



## Migrant's houses as places and objects of cultural consumption and status display

Andra Jacob<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

*The paper explores the interplay between migration and cultural consumption with regard to the rural dwelling. The study is based on data collected in a fieldwork carried out in the village of Marginea, Romania, a rural community characterized by strong international migration. The research used direct observation method and informal and semi-structured (qualitative) interviews. The penetration of the consumer culture in rural Romania is particularly evident in the case of migrants' houses built in the village of origin. Indeed, the furnishing and decoration of migrants' new homes is more symbolic than functional, the home becoming an important site of cultural consumption, expressing the ascension, through migration, to a certain social status – that of a respectable person and a good householder.*

### Keywords

*Cultural consumption, international migration, house, domestic environment, social status*

### Introduction

A great number of Romanian migrants come from rural areas and their efforts are primarily directed towards building a house in the homeland. Indeed, as shown by several scholars, building a new house in Romania or extending/ modernizing the existing one is between migrants' main priorities (Diminescu, 2003, Anghel, 2008, Cingolani, 2009, Moisa, 2010, Roman and Voicu, 2010, Sandu, 2010, Alexandru, 2012, Incalțărău and Maha, 2012), the house becoming a material expression of achievement (Mihailescu, 2011) and

---

<sup>1</sup> Spiru Haret University, Faculty of Architecture, PAVE, ENSAP, Bordeaux,  
[usharh\\_jacob.andra@spiruharet.ro](mailto:usharh_jacob.andra@spiruharet.ro)

upward social mobility. Consequently, migrants' work abroad is not only gain oriented but also status oriented (Cingolani, 2008, 2009, Boswell and Ciobanu, 2009, Alexandru, 2012), the native village becoming the place of consumption and status display: luxury cars, western clothes and „proud” houses (Mihailescu, 2011). The main reasons given for migrants' "house mania" (Cingolani, 2008) refer to family's honor (Diminescu, 1999, Moisa, 2010) and to the competition between the members of rural communities (Cingolani, 2009, Moisa, 2011, Alexandru, 2012)

In a cultural context where income and household wealth are the only criteria for judging individuals, houses built by migrants in their homeland become an expression of social success because it is not enough to earn money to capture someone's attention and consideration (Diminescu 1999, Mihailescu, 2011), you need an ostentatious display of a particular lifestyle. Therefore, the clothes, the car, the house and its interior design acquire "the strength to say what we cannot say or write" (Moisa, 2010: 41). Cultural consumption becomes today "a social activity" that gives birth and nurtures "particular lifestyles" and, in the same time, is used to "celebrate success and mark achievement" (Storey, 1999: xi).

Migration and consumption are linked together and we observe the rising influence of the consumer culture that gives birth to aspirations beyond migrants' primary needs (Wallace and Stola, 2001). The penetration of the consumer culture in rural Romania is particularly evident in the case of migrants' houses built in the native village. Here, the decoration and furnishing of migrants' new homes is more symbolic (Mihailescu, 2011) than strictly functional, becoming an instrument of differentiation, used to display migrants' new status. Indeed, living in a consumer-oriented society (Bauman, 2011), individuals can earn or enhance their social status through consumption because "People use consumption to say something about themselves and about their families and their localities" (Douglas, 1992). The domestic environment has been "commodified" (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zuniga, 1999) and thereby the house itself is deemed to be an "important site of consumption" (Daniels, 2001).

In addition, our present and future identity (as it is communicated to others) is constructed by means of the goods we consume and in relations to how we consume them. Concerning migrants, cultural consumption is used to assert new social identities: migrants present themselves as winners (Potot, 2001), modern and global as opposed to sedentary people anchored in tradition (Moisa, 2010). The old distinction between social classes could actually be translated today in the pair mobile people - at the top of the social hierarchy - and sedentary or immobile people - at the base of the social hierarchy (Abrahamson, 2014).

