Community, Identity, and Mobility of Eastern European Roma: A Systematic Review 2002-2022

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Abstract: This paper is a systematic review of studies on the situation of Eastern European Roma. It examines themes of community, identity, and mobility published in the literature between 2002 and 2022 in the social science, law, and education fields. Studies were identified methodically by searching multidisciplinary electronic databases and hand searching. The studies found were imported into Mendeley, and titles and abstracts were screened according to inclusion and exclusion criteria. A list of search terms with SKOS descriptors (thesaurus) was generated to cover the relevant topics. A data extraction table was drawn up with a set of fields for each of the studies. Items included bibliographic information, study type, study characteristics, participant characteristics, variables, main findings, and limitations. The database searches yielded a total of 6577 records. After an individual hand-search review of the texts, a total of 14 studies were considered and included. We concluded that very little research has been done on the central themes of the study. In addition, there are no texts that look in depth at the issue of education as a tool for poverty reduction.

Keywords: Roma, European mobility, poverty, systematic review, Eastern Europe.

This systematic review focuses on research into the community, identity, and mobility of Eastern European Roma in social science, legal, and educational literature published between 2002 and 2022. The migratory flows of the Roma population from Eastern to Western Europe (Leggio & Matras, 2017; Viruela, 2020) present new forms of vulnerability (Gutiérrez & Gimeno, 2019). These forms of vulnerability are linked not only to ethnic issues but also to policies affecting the mobility of people recognized as European citizens (Guardabascio et al., 2023; Legros & Vitale, 2021; Nacu, 2011) and who face problems of social inclusion and exclusion (Gutiérrez, 2020; Powell & Lever, 2017). “Roma” is an umbrella term (Bereményi, 2023) that encompasses heterogeneous groups with diverse cultural, linguistic, and territorial identities that are influenced by variables related to vulnerability, together with social inclusion and exclusion (Melotti et al., 2023; Rutigliano, 2020).

Research on Roma populations argues that this particular group has been—and continues to be—in a vulnerable position due to the obstacles encountered during displacement (Humphris & Sigona, 2019), administrative processes (Gleeson, 2015), European structures (Marcu, 2018; Ringold et al., 2005), and social exclusion processes that undermine both individual and community stability (Clavé-Mercier & Angell, 2018; Vacca et al., 2022; Wilson, 2017). Therefore, research that addresses issues related to the Roma population is needed to examine and explore in-depth. This approach can help us to understand better the central issues

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related to poverty and social exclusion in Europe of an ethnic group that has historically suffered from social vulnerability (Tramullas, 2020; Şuiu, 2019).

This paper focuses on essential concepts such as community, identity, and mobility in the European context, which according to academic literature, political agendas, and reports of social organizations (Macias & Del Pino, 2023; Martínez-Damia et al., 2023; Remus & Duncan, 2020), are transcendental aspects in studying the Roma population. These issues are related to poverty and social exclusion. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the scientific publications that address the problem to help to understand better the situation of people and communities that share European territory. The present study aims to examine the following:

1. The academic literature on Eastern European Roma around crucial aspects such as community, identity, and mobility.
2. The role of European states in responding to Roma social exclusion and poverty.
3. And the risks and obstacles present for Roma within the European territory, as well as the underlying response of the target population.

