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Framing ethnic disparities: an analysis of views about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in Romania

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‘Framing Ethnic Disparities: An Analysis of Views about Disparities between Roma and non-Roma People in Romania’

By Salomea Popoviciu

A Doctoral Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analysed the variety of views expressed about disparities between Romanian Roma and non-Roma by people who are actively engaged in redressing unjust social and economic differences. The focus was placed on the variability of views between and within three different contexts: academic texts proposing policy measures for addressing disparities between Roma and non-Roma people; policy documents concerning measures for Roma inclusion; and conversations by people involved in the implementation of Roma inclusion policy measures.

The general concerns of this study were to identify (1) the ways in which the problem of ethnic disparity was portrayed, (2) the solutions proposed to the problem of ethnic disparity, (3) the ambivalent, dilemmatic or concealed aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people living in Romania, (4) whether the perspectives of Roma people were accounted for in the contexts analyses and (5) the similarities and differences between the discourses of academics, policy makers, practitioners and beneficiaries of public policies concerning disparities.

The theoretical foundation for this thesis was offered by the social psychological literature that links disparities between groups of people and racial or ethnic prejudice. There are four ways in which this thesis has contributed to this literature. Firstly, most of the social psychological research on ethnic disparities has been experimental, whereas in this thesis, the focus was on the often overlooked discursive practices concerning ethnic disparities.

Secondly, although some of the social psychological literature, especially research on the contact hypothesis and social identity theory, has looked at the dynamic interrelationship between advantaged and disadvantaged group members, most research has focused only on the perspectives of the advantaged group members. Therefore, there remains a research gap in the literature concerning the perspectives presented in inter-ethnic interactions, and even more so, by

disadvantaged group members. This thesis added to the analysis the perspectives of advantaged and disadvantaged group members, both separately and in interaction.

Thirdly, whereas emergent work looks at the ambivalent views towards ethnic or racial minorities, and the possible ironic effects of prejudice reduction strategies, there is virtually no research about the possible ironic, ambivalent or dilemmatic effects of strategies which target systemic based ethnic disparities - issues explored in this thesis.

Finally, most social psychological research focuses on a single context of study, most commonly the public perceptions about members of the disadvantaged groups, but also marginally mass media representations, academic publications or political discourses. This thesis places attention on an equally important area of study concerned with whether and how discourses can move between different domains, and the impact or acknowledgement of elite discourses on the everyday conversations.

There are four key findings that emerged from the studies conducted for this thesis. Firstly, it was found that while expressing views about ethnic disparity, academics, policymakers, practitioners and beneficiaries of public policies for Roma people displayed subtle forms of ethnicism. Secondly, a great deal of political discourse was devoted to the encouragement of individual changes in ethnic minorities, without a similar focus on the roles of majority group members in perpetuating inequality. Whereas, the problem of Roma inclusion was acknowledged by academics, policymakers, practitioners and beneficiaries of policy measures, to be a matter for public policies, some of the attribution of responsibility for inclusion was offered to Roma people, who were encouraged to change as individuals in accord with majoritarian norms. Thirdly, the analysis showed the inclusion of the perspectives of ethnic minorities only in two of the three contexts where policy measures for Roma people were proposed and implemented: academic publications and conversations. The perspectives of

feminist experts and women were only marginally present in academic publications and conversations, while missing from policy discourses. Also the perspectives of academics or the non-hegemonic voices of excluded or disadvantaged Roma people were largely absent from the arguments presented in policy documents for Roma inclusion. Lastly, this thesis found that there are ambivalence, dilemmas and concealment at work within arguments proposing policy measures for redressing ethnic disparities, with important political consequences.

The findings of this thesis contribute to the important conversation about the meanings of disparity and the political solutions for achieving equality between groups of people. Also, the findings of this thesis have important implications for the social psychological theory of disparity, the policies for redressing disparity and the social work practice with disadvantaged group members.