Thus, migrant's domestic environment, though understood as being represented by furniture, decorations and other things created by man, is more than a collection of items with a functional or aesthetic role. It is an outcome of the cultural consumption process in itself (Miller, 1987), by which the owner produces and reproduces his material world as a support of a particular lifestyle and social status. The aim in the present paper is to explore this articulation between migration and cultural consumption with regard to

the rural dwelling and the local patterns of the home community that have been internalized over time.

### **Data and method**

The paper relies on a doctoral research, a case study conducted by the author in the village of Marginea (Suceava County), between 2009 and 2011, in summer and autumn. This rural community of ca. 10.500 people, located close to the churches listed in the UNESCO heritage, is characterized by strong international migration (mainly to Italy and UK). In 2011, according to the census, the number of migrants in Marginea reached 2153 persons out of a total of 10529 inhabitants. The emigration rates in Marginea (about 28%) are among the highest in Suceava County, Marginea occupying the second position after the city of Cajvana (33%). The village is also renowned for its black ceramic centre (situated on an important road leading to the Monastery of Sucevița), a place where foreign and Romanian tourists usually stop.

The central question of the doctoral research was formulated as follows: How does international migration affect the rural house, with regard to traditional housing models, crystallized during the last century? To answer this question, I chose an anthropological approach to the house. The research used informal and semi-structured (qualitative) interviews. Several interviews were recorded on camera, and then I transcribed the most relevant of them. But most interviews were not recorded on camera due to migrants' attitudes of distrust. Thus, the interview took the form of a conversation, following several themes, which I kept in my memory, when asking questions. My field experience agrees with the opinion of Jean-Claude Kaufmann, "the investigator should approach the style of a conversation without indulging in a real conversation" (Kaufmann 2004: 48) and "It is therefore possible and even advisable not to limit to asking questions: laughing, guffawing, compliment, briefly give his own opinion, to explain an aspect of the hypotheses, analyse what the informant has just said and even criticize and express his disagreement "(Kaufmann 2004: 53). The conversations lasted between few minutes to several hours; depending on the interlocutor and his availability (some migrants were busy with construction work or other activities). I wrote down the conversations as soon as I could, usually when I was alone, out of sight of the migrants.

The informants (comprising ca. 100 persons) were selected from the migrants as well from the non-migrants (migrants' parents or grandparents and old villagers), using local social and kinship networks. I openly spoke about my main research objectives, trying to develop a closer familiarity with some of my respondents, in order to gain their trust and be able to revisit them, collecting more data. I have also met key informants: a professor in history and son of a former communist mayor, the vice-mayor, the secretary of the mayor, an engineer charged with the issue of planning permission, a carpenter and member of the village council, three brothers involved with local building companies etc.

The research also used direct observation method along with indirect observation throughout my stay in Marginea. Apart from the living practices, I observed the

morphology of new and traditional dwelling, their interior design, the fabric of the building as well as its electric, plumbing and heating systems. Furthermore, I used the technique of the comparison of the past - the rural house until 1989s - with the present - the rural house since the 1989s (the fall of the communist regime).

In order to introduce myself within the network, I made use of the social network relations of one of my relatives in Radauti and the kinship relations of one of my neighbours in Radauti (my family owns a house in Radauti, the nearest town to Marginea, my grandfather being born in Radauti). After introducing myself to some key informants, I was accommodated in a guesthouse for few days, owned by a city counsellor. I also went shopping in Marginea supermarkets, shops and on Friday market. I ate in the two main restaurants of the village (hold by two migrant families) several times and also in few migrants' and villagers' homes. I bought local products from the villagers and I made two excursions into the nearby forest, together with other villagers. My child played with several children in the village, helping me to interact with the locals. The observed material was recorded using camera (photos), sketches and notes.

The doctoral research contains data for 50 households of migrants. Of these, 35 were households that had at least one member who was away working abroad at the moment of the interview. More than half of the households had at least one member who lived abroad (continuously or with interruptions) 10 years and over 10 years. Most of the households in my fieldwork consisted of married couples. Italy was the most searched destination country. The majority of men were employed in the building sector in the destination country, while women worked as housekeepers or in the elderly care sector.

However, one limit of my research consist in not observing migrants in their destination country, I only have some brief accounts of their life there. Another limit of the research consist in the duration and time of the observation: the case study was not conducted during the winter time (when some of them return home for Christmas and New Year celebration).