Literature Review

Mobility and Vulnerability of the Roma Ethnic Minority in the European Context

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 marked a turning point in the political organization of Europe (Matras, 2000). Unlike other immigrant groups that began their mobility trajectories towards the European Union (EU), the Roma have migrated from their homelands at different times in search of higher wages and better living conditions. They have been driven by enhanced job opportunities (Marcu, 2013) and by finding stability in politics, social rights, and ethnic recognition (Gamella, 2007). Thus, since the 1990s, the flow of migrants from Eastern European countries to Western countries has been particularly noteworthy (Sovotka, 2003). Mobility was stimulated by the creation of the Schengen area in 2002 and the enlargement of the EU in 2004 and 2007. The EU enlargement process increased the Roma population from 1.7 million (EU-15) to 6 million (EU-27)—in other words, the European Roma population quadrupled as a result of the 2004 and 2007 enlargements (Laparra & Macías, 2009). The Roma minority is the largest ethnic minority group in the EU. It is complex to establish the number of persons belonging to the Roma ethnic minority in each country. The specific characteristics of the Roma, in addition to possible administrative obstacles to their registration, meaning that their presence in local censuses is lower than the actual number (Macías & Del Pino, 2023; Villalgordo & Hernández-Pedreño, 2020). Nevertheless, these data can allow estimates of the number of people who represent the population. This issue is of interest in countries such as Spain, where municipal censuses do not distinguish between ethnic groups (Torres, 2023).

With the accession of several different countries to the EU and in the context of free movement—albeit with certain practical restrictions (Frajdejas et al., 2021)—in 2011, around five million Roma from the newly acceded EU countries (mainly Romania and Poland) became permanent residents in Western European countries, particularly France, Spain, and Italy (Cousin et al., 2021). As such, one of the main characteristics of the Roma ethnic minority in the European context is mobility (Marcu, 2022). This mobility increases the group's vulnerability, as evidenced by recent economic, political, and social crises. The financial crisis of 2008 only exacerbated the situation (Marcu, 2013), leading to an increase in the number of people returning to Eastern European countries, the search for new destinations, and constant mobility within the EU, where there are currently around 10 million Roma (Peña, 2022).

Furthermore, the socio-economic crisis triggered by COVID-19 has also impacted Roma migration flows in the European context (Kortukova et al., 2020). The pandemic's consequences have disproportionately impacted Europe’s Roma ethnic minority, mainly due to
their high levels of exclusion and living conditions. This socio-economic crisis has intensified existing exclusionary dynamics (Macías, 2022) and increased levels of racism and discrimination in the European context (ERGO Network, 2020). During the pandemic, racist and xenophobic discourses and attitudes towards the Roma ethnic minority were accentuated in all European countries (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2020). It could be argued that there has been a process of ethnicization of the pandemic through the fostering of anti-Roma sentiments across Europe (B. Halpern, 2020). This wave of racist and xenophobic discourses particularly impacted migrants returning to their countries of origin (Berescu et al., 2021). In Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Slovakia, news of the mass return of migrants was used to fuel fears of the spread of COVID-19 (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2020, p. 26). These social reactions and impacts have historically followed one another, with the Roma ethnic minority being blamed for the situation and the adverse effects of any social, political, and/or health crises or upheavals (Ladanyi & Szelenyi, 2006). This discriminatory treatment violates the fundamental and political rights of European citizens. However, it would also be worth studying the effects of Brexit (Sime et al., 2022) and the Russian invasion of Ukraine on Roma population mobility (Brzozowska, 2022).

Moreover, there has been a great deal of interest in the Roma population in Europe among researchers over the last few decades (Viruela, 2020) due to the constellation of groups that exist within the ethnic group. As a result, the situation of the Roma and the policies proposed for its improvement (Laparra, 2005) have been the subject of much technical-scientific analysis and social debate. One of the main issues addressed in numerous studies concerns poverty and social exclusion processes (Lagunas, 2017). The Roma communities have been pushed to the margins of society, both geographically and figuratively (Dimitrova, 2013). Issues related to housing, health, education, and establishing settlements have been extensively addressed by researchers (Condon et al., 2019; C. Halpern et al., 2022; Fernández-Feito et al., 2019). It is noteworthy that many Roma individuals and families have experienced social exclusion and poverty from the outset, i.e., they have already suffered from marginalization, and therefore breaking out of the cycle of poverty is a challenge, even if they change their location (Bourgeois, 2013; Braconnier & Mayer, 2015). Even though there are several national and European plans to promote the social inclusion of the Roma, they are still today the most disadvantaged and excluded ethnic group. Nevertheless, the situation has gradually improved regarding recognition and historical reparation (Gamella, 2007; Torres, 2023). In addition, social and economic support has increased (Marcu, 2018), and social organizations defending human rights have been created.

