In-between identities and hope in the future: experiences and trajectories of Cigano secondary students (SI)

Maria Manuela Mendes, Olga Magano, Susana Mourão & Sara Pinheiro

Published online: 30 Jan 2023.

Submit your article to this journal ⬚

View related articles ⬚

View Crossmark data ⬚

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Check for updates

In-between identities and hope in the future: experiences and trajectories of Cigano secondary students (SI)

Maria Manuela Mendes (ID)[a,b], Olga Magano (ID)[b,c], Susana Mourão (ID)[b,d] and Sara Pinheiro (ID)[b]

[a]ISCSP, Universidade de Lisboa, Lisboa, Portugal; [b]Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia do Iscte-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (CIES-Iscte), Lisboa, Portugal; [c]Universidade Aberta, Lisboa, Portugal; [d]Instituto de Saúde Ambiental (ISAMB), Lisboa, Portugal

ABSTRACT

Increasing numbers of Cigano people in Portuguese schools show that this is the most educated generation to date. However, according to recent data only 2.6% are enrolled in secondary education. Using an intersectional approach examining gender, ethnicity, and family socioeconomic status to explore the youngsters' academic trajectories, and focusing on tensions of the interplay between structural constraints and individual agency, enables us to explore identity reconfiguration processes ('in-between'). The data, based on 32 semi-structured interviews, point to three main dimensions regarding the youngsters' aspirations for social mobility: the school relevance to achieve jobs differing from traditional activities; school perceived as a means to develop important transversal skills, useful in broader citizenship contexts; school as a privileged space for inter-ethnic socialisation, with impact on the youngsters' school and professional future. Participant heterogeneity explains variations in their aspirations for upward mobility, as well as differentiations in the construction processes of in-between identities.

Introduction

Portugal is still characterised by an education deficit (Martins et al. 2016), which translates into both non completion of compulsory education and educational non-success, especially evident up to the mid-20th century. It was only after 1980 that the situation began to change more notably, largely driven by the democratisation process pursued after 25th April 1974.[1] The burgeoning democracy boosted dynamics of expansion and stronger inclusion in education systems (Martins et al. 2016). Whereas in 1970 illiteracy rates reached 25.7%, by 2011 it had fallen to 5.2% (PORDATA 2021); while the rate of early school-leavers in 1992 was 50%, by 2020 it had dropped to 8.9% (UE 27, 10.2%) (PORDATA 2021). The higher schooling levels led to greater overall opportunities to access more qualified professions and consequently higher incomes. Hardly an exclusively Portuguese peculiarity, instead rather widespread across the European Union (García-Carrión, Molina-Luque, and Molina Roldán 2018; Pasca 2014),

Ciganos[2] are among those primarily affected by schooling inequalities, as the majority continue to have low schooling levels and high rates of educational underachievement and early school leaving. Despite the massification of education, Ciganos lag behind. A recent systematic literature review on Roma and education in Europa, Lauritzen and Nodeland (2018) demonstrated that Roma students have been primarily perceived as victims or associated to problems, highlighting issues such as academic underachievement (i.e. absenteeism, early leaving or poor grades). This focus on the reasons for underachievement has been predominant in the research on social inequalities in education and even about the relationship between minorities and education.

This paper aims to discuss Ciganos' outlook on school continuity and access to mandatory schooling (12 years),[3] as there are currently no national studies on their secondary education level schooling. We shall analyse the social mobility trajectories of young Ciganos in Portuguese society and their increased educational qualifications, examining how education and socialisation through schooling promotes the learning of citizenship skills associated with a deep sense of democracy in a global age (Rios and Markus 2011). Thus, according to Abajo (1996), a change at the social level ensures quality education, where young Roma can identify themselves as citizens in their own right.

Nevertheless, Roma are often seen as Europe's most disadvantaged minority. In terms of education, Durst and Bereményi indicate that 'despite the expanding higher education sector in Europe, and in contrast with the high academic achievement of some immigrant minority groups, students who belong to Roma groups are still characterized by low participation in higher education' (2021, 235). About 30% of the general population has a university degree, according to OECD (2014), contrasting with only 1% of people identified as Roma in East and Southeast Europe with post-secondary education (FRA & UNDP 2012). Thus, they are often targets of segregationist attitudes and racism, namely at school, as reported in the most recent FRA reports (2018).

Gender inequalities are still very present in Europe, and it is important to highlight that Roma women are among the last ethnic minorities to enter university, further exacerbating the sense of marginality and exclusion towards and within Roma communities (Pantea 2015). Based on our previous work, there is a clear need for an intersectional approach to explore issues associated with gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic status of the family, given that 'gender inequalities are particularly marked, namely in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, where the dropout rate of girls in secondary education is 37.5% (compared to 16.2% among boys)' (Mendes and Magano 2021, 23).

Intersectional lenses suggest that the educational inclusion of young Ciganos depends on the interaction of social, historical, economic and cultural factors, to which Santiago et al. (2019) add the mutual relationship between the family and educational dimensions. Accordingly, some EU guidelines (COM, 2011, 2010; Directive 2000/43/EC) point to the importance of implementing social and educational programmes covering different initiatives and practices, such as innovative methods of participation and involvement of members of the educational community, including the family. This concern remains strong, as the 'measures should also mainstream Roma equality, inclusion and participation in both Union and national policy initiatives, paying special attention to intersectionality and the gender dimension' (CEU 2021).

Based on a qualitative approach, the main objective of this paper was to discuss how educational achievement, continuity trajectories and school aspirations of Ciganos can stimulate processes of ascending social mobility and the construction of an in-between identity (Marginson 2014; Wang 2020). To achieve this, we will present some statistics on how Roma youngsters may constitute a disadvantaged social group in terms of school and professional success, with particular emphasis on gender differences. In addition, we will advance theoretical approaches contextualising Cigano identity reconfiguration processes across their school and social mobility aspiration trajectories. Following this, the methodological section provides further details on our qualitative procedures, emphasising some limitations related with researching marginalised groups, particularly in the pandemic context. The principal findings point to three main dimensions regarding the youngsters' aspirations for social mobility, in view of their academic trajectories: the school relevance to achieve jobs, differing from traditional activities; school perceived as a relevant mean to develop important transversal skills, useful in broader citizenship contexts; school as a privileged space to inter-ethnic socialisation, with impact on the youngsters' school and professional future. Lastly, we present the main conclusions, compared with other European studies and highlight regional and gender differences, providing relevant clues for policies and further action.

Contextual background

According to the report of the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA 2016), an average of 63% of Roma aged between 16 and 24 years old were not in employment, education or training during the survey period, in contrast to the EU average of 12% for the same age cohort. In this age cohort, the results also show a considerable gender disparity, as 72% of young female Roma were not in employment, education or training, compared to 55% of young male Roma. It is therefore clear that the vast majority of working-age Roma do not have the necessary training to obtain rewarding jobs (COM 2011).

At a national level, the data compiled by Mendes et al. (2014) had already revealed the existence of disparities in terms of schooling between Ciganos and the general population. Approximately 2.3% of the respondents (n = 1599) possessed a secondary school diploma (compared to 19.2% for the general population) and 0.1% a higher education diploma (compared to 16.5%) (PORDATA 2014).

