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Editor's Note: An Historian for Demography, A Demographer for HISTORY

I met Professor Dr Peter Teibenbacher over a decade ago, at an international conference organised by Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, and I discovered in him an extraordinary person and an exemplary specialist. Gradually I got to know better the demographer, professor and historian Peter Teibenbacher, thanks to the numerous scientific conferences organized in Austria, Romania, England, USA, Spain, China, Belgium etc., where we both presented our latest research results, moderated panels, and held other roles in the evolution of these events. Not lastly, we had the pleasure of conversing on various cultural and current issues, thus noting his solid culture and broad intellectual horizon. For Professor Peter Teibenbacher, the man we pay homage to today, the research of Austria's past in particular, and of Europe's population history in general, meant an exhaustive documentation and a deep passion for the people of the past. In reaching this conclusion, one only needs to read the list of works he wrote. The number of books, studies, articles bearing his signature constitutes clear evidence that Professor Teibenbacher represents a fundamental, primordial resort. It seems that he has no end in wanting to know what happened before, in "sniffing" the life of the past with everything that belonged to it.

Today, on his 65th anniversary, Alma Mater Napocensis celebrates Peter Teibenbacher, researcher and professor at Karl-Franzens University of Graz, an important academic institution from Austria, established at the same time as Babeş-Bolyai University. Maybe this explains not only the good collaboration between the two universities, but also the numerous friendships formed between their professors. With but few exceptions, the entire activity of Professor Peter Teibenbacher is linked to Karl-Franzens University of Graz, where he lectured on regional history, population history, social statistics, economics and society, migrations, economic and demographic theories etc. During his activity he collaborated with numerous masters and PhD students, as well as with research collectives (among which the *GAFP – Graz Austrian Fertility Project*, 2009-2012, being of great importance).

Focusing primarily on the evolution of demographic phenomena in modern era Austria, Professor Teibenbacher did not ignore the historical dimension of these phenomena, thus acknowledging their essential role in understanding the current economic and demographic realities. Furthermore, in support of the continuity of population research and the accessibility of information, Peter Teibenbacher and the teams around him have established working tools and an important statistical database dedicated to fertility in Austria. He was a member of various Austrian and international professional organisations, having great responsibilities within them (the Central European Population History network, International Commission of Historical Demography, whose vice president he is since 2015 etc.). He was also awarded numerous national and international prizes (1984 Theodor-Körner, 2001 Leopold-Kunschak, 2001 Alpen-Adria etc.) and is often invited to give lectures in Paris, Berlin, Chicago and in many other academic centres where he enjoys the appreciation of his colleagues and of all those who have come to know him.

The current issue of Romanian Journal of Population Studies represents a gesture of solidarity and appreciation from the Babeş-Bolyai University colleagues and friends of Professor Teibenbacher, who want to pay him and homage and show their respect. The man we celebrate is obviously far from the age of the patriarchs, even though, by the many recognitions he enjoys, it can be say already reached it. We warmly wish him to reach that special age, so we can have the opportunity to wish him many more: Happy Birthdays!

Prof. Ioan Bolovan Ph.D.,
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The Politics of Birth in Composite States: Midwives in Transylvania (19th – 20th Century)

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Abstract: The second half of the 19th Century witnessed an increased process of birth medicalization - in Europe and in Transylvania as well. We approached the "medicalization" process in both its meanings: the professionalization of the healers, but also the spreading of medical care to people. As consequence, the paper will address both midwives' training in a society living at the periphery of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the opening to modern care of one of the most intimate moments of a woman's private life, that of child delivery. The paper aims to follow the legislation concerning the medicalizasion of birth in Transylvania, process which allowed the opening of the local schools for training midwives.

Keywords: midwifery, birth medicalization, Austrian-Hungarian legislation, generale normativum, midwives schools

1. Introduction

The congruent issues of childbirth and midwifery came into the historian's gaze as part of the modernization process. This process can be viewed from different perspectives, taking into consideration multiple aspects: the process of midwives' training and the state intervention in regulating their undertaking; the trained midwife versus the traditional midwife (as a sign of women's reluctance to change), assisted birth in villages and assisted birth in boroughs and towns, midwives versus obstetricians, gender roles – midwives – women/obstetricians – men, the association between the birth traditionally

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assisted by empirical midwives and the high rate of infant and birth mortality in comparison to a decrease of infant mortality related to the advance of birth medicalization. Not least, nowadays, paradoxically, the debate is heading towards the benefits of midwives' assisted birth, inside the home – a return to tradition, to what the literature refers to as "the good old times".

The paper is focused on the midwifery in Transylvania in the second half of the 19th Century. During this time, Transylvania was a province situated at the periphery of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (part of Hungary under the 1867 Ausghleich), inhabited by nine ethnic groups, having different religious denominations, speaking different languages and struggling to keep or improve their political, legal, and cultural status. These groups were more often than not antagonists and the history is fraught with tensions, conflicts and changes in the status-quo. The 1900 census recorded 2.684.291 inhabitants, out of which half a million were located in towns. The great majority of the population lived in the rural areas. There is no surprise that even an event like birth or child delivery might be related, in one way or another, to the province's complex ethnic and religious landscapes.

The interest in midwifery in Transylvania came from the abundance of "midwives" who appeared in the parish registers for those communities which were entered into the Historical Population Database of Transylvania. For fifty years or less, there have been thousands of women who performed the delivery in villages and whose names have been written in the "midwife" column in the registers. This situation raises the question: who were these midwives? Were they really midwives? Were they trained, skilled midwives or were they simply handy women who helped their neighbors deliver the babies? Did they learn the craft of midwifery in a regular course organized by the medical schools or by apprenticeship, learning by assisting the old midwives and through observation? Is there any change towards the beginning of the 20th century? Can we discuss the medicalization of birth before the spreading of national healthcare system during communist times? Were the legislative measures effective, did they produce effects in a peripheral province of the monarchy like Transylvania or was there no overlap between norm and practice, like in many other cases?

The issue of midwifery was covered by studies from multiple perspectives: the medicalization of birth, the position of the midwife in the society in which she belongs, the struggle of trained midwives to be accepted and respected inside the communities, the clashes between the physicians – obstetricians - and the untrained midwives for regulating the birth, the generalizing of what was called "the gender dividing of work". The birth is an

event with a double perception, intensely private, but also with a highly public (community) impact (McIntosh 2012) even though, for a good birth, the time and place should be kept secret. As a consequence, "pregnancy and birth became fundamental to how a society sees itself" (McIntosh 2012: 13). Analyzing the birth – including its medicalization– we are in the proximity of rituals, superstitions, strength and the vulnerability of women.

Fortunately, the Austrian and Hungarian scholars addressed the issue of birth – and, consequently, other related issues like midwifery – within larger studies focused on medical knowledge (Lesky 1959, Wimmer 1991, Krász 2012). Except the general development of hospitals, Transylvania was left aside, mainly due to the lack of sources and, perhaps, to the less encountered habitude of the 20th Century people to leave written testimonies about such a taboo issue like birth. Still, there are few papers around the "kitchen of birth" for Romanians and Hungarians, but these are much more oriented towards the perception of birth rather than the medicalization or modernization of this event (Dumănescu 2008, Feher 2012).

The Hungarian historians point out that, far from being a smooth, progressive process, "from bad old times to good old times", the medicalization of birth occurred difficultly, under the circumstances of a self-sufficient society, scarcely ready to accept interventions from outside the community and, consequently, hostile to the novelty of the trained midwife or later of the obstetrician (Borbély, http://www.sulinet.hu). Definitely, there is also the other side of the shield. The primary sense of the term *baba*, the Hungarian name for midwife, has negative connotations rather than positive ones, being used to express the idea of witch, enchantress, user of spells, who, simply put, if you do not necessarily need, it is better to keep away from (Borbély, http://www.sulinet.hu). The midwives, old and skilled women, were despised and respected at the same time. The fact that the life of the newborn or the mother depended on the midwife made these women trustees of some knowledge and practice which only they could testify for, holders of a capital of respect, affinity and fear which only the old witches could claim.

What is more, according to sources from Transylvania (Vaida-Voevod 1994), due to reasons of respect and intimacy with the old midwives, known from generation to generation, the women strongly opposed training some young women within the midwives schools, preferring further on the assistance they were used to.

Due to the fact that for this period we have thousands of women attending birth, most of them in just one case, given that many of these communities are isolated or relatively far from boroughs or towns, it is very

hard to make a typology of the women practicing midwifery and even harder to analyze their skills or instruction level.
They were never young or single, they were married and they had their own child, often delivered by self-assistance.

Krász (2012) identifies three types of practitioners on the Hungarian medical market in the 18th century and who shall definitely continue their undertaking in the following centuries as well:

1. Academic and official healers;
2. Non-academic, frequently unofficial healers and itinerants;
3. Non-academic, unofficial local specialists (Krász 2012: 702).

The first category includes birthing assistants and master surgeons and also midwives with diplomas. The second category includes all the healers, itinerants or not, but this category does not include midwives. The midwives, like herbalists, quack-salvers, hangmen and rabies specialists, are included in the third category. As one can see, they are part of the local specialists, even though their practice does not involve an official training or is not performed on a legal basis.

2. From craft to profession: the regulation of midwifery in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

The medicalization process of Transylvania was made based on the same measures taken by Maria Theresa by the half of the 18th century, although, as we shall see below, the time lag in relation to other provinces of the Monarchy is great. As a result, any endeavor to reconstruct the medicalization of birth must begin from the laws issued in the Habsburg Monarchy, with emphasis on the local Hungarian regulations and norms. The process of turning midwifery from craft to profession may be followed from several perspectives: regulation of midwifery within legislation, the process of midwives' training – the establishment of the Universities of Medicine and organization of midwives' training courses in the territory, within the "popular" schools, as well as by supervising the activity of midwives in the territory. Further on, we shall focus on each of these issues separately.

2.1. The norm shaping the practice

The 18th century witnessed an intensive activity of regulation in the medical field. Facing large categories of healers - either quacks or not – who undermined the authority of the certified physicians, the state issued some

regulations in order to better supervise the medical services, the duties of practitioners and healers, as well as the prices for different medical services. Such regulations were issued in 1745 - *Taxa Pharmaceutica Posoniensis*, 1755 – *Planum Regulationis in Re Sanitas* and in 1770 - *Generale Normativum de re Sanitatis*. János Torkus Justus, the physicians of Pozsony and the author of *Taxa Pharmaceutica*, ruled that every midwife had to be examined by one of the official physicians in order to practice the craft of delivery. This regulation was enacted as law through Generale Normativum, an act unifying the medical legislation from the Empire and bringing regulations for each medical branch separately. *Generale Normativum* was enforced in all the territories of the Austrian crown and it provided the binding obligation that midwives, surgeons and pharmacists should be examined by the official physician in order to obtain a practice license (Székely 1973). As a consequence, Weszprémi István, a physician in Debrecen, published in 1766 *Bába Mesterségre Tanító Könyve*, the first midwives' manual. Within the Faculties of Medicine, the first courses for midwives were opened, first in Nagyszombat (1770) and then in Cluj (1772). The activity of midwives was officially recognized, but, as many authors showed, the gap between theory and practice was quite wide. With a large part of population being illiterate, poor and living in superstition, with relatively few schools and courses for training, the craft of midwifery remained for a long time at the hands of neighbor women, able to provide care and assistance at the very moment of delivery. Most of the instructions remain only in the regulations, the norms being hard to encounter in practice. It is still a fact that at the end of the 18th century a kind of midwives' association was functioning in Hungary – Oreg Asszoonyok Tarsasaga" (The Association of Old Woman), set up in Debrecen.

The Austrian government issued a decree in July 1825, which stipulated the inclusion of the midwives' names in the baptism register, but also the punishment of *Afterhebammen* (untrained and unlicensed midwives). The official physicians had a duty to check the baptism registers in order to ascertain whether, sporadically, people lacking the necessary training for a midwife were used to assist births. If there was the case, the so-called midwife was liable to be punished, being either fined or arrested (Székely 1973: 59).

One year later, in 1826, the authorities issued a decree which prohibited the Jewish midwives to assist the birth of Christian children, unless they were assisted by a Christian midwife. In time, however, a midwife's Jewish religion ceased to be regarded as an obstacle in performing the delivery of a Christian child. A Decree issued in 1850 abolished the provision of 1826 and stated that, in the context of the state's legislative modernization and of its citizens' equal

entitlement, the individuals' religious identity should no longer be taken into consideration. It is also along the lines of the citizens' equal entitlement criterion that we should read the provision of the law stating that: "A midwife of the Jewish religion shall nonetheless be obliged, in the case of a birth by a Christian woman, as soon as she perceives a threat of imminent death for the child or the one who is giving birth, to inform the next of kin about it lest the opportunity for emergency baptism or for the administration of last rights be missed. Omission to communicate this to the next of kin will be punished with the due punishment" (*Gesetze und Verordnungen in Sanitätssachen* 1898: 92).

One year later, in 1826, the Vienna Court issued an order which provided that should it become imperative that Jewish midwives assist the birth of Christian children, they were to be attended by Christian midwives. In time, however, a midwife's Jewish religion ceased to be regarded as an obstacle to the birth of Christian children. The Decree issued by the Imperial-Royal Ministry of Religious Denominations and Education on 3 September 1850 annulled the provision of 1826 and stated that, in the context of the state's legislative modernization and of its citizens' equal entitlement, the individuals' confessional identity should no longer be taken into consideration. Consequently, Jewish midwives could attend, just like Christian midwives, the birth of Christian children. It is also along the lines of the citizens' equal entitlement criterion that we should read the provision of the law stating that: "A midwife of the Jewish religion shall nonetheless be obliged, in the case of a birth by a Christian woman, as soon as she perceives a threat of imminent death for the child or the one who is giving birth, to inform the next of kin about it lest the opportunity for emergency baptism or for the administration of last rights be missed. Omission to communicate this to the next of kin will be punished with the due punishment" (*Gesetze und Verordnungen in Sanitätssachen* 1898: 93).

A proof that the norm does not fulfill the authorities' intentions to regulate the activity of midwives comes from the act of 1854, a decree issued by the Imperial-Royal Ministry of Interior concerned the unauthorized exercise of midwifery. Both the Ministry of Interior and that of Justice decided that the local administrative authorities should make every effort to ensure that only authorized midwives are in service. According to the law, the officials should mediate the insertion of trained, licensed midwives in communities and to encourage people to reject the empirical assistance, considered dangerous both for the child and for the mother. For a stronger effect, the financial and criminal punishment for the unauthorized birth assistance was re-enacted (*Gesetze und Verordnungen in Sanitätssachen* 1898).

The permanent concern of the Austrian State for the proper training of its officials could also be observed in the case of midwives. From a document issued by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Education on 29 May 1875, we learn about a series of details relating to the instruction provided for midwives and the exercise of their practice. A series of criteria the future midwives had to comply with were highlighted: they had to be between the age of 24 and 45 years, regardless of whether they were unmarried, married or widowed. In exceptional cases, the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Education could approve, at the request of the school units, the admission of younger women to the school of midwifery, but not if they were under 20 years old. Besides the age and civil status criteria, the law also emphasized the physical and mental characteristics a midwife should have: physical strength, a healthy and robust body, etc. Similarly, it also stressed that "women who wish to be admitted to an Austrian school for midwives must, as a rule, undergo an entrance examination before a professor. At this exam they must demonstrate that they can read and write the language of the country (*Landessprache*) correctly and that they are familiar with elements of reckoning. In addition, they must present their birth or baptismal certificate and, possibly, their marriage certificate as well, while widows must produce the death certificate of their deceased spouse, along with a morality certificate attested by the authorities" (*Gesetze und Verordnungen in Sanitätssachen* 1898:85-86).

Midwifery education was funded primarily by the state. It was distributed among the countries represented in the Imperial Council (*Reichsrat*) at the clinics of the medicine faculties from the universities of Vienna, Prague, Graz, Innsbruck and Krakow, then at the medical-surgical education institutions from Salzburg, Ölmutz and Lviv, and, finally, at the independent midwifery schools in Linz, Laibach, Klagenfurt, Trieste, Zara and Chernivtsi. The faculty members were appointed by the emperor. The support staff of the professors included one or several assistants and one or several certified school midwives. To encourage women from the rural environment to pursue the study of midwifery, the State provide several scholarships and aids, depending on the applicants' situation.

The law stipulated the responsibilities of the professors and their assistants in the teaching process: "The professor shall give systematic lectures to the female students, one hour per day, free of charge. On this occasion, there shall be treated, first and foremost, the anatomy of the human body, with special focus on female genitalia and pelvis, and then lectures shall be given about pregnancy, normal delivery, post-parturition and, eventually, pathological situations. Lectures shall be related to demonstrations on the blackboard,

samples preserved in alcohol or dried out (pelvis, etc.). At the lectures on pathological situations, the female students shall be taught when and under what circumstances the physician's help is to be requested" (*Gesetze und Verordnungen in Sanitätssachen* 1898: 86-87). Along with theoretical knowledge, the future midwives also acquired practical skills, based on the visits to the chambers of confinement (*Wochenzimmer*), where each female student had to attend a certain number of births, in the presence of the professors and the assistants. The midwifery course lasted five months, during which time the female students had to reside in the institution of births by certain groups, attending deliveries in weekly shifts and dealing with all cases that came up. At the end of the course, they had to take a rigorous examination (*Rigorosum*) before a specialized commission. For this rigorous examination, the oath ceremony (*Angelobung*) and the drafting of their diploma, there was a fee of 26-28 florins and 30 crowns. After successfully passing the rigorous exam, the candidates had to take an oath before the chairman of the examination commission, after which they were awarded the diplomas and the Instruction for Midwives.

One of the main regulation for midwifery was the *Health Law* of 1876. In addition to some provisions retrieved from the legislation enacted before dualism, the *Health Law* compelled all localities that had at least 1,500 inhabitants to hire a midwife. In the training of midwives, the Hungarian State applied similar principles with those used in Vienna. Thus, there were opened a series of schools in Budapest, but also in Transylvania, at the medical-surgical institutes from Cluj and Sibiu. Courses were held in Romanian, which facilitated the access of a large number of women from the rural environment to them. Enrolment was based on the morality certificate, the certificate of baptism, that of marriage or that attesting the spouse's death, which confirmed the widowed status.

In 1881, the Imperial-Royal Ministry of the Interior issued a *Revised Instruction for Midwives*. It contained all the details referring to the midwifery profession, ranging from general legal issues to the instruments they had to provide at delivery. Midwives were subordinate to the physician from the health inspection agency. The law detailed the objects, medicines and instruments necessary for childbirth: "A medium-sized enema syringe [...]; a metal catheter and an English elastic catheter for women, scissors for cutting the umbilical cord, a reasonable stock of umbilical tape and a nail brush; 100 grams of crystallized carbolic acid, brought to a liquid state by adding a quantity of water in order to produce a disinfectant liquid; 50 grams of carbolic oil, that is, a mixture of 2 grams of crystallized carbolic acid and 48

grams of pure olive oil; 25 grams of cinnamon tincture; 25 grams of ether mixed with alcohol (*Hoffmansgeist*)."

An important moment in the history of the midwifery institution in both areas of the Danubian Monarchy was the decree issued by the Imperial-Royal Ministry of the Interior on 4th June 1892, concerning the mutual recognition of the diplomas of physicians, pharmacists and midwives in Austria and Hungary. According to this document, "the midwives who were licensed in Hungary are legally entitled to exercise their practice in the kingdoms and countries represented in the Imperial Council (*Reichsrat)*" (*Gesetze und Verordnungen in Sanitätssachen* 1898*:* 96-97).

Another law that made reference to midwives was Article 38 of 1908. It lowered the number of inhabitants for whom it was necessary to hire a midwife to 800. It stated that those communes that had no midwife had to choose a candidate and send her to studies at the state's expense. The law also stipulated that two villages located within a maximum of 2 km of each other, which had a population of up to 1,600 people, could hire one midwife. By contrast, cities or large communes could hire several midwives. What should also be noted is that midwives were bound to provide free assistance only to poor women, while for the others they charged a fee set by the local administration.

3. From handywomen to trained midwives – the instruction process

After 1770, a systematic concern for training the medical staff could be observed in Austria, Hungary and also in Transylvania. A medical faculty was added in 1770 to the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (today Trnava in Slovakia). According to other scholars (Krász 2012, Simon 2011), the Hungarian physicians have been previously trained in other European Universities, mostly in Vienna and many continued to choose to prepare themselves outside Hungary. Still, owing to the efficient management and involvement of Gerard van Swieten, the Dutch physician who was the artisan of modern medical system under the reign of Maria Terezia, the Medical Faculty of Nagyszombat became attractive, at least for those who were unable to support themselves abroad. More than that, there was no requirement to graduate in philosophy and the matriculation tax was introduced later, under the reign of Joseph II. For an extensive development, Maria Theresa ordered the faculty to move to Buda (1777) and in 1784 it was relocated again to Pest. In its twenty years of existence, the medical faculty of Nagyszombat trained 249 midwives, 133 physicians and 186 surgeons (Krasz 2012: 706).

Only few students were matriculated at the beginning, in order to become licensed midwives, mainly because the teaching language was German and the Protestants were not allowed to get a degree until 1781. In 1771, it was stipulated that all the midwives in practice from Hungary must pass the medical courses at University of Trnava, except those who were licensed by University of Vienna. The medical school of Trnava organized three courses per year and the candidates had to pass an exam in order to receive the diploma. After relocation in Buda (then Pest) and under the auspices of the new Ratio Educationis (1806), two courses per year were organized: from November to March (in German) and from April to August – in Hungarian (mek.oszk.hu). After 1867, the formal training for midwives was transferred to the Ministry of Religious Denomination and Education – where it remained until 1919.

3. 1. Requirements for admission

In the 19th century, midwifery education was funded primarily by the state. It was distributed among the countries represented in the Imperial Council (*Reichsrat*) at the clinics of the medicine faculties from the universities of Vienna, Prague, Graz, Innsbruck and Krakow, then at the medical-surgical education institutions from Salzburg, Ölmutz and Lviv, and, finally, at the independent midwifery schools in Linz, Laibach, Klagenfurt, Trieste, Zara and Chernivtsi. The faculty members were appointed by the emperor. The support staff of the professors included one or several assistants and one or several certified school midwives. To encourage women from the rural environment to pursue the study of midwifery, the State provide several scholarships and aids, depending on the applicants' situation.

From a document issued by this Ministry in 1875, we learn about a series of details relating to the instruction provided for midwives and the exercise of their practice. A series of criteria the future midwives had to comply with were highlighted: they had to be between the age of 24 and 45, regardless of whether they were unmarried, married or widowed. In exceptional cases, the Ministry could approve, at the request of the school units, the admission of younger women to the school of midwifery, but not if they were under 20 years old. Besides the age and civil status criteria, the law also emphasized the physical and mental characteristics a midwife should have: physical strength, a healthy and robust body, etc. Similarly, it also stressed that "women who wish to be admitted to an Austrian school for midwives must, as a rule, undergo an entrance examination before a professor. At this exam they must demonstrate that they can read and write the language of the country

(*Landessprache*) correctly and that they are familiar with elements of reckoning. In addition, they must present their birth or baptismal certificate and, possibly, their marriage certificate as well, while widows must produce the death certificate of their deceased spouse, along with a morality certificate attested by the authorities" (*Gesetze und Verordnungen in Sanitätssachen,* 96-97).

The law stipulated the responsibilities of the professors and their assistants in the teaching process: "The professor shall give systematic lectures to the female students, one hour per day, free of charge. On this occasion, there shall be treated, first and foremost, the anatomy of the human body, with special focus on female genitalia and pelvis, and then lectures shall be given about pregnancy, normal delivery, post-parturition and, eventually, pathological situations. Lectures shall be related to demonstrations on the blackboard, samples preserved in alcohol or dried out (pelvis, etc.). At the lectures on pathological situations, the female students shall be taught when and under what circumstances the physician's help is to be requested." Along with theoretical knowledge, the future midwives also acquired practical skills, based on the visits to the chambers of confinement (*Wochenzimmer*), where each female student had to attend a certain number of births, in the presence of the professors and the assistants.

The midwifery course lasted five months, during which time the female students had to reside in the institution of births by certain groups, attending deliveries in weekly shifts and dealing with all cases that came up. At the end of the course, they had to take a rigorous examination (*Rigorosum*) before a specialized commission. For this rigorous examination, the oath ceremony (*Angelobung*) and the drafting of their diploma, there was a fee of 26-28 florins and 30 crowns. After successfully passing the rigorous exam, the candidates had to take an oath before the chairman of the examination commission, after which they were awarded the diplomas and the Instruction for Midwives.