### **A case study in the village of Marginea, Romania**

Marginea community is well documented by an Italian anthropologist, Pietro Cingolani, that conducted a field survey in Marginea and Torino (among Romanians), between the years 2005 and 2007. It is an ethnographic research that highlights the experiences and biographical dimension of 50 migrants, aiming to understand how migration developed and what impact it had on both host society and home community. Cingolani reconstructs the history of migration from this village since the Second World War up until the year 2007 because, according to the author, migration must be analyzed from a longitudinal and historical perspective. Nevertheless Cingolani (2009) focus on migrants' houses is minor; there is only one chapter in his book that includes a section dedicated to the house issue. The author notes how the building sector occupies an important place, attracting migrants' efforts and investments. Cingolani also suggests that houses in

Marginea are an emulation of the Italian culture, but this emulation is manifested only in the aesthetic or architectural realm:

In Italy you build your house when you really have a lot of money [...]. They [migrants] saw Italian with these great houses and they do not know how rich they are [...]. Our young people have taken what they have seen in Italy, and they make huge sacrifices, and they build palaces (Cingolani, 2008:10).

However, several studies show that migrants' investments in houses have roots in the past, continuing the old idea of 'good householder' (Mihailescu, 2011, Alexandru, 2012) or the tacit competition between neighbors (Diminescu, 1999, Moisa, 2010). Nevertheless, all these authors do not invalidate the influence of the host society culture on house architecture and furnishing.

The persistence of the old patterns in Marginea is evident in migrant's longing for his own home. In the Italian urban mentality living on the rent is something common: «there, you can rarely see people to buy houses ... only the ones that are wealthy ... they pay rent all their lives ... They eat well, enjoy themselves, easy kind of work, that's the way they live» (interview M. family, Marginea, 2010). On the contrary, migrants in Marginea strive to accomplish their dream: a beautiful house in Romania, as «there is no culture of living on the rent» (interview A.P. Marginea, 2011). This aspect is also emphasized by the Romanian sociologist Paul Stahl that underlines the absence of living on rent in rural areas, each young man striving to build his own home (with the help of his family) before getting married: "you do not get married if you have no home; living as a tenant in another peasant's home is an exceptional situation, extremely rare" (Stahl 1978: 94 cited by Moisa 2010: 96).

In the same way Mrs. S.N. describes the inclination of people in Marginea in arranging their houses as opposed to the attitude of the Italian lawyer family, in whose house she worked as a housekeeper:

[...] on the other hand in our household, goodness, different blankets, once in three years I change the curtains, the refrigerator, I buy another TV set... she [the Italian woman] has been married for 25 years and never changed the curtains. She doesn't care... all they care about is to enjoy themselves, to spend the evening at the restaurant, not like here [...] (interview S.N., Marginea, 2010).

I also noticed the concern for the interior design. One possible explanation lies in the tradition that states that "girls are to be praised by the cleaning and order found in the house, or contrary, they are to blame. This thing is so important that, in order to know if a girl to marry is a good housewife, the boy's parents visit the girl's house, to see how it is maintained "(Stănculescu 1927: 140).

Another motive for building a house is to capture the attention and consideration of other villagers, the car and the house being the objects that talk about the economic and social status of the owner:

I think there is this tendency to show others that you have a potential that no one has ever seen and you display in a home or in a car [...] For it is nothing to have a bank deposit and nobody knows about it (interview A.P, Marginea, 2011)

Moreover, several respondents acknowledged the concurrence between the members of the rural community concerning fences and houses<sup>2</sup>:

He doesn't like his house and observes that the neighbour's house has a stylish modern look; therefore, having saved some money, he decides to demolish the house and rebuild it. Now, in our village, you can build a house during the course of one summer (interview carpenter T.R., Marginea, 2009).

However, the builder S.P. criticizes this concurrence that gave birth to huge investments in houses:

[...] you should know that the house reveals one's character because always the proud man ... wants more and more ... he finish his house, furnish it, but all these because of pride ... but he never had time for a holiday, his children have a low educational status ... he spent his time to earn money and to fulfil his goal: a large house and a good car ... the reason for all these is that he compares himself to others [...] (interview S.P, Marginea, 2010).