According to the most recent data (DGEEC 2020), for the 2018/2019 academic year (99% response rate), the general rate of early school leaving stands at 8%, being more pronounced in the 2nd cycle (14.2%) and in secondary education (11.9%). Thus, the problems of educational underachievement and early school leaving are particularly incident at cycle transition moments, leading to youth not acquiring established skills. Despite this data, the current generation of Ciganos in Portugal has a higher schooling level that should enable them to initiate upward social mobility processes; this is partially explained by their enhanced academic level (Machado and da Costa 1998), which follows the trend of other EU countries (Marcu 2019).

The motivations and conditions conducive to the educational achievement and successful schooling of Roma students and which enable closer engagement with the school culture have been investigated over the last two decades in the European context

(Abajo and Carrasco 2004; Bereményi and Carrasco 2017; Brüggemann 2014; Gamella 2011; Gofka 2016), but less so in the national context of Ciganos (Magano and Mendes 2016).

Despite the fact that we are witnessing the most educated Portuguese Roma generation ever, we are still confronted with a high level of educational underachievement. In our view, 'these circumstances reveal the incapacity of policies and even compensatory measures to overcome the challenge of (in)completion of compulsory education, a situation that persists and continues largely unresolved in Portuguese society' (Mendes and Magano 2021, 20–21). But this situation goes beyond Portuguese society as we find that education is one of the four areas that stand out in the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies until 2020 (Lauritzen and Nodeland 2018). Hence, the continued difficulty in bridging gaps between Roma and non-Roma population also stands out at an international level (Brüggermann and Friedman 2017).

Theoretical framework

Two analytical approaches have dominated since the precursory studies on this topic: i) the intention to identify explanatory variables of successful pathways, through the analysis of experiences and trajectories of some Roma students (Abajo and Carrasco 2004; Bereményi and Carrasco 2017; Brüggemann 2014; Gamella 2011; Gofka 2016; Magano and Mendes 2016; Marques 2013; Carmona, González-Monteagudo, and Soria-Vílchez 2017); ii) sometimes alongside the first approach, a search to unveil the individual experiences of identity (re)configurations as a consequence of those pathways (Abajo and Carrasco 2004; Kende 2007; Hinton-Smith, Danvers, and Jovanovic 2018). In this regard, Brüggemann (2014) refutes the thesis of the contradiction between Roma culture and academic achievement, in explicit dialogue with the cultural-ecological theory, proposing that Roma university students should be understood as active agents who maintain interethnic social relations while reconstructing the meaning of Roma culture and its relationship with education.

In more recent studies (Bereményi and Carrasco 2017; Bereményi 2018; Nyírő and Durst 2018), there is a visible concern to present the effects of these pathways in various dimensions of these students' life. Giving a voice to Roma protagonists, some of the studies emphasise the individuals' characteristics and their agency in the construction of their trajectories (Gofka 2016). Agency refers to an individual or collective capacity to act with 'intentionality' in line with 'rational' choices and in response to a given circumstance (Tran and Vu 2018). For Goller and Paloniemi, agency is 'strongly related to the assumption that human being are agents of power and change. They are not fully subjugated by surrounding structural forces; rather, they are able to make choices and to act on these choices' (2017, 2).

Our approach in this paper is close to the perspective on human agency reconceptualised by Emirbayer and Mische (1998), who conceive it as a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its habitual aspect), but also oriented towards the future (as a capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and towards the present (as a capacity to contextualise past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment). Marginson (2014) highlights the importance of agency freedom, as active human will, the seat of self-directed conscious action, which guides

reflexive self-formation and the self-negotiation of identity (Marginson 2014, 111). Depending on the social situations in which they are embedded, people may resort to multiple identifications.

Identities are in constant negotiation and their dynamism and plasticity lends them a contextual, project-oriented and procedural nature. Moreover, boundaries, especially ethnic, are fluid and dynamic, being updated and re-updated in scenarios of interaction. Some studies about Roma and education showed that the most common reaction is dual identity (Nyírő and Durst 2018), but they are also able to move between identities (Levinson and Sparkes 2005), which are continually transformed and reshaped (Powell 2011). However, the (re)configuration strategies appear to go beyond the construction of these multiple (Hall 1998), hybrid (Bhabha 1994), plural (Lahire 2001), reflexive and performative identities, drawing closer to the concept of in-between identities (Marginson 2014; Wang 2020); this is most used in the analysis of trinomial transnationalism, agency and identities, namely studying transnational students. But what is clearly revealed in the case of our analysis is the intercultural adjustment that nourishes the development of an intercultural identity (Wang 2020), contrary to the construction of bipolar, binary, immutable or essentialist identities, and especially the importance of individual agency to manage the stress, tensions, and dilemmas that are continuously shaped by the interplay with structural constraints.

Borders become a space of dispute and negotiation (Anthias 1990), as they are not static, but continuously redesigned to serve different (economic, political, cultural) interests and processes. We thus draw on an intersectional approach that combines gender, ethnicity and class, highlighting the importance of different psychosocial factors role in Roma mobility (Kóczé 2010). This perspective has interesting heuristic potential in the context of our analysis, aiming to be 'comprehensive, complex and nuanced and does not reduce social hierarchical relations into one axis of power' (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss, and Cassidy 2019, 3). In this sense, we position ourselves in this paper within a multidimensional perspective, considering gender, ethnicity, class, and family traditions as intervening factors in upward mobility.

Methodology

This paper specifically presents part of the research[4] undertaken between 2019 and 2020, which was mainly based on a qualitative approach, adopted in order to value and give meaning to the perspectives and voices of Cigano students (Creswell 2012).

The data was collected through 32 semi-structured and in-depth interviews with Cigano students attending secondary education in the 2018/2019 academic year in the Lisbon and Porto Metropolitan Areas. Traditionally, the studied population is difficult to access for various reasons, including: the tendency of few Ciganos progressing to secondary education, absence of official information about student ethnicity (disaggregated data), the probability of some students not revealing their ethnic belonging in the school context, especially in large territories such as those that were analysed. We therefore used a combination of different strategies for establishing contacts with potential interviewees: i) privileged contacts with Ciganos, previously established in other research projects; ii) recourse to privileged informants connected with key entities and institutions (e.g. local projects); iii) use of a public list of scholarships attributed to

students in secondary education; iv) mobilisation of a snowball strategy, in which each interviewee indicated other potential participants. In light of the difficult access to the studied population, it is possible that those interviewed were the youngsters who have a more positive attitude towards school. This limitation might generate a possible bias effect on our findings, namely in the Cigano's and families' recognition of school relevance. The pandemic situation caused by Covid-19 further constrained the fieldwork. Initially, the interviews were conducted face-to-face (mainly in public spaces), but due to the lockdown situation, they started to be held over Zoom. This change hindered the access to a population which is already difficult to reach and hampered the intended use of participatory methods, raising some ethical concerns surrounding research with marginalised groups.

