.2.2. Contemporary Theories: The migrant as agent on the transnational social field..	26
II.2.3. Synthesis: why an integrated approach is important?	32
II.3. The Impact of migration: Remittances and Social Change.....	35
II.3.1. Conceptualizing Remittances: From financial flows to social practice	36
II.3.2. Mechanisms and conditions of social change: The impact of remittances and return in home communities – multi-level effects	42
II.3.3. Remittances, Return, and Marginalized Populations	48
II.3.4. Remittances, Power, and the Reproduction of Inequality	50
II.4. Return migration	51
II.5. Migration, remittances and housing	58
II.6. Migration, remittances and education	61
III. Romanian context – The Roma Minority in Romania: Marginalization, Education, Housing, and Migration Patterns	70
III.1. Roma as category, policy object and structurally marginalized population	72
III.2. Marginalization, Poverty, and Local Institutional Governance	76
III.3. Education: Participation, Segregation, Dropout, and Mediation	81
III.4. Theoretical and policy approaches.....	85
III.5. Housing Situation.....	86
III.5.1. The converging perspectives on housing deprivation and transformation through agency	86
III.5.2. Housing situation of the Romania Roma – as captured by reports.....	87
III.5.3. The remittance houses.....	89
III.5.4. Policy aspects.....	91
III.6. Roma International Migration and Remittances	91
III.6.1. Local context and Networks in migration.....	92
III.6.2. The effects of migration in home communities: housing and education	94
III.7. Summary and arguments for my research questions	98

IV.	METHODOLOGY	101
IV.1.	Research aims and the framing of the inquiry	101
IV.2.	Research questions and hypotheses	102
IV.3.	Projects and data sources	107
IV.4.	The research field and characteristics	109
IV.4.1.	Sampling	111
IV.4.2.	Research tools	111
IV.4.3.	Household form and questionnaire	113
IV.4.4.	Fieldwork and interviews	114
IV.5.	Data analysis	116
IV.5.1.	Quantitative data analysis	120
IV.5.2.	Interviews and participant observation	122
IV.6.	Ethics, reflexivity and limitations	124
V.	EMPIRICAL ANALYSES	127
V.1.	Qualitative results	127
V.1.1.	The local contexts of migration	127
V.1.2.	Migration – networks, household planning, remittances and ethnic hierarchies	140
V.1.3.	Remittance allocations	144
V.1.4.	Housing: Remittances, Thresholds, and Contested Improvement	148
V.1.5.	Education: Aspiration, Constraint, and Contingent Investment	161
V.1.6.	Connected domains: Migration, Housing, and Education	173
V.1.7.	Institutional responses and deservingness	177
V.1.8.	Relevance to the research questions and hypotheses	178
V.2.	Quantitative results	181
V.2.1.	Data and units of analysis	181
V.2.2.	Community profiles and demographic structure	185
V.2.3.	Household structure and income diversification	188
V.2.4.	Migration Experience, Remittance Receipt, and Remittance Allocation	191
V.2.5.	Educational profile of the population	199
V.2.6.	Migration, Household Conditions, and Educational Attainment	204
V.2.7.	Synthesis – migrant and non-migrant households in Baratca and Bighal	208
V.2.8.	Logistic Regression Models: Predictors of Eight-Grade Completion	211
V.2.9.	Linear regression model for educational attainment	231
V.2.10.	Convergence of the Main regression Findings	233
V.2.11.	Discussion of the quantitative results in alignment of research questions and hypotheses	235
VI.	Conclusions	244

VI.1. Limitations of research	252
VI.2. Policy recommendations.....	254
References.....	259
APPENDICES	288
ANNEX 1.....	288
ANNEX 2.....	290
ANNEX 3.....	295

Keywords

Roma minority; international migration; return migration; remittances (financial and social); housing; education; housing threshold; deservingness; interethnic relations; local context; institutional brokerage; rural Transylvania; mixed methods.

I. INTRODUCTION

This study takes as its empirical focus the effects of international migration and remittances on Roma households in ethnically mixed rural localities in Romania, approached from the perspective of the home communities and organized around two central domains — housing and education — and the question of how migration income is allocated between them. Its core argument is that remittance allocation decisions are not independent across domains: households prioritize housing improvement until a threshold of adequacy is reached, after which sustained educational investment becomes possible. This threshold effect has direct implications for how policies targeting housing, schooling, and social inclusion are designed and coordinated.

This research follows the logic of two complementary lenses. First, the migration of Roma cannot be discussed separately from the social and institutional contexts in which it occurs. Second, it cannot be understood without sustained attention to the majority population and local interethnic relations that shape whether and how migration resources are recognized, contested, or converted into social mobility. Romania is home to one of the largest Roma populations in Europe and has among the highest rates of Roma spatial marginalization, housing deprivation, and educational exclusion documented in the EU (FRA, 2018). Since 2007, Romania has been a significant source of Roma labor migration to Western Europe, with the effects of this migration on origin communities — including on children's schooling and household housing strategies — remaining substantially understudied.

The thesis argues that Romanian Roma migration should be understood as part of a broader process of Romanian international mobility. Despite prevailing public and political discourses that frame Roma migration as a distinct and exceptional phenomenon requiring targeted measures — as exemplified by the expulsions in Italy and France during the 2000s, Sarkozy's "voluntary deportations," and Berlusconi's Nomad Emergency — empirical research suggests that Roma migration patterns are neither entirely unique nor isolated. They share important structural similarities with the migration of the majority population, shaped by common socioeconomic and political conditions following EU accession in 2007.

Nevertheless, there are significant differences, particularly related to the deeper poverty experienced by Roma households, weak formal employment histories that restrict mobility, and the influence of ethnic conflicts during the early 1990s, which led to an initially higher number of Roma asylum applications.

Another key argument concerns the allocation of remittances. The ways remittances are spent — whether on housing, household, or other forms of property — have the potential to redraw local social hierarchies, alter patterns of social mobility, and either reinforce or challenge existing social boundaries.

Third, this thesis focuses on the potential positive effects of migration and remittances on educational participation; more specifically, it argues that these effects are conditional, mediated, and sequentially structured. Migration can support education when care remains stable, school access is feasible, and remittances are sufficient to cover the hidden costs of schooling after basic household needs are satisfied. It can undermine education when parental absence, child labor demands, transportation problems, school reintegration difficulties, or structural poverty disrupt schooling trajectories.

The central comparative argument thus is the following: migration does not, by itself, explain educational outcomes. Migration supplies resources — money, mobility experience, contacts, sometimes new aspirations — but whether these are converted into schooling, mobility, and recognition depends on the local social environment they enter. Where school access, institutional brokerage, stable interethnic relations, and locally supported educational aspiration converge, migration resources more readily become educational investment; where those conditions are weaker and social worlds remain more parallel, the same resources tend to remain concentrated in housing and household reproduction. The comparison thus shifts the explanatory weight from migration itself to the interaction between migration, household conditions, and local social organisation.

Finally, this thesis argues that material advancement through migration does not automatically produce social inclusion. Majority and institutional actors may interpret Roma mobility through deservingness frames, questioning whether improvements are earned, properly used, or morally legitimate. Remittance houses may shift the visible hierarchy without fully dissolving ethnic distance or spatial stigma.

The empirical inquiry is organized around six research questions. RQ1 asks what distinguishes migrant from non-migrant Roma households in ethnically mixed rural localities

in terms of their demographic, economic, housing, and educational profiles. RQ2 asks how remittances are allocated within households and how this allocation varies with the household's socio-economic position. RQ3 asks under what conditions international migration and remittances translate into educational investment, rather than housing improvement. RQ4 asks how migration and remittances reshape housing and spatial segregation patterns within multiethnic villages. RQ5 asks what the effects of international migration and remittance receipt on the educational trajectories of Roma children in their home communities. RQ6 asks how members of the majority population and representatives of institutions perceive and interpret the housing, consumption, and educational changes that migration produces among their Roma neighbors.

Corresponding to these questions, this study formulates five hypotheses. H1 proposes that migrant and remittance-receiving Roma households differ systematically from non-migrant households in terms of better housing conditions and higher spatial mobility, but that this advantage is uneven and locally conditioned. H2 proposes that remittances are spent according to the actual socio-economic situation of the household, with poorer households addressing basic needs before housing improvement and educational investment become feasible. H3 proposes that households that have already secured an adequate housing situation are more likely to direct remittances toward their children's education. H4 proposes that the effect of migration on children's educational trajectories is conditional: positive when remittances are allocated to education and care arrangements remain stable but negative when migration disrupts care, increases children's labor burdens, or produces school reintegration barriers. H5 proposes that the majority population evaluates migration-induced changes through moral judgements about deservingness rather than as legitimate claims to inclusion, and that material advancement does not automatically reduce — and may in some cases intensify — social distance and stigmatization toward the local Roma community.

The policy relevance follows directly from this argument: if remittances are first absorbed into housing and household reproduction, educational inequality cannot be addressed by assuming that economic improvement will automatically translate into school investment. Similarly, housing improvement cannot be interpreted as inclusion if spatial segregation, discrimination, and moralized majority perceptions remain unchanged. An integrated strategy must address housing segregation, anti-discrimination in schooling, care arrangements, and governance of migration-driven local change.

II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The Introduction (Chapter 1) set out the central problem of this thesis: how international migration and remittances reshape Roma households and origin communities through housing, education, and local social relations.

This chapter presents the conceptual framework needed to analyse that problem. It introduces the concepts that organise the empirical analysis — for example: migration, return, remittances, social change, housing investment, educational investment, local context, and inequality — each of which is first developed theoretically here, then translated into research questions and hypotheses in the Methodology (Chapter 4), and finally examined through Qualitative (Chapter 5.1) and Quantitative evidence (Chapter 5.2). The chapter begins with broad migration theory, and then narrows toward remittances, return, housing, and education: the domains through which migration becomes visible in the two origin communities.

Migration theories: from push-pull factors to transnational agency

While each theoretical approach has contributed valuable insights, no single theory can fully capture the complex interplay of structure and agency, the role of the state, or the diverse motivations of human mobility. Some perspectives highlight the importance of material incentives, while others focus on the effects of different inequalities in home and receiving societies. Others again observed that migrants do not act individually, but they are embedded in social networks which have an important role in modeling migration patterns. In line with Hein de Haas's argument, a synthetic approach that accommodates multiple perspectives would be most productive, though it imposes methodological challenges. This approach of migration would intersect macro-level economic conditions and state policies, networked social capital and institutional structures, individual- and household-level strategies. Furthermore, this analysis must be deeply sensitive to context, paying close attention to place (the local turn), time (temporality), and the intersecting social positions of migrants themselves (intersectionality).

This has particularly important implications for understanding migration among marginalized populations, such as the Roma communities discussed. In the case of such groups, it is important to understand how different contexts shape their mobility. For example, structural approaches and NELM contextualize constraints, such as poverty, segregation, and labour market discrimination which can be incentives for migration as a household survival strategy. Social network theories help us understand how specific patterns of migration, circular migration and return develop in such communities, where some of the households rely

heavily on kinship and/or community networks. Finally, the lens of transnationalism helps us to describe specific mobility practices, the circulation of social remittances and the way vulnerable (some of them Roma) navigate between different exclusionary practices and social environments.

The impact of migration: remittances and social change

A growing body of literature demonstrates that migration affects communities of origin. Migration can cause changes in the family structure (Mincer, 1978), but over a longer period it might change the whole demographic structure of the localities, regions, or even countries (Coleman, 2008; Massey et al., 1993). It influences gender and intergenerational relations in households (Schuerkens, 2005; Lutz, 2010; Portes, 2010). It also affects the education of those who remain, and can change health practices and access to health services. Beyond this, migration shapes home-making and house-building practices (Boccagni, 2014; Lopez, 2015). All these changes are fueled by remittances (both financial and social) and are defined as social changes and transformations (Faist, 2008), beyond their measurable economic impact (which can be quantified through bank transfers, property investments or investment in entrepreneurship). Nevertheless, its impact is difficult to assess due to its interaction with other social processes.

In this chapter I argue that remittances reshape origin communities through specific mechanisms conditioned by existing power structures and patterns of marginalization. Remittances do not produce uniform developmental effects, but they interact with pre-existing conditions and inequalities and generate highly differentiated outcomes that simultaneously create opportunities for some while reinforcing or deepening vulnerabilities for others. To show this, I highlight that it is not necessary to analytically separate financial and social remittances, as these work together, rather than are merely complementary. I will also discuss that position within local, national, and global hierarchies fundamentally shapes both the circulation and impact of remittances. I place power relations and marginalization at the center of the discussion throughout the analysis, so as to show that remittances are sites of contestation where existing structures of inequality are reproduced, challenged, and transformed through transnational practices.

In conclusion, remittances must be understood as integrated financial-social phenomena whose effects are fundamentally conditioned by existing power structures and patterns of marginalization. Rather than producing uniform developmental benefits, remittances interact with pre-existing inequalities in ways that simultaneously create opportunities for some while

reinforcing vulnerabilities for others. The mechanisms through which remittances operate, including resource supplementation, knowledge transfer, and network reconfiguration generate highly differentiated outcomes depending on socioeconomic position, gender relations, ethnic status, and geographic location.

Return migration

When we think about what causes social transformations and changes in home communities remittances offer one explanatory lens. Return migration offers another – and the two are, in practice, inseparable.

Several dimensions of return are analytically relevant for this thesis. Materially, return is expressed through remittance-funded housing investment, acquisition of land or durable goods, and the improvement of domestic infrastructure — the central empirical focus of the qualitative chapter. Socially, return involves the transfer of practices, skills, aspirations, and normative orientations back to the home community — what Levitt (1998) termed social remittances. Among Roma construction workers in both localities, the masonry skills acquired abroad and applied to one's own house upon return are perhaps the most tangible instance of this transfer. Temporally, return is characterized by the seasonality and frequency of visits, by expenditures linked to key life events, and by the rhythm of departure and return that structures household life over the course of a year. Politically, return involves claim-making — assertions of belonging, respectability, and community membership enacted through housing display, consumption, and spatial repositioning — which majority actors may recognize, contest, or interpret through deservingness frames.

Migration, remittances and housing

Among the consequences of migration, transformations in housing are both especially visible and extensively documented. In migrants' communities of origin, remittance-funded construction and renovation can alter not only individual dwellings but the broader residential landscape. Their effects may extend across entire localities by reshaping the built environment, reorganising spatial hierarchies, and making changes in social position publicly observable, whether these are interpreted as upward or downward mobility (Toma, 2020). Within this process, remittance houses may serve simultaneously as material demonstrations of achievement (López, 2015), as means of reinforcing kinship relations, and as visible assertions of belonging. More broadly, houses and the homes created within them can be read as social imprints, since they embody their inhabitants' aspirations, anticipated futures, and understandings of the past (Toma, 2020).

In contrast to the "Gypsy palace" literature, the evidence from our localities — Bighal and Baratca — shows more modest forms of housing investment: roof repairs, additional rooms, bathroom installations, brick replacements for wooden or cob structures, new fencing, and the purchase of formerly majority-owned properties on the main road. These are not conspicuous constructions that capture architectural attention; they are the material trace of households navigating the transition from severe deprivation toward minimally adequate domestic conditions. Understanding this transition — and the conditions under which it enables or forecloses educational investment — is the central empirical and analytical task of the qualitative and quantitative chapters that follow.

Migration, remittances and education

Education is central to this thesis because it is the domain in which the long-term consequences of migration become most visible. Housing improvement registers the immediate material effect of remittances; education registers whether that material change can be converted into a more durable form of social mobility. For Roma households living with poverty, segregation, and institutional vulnerability, schooling is never only an individual achievement. It depends on household stability, housing adequacy, care arrangements, parental — especially maternal — education, school accessibility, and local institutional support. Migration may supply resources, but only education shows whether those resources become a lasting project of mobility and inclusion rather than simply a material improvement. Amuedo-Dorantes et al. (2010) were among the first to systematically distinguish the migration effect from the remittance effect, showing that while remittances have positive effects on school attendance, the migration process itself — through family disruption — may simultaneously reduce it.

This finding is important because remittances can relax household-level financial constraints only when schools are accessible, sufficiently staffed, and of adequate quality. If children must travel substantial distances to access secondary school, remittances must cover not only school-related expenses, but also transport costs and the opportunity costs associated with children's reduced contribution to household labour. In conditions of persistent poverty, this calculation may not resolve in favour of continued schooling. In Romania, the absence of a local secondary school is a defining feature of the Baratca context. The nearest upper-secondary institution is approximately 40 kilometres away and is accessible only by bus or private transport. Under conditions of poverty and unstable income, the costs of daily commuting or boarding in town constitute a barrier that remittances in the observed range cannot reliably overcome.

In such contexts, the positive effects of remittances may be attenuated. Remittances may help families buy school supplies, clothing, or other material goods needed for school participation, but they do not by themselves remove institutional discrimination, segregated school placement, low-quality schooling, or hostile school environments. Roma children may still be exposed to biased expectations, peer hostility, segregated classes or schools, or placement in special education tracks that limit later opportunities (O’Nions, 2010; Roth & Văetiși, 2011). Remittances alone therefore cannot solve the educational problems faced by Roma children. They may relax household-level financial constraints and support school participation under certain conditions, but additional institutional and policy efforts are required to create inclusive school environments, combat segregation, and address ethnic discrimination in education (Toma, 2023; Gatti et al., 2016).

III. ROMANIAN CONTEXT – THE ROMA MINORITY IN ROMANIA: MARGINALIZATION, EDUCATION, HOUSING, AND MIGRATION PATTERNS

The preceding chapter (Chapter 2) discussed migration, remittances, return, housing, and education as general theoretical problems. This chapter brings those concepts into the Romanian Roma context. Here, migration takes place in communities marked by long-term marginalisation, unequal access to schooling, housing deprivation, spatial segregation, and unequal majority–minority relations — conditions that shape who can migrate, what resources can be mobilised, how remittances are spent, and whether migration income can be converted into educational or social mobility. The chapter therefore specifies the structural conditions under which migration and remittances are studied, and forms the bridge between general migration theory and the local cases of Baratca and Bighal.