In addition to outstanding bodily cleanliness and moral standing, a midwife had to know how to interact with the future mother, and even advise the latter immediately after birth. She had a duty to mention all the details of the newborn in the baptism register. If a midwife suspected a mother of infanticide, she had a duty to inform the police. If a child was born still, she had to mention this in her register, as outlined in the Appendix, and to inform the priest (*Verordnung des k. k. Ministeriums* 1881: 2-7).

3. 2. The medicalization of Transylvania

At the beginning of this research, we stated that we saw birth medicalization in both its meanings: the extent of medical training, but also the spread of medical services to communities. In our attempt to document the first aspect, we have used the history of the medical institution of Cluj, the Hungarian official statistics and the tertiary sources. Those who studied the history of universities and of the medical school of Cluj (Maizner 1890, Karady & Nastasă 2004, Simon 2011) agreed that the beginning of midwives training was related to the foundation of the Institute of Surgery and Gynecology in 1772.

Courses were held in Romanian, which facilitated the access of a large number of women from the rural environment. Enrolment was based on the morality certificate, the certificate of baptism, that of marriage or that attesting the spouse's death, which confirmed the widowed statute. According to *Generale Normativum,* the midwives courses which apparently existed in Transylvania before 1775 (Maizner 1890) as well, lasted for 3 weeks, which was totally insufficient to grant a satisfying training of the future midwives. Moreover, *Generale Normativum* also provided a three-week course (Codex Sanitarius Hungariae, IV, Instructio Obstetricus) granted by the Institute. A special Instruction for Transylvania, issued in 1787 - Instructio officiosa pro Medicis et Chirurgis comitatensibus Transylvaniae (Decret. Cancell. *J*\£ 9499. die 2. Aug. 1787, Codex Sanitarium Hungariae) stipulated that the medical authorities had to make sure that no woman gave birth assisted by a midwife who had not been trained at University or lacking a minimum medical training. Consequently, the strives to convince women legally liable to register for the midwives course increased. In 1810, for instance, despite the 30 farthings a day received as scholarship, only 12 women were trained in Cluj – a totally insufficient number for the population needs. The medical authorities had to look for women willing to be trained and offer them a three-week course of initiation into the art of midwifery.

Ignácz Farkas, the surgeon and the obstetrician from Dumbrăveni, wrote in 1803 that, due to the ignorance of the population, but also of those summoned to help at childbirth, there were courses for the midwives from villages (Farkas 1803). Actually, this physician who had served for 12 years in Dumbrăveni, granted his services to the local authorities who took on the offer and authorized him to hold lectures. With this authorization, Ignatius Farkas organized the first midwives schools distinctly from the Institute of Surgery, in Cluj and Sibiu. The courses lasted for 6 weeks and were organized in two sessions a year: one beginning at the end of November, the other at the end of March. In order to facilitate the attendance of women to those courses, the

Governor decided that throughout schooling, these should be exempted from any public duty and should receive a daily fee, meant to provide for their living during the course. The condition was that the women could read and write, be younger than 30 and of good station. In the first years, 12 scholarships were granted, but starting from 1835, their number doubled. Until 1851 the courses were mostly theoretical, in all three languages – Romanian, Hungarian, German – and from 1851, practical training was to be introduced. In 1871, for the purpose of increasing the number of students, the Ministry of Religious and Public Education supplemented with 40 crowns the stipend of students. At the same time, they had their transportation expenses paid up. The course lasted for three months, in two sessions, summer and winter (Maizner 1890). Subsequent instructions - including The Health Law of 1876 - completed the functioning of this distinct professional body.

At the beginning of the 20th Century, there were midwives schools – together with the old ones from Turda, Cluj, Sibiu, Oradea – in Deva, Dej, Sighetul Marmației, Târgu Mureş or Sighişoara (Deáky 1993).

3. 3. The midwives schools and their evolution

Up to this stage of research, we have not seen the archives of the Medical-Surgery Institute or of the other midwives schools from Transylvania – which we hope to achieve in the nearest future. The data which we provide below come from the Hungarian official statistics and from Maizner's work (1890) who was among the first to approach the issue of the medical education in Transylvania.

Unfortunately, Maizner also provides data starting only from 1832, completing, however, fortunately, the information from the Hungarian Statistical Annuals – providing data on midwives only from 1872 on, the date of working of the University of Medicine. Farkas' brochure (1803) shows that during the first years from founding the Institute, the number of women graduates was small – 12 in the first year, slightly higher in the following years. From 1832 until 1872, 37 students received a midwife certificate on the average (Maizner 1890). From 1872 and until 1882, Orvos-Sebészeti Tanitézet trained, on the average, 40 students a year (*Magyar Statisztikai Kőzlemények*).

Table 1. Medical staff in Transylvania between 1893 and 1915

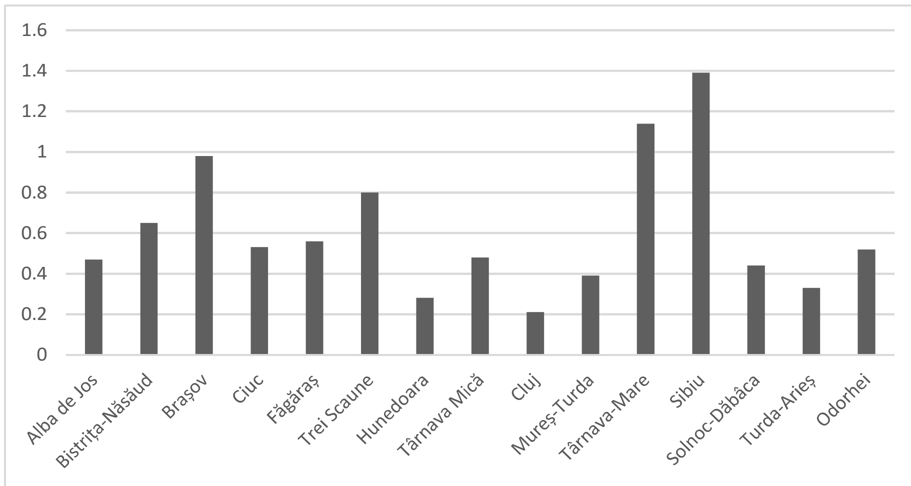
Year	MD	Surgeons	Midwives	Pharmacists
1893	337	95	1181	163
1894	367	85	1280	174
1895	422		1350	215
1896	445		1384	221
1897	459		1368	222
1898	410	53	1351	225
1899	415	49	1420	227
1900	452	41	1475	230
1901	440	40	1502	230
1902	457	37	1484	235
1903	462	27	1544	288
1904	462	29	1589	239
1905	476	28	1609	241
1906	468	28	1673	235
1907	481	24	1684	238
1908	492	24	1698	242
1909	503	24	1822	246
1910	511	21	1883	240
1911	522	20	1943	252
1912	544	18	2074	249
1913	579		2158	256
1914	580		2089	260
1915	558		2085	255

Source: Magyar statisztikai közlemények - Új folyam, 1893 - 1915

Compared to the total of the population, it means, on the average, 54 midwives for 100.000 inhabitants, at the beginning of the period considered and about 80 for 100.000 towards its end. By comparison, in Hungary (Tisza Bal Partya), the ratio was of 73 for 100.000 in 1893.

In 1900, on counties, the ratio of midwives for 1000 inhabitants is provided within the diagram below:

Figure 1. Midwives in Transylvania, 1900



Source: Magyar statisztikai közlemények - Új folyam, 1900. Author's own calculation.

Paradoxically, although both Sibiu and Cluj have midwives schools, the case of the two counties is completely different: while in Sibiu county, a midwife had little over 700 inhabitants, in Cluj, statistically speaking, a midwife had to look after almost 5000 inhabitants. So far, we have no data to explain this paradoxical situation, given that, as shown by the same data, 40 women used to graduate, on the average, from the midwife course from Cluj. Where did these midwives go if they could not be found among the trainee ones? They are not on the payrolls of the communes, as provided by the law, although they do their jobs or the school from Cluj used to gather women from all Transylvania region, who, obviously, appear within the statistics made for their counties. Getting to the archives of these schools, as well as to the medical reports of the counties, shall hopefully clarify this issue.

In order to outline as concretely as possible the needs of the province and the state of facts, I have chosen to report the number of midwives from Transylvania to the number of alive births from 1900. Of course, the midwives would also assist the child deliveries with problems, with an unhappy ending, but we are not aware, at this point, of a statistics regarding the number of stillborn children.

As per the Hungarian official statistics, in 1900 in Transylvania, 89.038 stillborn children were recorded.
Compared to the 1475 midwives written within the official statistics, it results that, on the average and in theory, a midwife would have assisted about 60 child deliveries.
The analysis on counties shows, also, a satisfactory coverage of the population needs:

Table 2. Births and midwives in Transylvanian counties in 1900

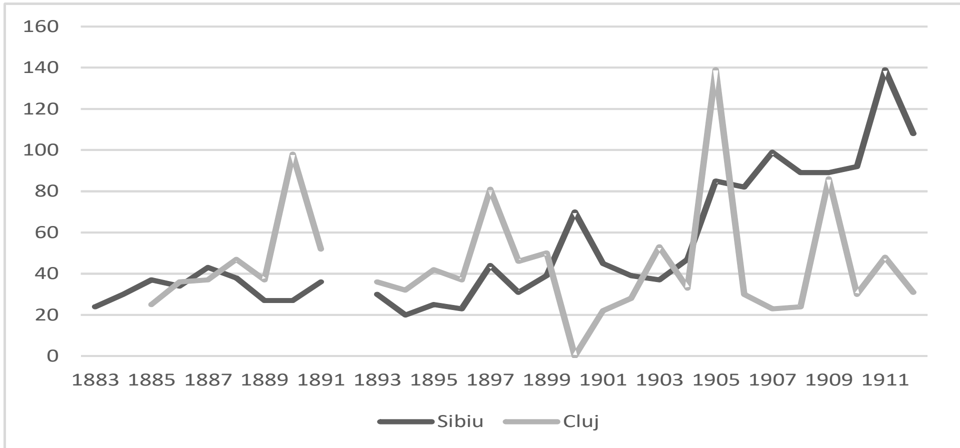
County	Live births	Midwives	Events/Midwife
Alba de Jos	7682	99	**77.60**
Bistriţa-Năsăud	4065	77	**52.79**
Braşov	3150	94	**33.51**
Ciuc	5182	68	**76.21**
Făgăraş	3431	52	**65.98**
Trei Scaune	4839	110	**43.99**
Hunedoara	10351	85	**121.78**
Târnava Mică	4040	52	**77.69**
Cluj	7849	69	**113.75**
Mureş-Turda	6893	78	**88.37**
Târnava-Mare	4788	166	**28.84**
Sibiu	5548	231	**24.02**
Solnoc-Dăbâca	8715	105	**83.00**
Turda-Arieş	6186	53	**116.72**
Odorhei	4235	61	**69.43**

Source: *Magyar statisztikai közlemények - Új folyam*, 1900

Seen within this report, the situation is no longer that bad! We shall nevertheless see that the data gathered from the community registers account for something completely different.

The graduate midwives from the Transylvania period considered come from the schools in Sibiu and Cluj and their distribution at the turn of the century is the following:

Figure 2. The Graduate Midwives in Transylvania, 1883-1911



Source: *Magyar statisztikai közlemények - Új folyam*, 1893-1915. Author's own calculation

Obviously, in both cases, the strives to recruit women and train them in the midwifery art do not follow an ascending or at least a constant trend, with years with an explosion of students, respectively graduates number, and years when their number dramatically decreases (in Cluj, in 1900, for instance, there was no student, whereas in 1905, their number reached 139. Records of the time show that it was very hard, almost impossible, to convince women from villages to take part to courses – being away from home for 6 months was hard to manage, especially with children and responsibilities. More than that, the communities themselves would not accept their need of a graduate midwife, as long as their needs were covered by the old midwives, with whom they were used to and whom they trusted (Vaida-Voievod 1994).

Considering the language of study of those who graduated, the Romanian was in minority, both in Cluj and Sibiu, as one can see in the figures below. One important difference came from the fact that in Sibiu the numbers of Romanian midwives is bigger then in Cluj. In 1908, for instance, 52 midwives graduated in Sibiu and only 4 in Cluj. Was the enrolement system more efficient in Sibiu, were the communities more involved in sending and supporting the training process? Further researches are needed in order to find some answers for these questions.

Figure 3. The study language of graduate midwives in Sibiu, 1883-1912

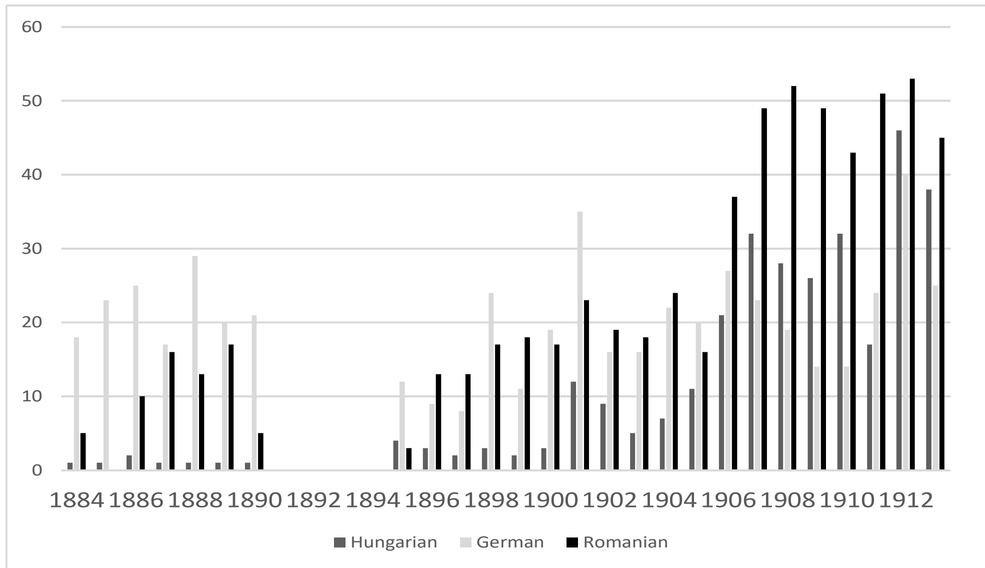


Figure 4. The study language of graduate midwives in Cluj, 1883-1912

Source: *Magyar statisztikai közlemények - Új folyam*, 1893 - 1915. Author's own calculation.

4. Conclusions

In the 19th century, there was an intensification of the authorities' efforts to cover the province with the medical staff it needed and with the necessary hospital units. Unfortunately, so far, there has been no systematic research tackling the problem of Transylvania medicalization, from its beginning and this lastly due to the failure of discovering the archives of the medical institutions, schools training medical staff or of the medical reports sent from Transylvania to Budapest.

An analysis of the legislation issued by the Habsburg Empire and then, the Austro-Hungarian one shows that the authorities, advised by important medical figures of the age, were aware of the need to extend the medical act grounded on scientific bases, by the stringency of providing a certain control of the medical services provided by the countless healers – itinerant or not – and by the emergency of intervention in the poor literacy, ignorant or superstitious communities, in order to reduce mortality. Infantile mortality and birth mortality were among the causes determining intervention including into what we have called birth medicalization. The state issues laws based on which the local authorities need to adopt measures to establish, organize and make the medical education functional, whether it is about the training of physicians, surgeons, chemists or midwives, or about students recruiting and then, to convince the communities to accept the expert services instead of the ones they were used to. There are scholarships granted, the tuition fees and the transportation expenses are covered, everything so that the women meeting the conditions to be able to prepare for giving qualified birth assistance. Until around the break of the 1st WW, more than 2000 women from Transylvania had gained the right to profess as a midwife. Establishing the Institute of Medicine in Cluj in 1775 brought along the first courses for gaining the quality of or certification of midwife. Later, from 1809, another school shall be established in Sibiu and then, towards the turn of the century, in other cities from Transylvania.

Nevertheless, the number of trained midwives was lower than in other areas of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, neither were they all in practice, as per the statistics of the Ministry of Training and Cults. A much bigger affluence of German or Hungarian women was observed and a relatively small presence of Romanian women (Orthodox and Greek-Catholic). The explanation may be found both at the low literacy level as well as at the petrifying of the communities in their ancient traditions. The physician, the trained medical staff difficultly enter the community, even more difficultly when it is about such an intimate act as giving birth.

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Education as a Vehicle for Social Mobility in the 19th Century in Transylvania. A Comparative View on Romanians and Hungarians in the Gurghiu Valley

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Abstract. The present study aims to outline several aspects concerning the presence of Romanian and Hungarian students hailing from the villages on the Gurghiu Valley (Mureş County) at the gymnasiums and secondary schools in Transylvania and at the universities in the Habsburg Monarchy. On the basis of data collected from parish records and prosopographical works, we will provide information concerning the abovementioned groups of individuals, focusing on their preferences for certain specialisations and on the career pathways they followed after completing their education.

Keywords: educational institutions, students, universities, gymnasiums, academic peregrination.

1. Introduction

The present paper aims to analyse the evolution of intergenerational social mobility in Transylvania, with a particular focus on the geographical micro-zone of Gurghiu Valley, between 1850 and 1910. It depicts this phenomenon by delving into the pupils and students hailing from this area who studied at the gymnasiums, lyceums, and universities in the Habsburg Monarchy. The sample was constructed based on this criterion because the level of formal education is one of the main indicators of an individual's social position and an important resource for obtaining future social advancement. These aspects were all the more relevant in Transylvania, where the rate of illiteracy remained extremely high until the mid-20th century, with only 28.3% of the province's territory declaring themselves as literate at the 1910 census (Bolovan 2008: 613).

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2. Sources, methods and results

We propose to employ family and individual life-course reconstitution as a working method, by using a much broader variety of sources than has been previously utilized for the study of social mobility in Transylvania. On the one hand, we use information on individuals and families drawn from the Historical Population Database of Transylvania (family sheets, data from parish registers), while also corroborating it with data on students from various enrolment records and cadastral registers. On the other hand, these sources are complemented by the rich selection of prosopographic works dealing with the education of Transylvanian students (Sigmirean 2000: 427-707, 2007: 150-299, Szabó 2014: 14-198, Szögi 2011: 111-151, Todea et al 2004: 299-393, Todea 2013: 81-141, Comşa and Seiceanu 1994: 177-178). In order to empirically study social mobility, we will make use of mobility tables, which reflect the association between an individual's original and destination social positions. In order to compare intergenerational mobility, stratification, and social changes, we based our analysis on the occupational titles as reported in the above-mentioned historical records, titles which were coded into HISCO and then into HISCLASS 5. For instance, priests and landowners are included in the first class (I), with teachers, public clerks, traders, foresters are part of the second class (II). Individuals employed in agriculture are part of the third class, tailors, millers, butchers are part of the fourth class, while day-labourers are categorized into the fifth class. (van Leeuwen, Mass & Miles 2002; van Leeuwen & Mass 2011; Mandemakers et al 2013). What is more, we will also examine certain particular aspects, such as: a family's material status, the type of study an individual pursued, and groom's social backgrounds at the time of marriage. Moreover, given the ethnically and confessionally mixed area under study, we aim to compare the evolutions of social mobility in the Romanian and Hungarian communities, as well as the differences between Orthodox, Greek Catholic (Romanian) and Reformed (Hungarian) individuals.

By making use of these sources we aim to underline the preconditions as well as the social consequences of the educational mobility of individuals hailing from a predominantly rural environment, during the second half of the nineteenth century in Transylvania. A second purpose of the present analysis is to determine to what extent factors such as ethnicity or denomination influenced individuals' access to higher education.

We will attempt to answer the following questions: what was the social-professional structure of the Romanian and Hungarian village communities in the Gurghiu Valley between 1850 and 1910? Did the individuals in the mixed villages Gurghiu and Glăjărie experience social mobility between 1850 and 1910? Did individuals hailing from this area who pursued educations at the secondary schools in Transylvania and in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century experience ascendant social mobility?
In order to answer the first two research questions, we will turn to the data extracted from the population censuses conducted in Transylvania in 1900 and 1910.

Table 1. Social-professional structure of the Gurghiu Valley and of Transylvania in 1900 and 1910

Field	1900		1910	
	Sample	Transylvania	Sample	Transylvania
Total population	13466	2.674.401	15049	2.908.507
Economically active population	6908	1.310.755	6153	1.275.008
Economically inactive population	6558	1.363.646	8896	1.633.499
Agriculture	85.5%	77%	75.6%	71.3%
Other branches of the primary industry	2.8%	0.9%	6.6%	1.6%
Industry	5.5%	8.3%	10.8%	11.6%
Commerce	0.8%	1.4%	1.2%	2.1%
Transportation	0.1%	0.9%	0.9%	1.4%
Public service	0.9%	3.6%	1%	4.3%
Day-labourers	1.7%	3.1%	0.5%	1.9%
Services	2%	3.5%	2.5%	3.7%
Unknown occupation	0.5%	1.3%	0.8%	2.10%

Sources: Rotariu et al. 2006: 448-469, Bolovan 2000: 233.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the transformations experienced by the structure of Transylvanian society in the sense of the modernisation of its social-professional profile started to accelerate, compared to the second half of the previous century. Thus, at the level of the entire territory, the drop in the percentage of individuals engaged in agriculture from 77% in 1900 to 71.3% in 1910 is particularly noteworthy (Bolovan 2008: 613). Transylvania remained however a predominantly agrarian area, with almost three quarters of the population engaged in this sector (Bolovan 2008: 614). At the level of the entire sample, we note an increase of the percentage of individuals engaged in

industry of almost 5% in 1910, accompanied by a drop in those employed in agriculture of almost 10%.

This also affected individuals' mobility, as the table including data from the Hungarian community from the Gurghiu commune the Glăjărie village evidences: only 40.4% of the individuals in the sample experienced any kind of social mobility. 16.2% of the individuals in the sample experienced ascendant social mobility, while 24.2% dropped to a lower position on the social ladder. As can be seen, downward social mobility was predominant, as was characteristic of the early stages of industrialisation (Holom 2016: 107), when newly established enterprises offered employment chances most of all to those who had an inferior level of qualifications.

Many individuals stemming from peasant families engaged in agriculture chose to learn a trade, partially under the influence of the development of small-scale industry in this area: a paper mill, a porcelain factory, and a glass factory were functioning in Glăjărie and a narrow rail line which passed through the area was built between Lăpuşna-Reghin in 1905. The railway significantly impacted the economic and social life of the area's inhabitants, as both rural and urban areas were increasingly tied to the broader economic developments of the province.

A forest railway was also built between Reghin and Lăpuşna in 1916, which also served for the transport of individuals. The train circulating on this route even had a dining wagon catering to those who came to the area in order to hunt. Traction was provided by locomotives from the 764 series of the Budapest model and by a Reşiţa type (Wollmann 2011: 55).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the increasing development of the wood-exploitation industry also brought about an exponential increase of raw wood meant for sale, which achieved a level greatly surpassing the capacity for transporting wood of the local means of transportation. These were highly rudimentary, consisting in cattle-pulled wagons and sleds or in rafts circulating on the waterways in the area. Therefore, the flow of goods and raw materials was often interrupted by meteorological phenomena such as blizzards or deep freezers during the wintertime (Rus 2000: 93).

The same sample exhibited a rate of social immobility of 59.5%, showing that most individuals remained in the same social class into which they were born. Most cases encountered in this group were individuals who were engaged in agriculture (HISCLASS 3) or who worked as day-labourers (HISCLASS 5). A high rate of immobility was also exhibited within the following groups: leather workers, shoemakers, tailors, potters, and other craftsmen. This indicates that these trades, or at least the professional concept underpinning them, were transmitted intergenerationally, from father to son.

The rate of social mobility reached a total of 40.5%, with 277 mobile individuals, of which 166 downward and 111 upward. Of these 277 mobile individuals, almost one third (90) learned a trade and dropped to a lower social class. Among the sons of day-labourers, 49 experienced social ascension, entering the group of qualified labourers, 11 became farmers, 9 became clerks of any kind, and 3 became landowners.

Table 2. Social mobility table – Gurghiu and Glăjărie (Roman Catholic and Reformed parishes) 1850-1918

	Groom's social-occupational class						
Father's social-occupational class		1	2	3	4	5	Total
	1	8	1	4	2	1	16
	2	2	18	4	4	1	29
	3	8	13	139	90	40	290
	4	2	8	6	96	19	131
	5	3	9	11	49	146	218
Total		23	49	164	241	207	684

Source: Historical Population Database of Transylvania.