There have been several reviews of the situation of the Roma in Eastern Europe. Lukes et al. (2019) reported on the housing situation where social exclusion was persistent. Meanwhile, Carmona et al. (2019) examined the relationship between Roma families and schools. Other studies have also been carried out, such as McFadden et al. (2018) on health, Watson and Downe (2017) on discrimination against women, and Zagalaz (2012) on cultural aspects, including flamenco. However, to date, no systematic studies have been conducted that integrate the study of Roma communities with identity and mobility practices.

**Methodology**

This systematic review followed the guidelines of the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) statement (Cameron-Mathiassem et al., 2022), which provides an auditable pathway with clearly defined and transparent methods for each stage of the review (Jesson et al., 2011). The aim is to systematically review the published literature on the situation of Roma from Eastern Europe at the European level.
Method and Research Design

An information review was carried out following a systematic search of the scientific literature on the situation of Roma from Eastern Europe between 2002 and 2022. The review specifically searched for the following topics, which constituted the operational definitions: migration project, profiles, ethnicity, Roma ethnic minority, cross-border mobility, diaspora, control systems, reception systems, social inclusion, social policies, training, vulnerability, and community. Search terms included word combinations with Roma from Eastern Europe. In addition, references in the papers identified as relevant were analyzed to capture a broader range of search terms.

Search Strategy

The search was conducted to identify all the papers published between 2002 and 2022. Studies were identified by searching multidisciplinary, electronic databases and, in a second stage, by hand searching. The studies found were then imported into Mendeley. Titles and abstracts were screened to remove duplicates and articles not meeting the inclusion criteria (Boland et al., 2017).

Literature Databases

The search in electronic databases was completed with a manual search, consulting the bibliography of the selected articles in the following databases: (1) Web of Science, a multidisciplinary database focused on social sciences and humanities; (2) Wiley Online Library, a database of systematic reviews, (3) Scopus, a multidisciplinary database, and (4) SciELO, Scientific Electronic Library.

Search Terms (Descriptors)

The search terms—descriptors—used by the researcher consisted of a list of search terms was developed using SKOS descriptors (thesaurus) to cover the relevant topics, of topics and sub-topics (including synonyms, abbreviations, variant spellings, and related words) and free-text terms, and SKOS descriptors were grouped and linked by ‘and’ or ‘or’ to allow reproducible searches.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Regarding geographical scope, the inclusion criteria considered studies that addressed the central research question in the European region between 2002 and 2022. Articles in English and Spanish were included as these were the most widely disseminated in terms of language. The study design did not impose any sample restrictions, that is, we searched for articles that addressed the central theme of the systematic review. The exclusion criteria were those studies that met the inclusion criteria but were not in social sciences, law, and education. Concerning assessing the quality of the studies, some weaknesses were identified in the selected studies, particularly in presenting ethical considerations (Schofield et al., 2017).

Data Extraction and Analysis

A data extraction form was designed that included a set of fields for each study. It contained the following items:
A database of the documents found was compiled, and each document was given an identification number. The study selection process consisted of two steps: (1) Title and abstract screening to ensure that the inclusion criteria were met; and (2) full-text review.

**Results**

The database searches yielded a total of 6577 records. After eliminating 2838 duplicates and 3354 articles that were not relevant to the aims of this review, 345 records were included. The excluded texts did not meet the inclusion criteria. After a manual review of the texts, 14 records were considered and included (Figure 1).