Prior research has documented the housing, homemaking, and property-investment dimensions of Roma migration (Benarrosh-Orsoni, 2015, 2019; Tesăr, 2016), as well as the contribution of migration and remittances to Roma children’s school participation (Toma, 2021). Other studies have pointed to the entanglement of residential instability, spatial segregation, mobility, and educational trajectories (Piemontese et al., 2018), and to the hidden educational, familial, and community costs of seasonal migration in Roma communities of origin (Corman & Croitoru, 2023). However, existing research does not yet provide a systematic account of how Roma households allocate remittances across housing improvement, consumption, and education under conditions of spatial segregation, tenure insecurity, interethnic relations, and institutional discrimination. More specifically, it remains unclear under what conditions remittances are converted into educational investment rather

than housing improvement, and how these allocation decisions shape children's longer-term trajectories. I address this gap by examining how remittance allocation decisions simultaneously shape housing improvement, spatial repositioning, and children's school participation, and how these outcomes are mediated by local infrastructure, ethnic hierarchies, and institutional responses.

The chapter argues that Roma migration and remittance practices are shaped by long-standing conditions of poverty, marginalization, unequal access to schooling, insecure housing, and local institutional governance. These dimensions do not operate separately. Rather, they interact in ways that structure both household decisions and the effects of migration. Migration does not affect education and housing in a direct, linear, or automatic manner. Instead, its effects are mediated by household allocation strategies, local infrastructure, institutional recognition, school practices, housing regimes, and ethnicized local hierarchies. The same remittance may therefore have different consequences depending on whether the household already has adequate housing, whether the settlement has access to basic utilities, whether children can reach a non-segregated school, and how school staff or local authorities interpret mobility, poverty, and local social problems.

The chapter begins with the question of who the Roma are as subjects of research. "Roma" should not be treated as a self-evident, homogeneous, or pre-given category, but as a contested, administratively and socially constructed, politically charged classification whose content and boundaries have changed over time (Brubaker, 2004; Kertzer & Arel, 2009; Surdu, 2016, 2019; Surdu & Kovats, 2015). In Romania, the 2011 census recorded 621,573 self-declared Roma persons and the 2021 census 569,477, while organizations active in the field and local authorities estimate the Roma population at approximately 1.5–2 million persons (Institutul Național de Statistică, 2011, 2023; Government of Romania, 2022). These discrepancies should not be treated simply as measurement errors to be corrected. Rather, they point to the situational character of ethnic identification, the political and administrative uses of categories, and the methodological consequences of different enumeration practices. The same category is also a policy object: Romania's 2022–2027 strategy aligns with major EU Roma policy priorities, but implementation continues to reproduce familiar weaknesses — slow and bureaucratic procedures, poor coordination, insufficient funding, limited implementation capacity, and insufficient Roma participation in monitoring and governance structures (Government of Romania, 2022; Roma Civil Monitor, 2019, 2025).

These policy frameworks operate within a specific configuration of poverty, spatial marginalization, infrastructural deprivation, and local institutional governance. In rural multiethnic Romania, this configuration determines the options available to households and the returns on different investments. Spatial marginalization is not simply about geographical exclusion but a structured relationship between settlement location, available infrastructure, property regimes, labor market access, local administrative responsibilities, and racialized boundary-making. Rural areas present a different constellation of these factors than urban ones. Rural Roma settlements may be located away from paved roads, utilities, public transport, and central schools. Local institutions are thinner, social services are more personalized and discretionary, and labor market opportunities depend on day labor, seasonal work, informal exchange, local patrons, or migration. Almost three-quarters of Romanian citizens living in poverty reside in rural areas (World Bank, 2018), and Roma communities are overrepresented in the country's marginalized rural territorial units (Teșliuc et al., 2016). If the resources for Roma integration — such as social housing, school-integration programs, social and health services, legal support, and employment access — are already scarce in urban settings, they are even scarcer in rural ones.

The education of the Romanian Roma is embedded in this broader context of ethnic discrimination, social exclusion, and residential segregation. The tension between an inclusive formal policy framework and a well-embedded exclusionary practice is also present here. Romanian Roma education is shaped not by any single cause but by the simultaneous operation of poverty, spatial marginality, segregation, institutional practices, parental resources, peer relations, and local school–community relations (Toma, 2011, 2021). Approximately 38 percent of Roma children are enrolled in preschool, compared to 80–86 percent of the general population (Corman & Croitoru, 2023; FRA, 2016). Educational gaps have narrowed between Roma and non-Roma at the primary school level, but not at the secondary and post-secondary levels, and school segregation has increased: in 2024, 43% of Roma children aged 6–15 attended schools where all or most pupils were Roma, compared to 28% in 2016 (FRA, 2025).

School segregation is the most extensively documented mechanism of educational disadvantage among the Roma in Romania, and simultaneously the domain in which the gap between formal policy and institutional reality is most pronounced. In one of my earlier articles, I showed that the implementation of desegregation policy in a rural Transylvanian multiethnic locality produced a “mechanical” integration — formal mixing of school rolls without attending to the socioeconomic conditions, teacher attitudes, and administrative arrangements

that determined how children actually experienced school (Toma, 2011). Segregation, however, is not only the result of active prejudices; it can also be the result of a per-capita school model, which allocates resources by enrolment and thereby creates incentives, in localities with large Roma school-age populations, to retain Roma pupils in under-resourced schools (Toma, 2023; Toma & Plainer, forthcoming).

Poverty remains the most consistently identified driver of high rates of early school leaving among Roma in Romania. It operates through hidden school costs, the opportunity cost of attendance for older children, care and agricultural labor, seasonal migration, and poor study conditions in overcrowded, underheated homes lacking quiet space, light, and digital connectivity (Gatti et al., 2016; Pop & Balea, 2016; Toma, 2011). Migration therefore does not simply disrupt schooling. It disrupts schooling in a system that was already producing exclusion for Roma children through multiple simultaneous mechanisms. It adds a further layer: the absence of supervising parents and adults, more household and family responsibilities imposed on older children, and reintegration difficulties when returning to an already under-resourced and discriminatory system. For this reason, school mediation matters for the argument of this thesis: migration-related resources and aspirations do not automatically produce educational participation, but need to be supported by accessible institutions, stable care arrangements, and local actors able to reduce administrative and social barriers (Toma & Plainer, 2026).

Housing is the domain where the Roma's disadvantages are most visible and spatially fixed. However, it is also the site where migrant Roma households allocate the most remittances. The Romanian Roma are among the most residentially disadvantaged populations in the EU (FRA, 2018; Hojsik, 2023). The background report for Romania's Urban Policy 2035 identifies Roma as disproportionately affected by the combined weight of long-term exclusion, weak labor market position, and discrimination, and singles out informal settlements as marked by insecurity, absent utilities, and health and safety risks (World Bank, 2020). The problem is not only the quality of any individual house. It is the legal and infrastructural status of the settlement — and behind that, the administrative decisions that produce it. Legal informality exposes Roma households and families to eviction, and Romania's post-socialist eviction record documents at least 100,000 evicted individuals between 1990 and 2017, with the Roma consistently overrepresented (Zamfir, 2022; Delibaş, 2023). Social housing has become a stigmatized last resort for those most excluded from the housing market (Vincze, 2024). Municipalities produce these racialized outcomes without racial language: categories such as

“risky tenants,” “low human capital residents,” or “unauthorized construction” stand in for “Roma” (Vincze & Zamfir, 2019). The core failure is one of local governance: municipalities hold responsibility for allocation, settlement regularization, and infrastructure, but treat Roma housing as a management problem rather than a rights question (Teodorescu, 2019).

In contrast to this situation, migration-funded remittance housing investments are the household’s rational response to these exclusions. Like ethnic Romanian returnees, Roma migrants channel migration income into home improvements and constructions, sometimes conspicuously (Benarrosh-Orsoni, 2015, 2019). The remittance house may become a material expression of the household’s economic advancement and a sign of a successful migration cycle. It ties absent migrants to those who remain, strengthens the family’s symbolic position in local competition for resources (Szabó, 2018), and can be converted, at least potentially, into educational and social mobility (Piemontese et al., 2018). The construction process itself reorganizes local relations, obliging majority neighbors to acknowledge the masonry skills Roma men acquire abroad (Toma et al., 2018; Anghel, 2016). Nevertheless, improved housing, ownership, and more central localization do not dissolve the stigma. Wealthy Roma who own large houses in city centers still remain stigmatized (Crețan & Powell, 2018; Pontrandolfo, 2018). In these cases, the majority reads the “pride houses” of Romanian returnees as the just reward of diligence, but reads the “Gypsy palaces” through an “aesthetics of ugliness” concordant with the assumed immorality of owners imagined to have returned with money “illegally gained” abroad. Moreover, spatial desegregation does not directly translate into desegregation in social relations. Reduced physical distance between Roma and the local majority does not reliably reduce social distance (Toma & Foszto, 2018b); “new neighbouring” produces new patterns of ethnic relationships and, frequently, new tensions rather than incorporation (Toma & Foszto, 2018a). The destination conditions that make origin investment rational are themselves precarious, and in this light the origin village often remains a relative point of stability. Investment in the origin house is, in part, a hedge against insecurity elsewhere.

These housing strategies are embedded in the wider patterns of Roma international migration. Participation in international migration has proven to be an effective strategy for Romanian Roma households and families to compensate for the failed implementation of or lack of social policies and domestic deprivations (Corman & Croitoru, 2023; Vlase & Voicu, 2014). Migration trajectories are closely shaped by the socioeconomic organisation of the communities from which they emerge, and the structure of migration networks reflects the

economic position and livelihood strategies of particular Roma populations. Where Roma households maintained livelihoods relatively independent of neighbouring majority populations, migration networks were more likely to be organised around family relations; where economic activities depended more strongly on interethnic exchanges with the local majority, networks extended beyond kinship and crossed ethnic boundaries (Toma et al., 2018). Abroad, however, migrant Roma often end up in the lowest, most insecure segments of the informal economy (Tesăr, 2015; Corman & Croitoru, 2023). At home, returnee statuses, remittance flows, and visible material changes reshape local hierarchies and patterns of interethnic interaction (Toma & Foszto, 2018a; Anghel, 2016).

Although education and housing have most often been treated as separate dimensions of Roma disadvantage, and are documented in the same policy frameworks, they are rarely analyzed as intersecting domains that shape one another through household decisions, spatial arrangements, and intergenerational trajectories. For families in migration-rich communities of rural Transylvania, decisions about where to build, how much to invest in the family dwelling, and how to allocate remittance income are not only housing decisions. They are simultaneously decisions about children's schooling contexts, the household's position in local ethnic hierarchies, its legibility to formal institutions, and the futures parents imagine for their children. The literature converges on a consistent finding: remittance income in Roma migrant households is allocated primarily toward housing improvement and construction in the country of origin, with educational investment receiving a secondary share. Housing improvement produces an immediately visible and durable asset that does not depend on institutional cooperation to materialize. In contrast, educational investment depends entirely on institutional infrastructure outside the household's control: the quality of the local school, teacher attitudes, the administrative treatment of absences, and ultimately the labor market returns to credentials. For Roma households, each of these institutional dependencies carries a discriminatory risk that housing investment does not, which is precisely why the two domains must be analyzed together rather than as parallel lists of disadvantage.

Taken together, the outcomes of migration are not automatically beneficial; there are hidden costs involved, such as left-behind children, deepening social distances in home localities, and disrupted family and social networks. The state's weak presence in the domains of housing and education forces households into migration, which may reinforce their educational disadvantage while it might improve their housing situation. On this basis, the empirical research does not ask only whether migration improves household conditions, but

how, for whom, under what local conditions, and with what trade-offs. Housing and education are therefore treated as connected empirical domains: housing improvements may represent one of the most visible outcomes of remittance use, while educational investment depends on household resources, local school conditions, institutional access, and the timing of migration within the family life-course. This allows the empirical chapters to examine migration as a mediated and uneven process of social change rather than as a direct route out of marginalization.

IV. METHODOLOGY

Chapters 2 and 3 established the theoretical and contextual basis for analysing migration, remittances, housing, education, and interethnic relations as interconnected processes in Roma communities of origin. This chapter translates that framework into an empirical research design and explains the methods and evidence used in the subsequent analyses. A mixed-methods approach is appropriate because the study addresses both processes and meanings, examined through ethnographic fieldwork, interviews, and participant observation, and distributions and associations, investigated through household- and individual-level survey data.

The research is grounded in a relational perspective, according to which migration, education, and ethnicity are processes embedded in social networks, interethnic relations, and structural inequalities (Tilly, 2001). It also adopts an intersectional approach to examine how ethnicity, class, gender, and position within the local community interact in shaping migration experiences and outcomes. This framework recognises the structural exclusion affecting Roma communities while also attending to the agency through which individuals and households navigate local and transnational contexts.

The empirical analysis investigates how remittance allocation across housing, consumption, and education is shaped by household priorities, local infrastructure, ethnic hierarchies, and institutional responses. A central analytical proposition is that these allocation decisions are interdependent: households may prioritise housing repairs, renovations, appliances, and other basic improvements until an adequate level of domestic stability has been reached, after which educational expenditure becomes more feasible. The mixed-methods design makes it possible to examine this potential sequencing mechanism and its implications for understanding migration-related change and policy intervention.

The quantitative data were collected within the project MigRom: The Immigration of Romanian Roma to Western Europe. Causes, Effects, and Future Engagement Strategies, in which I coordinated the quantitative strand of data collection in Romania. Between 2014 and

2016, the Romanian research team conducted survey and qualitative research in five localities: three medium-sized towns and two villages located in different regions of the country. The thesis focuses primarily on the two rural, ethnically mixed research sites, Baratca in Braşov County and Bighal in Sălaj County.

Both villages have populations of approximately 3,000–3,500 inhabitants and Hungarian local majorities alongside sizeable Roma populations. Roma represent approximately 35 per cent of Baratca's population and 20 per cent of Bighal's. Although international mobility is relatively intensive in both communities, their linguistic, religious, and socioeconomic characteristics differ. The Roma population of Baratca is Romanian-speaking and has experienced increasing conversion from Orthodox Christianity to Pentecostalism, while the Hungarian majority is predominantly Lutheran. In Bighal, most Roma speak Romani as their first language and are also proficient in Hungarian and Romanian. Roma and Hungarians have traditionally belonged to the Reformed Church, although Pentecostal and Baptist affiliations have expanded among Roma residents. The two localities also occupy different positions within comparatively developed Transylvanian counties: Baratca has a rural marginalisation rate exceeding 24 per cent, whereas the corresponding rate in Bighal ranges from 6.1 to 12 per cent (Benedek et al., 2015, pp. 25–26; Teşliuc et al., 2016, p. 274).

Community surveys conducted in 2015 sought to reach as many Roma households as possible in both villages. The household questionnaire recorded household composition, migration histories, and remittance use, together with individual-level information on all household members. The resulting dataset contains 1,043 individual records from Baratca and 672 from Bighal, amounting to 1,715 individuals.

The qualitative component developed through repeated field visits conducted within several research projects. The design was sequential and recursive: earlier ethnographic observations informed the survey instrument, while subsequent visits generated new questions and enabled the reconsideration of earlier findings (Creswell, 2003). The material includes formal interviews, informal conversations, participant observation, and sustained engagement with everyday village life. Participants included representatives of local institutions and organisations, Roma residents with diverse migration, educational, occupational, and residential experiences, and non-Roma residents. In Bighal, an exploratory mental-mapping exercise also examined how Hungarian and Roma participants perceived the village, identified significant landmarks, and situated their communities within its shared physical space.

The methodological limitations concern primarily endogeneity and causal inference. Because the quantitative component is cross-sectional, it cannot establish causal relationships between remittances and educational outcomes. The statistical findings are therefore interpreted as associations and examined alongside the qualitative evidence concerning processes, meanings, and temporal sequences.

Participation was voluntary and based on informed consent. The objectives and subject of the research were explained during field visits, and all personal and locality names were pseudonymised. The research followed ethical principles applicable to research with vulnerable communities. Finally, the chapter reflects on the implications of long-term fieldwork for researcher positionality (Messing, 2019; Moralli, 2023; Tuzi, 2023). Sustained presence facilitated access and contextual understanding, but it also embedded the researcher in local relationships and obligations that required continuous ethical and methodological reflection.

V. EMPIRICAL ANALYSES

V.1. Qualitative results

This chapter examines how migration affects Roma households and communities through the local social, institutional, and interethnic contexts in which mobility occurs. Drawing on long-term ethnographic fieldwork, interviews, informal conversations, participant observation, and exploratory mental maps, it compares Baratca and Bighal as two distinct local configurations. The comparison demonstrates that migration, remittance allocation, housing improvement, educational participation, and local ethnic relations cannot be analysed as separate domains. Migration resources enter communities already structured by poverty, insecure housing, limited employment, care obligations, uneven institutional provision, spatial segregation, and ethnic stigma. Consequently, both access to migration and the capacity to convert migration-derived resources into longer-term change are uneven and locally mediated.

The two villages differ substantially in their interethnic relations, migration networks, and institutional environments. Bighal is characterised by comparatively dense interethnic labour relations, patron–client ties, ritual kinship, and institutional initiatives in housing, health, and education. These connections do not remove ethnic hierarchy, but they allow some Roma individuals and households to be recognised as reliable workers, neighbours, partners, or ritual kin. They have also facilitated access to migration through ethnically mixed networks that provide information, contacts, brokerage, and some protection in informal labour markets abroad. In Baratca, by contrast, higher social distance and weaker cross-ethnic ties have

contributed to migration through more ethnically enclosed Roma networks. These contrasting configurations have been described as cooperative-convergent in Bighal and competitive-divergent in Baratca (Toma & Foszto, 2018b). They influence not only who can migrate but also how remittance-funded improvements are interpreted by local institutions and majority residents.

The qualitative evidence indicates that remittance allocation is structured by a hierarchy of needs rather than by isolated household preferences. Under conditions of scarcity, households prioritise food, clothing, medicine, heating, bills, debt repayment, and everyday consumption. Resources may subsequently be directed towards appliances, furniture, utilities, transport, and other improvements in domestic functionality, followed by more substantial housing investments such as repairing roofs and walls, installing bathrooms or kitchens, and constructing additional rooms. Education-related expenses—including school supplies, clothing, transport, food, books, digital devices, internet access, excursions, and fees—become more feasible only when a degree of household and domestic stability has been attained. This threshold effect should not be understood as a universal or mechanical progression. It identifies a recurrent material sequence in which households facing severe deprivation must first secure the conditions of everyday reproduction before they can sustain longer-term educational expenditure.