The gradual modernisation of the grooms' occupations is also illustrated by the increase in the number of educated individuals, of professionals, employees in administration and clerks (classes 1 and 2).

Table 3. Social mobility table - Gurghiu and Glăjărie (Greek Catholic parishes) 1850-1918

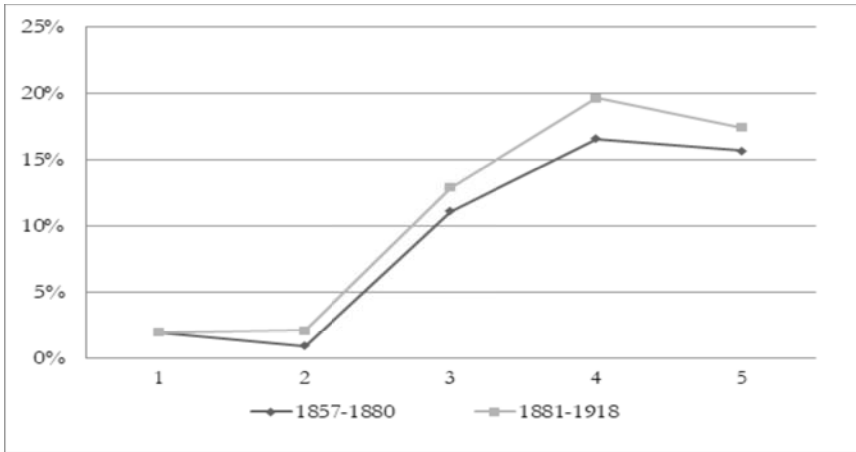
	Groom's social-occupational class					
Father's social-occupational class		1	2	3	4	5	Total
	1	3	1	1			5
	2	1					1
	3	1	5	50	6		62
	4		1	3	2		6
	5			1			1
Total		5	7	55	8		75

Source: Historical Population Database of Transylvania.

The analysis of the entries in the marriage registers of Gurghiu and Glăjărie from 1850 to 1910 has evidenced the fact that there was a horizontal social mobility in 73% of cases. The Romanian society in this area was mainly engaged in agriculture and breeding livestock. Of the 75 cases reconstituted, 12 individuals experienced ascendant social mobility and 8 individuals witnessed downward social mobility.

As the figure below shows, there was a slight change regarding individuals' occupations. Between 1881 and 1918, the number of individuals in the second HISCLASS group, comprising clerks, more than doubled (from 5 to 12). On the other hand, the number of day-labourers drops with 2%, while qualified workers and craftsmen witness an 3% increase (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Changes in the distribution of grooms' occupations



Source: Historical Population Database of Transylvania.

During the transition of the social-professional structure of Transylvania from a purely agrarian to an industrial-agrarian model, a key role was played by schooling and the progresses engendered by it in increasing the literacy and level of instruction of the province's population.

In 1869, some 311.847 inhabitants in the province (13% of the total number) could read and write, compared to some four decades later, in 1910, when 823.053 of Transylvania's inhabitants (28,3%) declared themselves as literate (Bolovan 2008: 615). In the settlements located on the Gurghiu Valley, the 1880 census recorded 1514 literate individuals of a total of 10 280 inhabitants (Rotariu et al 1997: 258-259), comprising some 14.7% of those living in these communities. At the 1910 census, the literacy rate almost reached 30% (Rotariu et al 2005: 430-435), likely owing to the many primary schools in the area.

Over four decades, the educated population in the area almost doubled, which enabled the adaptation and increase in the number of occupations specific to an open capitalist market: clerks employed in the judicial field, the army, administration, banking system, and healthcare (Bolovan 2008: 615).

In the second part of this paper we will address the final research question, namely whether individuals born in the area of the Gurghiu Valley who pursued educations at the Transylvanian and Austrian-Hungarian schools experienced social advancement.

The first step in the analysis was to create a table comprising those individuals born in the villages on the Gurghiu Valley who pursued educations at the schools located in Transylvania. We included information on parents' wealth and the individuals' level of educational attainment (gymnasium, college, university). The table contains the following variables: first name, last name, religious denomination, age and date of birth, father's first name and last name, father's occupation, educational institution, schoolyear/grade, source. To these we added columns for the HISCO code for occupations and for the HISCLASS 5 code.

Our dataset contains 191 individuals who studied at the following institutions: the Roman Catholic Gymnasium in Târgu-Mureş, the Reformed college in Târgu-Mureş, the Superior Gymnasium in Blaj, the Superior Gymnasium in Năsăud, the "Andreian" pedagogic and theological seminary in Sibiu, as well as the universities located in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire.

Between 1850 and 1910, at the Roman Catholic gymnasium in Târgu-Mureş, 97 students enrolled hailed from the Gurghiu Valley, of which 68 were Roman Catholics from the villages of Gurghiu and Glăjărie, settlements with a predominantly Roman Catholic population (Rotariu et al 2005: 430-435), 26 were Greek Catholics from Orşova, Hodac and Ibăneşti, and 3 were Orthodox from Jabeniţa şi Ibăneşti, localities with a majority Orthodox population (Rotariu et al 2005: 430-435). In 24% of cases, students stemmed from farmer's families, while 11% were sons of foresters and 8% sons of landowners.

Table 4. The Distribution of Students at Educational Institutions 1850-1910

Name of Institution	Total number of students	Roman Catholic	Orthodox	Greek Catholic	Reformed	Romanians	Hungarians
Superior Gymnasium Blaj	49		2	47		49	
Superior Gymnasium Năsăud	11		4	7		11	
Roman Catholic Gymnasium Târgu-Mureş	97	68	3	26		29	68
"Andreian" pedagogic and theological seminary Sibiu	20		17	3		20	
Greek Catholic Theological Seminary in Blaj	22			22		22	
Reformed College in Târgu-Mureş	23*	8	1	11	2	12	10
Higher Gymnasium in Beiuş	2		1	1		2	
Gymnasiums in Reghin, Cluj, Braşov, Târgu-Mureş	4			4		4	
Total**	228	76	28	121	2	149	78

Sources: SJMSAN, Fund *Gimnaziul romano-catolic Târgu-Mureş*, no. 334-350; Fund *Colegiul reformat Târgu-Mureş*, no. 107-120; SJCJAN, Fund *Biblioteca centrală Blaj*, no. 151; SJBNAN, Fund *Gimnaziul superior greco-catolic Năsăud*, no. 33-34; (Roşca 1911: 143-195), (Sigmirean 2000: 427-707).

Note: *One student is of Jewish faith. ** The total represents the number of students who pursued an education at the abovementioned institutions. Some of them took classes at several institutions: for instance, those who finished the higher Greek Catholic Gymnasium in Blaj enrolled in the Theological Seminary in the same locality. In the case of the Hungarian students, the situation was similar: they began their education at the Roman Catholic Gymnasium in Târgu-Mureş and completed the educational cycle at the Reformed College in the same city. Thus, the number of individuals in our analysis reaches 191, of which 115 were Romanians (88 Greek Catholic, 27 Orthodox) and 75 Hungarians (73 Roman Catholic and 2 Reformed), and one Jewish individual.

Between 1871 and 1906, 23 individuals in the sample studied at the Reformed College in Târgu-Mureş. The majority – 43% - hailed from priests' and landowners' families, while 26% were sons of farmers. The majority of the students attending this institution were of Greek Catholic denomination (10 individuals from Hodac, Ibăneşti, and Orşova), 7 of Roman Catholic faith, 2 Reformed individuals, one Jewish and one Orthodox individual.

Romanian students of Greek Catholic denomination elected to study in Blaj, at the Higher Greek Catholic Gymnasium and the Theological Seminary, two institutions with a lengthy tradition in educating priests and teachers, harking back to the eighteenth century.

Of the 49 individuals who studied in Blaj, 25 stemmed from farmers' families and 17 were sons of priests. For a farmer's son, a career in the church constituted a great accomplishment in the social-professional hierarchy. Other factors also contributed to this interest in the priesthood, such as the social and financial situation of many families who preferred that their sons attend theological seminaries in Transylvania (in Blaj or Gherla for Greek Catholics, or Sibiu, Arad and Caransebeş for the Orthodox) rather than pursue a layman's career which required study at one of the universities in the Empire, at much greater costs. In case of priests' families, a veritable tradition had been established, namely that at least of one the sons would pursue a career in the Church. This led to the formation of priestly dynasties during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, spanning for several generations (Popa-Andrei 2016: 88-89). Such examples were also encountered on the Gurghiu Valley: the son of the priest from Ibăneşti Ioan Racoțianu would be appointed parish administrator in the same parish, while the son of the priest Alexandru Butnariu from Gurghiu, named Pompei Butnariu obtained a parish in the village of Valea Jidanului. What is more, the son of the priest ştefan Lupu from Hodac, Aron Lupu served alongside his father, while the son of the priest Florea Moldovan from Comori, Demetriu Moldovan served as both priest and teacher alongside his parent.

The table below shows the social backgrounds of those who pursued educations at the abovementioned institutions. Of the total of 191 individuals, we have managed to recover their social backgrounds based on their fathers' occupations entered in the parish baptismal registers. 47,8% of Romanian students stem from farmers' families and 32,6% of them are sons of priests. A smaller percentage was reached by those who stemmed from landowners' families (3,3%), or were sons of cantors (3,3%), teachers (2,2%), merchants (4,3%) and foresters (5,4%).

Compared to Romanian students, their Hungarian counterparts stem to a greater extent from landowning families (18,2%), or are sons of farmers (13%), shoemakers (7,8%), merchants (9,1%), foresters (7,8%) or carpenters (6,5%). Fewer Hungarian students hail from blacksmiths' families (2,6%), butcher's families (1,3%), forest supervisors' families (3,9%), or were sons of teachers (3,9%), priests (1,3%), tailors (2,6%) and postmen (3,9%).

After encoding into Hisclass 5, most Romanian students stemmed from families situated in the third class (47,8%) or in the first class (41,4%). Most Hungarian students stemmed from families stemmed from craftsmen's families, namely the fourth class, amounting to 39% (low skilled workers). 31,2% stemmed from the first class – landowners – and 14.3% stemmed from the highly skilled workers' second class, being sons of foresters and teachers. The analysis was conducted only on those individual pairs where both the son's and the father's occupations were registered.

Table 5. Social backgrounds of students' fathers from the Gurghiu Valley

Occupation name	Romanian	%	Hisclass_5	Hungarian	%	Hisclass_5	Total
Agriculturist	45	47,3	3	10	13	3	54
Landowner	3	3,3	1	14	18,2	1	17
Priest	30	32,6	1	1	1,3	1	31
Shoemaker				6	7,8	4	6
Merchant	4	4,3	4	7	9,1	4	11
Tailor				2	2,6	4	2
Blacksmith				2	2,6	4	2
Teacher	2	2,2	2	3	3,9	2	5
Cantor-teacher				2	2,6	1	2
Carpenter				5	6,5	4	5
Church singer	3	3,3	1				3
Butcher				1	1,3	4	1
Forest supervisor	5	5,4	2	6	7,8	2	11
Day-labourer				2	2,6	5	2
Lawyer	1	1,1	1				1
Bricklayer				3	3,9	4	3
Postman				3	3,9	4	3
Innkeeper				1	1,3	1	1
Engineer				3	3,9	1	3
Prefect				1	1,3	1	1

Occupation name	Romanian	%	Hisclass_5	Hungarian	%	Hisclass_5	Total
Craftsman				1	1,3	4	1
Office clerk				1	1,3	2	1
Notary				1	1,3	1	1
Mayor	1	1,1	1				1
Chief of Police				1	1,3	2	1
Registrar				1	1,3	1	1
Total	94	100		77	100		171

Sources: SJMSAN, Fund *Gimnaziul romano-catolic Târgu-Mureş*, no. 334-350; Fund *Colegiul reformat Târgu-Mureş*, no. 107-120; SJCJAN, Fund *Biblioteca centrală Blaj*, no. 151; SJBNAN, Fund *Gimnaziul superior greco-catolic Năsăud*, no. 33-34.

In order to establish whether an individual who pursued an education managed to overcome his initial social condition we constructed a mobility table. The table reveals 34 immobile individuals, most of which stem from the first class, and are sons of priests or landowners. 40 individuals experienced social mobility, of which 13 descendant and 27 ascendant social mobility.

Table 6. Social mobility table – father's occupation and son's occupation after completion of studies

		Son's occupation					
Father's occupation		1	2	3	4	5	
	1	28	9	1	0	0	38
	2	3	0	0	0	0	3
	3	14	6	3	2	0	25
	4	2	1	1	3	1	8
	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
		47	16	5	5	1	74

Sources: SJMSAN, Fund *Gimnaziul romano-catolic Târgu-Mureş*, no. 334-350; Fund *Colegiul reformat Târgu-Mureş*, no. 107-120; SJCJAN, Fund *Biblioteca centrală Blaj*, no. 151; SJBNAN, Fund *Gimnaziul superior greco-catolic Năsăud*, no. 33-34.

Our analysis revealed several patterns. Those who were born to families in the first class kept their parents' social status following the completion of their educations: sons of priests inherited their fathers' careers, and sons of landowners inherited their parents' estates. In 27 cases, they managed to surpass their initial condition, becoming priests, teachers, physicians or engineers from mere farmers' sons.

Students were privileged characters during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Dual Monarchy. After 1870, those who studied were allowed reductions in military service and could accede to higher positions in the state hierarchy (Neagu 2016: 72).

Although Vienna remained a European-level university centre, Transylvania also entered the general process of cultural modernisation, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The most eloquent expression of these transformations was the establishment of the Royal Hungarian University 'Franz Joseph' in 1872 in Cluj, an institution which attracted many students, including from the Gurghiu Valley.

As the table below (*Table 7)* shows, the most often attended faculties within the sample of individuals from the Gurghiu Valley were the Political Sciences faculty from the 'Franz Joseph' University of Cluj and the Medical faculty in at the same university. We have also encountered cases wherein an individual pursued an education at more than one university: for instance, Iuliu Vețian, the son of the forest supervisor from the commune of Hodac, went on to study at the University of Vienna, where he attended the courses of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy. Afterwards he attended the Technical University of Graz, for the university year of 1897/1898 (Sigmirean 2000: 707), where he earned a specialisation in mechanical engineering. A similar pathway was taken by Emil Ternoveanu, the son of the Greek Catholic priest of Hodac, who studied firstly at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences in Cluj, and then took courses in Medicine in the same city, where he would defend his PhD thesis in 1901 (Karady and Năstasă 2004: 344). He then became a physician in the town of Tulgheş, in Ciuc County. A similar case was that of Traian Costin, the son of a local merchant/working proprietor from Hodac, who followed precisely the same educational pathway as Emil Ternoveanu, and managed to obtain a doctorate in Medicine in 1923 in Cluj (Karady and Năstasă 2004: 182). Both graduating from a particular faculty or the obtaining of a doctoral degree were attested to by the existence of archival documentation pertaining to the granting of the degrees.

Table 7. Universities attended by students on the Gurghiu Valley

<table>
<tr><th>University Name</th><th>Faculty</th><th>No. of students</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">‘Ferencz József/Franz Joseph’ University of Cluj</td><td>Faculty of Law and Political Science</td><td>4</td></tr>
<tr><td>Faculty of Medicine</td><td>3</td></tr>
<tr><td>Sibiu</td><td>Faculty of Orthodox Theology</td><td>2</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">University of Vienna</td><td>Higher School of Agriculture and Forestry</td><td>2</td></tr>
<tr><td>Faculty of Letters and Philosophy</td><td>2</td></tr>
<tr><td>Technical Military University of Vienna</td><td></td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Royal Hungarian University of Budapest</td><td>Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy</td><td>2</td></tr>
<tr><td>Faculty of Theology</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Faculty of Letters</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pazmaneum College</td><td></td><td>2</td></tr>
<tr><td>‘Karl Franz’ University of Graz</td><td>Technical Faculty</td><td>1</td></tr>
</table>

Sources: Karady and Năstasă 2004, Sigmirean 2000: 427-707, 2007: 150-299, Szabó 2014: 14-198, Szögi 2011: 111-151, Todea 2013: 81-141.

Academic peregrination was a testament not only to a family’s increased material possibilities but also to young individuals’ desire to travel and find an academic surrounding and study facilities more appropriate to their own aspirations and interests. The custom of studying at several universities was widespread for students of theology in Transilvania, the Banat, and Crişana, who elected to pursue this line of education in Cernăuţi. Almost half of them studied in at least one other university centre (28 out of the total of 65, or 43,07%). The amplitude of the academic peregrination phenomenon for the theological students of Cernăuţi has been proven by their presence in at least 22 other European cities and universities centres (Neagu 2018: 256).

Students who attended the courses offered by the abovementioned faculties stemmed from families of priests, foresters, teachers and, in a few cases, small-scale farmers. These families' estates consisted mainly in arable land, pastures, forests, and extensive orchards. Of those individuals who also pursued university studies, 10 were Greek Catholic, 8 were Roman Catholic, and 6 were Orthodox.

The mean age of enrolment at university was 21.3 years. For some 12.5% of individuals, we do not know ages at enrolment, nor any other dates. The majority of students were aged between 19 and 23 years, with only one case wherein the student was older: Emil Precup of Solovăstru was 32 years old when he enrolled at university.

3. Conclusions

Education constituted a determining factor in the social status of individuals in this area and was also closely tied to fathers' social status. Those individuals who managed to graduate from a higher gymnasium experienced a social leap from the third class (farmers) to the first class (landowners) or the second class (teachers, public clerks). This area also witnessed descendant social mobility, an effect of the small-scale industrialisation it experienced at the end of the nineteenth century. We therefore note a diversification of occupations, with priests' sons who elect to study medicine or engineering, and merchants' offspring reaching positions of notaries or public clerks. Many individuals elect to settle in cities and towns such as Reghin, Târgu-Mureş or Cluj-Napoca instead of returning to their native villages upon completing their studies.

The results of our analysis have indicated that ethnicity and religious denomination played an important part in what concerns students' access to higher education, only 0,7% of Romanians attended classes at gymnasiums or faculties, while among the Hungarians were 3%. There were some strong social-professional specificities related to ethnicity nevertheless existed. It was these specificities that represented the starting point for diverging social evolutions. According to the Hisclass 5 encoding, the majority of Romanian students stemmed from the third class (48%) or the first class (41%). Those in the latter group were sons of priests who would in turn opt to pursue this career. Sons of farmers elected to become either men of the cloth or teachers, and therefore experienced a leap from the third to the first class. Most Hungarian students (40,3%) stemmed from the fourth class (craftsmen - low skilled workers), 29.2% from the first class (landowners), while 13.9% hailed from families in the second class (highly skilled workers such as foresters and teachers). Those born in the first class kept their initial status, with landowners'

sons inheriting their parents' estates, while their counterparts who were sons of craftsmen in the fourth class continued the family's occupational tradition. The society on the Gurghiu Valley at the end of the nineteenth century was still predominantly agrarian and immobile from a social-professional standpoint. Most individuals inherit their parents' social status and only a very small percentage manage to surpass their social condition of origin, a phenomenon in which education and access to schooling play an essential part.

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Patterns of Intergenerational Co-residence in Seven Central and Eastern European Countries

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Abstract: In this study we approach the issue of adults living with their parents in the same home, considering that co-residence is a form of intergenerational solidarity and the living space is the resource that is exchanged. We adopt a theoretical model that considers opportunity and needs, as well as family structures, as important factors associated with co-residence. We examine different situations of co-residence (persons who never left the parental home, persons who returned to the parental home after an initial departure, persons who took in their parents to live with them) and investigate the characteristics of persons in these circumstances. For our investigation, we use data from the Generations and Gender Survey for seven Central and Eastern European countries and we address the issue from the adult child's perspective. We found that children's younger age, as well as weaker opportunities, such as lack of employment or low education, are associated with co-residence in the parental home, for all countries. Parents' needs, such as the absence of a partner or disabilities, are associated with co-residence, too, especially in the child's home. However, there are several countries where co-residence, even in the parental home, is not only a form of downward support, from parents to their children until they can reach independence, but also a form of upward support for the frail elderly.

Keywords: intergenerational co-residence, needs and opportunities, family structure, Central and Eastern Europe, Generations and Gender Survey

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1. Introduction

Adult children and their parents living in the same household represent a form of intergenerational solidarity, with the living space being the resource that is exchanged (Ogg and Renaut 2006; Szydlik 2008; Brandt et al. 2010; Isengard and Szydlik 2012; Dykstra et al. 2013; Szydlik 2016). Co-residence may be a form of support for young people, who remain in their parents' home longer, until they find the resources to move to an independent dwelling. It may also be a form of support for elderly parents who have health limitations in performing everyday activities (Van den Broek 2016) or a way to reduce their poverty (Lyberaki and Tinios 2005). In comparison to other forms of intergenerational solidarity, the spread of co-residential living arrangements produces pronounced disparities between countries (Szydlik 2016). In Northern Europe this is an unusual situation, while in Southern and Central and Eastern European countries this is a much more widespread living arrangement.

Leaving the parental home and living independently requires economic resources (Iacovou 2010, 2011), which may be harder to achieve in some contexts than in others. Availability of housing and housing market characteristics greatly influence the opportunity to leave parental home. In some countries, such as Romania or Lithuania, the housing system is heavily based on home ownership, with more than 90% share of dwellings in private property. Other countries, such as the Czech Republic, Poland and Bulgaria, have a lower share, of around 80% (Eurostat 2014). A weak publicly subsidized rental sector has put great financial pressure on young people who want to acquire an independent dwelling.

The unfavourable conditions for leaving home and independent living have been harsher in some countries than in others. Dorbritz (2003) considers that the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania are among the economically successful former socialist countries, while in Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania, and the Russian Federation, the economic collapse associated with the transition was deeper and the process of consolidation much slower. Under unfavourable socioeconomic conditions, the resources of the family become important for achieving an independent dwelling.

Under different societal contexts, the care of frail elderly may fall extensively to the family. Intergenerational care toward the elderly parents is more prevalent in Southern and Central European countries, where children are legally obligated to support parents in need (Haberkern and Szydlik 2010). The legal obligation toward elderly exists in several Central and Eastern

European countries: Georgia, Lithuania, Romania, and Russia, but not explicitly in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, or Poland (Herlofson et al. 2011; Saraceno and Keck 2008). However, it is not clear whether the legal obligations are enforced or if they are largely ignored in different societies (Mureşan and Hărăguş 2015). Intergenerational responsibilities are divided between the state and the family, which, in connection with the typology of welfare regimes, leads to different regimes of intergenerational solidarity (Saraceno and Keck 2010). On the continuum of familialism - de-familialisation, the care of the frail elderly in some countries is entirely family's responsibility, with no financial support for family care or publicly provided alternatives, such as in Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Lithuania, Georgia and Russia, while signs of de-familialisation may be found in the Czech Republic (Saraceno and Keck 2010; Mureşan and Hărăguş 2015).

Intergenerational co-residence may be the result of different life trajectories. It may be the result of postponement or inability to leave the parental home in order to live independently, or it may be the result of a failure during the life course that required going back to the parental home. It may also be the elderly parent(s) who need their child's support and move into the child's home. Consequently, co-residence may be a form of support for the young or for the elderly. Exchange of intergenerational support in general and of living space in particular is triggered by the needs and opportunities of adult children and their parents, by their family structures, as well as by the societal conditions, such as the welfare state and the housing system (Szydlik 2008, 2016; Arundel and Ronald 2015).

Do adult children who live with their parents differ, in terms of their and their parents' opportunities, needs and family structures, from adult children living independently? How do the characteristics of persons vary across different co-residential situations? These are the research questions of our study.

Our investigation uses data from the Generations and Gender Survey (wave 1) for seven Central and Eastern European countries (Bulgaria, Russia, Georgia, Romania, Lithuania, Poland and the Czech Republic). Since we work with cross-sectional data, we cannot study determinants of co-residence. Instead, we look at different situations of co-residence (persons who never left the parental home, persons who returned to the parental home after an initial departure, persons who brought their parents to live with them) and investigate the profiles of persons in these different situations. Our work is guided by the hypothesis that the interplay of children's and parents' needs and opportunities takes different shapes for different co-residential situations.