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INTRODUCTION

The novelist Milan Kundera once noted that one can never be convinced that views and ideas can be solely personal, and not merely borrowed from an existing common stock of knowledge, as from a public library (1969). In the social sciences, early approaches to discourse analysis in sociology (e.g. Gilbert & Mulkay, 1984) and social psychology (e.g. Potter & Wetherell, 1987) emphasized the ways in which the expressions used, and stances adopted by individuals often reflect widespread interpretative repertoires. Moreover, perspectives to discourse also noted that the availability of multiple and often contradictory interpretative repertoires within a linguistic community can lead to variability within the accounts of individuals (Billig, et al., 1988; Billig, 1989; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Potter & Wetherell, 1988; Wetherell & Potter, 1988). This variability was explained either in terms of the actions that people perform while expressing opinions, views or attitudes (Edwards & Potter, 1992), or by suggesting that there is a dilemmatic core to the way people think and communicate which is picked up from the contrary themes built-in the commonsensical stock of knowledge (Billig, 1987). Even if, on occasion, people can articulate coherent and stable opinions, especially when they possess knowledge and are actively engaged in the particular issue at hand (Condor, 2017; Converse, 1964), variability seems to be the norm (Billig, et al., 1988; Potter and Wetherell, 1987).

This thesis aimed to analyse the variety of views expressed about disparities between Romanian Romas and non-Romas by people who are actively engaged in redressing unjust social and economic differences. The focus was on the variability of views both between and within three different contexts. The views expressed were collected from three data sets: (a) academic texts proposing policy measures for addressing disparities between Roma and non-Roma people, (b) policy documents concerning measures for Roma inclusion and (c) conversations in contexts where various Roma inclusion policy measures were implemented.

The thesis was built on the theoretical foundation offered by the contemporary social scientific literature on the link between ethnic or racial disparities and prejudice, specifically the theories of modern or subtle forms of racism. Although, there are various, and often conflicting understandings about what the concept of disparity means, it often forms the backdrop of academic, political, and group conversations about the problems and the solutions concerning inequalities between different racial or ethnic[1] groups. On the one hand there are forces that push for various public policies that address disparities based on gender, race, or ethnicity, and on the other hand there are forces that oppose these policies. Social scientific studies, originally concerned with white people's attitudes towards black people in the United States, have often emphasised how public opposition to some policies designed to redress disparities is a defining feature of the different constructs of "modern racism" (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981; McConahay, 1986), subtle racism (Akrami, Ekehammer, & Araya, 2000; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Pettigrew & Meertens, 2001), symbolic racism (McConahay & Hough, 1976), or in the United Kingdon, "new racism" (Barker, 1981).

Unlike old-fashioned racism which was against any policy measures that could offer black people equal opportunities, or the freedom to pursue the life they wanted, the new forms of racism were, in fact, in favour of equal opportunities. However, the right of equal outcomes was contested on the ground that black people were demanding more opportunities that white people, and were politically receiving more that they deserved.

McConahay and Hough (1976) explained that symbolic racism consists of both attitudes and behaviours against black people. Attitudinally, symbolic racism encompasses abstract moral judgements made by relatively affluent white American people about the behaviour of black people including assertions about "typical" black behaviour, social norms regarding the ways in which black people ought to act, and evaluations about whether they are generally treated fairly in society. Behaviourally, symbolic racism is,

> a set of acts (voting against black candidates, opposing affirmative action programs, opposing desegregation in housing and education) that are justified (or rationalized) on a non-racial basis but that operate to maintain the racial status quo with its attendant discrimination against the welfare, status and symbolic needs of blacks (p. 24).

The authors were not treating the symbols and behaviours as generic, but rather as culturally specific. Thus, the ideological values were American values, and the argument is an extension of Myrdal's (1944) earlier work on the American dilemma between the reality of racial inequality and segregation and the abstract ideals of the American Creed consisting of democracy, equal opportunities, protection of individual freedoms and racial tolerance.

In defining new racism, the authors placed on one side "demands for changes", and on the other side ideologies and behaviours against those demands, considering the latest as reflecting symbolic racism. In the same vain, McConahay, Hardee, and Batts (1981) explained that "modern racial beliefs focused on the new issues emerging in the wake of the civil rights movement" (p. 564). These new forms of racism arose in a context where there was a social taboo against openly expressing racist sentiments, and when arguments in favour of segregation were no longer in fashion.

Other studies developed this perspective further and applied it to Europe. For example, van Dijk (1992) used discourse analysis to look in detail at the ways in which white ethnic majority people in the Netherlands thought and wrote about ethnic and racial inequalities. Van Dijk found that it became common for people to deny being racist (1992), and find other ways of maintaining the power balance which helped sustain disparities between groups regarding access to institutions and services such as: education, employment, health and housing.