Housing therefore represents more than consumption or visible status display. It constitutes an infrastructure of household reproduction that can reduce overcrowding, improve domestic functionality, and create more stable conditions for children. Nevertheless, housing improvement does not automatically result in educational success or social inclusion. Its spatial and symbolic consequences differ between the two villages. In Bighal, remittances have primarily contributed to improving the existing Roma neighbourhood, and majority actors have tended to incorporate these changes into a broader narrative of local development. In Baratca, some Roma families have used migration income to purchase houses in central or ethnically mixed areas, producing a form of bottom-up residential desegregation. However, this spatial mobility has often intensified majority boundary-making, as Roma movement towards the village centre has been interpreted as competition, encroachment, or a threat to the established ethnic order. Material mobility can thus reposition Roma households spatially without producing corresponding recognition or social acceptance.

Education most clearly demonstrates the conditional character of migration effects. Remittances can cover the hidden costs of schooling, reduce children's need to work, and support educational aspirations. At the same time, parental migration may disrupt care

arrangements, increase the responsibilities of older siblings, and interrupt school attendance. Whether migration resources support educational persistence depends on their interaction with local institutional conditions. Bighal offers comparatively stronger educational support through earlier interventions, local secondary-level provision, greater proximity to towns, multilingual opportunities, established school participation, and more active institutional brokerage. Baratca has had fewer educational programmes, no local secondary school, and substantially greater transport distances and costs. The comparison consequently indicates that educational participation cannot be explained by household income or aspiration alone. It also depends on accessible schools, early institutional familiarity, language support, food provision, reliable care arrangements, and the capacity to meet the material costs associated with regular attendance.

Institutional responses further shape how Roma mobility is evaluated. Local officials, educators, and other institutional actors may support Roma households while simultaneously judging them through expectations concerning work, discipline, domestic order, parenting, cleanliness, and gratitude. This produces a deservingness framework in which improvements are approved when they conform to majority norms but may be interpreted as wasteful, excessive, or undeserved when they challenge established social and spatial hierarchies. Benevolence and suspicion therefore coexist within the everyday governance of marginality.

The chapter concludes that migration does not generate a linear movement from remittances to housing improvement, educational advancement, and social inclusion. Its consequences are conditional, sequential, and contested. Remittances initially tend to support household reproduction and domestic stabilisation; their conversion into sustained educational investment depends on care arrangements, institutional infrastructure, school accessibility, interethnic networks, and the local climate of inclusion or exclusion. Migration may improve living conditions, facilitate partial residential desegregation, and alter household status, but it may also intensify differentiation within Roma communities and provoke renewed boundary-making. Local ethnic boundaries are therefore dynamic rather than fixed, but the openings created through migration, housing improvement, institutional participation, or religious conversion remain selective and conditional.

V.2. Quantitative results

This chapter examines whether the mechanisms identified through the qualitative research are also reflected in household- and individual-level quantitative patterns. It focuses on three related questions: whether migrant and non-migrant households differ systematically; whether migration experience and remittance receipt are associated with household economic

conditions, housing, and remittance allocation; and which individual, household, and contextual characteristics are associated with educational attainment. The analysis combines descriptive statistics, bivariate tests, binary logistic regression models predicting completion of at least eight grades, and exploratory OLS models examining broader levels of educational attainment.

The quantitative database contains 420 self-declared Roma households and 1,715 individuals: 240 households and 1,043 individual records in Baratca, and 180 households and 672 individual records in Bighal. Although approximately the same proportion of households in the two localities include at least one person with international migration experience—59.2% in Baratca and 59.4% in Bighal—the economic significance and organisation of migration differ substantially. In Baratca, the principal sources of household income are casual labour (35.4%), the Minimum Guaranteed Income or VMG (35.0%), and remittances (21.7%), while formal salary income is almost absent (0.8%). In Bighal, VMG is the dominant primary income source (57.8%), formal employment is more visible (13.3%), and social benefits and pensions account for a further 18.3%, whereas only 2.2% of households report remittances as their principal income source.

The migration systems of the two localities also differ. All recorded international migration occurred after Romania joined the European Union in 2007. Migration from Baratca is strongly concentrated in the United Kingdom, which accounts for 78.5% of reported destinations, and generally involves longer periods abroad. Migration from Bighal is more geographically dispersed and more frequently based on shorter or seasonal mobility, especially towards Hungary, Spain, and the Czech Republic. These differences are reflected in remittance receipt. In Baratca, 37.1% of all households reported receiving money from abroad, compared with only 5.6% in Bighal. Among households with migration experience, the corresponding proportions are 59.2% and 9.3%. Migration experience and remittance receipt must therefore be treated as analytically distinct conditions.

Migration is concentrated among households with children in both communities. In Baratca, 94.4% of migrant households include at least one minor, compared with 72.4% of non-migrant households, and this association is statistically significant. The corresponding proportions in Bighal are 74.8% and 53.4%. Migrant households are also more likely to experience overcrowding. In Baratca, 47.9% of migrant households have more than three persons per room, compared with 35.7% of non-migrant households, although the association is marginal and does not reach the conventional significance threshold ($p = .061$). In Bighal, the difference between migrant and non-migrant households—35.5% compared with 20.5%—

is statistically significant ($p = .031$). These results do not support the assumption that households with migration experience necessarily have better housing conditions.

Remittance allocation also differs markedly between the two localities. In Baratca, money received from abroad is directed predominantly towards food (90.4%), clothing (47.1%), household goods (38.8%), housing-related expenditure (37.9%), and debt repayment (17.5%). Only 4.6% report expenditure on children's schooling. In Bighal, household goods are the most frequently reported category (68.9%), followed by food (53.9%), while spending on children's schooling is substantially more common (33.9%). These distributions indicate that remittances in Baratca are more heavily absorbed by subsistence and immediate household needs, whereas in Bighal a larger proportion of the reported transfers can be directed towards household equipment, education, construction, and medical expenses. Nevertheless, the small number of remittance-receiving households in Bighal requires caution when interpreting percentage differences.

Educational outcomes are considerably more favourable in Bighal, despite the weaker financial importance of remittances there. In the full sample, 42.0% of individuals in Baratca have no completed level of schooling, compared with 28.0% in Bighal. Lower-secondary completion and participation in upper-secondary or vocational education are also more common in Bighal. The Baratca data reveal especially severe disadvantage among adolescents and young adults: 44.7% of those aged 15–18 and 32.7% of those aged 19–23 have no completed educational level.

The bivariate analyses for respondents born between 1988 and 2005 show that the relationship between migration and completion of at least eight grades differs by locality. In Baratca, the completion rate is identical among persons from migrant and non-migrant households, at 33.3%. In Bighal, 92.7% of persons from households with migration experience completed at least eight grades, compared with 66.7% of those from non-migrant households; this association is statistically significant ($p = .007$), although it is based on a relatively small subsample. Remittance receipt is not significantly associated with eight-grade completion in either locality. The chronology is also uncertain because remittances were measured at the time of the survey and may not have been available during respondents' school years.

Housing crowding displays the opposite locality-specific pattern. In Baratca, 63.0% of persons living in households with no more than three persons per room completed at least eight grades, compared with only 12.8% of those living in more crowded dwellings ($p < .001$). In Bighal, the corresponding rates are 86.5% and 78.6%, and the difference is not statistically significant. Thus, migration experience differentiates educational outcomes in Bighal but not

in Baratca, whereas housing crowding is strongly associated with educational disadvantage in Baratca but not in Bighal.

The relationship between reported remittance spending on schooling and educational attainment varies according to the analytical cohort. In the smaller 1988–2005 subsample, schooling-related expenditure is not significantly associated with completing eight grades in either locality, partly because the relevant groups are very small. In the broader 1988–2000 cohort, however, 80.3% of persons from households reporting remittance expenditure on children's schooling completed at least eight grades, compared with 52.6% among those from households not reporting such expenditure ($p < .001$). Because the data are cross-sectional, this association does not demonstrate that remittance spending caused higher attainment. Educational expenditure may also identify households with stronger educational aspirations, more stable migration arrangements, better organisation, or more favourable access to schools. The multivariate results confirm the importance of local context while qualifying the apparent effects of migration and housing. In the logistic specification examining the 1988–2000 cohort, Model 1 includes locality, age, household migration experience, housing crowding, secure income, VMG status, and the number of remittance-spending categories. The model is statistically significant, $\chi^2(7) = 134.479$, $p < .001$, has a Nagelkerke R^2 of .411, and correctly classifies 75.6% of cases. Locality is the strongest predictor: respondents in Baratca have substantially lower odds of completing eight grades than those in Bighal. Household migration experience and less crowded housing are positively associated with completion, while lack of secure income and VMG dependency identify economic disadvantage. The number of remittance-spending categories is not significant in this first model.

Model 2 adds maternal education and improves the Nagelkerke R^2 to .540 and classification accuracy to 78.2%. Maternal education becomes one of the strongest predictors: respondents whose mothers completed at least gymnasium have substantially higher odds of completing eight grades than respondents whose mothers have lower educational attainment ($\text{Exp}(B) = 9.469$, $p < .001$). Locality, secure income, and VMG status remain significant. By contrast, household migration experience and crowding become non-significant after maternal education is introduced. This indicates that their initial associations with eight-grade completion overlap with differences in intergenerational educational capital; it does not establish a causal mediation mechanism. The number of remittance-spending categories becomes negatively associated with completion in Model 2, suggesting that diversified spending may identify households facing multiple accumulated needs rather than households with greater investment capacity.

The supplementary OLS models partly converge with, but do not fully reproduce, the logistic results. Locality remains the dominant predictor, and maternal education, secure income, and VMG status remain significantly associated with broader educational attainment. Crowding becomes non-significant after maternal education is introduced. Unlike in the final logistic model, however, household migration experience remains positively associated with the broader educational measure. The number of remittance-expenditure categories remains negatively associated with attainment. These OLS models are treated as exploratory robustness checks because they do not account for the clustering of individuals within households.

Taken together, the quantitative findings reveal a central contrast. Migration and remittances are financially more visible in Baratca, but educational outcomes are more favourable in Bighal. Baratca combines a stronger remittance economy with greater overcrowding and deeper educational disadvantage. Bighal has weaker remittance flows but a more favourable educational profile. The results therefore do not support a uniform transition from migration or remittance receipt to educational advancement. Local context remains the strongest and most consistent differentiating factor, while maternal education and household economic security account for important differences within communities. Migration-related resources become consequential through their interaction with pre-existing household capacities, housing conditions, school accessibility, and the broader institutional and interethnic environment.

Table 40 Comparative overview of Baratca and Bighal

	Baratca	Bighal
A · Demographic, economic, and migration profile		
Empirical base	240 Roma households; 1,043 individual records	180 Roma households; 672 individual records
Demographic profile	Very young: 39.8% aged 0–14; balanced by gender	Young: 33.2% aged 0–14; balanced by gender
Language / religion	Predominantly Romanian-speaking (99.8%); strongly Neoprottestant (85.2%)	Predominantly Romani-speaking (94.6%); mixed — 64.7% Neoprottestant, 32.1% Reformed
Residential pattern	97.7% compact / segregated	81.3% compact / segregated; 18.8% dispersed
Household structure	Mean $\approx$ 4.8 persons; 24.6% have 6+ members; 79.2% nuclear with minors	Mean $\approx$ 4.2 persons; 13.4% have 6+ members; 62.8% nuclear with minors
Economic characteristics	Three near-equal pillars: casual labour 35.4%, VMG 35.0%, remittances 21.7%; formal salary almost absent (0.8%)	VMG dominant (57.8%); formal salary more visible (13.3%); remittances rare as main income (2.2%); casual labour lower (7.8%)

	Baratca	Bighal
Migration experience	16.5% individual; longer episodes (42.4% of trips ≥ 4 months)	21.6% individual; shorter episodes (29.7% one-month; only 9.0% ≥ 4 months)
Migration networks	Ethnically homogeneous Roma networks and brokers, UK-oriented	Mixed local networks (Hungarian, Romanian contacts); shorter seasonal routes
B · Remittances, housing, and educational outcomes		
Remittance receipt (last month)	37.1% of all households; 59.2% of migrant households	5.6% of all households; 9.3% of migrant households
Allocation of money from abroad	Mostly basic needs: food 90.4%, clothing 47.1%, household goods 38.8%, housing 37.9%; schooling low (4.6%)	Household goods 68.9%, food 53.9%, schooling 33.9%; house construction in open responses (10.0%)
Housing / crowding → education	Completion of 8 grades: 63.0% at ≤ 3 persons/room vs 12.8% above; strong association	86.5% vs 78.6%; weak association
Educational profile (full sample)	Lower: 42.0% no completed school, 29.8% primary, 26.8% lower secondary, 0.5% high school, 0.9% vocational	More favourable: 28.0% no completed school, 20.5% primary, 39.0% lower secondary, 8.3% high school, 3.9% vocational, 0.3% university
Migration → 8-grade completion	Identical (33.3%) with and without migration; not significant	66.7% without vs 92.7% with migration; significant
Remittances → 8-grade completion	27.5% without vs 42.3% with; not significant	81.0% without vs 100.0% with; not significant, very small N
C · Regression findings, qualitative mechanisms, and explanatory model		
Regression findings	Baratca residence associated with lower attainment; crowding matters in simpler models but weakens once maternal education enters	Functions as the more favourable reference context; maternal education strongly positive; locality highly significant
Maternal education	Low maternal education a major channel of reproduced disadvantage	Higher maternal education decisive; helps explain the stronger profile
Qualitative — housing	Investment visible and spatially mobile; houses on the main road read as boundary transgression, provoking majority resistance	Improvement stays within / near the Roma neighbourhood; read as gradual household progress
Qualitative — education	Aspiration constrained by poverty, housing, fragile institutions, conflictual relations	Participation supported by early intervention, brokerage, school access, a more tolerant climate
Social integration / moral evaluation	Competitive, conflictual; improvement read as invasion or undeserved advancement	More cooperative but hierarchical; improvement more often recognised, yet deserving / undeserving distinctions persist
Community / institutional environment	Fewer signs of sustained inclusive brokerage; conflict and surveillance more visible historically	Stronger history of educational intervention, local Roma expertise, active brokerage

	Baratca	Bighal
Explanatory model	Remittance-led material change, but conversion into education blocked by overcrowding, poverty, weak institutions, contested integration	Weaker remittance flows, but better educational outcomes where migration resources meet brokerage, mixed networks, and stronger educational pathways

Note. Own compilation based on the empirical evidence (Chapter 5).

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this thesis show that international migration and remittances generate important but uneven forms of social change among Roma households in the two rural Transylvanian localities studied. The central contribution of the research lies in moving beyond a simple opposition between migration as a force for development and migration as a source of disruption. Instead, the thesis demonstrates that the consequences of migration depend on households' prior socioeconomic position, their access to migration networks, housing conditions, care arrangements, school infrastructure, local interethnic relations, and the ways in which Roma mobility is interpreted by majority actors and institutions.

Remittances do not automatically become educational investment, nor does material improvement automatically produce social inclusion. In households experiencing severe deprivation, migration-generated resources are frequently absorbed by the immediate requirements of household reproduction: food, clothing, heating, debt repayment, housing repairs, additional rooms, furniture, sanitation, and other basic improvements. The qualitative evidence suggests that, only after a degree of domestic stability has been achieved, households can more easily direct resources towards children's education. This sequence is neither universal nor mechanical, and the quantitative data cannot establish its causal or temporal order. Nevertheless, the combined evidence supports the conclusion that migration effects are conditional, sequential, relational, and locally mediated.

The first research question examined what distinguishes migrant from non-migrant Roma households in their demographic, economic, housing, and educational profiles. The evidence does not support the assumption that migrant households are uniformly better off. Migration differentiates households through their access to networks, capacity to mobilise labour abroad, ability to receive remittances, and opportunities to convert migration-derived resources into housing improvements, consumption, education, or spatial mobility. The forms taken by this differentiation vary between the two communities.

In Bighal, migration was facilitated by earlier forms of interethnic proximity, everyday labour relations, patron–client arrangements, trust, and ritual kinship. These relationships did

not eliminate ethnic hierarchy, but they provided some Roma households with access to mixed migration networks, information, contacts, and brokerage. In Baratca, migration developed primarily through more enclosed Roma networks. Higher social distance between Roma and majority residents also meant that Roma material advancement and spatial mobility were more frequently interpreted as competitive or threatening. Migration therefore differentiated households in both communities, but it did so through different networks and within different local systems of opportunity and constraint.

The second research question concerned the allocation of remittances and its relationship to household socioeconomic position. The interviews indicate a hierarchy of needs. Households experiencing severe scarcity first use available resources for food, clothing, medicine, heating, bills, debt repayment, and children's immediate needs. Once these requirements are at least partly covered, money may be directed towards domestic functionality and housing: appliances, furniture, roof repairs, bathrooms, kitchens, additional rooms, fences, courtyards, or access to utilities. In contexts of long-term deprivation and overcrowding, these expenditures should not be reduced to consumption or status display. They represent forms of infrastructural repair through which households attempt to establish minimally adequate conditions of everyday life.

The survey records substantial differences between the two localities and is consistent with this interpretation, although it cannot reconstruct the temporal sequence of household spending. In Baratca, remittances are directed predominantly towards food, clothing, household goods, housing expenses, and debt repayment, while spending on children's schooling is rare. In Bighal, remittance receipt is much less frequent, but a larger proportion of the reported transfers is allocated to household goods, schooling, construction, and medical expenses. These differences suggest that remittance allocation reflects both the severity of household needs and the broader local conditions under which those needs can be addressed.

The third research question asked when migration and remittances translate into educational investment rather than being absorbed by housing and immediate consumption. The qualitative evidence identifies several conditions. The household must achieve a degree of domestic stability; care arrangements must remain functional during migration; schools must be accessible through proximity, transport, preschool participation, or institutional mediation; and adults must be able to meet the recurrent material and administrative demands of schooling. When households remain overcrowded, insecure, or poorly serviced, educational expenses compete with more urgent domestic requirements. More adequate housing can make schooling easier to sustain, but it does not by itself produce educational advancement. Parental education,

care arrangements, school accessibility, institutional support, and local opportunity structures remain decisive.