Central and Eastern Europe is not a homogeneous group. There are countries where people leave the parental home earlier and extended-family households have a lower incidence, such as the Czech Republic, as well as countries where people leave very late, and multigenerational households have a higher incidence, such as Bulgaria, Romania and Poland. In some countries families have higher intergenerational responsibility (Saraceno and Keck 2010; Castiglioni et al. 2016) than in others. Given all these differences between national contexts, we investigate whether the interplay of child's and parents' needs and opportunities vary by country, too.

2. Theoretical considerations and literature review

The intergenerational solidarity between children and parents refers to the "intergenerational cohesion after children reach adulthood and establish careers and families of their own" (Bengtson and Roberts 1991: 896). The elaborated model contains six dimensions of intergenerational solidarity, five of which refer to the behavioural, affective and cognitive orientation of parents and children towards one another, while the sixth refers to the opportunities for family interactions. According to Bengtson and Roberts (1991: 897), the six dimensions are: associational, affectual, consensual, functional, normative and structural solidarity. The importance of the opportunity structure for intergenerational transfers is emphasized, referring to it as structural intergenerational solidarity. The geographic proximity of the parents and children is a key element. Intergenerational co-residence, i.e. parents and adult children living in the same household, can be seen as structural intergenerational solidarity in its ultimate form (Dykstra et al. 2013). Sharing the same household offers more opportunities for support than any other living arrangement.

Besides facilitating intergenerational exchanges, co-residence is a form of functional solidarity on its own: the living space is the resource that is exchanged by parents and children (Ogg and Renaut 2006; Brandt et al. 2010; Isengard and Szydlik 2012; Dykstra et al. 2013). Co-residence is even seen as the main form of intergenerational support in southern Europe (Albertini et al. 2007; Jappens and Van Bavel 2012).

This model of intergenerational solidarity leaves room for positive and negative interactions on each dimension: intimacy and distance for affectual solidarity, agreement and dissent for consensual solidarity, dependency or autonomy for functional solidarity, integration and isolation for associational solidarity, opportunities and barriers for structural solidarity, familism and individualism for normative solidarity (Bengtson et al. 2002). Following this

line of thought, increased interactions in co-residence might generate tensions and conflicts, as well as support and positive sentiments (White and Rogers 1997).

Beyond the taxonomy of intergenerational solidarity, authors proposed different theoretical models, with the goal of explaining more or less pronounced intergenerational solidarity. Given that co-residence is a form of intergenerational solidarity, these theoretical models apply to our investigation as well.

Szydlik (2016) proposed a model with four conditional factors for solidarity, namely opportunity, need, family, and contextual-cultural structures, with three levels of analysis: individual, family and society. Intergenerational relations involve the parent and child, with their respective opportunities and needs structures. This relationship is embedded in a family and societal context. Opportunity structures refer to the opportunities or resources for intergenerational solidarity such as the residential proximity of family members, occupational status (availability of time to offer support) and economic status (availability of financial resources). The needs structure indicates the need for intergenerational solidarity, which can be a result of health, financial or emotional problems. At the family level, the history of events (such as divorce) as well as the family composition (the number of siblings) or family norms may shape the intergenerational solidarity. Cultural-contextual structures refer to the societal conditions within which intergenerational relations take place, such as the economic and tax system, the welfare state, and the labour and housing market.

Previous studies of intergenerational co-residence have found this living arrangement mainly associated with the needs of either generation and that the likelihood of co-residence is greater for those with greater support needs (Crimmins and Ingegneri 1990; Ward et al. 1992; Smits et al. 2010). Although researchers found evidence of the importance of both generations' support needs, the needs of the adult child seem to play a greater role in determining co-residence than those of the parents (Ward et al. 1992; Smits et al. 2010). Considering employment status and level of education as indicators of the children's opportunity and needs structure, Isengard and Szydlik (2012) found that a better opportunity structure for the child (higher education) was associated with less co-residence, while higher economic needs (unemployment) increased the likelihood of co-residence. Smits et al. (2010) found that the weak socioeconomic position of either the child or the parents made co-residence more likely.

Numerous studies have documented the role of material situation for leaving the parental home and living arrangements throughout the life course. Castiglioni et al. (2016) argue that the collapse of the socialist regime in Romania reduced resources and opportunities for independent youth living, a situation encountered in other Eastern European countries as well. Ahmed and Emigh (2005) showed that extended households are an adaptive strategy (pooling limited financial resources) for the poor especially in countries where the transition to the market economy was slow and difficult, such as Romania, Bulgaria and Russia. Young Eastern Europeans with higher levels of income are more likely to leave home, similarly to people in Northern and Western Europe (Iacovou 2011). The same author found a positive relation between parental income and leaving home in Bulgaria, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, suggesting that the prolonged stay in the parental home in these countries is rather the consequence of economic necessity than of the preferences for co-residence. We believe that Romania should also be added to this cluster.

Isengard and Szydlik (2012) found that parents' better opportunity structure (home ownership, large size) encourages co-residence, while parental health problems (as indicators for their needs) only increase co-residence when the parent does not have a partner. Smits and collaborators (2010) found that parents' disabilities increase the likelihood of co-residence in the form of elderly parent(s) moving into the child's home. Kalmijn and Saraceno (2006) also found evidence that co-residence is affected by the parents' needs, although to a lesser extent than the children's needs.

The needs of both elderly parents and adult children matter and, in general, a low-income situation, either among the children or the elderly, increases the probability that parents and adult children will co-reside (De Jong Gierveld et al. 2002). Living with (adult) children is a social protection mechanism for old age: the propensity to live with one's children has been found to be associated with poverty status, especially in Southern Europe (Lyberaki and Tinios 2005: 308). Van den Broek (2016) showed that only children are more likely to share a household with a parent than children who have siblings, and the difference becomes substantial when the parent is coping with severe health limitations. Szydlik (2016) notes that parents in poor health are significantly more likely to live together with an adult child: either the child refrained from leaving the parental home or the child took in the frail elderly parents. Co-residence declines as the child's age increases and it does not increase substantially for older parents, which is in itself proof that children's needs have stronger effects than parents' needs (Ward et al. 1992).

Different life course transitions increase or decrease the likelihood of co-residence. Adult children who have a partner (and children) are less likely to live with their parents than adult children who are single (Kalmijn and Saraceno 2006; Isengard and Szydlik 2012). Divorced or widowed children are more likely to co-reside than partnered ones (Smits et al. 2010). Single parents are more likely to live with their mothers (Heylen et al. 2012 for Bulgaria). Widowhood, for the elderly, increases co-residence (Kalmijn and Saraceno 2006).

We have seen that leaving the parental home depends on the economic resources that young individuals and their parents have and that the delay of departure is mainly connected with increased socioeconomic uncertainty of the young people. In line with this, *we expect to find co-residence in the form of never having left the parental home to be characteristic for young people, as an expression of postponement, while co-residence in the child's home more likely for older ages (of both children and parents) (H1).* Furthermore, we expect the interplay between the needs and opportunity structures of adult children and parents to vary with the situation of co-residence, i.e., in whose home they co-reside. More specifically, *we expect the children's needs structure (lack of employment, weak socioeconomic position) to be associated with co-residence in the parental house (H2), while parents' needs (absence of the partner and health problems), as well as the children's opportunity structure (time availability and financial resources), to be associated with co-residence in the child's house (H3).*

Besides needs, opportunity and family structures, the cultural-contextual structures are another conditional factor for intergenerational solidarity (Szydlik 2008, 2016). Discussing about postponement of leaving and returns into the parental home (i.e. co-residence in the parental home), Arundel and Ronald (2015: 886) point out two important contextual dimensions at the national level that "mediate young people's increasingly complex housing outcomes": the welfare regime and the nature of the housing system (accessibility and availability of social or public housing, subsidized rent schemes and regulations). Acquiring the economic stability needed for accessing independent housing depends on the degree of generosity of state support. "Regime contexts frame reliance on state support versus family in adult transitions" (Arundel and Ronald 2015: 890).

Mandic (2008) observes that in Central and Eastern European countries there was a drastic decline in rented accommodation, as well as in new housing construction in the period following the change of the political regime at the beginning of the 1990s. Nevertheless, the decline in public renting was more drastic in countries such as Hungary, Lithuania, Slovenia

(Mandic 2008), Bulgaria (Pamporov 2008), Romania (Dan 1996, 2009), and smoother in countries such as the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Estonia and Latvia (Mandic 2008). The deepening economic hardships throughout the transition period and exacerbated housing prices, coupled with a housing system that is heavily based on home ownership and a weak publicly subsidized rental sector, have led to increasing difficulties for young people wanting to live independently from their parents (Ahmed and Emigh 2005).

Isengard and Szydlik (2012) argue that co-residence is an important form of family solidarity in societies where the state takes less responsibility for its citizens. While it is not the preferred living arrangement, the economic pressure and uncertainties exert great influence. Welfare regimes are important also for the care of the elderly, since the need for solidarity is not limited to children (Szydlik 2016).

Discussing the division of intergenerational responsibilities between the state, the market, and the family, and building on the typology of welfare regimes, Saraceno and Keck (2010) propose a model of intergenerational policy regimes, on the continuum of familialism - de-familialisation: (1) Familialism by default, or unsupported familialism, when financial support for family care or publicly provided alternatives are absent; (2) Supported familialism, when financial compensations for family members that provide care exist; (3) De-familialisation, when family responsibilities and dependencies are reduced; (4) an option between supported familialism and de-familialisation. Regarding support for the elderly, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Lithuania, Georgia, and Russia belong to the familialism-by-default type (Saraceno and Keck 2010; Mureşan and Hărăguş 2015), while the Czech Republic can be considered to display a de-familialisation trend (Saraceno and Keck 2010).

Given these national characteristics, we expect to find certain differences among countries in what co-residence is concerned. The Czech Republic seems to delineate from the other analysed countries. In Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Russia, Georgia, *we expect to find co-residence in the parental home spread throughout a longer age span, while in the Czech Republic this would be limited to the youngest ages (H4).* On the line of the de-familialisation signs *in the Czech Republic we expect that taking parents into the adult children's home would be marginal, and parents' needs would not be associated with co-residence in the child's home (H5).*

3. Data and methods

3.1. Data

We use data from the Generations and Gender Survey (wave 1) for Bulgaria, Russia, Georgia, Romania, Lithuania, Poland, and the Czech Republic, and approach the issue of intergenerational co-residence from the adult child's perspective. The Generations and Gender Programme included data for Hungary and Estonia, too, but we decided to drop them from the analysis. For Hungary the information required for the construction of the dependent variable was not recorded. In Estonia there were very few cases for one category of the dependent variable (those who returned to their parental home), which would affect the results of the regression model, and some of the independent variables were not recorded.

3.2. Indicators

From the original samples, we selected the persons with at least one living parent. Our dependent variable is the co-residential situation. We distinguished among non-co-residence and three situations of co-residence: those who have never left the parental home, those who have left the parental home and later returned, and those who have taken their parent(s) into their home.

For its construction, we needed to know whether the respondent had ever left the parental home and, if so, when this happened (questions addressed to people living with their parents). To distinguish between co-residence in the parental home and co-residence in the child's home, we used the dates of when they started living in their current dwelling and when they left the parental home. If a person had lived in the current dwelling before (temporarily) leaving the parental home, we considered that he/she has returned to the parental home. If a person had left the parental home before they started living in their current dwelling, we considered that, in the present, he/she lives with his/her parents in his/her home, as a result of his/her parents moving in with them. From the sample, we excluded people with missing information on the variables used to construct the dependent variable.
Independent variables are indicators for opportunity, needs and family structures. We consider the education level (low, medium or high) and the activity status (employed, not working or retired) as indicators of the adult child's opportunity and needs structure. We use two indicators for the parents' needs and opportunities: whether they have a living partner (only the mother is alive, only the father is alive or both are alive), and whether they are limited in their ability to carry out normal everyday activities because of a physical or mental health problem or a disability – both living parent(s) have disabilities, one parent has disabilities (the other one is alive), or neither have disabilities. Situations when only one parent is living and he/she is limited in fulfilling the daily activities are included under the category of "both have disabilities".

The marital status of the children is an indicator of the family structure, and we distinguish between three categories: never married and without a (co-resident) partner, married or in cohabitation, divorced or widowed. We also use the age group (below 25, 25-34, 35-44, 45 plus) and gender of the adult child, as well as the type of settlement (urban/rural).

From the sample, we excluded cases with missing information on the independent variables. Table 1 presents characteristics of persons in the samples.

3.3. Analytic approach

For multivariate analysis we run a multinomial logistic regression model for each country, in order to investigate the profiles of different co-residential types, and to see country differences. We present our results as marginal effects, which allow the comparison of probabilities of different outcomes (co-residential situations).

4. Results

4.1. Descriptive

Georgia displays the highest share of co-residential living arrangements (Table 1): 27.5% have never left the parental home, while 16.4% have left but later have returned to their parents' home. Bulgaria comes next, with 23.5% persons who never left their parents' home and 9.8% who have returned. The Czech Republic displays 24.2% of people who never left the parental home, and Romania 19.5%. The other three countries have lower percentages of persons having never left parental residence: Lithuania and Poland 15.7%, Russia 12.6%. Although Russia displays the lowest percentage here, it has 7.6% for persons returned to parental home, higher than other countries, and the highest percentage for co-residence in child's home: 4.5%.

Based on the distribution of persons by the co-residential situation, we could try a grouping of countries: Bulgaria and Georgia, with high co-residence in the parental home and moderate co-residence in child's home; Russia and Lithuania, with low co-residence in the parental home, with a more even distribution between those who never left and those who returned, and a higher co-residence in the child's home (especially Russia). The remaining countries – the Czech Republic, Poland, and Romania - form a more heterogeneous group, with varying levels of co-residence in the parental home and low co-residence in the child's home.

Table 1. Characteristics of children and parents in the sample (%)

	Bulgaria	Russia	Georgia	Romania	Lithuania	Poland	Czech Republic
Co-residential situation							
Never left	23.5%	12.6%	27.5%	19.5%	15.7%	15.7%	24.2%
Returned	9.8%	7.6%	16.4%	2.9%	4.8%	1.3%	2.0%
Took parents with them	2.3%	4.5%	2.9%	1.5%	2.9%	.4%	.9%
Non-coresidence	64.4%	75.3%	53.2%	76.1%	76.6%	82.7%	72.9%
Marital status							
Never married, no (cores.) partner	28.8%	21.0%	30.3%	19.8%	27.8%	22.3%	35.4%
Divorced/widow	6.2%	17.2%	4.5%	7.3%	11.5%	9.7%	10.8%
Marr/cohab	64.9%	61.8%	65.2%	72.9%	60.7%	68.0%	53.8%
Age group							
45+	18.9%	25.3%	25.3%	31.4%	26.3%	32.6%	24.5%
35-44	29.5%	27.5%	27.4%	30.1%	25.3%	24.2%	24.0%
25-34	32.4%	28.2%	27.4%	26.5%	25.7%	28.5%	30.6%
18-24	19.2%	19.1%	19.9%	12.0%	22.7%	14.7%	21.0%
Activity status							
Not working	31.5%	21.3%	51.1%	21.8%	25.1%	28.4%	26.2%
Retired	4.4%	5.4%	1.5%	10.3%	2.3%	7.4%	2.8%
Employed	64.1%	73.3%	47.4%	67.9%	72.6%	64.2%	71.0%
Education level							
Low	20.9%	6.5%	7.9%	25.8%	11.6%	10.3%	19.0%
Medium	57.4%	48.4%	61.9%	61.7%	62.8%	63.3%	66.7%
High	21.7%	45.0%	30.2%	12.5%	25.6%	26.4%	14.3%

Type of settlement							
Rural	27.0%	25.1%	43.2%	41.0%	28.7%	32.5%	31.9%
Urban	73.0%	74.9%	56.8%	59.0%	71.3%	67.5%	68.1%
Gender							
Man	44.2%	40.3%	45.7%	51.9%	51.9%	43.0%	49.2%
Woman	55.8%	59.7%	54.3%	48.1%	48.1%	57.0%	50.8%
Parents alive							
Only mother alive	27.8%	42.6%	34.5%	34.2%	34.2%	31.9%	24.3%
Only father alive	7.0%	7.8%	7.8%	7.5%	6.3%	7.3%	5.5%
Both alive	65.2%	49.6%	57.7%	58.3%	59.4%	60.9%	70.2%
Parents' disabilities							
Both have disab	4.8%	9.5%	7.5%	19.0%	9.1%	8.6%	9.0%
One has disab (other alive)	5.0%	3.6%	4.7%	8.6%	4.9%	5.3%	7.5%
None has disab	90.2%	86.9%	87.8%	72.4%	86.0%	86.1%	83.5%
N	8732	5933	6339	6646	5816	10092	5917

Source: own calculations based on the Generations and Gender Survey data, wave 1

4.2. Multivariate

Tables 2-8 show the results of the multinomial logistic regression models run for each country, in our attempt to shed more light on the different types of co-residence and the associated characteristics.

Persons who have never left the parental home are more likely to be young (below 25), male, never married, not working, low or medium educated, for most countries. In Russia and Georgia, they are more likely to live in urban settlements, while in Romania, Lithuania, Poland, and the Czech Republic they are more likely to reside in rural areas. They are also more likely to be divorced or widowed than married (except the Czech Republic), but the effect is weaker (smaller positive marginal effects) than in case of those who never married. In Russia and the Czech Republic persons still in the parental home are also more likely to be retired than working, probably due to particular health issues, which prevented them from independent living. This signals that remaining in parental house is rather an exceptional situation. They are also more likely to have only one living parent (in Bulgaria, Romania, Georgia, Lithuania) or to have parents with disabilities (in Romania and Poland). We interpret this as indicating that remaining in the parental home in these countries is a form of upward intergenerational solidarity. In other countries (Russia, Lithuania, the Czech Republic), having one or both parents with disabilities decrease the probability of remaining in the parental home.

Persons who have returned to the parental home are especially more likely to be divorced or widowed than married, but also never married and younger (below 25 years) in Russia and Romania. They are more likely to be slightly older in Bulgaria and Poland (25-34 years) or in Georgia (25-44 years). Association with activity status takes different forms. Persons returned to parental homes are more likely not working than employed in the Czech Republic, while the reverse relation is encountered in Georgia and Poland: they are less likely not working or retired than being employed (negative marginal effects for not working). Unlike persons who never left, those returned are less likely to be low or medium educated. Except for the Czech Republic, they are more likely to be male and to live in rural settlements. Regarding parental characteristics, in some countries, they are more likely to have only one living parent (mother in Georgia and Romania, father in Russia). In Romania they are also more likely to have parents with limitations on daily activities, while they are less likely to have disabled parents in Lithuania and Russia.

Persons who took in their parents with them are more likely to be in a different marital situation than marriage, as is the case for the other situations of co-residence. They are more likely to be older, and more likely not working or retired in Russia, Lithuania and the Czech Republic. In Romania we found a reverse association: persons who took in their parents to live with them are more likely to be employed. In Romania, Lithuania, and Poland they are more likely to live in rural areas. They are also more likely to have only one living parent (mother), except in Poland, where the effect is inverse, and in the Czech Republic, where there is no effect. In Romania and Lithuania, they are also more likely to have only a living father. They are more likely to have both parents with disabilities in Russia and Romania, while less likely to have one parent with disability in Russia and Poland, and to have both in Lithuania.

5. Conclusions and discussions

We have addressed the issue of adult children living together with their parents through the lens of intergenerational solidarity, considering it a form of support with a living space for the child or for the parent(s). We have acknowledged that co-residence may be the result of different life trajectories: it may take place in the parental home as a result of never leaving or returning, or in an adult child's home, as the result of parents moving in with their child. It was not possible to study determinants of these living arrangements with the available Generations and Gender Survey cross-sectional data. Instead, we have investigated different characteristics of adult children (in terms of needs and opportunities) and of their parents, associated with different situations of co-residence. The seven Central and Eastern European countries differ by the extent of postponement of leaving the parental home and of incidence of co-residential living arrangements, by the general socioeconomic situation, and by the responsibilities assigned to the family in ensuring support for vulnerable categories.

To summarize, we found persons that still live in their parental home are young, with few resources, with no families of their own. This suggests it is a temporary living arrangement, until they fulfil the prerequisites of independent living. However, persons remaining in the parental home in Romania and Poland are more likely to have frail parents, so co-residence in this case appear as refraining to leave in order to care for them.

It appears that returning to the parental home is associated less with the needs of adult children (in terms of low education or unemployment), and more with adverse life course events, such as divorce or the death of the partner. Romania stands out in this category, displaying returns into parental home as a form of upward solidarity: adult children who returned are more likely to have frail parents. Taking parents into adult children's home is associated with older ages and a living arrangement of the adult child different from marriage, as well as with different degrees of parents' frailty.

Linking these results to our hypotheses, we find that H1 is confirmed: a prolonged stay in parental home appears to be characteristic for young people, as an expression of postponement, while co-residence in child's home is associated with a later stage of the life course. Adult children's need structure – a lack of employment or poor socioeconomic prospects as indicated by low education – is associated with co-residence in the parental home, as expected (H2), but mainly with the first co-residential living arrangement (having never left). Also as expected (H3), parents' needs, expressed by the absence of a partner and the limitations of performing the daily activities, are associated with co-residence in the child's home.

However, in Romania and Poland co-residence in the parental home (either as never leaving or as returning) is associated not only with the needs of the child, but with the needs of the parents as well. A less developed welfare state coupled with a high sense of responsibility toward the parents makes co-residence in these countries, even when it occurs in the parental home, appear as a form of downward and upward intergenerational solidarity at the same time.

The last two hypotheses referred to the particular character of co-residence in the Czech Republic compared to the other countries in the analysis, regarding it as the country with clearer signs of de-familialisation in Central and Eastern Europe. Indeed, although some differences appear, they are not very clear-cut, other countries sometimes sharing similarities with the Czech Republic. However, there are some indications that prolonged stay in the parental home (never having left) is confined to an early stage in the life course, before forming a family, to a greater extent than in other countries, where it also appears in the case of divorced or widowed persons (although with smaller probabilities).

Regarding parental needs structure, they do not enhance co-residence in any of its forms. On the contrary, when they show an effect, it is in the opposite direction: it is less likely that persons co-residing with their parents in the parental home have only one living parent or parent(s) with limitations in performing daily activities. We could interpret this as an expression of reduced family responsibilities in caring for the frail elderly.

Our study has, of course, limitations. First, the situation of co-residence (dependent variable) was not registered by asking who moved in with whom. We inferred this variable based on whether a person has ever left his/her parental home and the date he/she began living in his/her present home. Therefore, actual intergenerational co-residence in the sample is higher than it is showed here. This is because there are couples living with their spouse's parents, who were not included in our analysis, since information about spouse's parents was not registered. Moreover, the number of indicators of needs, opportunities, and family structure that we introduced in our models were limited. However, it is clear that a high degree of heterogeneity in co-residence patterns characterizes the Central and Eastern European countries. Beyond these shortcomings, we believe that this study provides valuable insights into the issue of intergenerational co-residence in this part of Europe.