For many migrants from Marginea, the holidays are spent in this village or in nearby towns. The trips to the seaside or mountains are usually organized in Italy (e.g. in week-ends). During the holidays spent in the home country, migrants are mostly busy with completing the works for the new house:

They have built a house; nobody is living in them [...]. They come [...] once a year, instead to come for holiday, they come and build, rearrange [...] (interview A.P., Marginea, 2011).

Indeed, during the field survey, in at least 16 cases (out of 21 households with a family member returned to the country during the field survey), one of the household members was busy with the construction work or to refurbish his house or one of his relatives' houses. This activity has also roots in the past, one of my respondents highlighting that:

Since Ceausescu regime all people of Marginea were good householders (interview G, Marginea, 2010)

For migrants whose single purpose was the fast increase of financial means in order to refurbish or build a house, the time spent in Italy represented an austere lifestyle (without many distractions or socio-cultural activities) and restricted consumption behaviour:

---

<sup>2</sup> Each fence is different from the neighbor's one: «you won't see a fence of the same kind» (interview Eng. P., Marginea, 2009).

I have worked for 11 months and returned home and keep working... instead of spending two days to rest ... we gave up leaving for the seaside, for the mountains, we didn't go anywhere [...] we were not used with leisure; if we were to spend the money, we would not be able to do something like this... I didn't spend even two coins for myself to go once to a restaurant or cinema or disco. Neither did I go to weddings ... only when I really had to, but I tried to avoid. I didn't have many friendships either, as if you have many friends today... you have to go to the restaurant [...] (interview S.N., Marginea, 2010).

However, things are consumed differently from person to person and from a generation to another. I observed that younger generation of migrants have different aesthetic preferences. For example, P., a young man (22 years old) started to work in Italy after he graduated from high school (at 19 years old). He was helped by his parents (migrants as well) to build a large house, as he was going to get married soon. The house's design project belongs to the father. The son and his father built the house together with a friend. Apart from this house, the son wishes to build another, one level, small house, on the same plot, copying a design of a house seen in Italy. This intention could be a way of house individualization, the first project being made by the father, the son having no opportunity to impose his aesthetical preferences. The same situation was noted in several other cases, when, following the marriage, the newlyweds modified or demolished the house built by their parents (before or after 1989) or built another house in the proximity. Mrs. P.'s son has a traditional house built for himself by his parents. After he got married he migrated to Italy (at 22 years old). He got divorced, then remarried and demolished the old house in order to build a new one. They invested everything they gained in Italy in the new home because «they loved to do it that way » (interview P., Marginea, 2011).

In a similar way, Mr. B. (a former migrant) recalls what happened in the recent years:

I've built a new house out of BCA and I demolished it all, he didn't like it [his elder son] ... I invested money in it ... I've built it up to the first floor and he didn't want to live in it. (interview B., Marginea, 2010).

Then, the father gave the house to his second son, but neither him wanted it as «it was made of BCA, it had to be made of brick» (interview B., Marginea, 2010).

The impressive fact is this leap made in one generation, from 4 to 12 family members living in one house (with one or two rooms heated during the winter season) to the usage of one house with 6 and more than 6 rooms by one family with 6 members, at the most:

[...] All kinds of living rooms, all kinds of balconies, all kinds of spaces which are used, maybe, once in a life time ... a space for which you have to pay taxes to the government [...] (interview T., Marginea, 2009).



**Figure 1: Large new house**

Concerning the bedrooms, their number is exceeding by far the family dimension in some cases (Cingolani, 2009). My research also shows that, in all cases, the number of bedrooms was actually higher than the number of family members (taking into account that the spouses occupy a single bedroom). Sometimes the family members move from one bedroom to another depending on the season (summer/ winter) or preferences.