The longitudinal case of a Bighal family followed over approximately two decades provides the clearest qualitative illustration of this process. During this period, the household improved and enlarged its initially overcrowded dwelling while the children's educational trajectories also advanced. Two daughters completed university studies, while the third child completed high school. Migration income, housing improvement, preschool intervention, parental aspirations, and a comparatively supportive institutional environment operated alongside one another. The case illustrates the housing-threshold argument, but it does not demonstrate a simple causal progression from migration income to better housing and, subsequently, to educational success.

The fourth research question examined how migration and remittances reshape housing and spatial segregation. In Bighal, remittance-financed improvements were generally made within or near the Roma neighbourhood. Although residential segregation persisted, housing improvement and infrastructure development were more readily incorporated into a local narrative of gradual household and community advancement. In Baratca, some Roma families used migration-derived resources to purchase or improve houses on the main road and in more central parts of the village. This produced a partial form of bottom-up residential desegregation, but also generated stronger resistance among majority residents.

The comparison demonstrates that spatial movement is not equivalent to social inclusion. The physical crossing of residential boundaries becomes socially consequential through the meanings attributed to it. Where Roma housing improvement is regarded as legitimate, it can contribute to recognition and changing household status. Where it is interpreted as encroachment, competition, or undeserved advancement, residential mobility may intensify symbolic and moral boundary-making. Remittance-funded housing can therefore produce material improvement and partial desegregation without generating corresponding social acceptance.

The fifth research question concerned the effects of migration and remittance receipt on children's educational trajectories. These effects are mixed and conditional. Migration can support education when remittances stabilise the household, cover the hidden costs of schooling, reduce children's need to work, and operate alongside reliable care arrangements and accessible schools. Migration can also create risks when parental absence disrupts care, older children assume domestic or income-generating responsibilities, seasonal mobility

interrupts attendance, or boys and girls are directed towards early labour, migration, or partnership.

Education appears in the interviews as both an aspiration and an uncertain investment. Parents and young people often value schooling, but its expected returns are weakened by poverty, discrimination, restricted labour-market opportunities, and the immediate availability of migration or informal work. The quantitative results reinforce the conditional nature of the relationship. Household migration experience is positively associated with completing at least eight grades in Bighal but not in Baratca. Remittance receipt does not show a statistically robust association with completion in either locality, while the relationship between education-related remittance expenditure and attainment varies according to the analytical cohort and model. Migration cannot therefore be treated as an autonomous educational mechanism.

The sixth research question examined how majority residents and institutional representatives interpret changes in Roma housing, consumption, education, and spatial position. The qualitative material shows that Roma mobility is evaluated through ethnicised and moralised understandings of deservingness. Majority and institutional actors may recognise deprivation and assist particular Roma families, but this recognition is often conditional on work discipline, school attendance, proper parenting, cleanliness, household order, gratitude, and moderation.

When Roma households improve their homes, purchase consumer goods, receive social assistance, or move into central spaces in ways perceived as excessive or threatening, the same changes may be interpreted as irresponsibility, display, waste, or undeserved advancement. This deservingness framework explains why material improvement does not necessarily become recognised social mobility. Migration and remittances can transform housing, consumption, and educational possibilities without dissolving the ethnic hierarchies through which such changes are locally judged.

Assessment of the hypotheses

H1 proposed that migrant and remittance-receiving Roma households differ systematically from non-migrant households in their housing conditions and spatial mobility, although the advantage produced by migration varies by migration pattern and local context. The hypothesis is partially confirmed. The qualitative evidence strongly documents differentiation through housing improvements, house extensions, consumer goods, and, in some cases, residential repositioning. The survey, however, does not establish that migration is consistently associated with better housing or movement out of segregated areas. Migration is not clearly associated with residential type in either locality, and its relationship with educational attainment also

differs between Bighal and Baratca. H1 is therefore supported as an argument about household differentiation and local variation, but not as a general statistical claim concerning uniform migrant advantage or spatial desegregation.

H2 proposed that remittance allocation reflects the household's socioeconomic position, with poorer households prioritising basic consumption and everyday reproduction before housing and education. This hypothesis is supported most clearly by the qualitative evidence. The interviews consistently reveal a hierarchy in which food, clothing, heating, medicine, debt, and everyday needs precede major housing improvements and educational expenditure. The survey documents locality-specific remittance-spending patterns that are compatible with this mechanism, but it does not systematically reconstruct the order in which household needs were addressed. Because the survey is cross-sectional and the spending categories are limited, the sequential component of H2 cannot be demonstrated quantitatively. The hypothesis is therefore strongly supported qualitatively and indirectly supported by the quantitative findings.

H3 proposed that households that have secured more adequate housing are more likely to direct resources towards their children's education. The hypothesis is partially confirmed. Interviews and the Bighal longitudinal case support the housing-threshold interpretation, while the survey demonstrates a strong association between overcrowding and educational disadvantage in Baratca. However, housing conditions do not remain an independent predictor in all regression specifications once maternal education and local context are included. Housing adequacy should consequently be interpreted as part of a broader configuration of household stability rather than as an autonomous cause of educational investment.

H4 proposed that the educational consequences of migration are conditional: migration can support education when remittances are allocated to schooling and care arrangements remain stable, but it can create educational risks when parental absence disrupts care, increases children's responsibilities, or creates difficulties of school continuity and reintegration. This hypothesis is partially confirmed. The qualitative evidence strongly supports the existence of both enabling and disruptive mechanisms. The quantitative findings are more cautious: migration experience is positively associated with eight-grade completion in Bighal but not in Baratca, and neither remittance receipt nor education-related spending shows a uniform relationship with educational attainment across all analyses. H4 is therefore not confirmed as a general quantitative effect, but its central proposition—that migration outcomes depend on household resources, care arrangements, school accessibility, and local context—is supported.

H5 proposed that majority actors evaluate migration-related changes through judgements of deservingness and that material advancement may fail to reduce, or may even intensify, social

distance. This hypothesis is strongly supported by the qualitative material. Roma housing improvement, consumption, and spatial mobility are repeatedly interpreted through moralised expectations concerning discipline, work, cleanliness, parenting, respectability, and the legitimate use of resources. The survey was not designed to measure these interpretive frames directly. H5 is therefore strongly confirmed qualitatively but remains outside the direct scope of the household database.

Taken together, these findings support a conditional and sequential interpretation of migration and remittance effects. The qualitative material identifies the mechanisms through which households attempt to stabilise everyday reproduction and housing before sustaining longer-term educational expenditure. The survey shows that educational outcomes are structured by locality, household economic security, housing conditions, and intergenerational educational capital rather than by migration alone. Migration-related resources operate within these conditions rather than independently of them.

This interpretation is consistent with approaches that situate migration within broader processes of social transformation rather than treating it as an isolated driver of development (Castles, 2010; de Haas & Fransen, 2018). It also corresponds to research showing that, in poorer sending contexts, remittances are frequently used for consumption and household reproduction before becoming available for other investments (de Haas, 2005; Adams & Cuecuecha, 2010). At the same time, the findings nuance the literature on parental migration and educational disruption: migration may undermine care and school continuity, but it may also support education when combined with stable household arrangements, institutional brokerage, and accessible educational infrastructure.

The direct empirical relevance of the findings is limited to Roma populations living in rural, ethnically mixed, socially stratified, and partly segregated Transylvanian localities in which migration, informal employment, housing deprivation, low educational attainment, and majority–minority relations intersect. The findings should not be generalised mechanically to all Roma communities in Romania or Europe. The processes may differ in urban communities, localities with other migration destinations, populations with stronger histories of formal employment, or contexts with different ethnic and institutional configurations.

The external validity of the research is therefore primarily analytical rather than statistical. Concepts such as remittance sequencing, the housing threshold, conditional educational investment, institutional brokerage, and deservingness-based recognition may be relevant to other marginalised rural or peri-urban communities in which migration-generated

resources are filtered through housing deprivation, unequal institutional access, and local ethnic hierarchies.

VI.1. Limitations of the research

The first limitation concerns the scope of the empirical material. The research focuses on two rural Transylvanian localities and does not claim national representativeness. The comparison is analytically valuable because it shows how similar processes produce different outcomes under different local conditions, but communities with other migration histories, religious configurations, relations with majority populations, school infrastructures, or institutional arrangements may display different patterns.

The second limitation concerns the cross-sectional survey data, which were not originally designed specifically for all the research questions examined in the thesis, particularly those related to education. The quantitative models identify associations rather than causal effects. Migration experience, remittance receipt, housing conditions, household economic position, and parental education are interconnected. The analysis cannot determine whether higher educational attainment results from migration, from the prior household resources that made migration possible, from more favourable institutional access, or from intergenerational educational capital. Longitudinal household panels, repeated expenditure surveys, and detailed remittance histories would be required to test more precisely whether households move from consumption to housing and subsequently towards education.

The third limitation concerns the measurement of educational outcomes. Completion of at least eight grades is a meaningful threshold in the context of structurally marginalised Roma communities and the Romanian education system. It nevertheless provides only a partial representation of educational trajectories. It does not measure educational quality, grade repetition, absenteeism, school experiences, discrimination, or transitions into and through upper-secondary education. The findings should therefore be interpreted as evidence concerning a basic educational threshold rather than as a complete account of educational mobility.

The fourth limitation concerns the difficulty of separating migration from broader processes of local transformation. During the period covered by the research, the two communities also experienced infrastructure development, labour-market restructuring, school reforms, religious conversion, demographic change, and shifts in interethnic relations. Migration formed part of these processes rather than operating as an isolated variable. This is both a methodological

limitation and an analytical conclusion: migration effects emerge through the changing local social fields in which mobility becomes possible, meaningful, and contested.

VI.2. Policy recommendations

The policy implications follow from the thesis's central conclusion: material improvement does not by itself amount to social inclusion, and additional household resources do not automatically translate into educational advancement. If remittances are initially absorbed by subsistence, debt, housing, and care needs, interventions in education, housing, migration, and Roma inclusion cannot be designed as separate policy domains. They require coordination, appropriate sequencing, and adaptation to local conditions. Migration and remittances can contribute to household and community change, but they cannot substitute for public responsibility.

First, policy design should be grounded in detailed knowledge of local communities. Community-level research should become a regular component of intervention planning in marginalised rural and peri-urban Roma localities. Such assessments should examine settlement history, internal differentiation among Roma households, language use, religious affiliation, occupations, migration patterns, relationships with majority populations, school access, infrastructure, and forms of institutional brokerage. This is necessary because apparently similar policies may produce different effects in communities with different histories, interethnic relations, and institutional capacities.

Second, housing should be recognised as one of the material conditions of sustained educational participation. Households that lack adequate space, sanitation, heating, water, secure tenure, or transport access must direct scarce resources towards these needs before they can sustain educational expenditure. Measures intended to reduce overcrowding, improve sanitation and utilities, regularise property documentation, and develop roads and transport should therefore also be understood as educationally relevant interventions. Housing improvement does not produce educational attainment automatically, but inadequate housing can make regular participation considerably more difficult.

Third, educational support should address the conditional consequences of migration. Schools, mediators, social workers, and community professionals should identify children living in transnational or temporarily reconfigured care arrangements and offer practical support. This may include maintaining communication with parents and carers, facilitating access to documents and transport, monitoring attendance, and assisting children who return after

periods abroad. Such interventions should support families rather than subject migrant parents to punitive surveillance.

Fourth, institutional brokerage should be strengthened at the local level. Education becomes more sustainable when households can rely on accessible schools, transport, preschool provision, administrative guidance, and active mediation. Roma school and health mediators, social assistants, teachers, local authorities, and trusted community intermediaries can translate formal rights into effective access. Their work requires stable funding, clear responsibilities, professional recognition, and coordination between schools, local administrations, social services, and families. Otherwise, institutional mediation remains dependent on individual goodwill and cannot compensate for structural exclusion.

Fifth, anti-discrimination and interethnic conflict prevention should be central policy objectives. Roma housing improvement, consumption, and spatial mobility are often interpreted through moralised categories of deservingness. Material advancement may therefore fail to produce recognition and can intensify social distance when Roma families move into more central or visible spaces. Authorities should treat housing improvement, residential movement, access to services, and educational aspirations as legitimate exercises of citizenship rather than as exceptional or threatening claims.

Sixth, national, regional, and local institutions should invest in improved data and monitoring systems. Longitudinal community studies, repeated household surveys, and school-trajectory monitoring could clarify when migration supports households, when it creates additional risks, and which forms of assistance are most effective. These data should not serve only administrative classification. They should inform locally adapted combinations of housing, education, social assistance, anti-discrimination, and community-development measures.

Finally, return policy should move beyond an idealised model of the young, highly educated, entrepreneurial, or highly skilled returnee. The thesis supports the development of an integrated framework that treats return as a social process involving employment, housing, education, health, social protection, documentation, family care, and local reintegration. Such a framework should include seasonal and informal workers, families with children, elderly returnees, Roma returnees, and migrants returning after unsuccessful or interrupted migration. It should address administrative documentation, recognition of qualifications and skills, employment support, children's educational reintegration, housing and infrastructure, transnational care arrangements, community mediation, and discrimination.

Taken together, these recommendations point towards an integrated approach. Migration and remittances can contribute to social change, but their consequences depend on secure housing,

functioning care arrangements, accessible schools, supportive institutions, local infrastructure, and majority–minority relations. Public policy should begin from the actual sequence and diversity of household needs rather than assuming that migration income will automatically become entrepreneurship, educational mobility, or social inclusion. Durable change requires an institutional environment in which Roma material and social advancement is recognised as legitimate rather than further stigmatised.

References

- Acharya, C. P., & Leon-Gonzales, R. (2014). How do Migration and Remittances Affect Human Capital Investment? The effects of relaxing information and liquidity constraints. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 50(3), 444–460. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2013.866224>
- Acharya, C. P., & Leon-Gonzales, R. (2019). The quest for quality education: International remittances and rural-urban migration in Nepal. *Migration and Development*, 8(2), 119–154. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21632324.2018.1429834>
- Achim, V. (2004). *The Roma in Romanian history*. Central European University Press.
- Acosta, P., Calderón, C., Fajnzylber, P., & López, H. (2008). What is the impact of international remittances on poverty and inequality in Latin America? *World Development*, 36(1), 89–114. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2007.02.014>
- Adams, D. (1987). *Dirk Gently's holistic detective agency*. William Heinemann.
- Adams, R. H., & Cuecuecha, A. (2010). Remittances, household expenditure and investment in Guatemala. *World Development*, 38(12), 1626–1641. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2010.03.003>
- Adams, R. H., Jr. (2005). Remittances, Household Expenditure and Investment in Guatemala, WPS 3532, Development Research Group, Washington: The World Bank.
- Adams, R. H., & Page, J. (2003). *International migration, remittances, and poverty in developing countries (Policy Research Working Paper No. 3179)*. World Bank. <https://doi.org/10.1596/1813-9450-3179>
- Adams, R. H., & Page, J. (2005). Do international migration and remittances reduce poverty in developing countries? *World Development*, 33(10), 1645–1669. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2005.05.004>
- Adorjáni, J., Antal, I., & Tonk, G. (2023). Preparation of two participatory social housing interventions in a marginalised Roma community in Romania. *Social Sciences*, 12(4), 216. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci12040216>
- Adunts, D., & Afunts, G. (2019). *Seasonal migration and education of children left behind: Evidence from Armenia (CERGE-EI Working Paper No. 641)*. Center for Economic Research and Graduate Education – Economics Institute.
- Alcaraz, C., Chiquiar, D., & Salcedo, A. (2012). Remittances, schooling, and child labor in Mexico. *Journal of Development Economics*, 97(1), 156–165. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2010.11.004>
- Alishani, A., & Nushi, A. (2012). Migration and development: The effects of remittances on education and health of family members left behind for the case of Kosovo. *Analytical*, 9, 42–57.
- Amega, K. (2018). Remittances, education and health in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Cogent Economics & Finance*, 6(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322039.2018.1516488>

- Amuedo-Dorantes, C., Georges, A., & Pozo, S. (2010). Migration, remittances, and children's schooling in Haiti. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 630(1), 224–244. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716210368112>
- Amuedo-Dorantes, C., & Pozo, S. (2006). Remittance receipt and business ownership in the Dominican Republic. *The World Economy*, 29(7), 939–956. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9701.2006.00830.x>
- Amuedo-Dorantes, C., & Pozo, S. (2011). New evidence on the role of remittances on health care expenditures by Mexican households. *Review of Economics of the Household*, 9(1), 69–98. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11150-009-9080-7>
- Anghel, R. G. (2009). Schimbare socială sau dezvoltare? Studiu de caz într-un oraș din România. In R. G. Anghel & I. Horváth (Eds.), *Sociologia migrației: Teorii și studii de caz românești* (pp. 249–267). Polirom.
- Anghel, R. G. (2013). *Romanians in Western Europe: Migration, status dilemmas, and transnational connections*. Lexington Books.
- Anghel, R. G. (2016). Migration in differentiated localities: Changing statuses and ethnic relations in a multi-ethnic locality in Transylvania, Romania. *Population, Space and Place*, 22(4), 356–366. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1925>
- Anghel, R. G., Botezat, A., Coșciug, A., Manafi, I., & Roman, M. (2016). *International migration, return migration, and their effects: A comprehensive review on the Romanian case (IZA Discussion Paper No. 10445)*. IZA Institute of Labor Economics. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2895293>
- Anghel, R. G., Fauser, M., & Boccagni, P. (Eds.). (2019). *Transnational return and social change: Hierarchies, identities and ideas*. Anthem Press.
- Anghel, R. G., & Fosztó, L. (2022). A generational divide? Coping with ethnic prejudice and inequality among Romanian Roma transnational returnees. *Social Inclusion*, 10(4), 105–114. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v10i4.5688>
- Anghel, R. G., & Horváth, I. (Eds.). (2009). *Sociologia migrației: Teorii și studii de caz românești*. Polirom.
- Anghel, R. G., Oltean, O., & Silian, A. P. (2022). Many mobile, few successful: Ethnicised return in a changing Romanian context. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 11(2), 69–83. <https://doi.org/10.54667/ceemr.2022.18>
- Anthias, F. (2013). Intersectional what? Social divisions, intersectionality and levels of analysis. *Ethnicities*, 13(1), 3–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796812463547>
- Antia, K., Berner Rodoreda, A., & Winkler, V. (2022). Parental migration and left-behind children in Georgia: School teachers' experience and perception: A qualitative study. *BMC Public Health*, 22, Article 2077. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-022-14516-8>
- Antman, F. M. (2011). The intergenerational effects of paternal migration on schooling and work: What can we learn from children's time allocations? *Journal of Development Economics*, 96(2), 200–208. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2010.11.002>
- Antman, F. M. (2012). Gender, educational attainment, and the impact of parental migration on children left behind. *Journal of Population Economics*, 25(4), 1187–1214. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-012-0423-y>