Table 2. Results of the multinomial regression model (marginal effects), Bulgaria

		Never left		Returned		Took parents with them		Non-coresidence	
		dy/dx		**dy/dx**		**dy/dx**		**dy/dx**	
Marital status	Never married, no (coresident) partner	0,3962	***	0,1645	***	0,0297	***	-0,5903	***
	Divorced/ widow	0,0684	***	0,1462	***	0,0297	***	-0,2444	***
	Marriage/cohab -itation (ref)								
Age group	45+	-0,2232	***	-0,0297	**	0,0305	***	0,2224	***
	35-44	-0,2048	***	0,0055		0,0068		0,1925	***
	25-34	-0,1360	***	0,0352	***	0,0039		0,0969	***
	18-24 (ref)								
Activity status	Not working	0,0106		0,0103		0,0051		-0,0260	***
	Retired	0,0309		-0,0229		0,0186	**	-0,0267	
	Employed (ref)								
Educatio n level	Low	0,0451	***	-0,0795	***	-0,0173	***	0,0516	***
	Medium	0,0216	**	-0,0229	**	-0,0092	*	0,0105	
	High (ref)								
Type of settlement	Rural	0,0089		0,0564	***	0,0055		-0,0708	***
	Urban (ref)								
Gender	Man	0,0390	***	0,0724	***	0,0045		-0,1159	***
	Woman (ref)								
Parents alive	Only mother alive	0,0478	***	0,0067		0,0158	***	-0,0704	***
	Only father alive	0,0513	***	-0,0219	*	0,0062		-0,0356	**
	Both alive (ref)								
Parents' disabilities	Both have disab.	0,0260		-0,0205		0,0041		-0,0096	
	One has disab. (other alive)	0,0282		-0,0037		0,0147		-0,0391	**
	None has disab. (ref)								

Source: *GGS Bulgaria, wave 1*, authors' calculations
Note: * ≤ 0.1, ** ≤ 0.05, ***≤0.01

Table 3. Results of the multinomial regression model (marginal effects), Russia

		Never left		Returned		Took parents with them		Non-coresidence	
		dy/dx		dy/dx		dy/dx		dy/dx	
Marital status	Never married, no (coresident) partner	0,2366	***	0,0981	***	0,0488	***	-0,3836	***
	Divorced/ widow	0,0254	**	0,0715	***	0,0523	***	-0,1492	***
	Marriage/cohab -itation (ref)								
Age group	45+	-0,1200	***	-0,0808	***	0,0483	***	0,1526	***
	35-44	-0,1023	***	-0,0586	***	0,0190	**	0,1419	***
	25-34	-0,0699	***	-0,0259	*	0,0053		0,0905	***
	18-24 (ref)								
Activity status	Not working	0,0271	***	-0,0042		0,0170	**	-0,0400	***
	Retired	0,0805	***	-0,0128		0,0220	**	-0,0897	***
	Employed (ref)								
Education level	Low	0,0394	**	-0,0351	***	0,0060		-0,0103	
	Medium	0,0175	**	0,0113		-0,0111	**	-0,0177	*
	High (ref)								
Type of settlement	Rural	-0,0241	***	0,0272	***	0,0074		-0,0104	
	Urban (ref)								
Gender	Man	0,0090		0,0288	***	-0,0031		-0,0347	***
	Woman (ref)								
Parents alive	Only mother alive	0,0123		0,0118		0,0219	***	-0,0460	***
	Only father alive	-0,0516	***	0,0428	**	0,0081		0,0007	
	Both alive (ref)								
Parents' disabilities	Both have disab.	-0,0424	***	-0,0081		0,0209	**	0,0296	
	One has disab. (other alive)	-0,1010	***	-0,0712	***	-0,0262	**	0,1983	***
	None has disab. (ref)								

Source: *GGS Russia, Wave 1,* authors' calculations
Note: * ≤ 0.1, ** ≤ 0.05, ***≤0.01

Table 4. Results of the multinomial regression model (marginal effects), Georgia

		Never left		Returned		Took parents with them		Non-coresidence	
		dy/dx		**dy/dx**		**dy/dx**		**dy/dx**	
Marital status	Never married, no (coresident) partner	0,3571	***	0,1668	***	0,0178	**	-0,5417	***
	Divorced/ widow	0,0730	**	0,0694	**	0,0347	**	-0,1770	***
	Marriage/cohab -itation (ref)								
Age group	45+	-0,2980	***	0,0131		0,0353	***	0,2496	***
	35-44	-0,2658	***	0,0801	***	0,0222	***	0,1636	***
	25-34	-0,1514	***	0,0589	***	0,0206	***	0,0719	***
	18-24 (ref)								
Activity status	Not working	0,0250	**	-0,0235	**	-0,0018		0,0003	
	Retired	0,0619		-0,0788	**	0,0228		-0,0059	
	Employed (ref)								
Education level	Low	0,0257		-0,0752	***	-0,0141	*	0,0636	***
	Medium	0,0063		-0,0535	***	-0,0020		0,0492	***
	High (ref)								
Type of settlement	Rural	-0,0373	***	0,1001	***	-0,0052		-0,0576	***
	Urban (ref)								
Gender	Man	0,0737	***	0,1857	***	0,0218	***	-0,2811	***
	Woman (ref)								
Parents alive	Only mother alive	0,0305	***	0,0218	**	0,0101	**	-0,0624	***
	Only father alive	-0,0041		0,0006		0,0001		0,0034	
	Both alive (ref)								
Parents' disabilities	Both have disab.	-0,0278		-0,0249		0,0110		0,0417	**
	One has disab. (other alive)	-0,0340		0,0329		-0,0020		0,0031	
	None has disab. (ref)								

Source: *GGS Georgia, Wave 1,* authors' calculations
Note: * ≤ 0.1, ** ≤ 0.05, ***≤0.01

Table 5. Results of the multinomial regression model (marginal effects), Romania

		Never left	Returned	Took parents with them	Non-coresidence
		dy/dx	**dy/dx**	**dy/dx**	**dy/dx**
Marital status	Never married, no (coresident) partner	0,4605***	0,0572***	0,0143**	-0,5320***
	Divorced/ widow	0,0857***	0,0675***	0,0390***	-0,1922***
	Marriage/cohab-itation (ref)				
Age group	45+	-0,2423***	-0,0338***	0,0014	0,2748***
	35-44	-0,1915***	-0,0264**	-0,0047	0,2226***
	25-34	-0,1375***	-0,0081	0,0009	0,1447***
	18-24 (ref)				
Activity status	Not working	0,0074	0,0014	-0,0077**	-0,0011
	Retired	-0,0167	0,0046	0,0052	0,0068
	Employed (ref)				
Education level	Low	0,0543***	-0,0251***	-0,0130**	-0,0162
	Medium	0,0436***	-0,0149*	-0,0068	-0,0219*
	High (ref)				
Type of settlement	Rural	0,0608***	0,0185***	0,0070*	-0,0863***
	Urban (ref)				
Gender	Man	0,0753***	0,0119***	-0,0041	-0,0832***
	Woman (ref)				
Parents alive	Only mother alive	0,0412***	0,0222***	0,0215***	-0,0849***
	Only father alive	0,0390**	0,0075	0,0122*	-0,0587***
	Both alive (ref)				
Parents' disabilities	Both have disab.	0,0426 ***	0,0118 *	0,0061 *	-0,0606 ***
	One has disab. (other alive)	0,0326 **	0,0316 ***	0,0366 **	-0,1008 ***
	None has disab. (ref)				

Source: *GGS Romania, Wave 1,* authors' calculations
Note: * ≤ 0.1, ** ≤ 0.05, ***≤0.01

Table 6. Results of the multinomial regression model (marginal effects), Lithuania

		Never left	Returned	Took parents with them	Non-coresidence
		dy/dx	**dy/dx**	**dy/dx**	**dy/dx**
Marital status	Never married, no (coresident) partner	0,2371***	0,0925***	0,0262**	-0,3558***
	Divorced/ widow	0,0312**	0,0484***	0,0231***	-0,1027***
	Marriage/cohabitation (ref)				
Age group	45+	-0,1331***	-0,0194*	0,0342***	0,1183***
	35-44	-0,1215***	-0,0063	0,0155**	0,1123***
	25-34	-0,0898***	0,0146	0,0047	0,0705***
	18-24 (ref)				
Activity status	Not working	0,0581***	-0,0066	0,0108*	-0,0622***
	Retired	0,0378	-0,0183	0,0165	-0,0360
	Employed (ref)				
Education level	Low	0,1142***	-0,0192*	-0,0036	-0,0914***
	Medium	0,0518***	-0,0167**	-0,0083	-0,0268**
	High (ref)				
Type of settlement	Rural	0,0262***	0,0352***	0,0093*	-0,0707***
	Urban (ref)				
Gender	Man	-0,0016	0,0139**	-0,0095**	-0,0028
	Woman (ref)				
Parents alive	Only mother alive	0,0422***	0,0048	0,0292***	-0,0762***
	Only father alive	-0,0184	0,0026	0,0354***	-0,0196
	Both alive (ref)				
Parents' disabilities	Both have disab.	-0,1141***	-0,0322***	-0,0163***	0,1626***
	One has disab. (other alive)	-0,0627***	-0,0006	0,0117	0,0516**
	None has disab. (ref)				

Source: *GGS Lithuania, Wave 1,* authors' calculations
Note: * ≤ 0.1, ** ≤ 0.05, ***≤0.01

Table 7. Results of the multinomial regression model (marginal effects), Poland

		Never left	Returned	Took parents with them	Non-coresidence
		dy/dx	**dy/dx**	**dy/dx**	**dy/dx**
Marital status	Never married, no (coresident) partner	0,2945 ***	0,0305 ***	0,0037 *	-0,3287 ***
	Divorced/ widow	0,0417 ***	0,0209 ***	0,0217 ***	-0,0843 ***
	Marriage/cohab-itation (ref)				
Age group	45+	-0,1019 ***	-0,0023	0,0071 ***	0,0971 ***
	35-44	-0,0921 ***	0,0036	0,0021	0,0864 ***
	25-34	-0,0562 ***	0,0056 *	0,0044 ***	0,0462 ***
	18-24 (ref)				
Activity status	Not working	0,0040	0,0033	0,0012	-0,0086
	Retired	-0,0246	-0,0117 ***	0,0051	0,0311
	Employed (ref)				
Education level	Low	0,0775 ***	-0,0112 ***	-0,0011	-0,0652 ***
	Medium	0,0216 ***	-0,0032	0,0016	-0,0200 ***
	High (ref)				
Type of settlement	Rural	0,1103 ***	0,0071 **	0,0027 *	-0,1202 ***
	Urban (ref)				
Gender	Man	0,0279 ***	0,0010	0,0010	-0,0299 ***
	Woman (ref)				
Parents alive	Only mother alive	-0,1785 ***	-0,0148 ***	-0,0083 ***	0,2015 ***
	Only father alive	0,0186	0,0048	0,0060	-0,0293 **
	Both alive (ref)				
Parents' disabilities	Both have disab.	0,0312 **	0,0127	0,0024	-0,0463 ***
	One has disab. (other alive)	0,0465 ***	0,0036	-0,0043 ***	-0,0458 ***
	None has disab. (ref)				

Source: *GGS Poland, Wave 1,* authors' calculations
Note: * ≤ 0.1, ** ≤ 0.05, ***≤0.01

Table 8. Results of the multinomial regression model (marginal effects), Czech Republic

		Never left	Returned	Took parents with them	Non-coresidence
		dy/dx	**dy/dx**	**dy/dx**	**dy/dx**
Marital status	Never married, no (coresident) partner	0,3311***	0,0302***	0,0070*	-0,3683***
	Divorced/ widow	0,0173	0,0383***	0,0114**	-0,0670***
	Marriage/cohab-itation (ref)				
Age group	45+	-0,1591***	0,0014	0,0115***	0,1462***
	35-44	-0,1911***	0,0017	0,0091**	0,1803***
	25-34	-0,1541***	0,0100	0,0103***	0,1339***
	18-24 (ref)				
Activity status	Not working	0,1028***	0,0164***	0,0088**	-0,1280***
	Retired	0,0902**	-0,0038	0,0272*	-0,1136***
	Employed (ref)				
Education level	Low	0,0480***	-0,0211***	-0,0006	-0,0263*
	Medium	0,0193	-0,0063	0,0030	-0,0160
	High (ref)				
Type of settlement	Rural	0,0695***	-0,0038	0,0003	-0,0660***
	Urban (ref)				
Gender	Man	0,0233***	0,0026	-0,0043*	-0,0216**
	Woman (ref)				
Parents alive	Only mother alive	-0,0637***	-0,0115**	-0,0007	0,0760***
	Only father alive	-0,0442**	-0,0031	-0,0018	0,0491**
	Both alive (ref)				
Parents' disabilities	Both have disab.	-0,0359*	-0,0022	0,0024	0,0357*
	One has disab. (other alive)	-0,0070	-0,0028	0,0024	0,0074
	None has disab. (ref)				

Source: *GGS Czech Republic, Wave 1,* authors' calculations
Note: * ≤ 0.1, ** ≤ 0.05, ***≤0.01

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Romanian Immigrants to Canada: A Statistical Portrait

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Abstract. The paper provides a descriptive portrait of Romanian immigrants to Canada using statistical and historical data. It outlines the transformations of the Canadian immigration policy over a century and a half, and shows how it interacted with the migration regime in Romania to produce three main waves of Romanian immigration to Canada. Alongside migration flow data, it gives specific information on generation status, level of education, occupation categories, and income for the first generation post-communist immigrants, and for the total population of Romanian ethnic origin in Canada, using data from the 2006 and 2016 Canadian Censuses of Population.

Keywords: Romanian immigrants, Canada, Canadian immigration policy, census of population, first generation immigrants

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to give a descriptive account of the Romanian immigration to Canada in historical context. The mystique associated with Canada as an immigration country has been a constant of the period following the fall of the communist regime in 1989. Through its active program of selecting immigrants, Canada was offering Romanians a fast-route to achieving a version of the "American Dream". One hundred years before that, at the turn of the twentieth century, Canada also lured tens of thousands of Romanians to its vast prairies, through its policy of giving out land in exchange of breaking and settling on it. Using official documents and census data that have not been investigated before, I record the immigration of Romanians to Canada across centuries, and bring forth their profile. This paper's main goal is to provide statistical and historical data on this particular stream of overseas migration, that may serve as a case in comparative immigration policy analysis.

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There are two types of works devoted to Romanian immigrants in Canada. The first consist of overviews of the Romanian population in Canada. The second examine specific aspects of settlers' life, case studies that are employed to make theoretical points about issues like migration, transnationalism, the state, language acquisition, or structure of the labour market. Patterson (1977, 1999) are notable illustrations of the first. They offer descriptions of the historic Romanian communities in Canada, as dedicated entries in reference works on Canadian multiculturalism. Another valuable volume belongs to journalist Ion Longin Popescu. In the summer of 1983, he travelled to Canada at the invitation of one of the Romanian cultural associations. The life and accomplishments of a vanishing pioneer generation of immigrants, whose descendants have long since become hyphenated Canadians, are paid tribute in his memoir of the trip (Popescu 1986). There is a small number of other studies that give outlines of the Romanian community in Canada. Albu (2010) provides a brief account and a personal view of the formation of the Romanian community in Canada and transcribes nine life-story interviews with Romanian immigrants. This endeavour is part of a two-volume collection reporting the experiences of Central Europeans who settled in Canada. Bujea (2009) is a peculiar text that sieves through various publications produced especially by local Romanian Orthodox parishes, such as yearly books, parish bulletins, anniversary volumes, pamphlets and local history booklets. It includes a number of alphabetical survey lists of historical local communities of Romanians in Canada, of Romanian priests, of histories of Romanian parishes, and of personalities of Romanian origin. Culic (2012a, 2012b) identifies the successive waves of Romanian migration to Canada over a century, their particular characteristics and modes of integration, and the respective relations between them. Finally, Bobango (1979) narrates the fractured story of the institutionalisation of Romanian Orthodox faith in North America by giving a well-documented, detailed history of the first fifty years of the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America.

The second type of studies address various aspects of Romanians' lives in Canada. Of these, several are graduate papers by Romanian-origin Canadian students. Cervatiuc (2008) investigates the way Romanian newcomers gain proficiency in the English language. Culic (2010) shows how the Canadian immigration policy produces specific immigrant subjectivities in relationship with the Canadian state as an object of imagination. Nedelcu (2012) looks at the effect of electronic media of communication on forms of cross-generational transnationalism at Romanian Canadians. Paraschivescu (2011) compares the way Romanians in Canada and the United Kingdom live the

transnational experience. Using autobiography, auto-ethnography, and interview data with mothers of immigrants to Canada, Petrica (2018) brings a feminist critique to the Federal Skilled Worker program, by highlighting the role of women-mothers in the social reproduction that feeds the category of highly-skilled immigrants. Raileanu (2017) looks at the forms of wisdom produced by geographical dislocation using the case of Romanians in Ontario. Trandafir (2009) investigates how Romanians in Québec fare on the labour market. In a book that explores the online cultural and political expressions of Romanian immigrants, Trandafoiu (2013) dedicates one chapter to the distinct experience of Romanian Canadians, alongside immigrant communities in Western Europe. Tudoroiu (2007) discusses post-communist Romanian migration to Canada, and the changing structures of opportunities that back their struggles against professional and social status decline.

While this is not an exhaustive list of studies on Romanians in Canada, it is representative for the work produced so far. My paper contributes to the first type of scholarship, by bringing a detailed statistical depiction of the Romanian population in Canada. In the first part I provide a brief overview of the history of immigration of Romanians to Canada, at the confluence of specific migration regimes in the origin countries, and at destination. I reconstitute the successive flows and types of Romanian immigration to Canada primarily from governmental publications and secondary literature. I compile data extracted from reports by Statistics Canada – Canada's national statistics agency, and by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) – the department of the Government of Canada responsible for immigrants, refugees and settlers (and its predecessors). I identify the most important characteristics of these waves of migration in terms of what enabled them, how they unfolded, and what was their outcome.

In the second part I focus on the wave of emigration triggered by the fall of the communist regime in Romania in 1989. I emphasize the distinct characteristics of the population of Romanian immigrants landed in Canada between 1990-2006, directly shaped by the specific provisions of Canada's immigration policy (Culic 2010). The statistical representation of the post-1989 Romanian immigrants to Canada is obtained by processing data from the Individuals Public Use Microdata File (PUMF) for the 2006 Census of Population (Statistics Canada 2010). This database contains 844,476 records representing 2.7% of the Canadian population, and were drawn from a sample of one-fifth of the Canadian population. PUMF is the most recent and only existing source providing representative data collected at individual level, by ethnic origin, and by immigration status, where Romanians are recorded as a separate category.

In the last part of the paper I give a general description of the current population of Romanian origin in Canada using the most recent available data from the 2016 Census of Population. The data presented here refer to all the persons who declared at least one of their ancestors as Romanian. The PUMF released by Statistics Canada in February 2019 for the 2016 Census did not include Romanians as a separate ethnic origin category this time. Therefore, the analyses conducted in the previous section, for first generation immigrants only, cannot be updated. The figures are obtained from aggregate estimations based on a 25% Sample of the 2016 Census. They are extracted from selected tables where Romanian ethnic origin and Romania as country of birth represent distinct categories of the associated variables. From the population of Romanian ethnic origin, 41.4% are first generation immigrants, and 23.5% are second generation Romanian Canadians. The rest are third generation and more. In order to provide a raw frame to understand how Romanians fare in Canada, I also calculated the corresponding figures for the whole population of Canada.

2. Immigration of Romanians to Canada: a brief historical overview

In 1897, Minister of Interior Clifford Sifton had visited Bukovina and Galicia, on a mission to encourage suitable immigrants to come to Canada and settle Canada's West. According to Dominion Lands Act from 1872, agriculturalist immigrants were offered 160 acres of land in exchange for building a home, breaking thirty acres of land, and cultivating crops, while residing on the homestead. The Immigration Act of 1869, the first immigration legislation in Canada, put few restrictions on newcomers. It aimed primarily at ensuring the safety of immigrants during their passage to Canada, and preventing their exploitation upon arrival. The authorities favoured immigrants from so called "preferred" countries - Scotland, England, the United States of America, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries - who were deemed easy to assimilate. Sifton, however, campaigned forcefully for Eastern European immigrants, which he considered the best settlers for the Prairies due to their agricultural experience, rural lifestyle, and resilience in the face of harsh conditions. "When I speak of quality I have in mind, I think, something that is quite different from what is in the mind of the average writer or speaker upon the question of Immigration. I think a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is good quality" (Sifton 1922: 32).

The 1906 Immigration Act introduced a selective immigration policy. It broadened the categories of ineligible immigrants, established the deportation process, and gave government discretionary powers to decide conditions of passage and arrival, admission, and deportation. The promotion of Continental immigration, particularly from Eastern Europe, ceased to be encouraged, based on a growing concern over immigrants' state of indigence, capacity of assimilation, lack of familiarity with Anglo-Saxon norms and moral values, and negative effect over labour (Kelley and Trebilcock 2010: 113-166, Woodsworth 1972). Even more concern raised the "Oriental" immigration – Chinese and East Indians – leading to a number of orders-in-council with the effect of prohibiting their landing. These included the provision requiring the continuous-journey from their native or citizenship country to Canada, almost impossible to meet with the transportation means of the time, and the landing-money requirement. The 1910 Immigration Act formalized the increased powers of the Cabinet over immigration, to regulate the numbers, ethnic origin, and profession of immigrants. Despite these measures and concerns, the numbers of immigrants increased steadily in the first decade of the twentieth century, from 41,681 in 1900 to a peak of 400,870 in 1913.

The First World War brought a slump in the numbers of immigrants. Post-war measures were set to bring under even more government control the immigration. The 1919 Act to Amend the Immigration Act enabled the executive to prohibit or limit the number of immigrants of any race or nationality, by any economic or other temporarily existing condition in Canada. The cautious opening of the doors discriminated among categories of immigrants: British subjects and American citizens were granted free entry provided they had means to support themselves and were not black; citizens of "preferred" countries of Northern Europe and Scandinavia could enter provided they had valid passports, belonged to an occupation in need, or were sponsored by a relative; citizens of the non-preferred countries of Eastern and Southern Europe, who were required special permits; and immigrants from Africa and Asia, who were practically excluded. The 1923 Chinese Immigration Act denied entry to persons who were identified as Chinese, and required Chinese immigrants in Canada to register, while prohibiting them bring in family members. The 1931 order-in-council restricted immigration to just a few categories: agriculturalists with financial resources, wives and children of Canadian residents, and British subjects and American citizens who could support themselves.

The numbers of immigrants fell significantly during the difficult Depression years of the 1930s, with a low of 11,277 in 1935. They decreased further during the Second World War to a low of 7,576 in 1942. During the 1940s, approximately 70,000 war brides and their children arrived in Canada. The 1952 Immigration Act strengthened the discriminatory practices and reasserted the discretionary powers of the government over the selection, admission, and deportation of immigrants. The Cabinet was authorized to bar immigrants based on their nationality, ethnicity, occupation, peculiar customs, capacity to adapt to the climate, and capacity to assimilate.

The racist and discriminatory immigration policy will only last for ten more years. In 1962, new immigration regulations will be tabled to eliminate all discrimination based on race, ethnicity, religion, and nationality. In the following, I will give an account of the Romanian immigration to Canada that took place during this period, which was dependent on exit conditions in the origin country.

As in all founding stories, there is an established legend about the first Romanians who settled in Canada. Although individuals or small groups have arrived since the second part of the nineteenth century, they did not enter the mythical story of Romanian settlement to Canada, either because they were lonely travellers, or because they were not actually "Romanians". Most of those few who arrived before the start of the twentieth century were Jews from Bukovina in the Austrian-Hungarian empire, Bessarabia in the Russian empire, or from the province of Moldova in Romania. The first Romanians who settled in Canada, as a result of Canada's immigration policy, came in 1898, from the village of Boian, in Bukovina.[1] In a few years, by January 1901, around one hundred Romanian families lived in the district of Boian, Alberta, named after their home place (Popescu 1986, Zawadiuk et al. 1998). They were soon followed by other Romanians from Bukovina, who settled in small communities in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. According to the 1921 Census, 29,056 Romanians settled and were born in Canada's Prairies (Patterson 1999).

These numbers should be indicative of the scale, only. The 1921 Census recorded the place of birth of the person, and of their mother and father; the citizenship country where, when not Canadian, naturalized or born, individuals declared the country to which they owed allegiance; the racial or tribal origin (ethnicity); the religion; and the language spoken, other than

[1] The history of Boian is well documented by local cultural and official sources. A moving collection is found in the Romanian Pioneer Museum at Boian, Alberta, including 91 family stories. See also http://boianalbertamuseum.com.

English or French. Based on tens of entries for Romanian born, Romanian race, or Romanian speaking individuals I have consulted from the 1921 Census digitized forms, there is variation in how data was declared and documented. Romanian ethnics can appear as Austrians or Russians, while Szeklers or German ethnics may be recorded as Romanians. While ethnicity is a fluid, relational concept that congeals through boundary-making processes and momentous events, there are significant differences in the way it has been officially recorded across space and time for statistical reasons. The meaning of Romanian for the purposes of this study is a statistical one, as resulted from the sources consulted.

According to Patterson (1999), the majority of about 85% of (those who considered themselves to be ethnic) Romanian immigrants were from Transylvania, Bukovina, and the Banat; 5% from the Old Kingdom of Romania; and the remainder from Macedonia, Greece, Thrace, Serbia, and Bulgaria. Those who embarked to Canada were usually peasants who lived in multi-ethnic borderland areas, closely connected to town life through their skill and trade (Barton 1975; Bobango 1979). They were seduced by the offer to own so much land, but they also fled Magyarisation, conscription, or were looking for adventure and fortune. Their decision was shaped by the advertising and mobilisation done by Canadian state officials, bank representatives, and agents of steamship companies and the Canadian Pacific Railway, who facilitated the passage of families through loans, travel schemes, and settlement packages. The experience of the first pioneer generation, who settled in the prairies, was generally one of hardships, marked by arduous work, adverse weather, and loneliness. The high cost of travel and the breakout of the First World War prevented their return to Romania, so that the dislocation became permanent. A series of natural disasters like drought and pest, and the economic depression of the 1930s determined a second dislocation, as they moved to the cities, both in the prairie provinces, as well as in Ontario and Québec. The generation of their children was for the most part socially and geographically mobile, and assimilated easily in the urban trades and professions.