**Figure 1**

*PRISMA Table*

![Flowchart of the PRISMA selection process](chart.png)

*Note.* Elaborated by the author.
Characteristics of the Studies

Of the 14 studies that met the inclusion criteria, 4 were published between 2004 and 2012, and 10 between 2013 and 2022. The papers were taken from academic journals covering a range of disciplines, including anthropology (n = 4), sociology (n = 3), demography (n = 2), migration (n = 2), law (n = 1), education (n = 1), and international politics (n = 1). Most of the studies were written in English and published by UK publishers. Nine of the studies were single-authored, while the remainder were collaborative works with a maximum of three authors.

Five of the studies analyzed dealt with aspects of the community (Bereményi, 2023; Clavé-Mercier & Olivera, 2016; Cousin et al., 2021; Gamella, 2007; Legros & Vitale, 2011). Three texts focused on identity (Grill, 2018; Vrăbiescu, 2017; Viruela, 2004), and six on mobility (Anghel & Fosztó, 2022; Dimitrova, 2013; Magazzini & Piemontese, 2016; Marcu, 2013; Sigona, 2011; van Baar, 2021).

The studies used different methodological designs, including 5 qualitative, 2 quantitative, 2 mixed (with qualitative and quantitative tools), and 5 theoretical studies. The selected studies reported on cross-border mobility, socialization processes, prejudice, inclusion processes, violence, and youth. It should be noted that several studies focused explicitly on Romania and Spain as reference countries (Anghel & Fosztó, 2022; Laparra & Macías, 2009).

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Database</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Viruela, R.</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>DIALNET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Gamella, J.</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Theoretical study</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>WILEY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Legros, O. &amp; Vitale, T.</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Theoretical study</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>SCOPUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Sigona, N.</td>
<td>Mobility</td>
<td>Theoretical study</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>SCOPUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Dimitrova, S.</td>
<td>Mobility</td>
<td>Theoretical study</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>SCOPUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Marcu, S.</td>
<td>Mobility</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>SCOPUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Clavé-Mercier, A. &amp; Olivera, M.</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>SCOPUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Magazzini, T. &amp; Piemontese, S.</td>
<td>Mobility</td>
<td>Theoretical study</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>WOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>Vrăbiescu, I.</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>WOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>Grill, J.</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>WOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2021</td>
<td>Cousin, G., Bianchi, F. &amp; Vitale, T.</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>WOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2021</td>
<td>van Baar, H.</td>
<td>Mobility</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>WOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2023</td>
<td>Bereményi, B. A.</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>SCOPUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2022</td>
<td>Anghel, R. G. &amp; Fosztó, L.</td>
<td>Mobility</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>WOS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most of the qualitative studies dealt with issues related to community and mobility. Most studies used interviews, discussion groups, and participant observation as qualitative research techniques. The quantitative studies were more concerned with identity. The most common techniques used were questionnaires and statistical data interpretation. In particular, the mixed studies conducted temporal research using questionnaires to record respondents’ impressions over time. Finally, the theoretical studies focused on various topics grouped under community, identity, and mobility headings. This study examined the results of three key concepts: community, identity, and mobility.

Approaches and Findings on Community

The topic of community was addressed in five of the texts examined (Bereményi, 2023; Clavé-Mercier, 2016; Cousin et al., 2021; Gamella, 2007; Legros & Vitale, 2011). The main themes addressed in the texts included socialization, slum settlements, integration facilities, and institutional neglect. Communities are seen in all the articles as centers of protection for individuals and families and as a unifying force in the face of problems. Articles such as by Legros and Vitale (2011) describe how high mobility and attempts by local governments to create regulatory processes have further alienated Roma from social inclusion processes. One text interestingly referred to this type of mobility and community location as 'unknown immigration' (Gamella, 2007), that is, the presence of the Roma population is sometimes interpreted by the societies where they live as unknown people. As they live in areas far from urban centers, society generally does not express discrepancies over the location of the settlements. However, there are cases of conflict when Roma communities approach urban contexts, and coexistence is a daily occurrence.