- Antman, F. M. (2015). Gender discrimination in the allocation of migrant household resources. *Journal of Population Economics*, 28(3), 565–592. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-015-0548-x>
- Anton, S., Koo, B., Man, T.-C., Moldovan, S. C., Stănculescu, M. S., & Swinkels, R. A. (2014). *Elaboration of integration strategies for urban marginalized communities: The atlas of urban marginalized communities in Romania*. World Bank Group. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/857001468293738087>
- Askarov, Z., & Doucouliagos, H. (2020). A meta-analysis of the effects of remittances on household education expenditure. *World Development*, 129. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2019.104860>
- Asztalos Morell, I., Greenfields, M., & Smith, D. M. (2018). Governing underprivileged Roma migrations within the EU: Receiving country responses and Roma resilience. *Local Economy*, 33(2), 123–126. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0269094218767329>
- Baciu, E. L., & Lazar, T. A. (2021). The influence of social capital on the educational attainment of Roma persons: Evidence from a qualitative study in Romania. In M. M. Mendes, O. Magano, & S. Toma (Eds.), *Social and economic vulnerability of Roma people: Key factors for the success and continuity of schooling levels* (pp. 183–199). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-52588-0_12
- Baldassar, L. (2007). Transnational families and the provision of moral and emotional support: The relationship between truth and distance. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 14(4), 385–409. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10702890701578423>
- Baciu, E. L., & Lazar, T. A. (2021). The influence of social capital on the educational attainment of Roma persons: Evidence from a qualitative study in Romania. In M. M. Mendes, O. Magano, & S. Toma (Eds.), *Social and economic vulnerability of Roma people: Key factors for the success and continuity of schooling levels* (pp. 183–199). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-52588-0_12
- Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N., & Szanton Blanc, C. (1994). *Nations unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states*. Gordon and Breach.
- Basok, T. (2003). Mexican seasonal migration to Canada and development: A community-based comparison. *International Migration*, 41(2), 3–26. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2435.00233>
- Bastia, T. (2014). Intersectionality, migration and development. *Progress in Development Studies*, 14(3), 237–248. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464993414521330>
- Beck, S. (1984). Ethnicity, class, and public policy: Țigani/Gypsies in socialist Romania. In K. K. Shangriladze & E. W. Townsend (Eds.), *Papers for the V. Congress of Southeast European Studies, Belgrade* (pp. 19–38). Slavica Publishers.
- Becker, G. S., & Tomes, N. (1986). Human capital and the rise and fall of families. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 4(3), S1–S39. <https://doi.org/10.1086/298118>
- Beluschi-Fabeni, G. (2013). *Roma Korturare entre Transylvania y Andalucía: Procesos migratorios y reproducción cultural [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]*. Universidad de Granada.
- Beluschi-Fabeni, G. (2018). Ritual spaces and burial places: International migration and transnational change among the Korturare Roma. *Intersections: East European*

- Journal of Society and Politics*, 4(3), 136–157.
<https://doi.org/10.17356/ieejsp.v4i3.378>
- Bennardo, G. (2002). "Map Drawing in Tonga, Polynesia: Accessing Mental Representations of Space." *Field Methods* 14(4): 390–417.
- Benarrosh-Orsoni, N. (2015). Building familial success in the home village: Migration and property investment of a Romanian Roma community. In I. Vainovski-Mihai (Ed.), *New Europe College yearbook 2013–2014* (pp. 67–92). New Europe College.
- Benarrosh-Orsoni, N. (2019). *La maison double: Lieux, routes et objets d'une migration rom*. Société d'ethnologie. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.societe-ethnologie.3238>
- Benedek, J., Cristea, M., & Szendi, D. (2015). Catching up or falling behind? Economic convergence and regional development trajectories in Romania. *Romanian Review of Regional Studies*, 11(1), 15–34.
- Benedictis, G., Calfat, G., & Jara, K. (2010). *Assessing the impact of remittances on child education in Ecuador: The role of educational supply constraints (IOB Working Paper No. 2010.06)*. Institute of Development Policy and Management, University of Antwerp.
- Berescu, C. (2002). *Palatul țigănesc: Obiect de studiu sau subiect de execuție publică*. Divers, 88.
- Berescu, C., Petrovici, N., & Teller, N. (2012). Housing exclusion of the Roma: Living on the edge. In Hegedüs József, M. Lux, & N. Teller (Eds.), *Social housing in transition countries* (pp. 98–116). Routledge.
- Berta, P. (2014). Intermediate trade, migration, and the politics of ethnicity: Economic strategies among Romanian Gabor Roma. *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica*, 59(1), 43–67. <https://doi.org/10.1556/AEthn.59.2014.1.4>
- Betea, R., & Wild, B. (Eds.). (2016). *Brave new world: Romanian migrants' dream houses*. Romanian Cultural Institute.
- Bigo, D. (2002). Security and immigration: Toward a critique of the governmentality of unease. *Alternatives*, 27(S1), 63–92. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03043754020270S105>
- Binford, L. (2003). Migrant remittances and (under)development in Mexico. *Critique of Anthropology*, 23(3), 305–336. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X030233004>
- Blau, P. M. (1964). *Exchange and power in social life*. John Wiley and Sons.
- Bloem, S., & Brüggemann, C. (2016). *Student performance and inequality in Central and South Eastern Europe: Cross-country comparison and case study on Romani-speaking students in Slovakia (Roma Education Fund Working Paper No. 5)*. Roma Education Fund.
- Boccagni, P. (2014). What's in a migrant house? Changing domestic spaces, the negotiation of belonging and home-making in Ecuadorian migration. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 31(3), 277–293. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2013.867280>
- Boccagni, P. (2017). *Migration and the search for home: Mapping domestic space in migrants' everyday lives*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-58802-9>
- Boccagni, P., & Erdal, M. B. (2021). On the theoretical potential of “remittance houses”: Toward a research agenda across emigration contexts. *Journal of Ethnic and*

- Migration Studies, 47(5), 1066–1083.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1804340>
- Böhme, M. H. (2015). Migration and educational aspirations: Another channel of brain gain? *IZA Journal of Migration*, 4, Article 12. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40176-015-0036-9>
- Bojadžijev, M., & Karakayali, S. (2010). *Recuperating the sideshows of capitalism: The autonomy of migration today*. e-flux journal, (17).
- Botezat, A., & Pfeiffer, F. (2014). *The impact of parents' migration on the well-being of children left behind: Initial evidence from Romania (ZEW Discussion Paper No. 14-029)*. ZEW – Leibniz Centre for European Economic Research.
- Botezat, A., & Pfeiffer, F. (2020). The impact of parental labour migration on left-behind children's educational and psychosocial outcomes: Evidence from Romania. *Population, Space and Place*, 26(2), Article e2277. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2277>
- Botonogu, F. (Ed.). (2011). *Hidden communities: Ferentari*. Expert Publishing House.
- Bouoiyour, J., & Miftah, A. (2016). The impact of remittances on children's human capital accumulation: Evidence from Morocco. *Journal of International Development*, 28(2), 266–280. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.3147>
- Boyd, M. (1989). Family and personal networks in international migration: Recent developments and new agendas. *International Migration Review*, 23(3), 638–670. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019791838902300313>
- Brubaker, R. (2004). *Ethnicity without groups*. Harvard University Press.
- Brubaker, R., Feischmidt, M., Fox, J., & Grancea, L. (2006). *Nationalist politics and everyday ethnicity in a Transylvanian town*. Princeton University Press.
- Brüggemann, C., & D'Arcy, K. (2017). Contexts that discriminate: International perspectives on the education of Roma students. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 20(5), 575–578. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2016.1191741>
- Bucheli, J. R., Bohara, A. K., & Fontenla, M. (2018). Mixed effects of remittances on child education. *IZA Journal of Development and Migration*, 8(1), <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40176-017-0118-y>
- Bygnes, S., & Erdal, M. B. (2017). Liquid migration, grounded lives: Strategies of temporariness among Polish and Spanish migrants in Norway. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(13), 2292–2308. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1211004>
- Calero, C., Bedi, A. S., & Sparrow, R. (2009). Remittances, liquidity constraints and human capital investments in Ecuador. *World Development*, 37(6), 1143–1154. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2008.10.006>
- Careja, R., & Emmenegger, P. (2012). Making democratic citizens: The effects of migration experience on political attitudes in Central and Eastern Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(7), 875–902. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414011428591>
- Carling, J. (2008). The determinants of migrant remittances. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 24(3), 581–598. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grn022>
- Carling, J., & Erdal, M. B. (2014). Return migration and transnationalism: How are the two connected? *International Migration*, 52(6), 2–12. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12180>

- Carling, J., & Pettersen, S. V. (2014). Return migration intentions in the integration–transnationalism matrix. *International Migration*, 52(6), 13–30.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12161>
- Casas-Cortés, M., Cobarrubias, S., & Pickles, J. (2015). Riding routes and itinerant borders: Autonomy of migration and border externalization. *Antipode*, 47(4), 894–914.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12148>
- Cassarino, J.-P. (2004). Theorising return migration: The conceptual approach to return migrants revisited. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 6(2), 253–279.
- Castles, S., de Haas, H., & Miller, M. J. (2014). *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world (5th ed.)*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cekota, J., & Trentini, C. (2011). *The educational attainment, labour market participation and living conditions of young Roma in Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania (UNECE Discussion Paper No. 2011.2)*. United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.
- Cekota, J., & Trentini, C. (2015). The educational achievement and employment of young Roma in Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania: Increasing gaps and policy challenges. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 67(4), 540–578.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2015.1032214>
- Center for Policy Studies, Central European University. (2019). *Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy in Romania*. European Commission.
- Chaaban, J., & Mansour, W. (2012). *The impact of remittances on education in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon (Working Paper No. 684)*. Economic Research Forum.
- Chami, R., Fullenkamp, C., & Jahjah, S. (2005). Are immigrant remittance flows a source of capital for development? *IMF Staff Papers*, 52(1), 55–81.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/30035948>
- Chant, S. (1998). Households, gender and rural–urban migration: Reflections on linkages and considerations for policy. *Environment and Urbanization*, 10(1), 5–22.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/095624789801000117>
- Charsley, K. (2005). Unhappy husbands: Masculinity and migration in transnational Pakistani marriages. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 11(1), 85–105.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2005.00227.x>
- Chauvet, L., & Mercier, M. (2014). Do return migrants transfer political norms to their origin country? Evidence from Mali. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 42(3), 630–651.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2014.01.001>
- Christou, A. (2006). Deciding to return: Migration decisions in a transnational context. *Global Networks*, 6(1), 13–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2006.00132.x>
- Cingolani, P. (2009). *Romeni d'Italia: Migrazioni, vita quotidiana e legami transnazionali*. Il Mulino.
- Cingolani, P. (2012). Near or far: Daily life, migration, and symbolic boundaries between Roma and Gage in Romania. In M. Buttino (Ed.), *Changing urban landscapes: Eastern European and post-Soviet cities since 1989* (pp. 123–151). Viella.
- Clifton-Sprigg, J. M. (2019). Out of sight, out of mind? The education outcomes of children with parents working abroad. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 71(1), 73–94.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oep/gpy060>

- Clough Marinaro, I., & Sigona, N. (2011). Introduction. Anti-Gypsyism and the politics of exclusion: Roma and Sinti in contemporary Italy. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 16(5), 583–589. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1354571X.2011.622467>
- Cohen, J. H. (2004). *The culture of migration in southern Mexico*. University of Texas Press.
- Cohen, J. H., & Sirkeci, I. (2011). *Cultures of Migration: The Global Nature of Contemporary Mobility*. University of Texas Press.
- Cojocaru, A. (2017). A Hierarchy of Separation. Emerging Territorialization Techniques in Romanian Gypsy Communities. In *Perspecta 50. Urban Divides*, pg. 229–240.
- Coleman, D. (2008). The demographic effects of international migration in Europe. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 24(3), 452–476. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grn027>
- Constant, A., & Massey, D. S. (2002). Return migration by German guestworkers: Neoclassical versus new economic theories. *International Migration*, 40(4), 5–38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2435.00204>
- Constant, A. F., & Zimmermann, K. F. (2011). Circular and repeat migration: Counts of exits and years away from the host country. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 30(4), 495–515. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11113-010-9198-6>
- Conway, D., & Cohen, J. H. (1998). Consequences of migration and remittances for Mexican transnational communities. *Economic Geography*, 74(1), 26–44. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-8287.1998.tb00103.x>
- Córdova, A., & Hiskey, J. (2015). Shaping politics at home: Cross-border social ties and local-level political engagement. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(11), 1454–1487. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414015581683>
- Corman, S., & Croitoru, A. (2023). Exploring hidden costs of seasonal migration in agriculture within Roma communities of origin: Evidence from Romania. *Societies*, 13(11), 239. <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc13110239>
- Cortes, P. (2015). The feminization of international migration and its effects on the children left behind: Evidence from the Philippines. *World Development*, 65, 62–78. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.10.021>
- Cox Edwards, A., & Ureta, M. (2003). International migration, remittances, and schooling: Evidence from El Salvador. *Journal of Development Economics*, 72(2), 429–461. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-3878\(03\)00115-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-3878(03)00115-9)
- Crețan, R., & Powell, R. (2018). The power of group stigmatization: Wealthy Roma, urban space and strategies of defence in post-socialist Romania. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 42(3), 423–441. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12626>
- Csesznek, C., & Schafft, K. A. (2021). Roma youth and on-the-ground implementation of Roma education policies in rural Romania. In K. A. Schafft, S. Stanić, R. Horvatek, & A. Maselli (Eds.), *Rural youth at the crossroads: Transnational societies in Central Europe and beyond* (pp. 176–194). Routledge.
- Cwerner, S. B. (2001). The times of migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(1), 7–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830125283>
- Dalakoglou, D. (2010). Migrating–remitting–'building'–dwelling: House-making as 'proxy' presence in postsocialist Albania. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 16(4), 761–777. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2010.01652.x>

- De Genova, N. (2002). Migrant 'illegality' and deportability in everyday life. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, 419–447.
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.31.040402.085432>
- De Genova, N. (Ed.). (2017). *The borders of "Europe": Autonomy of migration, tactics of bordering*. Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822372660>
- De Genova, N., & Peutz, N. (Eds.). (2010). *The deportation regime: Sovereignty, space, and the freedom of movement*. Duke University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1131920>
- de Haas, H. (2007). *Remittances, migration and social development: A conceptual review of the literature (Social Policy and Development Programme Paper No. 34)*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- de Haas, H. (2010). Migration and development: A theoretical perspective. *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 227–264. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00804.x>
- de Haas, H. (2011). *The determinants of international migration (IMI Working Paper No. 32)*. International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.
- de Haas, H. (2014). *Migration theory: Quo vadis? (IMI Working Paper No. 100)*. International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.
- de Haas, H., & Fokkema, T. (2011). The effects of integration and transnational ties on international return migration intentions. *Demographic Research*, 25, 755–782.
<https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2011.25.24>
- de Haas, H., Fokkema, T., & Fihri, M. F. (2015). Return migration as failure or success? *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 16(2), 415–429.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0344-6>
- Delamont, S. (2014). *Key themes in the ethnography of education: Achievements and agendas*. SAGE Publications.
- Delibas, H. I. (2023). Debt dependency and the cost of migration: The case of Roma and non-Roma migrants from Baia Mare. *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai Sociologia*, 68(2), 129–150. <https://doi.org/10.2478/subbs-2023-0011>
- Diminescu, D. (2009). Exercițiul dificil al liberei circulații: O introducere în istoria migrației recente a românilor. In R. G. Anghel & I. Horváth (Eds.), *Sociologia migrației: Teorii și studii de caz românești* (pp. 45–65). Polirom.
- Doyle, D. (2015). Remittances and social spending. *American Political Science Review*, 109(4), 785–802. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055415000416>
- Drinkwater, S., & Garapich, M. P. (2023). Social remittances and return migration from the UK to Poland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 49(1), 200–218.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2022.2113409>
- Drown, R. (2019). *Educating Roma children: Going beyond integration*. Cluj University Press.
- Durst, J., & Nyíró, Z. (2018). Constrained choices, enhanced aspirations: Transnational mobility, poverty and development—A case study from North Hungary. *Szociológiai Szemle*, 28(4), 81–105. <https://doi.org/10.51624/SzocSzemle.2018.4.1>

- Durand, J., Kandel, W., Parrado, E. A., & Massey, D. S. (1996). International migration and development in Mexican communities. *Demography*, 33(2), 249–264. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2061875>
- Dustmann, C., & Görlach, J.-S. (2016). The economics of temporary migrations. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 54(1), 98–136. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.54.1.98>
- Dustmann, C., & Weiss, Y. (2007). Return migration: Theory and empirical evidence from the UK. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 45(2), 236–256. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8543.2007.00613.x>
- Duval, L., & Wolff, F.-C. (2016). Emigration intentions of Roma: Evidence from Central and South-East Europe. *Post-Communist Economies*, 28(1), 87–107. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631377.2015.1124558>
- Duval, D. T. (2004). Linking return visits and return migration among Commonwealth Eastern Caribbean migrants in Toronto. *Global Networks*, 4(1), 51–67.
- Dziekońska, M. (2024). Understanding the experiences of return and re-adaptation among Polish returnees from long-term international migration: a conceptual framework of re-adaptation. *Mobilities*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2024.2366858>
- Elkan, W. (1967). Circular migration and the growth of towns in East Africa. *International Labour Review*, 96(6), 581–589
- Elrick, T. (2008). The influence of migration on origin communities: Insights from Polish migrations to the West. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60(9), 1503–1517. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668130802362243>
- Elrick, T., & Ciobanu, O. (2009). Migration networks and policy impacts: Insights from Romanian–Spanish migrations. *Global Networks*, 9(1), 100–116. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2009.00244.x>
- Engbersen, G. (2012). Migration transitions in an era of liquid migration. In M. Okólski (Ed.), *European immigrations* (pp. 91–106). Amsterdam University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048517275-005>
- Engbersen, G., Leerkes, A., Grabowska-Lusińska, I., Snel, E., & Burgers, J. (2013). On the differential attachments of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe: A typology of labour migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(6), 959–981. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.765663>
- Erdal, M. B., & Ezzati, R. (2015). 'Where are you from' or 'when did you come'? Temporal dimensions in migrants' reflections about settlement and return. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(7), 1202–1217. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2014.971041>
- European Commission. (2020). *EU Roma strategic framework for equality, inclusion and participation for 2020–2030*. European Commission.
- European Commission. (n.d.). Romania: Roma equality, inclusion and participation in the EU. Retrieved June 29, 2026, from the European Commission website.
- European Roma Rights Centre. (2002). *Barriers to the education of Roma in Europe: A position paper*. European Roma Rights Centre.
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. (2016). *Second European Union minorities and discrimination survey (EU-MIDIS II): Roma—Selected findings*. Publications Office of the European Union.

- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2018). *A persisting concern: Anti-Gypsyism as a barrier to Roma inclusion*. Publications Office of the European Union.
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2022). *Roma survey 2021: Roma in 10 European countries—Main results*. Publications Office of the European Union.
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2025). *Rights of Roma and Travellers in 13 European countries: Perspectives from the Roma survey 2024*. Publications Office of the European Union.
- Faist, T. (2000). *The volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational social spaces*. Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198293910.001.0001>
- Faist, T. (2008). Migrants as transnational development agents: An inquiry into the newest round of the migration–development nexus. *Population, Space and Place*, 14(1), 21–42. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.471>
- Faist, T., Fauser, M., & Kivisto, P. (Eds.). (2011). *The migration–development nexus: A transnational perspective*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Falzon, M.-A. (Ed.) (2009). *Multi-Sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis, and Locality in Contemporary Research*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Fassin, D. (2010). Ressentiment and racial politics: Anti-immigrant rhetoric in contemporary France. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 83(2), 263–288.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/anq.0.0125>
- Fiore, S. (2022). Schooling choices and parental migration: Evidence from Mexico. *Review of Economics of the Household*, 20(2), 635–657. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11150-020-09517-8>
- Fleck, G., & Rughiniş, C. (Eds.). (2008). *Come closer: Inclusion and exclusion of Roma in present-day Romanian society*. Human Dynamics.
- Fosztó, L. (2009). *Ritual Revitalization after Socialism*. Community, Personhood, and Conversion among Roma in a Transylvanian Village. LIT Verlag.
- Fosztó, L., & Toma, S. (2011). Introducere: Cercetările privind romii și integrarea lor în câmpul științelor sociale. In S. Toma & L. Fosztó (Eds.), *Spectrum: Cercetări sociale despre romi* (pp. 9–30). ISPMN/Kriterion.
- Fosztó, L., & Toma, S. (2021). Construyendo un hogar europeo: Algunas consecuencias de la movilidad reciente y el retorno de los Roma rumanos. In Bergeon Céline, Lagunas David and Torres Francisco (Eds.) *Gitanos rumanos en España. Trayectorias de vida, estrategias y políticas públicas*. Tirant lo Blanch, Valencia.
- Fox, J. E., Moroşanu, L., & Szilassy, E. (2012). The racialization of the new European migration to the UK. *Sociology*, 46(4), 680–695.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038511425558>
- Friberg, J. H., Borevi, K., Brochmann, G., Tyldum, G., & Djuve, A. B. (2025). Roma migration and the cumulative causation of diverging policy responses in Scandinavia. *International Migration Review*, 59(1), 274–296.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183231187629>
- Gallo, E. (2006). "Italy is not a good place for men": Narratives of places, marriage and masculinity among Malayali migrants. *Global Networks*, 6(4), 357–372.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2006.00149.x>

- Gamella, J. F., Beluschi-Fabeni, G., Gómez Oehler, E., & Muntean, V. (2018). Founder effects and transnational mutations: The familial structure of a Romani diaspora. In Y. Matras & V. D. Leggio (Eds.), *Open borders, unlocked cultures: Romanian Roma migrants in Western Europe* (pp. 83–106). Routledge.
- Gans, H. J. (1994). Positive functions of the undeserving poor: Uses of the underclass in America. *Politics & Society*, 22(3), 269–283.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329294022003002>
- Gans, H. J. (1995). *The war against the poor: The underclass and antipoverty policy*. Basic Books.
- Garapich, M. P. (2016). 'I don't want this town to change': Resistance, bifocality and the infra-politics of social remittances. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 5(2), 155–166. <https://doi.org/10.17467/ceemr.2016.17>
- Garip, F. (2008). Social capital and migration: How do similar resources lead to divergent outcomes? *Demography*, 45(3), 591–617. <https://doi.org/10.1353/dem.0.0016>
- Gatti, R., Karacsony, S., Anan, K., Ferré, C., & de Paz Nieves, C. (2016). *Being fair, faring better: Promoting equality of opportunity for marginalized Roma*. World Bank.
<https://doi.org/10.1596/978-1-4648-0598-1>
- Gheorghe, N., & Rostaş, I. (2012). Identitatea romani între victimizare şi emancipare: Nicolae Gheorghe în dialog cu Iulius Rostaş. In I. Horváth & L. Nastasă (Eds.), *Rom sau țigan: Dilemele unui etnonim în spațiul românesc* (pp. 299–336). Editura ISPMN & Fundația Soros România.
- Giannelli, G. C., & Mangiavacchi, L. (2010). Children's schooling and parental migration: Empirical evidence on the "left-behind" generation in Albania. *LABOUR*, 24(s1), 76–92. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9914.2010.00504.x>
- Giuliano, P., & Ruiz-Arranz, M. (2009). Remittances, financial development, and growth. *Journal of Development Economics*, 90(1), 144–152.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2008.10.005>
- Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Szanton Blanc, C. (1992). Towards a transnational perspective on migration: Race, class, ethnicity, and nationalism reconsidered. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645(1), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1992.tb33484.x>
- Glick Schiller, N., & Çağlar, A. (2009). Towards a comparative theory of locality in migration studies: Migrant incorporation and city scale. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(2), 177–202. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802586179>
- Glick Schiller, N., & Çağlar, A. (Eds.). (2011). *Locating migration: Rescaling cities and migrants*. Cornell University Press.
- Glick Schiller, N., & Faist, T. (Eds.). (2010). *Migration, Development, and Transnationalization: A Critical Stance (1st ed.)*. Berghahn Books.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qcpr4>
- Gmelch, G. (1980). Return migration. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 9, 135–159.
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.09.100180.001031>
- Goldring, L. (2004). "Family and Collective Remittances to Mexico: A Multi-Dimensional Typology," *Development and Change* 35(4): 799–840.

- Goodman, G. L., & Hiskey, J. T. (2008). "Exit without Leaving: Political Disengagement in High Migration Municipalities in Mexico." *Comparative Politics*, 40(2), 169–188.
- Goodwin, M., & Buijs, R. (2013). Making good European citizens of the Roma: A closer look at the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies. *German Law Journal*, 14(10), 2041–2056. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S2071832200002637>
- Government of Romania. (2011). *Strategy of the Government of Romania for the inclusion of the Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority for the period 2012–2020* (Government Decision No. 1221).
- Government of Romania. (2022). *Strategia Guvernului României de incluziune a cetățenilor români aparținând minorității rome pentru perioada 2022–2027* [Strategy of the Government of Romania for the inclusion of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority for the period 2022–2027]. Approved by Government Decision No. 560/2022. Monitorul Oficial al României, No. 450 bis.
- Grabowska, I., Garapich, M. P., Jaźwińska, E., Radziwinowiczówna, A. (2017). Collective Outcomes of Social Remittances: Reactions of Local Communities (Acceptance and Resistance). In *Migrants as Agents of Change. Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59066-4_6
- Gräf, R. (2008). *Palatele Țigănești*. Arhitectură Și Cultură. Cluj-Napoca, ISPMN.
- Grill, J. (2012). 'In England, They Don't Call You Balck!' Migrating Racializations and the Production of Roma Difference Across Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(7), 1136–1155. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1329007>
- Guarnizo, L. E. (2003). The economics of transnational living. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), 666–699. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2003.tb00154.x>
- Gulati, L. (1993). *In the Absence of Their Men: The Impact of Male Migration on Women* Sage.
- Gurak, D. T., & Caces, F. (1992). Migration networks and the shaping of migration systems. In M. M. Kritz, L. L. Lim, & H. Zlotnik (Eds.), *International migration systems: A global approach* (pp. 150–176). Clarendon Press.
- Halpern-Manners, A. (2011). The Effect of Family Member Migration on Education and Work Among Nonmigrant Youth in Mexico. *Demography*, 48(1), 73–99. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-010-0010-3>
- Hamilton, E. R. (2015). Gendered disparities in Mexico–U.S. migration by class, ethnicity, and geography. *Demographic Research*, 32, 621–658. <https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2015.32.22>
- Hannam, K., Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). Editorial: Mobilities, immobilities and moorings. *Mobilities*, 1(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450100500489189>
- Hanson, G. H., & Woodruff, C. (2003). *Emigration and educational attainment in Mexico* [Unpublished manuscript]. University of California, San Diego.
- Harris, J. R., & Todaro, M. P. (1970). Migration, unemployment and development: A two-sector analysis. *American Economic Review*, 60(1), 126–142.
- Hojsik, M. (2023). *Examples of successful housing desegregation as a precondition of Roma integration*. CEU Democracy Institute.

- Horváth, I. (2008). The Culture of Migration of Rural Romanian Youth. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34(5), 771–786. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802106036>
- Horváth, I. (2012). Etnonimul de rom ca instrument al politicii identitare. In I. Horváth & L. Nastasă (Eds.), *Rom sau țigan: Dilemele unui etnonim în spațiul românesc* (pp. 183–198). Editura ISPMN & Fundația Soros România.
- Horváth, I. (2017). *Raport de cercetare—SocioRoMap: O cartografiere a comunităților de romi din România*. Editura ISPMN.
- Horváth, I., & Nastasă, L. (Eds.). (2012). *Rom sau țigan: Dilemele unui etnonim în spațiul românesc*. Editura ISPMN & Fundația Soros România.
- Hosszu, A., & Rughiniș, C. (2020). Digital divides in education: An analysis of the Romanian public discourse on distance and online education during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Sociologie Românească*, 18(2), 11–39. <https://doi.org/10.33788/sr.18.2.1>
- Hubert Ebeke, C. (2012). Do remittances lead to a public moral hazard in developing countries? An empirical investigation. *Journal of Development Studies*, 48(8), 1009–1025. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2011.615918>
- Huszka, B., & Farkas, L. (2025). *The Roma's right to housing in Romania: The efficiency of legal versus policy interventions*. Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe. <https://doi.org/10.1080/25739638.2025.2577360>
- Huysmans, J. (2000). The European Union and the securitization of migration. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), 751–777. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5965.00263>
- Ilie, S., Rusu, M., Toma, S., Stoian, I., & Arsu, A. (2012). *Roma inclusion in Romania: Policies, institutions and examples*. Soros Foundation Romania.
- Institutul Național de Statistică. (2002). *Recensământul populației și locuințelor 2002: Populația după etnie*. Institutul Național de Statistică.
- Institutul Național de Statistică. (2011). *Recensământul populației și locuințelor 2011: Populația stabilă după etnie*. Institutul Național de Statistică.
- Institutul Național de Statistică. (2023). *Recensământul populației și locuințelor 2021: Rezultate definitive*. Populația rezidentă după etnie. Institutul Național de Statistică.
- Itzigsohn, J., Dore Cabral, C., Hernández Medina, E., & Vázquez, O. (1999). Mapping Dominican transnationalism: Narrow and broad transnational practices. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 316–339. <https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329503>
- Ivanov, A., & Kagin, J. (2014). *Roma Poverty from a Human Development Perspective*. Roma Inclusion Working Papers. UNDP.
- Jacob Larionescu, A. (2015). Migrant's houses as places and objects of cultural consumption and status display. *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology*, 6(1), 309–325.
- Jansen, S. (2015). *Yearnings in the meantime: "Normal lives" and the state in a Sarajevo apartment complex*. Berghahn. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781782386513>
- Jæger, M. M., & Breen, R. (2016). A dynamic model of cultural reproduction. *American Journal of Sociology*, 121(4), 1079–1115. <https://doi.org/10.1086/684012>
- Joseph, G., Wang, Q., Chellaraj, G., Taş, E. O., Andres, L. A., Javaid, S. U., & Rajan, I. (2022). *Beyond money: Does migration experience transfer gender norms? Empirical*

- evidence from Kerala, India (Policy Research Working Paper No. 9966)*. World Bank. <https://doi.org/10.1596/1813-9450-9966>
- Kandel, W., & Kao, G. (2001). The impact of temporary labor migration on Mexican children's educational aspirations and performance. *International Migration Review*, 35(4), 1205–1231. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2001.tb00058.x>
- Kandel, W., & Massey, D. S. (2002). The culture of Mexican migration: A theoretical and empirical analysis. *Social Forces*, 80(3), 981–1004. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2002.0009>
- Kapur, D. (2004). *Remittances: The new development mantra? (G-24 Discussion Paper Series No. 29)*. United Nations.
- Kapur, D. (2010). *Diaspora, development, and democracy: The domestic impact of international migration from India*. Princeton University Press.
- Karakayali, S., & Rigo, E. (2010). Mapping the European space of circulation. In N. De Genova & N. Peutz (Eds.), *The deportation regime: Sovereignty, space, and the freedom of movement* (pp. 123–144). Duke University Press.
- Kearney, M. (1986). From the invisible hand to visible feet: Anthropological studies of migration and development. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15, 331–361. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.15.100186.001455>
- Kerpaci, K., & Kuka, M. (2019). The Greek debt crisis and Albanian return migration. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 21(1), 104–119. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2018.1532689>
- Kertesi, G., & Kézdi, G. (2013). *School segregation, school choice and educational policies in 100 Hungarian towns (Budapest Working Papers on the Labour Market No. 1312)*. Institute of Economics, Centre for Economic and Regional Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
- Kertzer, D. I., & Arel, D. (Eds.). (2002). *Census and identity: The politics of race, ethnicity, and language in national censuses*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511606045>
- Khan, S. U., & Khan, M. J. (2016). The impact of remittances on child education in Pakistan. *The Lahore Journal of Economics*, 21(1), 69–98.
- Kinda, I. (2011). Mobilitate socială și linii de forță ale economiei în viața romilor cărămidari. In S. Toma & L. Foszto (Eds.), *Spectrum: Cercetări sociale despre romi* (pp. 367–383). ISPMN/Kriterion.
- King, R. (2022). Exploring the return migration and development nexus. In R. King & K. Kuschminder (Eds.), *Handbook of Return Migration* (Chapter. 24). Edward Elgar. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781839100055.00033>
- Kiss, J., Ortan, F., Blândul, V., & Mândrea, L.-D. (2023). *Romanian teachers' perspective on the education of students from vulnerable backgrounds*. Edu World 2022. <https://doi.org/10.15405/epes.23045.102>
- Kóczé, A. (2025). Poverty and the Roma as a lasting entanglement in Central and Eastern Europe. In E. Vincze, C. Ban, S. Gog, & J. H. Friberg (Eds.), *The political economy of extreme poverty in Eastern Europe: A comparative historical perspective of Romanian Roma* (pp. 194–213). Routledge.

- Kostka, J. (2015). Implementation of Roma inclusion policies: Why defining the problem matters. *Social Inclusion*, 3(5), 78–89. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v3i5.231>
- Kostka, J. (2019). Ethnicizing poverty: Implementation of structural funds in Slovakia. In I. Fylling, E. Baciú, & J. Breimo (Eds.), *EU social inclusion policies in post-socialist countries*. Routledge.
- Kostka, J. (2019). *Financing Roma inclusion with European Structural Funds: Why good intentions fail*. Routledge.
- Kritz, M. M., Lim, L. L., & Zlotnik, H. (Eds.). (1992). *International migration systems: A global approach*. Clarendon Press.
- Kuschminder, K. (2017). *Taking stock of assisted voluntary return from Europe: Decision making, reintegration and sustainable return — Time for a paradigm shift* (EUI Working Paper RSCAS 2017/31). European University Institute
- Lacroix, T., Levitt, P., & Vari-Lavoisier, I. (2016). Social remittances and the changing transnational political landscape. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 4, 16. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-016-0032-0>
- Ladányi, J., & Szelényi, I. (2001). The social construction of Roma ethnicity in Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary during market transition. *Review of Sociology*, 7(2), 79–89. <https://doi.org/10.1556/RevSoc.7.2001.2.5>
- Ladányi, J., & Szelényi, I. (2006). *Patterns of exclusion: Constructing Gypsy ethnicity and the making of an underclass in transitional societies of Europe*. Columbia University Press.
- Lancione, M. (2017). Revitalising the uncanny: Challenging inertia in the struggle against forced evictions. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 35(6), 1012–1032. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775817701731>
- Lancione, M. (2019). The politics of embodied urban precarity: Roma people and the fight for housing in Bucharest, Romania. *Geoforum*, 101, 182–191. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.09.008>
- Lauritzen, S. M., & Nodeland, T. (2018). What is the problem represented to be? Two decades of research on Roma and education in Europe. *Educational Research Review*, 24, 148–169. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2018.04.002>
- Lee, E. S. (1966). A theory of migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47–57. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2060063>
- Legg, K. (1969). *Politics in Modern Greece*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.
- Levitt, P. (1998). Social remittances: Migration-driven local-level forms of cultural diffusion. *International Migration Review*, 32(4), 926–948. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2547666>
- Levitt, P., & Glick Schiller, N. (2004). Conceptualizing simultaneity: A transnational social field perspective on society. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1002–1039. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00227.x>
- Levitt, P., & Lamba-Nieves, D. (2011). Social remittances revisited. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2011.521361>
- Levitt, P., & Lamba-Nieves, D. (2013). Rethinking social remittances and the migration–development nexus from the perspective of time. *Migration Letters*, 10(1), 11–22. <https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v10i1.115>