Thus, cultural consumption may be related to other factors as well (like the differences between generations or the concurrence between the members of the community), but it is sustained by international migration. Migration facilitates migrants' access to financial resources, new information and models, new living standards and architectural styles:

The new houses are built according to very high standards. After working there for two, three, five years, when they came back to Romania, they didn't like the house anymore, the car, the gate or the fence, and then they change everything: 'Yes, I want to live in my country but a better lifestyle, as there...' This way, they brought in many influences from abroad [...] They became educated by living abroad [...] People want quality (interview P, Marginea, 2011).

However, a question arises: why are the house and its domestic environment attracting the largest investments?

According to P, "the house and the land are everything to the people of Marginea" (interview P, Marginea, 2011). However, in the past, before the instauration of the communist regime, the difference between houses belonging to the rich peasants and those of the poor peasants was negligible; the two groups differed only in the number of livestock and the size of the barn or in the woman's dowry. During that time, the house itself was not an object of status, but the size of the annexes.





Figure 2: Old, traditional houses



Figure 3: Interior of an old house



**Figure 4: Dowry chests**

Even during the communist regime, the house was modest in size and appearance because:

[...] no person aspired to have more. Progress was secondary. Survival was put in the forefront (interview TR, Marginea, 2009)

Regarding this aspect, Duncan argues that the house became an object of prestige with the rise of the individualism, but “under collectivism the house is not a status object at all” (Duncan, 1985: 135):

This period [the communist regime]... was not favourable to house building ... the house included up to three bedrooms (interview TB, Marginea, 2010).



**Figure 5: ‘Communist’ standardized houses**

During the communist regime the woman’s dowry was also an instrument of differentiation. It was the woman’s dowry that decorated the house of her husband. Mothers and girls prepared the dowry many years before the marriage time:

[...]all kinds of blankets, [...]fourteen large pillows, ten small, fifty meters of carpet by meter [...] three blankets, three wardrobes, a pair of kitchen furniture, two sewing machines, two showcases, a mirror, ten chairs [...] armchairs, seven tables, a truck [...] plus her clothes [...] in the showcases she had glassware, what must be, full showcases [...] then dishes [...] she took pots, she took everything that is absolutely necessary, also needles and spools of sewing silk, everything (interview G.M. Marginea, 2010).



Figure 6: Dowry

Migrants from Marginea justify their investments in houses in different ways. For example, T.R is a carpenter who made the roofing for a house with four levels, the house of a single man, a young migrant. Asked by the carpenter why did he build such a large house, the young man answered: « just to be ». The carpenter noted that, in similar situations, he received various answers, such as: « that no one should have a house such as mine », «he'll finish it till he'll die », « I had little money» or « I have the plot where to build it» (interview T.R, Marginea, 2009). Similarly, Mrs. S.M. explains that they built the house «because we had the means to do it» (interview S.M., Marginea, 2010). I.M migrated to Italy in 1998, first on his own, then – in 2002 - his wife joined him, leaving two infant children (2 and 4 years old) in the country, with their great grandparents. The main purpose of their migration was money: «we had not enough money and if you've already spent time abroad and you've seen modern things, you want to do it, as well » (interview M.M., Marginea, 2010).



Figure 7: New houses

Indeed, even if the house was not the main purpose of migration, in all studied cases, the decision to invest in a house in the native village crystallized during the migration process. Mrs. S.N. tells how they came to build their new home:

[...] I've brought little money to live better. I haven't even had a colour TV set... At the beginning we never ever thought about it [in what they want to invest their money earned in Italy]. We thought to buy several things like that, for the house: a TV set... a refrigerator ... we wanted a car. After we left for Italy ... we said ... the car and everything is necessary, but the most important thing is a bathroom. And my wife said: in the actual house we have, we cannot make a bathroom. Let's build something ... We demolish and rebuild. We had an old house [...] (interview S.N., Marginea, 2010).

In addition, for the young and single man, eager to access a certain social status (that of a respected and hardworking man), to have a house of his own<sup>3</sup> was a must:

---

<sup>3</sup> The male children build new houses for themselves - a custom which is still in place. The younger son lives on the same plot with his parents, but in another house, both buildings sharing a common courtyard

"abandon Marginea was the only modality to earn money, build a house and get married in order to become a respectable man" (interview with Ioan, 2006, Cingolani, 2009: 69).