After the first substantial wave of Romanian immigrants who arrived in Canada up until the introduction of the 1910 Immigration Act, the ensuing migration consisted mostly of women and children who joined their husbands and fathers (Patterson 1999). Romanians, as non-preferred nationals, were admitted only as agriculturalists, farm labourers, domestics, and sponsored family members. At the start of First World War, half of the Romanians living in Canada were native born (Bujea 2009: 8). The numbers of Romanian

immigrants did not increase until the end of the Second World War, and stayed low throughout the 1950s, the 1960s, and the 1970s.

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As mentioned earlier, new immigration policy regulations were introduced in 1962 (Order-in-Council PC 1962-86), which eliminated overt racial discrimination and expanded sponsored immigration. A 1966 White Paper on Immigration, commissioned by the government, recommended the recruitment of qualified immigrants, while regulating sponsored immigration to control the influx of unskilled and poorly educated immigrants (see Triadafilopoulos 2012, chapter 2, for a critical review). As a result, the new immigration regulations introduced in 1967 (Order-in Council PC 1967-1616) set up a new system for evaluating potential immigrants, that would increase the objectivity and consistency of the selection, and cease discriminating by origin. It comprised a set of factors determining the applicant's capacity to successfully settle in Canada, such as education, occupation, age, or official language proficiency. Each factor was operationalized and ascribed weights through "assessment points". The maximum total was 100. All individuals receiving the cut-off threshold of 50 points or more were granted entry, regardless of their race, ethnicity or nationality.

Canada had been reluctant to accept refugees, and did so on an exceptional basis only. Refugees were considered and selected by economic, ethnic, political, and state of health criteria. Successful episodes of resettlement of refugees, particularly from Hungary (1956-7) and Czechoslovakia (1968-9), contributed to the growing public feeling that Canada should assume refugee resettlement as a permanent commitment and active practice. In 1969, Canada signed the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol.

The Immigration Act of 1976, entered into force in April 1978, set the form of the immigration policy that is still in function today. It was hailed as a momentous piece of legislation. It was the first act to articulate the objectives of the Canadian immigration policy, including family reunion, a commitment to support refugees, and fostering economic development and prosperity. It limited the large discretionary powers of the minister of Manpower and Immigration, and determined the federal government to consult with other levels of government in immigration planning and management. It defined three admission categories of immigrants: (1) the economic class, dominated by the Federal Skilled Worker category; (2) the family class; and (3) the refugees, who appear as a distinct class of immigrants for the first time.

Table 1 shows the figures of Romanian born, Romanian citizens, and Romanian residents who arrived in Canada between 1945-1989. A large group of Romanians came right after the war, as displaced persons, from refugee camps in Europe. They continued to come to Canada from various parts of the world, after temporary stays in several successive countries. A part of the non-resident non-citizen Romanian born immigrants were denationalized Jews who managed to leave Romania for another country or for Israel, from where they submitted an immigration application under the regulations of the time. A large group arrived in Canada in 1948, fleeing the newly installed communist regime.

Table 1. Romanian immigration to Canada, 1946-1989

Romania	Country of Last Residence	Country of Citizenship	Country of Birth
1946-1955	6,049	8,780	13,143
1956-1965	926	782	5,546
1966-1975	1,128	1,146	4,670
1976-1985	6,083	3,978	8,360
1986	858	654	1,002
1987	1,550	1,209	1,692
1988	1,438	1,114	1,511
1989	2,019	1,588	2,213

Sources: Figures computed by author from Manpower and Immigration (1967-1976) and Employment and Immigration Canada (1977-1989).

Very few nationals came from Romania in the period that followed the introduction of the restrictionist, racist, and discriminatory legislation in 1952, equally deterred by the restrictive exit regime in their home country. They arrived in Canada mostly through the Family Sponsorship program and as privately sponsored refugees. Figures remained very low in the decade of 1966-1975, with 4,670 immigrants born in Romania, 1,128 with Romania as last residence, and 1,146 Romanian nationals. A significant number of Romanians resettled in Canada under the East European Self-Exiled Persons designated class, created in 1979. As the communist regime was tightening its grip on citizens' lives and the economic conditions were declining, Romanians increasingly applied to come to Canada. The number of those who landed between 1980-1989 surpassed the total number of immigrants who had come

from Romania since the war. About half of those who came to Canada during this time enjoyed the status of protected persons (refugees); a third of them came under the family class; less than a fifth belonged to the economic class (see Table 2).

Table 2. Romanian immigration to Canada, 1980-1990

Year	Total immigrants	Economic class		Family Class	Protected Persons
		Federal Skilled Worker	Business		
1980	632	178	0	147	307
1981	747	132	5	174	434
1982	988	205	0	306	477
1983	946	131	1	323	490
1984	841	220	2	280	338
1985	852	180	0	337	334
1986	860	154	2	259	443
1987	1,543	214	2	502	825
1988	1,428	242	0	456	730
1989	2,013	361	0	831	820
1990	2,792	475	1	1,296	1,015
Total (%)	**13,642 (100%)**	**2,492 (18.3%)**	**13 (0.1%)**	**4,911 (36%)**	**6,213 (45.6%)**

Sources: Compiled by author from electronic immigrant datasets at the University of Toronto Data Centre, and Citizenship and Immigration Canada annual reports.

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At the beginning of the 1990s, Canada committed to annual inflows of one percent of its existing population, heeding Minister of Employment and Immigration's concern about sub-replacement fertility, and following its recommendation to strengthen the economic class component. The planned yearly numbers ceased to be related to estimates of the labour market's absorptive capacity. A broader human capital immigration model replaced the occupation-demand micro-management approach. The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), the new immigration law introduced in 2002, changed the structure of the points scheme, so that flexible and transferable skills like language proficiency and work experience were given greater weight. Workers selected by the new scheme would be better prepared to enter and

adapt on the dynamic labour market of a knowledge-based economy (see Table 3).[2] These changes fitted very well the pool of prospective immigrants from Romania that had started to accumulate during the last decade of communist rule. The possibility to exit and the freedom of movement gained in December 1989, with the fall of the Ceauşescu regime,[3] allowed Romanians to apply for landed immigrant status in the economic class directly, as Federal Skilled Workers, or Provincial Nominees, that is, economic immigrants/skilled workers selected by the provinces directly.

Table 3. Evolution of Canada's Points System in time

Selection Factor	1978	1993	1996	2004	2011	2019
Education	12	14	21	25	25	25
Proficiency in the official languages	10	14	21	24	24	28
Specific vocational training	15	16	-	-	-	-
Work experience	8	8	9	21	21	15
Occupational demand	15	10	-	-	-	-
Labour market balance	-	-	10	-	-	-
Age	10	10	13	10	10	12
Pre-arranged employment in Canada	10	10	4	10	10	10
Personal suitability	10	10	17	-	-	-
Adaptability	-	8	-	10	10	10
Relative in Canada	5	-	5	-	-	-
Destination	5	-	-	-	-	-
Maximum points total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Pass Mark	50	67	*	67	67	67

* 52 for Professionals and Skilled Administrators, 47 for Technicians, 45 for Trades.
Sources: CIC http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/skilled/apply-factors.asp; Flynn 2011.

[2] "Canada focuses on selecting workers with flexible and transferable skills, rather than on specific occupations or professions. The legislation takes into consideration the needs of the Canadian economy and facilitates the selection of technical workers and university graduates. In addition, it attaches great importance to a knowledge of English or French. These characteristics give Canadian businesses access to the pool of skilled workers they need to continue to grow and prosper in a 21st century economy." (CIC 2004: 9)
[3] In 1991Canada discontinued the designated class of East European Self-Exiled Persons.

As the number of immigrants and asylum seekers from Romania continued to grow in the 1990s, Western European countries started to build a fortress immigration regime for Romanians, by introducing admission visas, toughening the requirements for getting one, and externalising restrictive controls to the Romanian authorities.[4] In this context, the status of landed immigrant in Canada, which brought vast rights at settlement, became a strong option to consider. The number of permanent residence applications filed at the Canadian Embassy grew constantly during the 1990s and early 2000s. Immigrant arrivals from Romania were capped only by the limited processing capacity of the Canadian immigration authorities.[5]

By mid 2000s, Romania figured among the top ten source countries of permanent immigrants, second to United Kingdom as a European country, and before France.[6] Immigrants from Romania were sought by the Québecois authorities, who organized sustained information sessions in Bucharest and other places in Romania to encourage applicants for the *Certificat de sélection du Québec* (skilled workers selected by the province of Québec). Québec had a separate agreement with the federal government, granting the province control over its immigration policy.[7] Romanian immigrants' language and cultural affinity with the French made them fine candidates to settle in Québec.

In 2008, further changes refocused the economic immigration policy to short-term needs.[8] Applications under the Federal Skilled Worker category were restricted and fast-tracked to persons who have offers of arranged employment in Canada, or work experience in one of thirty-eight occupations considered in demand, or have been legally residing in Canada for at least one year as a temporary foreign worker or an international student. The Provincial Nominee program diversified, as other provinces developed their own selection scheme. In order to expedite employers' supply of workers for

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[4] For a very good outline of the dynamics of emigration from Romania until its citizens were granted free movement within the Schengen space in 2002, see Diminescu 2003.

[5] For an account of the immigration of Romanians to Canada in the late 1990s and 2000s see Culic 2010.

[6] Romania placed eighth in 2004. See CIC (2005: 31).

[7] The Canada-Québec Accord Relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens, come into force on April 1, 1991, grants the province full responsibility for the selection of its economic class immigrants and the acceptance of refugees, and for their linguistic, cultural, and economic integration in the "distinct society" of Québec.

[8] The changes introduced by the Action Plan for Faster Immigration presented in December 2008 were primarily justified by the need to reduce the huge backlog created during the past years for the Federal Skilled Worker category. In 2005, the average waiting time for the processing of applications was 50 months. In 2009, it was reduced to 26 months, with applications submitted after February 28, 2008 taking between 6-12 months to be processed.

difficult jobs, the Temporary Foreign Worker Program was introduced. Post-Graduation Work Permit Program, another new program, granted international students a 3 year work permit without the need of a job offer. A new fast-track immigration category was created, Canadian Experience Class, to support Canadian experience international graduates and temporary foreign workers settle as permanent residents in Canada. While immigration applications have been thus drastically reduced, the influx of immigrants remained high and increased continually. 247,248 immigrants were admitted in 2008; 252,172 in 2009; and 280,681 in 2010, for an increasing population that passed 30 million in 2008.

Table 4. Romanian immigrants to Canada, and total immigrants to Canada, 1990-2018

Year	Total Immigrants from Romania	Total Immigrants Canada	Year	Total Immigrants from Romania	Total Immigrants Canada
1990	2,792	216,456	2005	5,048	262,241
1991	2,452	232,818	2006	4,468	251,643
1992	3,016	254,818	2007	3,834	236,754
1993	3,370	256,702	2008	2,837	247,243
1994	2,977	224,397	2009	2,076	252,170
1995	3,851	212,873	2010	1,922	280,687
1996	3,670	226,073	2011	1,776	248,747
1997	3,916	216,039	2012	1,588	257,903
1998	2,976	174,198	2013	1,512	259,023
1999	3,467	189,954	2014	1,553	260,404
2000	4,431	227,458	2015	1,185	271,835
2001	5,588	250,639	2016	1,360	296,365
2002	5,688	229,049	2017	980	286,500
2003	5,465	221,348	2018	810	321,060
2004	5,755	235,825	2019	n.a.	n.a.

Sources: Compiled by author from annual reports by CIC and IRCC, and monthly IRCC updates available at https://open.canada.ca.

On June 26, 2010, the government amended the procedures "to put even greater emphasis on economic recovery and further reduce the Federal Skilled Worker application backlog" (CIC 2010). It changed and reduced the list of qualifying occupations to twenty nine. It discontinued the foreign worker and international student facilitated applications for permanent residence,

redirecting them to Canadian Experience Class. It limited the number of applications under the occupation list to 20,000 per year and a maximum of 1,000 applications to be considered within a particular occupation. It required submission of all supporting documentation at the moment of the initial application.[9] Finally, as of November 5, 2011, no new applications to sponsor parents and grandparents were accepted for processing for up to 24 months.

As the size of the application backlog was decreasing, the system was cleared of limitations with regard to family class admissions. It was sharpened as to the types of skilled workers required, which are now streaming into Federal Skilled Worker, Federal Skilled Trades, and Canadian Experience Class, and rounded with a variety of flexible Provincial Nominee admissions. Helping families to reunite in Canada was declared a priority. In 2017, the Immigration Minister introduced a multi-year Immigration Levels Plan, with the ambitious goal of settling one million new immigrants between 2018 and 2020 (O'Doherty, Katem and Turner 2017). In 2018, with 321,060 newcomers, immigration reached a fourth historical high in 150 years of immigration (surpassed only by 1911, 1912, and 1913).[10]

While Canada was making rapid strides at reorganizing the whole immigration system to make it more efficient, in 2007 Romania accessed the European Union. Most of EU's national labour markets fully opened to Romanians, as did its social space at large. This political turn did not trigger the announced massive population movement across borders. Many of the Romanians who had wanted to work in the European Union already used the free mobility within the Schengen space, granted in 2002, to find work in the West. It did however bring the regularisation of those who had not managed to use the actions and mechanisms in place to settle their legal situation. At this time, moving to, living and working in European Union countries became a relatively smooth process, simplified administratively, legally, and politically. The mutual recognition of degrees, prepared by the implementation of the

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[9] With the burst of Provincial Nominee programs, there are now around 60 alternative ways to apply for Canadian permanent residence other than Federal Skilled Worker, including Business, and Family Sponsorship immigration.

[10] "Canada is a world leader in managed migration with an immigration program based on non-discriminatory principles […]. Immigration is a defining feature of Canada: immigrants (meaning people born outside of Canada) currently represent one in five people in Canada. […] Canada sets an annual target for immigration and selects newcomers who best contribute to the country's economic and social well-being. […] immigration plays an important role in ensuring that Canada's population and labour force continue to grow. Given that immigrant newcomers are, on average, younger than the Canadian-born population, immigration can help mitigate some of the challenges of an ageing demographic, […] [including] the decline of Canada's worker-to-retiree ratio." (IRCC 2018: 5)

Bologna process in Romanian universities, contributed to the easy mobility across borders of almost all categories of professionals. These changes balanced out the promises of immigration to Canada. The number of candidates and actual arrivals in Canada diminished drastically in the second part of the 2000s up to the present date. By 2018 Romania fell on the 53rd position as source country of permanent residents. This trend will not reverse as long as there are no major events or transformations that alter the mobility regime of Romanians in Europe. In the following section, I will give a statistical description of Romanians who came and stayed in Canada, after the fall of the communist regime.

3. Post-communist immigrants: a middle class in the making crosses the ocean (1990-2006)

The story of the post-communist Romanian immigrants to Canada appears to be the story of a particular generation. It is also the story of the immigration policy that fulfilled this generation's desire to redefine their lives. This stream of migrants consisting of 90,000 is quite distinct from the majority of an estimated 4 million Romanians who left their country after 1989.[11] The presence of Romanian immigrants in the European Union intermittently raised difficult issues of inequality, marginality, and citizenship, as labourers supplying irregular unskilled work and unsightly appearances in the cities, prey for modern slave work in agriculture, victims of international trafficking in women and prostitution, and minor exploitation (Anghel and Horváth 2009, Aradau 2008, 2009, Diminescu 2004, Mai 2010). In contrast, Romanian immigrants to Canada seem to document the accomplishment of this country's active policy of immigrant selection.

If in the late 1980s Romanian immigrants to Canada were mainly refugees (about 45%) and family class (about 36%), by 1992 the economic class represented more than half of the arrivals from Romania. It remained over 70% during the whole period, reaching an average of 81% during the decade 2001-2010.[12] This means that most of the post-communist Romanian immigrants to Canada were selected based on the 100 points-scheme, which evaluated the aptness of the principal applicants as skilled workers, and their family's capacity to integrate in the Canadian society.

[11] See Horváth 2012 for a detailed analysis of the international migration of Romanians after 1989.

[12] Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Catalogue Number 98-400-X2016202.

The characteristics of this stream of migration demonstrates the efficiency of the Canadian policy in producing its population. As an economic and demographic tool, it brings in a highly skilled, motivated, and disciplined external population, easily adaptable in the Canadian society, and contributing greatly to the Canadian economy (Culic 2010).

To give its portrait in numbers, I used data from the Individuals Public Use Microdata File (PUMF) for the 2006 Census of Population (Statistics Canada 2010). From the total of individuals in this sample of the Canadian population, I selected those who declared "Romanian" under the variable "Derived single and selected multiple ethnic origins", a total of 1,728 persons. From them I extracted the subset of post-communist Romanian immigrants, that is, those who became permanent residents between 1990 and 2006, the date of the Census (variable "Year of immigration"). In order to understand this stream of first generation immigrants, I am looking only at adults, rather than at their dependent children as well. Thus, in order to reach the principal applicants, whose qualities and credentials as skilled workers were evaluated by immigration officers, and their spouses or partners, I further selected Romanian immigrants who were 25 years of age or older at the moment of immigration (variable "Age at immigration"). I obtained a sample of 779 Romanian immigrants arrived between 1990 and 2006, 25 years of age or older at immigration.[13]

As I mentioned above, I consider the story of this particular stream of post-communist Romanian immigrants the story of a generation. Two thirds of them were born in the first 15 years after the pro-natalist Decree 770 of 1966, of which one third in the first 5 years. These oversized cohorts reached maturity in the first part of the 1990s. Underinvestment in housing construction in the 1980s and early 1990s made access to independent living difficult for them (Horváth 2012: 204-5). The structure of work opportunities they had been socialized into changed significantly in a brief period of time. Compounded, these elements generated a sizeable mass of potential labour migrants, who took advantage of the international mobility gained in 1990. When Western Europe turned itself into a fortress migration regime for Romanians at the middle of the 1990s, Canada became a favoured option for the highly educated Romanians who wanted to take up the challenge of a break with their past, in return for better living and rewarding working conditions.

[13] This sample is a 2.7% random sample of the total population of Romanian immigrants in Canada, arrived between 1990-2006, who were 25 years of age or older at immigration. Statistics computed on it have a margin of error of 5% for a 99% confidence level.

Post-communist Romanian immigrants to Canada are highly educated and in high demand (see Tables 5 and 6). They were ideologically set to embrace neo-liberalism and an ethics of work that made them disciplined and submissive employees, staunch supporters of the free market as supreme regulator. Taken up by discourses of anti-communism dominating the intellectual public space of Romania after 1989, these people, most of them in their thirties and forties at immigration, tended to rebuff all references to leftist values or labour organisation. They embodied the middle-class notions of well-being and professional achievement, and were offered their promise by the Canadian immigration program (Culic 2010). Romanians selected as Federal Skilled Workers fit precisely the positivist approach of the policy, aimed at micro-economic management of the labour market, and augmenting economic immigration while toning down the non-productive, resource-consuming family immigration. The points system returned immigrants with extremely high education level, according to Census data (see Table 5). An impressive amount of 67.5% of the Romanian immigrants aged 25 years and over at the moment of immigration hold at least a bachelor's degree. Another 11.2% hold two years or more certificates from post-secondary education institutions.[14]

[14] At the moment of the 2006 Census, not at the moment of immigration. The data show that 11% of them pursued further studies in Canada.

Table 5. Education: highest certificate, diploma or degree. Romanian immigrants 1990-2006 (at Census date), aged 25 years and over at immigration, compared to the total Canadian population aged 25 years and over. Percentages of valid cases[15]

Education: highest certificate, diploma or degree.	Romanians	Total population
None/ Less than high school	2.1	20.7
High school graduation certificate or equivalency certificate	8.3	23.5
Other trades certificate or diploma	4.4	7.8
Registered apprenticeship certificate	2.2	4.4
College, CEGEP[16] or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of 3 months to less than 1 year	0.5	2.5
College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of 1 year to 2 years	3.9	8.8
College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of more than 2 years	4.4	7.3
University certificate or diploma below bachelor level	6.8	4.8
Bachelor's degree	34.7	12.8
University certificate or diploma above bachelor level	11.3	2.1
Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry	1.5	0.5
Master's degree	18.5	4.0
Earned doctorate degree	1.5	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0
N	779	579,396
Not available		2,362

Source: Author's computations based on the Census of Canada, 2006, *Individuals PUMF*. All computations, use and interpretation of these data are entirely those of the author.

[15] For data on working age population, see Statistics Canada, http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/12-581-x/2016000/edu-eng.htm.

[16] CEGEP is the acronym for Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel, a publicly funded pre-university and technical college in the province of Québec's education system.

Table 6. Major field of study, based on the Classification of Instructional Programs (CIP) Canada 2000. Romanian immigrants 1990-2006 (at Census date), aged 25 years and over at immigration, compared to the total Canadian population aged 25 and over

Major Field of Study	Frequency	Percent
Education	24	3.1
Visual and performing arts, and communications technologies	5	0.6
Humanities	28	3.6
Social and behavioural sciences and law	66	8.5
Business, management and public administration	83	10.7
Physical and life sciences and technologies	41	5.3
Mathematics, computer and information sciences	50	6.4
Architecture, engineering, and related technologies	313	40.2
Agriculture, natural resources and conservation	9	1.2
Health, parks, recreation and fitness	57	7.3
Personal, protective and transportation services	22	2.8
No postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree	81	10.4
Total	779	100.0

Source: Author's computations based on the Census of Canada, 2006, *Individuals PUMF*.

Employment figures by industry (Table 7) reflect the structure of higher education in Romania during the last decade of communist rule, dominated by polytechnic institutes, and the system of secondary education, which had included, since 1983, a component of compulsory vocational training. About a fifth of Romanian immigrants aged 25 years and over at the moment of immigration worked in manufacturing compared to 12.7% of the total Canadian population aged 25 years and over. Almost 30% worked in accommodation and food services, constructions, wholesale and retail trade, transportation and warehousing, administrative, support, waste and remediation services. While Romanian immigrants might have filled a perceived labour shortage on the Canadian market, based on which annual immigration figures had been devised, and according to which they had been selected, they also actualized a labour force structure built for the perceived needs of their country of origin at a particular moment.

Table 7. Employment: present or longest work-place since January 2005 by industry, based on the 2002 North American Industry Classification System (NAICS). Romanian immigrants 1990-2006 (at Census date), aged 25 years and over at immigration, compared to the total Canadian population aged 25 years and over. Percentages of valid cases

Employment	Romanians	Total population
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting	0.2	3.1
Mining and oil and gas extraction	0	1.4
Utilities	0.5	0.8
Construction	4.9	6.4
Manufacturing	21.2	12.7
Wholesale trade	5.2	4.6
Retail trade	5.6	9.3
Transportation and warehousing	6.1	5.3
Information and cultural industries	3.3	2.5
Finance and insurance	4.7	4.4
Real estate and rental and leasing	3.9	1.8
Professional, scientific and technical services	15.8	7.1
Management of companies and enterprises	0	0.1
Administrative, support, waste, remediation	4.9	4.1
Educational services	4.9	7.6
Health care and social assistance	9.3	11.1
Arts, entertainment and recreation	0.5	1.7
Accommodation and food services	2.4	4.6
Other services (except public administration)	4.6	4.9
Public administration	2.3	6.4
Total	100	100
N	779	579,396
Not Available and Not Applicable	0	182,829

Source: Author's computations based on the Census of Canada, 2006, *Individuals PUMF*.

The data show that Romanian immigrants are notably over-represented within the professional, scientific and technical services, with 15.8% compared to 7.1% for the total Canadian population aged 25 years and over. This illustrates the efficiency of Federal Skilled Worker program in returning a highly qualified segment of labour force, whose costs of education, training, and specialisation were supported by another country. The distribution of Romanians by employment equity designations (Table 8) re-enforces the observation that the Canadian immigration policy works successfully. The percentage of Romanians in the occupational category of Professionals, 30.5%, is significantly higher

than the 18.4% for the total Canadian population aged 25 years and over. This population, "externally" produced, was pulled in by Canada for its internal needs, with very low costs. All official reports and academic research highlight immigrants' overall positive contribution to Canadian economy and society. More specifically, the immigration policy tends to financially pays itself off. A 2003 report by the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration shows that immigrants contribute financially before they even arrive in Canada. In the fiscal year 2000-2001 the amount of money paid by immigrants in processing fees and right of landing fees, $464.2 million, surpassed the $336.4 million representing the amount spent by the Government of Canada on settlement and integration (House of Commons, Parliament of Canada 2003: 6).