- Levitt, P., & Rajaram, N. (2013). The Migration–Development Nexus and Organizational Time1. *International Migration Review*, 47(3), 483–507. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12034>
- Lodigiani, E., & Salomone, S. (2015). *Migration-induced transfers of norms. The case of female political empowerment* (Working Paper)
- López, S. L. (2015). *The remittance landscape: Spaces of migration in rural Mexico and urban USA*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lu, Y. (2014). Parental Migration and Education of Left-Behind Children: A Comparison of two settings. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 76(5), 1082–1098. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12139>
- Lutz, H. (2010). Gender in the migratory process. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10), 1647–1663. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2010.489373>
- Mabogunje, A. L. (1970). Systems approach to a theory of rural–urban migration. *Geographical Analysis*, 2(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1538-4632.1970.tb00140.x>
- Madianou, M. (2019). Migration, transnational families, and new communication technologies. In J. Retis & R. Tsagarousianou (Eds.), *The handbook of diasporas, media, and culture* (pp. 577–590). John Wiley & Sons. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119236771.ch39>
- Madianou, M., & Miller, D. (2012). *Migration and new media: Transnational families and polymedia*. Routledge.
- Magazzini, T., & Piemontese, S. (Eds.). (2019). *Constructing Roma migrants: European narratives and local governance*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11373-5>
- Mahler, S. J., & Pessar, P. R. (2001). Gendered geographies of power: Analyzing gender across transnational spaces. *Identities*, 7(4), 441–459. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2001.9962675>
- Marantzidis, N., & Mavrommatis, G. (1999). Political clientelism and social exclusion: The case of Gypsies in the Greek town of Sofades. *International Sociology*, 14(4), 443–456. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580999014004005>
- Massey, D. S. (1990). Social structure, household strategies, and the cumulative causation of migration. *Population Index*, 56(1), 3–26. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3644186>
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 19(3), 431–466. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2938462>
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1998). *Worlds in motion: Understanding international migration at the end of the millennium*. Clarendon Press.
- Massey, D. S., & Espinosa, K. E. (1997). What's driving Mexico–U.S. migration? A theoretical, empirical, and policy analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 102(4), 939–999. <https://doi.org/10.1086/231037>
- Mata Codesal, D. (2014). From "mud houses" to "wasted houses": Remittances and housing in rural highland Ecuador. *REMHU: Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana*, 22(42), 263–280. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1980-85852014000100016>

- Matano, A., & Ramos, R. (2013). *Remittances and educational outcomes: Evidence for Moldova (SEARCH Working Paper No. 3.10)*. Universitat de Barcelona.
- Matano, A., & Ramos, R. (2018). Remittances and educational outcomes: A regional investigation for Moldova. *The Annals of Regional Science*, 60(3), 451–471. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00168-016-0757-6>
- Matras, Y. (2000). Romani migrations in the post-communist era: Their historical and political significance. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 13(2), 32–50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557570008400297>
- Matras, Y., & Leggio, D. V. (Eds.). (2018). *Open borders, unlocked cultures: Romanian Roma migrants in Western Europe*. Routledge.
- Mazzucato, V. (2011). Reverse remittances in the migration–development nexus: Two-way flows between Ghana and the Netherlands. *Population, Space and Place*, 17(5), 454–468. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.646>
- Mazzucato, V., Cebotari, V., & Siegel, M. (2016). Migration and the education of children who stay behind in Moldova and Georgia. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 51, 96–107. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2016.09.002>
- McKenzie, D., & Rapoport, H. (2006). *Can migration reduce educational attainment? Evidence from Mexico (Policy Research Working Paper No. 3952)*. World Bank.
- McKenzie, D., & Rapoport, H. (2007). Network effects and the dynamics of migration and inequality: Theory and evidence from Mexico. *Journal of Development Economics*, 84(1), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2006.11.003>
- McKenzie, D., & Rapoport, H. (2011). Can migration reduce educational attainment? Evidence from Mexico. *Journal of Population Economics*, 24(4), 1331–1358. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-010-0316-x>
- Medeleanu, M. L. (2025). *Romani slavery in Romanian history textbooks: Between reparations and coloniality of knowledge*. *Critical Romani Studies*. 9(1): 70-90. <https://doi.org/10.29098/crs.v9i1.221>
- Meissner, F., & Vertovec, S. (2015). Comparing super-diversity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(4), 541–555. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.980295>
- Mendes, M. M., Magano, O., & Toma, S. (Eds.). (2021). *Social and economic vulnerability of Roma people: Key factors for the success and continuity of schooling levels*. Springer.
- Messing, V. (2017). Differentiation in the making: Consequences of school segregation of Roma in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia. *European Education*, 49(1), 89–103. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10564934.2017.1280336>
- Messing, V. (2019). Conceptual and Methodological Considerations in Researching “Roma Migration”. In Magazzini, T., Piemontese, S. (Eds.) *Constructing Roma Migrants*. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11373-5_2
- Mezzadra, S. (2011). The gaze of autonomy: Capitalism, migration and social struggles. In V. Squire (Ed.), *The contested politics of mobility: Borderzones and irregularity* (pp. 121–142). Routledge.
- Mezzadra, S., & Neilson, B. (2013). *Border as method, or, the multiplication of labor*. Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822377542>

- Mihăilescu, V. (2011) From Cow to Cradle. Mutations and Meanings of Rural Household in Post-socialism. In: *International Review of Social Research*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 35–63.
- Mihăilescu, V. (2014) Something Nice: Pride Houses, Post-Peasant Society and the Quest for Authenticity. In: *Cultura*, 11(2):83-107
- Mincer, J. (1978). Family migration decisions. *Journal of Political Economy*, 86(5), 749–773. <https://doi.org/10.1086/260710>
- Mocanu, I., Damian, N., Mitrică, B., & Persu, M. (2019). Exploring the links between the ethnic structure and the dwellings quality in the Romanian Danube Valley. *Geografický časopis*, 71(3), 233–251. <https://doi.org/10.31577/geogrcas.2019.71.3.12>
- Moisa, D. (2016) From Occidental Houses to Case Făloase. Material Cultures of Success on Oaş County, Romania. In: Betea, R.; Wild, B. (ed.) *Brave New World - Romanian Migrants' Dream Houses*. Bucharest: Romanian Cultural Institute. <http://bravenewworld.komsoe.eu/exhibition/catalogue/>.
- Moisă, F. (2012a). Provocarea includerii sociale a romilor: Sărăcie sau abordare bazată pe discriminare? In S. Toma & L. Foszto (Eds.), *Spectrum: Cercetări sociale despre romi* (pp. 207–230). ISPMN/Kriterion.
- Moisă, F. (2012b). Roma school desegregation policies in Romania. In I. Rostas (Ed.), *Ten years after: A history of Roma school desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe* (pp. 283–302). CEU Press.
- Moisă, F., Rostas, I. A., Tarnovschi, D., Stoian, I., Rădulescu, D., & Andersen, T.-Ş. (2013). *Raportul societăţii civile asupra implementării Strategiei Naţionale de Integrare a Romilor şi a Planului de Acţiune al Deceniului în România în 2012 [Civil society monitoring report on the implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy and Decade Action Plan in Romania in 2012]*. Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation.
- Moisă, F., & Roth, M. (2011). The right to education of Roma children in Romania: European policies and Romanian practices. *International Journal of Children's Rights*, 19(3), 501–522. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157181811X584587>
- Moralli, M. (2024). *Research as care: Positionality and reflexivity in qualitative migration research*. Qualitative Research. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687941231176946>
- Morawska, E. (2007). *International migration: Its various mechanisms and different theories that try to explain it (Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations No. 1/07)*. Malmö University.
- Moulier-Boutang, Y., & Garson, J.-P. (1984). Major obstacles to control of irregular migrations: Prerequisites to policy. *International Migration Review*, 18(3), 579–592. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2545887>
- Mourão, S., Pinheiro, S., Mendes, M. M., Caetano, P., & Magano, O. (2023). How did the COVID-19 pandemic and digital divide impact Ciganos/Roma school pathways? *Social Sciences*, 12(2), 86. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci12020086>
- Mreji, P., & Barnard, H. (2021). The micro-foundations of the returnee liability: The interpersonal challenges of returnee entrepreneurs in Kenya. *Journal of International Management*, 27(4), 100846. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.intman.2021.100846>

- Nacu, A. (2012). From silent marginality to spotlight scapegoating? A brief case study of French policies towards the Roma. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(8), 1323–1328. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.698218>
- Nagy, R. (2009a). Articulații între turism și migrație în Maramureș. In R. G. Anghel & I. Horváth (Eds.), *Sociologia migrației: Teorii și studii de caz românești*. Polirom.
- Nagy, R. (2009b). Tourisme et migration dans le Maramureș. *Ethnologies*, 31(1), 111–126.
- Nagy, V., & Durst, J. (2018). Transnational Roma mobilities: The enactment of invisible resistance. *Intersections: East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 4(2), 3–16. <https://doi.org/10.17356/ieejsp.v4i2.466>
- Nedelcu, M., & Ciobanu, R.-O. (2016). Les migrations des Roms roumains en Europe. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 32(1), 7–17.
- Nemeth, D. (2008). Gypsy Architecture: Houses of the Roma in Eastern Europe. In *The Professional Geographer* 60 (4): 583–86.
- Nemeth, D., & Gianferro, C. (2009). *Prestige mansions of the affluent European Roma: Magnets for hatred? [Conference proceedings]*. East Lakes Division, American Association of Geographers.
- Nyberg Sørensen, N. (2022). The transnational continuum of conditional inclusion: from marginalized immigrants to rejected returnees. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 45(6), 1177–1195. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2021.1977364>
- O'Nions, H. (2010). Divide and teach: Educational inequality and the Roma. *International Journal of Human Rights*, 14(3), 464–489. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642980802704304>
- Olwig, K. F. (2007). *Caribbean journeys: An ethnography of migration and home in three family networks*. Duke University Press.
- Orozco, M., & Jewers, M. (2019). *The impact of migrants' remittances and investment on rural youth (IFAD Research Series No. 56)*. International Fund for Agricultural Development.
- Osborn, A. (1968). Compadrazgo and patronage: A Colombian case. *Man*, 3(4), 593–608. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2798582>
- Palloni, A., Massey, D. S., Ceballos, M., Espinosa, K., & Spittel, M. (2001). Social capital and international migration: A test using information on family networks. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106(5), 1262–1298. <https://doi.org/10.1086/320817>
- Pantea, M. C. (2013a). Policy implications for addressing Roma precarious migration through employment at home. *International Migration*, 51(5), 34–47. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12069>
- Pantea, M. C. (2013b). Social ties at work: Roma migrants and the community dynamics. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(11), 1726–1744. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.778836>
- Papadopoulos, D., Stephenson, N., & Tsianos, V. (2008). *Escape routes: Control and subversion in the 21st century*. Pluto Press.
- Papadopoulos, D., & Tsianos, V. (2013). After citizenship: Autonomy of migration, organisational ontology and mobile commons. *Citizenship Studies*, 17(2), 178–196. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2013.780736>

- Pauli, J. (2008). A house of one's own: Gender, migration, and residence in rural Mexico. *American Ethnologist*, 35(1), 171–187. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2008.00012.x>
- Pauli, J. (2026). Haunted by Houses: Built and Lived Absences in a Transnational Mexican Community. *Anthropology of Consciousness*, 37(1), e70015. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anoc.70015>
- Peti, L. (2017). Migráció és pünkösdzizmus egy kelet-moldvai kolduló roma közösségben. *Erdélyi Társadalom*, 15(1), 57–80.
- Piemontese, S. (2015). *Leaving 'Roma' behind: Notes on the impact of housing and (forced) mobility on education (INTEGRIM Online Papers No. 10)*. CEU Center for Policy Studies.
- Piemontese, S., Bereményi, B.-Á., & Carrasco, S. (2018). Diverging mobilities, converging immobility? Romanian Roma youths at the crossroad between spatial, social and educational im/mobility. *Intersections: East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 4(3), 29–56. <https://doi.org/10.17356/ieejsp.v4i3.388>
- Piore, M. J. (1979). *Birds of passage: Migrant labour and industrial societies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Plainer, Z. (2018). "Everybody loved each other there": Roma memories of the one-time Cinka Panna colony in Oradea and its liquidation during the communist times. *East European Politics and Societies*, 32(4), 837–855. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325417716516>
- Pontrandolfo, S. (2018). Social mobilities in the transnational migration of Romanian Roma to Italy. *Intersections: East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 4(2), 126–148. <https://doi.org/10.17356/ieejsp.v4i2.381>
- Pop, D. (2006). *The developmental effectiveness of remittances: Case study on Huedin town, România*. The WIIW Balkan Observatory.
- Pop, F., & Balea, B. (2016). School mediators in the Romanian education system: A discussion on their role in addressing educational inequalities. *Social Change Review*, 14(2), 149–176. <https://doi.org/10.1515/scr-2016-0026>
- Portes, A. (2010). Migration and social change: Some conceptual reflections. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10), 1537–1563. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2010.489370>
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 217–237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329468>
- Powell, R., & Lever, J. (2017). Europe's perennial 'outsiders': A processual approach to Roma stigmatization and ghettoization. *Current Sociology*, 65(5), 680–699. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392115594213>
- Preda, M. D., Vijulie, I., & Lequeux-Dincă, A. I. (2018). The palace architecture of the Roma population in Romania. *Eastern European Countryside*, 24, 189–217. <https://doi.org/10.12775/eec-2018-0010>
- Prónai, C. (2024). *Fejezetek a kulturális antropológiai cigánykutatások első ötven évének történetéből*. ELTE Kiadó.

- Racleș, A. (2018). Walking with Lina in Zamora: Reflections on Roma's home-making engagements from a translocality perspective. *Intersections: East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 4(2), 86–108. <https://doi.org/10.17356/ieejsp.v4i2.386>
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. (1940). On social structure. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 70(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2844197>
- Rao, N. (2010). Migration, Education and Socio-Economic Mobility. *Compare*, 40(2), 137–145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057920903545973>
- Raț, C. (2005). Romanian Roma, state transfers, and poverty: A study of relative disadvantage. *International Journal of Sociology*, 35(3), 85–116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207659.2005.11043152>
- Raț, C. (2011). Incluziune adversă: Prestații sociale și persistența sărăciei în rândul romilor din România. In S. Toma & L. Foszto (Eds.), *Spectrum: Cercetări sociale despre romi* (pp. 159–180). ISPMN/Kriterion.
- Ratha, D., Chandra, V., Kim, E. J., Plaza, S., & Mahmood, A. (2024). *Remittances slowed in 2023, expected to grow faster in 2024 (Migration and Development Brief 40)*. World Bank.
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). The laws of migration. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 48(2), 167–235. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2979181>
- Reynolds, T. (2010). Transnational family relationships, social networks and return migration among British-Caribbean young people. *Mobilities*, 5(2), 235–254. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101003665044>
- Roma Civil Monitor. (2019). *Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategy in Romania: Assessing the progress in four key policy areas of the strategy*. Publications Office of the European Union.
- Roma Civil Monitor. (2025). *Civil society monitoring report on the implementation of the national strategic framework for Roma equality, inclusion, and participation in Romania*. Publications Office of the European Union. <https://doi.org/10.2838/4661437>
- ROMACT. (2021). *Children left behind: Between labour migration, institutional standards, and extended family*. Council of Europe.
- Rostas, I. (2012). *Ten years after: A history of Roma school desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*. CEU Press.
- Rostas, I. (2019). *A task for Sisyphus: Why Europe's Roma policies fail*. CEU Press.
- Roth, M., & Toma, S. (2014). The plight of Romanian social protection: Addressing the vulnerabilities and well-being in Romanian Roma families. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 18(6), 714–734. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2014.944813>
- Roth, M., & Văetiși, L. (2011). Roma in special education: Discriminating, segregating, and limiting opportunities to Roma students by placing them in special schools. *Social Change Review*, 9(2), 175–194. <https://doi.org/10.1515/scr-2016-0022>
- Russell, S. S. (1986). Remittances from international migration: A review in perspective. *World Development*, 14(6), 677–696. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X\(86\)90012-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(86)90012-4)

- Samari, G. (2021). Coming back and moving backwards: return migration and gender norms in Egypt. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 47(5), 1103–1118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1669437>
- Sampson, S. L. (1984). *National integration through socialist planning: An anthropological study of a Romanian new town*. Columbia University Press.
- Sandu, D. (2010). *Lumile sociale ale migrației românești în străinătate*. Polirom.
- Sandu, D. (2014). Romanian migration as multiregional building of transnational fields. In Romanians' social transnationalism in the making (EUCROSS Working Paper No. 8, pp. 5–27).
- Sarma, V. J., & Parinduri, R. A. (2016). What happens to children's education when their parents emigrate? Evidence from Sri Lanka. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 46, 94–102. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2015.11.007>
- Sassen, S. (1988). *The mobility of labor and capital: A study in international investment and labor flow*. Cambridge University Press.
- Schafft, K. A., Bodi, D.-C., Csesznek, C., Dincă, A., & Harabagiu, F.-M. (2026). *Roma education in Romania and the translation of policy into practice*. Human Organization. 85(2). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00187259.2026.2647823>
- Schafft, K. A., Stanic, S., Horvatek, R., & Maselli, A. (Eds.). (2021). *Rural youth at the crossroads: Transnational societies in Central Europe and beyond*. Routledge.
- Schuerkens, U. (2005). Transnational migrations and social transformations: A theoretical perspective. *Current Sociology*, 53(4), 535–553. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392105052715>
- Schuster, L. (2019). Deportation and forced return. In *The Routledge handbook of forced migration and refugee studies*. Routledge.
- Schuster, L., & Majidi, N. (2013). What happens post-deportation? The experience of deported Afghans. *Migration Studies*, 1(2), 221–240. <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnt006>
- Șerban, M., & Voicu, B. (2010). Romanian migrants to Spain: In- or outside the migration networks—A matter of time? *Revue d'Études Comparatives Est-Ouest*, 41(4), 97–124.
- Sharma, S. (2014). *In the meantime: Temporality and cultural politics*. Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822378334>
- Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A*, 38(2), 207–226. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a37268>
- Sigona, N. (2011). The governance of Romani people in Italy: Discourse, policy and practice. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 16(5), 590–606. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1354571X.2011.622475>
- Sigona, N., & Trehan, N. (Eds.). (2009). *Romani politics in contemporary Europe: Poverty, ethnic mobilization, and the neoliberal order*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sigona, N., & Vermeersch, P. (2012). Editors' introduction: The Roma in the new EU: Policies, frames and everyday experiences. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(8), 1189–1193. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.689174>
- Simmel, G. (1950). *The sociology of Georg Simmel* (K. H. Wolff, Ed. & Trans.). The Free Press.