Migrants from Marginea adorn their homes with various things bought in the destination country. However, the ceramic made in Marginea is inexistent<sup>4</sup>. Rarely, some interior arrangements displayed traditional carpets or (more often) icons.



**Figure 8: new kitchen with foreign ceramics wall hangings**

Apart from furniture pieces, migrants bring from the host country decorative objects, curtains and drapes, bed linen, towels as well as appliances. The inclination toward “lux” (a meaningful category to migrants) is obvious.

---

<sup>4</sup> In fact, I met a migrant that preferred to display Italian ceramic on the walls in the hallway rather than local made ceramic.



Figure 9: Living-room

Among the furniture pieces I observed during my visits into migrants' houses, were the sofas and armchairs (sometimes made of leather), the bar and new generation audio/video equipment. In the case of S.B., a married young lady, away from the country for 10 years, the furniture was photographed in a showroom in the host country, and then ordered to be made in Marginea. In the same way, I.R. designed the kitchen furniture as a replica of one seen in Italy, in a villa where she worked as a housekeeper.

The most appreciated claddings seem to be marble and granite, the migrants using them in floorings, interior and outside sills, balusters or banisters of balconies and stairs, as coatings for stairways steps or worktops for kitchens and bathrooms. An always present element in many living rooms and even hallways is the fireplace.



Figure 10: Fireplace - located in the hallway, near the stairs

The bathroom has switched from a purely functional room (containing only a toilet and located in a separate building, at the rear of the house) to one that symbolizes a new lifestyle, attracting a great deal of migrants' attention. The bathroom was rarely found here before 1989. Today it is becoming a symbol of wealth and a sign of a civilized society (Moisa, 2009) through its design and the quality of the walls and floor claddings.



Figure 11: Bathrooms (the bidet, an always present element, unknown during the communist regime)

Thus, the design of the hallway, bathrooms, bedrooms, living-room and main kitchen becomes a celebration of migration success and a material expression of achievement.

### Conclusions

In the past, the market of the domestic goods in Marginea was limited to objects designed to fulfil basic human needs. The old, rural home was built according to a small number of patterns common to all homes in this cultural area. They housed large families who lived in one or two rooms. The purpose was not the delimitation, but cultural integration, in line with the local patterns which had the force of law.

Today, the offer is much more diverse and the home may be deemed as a place of cultural consumption, subject to foreign influences. Consumption is sustained by migration, without being necessarily generated by it. The consumer goods, bought from migrants' savings abroad, gain in Marginea not only an aesthetic or functional role, but also a symbolic one. They take part in the owners' identity definition, expressing the ascension, through migration, to a certain social status – that of a respectable person and a good householder. The house remains one of migrants' main objects of status display. This is materialized under the appearance of a house built in the village, not an urban apartment, as one of the migrants in Marginea, interviewed by Cingolani, states: «To have an apartment in town was never an ambition for us» (interview Gheorghe, Marginea, 2006, in Cingolani, 2008:9). In some cases, this happens even when the family

owns a house in good conditions (Cingolani, 2009) - but not satisfying the aesthetic preferences of the younger migrants -, the old building being perceived as "a source of shame" for families that continue to live in it and "cannot build another modern home" (Moisa, 2009:3). In other cases, local customs (like the duty of the man to build a house before marriage) trigger the building process, the latter being sustained by migrants' savings and remittances.

My research shows that, today, the domestic environment is a combination between the daily life of consumerism in an urban world (that of the destination country) and the old patterns of the home community that have been internalized over time. These practices evolve slowly because they form a part of their internal structure (Kaufmann 1997), unlike the architectural forms that are more unstable. Indeed, I noticed the transformation of the rural house architecture furnishing and interior design but, at the same time, the persistence of the old models of the home society – a society structured around the concepts of property, house and family.