The interviews varied in length between 37 minutes and 2 hours 12 minutes. Participants were informed about the study's objective and potential risks to their involvement, and gave their written consent to participate.

The interviews' semi-structured script[5] involved diverse themes: the youngsters' personal life history (places of residence, family structure, and work); characterisation and history of their family of origin (education, professional occupation, ethnic assignment); the youngsters' relationship with school (school trajectories, experiences of discrimination); free time and leisure activities (sport, cultural, religious, associative); future expectations and strategies to improve the situation of Ciganos in school.

Initially, all the data from the interviews was analysed through classic content analysis (Bardin 2011; Maroy 1997), using a grid based on the interview script. Other categories and subcategories were also defined, resulting from exploratory codification of the actual material, in a mixed coding process. Mutual exclusivity among the created categories/subcategories was assured. The most relevant categories were then selected and analysed through reflexive thematic analysis (Clarke et al. 2019) to identify the key themes raised by respondents that most closely met the paper's specific objectives. The resulting themes were revised in relation to the coded extracts to generate a thematic map of the analysis, enabling a better understanding of the relationships between the defined themes and subthemes. Both of the analyses were supported by MaxQda software.

Findings and discussion

Participant characteristics

All the participants were, at the time of the interview or in the previous year, enrolled in secondary education, attending schools in the Lisbon or Porto Metropolitan Areas. Table 1 reflects the diversity of participants in terms of their sociodemographic and school characteristics, essential in explaining some differences in their aspirations for upward mobility.

As presented in Table 1, the overall majority of the participants were male, particularly so in Lisbon, while in Porto the sample showed a slight female majority. As expected in secondary education, the majority were aged between 16 and 18 years old (M = 19.3), with the Lisbon students tending to be older. The majority (all in the case of Porto) were single, but had heterogeneous family rearrangements, with the most common household composition being living with parents and/or siblings, and sometimes with other family

Table 1. Sociodemographic and educational characteristics of the participants.

Variables	Lisbon Participants (n = 17)	Porto Participants (n = 15)	Total (N = 32)
Sociodemographic Characteristics			
Sex			
Female	4 (23.5%)	8 (53.3%)	12 (37.5%)
Male	13 (76.5%)	7 (46.7%)	20 (62.5%)
Age			
Under 16 years	0	1 (6.7%)	1 (3.1%)
16–18 years (Portuguese compulsory education)	10 (58.8%)	9 (60,0%)	19 (59.4%)
Over 18 years (post-compulsory education)	7 (41.2%)	5 (33.3%)	12 (37.5%)
Min-Max (Mean)	16–35 (20,1)	15–28 (18,5)	15–35 (19,3)
Civil Status			
Married	2 (11.8%)	0	2 (6.3%)
Single	15 (88.2%)	15 (100,0%)	30 (93.8%)
Parents of Cigano Origin			
Both parents	9 (52.9%)	8 (53.3%)	17 (53.1%)
Only mother	5 (29.4%)	4 (26.7%)	9 (28.1%)
Only father	3 (17.6%)	3 (20,0%)	6 (18.8%)
Social welfare Support [a]			
School Support[6]	15 (93.8%)	9 (60,0%)	24 (77.4%)
Social Support Integration (RSI)[7]	3 (18.8%)	6 (40,0%)	9 (29,0%)
School Trajectories			
School Level			
10th grade	5 (29.4%)	4 (26.7%)	9 (28.1%)
11st grade	3 (17.6%)	1 (6.7%)	4 (12.5%)
12nd grade	9 (52.9%)	9 (60,0%)	18 (56.3%)
Unknown	0	1 (6.6%)	1 (3.1%)
Course			
Professional	10 (58.8%)	11 (73.3%)	21 (65.6%)
Regular	5 (29.4%)	4 (26.7%)	9 (28.1%)
Home schooling	1 (5.9%)	0	1 (3.1%)
Adult offer	1 (5.9%)	0	1 (3,1)
Area			
Languages and Humanities	6 (35.3%)	4 (26.7%)	10 (31.3%)
Kitchen and Tourism	2 (11.8%)	2 (13.3%)	4 (12.5%)
Management, IT or Electronics	2 (11.8%)	3 (20,0%)	5 (15.6%)
Mechanics	2 (11.8%)	0	2 (6.3%)
Sales and Commerce	1 (5.9%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (6.3%)
Accounting	1 (5.9%)	0	1 (3.1%)
Sports	1 (5.9%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (6.3%)
Video and Multimedia	1 (5.9%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (6.3%)
Theatre	0	3 (20,0%)	3 (9.4%)
Unknown	1 (5.9%)	0	1 (3.1%)
School Failure			
Yes	7 (41.2%)	6 (40,0%)	13 (40.6%)
No	9 (52.9%)	9 (60,0%)	18 (56.3%)
Only in some modules	1 (5.9%)	0	1 (3.1%)
Interruptions in School Trajectory			
Yes	8 (47.1%)	5 (33.3%)	13 (40.6%)
No	9 (52.9%)	10 (66.7%)	19 (59.4%)

[a]Some benefit from the both social supports together.

members (e.g. sisters-in-law). About half of the youngsters had two Cigano parents (the others were of mixed origin), whose educational and professional characteristics are detailed in Table 2 and briefly presented below. The majority of them (particularly in Lisbon) received school social benefits.

In terms of school trajectories, the majority of participants had completed or were attending the 12th grade, especially in Porto, mainly attending a professional course, but

Table 2. Educational and professional characteristics of the youngsters' parents.

Variables	Lisbon Participants (n = 17)	Porto Participants (n = 15)	Total (N = 32)
Mothers' School Level			
None/unable to read or write	1 (5.9%)	3 (20,0%)	4 (12.5%)
4 years	10 (58.8%)	7 (46.7%)	17 (53.1%)
Less or equal to 9 years	4 (23.5%)	3 (20,0%)	7 (21.9%)
10 years	2 (11.8%)	0	2 (6.3%)
University	0	2 (13.3%)	2 (6.3%)
Father's School Level			
None/unable to read or write	2 (11.8%)	2 (13.3%)	4 (12.5%)
4 years	4 (23.5%)	5 (33.3%)	9 (28.1%)
Less or equal to 9 years	9 (52.9%)	3 (20,0%)	12 (37.5%)
12 years	2 (11.8%)	1 (6.7%)	3 (9.4%)
University	0	2 (13.3%)	2 (6.3%)
Unknown	0	2 (13.3%)	2 (6.3%)
Mother's Profession [b]			
Street or itinerant trade	6 (35.3%)	5 (33.3%)	11 (34.4%)
Own business	2 (11.8%)	1 (6.7%)	3 (9.4%)
Household/cleaning activities	3 (17.6%)	3 (20,0%)	6 (18.8%)
Church leader	2 (11.8%)	0	2 (6.3%)
NGO technician	0	1 (6.7%)	1 (3.1%)
Unemployed without other activity [b]	4 (23.5%)	5 (33.3%)	9 (28.1%)
Father's Profession			
Street or itinerant trade	8 (47.1%)	5 (33.3%)	13 (40.6%)
Own business	1 (5.9%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (6.3%)
Intercultural mediator	0	2 (13.3%)	2 (6.3%)
Security	0	1 (6.7%)	1 (3.1%)
Driver	1 (5.9%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (6.3%)
Construction	4 (23.5%)	0	4 (12.5%)
Company technician	0	1 (6.7%)	1 (3.1%)
Unemployed	1 (5.9%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (6.3%)
Unknown	2 (11.8%)	3 (20,0%)	5 (15.6%)

[b]There are 5 situations of informal/unpaid sporadic activities, along with disability leave or unemployment.

in various areas overall. It is important to stress that 13 of the participants (nearly 40%) failed the year at least once and/or experienced an interruption in their school career, which is aligned with some national and European data presenting Roma student trajectories of failure and early school leaving. The youngsters' parents tended to have low levels of education (about 50% only had 4 years of schooling). The majority worked as traders, mainly as itinerant vendors or at fairs, or were unemployed. Fathers tended to have more diverse professional activities than mothers (Table 2).