- Simmel, G. (1971). The Stranger. In Donald N. Levine (Ed.), *Georg Simmel on Individuality and Social Forms. Selected Writings* (pp. 143–149). Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sirkeci, I., Cohen, J. H., & Ratha, D. (Eds.). (2012). *Migration and remittances during the global financial crisis and beyond*. World Bank Publications.
- Small, M.L. (2013). "Causal thinking and ethnographic research." *American Journal of Sociology* 119(3).
- Smith, M. D., & Floro, M. S. (2020). "Food insecurity, gender, and international migration in low- and middle-income countries," *Food Policy* 91: 101837.
- Sorensen, N. N. (2004). *The development dimension of migrant remittances (Migration Policy Research Working Paper Series No. 1)*. International Organization for Migration.
- Sorensen, N. N., Van Hear, N., Pedersen-Engberg, P. (2003). The Migration-Development Nexus Evidence and Policy Options State-of-the-art Overview. *International Migration*, Vol. 40(5):3-47.
- Nyberg Sørensen, N. (2022). The transnational continuum of conditional inclusion: from marginalized immigrants to rejected returnees. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 45(6), 1177–1195. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2021.1977364>
- Stan, R. (2005). Patterns and socio-economic consequences of international labour migration on Catholic and Orthodox villages from Eastern Romania (Neamț County). In T. Bárány, G. Pulay, & I. Zakariás (Eds.), *A tarkaság dicsérete: Az Erasmus Kollégium diákjainak tanulmányai*. Erasmus Kollégium Alapítvány.
- Stark, O., & Bloom, D. E. (1985). The new economics of labor migration. *American Economic Review*, 75(2), 173–178.
- Stark, O., & Lucas, R. E. B. (1988). "Migration, Remittances, and the Family," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 36(3): 465–481. <https://doi.org/10.1086/451670>
- Stark, O., & Taylor, J. E. (1991). Migration incentives, migration types: The role of relative deprivation. *Economic Journal*, 101(408), 1163–1178. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2234433>
- Stark, O., Taylor, J. E., & Yitzhaki, S. (1986). Remittances and inequality. *Economic Journal*, 96(383), 722–740. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2232987>
- Surdu, M. (2016). *Those who count: Expert practices of Roma classification*. Central European University Press.
- Surdu, M. (2019). Why the “real” numbers on Roma are fictitious: Revisiting practices of ethnic quantification. *Ethnicities*, 19(3), 486–502. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796819833424>
- Surdu, M., & Kovats, M. (2015). Roma identity as an expert-political construction. *Social Inclusion*, 3(5), 5–18. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v3i5.245>
- Szabó, Á. T. (2018). Local and global contexts, individual experiences in labour: Poor Roma at home and abroad—A case from Transylvania, Romania. *Local Economy*, 33(2), 207–223. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0269094218762345>
- Szalai, J., & Schiff, C. (Eds.). (2014). *Migrant, Roma and post-colonial youth in education across Europe*. Being ‘visibly different’. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Tabar, P., Maalouf, W. (2016). The Emergence of a 'Diasporic Political Field': A Case for Political Remittances. In Nowicka, M., Šerbedžija, V. (Eds.) *Migration and Social Remittances in a Global Europe. Europe in a Global Context*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-60126-1_5
- Tarrow, S. G. (1967). *Peasant communism in southern Italy*. Yale University Press.
- Taylor, J. E. (1992). Remittances and inequality reconsidered: Direct, indirect, and intertemporal effects. *Journal of Policy Modeling*, 14(2), 187–208. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0161-8938\(92\)90008-Z](https://doi.org/10.1016/0161-8938(92)90008-Z)
- Taylor, J. E. (1999). The new economics of labour migration and the role of remittances in the migration process. *International Migration*, 37(1), 63–88. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2435.00066>
- Taylor, J. E., Mora, J., Adams, R., & Lopez-Feldman, A. (2022). Remittances, inequality and poverty: Evidence from rural Mexico. In *International Migration and Development* (pp. 101–128). United Nations Publications. <https://doi.org/10.18356/9789210021821c006>
- Teodorescu, D. (2018). The modern mahala: Making and living in Romania's postsocialist slum. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 59(3–4), 436–461. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2019.1574433>
- Teodorescu, D. (2019). Racialised postsocialist governance in Romania's urban margins: Housing and local policymaking in Ferentari, Bucharest. *City*, 23(6), 714–731. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2020.1717208>
- Tesăr, C. (2014). Begging—Between charity and profession: Reflections on Romanian Roma's begging activities in Italy. In E. Tauber & D. Zinn (Eds.), *The public value of anthropology: Engaging critical social issues through ethnography* (pp. 83–111). Bozen-Bolzano University Press. https://doi.org/10.13124/9788860461148_4
- Tesăr, C. (2016). Houses under construction: Conspicuous consumption and the values of youth among Romanian Cortorari Gypsies. In M. Brazzabeni, M. I. Cunha, & M. Fotta (Eds.), *Gypsy economy: Romani livelihoods and notions of worth in the 21st century* (pp. 181–200). Berghahn Books.
- Tesăr, C. (2021). *The Work of Begging among Romanian Cortorari Roma*. Notes of an apprentice - theanthro.art, accessed May 13, 2026, <https://theanthro.art/the-work-of-begging-among-romanian-cortorari-roma-notes-of-an-apprentice-catalina-tesar/>
- Tesliuc, E., Grigoraș, V., & Stănculescu, M. S. (2016). *The atlas of rural marginalized areas and of local human development in Romania*. The World Bank. Bucharest.
- Tilly, C. (2001). Relational origins of inequality. *Anthropological Theory*, 1(3), 355–372. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14634990122228773>
- Timmer, A. D. (2017). *Educating the Hungarian Roma: Non-governmental organizations and minority rights*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Țoc, S., & Gheba, A. (2015). *Family background, gender and reading achievement in Romania*. Sfera Politicii, 83–92.
- Toma, S. (2011). Cercurile incluziunii: Aspecte ale educației copiilor romi în România. In S. Toma & L. Foszto (Eds.), *Spectrum: Cercetări sociale despre romi* (pp. 127–158). ISPMN/Kriterion.

- Toma, S. (2020). *The microcosm of migration and return: Identity, space and home in Romania—A selected literature review on housing and remittance houses of Roma and Romanian migrants (HOMInG Working Paper No. 9/2020)*. University of Trento.
- Toma, S. (2021). Counteracting the schools' demon: Local social changes and their effects on the participation of Roma children in school education. In M. M. Mendes, O. Magano, & S. Toma (Eds.), *Social and economic vulnerability of Roma people: Key factors for the success and continuity of schooling levels* (pp. 117–133). Springer.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-52588-0_8
- Toma, S. (2023). Education policy and Roma children in Romania. In E. J. Done & H. Knowler (Eds.), *International perspectives on exclusionary pressures in education: How inclusion becomes exclusion* (pp. 183–204). Palgrave Macmillan.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14113-3_10
- Toma, S., & Fosztó, L. (2018a). Returnees and their neighbors: Migration of the Romanian Roma, networks, social distance, and local development. *Review of Sociology*, 28(4), 37–60. <https://doi.org/10.51624/SzocSzemle.2018.4.2>
- Toma, S., & Fosztó, L. (2018b). Roma within obstructing and transformative spaces: Migration processes and social distance in ethnically mixed localities in Romania. *Intersections: East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 4(3), 57–80.
<https://doi.org/10.17356/ieejsp.v4i3.396>
- Toma, S., & Fosztó, L. (Eds.). (2011). *Spectrum: Cercetări sociale despre romi [Spectrum: Social research on Roma]*. Editura Institutului pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale / Kriterion.
- Toma, S., & Plainer, Z. (forthcoming). Roma school mediators in Romania: Between policy bricolage and local practices [Unpublished manuscript].
- Toma, S., Tesăr, C., & Fosztó, L. (2018). Romanian Roma at home: Mobility patterns, migration experiences, networks, and remittances. In Y. Matras & D. V. Leggio (Eds.), *Open borders, unlocked cultures: Romanian Roma migrants in Western Europe* (pp. 57–82). Routledge.
- Tomlinson, E. (2007). The “palaces” of the Romanian Rroma: A claim to citizenship. *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 19(1), 77–90.
<http://iaste.berkeley.edu/tdsr/fall2007/>
- Toth, A., Munteanu, D., & Bleahu, A. (2008). *National analysis of the phenomenon of children left home by their parents who migrate abroad for employment*. UNICEF Romania.
- Tremlett, A. (2009). Bringing hybridity to heterogeneity in Romani Studies. *Romani Studies*, 19(2), 147–168. <https://doi.org/10.3828/rs.2009.8>
- Triandafyllidou, A., & Ricard-Guay, A. (2019). Governing irregular and return migration in the 2020s: European challenges and Asian Pacific perspectives. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 17(2), 115–127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2018.1503383>
- Tsianos, V., & Karakayali, S. (2010). Transnational migration and the emergence of the European border regime: An ethnographic analysis. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 13(3), 373–387. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431010371761>

- Tuccio, M., & Wahba, J. (2018). Return migration and the transfer of gender norms: Evidence from the Middle East. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 46(4), 1006–1029. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2018.07.015>
- Tue, A.; Toderaş, C. (2013) Flexibilitatea pereţilor şi elasticitatea caselor în Cajvana. In: Bogdan I. (ed) *The Material Culture (Re)Turn in Anthropology. Promises and Dead-Ends*. Presentations of the Conference of the Romanian Society of Cultural Anthropology, 22-25 September 2011, Bucharest. Humanitas. Pg. 163-185
- Türker, D., & Çimşir, E. (2025). The impact of fathers' overseas employment on left-behind children in Turkey: A phenomenological exploration. *Family Relations*, 74(2), 870–890. <https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.13146>
- Tuzi, I. (2024). *A Self-reflexive Positionality to Navigate the Invective Latency of Ethnographic Relations: Insights From Lebanon and Germany*. *Qualitative Inquiry*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10778004231193764>
- United Nations Statistics Division. (2023). *Population by national and/or ethnic group, sex and urban/rural residence: Romania*. UNdata.
- van Baar, H., Ivasiuc, A., & Kreide, R. (2019). The European Roma and their securitization: Contexts, junctures, challenges. In H. van Baar, A. Ivasiuc, & R. Kreide (Eds.), *The securitization of the Roma in Europe* (pp. 1–25). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-77035-2_1
- VanWey, L. K., Tucker, C. M., & McConnell, E. D. (2005). Community organization, migration, and remittances in Oaxaca. *Latin American Research Review*, 40(1), 83–107. <https://doi.org/10.1353/LAR.2005.0016>
- Varga, B., Marton, L., Balázs, A., et al. (2023). *Differences in literacy, education level, and healthcare attendance in two different Roma subgroups from Transylvania, Romania*. *Acta Marisiensis – Seria Medica*. <https://doi.org/10.2478/amma-2023-0028>
- Varga, F. (2023). Roma children's school segregation as a persistent public educational system issue in Romania. *Research and Education*, 7, 82–94. <https://doi.org/10.56177/red.7.2022.art.7>
- Vargas-Silva, C., & Boccagni, P. (2024). Dreaming of a remittance house: Understanding transnational housing aspirations. *International Migration Review*, 58(3), 1123–1151. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183231170812>
- Vathi, Z., King, R., & Gëdeshi, I. (2022). Cognitive remittances and the reintegration "hump": Changing self-perceptions and positionality among Roma returnees in Albania and Kosovo. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 23(4), 1949–1968. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-022-00994-7>
- Veres, V., & Toma, S. (2014). *Baseline Study*. Social inclusion and improving living conditions of Roma and other vulnerable groups. Max Weber Foundation for Social Research. Cluj-Napoca.
- Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 447–462. <https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329558>
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024–1054. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701599465>
- Vertovec, S. (2021). The social organization of difference. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 44(8), 1273–1295. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2021.1884733>

- Viera, J. A. (2018). *Intergenerational Mobility Among Return Migrants and Their Families: a case study in Mexico*. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Published online 28th August. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1515621>
- Vincze, E. (2011). Identificarea etnica si pozitia socioeconomica a romilor dintr-un context urban. In S. Toma & L. Fosztó (Eds.), *Spectrum: Cercetări sociale despre romi* (pp. 127–158). ISPMN/Kriterion.
- Vincze, E. (2013). Socio-spatial marginality of Roma as form of intersectional injustice. *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai Sociologia*, 58(2), 217–243.
- Vincze, E. (2015). Adverse incorporation of the Roma and the formation of capitalism in Romania. *Intersections: East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 1(4), 14–37. <https://doi.org/10.17356/ieejsp.v1i4.88>
- Vincze, E. (2018). Ghettoization: The production of marginal spaces of housing and the reproduction of racialized labour. In E. Vincze, N. Petrovici, C. Raţ, & G. Picker (Eds.), *Racialized labour in Romania* (pp. 63–96). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Vincze, E. (2024). Residualized public housing in Romania: Peripheralization of 'the Social' and the racialization of 'unhouseables'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 48(3), 403–421. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.13245>
- Vincze, E., Bădiţă, C., & Hossu, I.-E. (2019). Incomplete housing justice in Romania under neoliberal rule. *Justice spatiale / Spatial Justice*, 13, 1–32.
- Vincze, E., & Florea, I. (2021, February 21). *Homeownership, poverty, and legislative pitfalls in Romania*. CADTM. <https://www.housingrightswatch.org/content/homeownership-poverty-and-legislative-pitfalls-romania>
- Vincze, E., & Hossu, I.-E. (Eds.). (2014). *Socio-territorial marginalization of Romani communities in Romania*. Case studies in Alba, Arad, Călăraşi, Dolj, and Iaşi counties. Cluj-Napoca: EFES.
- Vincze, E., Petrovici, N., Raţ, C., & Picker, G. (Eds.). (2018). *Racialized labour in Romania: Spaces of marginality at the periphery of global capitalism*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76273-9>
- Vincze, E., & Zamfir, G. I. (2019). Racialized housing unevenness in Cluj-Napoca under capitalist redevelopment. *City*, 23(4–5), 439–460. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2019.1684078>
- Vlase, I. (2013a). 'My Husband Is a Patriot!': Gender and Romanian Family Return Migration from Italy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(5), 741–758. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.756661>
- Vlase, I. (2013b). Women's social remittances and their implications at household level: A case study of Romanian migration to Italy. *Migration Letters*, 10(1), 81–90. <https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v10i1.113>
- Vlase, I., & Voicu, M. (2014). Romanian Roma migration: The interplay between structures and agency. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(13), 2418–2437. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.809133>
- Voiculescu, C. (2004). Temporary Migration of Transylvanian Roma to Hungary. In POP, Dani (Ed.): *New Patterns of Labour Migration in Central and Eastern Europe*. AMM Design, Cluj-Napoca, 148–166.

- Waddell, B. J., & Fontenla, M. (2015). The Mexican dream? The effect of return migrants on hometown development. *Social Science Journal*, 52(3), 386–396. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2015.02.005>
- Walby, S. (2009). *Globalization and Inequalities: Complexity and Contested Modernities*. Sage. 10.4135/9781446269145
- Waldinger, R., & Fitzgerald, D. (2004). Transnationalism in question. *American Journal of Sociology*, 109(5), 1177–1195. <https://doi.org/10.1086/381916>
- Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The modern world-system I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the sixteenth century*. Academic Press.
- Webber, F. (2011). How voluntary are voluntary returns? *Race & Class*, 52(4), 98–107. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396810396606>
- Wessendorf, S. (2007). 'Roots-migrants': Transnationalism and 'return' among second-generation Italians in Switzerland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(7), 1083–1102. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701541614>
- White, A. (2016). An inside-out approach to social remittances: Linking migration and social change in Poland. In M. Nowicka & V. Šerbedžija (Eds.), *Migration and social remittances in a global Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wingens, M., de Valk, H., Windzio, M., & Aybek, C. (Eds.). (2011). *A life-course perspective on migration and integration*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5>
- Woodruff, C., & Zenteno, R. (2007). Migration networks and microenterprises in Mexico. *Journal of Development Economics*, 82(2), 509–528. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2006.03.006>
- World Bank (2014). *Diagnostics and policy advice for supporting Roma inclusion in Romania*. World Bank Group. <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/17796>
- World Bank (2018a). *From uneven growth to inclusive development: Romania's path to shared prosperity*. The World Bank. <https://doi.org/10.1596/978-1-4648-1317-7>
- World Bank (2018b). *Romania systematic country diagnostic: Background note: Migration*. World Bank Group.
- World Bank (2020). *Romania - Urban Policy: Output 3 - Companion Paper 8: Marginalization, poverty and exclusion in Romanian cities*. World Bank Group. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/099410401252226424>
- Yang, D. (2008). International migration, remittances and household investment: Evidence from Philippine migrants' exchange rate shocks. *Economic Journal*, 118(528), 591–630. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0297.2008.02134.x>
- Yıldız, C., & De Genova, N. (2018). Un/free mobility: Roma migrants in the European Union. *Social Identities*, 24(4), 425–441. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335819>
- Zamfir, G. I. (2022). Countering illegibility: A brief history of forced evictions in postsocialist Romania. *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai Sociologia*, 67(1), 37–68. <https://doi.org/10.2478/subbs-2022-0002>
- Zapata-Barrero, R., Caponio, T., & Scholten, P. (2017). Theorizing the 'local turn' in a multi-level governance framework of analysis: A case study in immigrant policies.

International Review of Administrative Sciences, 83(2), 241–246.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0020852316688426>

Zelizer, V. A. (1994). *The social meaning of money: Pin money, paychecks, poor relief, and other currencies*. Princeton University Press.

Zhao, Y. (2002). Causes and consequences of return migration: Recent evidence from China.

Journal of Comparative Economics, 30(2), 376–394.

<https://doi.org/10.1006/jcec.2002.1781>

Zhunio, M. C., Vishwasrao, S., & Chiang, E. P. (2012). The influence of remittances on education and health outcomes: A cross-country study. *Applied Economics*, 44(35), 4605–4616. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.201>