Regarding housing, the articles reviewed link community issues to slums and housing deficits. Papers such as by Cousin et al. (2021) point out that communities tend to be located on the outskirts of large cities. This is mainly because there are rezoning problems or the communities are set up on abandoned sites or in old factories and farmhouses. As such, these are areas where evictions are challenging to carry out because they are located within the legal boundaries of occupation and may also be areas where the private and public sectors are sometimes at odds with each other. An interesting aspect related to the above is the movement of Roma between settlements. Gamella (2007) describes the movement of the Roma communities between different settlements within a country or between different countries as part of their mobility process. This issue invites us to look further at how conditions of poverty are perpetuated over time and distance and how people uphold their traditions and community practices. Notwithstanding, social inclusion processes seek to involve the population by improving their living conditions through integration facilities (Clavé-Mercier & Olivera, 2016). Besides analyzing community aspects, the reviewed papers discuss state or regional public investments to improve housing. However, these processes are considered inadequate, and resources are not sustained (Gutiérrez, 2017). Political changes impact the maintenance of resources at the municipal level, which, if combined with the problems of exclusion within the communities, causes the Roma population to enter a circle of poverty that is difficult to escape. The texts observed warn of the problems that arise for the Roma population in situations where public resources are eliminated, whether in terms of food, clothing, aid for constructing their homes, or medicines.

Efforts to evict Roma from established communities have led to violent confrontations and made it difficult for social workers to access them (Legros & Vitale, 2011). It is noteworthy that between 2009 and 2013, the number of expulsions of Roma in Europe peaked, especially in Spain, France, and Italy. Moreover, expulsions have been a catalyst for mobility and the maintenance and development of community centers in the EU. This issue has an impact on the
European resolutions aimed at offering housing alternatives in the face of evictions. In addition, it is crucial to understand that the birth rate in the Roma population is very high compared to the rest of European society, which is why it is pertinent to highlight the impact of these measures of pressure and confrontation with the Roma population, as expressed in the works studied in this research (Clavé-Mercier & Olivera, 2016).

As far as the professionals involved are concerned, social workers, educators, and psychologists often lack the necessary resources to meet the community's needs, forcing them to be creative in their interventions and make the best use of the resources available. However, thanks to social workers’ efforts, communities adapt to cultural and social norms. The findings of the studies on community also show how new arrivals and their subsequent adaptation process can be influenced not only by the processes they encounter in their home countries but also during their transnational mobility (Clavé-Mercier & Olivera, 2016; Legros & Vitale, 2011). One aspect highlighted about communities and professional interventions is that limited access to the population and community mobility make it difficult to sustain social programs and influence social inclusion processes (Gamella, 2007). Finally, it is perceived as necessary that the professionals who intervene at the community level have the necessary training to attend to the population. As observed in the studies, situations of violence, poverty, and social exclusion require specific training to optimize existing resources and enable better social care.

Approaches and Findings on Identity

Three of the texts dealt with the issue of identity (Grill, 2018; Viruela, 2004; Vrăbiescu, 2017). The examined papers found that the relationship between ethnicity, poverty, and exclusion has not changed. Two different approaches to identity were adopted in the texts. On the one hand, a link is made between identity and social exclusion, with authors calling for implementing inclusion plans and policies for the Roma community, among others. On the other hand, identity is seen as a form of identification in that the Roma sees it as symbolizing the struggle and unity of the Roma people. The literature on identity remains surprising, and what does exist tends to focus on community and mobility.

Identity is also associated with aspects of benevolence and violence. Vrăbiescu (2017) explores this dichotomy and reflects on how society has two ways of understanding ethnic groups. On the one hand, there is a humanitarian understanding of ethnic groups as a collective needing social assistance (due to the widespread belief that ethnicity is linked to poverty). On the other hand, there is a violent approach to ethnicity. This violence stems from the negative view that anything outside mainstream society benefits from public resources and social support. As seen throughout the texts analyzed, these issues also create tensions regarding community and mobility—the other relevant factors in this paper.