Academic trajectories and aspirations for social mobility

Our main objective was to explore the youngsters' academic trajectories and the general findings revealed their recognition of school as a means to attain social mobility, but also exposed striking difficulties in these academic trajectories (i.e. several barriers to their aspirations of social mobility), revealing, underlining interesting processes of identity reconfiguration ('in-between identities'). This was particularly the case for participants with two Cigano parents who mainly worked in street trading activities, which confirms previous findings that more disadvantaged young people aspire towards a higher social class position via the dream of a 'white collar job' and intend to prevent the reproduction of social deprivation (Boros 2019; Fangen 2010; Pantea 2015).

Three main dimensions were identified regarding the youngsters' aspirations for social mobility in relation to their academic trajectories. They recognised schooling as i) a relevant tool to achieve jobs, in different areas from the traditional activities usually undertaken by Ciganos, and ii) also as a relevant means to develop important transversal skills, usually useful in broader citizenship contexts. They also referred to the relevance of school as iii) a privileged space to socialise, which was perceived as impacting their success and future professional aspirations.

These dimensions were compared with previous international (mostly European) findings, since there is little national research about Cigano school trajectories and social mobility aspirations, especially regarding secondary education. Furthermore, because the participants were from the two main Portuguese Metropolitan Areas, we also highlight regional differences to help plan local actions to promote better engagement and school success for (both north and south) Cigano students. Based on our intersectional approach, the participants' gendered discourses also raised valuable comparisons regarding how Roma women and men may navigate different school/professional trajectories and aspirations.

The youngsters' recognition of their aspirations to social mobility was influenced by the support they received regarding their school attendance (especially by family/parents):

> Paula: Ah, they always say it's a source of pride for them, of course, they are very supportive (. . .) my family has always been supportive (. . .) I reckon they wouldn't even let me leave school.

Thus, our findings contradict the international literature that points to the tendency of minority parents (e.g. migrants in the US) to limit young peoples' aspirations to continue schooling; this is explained by unconscious processes such as their sense of what is attainable in their usually unfavourable conditions, which ultimately creates a coping strategy of survival and adaptation (Fann, McClafferty Jarsky, and McDonough 2009; Ceja 2004). Instead, our findings are more aligned with specific data on European Roma parents, which indicate that they value their children's education in a discursive way, especially when a greater involvement of Roma families at school is encouraged (Roberts 2020; Marcu 2019).

Family support for the youngsters' school attendance, as a means to social mobility, was perceived as being extended to their overall contacts, including other Ciganos and friends (mainly for participants), boyfriends/girlfriends and significant non-Ciganos (particularly for Porto youngsters), teachers and other school staff (e.g. psychologists):

> Leoni: The philosophy teacher (. . .) whenever I received a poor grade, I remember he would get kind of upset. I remember him telling me (. . .) 'Don't be like that, the world continues spinning, we will always be friends, but do me a favour, show us that the Ciganos are here to show they're good'.

Another indicator of the recognition of the relevance of schooling to social mobility, especially among younger Cigano generations, was their intention to support school attendance when they have their own children. For Porto youngsters this support was particularly emphasised at least up to the 12th grade, revealing their acknowledgement of the importance of compulsory national education, a key condition 'to having a good job/

future'. Lisbon participants went further in their expectations, expressing the desire that their children study until the end of higher education:

> Esmeralda: *They will study. Of course, they will. My children will study, it's not even an option not to study. My child must study, know how to read and write, for God's sake. (...) Up to the 12th grade, university, doctorate, master, whatever they want.*

As an illustration of their aspirations of upward mobility, our participants indicated that the more educated Ciganos, particularly women, manage to influence others in their communities, as their successful school trajectories make them important role models for other youngsters, contributing to significant intergenerational change. Their own successful schooling trajectory may serve as a key factor for other Cigano youngsters/ families to recognise the value of education and thus break the widespread (mis)conceptions held by Ciganos that they are not able to reach higher schooling levels and/or specialised professions. This idea also confirms the relevance of an intersectional approach to analyse the school trajectories of Cigano students, since their different gender and educational belongings interlace and lead to a kind of social advantage (Fehérvári and Varga 2020).

Such as in the Durst and Bereményi (2021) study of first-generation Hungarian Roma graduates, our narratives also demonstrate that these Cigano students aspire to be not just passive recipients of social capital, but instead active social agents and generators of new knowledge resources, relationships, and norms, actively contributing to reconstruct and redefine their ethnicity.

Achieve jobs and transversal skills

Overall, the participants recognised the school as a means to 'have a good future' or 'to be someone in life', linked with the opportunity to choose a specialised profession (e.g. lawyer versus household cleaner) and some perceived it as a means to achieve better economic conditions and more opportunities than their family's:

> Jorge: *And my relatives, my grandmother, my grandfather, from both sides, tell me, 'Hey, study ... Study, you can do it, you have an opportunity that I never had ...'*

> Tonny: *(...) my uncle Jorge also always tells me to continue schooling, that if he were my age, he always says that: 'If I were your age'*

According to their geographical origin, the youngsters' referred to two main ways of identifying themselves or thinking about their Cigano origin in their aspirations to a 'new' professional and social trajectory. Porto youngsters mainly stressed their intention to remain close to Cigano people traditions (e.g. via the arts, defence of minority rights), indicating mobilisation of social and cultural capital during the process of social ascension and the sense of giving something back to the community:

> Bárbara: *While in politics I see a way to help and be heard, (...)I would like to concentrate on a further two areas, for example, violence against women and LGBT people. Yes, it would be those two and then refugees, but it would be within those areas, human rights.*

Some Lisbon youngsters prefer to have their own business, but mostly different from traditional street trades.

> Belarmino: *I want to study, I want to take my master's degree, but I also want to be self-employed, it's not going to be in trade, it's going to be something that I'm going to build, a company of my own.*

In this case, they seem to (at least partially) assimilate into mainstream society to achieve upward social mobility, which is also true for the Hungarian Roma students studied by Boros (2019) and Durst and Bereményi (2021). Beyond identities in assimilation processes, or multiple (Hall 1998), hybrid (Bhabha 1994) or plural (Lahire 2001) identities, it seems that we are witnessing processes of identity reconfiguration and readjustment approaching the concept of *in-between identities* (Wang 2020). The general findings reveal their recognition of school as a means to attain social mobility, but also presented some vivid tensions, dilemmas and stressful experiences in these academic upward trajectories (i.e. barriers on various levels to their aspirations of social mobility), especially so for girls, highlighting interesting processes of identity reconfiguration.