Table 8. Occupation. Employment equity designations – based on the National Occupational Classification (NOC). Romanian immigrants 1990-2006 (at Census date), aged 25 years and over at immigration, compared to the total Canadian population aged 25 years and over. Percentages of valid cases

Occupation	Romanians	Total population
Managers	7.6	10.8
Professionals	30.5	18.4
Semi-professionals and technicians	11.8	8.2
Supervisors	2.4	4.2
Administrative and senior clerical personnel	4.4	5.8
Skilled sales and service personnel	2.4	4.0
Skilled crafts and trades workers	7.1	8.5
Clerical personnel	10.2	9.9
Intermediate sales and service personnel	8.5	10.0
Semi-skilled manual workers	8.9	10.3
Other sales and service personnel	4.7	6.7
Other manual workers	1.5	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0
N	779	579,396
Not Available and Not Applicable	0	173,426

Source: Author's computations based on the Census of Canada, 2006, *Individuals PUMF*.

Finally, one can look at these figures yet from another angle. Principal applicants represent about 40% of the immigrants recorded under the Federal Skilled Worker class. The rest, consisting of dependent spouse/partner and

children, are not required to qualify under the assessment scheme, and their skills and credentials may contribute only a few points to the application. Their presence however is crucial in settling in the new life, and easing the way to land a first job for any of the members of the family. Children going to school are often the first to initiate social relations and be integrated in a structured social interaction in Canada. In the application for Federal Skilled Worker visa, the role of principal applicant is not assigned to the man by default, but is decided according to each partner's capacity to accumulate points in the assessment scheme. Similarly, at the arrival in Canada, it is not assumed that the principal applicant or the man should look for work and provide for the family. It is also the spouse/partner who often gets a job to support the family, while strategic planning for the future is made.

4. Romanians in Canada: basic facts

In the previous section I presented the portrait of the post-communist generation of Romanian migrants to Canada. I showed that the number of migrants started to decrease steadily in the second half of the 2000s, to less than 1,000 per year presently. With Romania's accession to the EU and the fast-changing Canadian immigration system, Romanian immigration to Canada lost its momentum. For the ageing generation that has been feeding it during the first decade and a half after 1989, such a socially and emotionally disrupting life-project ceased to be tenable. For the incoming generations, born and socialized into a very different social-economic and political context, immigrating to Canada is a quite different enterprise. If the post-communist pioneers' stories were shaped by a spirit of adventure and dreams of refashioning of the self (Culic 2010), the recent migrants' stories tend to use the language of market value and economic calculation. In the present paradigm of the commodification of the self on a fluid global labour market, immigration to Canada has increasingly become a cost-benefit calculation move. The new technologies of communication, extraordinary development of low budget air transportation between Romania and Western Europe, and free access to the professions in the EU countries also dispelled part of the charm Canada held over prospect applicants.

In this section of the paper I give a general description of the total current population of Romanian origin in Canada, using the data from the 2016 Census of Population. It comprises all persons who declared at least one of their ancestors as Romanian. I processed data provided by Statistics Canada in the form of tables that present aggregate estimations based on a 25% Sample of the 2016 Census. I used variables where Romanian ethnic origin and

Romania as country of birth were represented as distinct categories. Of the population of Romanian ethnic origin, 41.4% are first generation immigrants, and 23.5% are second generation Romanian Canadians. The rest 35% are third generation and more (see Table 9). The great majority of the first generation immigrants to Canada are settled in Ontario (45,4%), most of which in the Greater Toronto Area; Québec (33.0%), most of which in Montréal and its surroundings; and British Columbia (10.0%), most of which in Vancouver. In order to provide a raw frame to understand how Romanians fare in Canada, I also calculated the corresponding figures for the whole population of Canada, where applicable. The PUMF released by Statistics Canada in February 2019 for the 2016 Census did not include Romanians as a separate ethnic origin category this time. Therefore the analyses carried out in the previous section, for the first generation immigrants, could not be replicated according to the same logic. However, certain data could be extracted for first generation immigrants, which I will provide in the following.

Table 9. Population of Canada. Selected groups by ethnic origin and immigration generation

Ethnic origin	Total - Single and multiple ethnic origin response		Single ethnic origin	Multiple ethnic origin
Total Canada	**34,460,065**	**100.0%**	**20,297,890**	**14,162,175**
European origins	19,683,320	57.1%	6,675,760	13,007,560
British	11,211,850	32.5%	2,191,275	9,020,570
French	4,680,815	13.6%	1,009,940	3,670,875
Romanian	238,050	0.7%	96,910	141,145
Romanian	**238,050**	**100.0%**	**96,910**	**141,145**
First generation	98,615	41.4%	75,065	23,560
Ontario	44,815			
Québec	32,585			
British Columbia	9,840			
Second generation	56,040	23.5%	17,360	38,675
Third generation or more	83,400	35.0%	4,490	78,910

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Catalogue no. 98-400-X2016187. Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data. Totals may not equal sums, as the figures are estimates.

The following table (Table 10) gives us a general picture of the level of education of first generation immigrants born in Romania, aged 15 years and over at the moment of the census (May 10, 2016), and of the total population of Romanians of all generations, compared to the total population of Canada. Romanian first generation immigrants are greatly overrepresented in the category of higher education. 50.4% of Romanian immigrants aged 15 and over held a university certificate, diploma or degree at bachelor level or above, compared to 23.3% of the total population of Canada. Of those who held a post-secondary certificate or degree, 60% carried out their studies in Romania, and 37.5% in Canada. Most of the rest of 2.5% graduated their post-secondary studies in the United States, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. They probably arrived in Canada after having spent at least the period of college/ graduate studies in Western Europe or the United States, and then applied for permanent resident status in Canada. Romanians in general are overrepresented among those who graduated university studies, with 40.2% holding a university certificate, diploma or degree at bachelor level or above.

Table 10. Highest certificate, diploma or degree for first generation immigrants born in Romania, aged 15 years and over, for all Romanians aged 15 and over, and for the total population of Canada, aged 15 years and over

Highest certificate, diploma or degree	Romanian immigrants		All Romanians		Total population	
No certificate, diploma or degree	6,385	7.2%	20,780	10.9%	5,239,580	18.3%
Secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate	13,755	15.6%	40,880	21.4%	7,576,400	26.5%
Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma	7,315	8.3%	13,630	7.1%	2,800,265	9.8%
College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma	12,965	14.7%	32,810	17.2%	5,553,830	19.4%
University certificate or diploma below bachelor level	3,430	3.9%	5,990	3.1%	813,335	2.8%
University certificate, diploma or degree at bachelor level or above	44,495	50.4%	76,780	40.2%	6,659,620	23.3%
Total	88,350	100.0%	190,870	100.0%	28,643,015	100.0%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Catalogue Number 98-400-X2016278. Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data.

Romanians also have a higher participation rate in the labour force, and a higher employment rate, than the total Canadian population (see Table 11). 72.8% of Romanians take part in the labour force compared to 65.2% of the total Canadian populations. The employment rate of Romanians is 67.8%, while for the total Canadian population is 60.2%. Romanians are significantly overrepresented in business, finance and administration occupations, as well as natural and applied sciences and related occupations (see Table 12). They are significantly under-represented in sales and service occupations, and in trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations.

Table 11. Labour force status for Romanians, aged 15 years and over, and for total population of Canada, aged 15 years and over

Labour force status	Romanians	Total population
In the labour force	138,960	18,672,470
Employed	129,320	17,230,040
Unemployed	9,640	1,442,435
Not in the labour force	51,910	9,970,545
Total	190,870	28,643,015
Participation rate	72.8%	65.2%
Employment rate	67.8%	60.2%
Unemployment rate	6.9%	7.7%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Catalogue Number 98-400-X2016189. Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data.

Table 12. Labour force population for Romanians aged 15 years and over, and for total Canadian population aged 15 and over, by occupation - National Occupational Classification (NOC). Percentages of valid cases

Occupation	Romanians	Total population
Management occupations	11.1	11.0
Business, finance and administration occupations	17.6	15.7
Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	12.8	7.0
Health occupations	7.5	6.8
Occupations in education, law and social, community and government services	12.4	11.7
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	3.8	3.1
Sales and service occupations	18.6	23.4
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	11.7	14.6
Natural resources, agriculture and related production occupations	1.3	2.3
Occupations in manufacturing and utilities	3.2	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0
N	138,955	18,672,470
Not applicable	2,650	404,350

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Catalogue Number 98-400-X2016189. Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data.

On average, Romanians are doing better than the total Canadian population in terms of income. In the following table (Table 13) we have the description of the Romanian and total Canadian populations by a number of income indicators. Market income refers to the sum of employment income (including wages, salaries and commissions, net self-employment income from farm or non-farm unincorporated business and/or professional practice), investment income, private retirement income (retirement pensions, superannuation and annuities, including those from registered retirement savings plans [RRSPs] and registered retirement income funds [RRIFs]) and other money income from market sources during the reference period (the calendar year 2015). It is equivalent to total income minus government transfers. Government transfers

comprises all cash benefits received from federal, provincial, territorial or municipal governments. It includes: old age security pension, guaranteed income supplement, allowance or allowance for the Survivor; retirement, disability and survivor benefits from Canada Pension Plan and Québec Pension Plan; benefits from employment insurance and Québec parental insurance plan; child benefits from federal and provincial programs; social assistance benefits; workers' compensation benefits; working income tax benefit; goods and services tax credit and harmonized sales tax credit; other income from government sources. Employment income refers to all income received as wages, salaries and commissions from paid employment and net self-employment income from farm or non-farm unincorporated business and/or professional practice.

The average market income of Romanians aged 15 and over in 2015 was $56,174, which is 20% higher than the average market income of the total Canadian population aged 15 and over in 2015, $46,885. The median for the same indicator is $39,656 for Romanians and $32,754 for the total Canadian population. The employment income figures are also higher for Romanians. The average employment income among Romanians was $53,209, compared to the average employment income for the total Canadian population, $46,057. The median was $39,939 for Romanians, and $33,683 for the total Canadian population. Government transfers are on average lower for Romanians, than for the whole population. The average government transfers among Romanians was $6,407, compared to the total Canadian population, $7,738. The median was $2,992 for Romanians, compared to the median for the total Canadian population, $5,457.

Table 13. Income statistics in 2015 for the Romanian population aged 15 years and over, and for the total Canadian population aged 15 years and over

Income statistics in 2015, population aged 15 years and over	Romanians	Total population
Total (N)	190,865	28,643,020
Number of total income recipients	182,680	27,489,400
Average total income among recipients ($)	56,168	47,487
Median total income among recipients ($)	40,115	34,205
Number of after-tax income recipients	182,720	27,500,230
Average after-tax income among recipients ($)	45,085	38,977
Median after-tax income among recipients ($)	35,536	30,861
Number of market income recipients	168,975	24,584,070
Average market income among recipients ($)	56,174	46,885
Median market income among recipients ($)	39,656	32,754
Number of government transfers recipients	119,980	19,742,130
Average government transfers among recipients ($)	6,407	7,738
Median government transfers among recipients ($)	2,992	5,457
Number of employment income recipients	147,000	20,428,670
Average employment income among recipients ($)	53,209	46,057
Median employment income among recipients ($)	39,939	33,683
Number of employment income recipients who worked full year full time in 2015	72,525	9,367,050
Median employment income for full-year full-time workers ($)	60,058	53,431
Average employment income for full-year full-time workers ($)	72,036	65,997
Composition of total income in 2015 of the population aged 15 years and over (%)	100.0	100.0
Market income (%)	92.5	88.3
Employment income (%)	76.2	72.1
Government transfers (%)	7.5	11.7

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Catalogue Number 98-400-X2016189. Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I aimed to portray the population of Romanian immigrants in Canada in statistical figures. I provided immigration flow data from three periods of times defined by important historical moments, political regimes, and immigration policies. The first wave of immigration from Romanian-inhabited territories in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Kingdom of Romania started at the turn of the twentieth century and lasted until the start of the Second World War. A period of relatively little Romanian immigration, except for war displaced persons and political refugees, followed after, until the late 1980s. Another important wave of Romanian immigration started after the fall of the communist regime in Romania, in December 1989. Presently this stream of migration has been drying out, particularly after Romania's accession to the EU.

I focused on the post-communist wave of immigration, which, I argued, was defined by the specific generation of the large cohorts born as a result of the communist pro-natalist policies. This highly educated, highly economically successful segment of immigrants from Romania, of whom the great majority arrived under the federal skilled worker class, illustrated the efficiency of the Canadian active immigration policy. In the paper I outlined the main changes of this policy, and showed how, in interaction with the migration regime in Romania, it shaped the flows and characteristics of the Romanian immigrants. Finally, I gave a statistical description of the present population of Romanian ethnic origin in Canada, as recorded by the 2016 Census of Population. These figures contribute to a more complete image of the Romanian diaspora, a relatively new and important object of political interest for the Romanian government.

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The Stranger at Home – "Hybrid" Children Returning to Romania

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Abstract. This article aims to analyse the ways in which Romanian transnational families manage children born and either partly or entirely raised abroad, who end up living in Romania. Within this framework, questions arise concerning the status of transnational children, transnational childhood, and implicitly, transnational families. First, we analyze the double embeddedness of these children regarding it as something their families need to recognize as such and tackle as a double-rootedness irreducible to one or the other of their identities. Second, the temporality of these migrant families is interpreted as a potential exit from a temporary transnational suspension into a better articulated, and perhaps explicitly assumed transnational dynamic. In the course of the argument, new connections between childhood, transnationalism, and family practices are addressed.

Keywords: transnational families, translocal childhoods, differentiated embedding, lived citizenship, temporary transnational suspension

1. Background

This article aims to analyse the ways in which Romanian transnational families manage children born and either partly or entirely raised abroad, who end up living in Romania. Within this framework, the status of transnational children, of transnational childhood - and implicitly, transnational families - is questioned in a twofold manner:

(1) given that the migrancy of these children is the result of "repatriation" that is regarded as "normal", while constituting a process of re-location that is not in fact normal, it is rarely represented as such, privately or publicly , even less so than in the target country of their migration.

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With territoriality absent, all the other levels of embeddedness appear to be secondary; we could call this the question of the "spatial" aspect of a double identity of transnational children.

However, given that "one's relational life course is an interplay between the spatial and the temporal" (Ryan 2018), temporality should be regarded as intrinsically interwoven with this spatiality. Thus, we note that

(2) on the other hand, while the migration of return migrating families and the temporary transnational suspension associated with it seemingly end at the moment of return, the question of identification also arises concerning the future: what could be the further projects of children and families who have lost their single identification in favour of something like a transnational identity? What happens to their transnational suspension, to the transient, temporary attitude characteristic of the migration of most Romanians? Is a full and complete return migration possible at all, even as a project? This would represent the temporal aspect of their transnational life.

(3) Further, building on these two aspects in the lives of children within return migrating Romanian families, we pose the more theoretical question of how the experiences of children could be and indeed are deeply - theoretically - relevant for understanding what the transnational life of families entails. As this aspect cannot be disentangled from the others discussed, answers will arise along the discussion of the other two questions.

We must, however, mention that while posing these questions, we are not interested in return migration as such. We consider the case of children with a (partly) foreign dentity moving "home" as an exemplary case of multi-identification inscribed in a transnational space curtailed by an imposed legal, cultural, and social status and identity.

We hypothesize that children's experiences - as seen in this study and generally in the transnational setup - constitute a productive avenue to address issues such as rights, participation, empowerment, and citizenship, as well as topics pertaining to transnational families in their entirety. Meanwhile, this approach is also inscribed into the context of family life - the immediate relational milieu – into which the children are embedded. Therefore, we shall discuss the strategies involving their dual attachments within the context of their families, a singularly child-oriented research being outside the scope of this research.

The topic of children in transnational families has become a priority on the agenda of international research (White et al. 2011; Mazzucato and Schans, 2011; Nagasaka and Fresnoza-Flot 2015, Seeberg and Gozdziak 2016). These "new actors" (children) of transnational families have also emerged (Telegdi-Csetri and Ducu 2016) as subjects of our research (Ducu 2018, Ducu and Telegdi-Csetri 2018) with an increasing frequency. Beyond a shift in emphasis within the theoretical trends in the field, the reasons behind this turn have been factual as well.

The number of Romanians who live for various periods abroad has been rising, especially after 2007 - the year of Romania's EU accession. A UN report has put forward the number of 3.4 million Romanians living abroad in 2015. Within the EU, Romania has been at position number 4 (after the UK, Poland and Germany) in terms of the number of citizens living in another EU country, and number 2 after Syria in what concerns the rise of diaspora between 2000-2015 compared to the size of the population. The main reasons for living abroad being work and study, most Romanians involved in this process have been young, being followed after a certain amount of time by their families or establishing their families abroad, a phenomenon that has led to a rise in the number of children born abroad.

Most Romanians, even if not accompanied by family members, live in a "state of temporary transnational suspension" (Ducu 2018), being oriented towards a possible return - one that might be postponed until retirement in some cases - while the parents attempt to also develop the Romanian identity of children born abroad. However, for those children who grow up abroad for a certain amount of time, retaining the detachment characteristic of "free-movers" such as their parents relative to the country they live in is more difficult, especially entry into the local educational system in their countries of residence. Hence, one might say that they live their duality in an asymmetrical manner - their Romanianness suspended and their local embeddedness definite - a paradoxical state from a temporal perspective.

No definite figures exist concerning the number of repatriated Romanians, or those whose children were born abroad and then repatriated. . However, given the number of migrant families, it can be estimated that this figure is also demographically significant. Beyond numbers, the question of children's migration as a phenomenon comporting divergent identities and bonds seems highly relevant to the understanding of transnational family life. Return migration is especially so, precisely since it is regarded as seemingly unproblematic, as a return to a life and identity that are already given.

The basic premise this research departs from is that these children, who are born in a different country than their parents, are more deeply connected to the country through the educational system and, depending on the policy of the country, obtaining citizenship at birth or potentially acquiring it later much more easily than their parents. The emotional bond of children with Romanian parents to the host country has been discussed in various papers (Bratu 2015, Ducu 2018, Ducu and Telegdi-Csetri 2018) which emphasize the fact that these children generally develop a relatively strong attachment to the environment they live in.

As Ryan (2018) also notes, embeddedness is not only spatial, but occurs within networks, too; hence their very transnational network, comprising their territorial locality on both ends, could be seen as their place of belonging and as such, ground for entitlement. However, as opposed to the Italian-British migrants in Zontini and Pero's (2019) study, who displayed a determinedly - even schizophrenically - dual identification towards two worlds that don't or even shouldn't mix, choosing between them depending on needs and opportunities, return migrants in Romania are not recognized - officially or socially - as "different" at all: they are just presumed to be Romanian and treated as such. This curtails the chameleon-like cosmopolitanism of departed migrants, and poses the normative question of a structural discrimination at "home" - as a mirror image of the putative active discrimination "abroad" - analogous to the racial discrimination for being white among non-whites that we shall present below. We identified this unaddressed structural discrimination occurring when one leaves one's migrancy and the accompanying foreign identity as the main issues our respondents faced.

2. Theoretical context

The article at hand takes into consideration the recommendation of Spyros Spyrou (2018) to address children from the perspective of "a relational ontology of childhood", "recognising that the relationality and interdependence of children's lives signal the need to move away from essentialist ontologies" (Spyrou 2019: 4). Although the normativity pertaining to such recognition - as to the possible cultural and institutional addressing of this relationality - is beyond its scope, we hope to facilitate the elaboration of a perspective that adequately explains the phenomenon in question, with a view to address normative questions on these grounds in the future.

Therefore, we have chosen to view these children in the relationship with their families in a more precise representation of their "translocal childhoods" (Assmuth et al. 2018) through the lens of a "transnational family habitus as an asset that can potentially disrupt conventional understandings of belonging and processes of inclusion and exclusion" (Zontini and Reynolds 2018: 431). Therein, for example, "beyond the prevailing rootedness vs. transnational understanding of identity and belonging to focus on new forms of settlement that we have described as transnational **emplacement**. Although these forms of settlement and integration can be seen as successful, they also appear fragile. In fact, we found that the current neo-assimilationist and nationalist political climate in Britain, exacerbated by Brexit, is profoundly affecting EU families and their children." (Zontini and Pero 2019: 11). "This is a form of integration characterized by the simultaneous development of strong local connections and emplacement practices with the retention of an ongoing engagement with the migrants' areas of origin, particularly through dense family connections." (Zontini and Pero 2019: 11).

Within the discussion of these translocal childhoods, one of our main theoretical aims is to understand how the "otherness" or "strangeness" acquired through migrancy becomes a permanent trait, one to be coped with as such, irreducible to the emigration-immigration-repatriation axis, being reflected in an exemplary manner in the case of children as beings who are not (yet) defined by permanent belongings, but rather by a "becoming" that is being curtailed beyond the limit of coherence. The group of translocal children is however not some (rootless) cosmopolitan global social stratum (such as that of attachment-less free movers etc.), but one of potentially quite well rooted individuals who are relocated while this relocation becomes a constituent factor of their lives.

In order to better grasp the way families manage these **hybrid** children (Vathi 2015, Rysst 2016, Ducu 2018) who develop a mixed identity in-between that of the country they were born in and the Romanian one, within the situation where the re-migration to Romania calls the foreign part of their identity into question through lack of public and sometimes of private recognition, we shall present the strategies transnational families employ as a response to the wishes of these children.

While, on the one hand, "hybrid identity [is] drawn from everyday cultural practices and a combination of the host country and home country culture" (Vathi 2015: 63) we must on the other hand also observe "childhood's position as a hybrid of culture and nature" (Prout 2019: 5). This is what the present study finds to be exceptionally worthy of interest, as an intersection of

constructed interests (hybrid identities) on the one hand, and of material ones (non-human elements of childhood) on the other. In this sense, one may affirm that their (children's) "identity" is still deeply anchored in "difference" – they are the essential strangers who are nonetheless one's own' (Telegdi-Csetri 2018: 2).

To address this irrevocable anchoring, we refer to the never full, but "differentiated embedding [as to] a conceptual device for understanding dynamic, complex, multidimensional and spatially differentiated processes of attachments" (Ryan 2018: 235), while these attachments to the destination countries are influenced by the temporal relationship towards the country in question (Ryan, 2018, Ducu, 2018). While this embeddedness may be less profound for adults (Ducu, 2018), "growing up" abroad leads to a greater openness towards and anchoring within difference (Moroşan et al. 2018). For this reason, we may describe these children living abroad as "global children" (Beck 2012, Ducu and Telegdi-Csetri 2018), whose embeddedness in difference also comports a significant social-cultural difference to their own family.

On the temporal side, an important characteristic of the temporality of migration for Romanian transnational families is what we have called a "temporary transnational suspension," (Ducu 2018). Before reaching a decision in the spirit of the "undeliberate determinacy" pursued by Polish migrants (McGhee et al. 2017), migration plans of Romanians seem to dwell in the temporary, being extended indefinitely without growing into a plan to settle. Without discussing the type of embeddedness this brings along, return migration is often associated with a much more definite plan of schooling for the children, in parallel with Zontini and Pero's (2019) notion that "after a while, emplacement - often associated with childbirth - or what Bygnes and Erdal (2017) have described a "grounded life", becomes a necessity."

One must add, *mutatis mutandi*, that similarly to the constraining character of the undeliberate determinacy noted above, the temporariness and indeterminacy of migrants in this context might be equally undeliberate or constrained. While any level of a process of embedding means an effort and a strain, the reluctance towards permanent settlement - and the fluidity flowing from it - is quite often not a matter of choice, but of material opportunity.

Temporally relevant decisions are hence taken on the grounds of this highly emphatic temporal fluidity within the migration context: plans made, decisions taken as one goes along (Zontini and Pero 2019) - an existential nomadism - are maintained in spite of these very decisions. It is highly relevant to see the retention of this altered temporality in a context where migrants decide to return "home" and hence give up migrancy, but remain both socially and mentally transnational.