#### REFERENCES

- Abrahamson, Mark (2014). *Urban Sociology. A Global Introduction*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Alexandru, Monica (2012). *Mobilitate socială și migrație. O nouă perspectivă asupra inconsistenței de status. Cazul migrației România – Italia*. [PhD thesis]. Bucharest University
- Anghel, Remus (2011). From irregular migrants to fellow Europeans: changes in the Romanian migration flows? In Michael Bommers Giuseppe Sciortino (eds) *Foggy Social Structures. Irregular Migration, European Labour Markets and the Welfare State* (pp. 23-43) Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Bauman, Zygmund (2011). *Culture in a Liquid Modern World*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity
- Birdwell-Pheasant, D. Lawrence-Zuniga, D. (eds.) 1999. *House Life: Space, Place and Family in Europe*. New York: Berg
- Boswell, Christina, Ciobanu, Oana (2009). Culture, Utility or Social Systems? Explaining the Cross-national Ties of Emigrants from Borsa, Romania. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32, 8: 1346-1364
- Cingolani, Pietro (2008). The Romanians in Italy. Rapport en cadre du projet Migrants' Transnational Practices in Western Europe.1-23, [www.fieri.it/download.php?fileID=194&lang...](http://www.fieri.it/download.php?fileID=194&lang...)
- Cingolani, Pietro (2009). *Romeni d'Italia. Migrazioni, vita quotidiana e legami transnazionali*. Bologna : il Mulino
- Daniels, Inge, M. (2001). The 'untidy' Japanese home. In Daniel Miller (Ed). *Home Possession. Material culture behind closed doors*. (pp 201-230).Oxford, New York: Berg
- Diminescu, Dana (1999). Installation dans la mobilité. In *Migration/Etudes*, 91, Nov-Dec, [http://www.namediffusion.net/txtdana/mobilite\\_titre.html](http://www.namediffusion.net/txtdana/mobilite_titre.html)



- Douglas M. (1992). Why do people want goods? In S. Hargreaves Heap and A. Ross (eds.) *Understanding the Enterprise Culture: Themes in the Work* (pp 19-31). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press,
- Kaufmann, J.-C. (1997). *Le cœur à l'ouvrage. Théorie de l'action ménagère*. Paris: Nathan
- Încalțărău, Cristian, Maha, Liviu-George (2012). The impact of remittances on consumption and investment in Romania *Eastern Journal of European studies*, Volume 3, Issue 2, 61-86
- Mihăilescu, Vintilă (2011). From Cow to Cradle. Mutations and Meanings of Rural Household in Post-socialism. *International Review of Social Research*, Vol. 1(2). 35-63
- Miller, D. (2008). *The comfort of things*. Cambridge and Malden MA: Polity
- Moisa, D. (2009). Amener l'ailleurs chez soi. Pratiques architecturales domestiques au Pays d'Oas. *Ethnologies* 31(1):77-110.
- Moisa, D. (2010). Maisons de rêve au pays d'OAS. (Re)construction des identités sociales à travers le bâti dans la Roumanie socialiste et postsocialiste. [PhD. Thesis]. Laval University
- Moisa, D/ (2011). Du couteau a la maison. Pratique et materialites de la reussite au village de Certeze. *MARTOR: The Museum of the Romanian Peasant Anthropology Review*. Vol 16. 34-51
- Potot, S. (2001). Migrations et constructions identitaires : les cas des Roumains en France. In Bertheleu H. (Ed.) *Identifications ethniques. Rapport de pouvoir, Compromis, Territoire*. (pp.155-170). Paris: L'Harmattan
- Sandu, Dumitru (2010). *Lumile sociale ale migrației românești în străinătate*. București : Polirom
- Storey, John (1999). *Cultural Consumption and everyday life*. London: Arnold
- Wallace, Claire and Stola, Dariusz (Eds) 2001. *Patterns of migration in Central Europe*. New York, Hampshire: Palgrave

**Andra Jacob** is an architect with a Master Degree in urban development and a PhD in sociology. Her interests include housing, anthropology of the architectural space and urban sociology. Andra is lecturer in urban sociology at the Faculty of Architecture (Spiru Haret University) and associate researcher in PAVE laboratory, ENSAP (Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture et de Paysage) Bordeaux.