> Barbara: *I was always censored a lot and I always heard less pleasant comments . . . [referring to the extended family] (. . .) but always, honestly, I never cared what people thought. (. . .) I always took life my way and things my way and how I thought I was right. And they always scolded me a lot and I was like 'ok, you guys have an opinion and I have mine. Fortunately, if they don't like the university, they won't go, but I will.'*

Likewise, Gofka (2016) suggests that Roma university student identities should be understood as dynamic and multidimensional rather than oppositional or assimilated (Brüggemann and D'Arcy 2017). These young people experience a non-rigid or fixed identity, their identity references are not binary, instead constructed in a liminal space and in a space of ambivalence in which agency emerges.

> Emília: *Because to go to university, my family was against it and wanted me to get married. I had to leave . . . from home to be able to continue my studies. (. . .) I always had a friend – who was the friend who helped me leave the house – who . . . always encouraged me to study (. . .) but she always said: 'You can do it, you can go very far'.*

> Gonçalo: *The English teacher: 'are you adopted?'*
> Esmeralda: *We are mulattos, moreover. 'Is he adopted?' I've been asked. (. . .) There it is, Gonçalo never defined himself. Not me, I've always been proud. If they told me: are you African? I said I am. Are you a Cigano girl? I am. I always defined myself, Gonçalo didn't, "I'm Portuguese."*

In line with the idea that school attendance and educational achievement leads to more opportunities to choose professions and thus improve future life/economic conditions, there is the perception, shared by several Lisbon participants, that this situation also enables a broader social inclusion in Portuguese society as a whole. For some of these youngsters this integration in school and broader society is particularly related with their dissociation from unlawful activities, especially for those with both parents of Cigano origin and fewer years of schooling:

> Jorge: *Well, a person with little schooling either starts selling drugs or does . . .*

> Romeu: *It's about trying to encourage them to go to school and show them that a Cigano lifestyle often doesn't work out well. Attempting to make them understand that it's always*

better to have jobs (. . .) Many Ciganos sell things unlawfully (. . .) there's that danger of being imprisoned.

The role of school in the youngsters' societal inclusion was also perceived as important to enable the development of transversal citizenship skills (e.g. respect for others and diversity) to learn about themselves, about others and about citizenship skills (Rios and Markus 2011) in a democratic, global and multicultural world. Hence the need for additional school investment in disciplines that handle this topic:

Iago: (. . .) citizenship . . . it always appears to me that it was missing at C. school, because we often want to interact with other students, even at the actual school, and they don't know how to hold a conversation.

The participants also referred to school as a means to achieve key skills (e.g. reading, speaking different languages), particularly for women, which is not surprising as Roma women are one of the last ethnic minorities to attain higher education in Europe (Pantea 2015). This has important practical implications for our research, since it gives us crucial clues for policies and action.

Inter-ethnic socialisation

Despite the strong barriers to access and succeed in school, the majority of participants recognised school as a relevant space for (inter-ethnic) socialisation, by referring to their positive experiences of interaction with a diverse range of peers:

Leoni: Schoolyard time is a time for socialising (. . .) we exchange ideas, I'm talking for myself, outside school I'm rarely with people like that who have different ideas from mine (. . .) so I like to socialise at school, I get to exchange ideas with people who have a different mindset.

The Porto participants particularly revealed their perception of school as a multicultural institution and also highlighted the importance of socialising with teachers and other school staff, stressing the importance of a good school environment as a whole. In several cases, these positive interactions, emphasised mainly as non-discriminatory, ended up having a positive impact on the youngsters' school continuity (they go to school to be with their friends/colleagues or teachers, they dislike a new school because they left behind some old friends). Thus, school relationships may also have potential influence on their success and educational/professional aspirations. Indeed, other European studies indicated that Roma school success factors are a cumulative product of integrated school environment, protective school-teacher relationships and exposure to diversity (Durst and Bereményi 2021; Pantea 2015).

Despite the positive interactions, the majority of participants also regarded school as a discriminatory context, aligning their portrayals with those of other European Roma students who frequently recall stories of discrimination and exclusion during their education and social mobility processes (Deuchar and Bhopal 2013; Durst and Bereményi 2021; Marcu 2019; Roberts 2020). The Porto participants particularly highlighted discriminatory behaviour by teachers and/or school management bodies and Lisbon youngsters referred to racism from peers:

Emilia: *My colleagues initially exhibited racism. (...) They kind of bullied me, were scornful about Cigano ethnicity.*

Vladimir: *(...) for example, the administration completely dismisses the idea of us being Cigano and (...) once told my brother and I not to tell anyone that we were Cigano*

Consequently, especially in their first school contacts, some undertook to hide their Cigano/Roma identity or 'pass' for non-Roma (since Roma are stigmatised in society and were not expected to be successful). This involves disguising true cultural identity in line with the assumption that life will be less hostile if such information remains hidden (Derrington and Kendall 2004).

Especially for some boys, this discriminatory environment resulted in negative impacts on their educational achievement:

Jaime: *Right from the first [year], when I started there was some of that discrimination. So much so, that when I reached the 3rd year I didn't even know how to read or write. (...) I always passed the year. Practically without learning anything. First, second, third, I didn't know how to read. I didn't learn. It was always there, that discrimination. They always set me aside, left me there, gave me a form to fill in, just get on with it and that was that. I practically only learnt in the 4th year.*

Several participants identified mismatches on multiple fronts between school organisation and Cigano families, which may constitute one of the most significant barriers to the youngsters' academic and professional success. This proves that is crucial to examine the intersections between family, cultural and educational dimensions to better understand the school trajectories of Cigano students (Santiago et al. 2019).

They mentioned tensions between educational/professional offers and their aspirations and, interestingly, expressed different concerns according to their various aspirations. Youngsters in professional courses spoke more about maladjustments in terms of curriculum, but those in 'regular' academic courses, who probably aspire to enter university, spoke more about their 'forced' choice to take some courses due to the competitiveness of the labour market.

Esmeralda: *I wanted to be an anthropologist. And anthropology has more career opportunities in other countries than here. So, I decided to re-examine that . . . .*

Tensions were also noted between cultural traditions and obligations (marriage, child-rearing) and family support (not) received for school attendance. These conflicting roles reveal the hidden costs and hardship of Cigano social ascension, as previously discussed by other European authors (Bereményi 2018; Piemontese, Bereményi, and Carrasco 2018).