Another important aspect related to identity is found in Grill (2018). The author notes that, depending on where they settle in Europe, Roma people have developed lifestyles over the years that make distinguishing one Roma group from another possible. Although their adaptation to norms, policies, and customs leads to marked differences among peer groups, there are features of Roma identity that are widely accepted and upheld by the population, despite the differences in terms of development, economy, and relations compared to the rest of society. However, these issues contrast with the reality where the Roma population lives with difficulties and strong criticism regarding their lifestyle, which can be interpreted as alternative or exclusionary.
Approaches and Findings on Mobility

Finally, six studies examined aspects of mobility (Anghel & Fosztó, 2022; Dimitrova, 2013; Magazzini & Piemontese, 2016; Marcu, 2013; Sigona, 2011; van Baar, 2021). Three key issues emerge in these texts when considering the plight of Roma throughout Europe. Firstly, there is constant mobility between East and West in search of better working conditions, which illustrates how social exclusion and poverty are maintained over time in different European countries. This high level of mobility does not encourage settlement in one place and can also lead to forced evictions from communal areas. Large families, families left behind in the country of origin and needing support from abroad (especially the elderly), or dependent family members in poor health, provide additional incentives for Roma to seek better opportunities elsewhere (Sigona, 2011). In addition, mobility networks are created between community groups that provide security and information on employment, legal matters, or other issues that may arise (Montoya & Gutiérrez, 2023; van Baar, 2021). The texts analyzed indicate that most Roma are employed in low-skilled jobs, particularly in agriculture, the service sector, and care for the elderly. It is worth noting that begging is considered a form of employment (Dimitrova, 2013), in line with other authors who are experts on these issues (Gutiérrez, 2017; Legros & Vitale, 2011).

Secondly, the texts address the situation of the Roma in their countries of origin—precisely, the extreme poverty faced by many families before the fall of the Berlin Wall (Marcu, 2013). Roma families have long been oppressed and persecuted in many Eastern European nations, including Romania, under the socialist dictator Nicolae Ceauşescu. This oppressive history means that Roma are not on an equal footing with their fellow citizens regarding education and work experience.

Lastly, several authors consider the Roma expulsions from several EU countries from 2010 to 2013 a serious problem, particularly in countries like Spain, France, and Italy. The cross-border mobility of Roma during specific periods of crisis is highlighted in texts such as Marcu (2013). Expulsions, barriers to employment, or other problems that may arise only increase the population’s ability to adapt to the environment, which is even greater among young people. The texts reflect the ability of the Roma to adapt to the rules during different periods, including, for instance, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the accession of some countries to Europe, the economic crisis, and even the pandemic.

Mobility is typified by groups arriving from Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania and is seen as a conflict caused by the inability of states to control their populations. One final aspect to highlight concerns the return of the Roma to their country of origin. Over time, there have been ill-intentioned voluntary return campaigns to convince the population to leave in exchange for money, thus forcing Roma to return to their places of origin and engage in back-and-forth mobility perpetuating poverty (Gutiérrez, 2017). These issues have created conflict among local populations in countries such as Spain and France, where the 2008 European economic crisis also triggered social exclusion.

In short, the texts focusing on mobility questioned the role of the European Union in its management of migration flows of the Roma in Europe. Another interesting factor discussed was the production of irregular citizenship in which racism played an important role (van Baar, 2021).

Discussion and Conclusion

This systematic review aims to examine the situation of Roma from Eastern Europe. The included studies were reviewed for each of the three main aspects (community, identity, and mobility) to identify the interventions implemented and the problems encountered. The
studies underwent a quality appraisal process to provide transparent information on the strengths and limitations of their design.