In this sense, one may argue that migrants' purported embedding as a dynamic process as against "culture" as static embeddedness are not, in fact, conflicting: culture is in itself a process of interaction - however petrified by tradition and political discourse -, hence on a continuum with the constantly negotiated embedding of post-national agents. In other words, it is not essentially, but only contingently, territorial.

Indeed, it is the very territoriality of the transnational life-world that is lost in unrecognized return migration. In contrast with the label of a "citizen from nowhere," here, we face a "citizen that has been nowhere," a delegitimization of a life-phase that has been highly important in one's life. More yet, given that "…childhood, however defined, is a temporary phase, not a permanent social grouping" (Thomas 2019: 325), in the case of "strange" children "at home" it is exactly the very temporariness of childhood that is lost in the presumed finality of resettlement. A child's essence as a being who is in the process of becoming needs recognition by actors who are, in turn, recognized - something highlighted through territoriality -, to be able to be self-empowered - i.e., to thrive (Wall 2019). So curtailed, a child's life is divorced from its own temporality as becoming, a dual-identity child seen as singly identified loses something of her own personhood.

'Paradoxically, the children of so-called denationalized subjects – or aspiring "citizens of the world" – are forced to navigate not only processes of emplacement but also contradictory processes of assimilation and exclusion. The exclusionary consequences that this entails for their sense of identity and belonging at such a formative time in their lives.' (Zontini and Pero 2019) Of the basic need of children during this "formative time", what is it that enters a crisis here - and what is being recognized by their environment? Stability, home, safety, identification, guidance? As we shall see, families do recognize these needs to a great extent, trying to address them sometimes to quite an unexpected degree.

3. Methodological considerations

We use data from two independent research projects:

- individual interviews with parents, live and online, conducted within the framework of a project which unfolded during 2015-2017, wherein 176 participants answered questions posed by the team. 26 interviews have touched upon this topic.
- family and individual interviews, live and online (at least 3 family members - 1 child over 12 and 2 adults, parents and/or grandparents) - collected in the research practice program 'Ipostaze ale famiilor transnaționale (Different faces of transnational families and Children of transnational families)' attended by 27 students (2018, 2019) from the Faculty of Sociology, coordinated by Viorela Ducu. - 4 groups / 12 respondents have addressed the topic of children returning to the country.

Initially, although the issue was not a primary aim of the research, it surfaced from the secondary analysis of data from the first research, to be formulated as a possible topic to be investigated in the qualitative research practice program in order to supplement and verify the data initially obtained. The findings presented in this article constitute rather exploratory results on a topic that deserves more profound analysis in future research. We hope to draw more attention to the complexity and importance of the topic so that it may raise the interest of researchers from Romania as well as other from countries, especially given that it is not only the families of children born abroad who return to their parents' native Romania who confront such dilemmas.

4. Three different strategies of relating to children's countries of birth

In what follows, we shall present the cases of children born in 3 countries in order to underline three different strategies of relating to children's countries of birth: Spain, the UK, and Italy. Note that this delimitation on birth countries is merely illustrative: this does not mean that one or another strategy cannot be assumed by families irrespective of the country of birth.

4.1. Spain - 'mi amor'

The second European country after Italy as to the number of Romanians hosted is Spain, which has become a truly "impossible love" for Romanian children born and raised there: although many feel attached to it, parents do not opt for the Spanish citizenship for their offspring, since once becoming of age, they would be required to give up one of their citizenships, double citizenship not being allowed in Spain.

Spain is "the country of my soul, but not of my papers", says the mother of a "Spanish" girl and two "Belgian" boys who have "returned to Romania". **Maria** was born and raised in Spain, but never had Spanish citizenship. In Spain, she met her husband who came to work there, they got married and had a little girl there, then they moved to Belgium together, where their two boys were born. The three children are Romanian citizens. At the husband's wish, they "returned" to Romania, to his family, but both Maria as well as her children - although now being in their "home" country according to their IDs - feel more attached to other countries. For Maria, going "home" means going to visit her family who are "temporarily" living in Spain and who will one day return to Romania, into a village where they have built a house that Maria has only ever visited during holidays. Through Maria's story, we understand what a child born and raised in a foreign country not only partly, but until full maturity, may feel, especially if this country is not legally her own and if she must relocate to the country that she legally belongs to but towards which she has bears no emotional ties.

Sabin, a 4-th grade elementary school student who came to Romania together with his parents and younger brother, has managed to integrate at school and into the community (in a very small town in Romania), but remained attached to the country he was born and partly raised in - Spain. He still maintains relations with his friends and schoolmates there, who still have him as a Facebook group member of the class he left from. In Romania, the family speaks Spanish at home with Sabin and his brother (so that they don't forget it), and celebrate holidays they used to celebrate in Spain, spending vacations at the relatives and friends there. These practices are meant to maintain the relationship of children with their "soul country" and to prepare them for a possible return they might opt for when they grow up.

4.2. Italy - 'per sempre'

Laura, who was born and raised for 10 years in Italy, still maintains tight relations with her friends and relatives there after 4 years of living in Romania, and still has apps on her phone and PC in Italian. She declares that she intends to study in Italy when she grows older, but later she will probably return to Romania:

> "*Maybe I shall go and continue a part of my studies there, but of course I will return here and build just as good a career as I could have built there*". (Laura).

In turn, Laura's grandmother and mother feel that the teenager is still tightly connected to Italy and she will return to her country once she becomes an adult:

> "*...longing for her country, she longs for her country, truth is she longs for her country. … I don't know why Ana doesn't take her there… err, to a kind of trip, to such a kind of a trip, you know, but what can I say..? (…) … with us she's fine, but she still doesn't like it, she doesn't, she doesn't like it at school either… (…) …no way, she is returning to Italy. Now it is up to her destiny, no… I don't know, but she wants to go to college there.*" (Laura's grandmother).

> "*She was very well adapted and now she has feelings of remorse in quotation marks that she is not, that she is not there anymore… It is… she tells me that she misses her schoolmates, that she misses her school, her class, the nice benches, the walls with drawings… (…) Me, as a parent, will consent to her request for citizenship, I will even guide her, support her and help her.*" (Laura's mother).

Ioana and her husband have returned to Romania when she was pregnant with their third child, since their older daughter who was born in Italy was turning 6, the age to start school. The much-awaited return - by the parents - turned out to be difficult to manage by the children and then by the adults as well. The community, including the family, were not content with the new *Italian-style* family practices - from the type of food, the way to educate children, including clothing style. Moreover, the little girl in turn couldn't accept the tough and cold Romanian educational system and went to school crying every morning for a whole year. The little boy, who was almost 2 when they returned, suddenly stopped speaking and developed weight problems, being diagnosed with developmental issues at a psychological evaluation. Not being able to bear the pain of the girl at school, the parents decided to return to Italy. After the first day at school in Italy, the little girl came home happy: 'Mommy, I love Italy, such a pity I have Romanian parents!' (Ioana). Returning to Italy, the little boy started speaking fluently and gaining weight - Ioana considers that he "somatized the change".

> "*They are Romanian on paper only, in fact they are Italian: their accent, their gestures, you can't tell them from Italian children. We want to get the citizenship for all of us, including the boy born in Romania*" (Ioana).

4.3. UK - 'just for a while'

Marius was born and raised in the UK, but has always felt connected to Romania where he spends his vacations. When he had to select a college, he chose to come to Romania to study, even if the parents stayed in the UK. He relates to the UK as to a country he has lived "temporarily": "I speak English fluently, I spoke it at school there before moving to **my parents' native country**." (Marius)

Although Marius "normally recognizes England as his native country" (Marius' father), he "came often to his grandparents in Romania, he likes life in the countryside very much and during the time he enjoyed there, he learned Romanian culture and traditions in addition to the English ones, but stayed with the conclusion that he wants to settle in Romania definitively." (Marius' mother)

Even if she hasn't returned yet, as Marius did, Irina feels that Romania, her parents' country of birth could be a country where she could feel at home, since the UK is one where her Romanianness makes her feel a stranger.

Irina has been born and raised in the UK, spending her vacations in Romania, at her grandparents. She has been a happy child with a love for her country of birth (the UK), even though she enjoyed her time spent in Romania, too. During kindergarten, all seemed in order, once at school however, she started sensing a kind of racism on behalf of non-white children against the few white ones going to the neighbourhood school. In the summer, she feels perfectly integrated in her grandparents' village, in spite of being born and raised in the UK. Each year, she asks her parents to leave her at the grandparents in Romania to go to school there, especially since she spends the whole summer at them without her parents. The parents keep promising that the following year, when she is old enough, they will do as she asks, hoping that she will mature in the meantime and overcome her issues at school in the UK. Unfortunately, her separation from her British peers is intensified with every such year, even if her parents postpone the decision of letting her live in Romania.

5. Discussion

We have presented three strategies of relating to children's countries of birth by their families: 1) A relation to the birth country as one that should become the child's official country: the case of Italy. 2) An affective relation to the birth country, made difficult by the legislative framework: Spain. 3) A delimitation from the birth country: the case of the UK.

As Zontini and Pero rightly formulate, "emotional attachment and belonging can be activated by memory, imagination, long-distance communication and return visits (Svasek, 2008) but also by structural constraints, such as immigration policies (Svasek, 2010) and, as pointed out in this article, public discourse, an aspect that we believe requires further investigation, especially at times of crisis (see Miller, 2018)." Hence, we must see these strategies as a mix of both the recognition of children's attachments, as well as responses created by the material realities of citizenship statuses.

5.1. Citizenship issues for Romanians in Europe

"Unlike transnational capitalist elites, to whom states roll out the red carpet in providing the greatest access to the privileges of multiple citizenship, not all mobile populations may enjoy full citizenship in two or more nation-states. Indeed, such hybridity in citizenship can entail negotiating access to partial entitlement to rights and privileges in a number of states, and thus represent different combinations of full legal and partial citizenship" (Stasiulis 2004: 301). "Different nation-states have different protocols and rulings about single or dual citizenship and naturalization" (Conway et al., 2008: 374), and as we have presented above, the three countries have different policies in granting citizenship to the Romanians migrating there, as well as to Romanian children born there. Coming back to the idea that these families live in a state of temporary transnational suspension and while abroad, they wish to return one day to Romania, the policies in granting citizenship impact their decisions concerning their acquisition for all or some of their members.

In Italy, it is possible for Romanian citizens to be granted double citizenship, this being an acceptable solution for families as a whole even if not all members request it. Maintaining the Romanian citizenship offers the possibility to reunite the family irrespective of the country (Romania or Italy) where they will decide to reside in the long run.

For Romanian citizens, opting for a Spanish citizenship means giving up the Romanian one, and this complete split with Romania is hugely difficult, especially for the parents. Therefore, they often decide for all, including their children, to keep the Romanian citizenship even if the latter are born in Spain and live there until reaching maturity. Officially, children may receive double citizenship, but they need to renounce one once they reach adulthood. Giving up the Romanian citizenship equals with the impossibility to a hypothetical permanent relocation to the country for the adults, hence the decision not to request the Spanish one for the children born there either is more rational within the economy of transnational families.

In what concerns the UK, being granted citizenship is arduous both for the parents as well as the children born there, and requesting it presupposes a profound family deliberation, correlated mostly with a wish of potentially permanent settlement there.

"Partial citizenship broadly refers to the stunted integration of migrants in receiving nation-states" (Parrenas 2001: 1129). Conversely, for children born abroad, who are emotionally bound to their country of birth, , this concept of partial citizenship could be employed when they return to live in Romania, even if unlike migrants, they possess all legal rights that are granted by the Romanian citizenship, since the latter does not provide them with all rights guaranteed by Romanian legislation through accessing The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, or UNCRC. By this, we mean especially the right to learn in one's own culture, whereas Romania has no such program, or any official plan of action to deal with the "strange" component of hybrid children returning to Romania.

Even though we cannot provide them the right to a complete double citizenship, at least we can offer them the right to choose. In his research on "vulnerable" migrant children (examples offered by the authors: refugees, illegal migrants, Eastern European Roma), Lind (2018) discusses the decision to send migrant children back to their country of origin in dialogue with children's rights. He underlines: "it would not contradict the best-interests principle to go back home"; or "it cannot be considered negative for the child to go back home with her or his parents". These formulations leave unanswered the question of what the best interests of the concerned child actually are. The logic behind these formulations is that children's rights are primarily used for defining the worst possible living conditions, or vulnerabilities, in the country of origin that can still be tolerable to return a child to, or what the lowest possible level of protection entails" (Lind 2019: 8).
In order to fully grasp the situation of these children, we agree with the use of the term "lived citizenship" (Baraldi and Cockburn: 2018), one that through "...a focus on children's citizenship reinforces the case for a dialectical conceptualization of citizenship, which goes beyond that of a bundle of rights. It underlines the value of thinking in terms of "lived citizenship" as an element of children's developing identity." (Lister 2007: 718). This lived citizenship points us towards stating the need for a "global citizenship" - not only for these children, but universally. "The aim of global citizenship is neither the construction of a world in common, nor the deconstruction of worlds imposed by others, but rather the reconstruction of imaginative worlds that respond to one another's lived experiences of difference." (Wall 2019: 14)

However, for the present discussion, this lived citizenship as a political issue remains at the level of an interpretation of children's identification and embeddedness within families' social strategies.

5.2. Transnational children's embedding

As we have observed, children's acquired identities - adding to an asymmetrical multiple identity - are inscribed within a temporary, transient, suspended temporality on the part of their families; however, these families recognize and strategically tackle the situation of their children created by their relocation, by recognizing their transnational embedding.

First, we note the way of addressing the countries the families refer to within the migration process: "my parents' country of birth" (Romania), "my country", "her country" (child's country of birth). This signals a clear territorial identification, one with an emphatic reference to the child's foreign luggage - hence to her split identity - that is to be tackled by children and parents alike.

We know that migrants' identification strategies are strongly dependent on "receiving societies' cultural politics of identity and difference" (Pero 2013). However, given that here the "sending' society that becomes the receiving one (Romania), one is received and perceived as a natural, however this doesn't include one's acquired identity - a severe form of the 'coming home syndrome'." In our cases, this can be observed under the formulations "Romanian on paper, Spanish in feeling" or "looking and behaving as an Italian".

Maintaining relations with the other locality, but especially with the network - persons, groups, social media communities, language - represents a pillar of the connection with one's transnational emplacement. This is recognized in several of our cases (Maria, Marius, Ioana), and creates the basis of further elements of emplacement to be recognized.

The trans-local, non-ethnic and non-kinship identification of these children is also graspable by their "play language" (Ducu and Telegdi-Csetri 2018) (Ioana, Laura), and beyond that, by the educational language that may be a stronger factor of emplacement than spoken language. Along this logic, schools may be viewed as exemplary sites of belonging (Zontini and Pero 2019), something to be noticed in the case of (Irina). We note the continuation of the use of such a "foreign" language in the case of the family speaking Spanish in Romania at home for maintaining the child's Spanish identity (Sabin).

On the level of imagination - hence not yet a temporality as such, but a horizon of potentiality - adults voice their feelings that the child "will", "could" or "might choose to" return abroad, even if it is not possible at present. Such an imaginary seems quite self-understood - hence we should note that neither the political, not the cultural identity of the child is perceived as hegemonic - her potential affiliation is respected as a matter of choice.

This recognition and empathy extend as far as a provision of support for the child's wish to return to her "soul country"; even official paperwork is done with this aim. This is the point where the emotional identity overflows the boundaries of a nomadic transnational attitude and becomes explicit in a juridical-political sense. I a radical case, this can bring about the entire family's return abroad for the sake of children - since their "foreign" identification can be so visceral as to make them cry each day or cause developmental hindrances if cut. This crisis has been recognized by parents as such in the case of Ioana and led to their actual re-remigration.

On the other hand, relocation to Romania is also potentially acceptable for the children - however, in one of our cases, for Laura, Sabin, this came about on grounds of estrangement from peers abroad - i.e., of a deficient emplacement that is rivalled by the functional emplacement during vacations. This does mean a strong incentive for return - but in our other case (Marius and Irina), acceptable relocation came about spontaneously.

Now turning to the temporal plane, where a temporary transnational suspension is typical for Romanian migrant families,we note that plans of return abroad are maintained, even to the point of speaking the foreign tongue in the home for practice, for example, or to that of imagining a future choice of countries on the children's behalf. On the part of the children, it is possible to interiorize the temporariness of parents' migration - although remigration is in some cases represented not as to "my", but as to "my parents' country of birth" - hence this temporariness is not appropriated therewith. The "happenchance" migration narrative ,or migration as an adventure, - Belgian high-skilled migrants (Ducu 2018) - where migration is perceived as a very long vacation, does not come through the same way in the case of children, who are actually socialized in the destination locality, and conversely, on vacation in Romania.

Rather, starting school is often the very moment of an exit from temporariness, and a motive for return migration. However, this boundary often fails to function as one, hence even preschool children may suffer alienation symptoms by a backwards relocation (Ioana). When this happens after school has been started, the rupture is felt all the more severely (Laura and Sabin).

The fact of deliberately maintaining children's acquired identity thus shows a new dimension of temporariness, of a dynamic relationship towards one's locality, but this doesn't amount to any type of rootlessness - since the localities it is inscribed in are very clearly defined -, but rather, to a double- or multi-rootedness that actively engages with localities as matters of choice. Hence it is quite sharply different from the multiple and somewhat schizophrenic identification of Italian migrants in Great Britain who were, in principle, definitively settled in Britain (Zontini and Pero 2019).

Through the overturn of primary-secondary identities at "home" (such as speaking Spanish in the household) and the continuation/recreation of the "strange" part of family identity that is constitutive in the children's personality in a material (non-human) way, the families in question

1: recognize the emplacement into the "strange" locality (in absence of its territorial embedding) and hence create an emplacement to a non-territorial world (the transnational, the network, the long-distance relationship with those remaining there, who are not one's co-nationals, co-ethnics or kin), and moreover,

2: through this recognition on behalf of their children and in deep empathic dialogue with them, they actively build them a transnational childhood that is already a "global" one, themselves potentially moving beyond their "suspended" transnational state towards something like an assumed and definitive transnationality.

This, at the same time, brings a degree of cosmopolitanism, insofar as one manages to navigate different groups with their own logic and identity.

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BOOK REVIEW

Claudio Baraldi and Tom Cockburn (Eds.) (2018). *Theorising Childhood - Citizenship, Rights and Participation.*, 1st ed. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 278 p. ISBN 978-3-319-72672-4.

I have encountered this book in the spring of 2019, almost 30 years after the adoption of The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, or UNCRC, in 1989. Beyond its scholarly merits, by perusing this volume the reader can also share in the celebration of these three decades of struggle to raise awareness and observance of children's rights. It is all the more appropriate to recommend it to specialist readers, given that it provides a platform for important names in the field, while also touching upon some of the most recent topics within it.

Personally, I approached the book due to my recent scholarly interest in children's rights, especially in a transnational context, as part of my research into the sociology of the family. As a novice in the field, that the first thing that I can emphasize is that this work constitutes an excellent starting point for those wishing to understand not only the steps taken so far in the field, but also the current tendencies in research.

The three central themes - children's citizenship, participation and rights - are explored in a complex manner from various angles, ranging from sophisticated theoretical analyses to concrete empirical examples. Hence, the work may be of interest to both scholars interested in developing various kinds of research associated with the themes, and to practitioners who are representing their social-political environment.

The book open with a Foreword signed by David Oswell (University of London) , followed by a Preface and an introductory chapter entitled'Lived Citizenship, Rights and Participation in Contemporary Europe'. This capstone section is accompanied by a concluding chapter aptly entitled 'Lived Childhoods'. All three of the latter sections are signed by the two editors: Claudio Baraldi, University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, and Tom Cockburn, Hill University. The three chapters discuss the motivation underpinning the publication of the work (as a book developed around a scholarly event), the present importance of the field and that of the topics addressed, as 'above all concerning children's "real" lives or "lived childhood"'.

Beyond the technical presentation of the book, all four introductory/concluding chapters comprise important references from the field, especially for those not extremely familiar with it.
The book contains 10 chapter signed, among others, by very distinguished authors in the field, who focus on their main areas of expertise.

Hanne Warming from Roskilde University discusses **Children's Citizenship in Globalised Societies** in an excellent theoretical study that tries to theorize the role played by globalization in the way children understand and apply their own rights while also assuming the variation of their own identity. The author proposes the concept of a , 'practice theoretical prism', the various facets of which constitute various theoretical perspectives that contribute to a more nuanced understanding of children's citizenship in a global society.

Michael Wyness from the University of Warwick, one of the most important authors in research on children and childhood, whose most recent book, *Childhood, Culture and Society in a Global Context* has also been published last year at Sage Publishing, is the author of the chapter entitled **Children's Participation: Definitions, Narratives and Disputes**. In this paper, Wyness makes an excellent review of the concept of participation, one that has 'become a research orthodoxy within childhood studies': starting from the 'dominant narrative of children's participation' until 'more recent research on the multidimensional, context-specific and relational features of children's participation'.

Two of the well-known authors of the field, Nigel Thomas, University of Central Lancashire, and Daniel Stoecklin, University of Geneva, sign the chapter **Recognition and Capability: A New Way to Understand How Children Can Achieve Their Rights?**, a theoretical comparison of recognition theory (personal identity) and the capability approach (action) and a wonderful combination of these within application: UNCRC being 'an example of how children's place in intergenerational relations is constructed'.

Florian Eßer from University of Hildesheim, in the chapter **Theorising Children's Bodies. A Critical Review of Relational Understandings in Childhood Studies**, proposes to analyse the concept of 'the body in childhood studies' for overcoming 'common dichotomies in childhood studies between childhood as a social construct and children as actors' in order to develop 'a concept of childhood that is both material and social'.

Michele Poretti from the University of Teacher Education (HEP) Lausanne, signs the chapter **Unexpected Allies: Expanding the Theoretical Toolbox of the Children's Rights Sociologist**. The author develops 'on contemporary debates within French sociology, opposing Bourdieu's critical sociology and the pragmatic sociologies of Boltanski and Latour' in the study of children's rights […] and explores the possibilities of mobilizing these partially conflicting approaches within participation research'. This chapter combines theoretical rigour with practical application of these theories.

Manuel Jacinto Sarmento, University of Minho, Institute of Education Braga, Rita de Cássia Marchi, FURB, Regional University of Blumenau, and Gabriela de Pina Trevisan, University of Minho, Institute of Education Braga, co-author the article entitled **Beyond the Modern 'Norm' of Childhood: Children at the Margins as a Challenge for the Sociology of Childhood**, where they bring into discussion the social norms by which children find themselves under the coordination of adults, as well as the fact that children at the outskirts of society (street children; ethnic minority children; refugee children etc.) are forgotten by research, the focus being what is considered "normal", either socially, or as a perspective of study.

Barry Percy-Smith, University of Huddersfield, in the chapter entitled **Participation as Learning for Change in Everyday Spaces: Enhancing Meaning and Effectiveness Using Action Research**, focuses especially on the approach of childhood research, and emphasises that beside listening to the voice of children, so often invoked within research, an important role falls to participatory research that produces effects on child respondents. The chapter exemplifies how such a participatory research has led to empowerment of young Roma and to countering gender discrimination.

Federico Farini, University of Northampton, authors a highly applicative chapter where one is presented with how children are coordinated by adults in a theoretical learning of becoming citizens: **The Child, the Pupil, the Citizen: Outlines and Perspectives of a Critical Theory of Citizenship Education**. The solution for citizenship pedagogy should probably come from research on cosmopolitan citizenship, that would propose shifting attention from the ways in which adults help to shape future citizens towards the way children already live their day-to-day citizenship.

Yannis Pechtelidis, University of Thessaly, Volos, also proposes an empirical study on the role of education in the formation of political values in children by comparing two types of schools: public elementary schools and a pedagogical community run by its members in Greece, in the chapter entitled **Heteropolitical Pedagogies: Citizenship and Childhood—Commoning Education in Contemporary Greece**.

Sara Amadasi and Vittorio Iervese from the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia approach the theme of transnational citizenship within a study entitled **The Right to Be Transnational: Narratives and Positionings of Children with a Migration Background in Italy**. Based on a research which unfolded in Italy, the study shows how children negotiate their position as transnational citizens within a workshop where children actively debated their own perceived identities as members of transnational communities.

I warmly recommend the present work to all those interested in the topics of citizenship, rights and participation of children, as it provides the reader with the necessary overview required to understand the recent research directions in the field.

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The *Romanian Journal of Population Studies* is published twice yearly by the Centre for Population Studies. The journal is included in the EBSCO, ProQuest, ERIH PLUS and C.E.E.O.L databases.

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