This was particularly true for girls, who expressed some family ambivalence or low expectations regarding their successful school trajectories, probably explained by the unemployment or volunteer experience of other more educated Cigano/Roma women, warning that investments in education are hazardous and a confirmation that there are no available opportunities for marginalised minorities (Pantea 2015). In this case, the dual belonging of being Cigano and women contribute to a more disadvantaged social condition (Fehérvári and Varga 2020). Besides this, several of the interviewees expressed different expectations of supporting their future children's school attendance when talking about boys or girls:

> Belarmino: *I'm going to give them freedom of choice to choose what they want, but I will always encourage them to study. (. . .) But not if they're girls. I'll take them out of school early, they will continue studying at home, [in] those virtual schools.*

It seems that formal education systems may be understood as space aimed at assimilation and so be perceived as the ultimate statement of distancing from one's ethnic self (Pantea 2015). Particularly regarding girls, elements of the more conservative Roma communities of South and Eastern Europe have concerns about their sexual life (e.g. reputation linked with maintaining virginity before marriage; Kyuchukov 2011), which may explain the persistence of these gendered discourses by some of our Portuguese participants, where peer pressure is particularly relevant.

The challenge of upwards social mobility was also expressed by the participants who had less educated parents, who emphasised that non-Ciganos (including teachers) usually equate Ciganos with academic underachievement and blame them for it, disregarding institutional and structural constraints on Cigano engagement at school (Mendes and Magano 2016; Piemontese, Bereményi, and Carrasco 2018; Rostas and Kostka 2014). The participants who seem to resist these forces of social reproduction, probably as a result of their resilience and agency traits (motivated by proving that they are capable to the sceptical or reluctant majority), are the ones who interestingly referred to having more linear school trajectories (i.e. no interruptions/failures).

Similar to other studies, some of the conversations highlighted the social and economic barriers and how this may contribute to an intergenerational cycle of educational underachievement (FRA 2016; Piemontese, Bereményi, and Carrasco 2018); especially in accessing paid secondary education (in some private schools) and university courses.

> Pilar: *The fees, [are a] financial issue. If people see it's expensive, they won't go. And they like school. They can't continue because they don't have the money. (. . .) They don't have money, they don't work. As they [the parents] don't work, they don't have schooling, their children can't continue.*

Conclusion

In this analysis is very clear that education performs a pivotal role in social mobility among Ciganos and this is a tool that can expand future options and opportunities. In fact, the majority want to access university and achieve a qualified and socially recognised profession, wishing to be protagonists of paths of upward social mobility. Education has numerous impacts on their identities, life chances and social networks. For these students, school is largely a space of opportunities that their parents' generation could not access or experience, especially so for women. Paradoxically, it is also among girls that tensions and conflicts arise most around the opposition between Cigano traditions/culture and the continuity of school trajectories. However, the process of distancing that some young people are accused of does not necessarily mean loss of their roots (Brüggemann 2014). Instead, their Cigano identity is managed in a contextual and situational way, although marked by tensions and constraints, in which they seek to manage and reconcile the different dimensions of their identity (Padilla-Carmona, González-Monteagudo, and Soria-Vílchez 2017). A significant part of the students who were interviewed continue to preserve more

traditional values and traits, such as endogamy. The identity construction between these two worlds, combining aspects of both 'being Cigano' and 'not being Cigano', enables the preservation of certain cultural traits, while simultaneously pushing away others with which they do not agree, taking us back to the role of agency in that construction (Gofka 2017). Moreover, as observed by Brüggemann (2014), we find youngsters with pathways considered successful who do maintain close ties with their family, Cigano friends, and the community, and who deny the opposition between Cigano culture and school and are actively engaged in the renegotiation of that relationship and the construction of their Cigano identity. In fact, these youngsters' strategies are manifold and complex, not reduced to the polarisation between ethnic invisibility and assimilation. What best describes these students is their in-between identity, as they are able to navigate multiple worlds. Today, some are working, others are in higher education, or even reconciling these two experiences. The notion of in-betweenness allows us to capture more nuanced changes and situations (Wang 2022). At the same time, these youngsters seek to deconstruct stereotypes in relation to the so-called majority society, serving as a community reference model and showing that it is possible to preserve Cigano culture and continue studying.

In some families, the value of school is not recognised or appreciated, as if parental support is not a decisive element for the pursuit of education. This situation underlines human agency as temporally informed by the past, but also driven towards the future and acting in the present. As actors move within and between different contexts, they are able to change their relationship with the structure (Emirbayer and Mische 1998), simulta-neously and progressively revealing a certain autonomy to delineate differentiated life projects (Velho 1999). This is when the relevance of the (self)transformative potentialities of human agency, when faced with contradictory or otherwise problematic situations, becomes sharply evident (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). For most, their trajectories are neither linear nor simple and some leave family and community to pursue their school-ing and professional aspirations.

It is a fact that education is a key factor and especially relevant for people from disadvantaged social backgrounds, but this paper highlights the need to move forward. Despite the greater presence of Ciganos in secondary education and regardless of their resilience, inequalities persist, undermining the social opportunities and future of many youngsters and children. Accordingly, being more visible entails the need for greater recognition of Ciganos' identity and culture, both in educational or social spheres. Thus, for one hand, 'the voice' of Cigano parents and students should be listened in the design, development and application from educational programmes, strategies, projects and politics, in order to overcome their 'vivid' structural inequalities. On the other hand, is essential to invest in a more systematic and continued manner in policies, projects and programmes that offers incentives and opportunities of qualification equivalent to those of the general population.

Notes

1. Before 25 April 1974 Portugal lived under a dictatorship, there was no freedom of expres-sion, nor the right to education, health, housing, etc. Democracy and the welfare state emerged after this date.

2. We maintain the emic term in Portuguese, as it is still recognised and used by the Portuguese Ciganos themselves. In international context, the term can be understood as Portuguese Roma or Romani persons.

3. Compulsory education covers 12 years of schooling, involving 4 different levels of education: 1st cycle of 4 years (6 to 10 years of age); 2nd cycle (10 to 12 years of age); 3rd cycle with a duration of 3 years (12 to 15 years of age); secondary education corresponds to a three-year cycle (15 to 18 years old).

4. This project is funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology [PTDC/CED-EDG /30175/2017].

5. Data collection instruments were approved by the Ethics Commission from Lisbon University Institute.

6. The school support is a political measure that covers some school expenses (e.g. school material acquisition, scholarly visits) from more economic disadvantaged families.

7. The RSI is a pecuniary governmental support to protect people/families in a situation of extreme poverty, aiming to ensure the satisfaction of their basic needs. Includes a contract, where are agreed some actions to ensure a progressive social and community integration, considering the individual's/families' own conditions and characteristics. Thus, both of these measures could be considered as indicators of youngsters'/families' socio-economic vulnerability.

Disclosure statement

Funding

ORCID

Maria Manuela Mendes http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5269-8004
Olga Magano http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9661-6261
Susana Mourão http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2828-7640
Sara Pinheiro http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0045-7647

References

Abajo, J. E. 1996. "La escolarización de los niños gitanos (o la educación como proceso inter-personal que refleja y reproduce relaciones sociales desiguales y contradictorias)." *Cultura y Educación: Revista de Teoría Investigación y Práctica* 3: 81–102. doi:10.1174/113564096763270343.