In terms of community, spatial segregation, and precarious housing conditions were among the most critical issues in the studies analyzed. The mobility of the Roma within Europe also increases the risk of housing exclusion, as confirmed by authors such as (Molnar, 2023; Legros & Vitale, 2011). Another factor that came to the fore in these studies was the limited impact of public policies to improve the living conditions of the Roma ethnic minority, even though housing was considered a priority area. However, there has been evidence of situations that have not allowed the provision of housing alternatives to the population, thus increasing the position of instability, especially when the birth rate is higher in community contexts.

Identity was the least addressed aspect in the literature reviewed, and, in most cases, it was linked to the other two themes of this paper: community and mobility. However, in the studies analyzed, the identity issues of this ethnic minority are generally linked to poverty or benevolence, as well as to the tendency for certain prejudices and stereotypes to be perpetuated (Avin & Pilarczyk, 2023; Cretan et al., 2023).

Population mobility is a cross-cutting theme in many studies and is the most common element in the studies analyzed (Horňák et al., 2023; van Baar, 2021). Three different lines of research on mobility can be identified. The first centers on studying migratory flows and their link to employment or the functioning of transnational networks (Gutiérrez & Gimeno, 2019). The second focuses on the situation of the Roma and the extreme poverty experienced by many families living in communities in their country of origin. The third looks at the voluntary return of migrants, examining issues of expulsions and barriers to social inclusion in employment, housing, health, and education. These studies shed light on the structural discrimination that exists in a variety of sectors and different European countries. In this sense, there needs to be more investment in resources and a lack of European legislative structure to help and guide member states in mobility concerning those population groups that move around on an itinerant basis.

The studies reported on the challenges faced in receiving countries, the obstacles and risks associated with mobility in Europe, and the problems of social inclusion. All of the texts addressed the situation of Roma in Eastern Europe from different perspectives, although very few addressed community cohesion or promising practices to follow throughout the mobility process. Nevertheless, Marcu (2013) provides a comprehensive view of mobility in precarious economic conditions, whereas Dimitrova (2013) presents a legal approach in the European context. A notable and positive feature of the papers is that most of them are based on collaboration with the communities, institutions, and services used by the study population. The field study approach is crucial in these cases, not only to learn about the processes that take place but also to propose interventions that respond to the realities and needs of the people concerned. Although several texts deal with the important issues of the profile, situation of exclusion, community, and employment, there are no texts that deal in depth with the issue of education as a tool for poverty reduction (Gutiérrez, 2020). Moreover, there are no instances where the population is directly asked about their interests, but instead, estimates and comparisons are made with other population groups.

A vital issue observed in the studies is the need to train social workers in topics related to the Roma population and their mobility. The studies have yet to study professional skills, which is of great interest as it is a mechanism that would help people escape poverty. Furthermore, the need for more public resources for the social inclusion of the Roma population is concluded. During the crisis from 2008 onwards, the reduction of budget allocations and the expulsions of the Roma population did not ultimately serve to reduce the problems of poverty but instead catalyzed it.
This review focuses on the use of qualitative techniques by researchers to the detriment of quantitative or mixed techniques. However, no control groups were found to ensure research that could measure aspects such as anxiety, self-esteem, and migratory grief—among others—which could encourage social interventions and their subsequent dissemination in scientific journals.

Finally, concerning the study's main limitations, it is possible to argue two. On the one hand, those related to methodological aspects. In data collection, it would have been interesting to study and search for texts dealing with the situation at source and personal experiences related to the study participants. It is relevant to know the affairs of the population in the first person, which is why the studies should incorporate this issue that can shed light on research with Roma in Europe and the rest of the world due to its specificities related to mobility. On the other hand, the focus of the study has been primarily negative, i.e., it has focused on issues that affect the population to the detriment of positive and successful experiences within the interventions. Similarly, it is essential to note that only 14 papers were analyzed. It would be pertinent in future research to expand the number of selected articles and increase more features and aspects in the studies for their interpretation related to mobility, identity, and community.

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Authors declare that they have no conflict of interests.

References


Notes on Contributors

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