Abajo, J. E., and S. Carrasco. 2004. "Experiencias y trayectorias de éxito escolar de gitanas y gitanos en España: encrucijadas sobre educación, género y cambio cultural, Ministerio de Educación Cultura y Deporte, Centro de Investigación y Documentación Educativa: Ministerio de Trabajo e inmigración, Instituto de la Mujer."

Anthias, F. 1990. "Race and Class Revisited - Conceptualising Race and Racisms." *The Sociological Review* 38 (1): 19–42.

Bardin, L. 2011. *Análise de Conteúdo*. Lisboa: Edições 70.

Bereményi, B. Á. 2011. "Intercultural Policies and the Contradictory Views of Teachers: The Roma in Catalonian Schools." *Intercultural Education* 22 (5): 355–369. doi:10.180/14675986.2011.643134.

Bereményi, B. Á. 2018. "Costes de la movilidad entre gitanas y gitanos con trayectorias académicas de éxito." In *(Re)visiones gitanas. Políticas, (auto)representaciones y activismos en diálogo con el género y la sexualidad*, edited by R. Andrés and J. Maso, 137–171. Barcelona: Ediciones Bellaterra.

Bereményi, B. Á., and S. Carrasco. 2017. "Bittersweet Success. The Impact of Academic Achievement among the Spanish Roma after a Decade of Roma Inclusion." In *Second International Handbook of Urban Education*, edited by W. Pink and G. Noblit. Springer International Handbooks of Education. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-40317-5_62.

Bhabha, H. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Boros, J. 2019. "Education and Social Mobility in Roma Communities in Hungary". Paper presented at the meeting Mobility Book of Selected Papers of the Hungarian Language Teacher Training Faculty´s Scientific Conferences, 64–69, Subotica.

Brüggemann, C. 2014. "Romani Culture and Academic Success: Arguments against the Belief in a Contradiction." *Intercultural Education* 25 (6): 439–452. doi:10.1080/14675986.2014.990229.

Brüggemann, C., and K. D'Arcy. 2017. "Contexts that Discriminate: International Perspectives on the Education of Roma Students." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 20 (5): 575–578. doi:10.1080/13613324.2016.1191741.

Brüggermann, C., and E. Friedman. 2017. "The Decade of Roma Inclusion: Origins, Actors, and Legacies." *European Education* 49: 1–9. doi:10.1080/10564934.2017.1290422.

Carmona, M., J. González-Monteagudo, and A. Soria-Vílchez. 2017. "Roma in Higher Education: A Case Study of Successful Trajectories at the University of Seville." *Revista de Educación (Madrid)* 377: 184–207. doi:10.4438/1988-592X-RE-2017-377-358.

Ceja, M. 2004. "Chicana College Aspirations and the Role of Parents: Developing Educational Resiliency." *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education* 3 (4): 338–362. doi:10.1177/1538192704268428.

Clarke, V., V. Braun, G. Terry, and N. Hayfield. 2019. "Thematic Analysis." In *Handbook of Research Methods in Health and Social Sciences*, edited by P. Liamputtong, 843–860. Singapore: Springer.

Council of the European Union. 2011. "COM, 2011, 2010; Directive 2000/43/EC." https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32000L0043

Council of the European Union. 2021. "Council Recommendation of 12 March 2021 on Roma Equality Participation (2021/C 93/01) Whereas (19)."

Creswell, J. W. 2012. *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research*. Boston, MA: Pearson.

Derrington, C., and S. Kendall. 2004. *Gypsy Traveller Students in Secondary Schools: Culture, Identity and Achievement*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

Deuchar, R., and K. Bhopal. 2013. "'We're Still Human Beings, We're Not Aliens': Promoting the Citizenship Rights and Cultural Diversity of Traveller Children in Schools: Scottish and English Perspectives." *British Educational Research Journal* 39 (4): 733–750. doi:10.1080/01411926.2012.679252.

DGEEC. 2020. "School Profile of Roma Communities." https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/97/

Durst, J., and A. B. Bereményi. 2021. "'I Felt I Arrived Home': The Minority Trajectory of Mobility for First-in-Family Hungarian Roma Graduates." In *Social and Economic Vulnerability of Roma People Key Factors for the Success and Continuity of Schooling Levels*, edited by M. M. Mendes, O. Magano, and T. Stefánia, 229–249. Cham.

Emirbayer, M., and A. Mische. 1998. "What Is Agency?" *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (4): 962–1023. doi:10.1086/231294.

Fangen, K. 2010. "Social Exclusion and Inclusion of Young Immigrants: Presentation of an Analytical Framework." *Young* 18 (2): 133–156. doi:10.1177/110330881001800202.

Fann, A., K. McClafferty Jarsky, and P. M. McDonough. 2009. "Parent Involvement in the College Planning Process: A Case Study of P-20 Collaboration." *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education* 8 (4): 374–393. doi:10.1177/1538192709347847.

Fehérvári, A., and A. Varga. 2020. "Resilience and Inclusion. Evaluation of an Educational Support Programme." *Educational Studies* 22: 1–19. doi:10.1080/03055698.2020.1835614.

FRA. 2016. "EU MIDIS-II." https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2016-eu-minorities-survey-roma-selected-findings_pt.pdf

FRA [European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights]. 2012. *Fundamental Rights: Challenges and Achievements in 2012*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Gamella, J. 2011. *Histories of Success. Models to Reduce the School Dropout in Roma Adolescent (Published in Spanish)*. Madrid: Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports.

García-Carrión, R., F. Molina-Luque, and S. Molina Roldán. 2018. "How Do Vulnerable Youth Complete Secondary Education? The Key Role of Families and the Community." *Journal of Youth Studies* 21 (5): 701–716. doi:10.1080/13676261.2017.1406660.

Gofka, P. 2016. "Greek Roma in Higher Education: A Qualitative Investigation of Educational Success." PhD diss., King's College, London.

Gofka, P. 2017. "Being Roma - Being Greek: Academically Successful Greek Romas' Identity Constructions." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 20 (5): 624–635.

Goller, M., and S. Paloniemi. 2017. "Agency at Work, Learning, and Professional Development: An Introduction." In *Agency at Work: An Agentic Perspective on Professional Learning and Development*, edited by M. Goller and S. Paloniemi, 1–14. Cham: Springer.

Hall, S. 1998. *A identidade Cultural na Pós-modernidade*. Rio de Janeiro: DP&A.

Hinton-Smith, T., E. Danvers, and T. Jovanovic. 2018. "Roma Women's Higher Education Participation: Whose Responsibility?" *Gender and Education* 30 (7): 811–828. doi:10.1080/09540253.2016.1274386.

Kende, A. 2007. "Success Stories? Roma University Students Overcoming Social Exclusion in Hungary." In *Social Inclusion for Young People: Breaking down the Barriers*, edited by H. Colley, P. Boetzelen, B. Hoskins, and T. Parveva, 133–144. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Kóczé, A. 2010. "'Aki érti a világ hangját, annak muszáj szólnia'. Roma nők a politikaiérvényesülés útján." In *Etnicitás. különbségteremtő társadalom*, edited by M. Feischmidt, 208–224. Budapest: Gondolat.

Kyuchukov, H. 2011. "Roma Girls: Between Traditional Values and Educational Aspirations." *Intercultural Education* 22 (1): 97–104. doi:10.1080/14675986.2011.549648.

Lahire, B. 2001. *O Homem Plural. As Molas da Acção*. Lisbon: Instituto Piaget.

Lauritzen, S. M., and T. S. Nodeland. 2018. ""What Is the Problem Represented to Be?" Two Decades of Research on Roma and Education in Europe." *Educational Research Review* 24: 148–169. doi:10.1016/j.edurev.2018.04.002.

Levinson, M. P., and A. C. Sparkes. 2005. "Gypsy Children, Space, and the School Environment." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 18 (6): 751–772. doi:10.1080/09518390500298212.

Machado, F. L., and A. F. da Costa. 1998. "Processos de uma modernidade inacabada." In *Portugal, que modernidade?*, edited by J. M. L. Viegas and A. F. da Costa, 17–43. Oeiras: Celta Editora.

Magano, and Mendes. 2016. "Constrangimentos e oportunidades para a continuidade e sucesso das pessoas ciganas." *Configurações* 18: 8–26. doi:10.4000/configuracoes.3546.

Magano, and Mendes. 2021. "Key Factors to Educational Continuity and Success of Ciganos in Portugal." In *Social and Economic Vulnerability of Roma People Key Factors for the Success and Continuity of Schooling Levels*, edited by M. M. Mendes, O. Magano, and S. Toma, 135–151. Cham: Springer.

Marcu, S. 2019. "Mobility as a Learning Tool: Educational Experiences among Eastern European Roma Undergraduates in the European Union." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 23 (6): 858–874. doi:10.1080/13613324.2019.1579179.

Marginson, S. 2014. "Student Self-Formation in International Education." *Journal of Studies in International Education* 18 (1): 6–22. doi:10.1177/1028315313513036.

Maroy, C. 1997. "A Análise qualitativa de Entrevistas." In *Práticas e métodos de investigação em ciências sociais*, edited by L. Albarello, F. Digneffe, J.-P. Hiernaux, Ch. Maroy, D. Ruquoy and P. Saint-Georges, 117–155. Cham: Gradiva.

Marques, J. F. 2013. "O racismo contra as coletividades ciganas em Portugal: sequelas de uma Modernização." In *Ciganos Portugueses: Olhares Plurais e Novos Desafios numa Sociedade em Transição*, edited by M. M. Mendes and O. Magano, 111–121. Lisbon: Ed. Mundos Sociais.

Martins, S., R. Mauritti, N. Nunes, A. L. Romão, and A. F. Costa. 2016. "A educação ainda é importante para a mobilidade social? Uma perspetiva das desigualdades educacionais da Europa do Sul no contexto europeu." *Revista Portuguesa de Educação* 29 (2): 261–285. doi:10.21814/rpe.7920.

Mendes, M. M., and O. Magano. 2016. "School Pathways and Economic Practices of Portuguese Ciganos: Some Continuities and Changes." *Social Identities* 22 (6): 561–576. doi:10.1080/13504630.2016.1186537.

Mendes, and Magano. 2021. "Educational Situation of Portuguese Ciganos: Social Changes versus Social Continuities." In *Social and Economic Vulnerability of Roma People Key Factors for the Success and Continuity of Schooling Levels*, edited by M. M. Mendes, O. Magano, and S. Toma, 251–253. Cham: Springer.

Mendes, M., O. Magano, and P. Candeias. 2014. "Estudo Nacional sobre as Comunidades Ciganas." *Estudos OBCIG, 1.* Lisboa: Alto Comissariado para as Migrações (ACM, IP).

Nyírő, Z., and J. Durst. 2018. "Soul Work and Giving Back: Ethnic Support Groups and the Hidden Costs of Social Mobility. Lessons from Hungarian Roma." *East European Journal of Society and Politics* 4 (1): 88–108. doi:10.17356/ieejsp.v4i1.406.

OECD. 2014. *Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators.* OECD Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2014-en

Pantea, M. C. 2015. "Persuading Others. Young Roma Women Negotiating Access to University." *Education as Change* 19 (3): 91–112. doi:10.1080/16823206.2015.1024151.

Pasca, E. M. 2014. "Integration of the Roma Population in and Through Education, European Educational Experiences." *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 142: 512–517. doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.07.657.

Piemontese, S., A. B. Bereményi, and S. Carrasco. 2018. "Diverging Mobilities, Converging Immobility? Romanian Roma Youths at the Crossroad between Spatial, Social and Educational in/mobility." *Intersections (Hungary)* 4 (3): 29–56. doi:10.17356/ieejsp.v4i3.388.

Pordata. 2014. "Base de Dados Portugal Contemporâneo." Lisbon: Fundação FMS. www.pordata.pt/

Pordata. 2021. "Base de Dados Portugal Contemporâneo." Lisbon: Fundação FMS. www.pordata.pt/

Powell, R. 2011. "Gypsy-Travellers and Welfare Professional Discourse: On Individualization and Social Integration." *Antipode* 43 (2): 471–493. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00759.

Rios, F., and S. Markus. 2011. "Multicultural Education as a Human Right: Framing Multicultural Education for Citizenship in a Global Age." *Multicultural Education Review* 3 (2): 1–36. doi:10.1080/23770031.2009.11102882.

Roberts, P. 2020. "Class Dismissed: International Mobility, Doctoral Researchers, and (Roma) Ethnicity as a Proxy for Social Class?" *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 42 (1): 142–154. doi:10.1080/01596306.2020.1855569.

Rostas, I., and J. Kostka. 2014. "Structural Dimensions of Roma School Desegregation Policies in Central and Eastern Europe." *European Educational Research Journal* 13 (3): 268–281. doi:10.2304/eerj.2014.13.3.268.

Santiago, J. C., M. García-Ruíz, M. L. Máiquez, and M. J. Rodrigo. 2019. "El impacto de las relaciones entre la familia y la escuela en la inclusión educativa de alumnos de etnia gitana. Una revisión sistemática." *Multidisciplinary Journal of Educational Research* 9 (3): 319–348. doi:10.447/remie.2019.4666.

Tran, L. T., and T. T. P. Vu. 2018. "Agency in Mobility': Towards a Conceptualisation of International Student Agency in Transnational Mobility." *Educational Review* 70 (2): 167–187. doi:10.1080/00131911.2017.1293615.

Velho, G. 1999. "Projecto, emoção e orientação em sociedades complexas." In *Individualismo e cultura - notas para uma antropologia da sociedade contemporânea*, edited by G. Velho, 15–37. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editor.

Wang, S. 2020. "Self in Mobility: Exploring the Transnational in-between Identity of Chinese Student Returnees from the UK." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 1–18. doi:10.1080/03057925.2020.1840335.

Wang, S. 2022. "The Transnational In-between Identity of Chinese Student Returnees from the UK: Mobility, Variations and Pathways." *British Educational Research Journal* 48 (3): 536–555.

Yuval-Davis, N., G. Wemyss, and K. Cassidy. 2019. *Racialized Bordering Discourses on European Roma*. London and New York: Routledge.