Public mainstream political and academic discourse in Western European nations began to move away from portrays of ethnic or racial groups as “inferior” due to some essentialist quality, to explanations of cultural differences. In their analysis of new forms of racism in France, Balibar & Wallerstein (1991) proposed that a racism without race emerged in the 1970s debates about migration and multiculturalism. A differentialist neo-racism (Taguieff, 2005) tended to focus on cultural differences and although respectful in discourse, it preserved racial and ethnic differences. Portrayals of minority cultures and peoples as “social problems”, deviant”, or not “culturaly assimilable” continues to be a discernible feature of those discourses (Balibar & Wallerstein, van Dijk, 1993; Taguieff, 2005, Tileaga, 2005).

In a UK context, Reeves (1983) also documented ‘deracialization ’ as a strategy used by British politicians to support immigration restrictions. Talk about minorities was exclusionary, although the language used was not commonly associated with racism. For example, the category of “nation” began to increasingly replace “race” in order to warrant claims about defending national borders from migrants and refugees. Perceived cultural or racial differences were (and are) frequently used to blame the victims for the problems they encountered, and thus “justifying inequality by finding defects in the victims of inequality” (Ryan, 1971, p. xiii).

In the United States, values, traditionally associated with political conservatism (Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986) or protestant ethic, (Kinder & Sears, 1981) were invoked by some people belonging to the dominant majority in opposition to governmental policies which aimed to redress social and economic disparities in outcomes within American society. According to a number of academics, the problem was that disadvantage was construed as being caused by a lack of discipline and hard work, specific of some cultures, races, or ethnicities, rather than the outcome of systemic inequality (Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Every, 2005; Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Mendelberg, 2001). Opposition to public policies for disadvantaged groups such as affirmative action programs was voiced in terms of liberal principles, such as individualism, meritocracy,

egalitarianism and fairness, rather than in terms of race. Although it was suggested that this opposition had racist underpinnings, it did not necessarily indicate that the people doing the opposing were themselves inherently racist. A general idea was that in Western nations group dominance was reproduced, but not in racial terms. This dominance moved away from theories about racial superiority and began to be manifested mostly as a system of discrimination which included practices of control, oppression, marginalization and exclusion (Katz & Taylor, 1988).

From a different perspective, other social scientists argued that the social practices which maintained disparities between racial or ethnic groups were the result of a racist society (Wetherell & Potter, 1992), which at the same time was a reflection of the personal and the psychological (Wetherell, 2012, p. 174). Drawing a parallel between racial and gender power relations, Wetherell (2012) suggested that although, one group can be guilty of oppressing another, it would be too simplistic to maintain that it was the personal weaknesses of the oppressors was the main cause of the problem. Granting that soul-searching and self-critique can certainly make a difference for the individual man or woman, or even particular institutions, patriarchal or racist practices cannot be overthrown without a radical change in social organization, a change that would generate different economic and social patterns.

The literature focusing on opposition to specific and systemic measures for countering ethnic or racial inequalities has gained momentum in the last few decades, but there remains a research gap concerning a focus on the discourses of people arguing in favour for systemic policy based measures. In the literature, generally, there seems to be an implicit understanding that if opposition to systemic measures can be seen as a move in justifying and maintaining group inequality, then an active preoccupation in furthering the agenda of public policies that address disparities is a counter force that can, and should, lead towards equality. Moreover, if opposition to public policies for disadvantaged groups is a defining feature of “subtle racism”, then the proposal for public policies should be a defining feature of tolerance.

However, there is some indication that things might be somewhat more complex. In a study on parliamentary debates which took place in the 1980s in several Western countries, such as Netherlands, Germany, France, UK and America, van Dijk (1993) noticed that political elites representing the liberal left, in making anti-racist statements and proposing tolerant policies, specifically with regard to immigration, at times used a similar language to that of the conservative and far-right parties. Van Dijk (1993, pp. 19-20) suggested that an outlook that "consistently [shows] support [for] anti-racist positions and policies" can be identified as "anti-racist". He explained that this position entails "theories, analyses, and actions that critically oppose all manifestations of racism, including subtle elite racism, in favour of true ethnic-racial equality and justice". However, in his study, political elites situated on the left of the political spectrum, and who identified as anti-racist, at times used distancing pronouns such as "them" or evaluative qualifications such as "immigrants" or "illegal". Also, arguments were found which viewed opposition to racism as political, or even opportunistic, rather than moral or ideological. Other studies, found that progressive and liberal political theories, such as gender mainstreaming policies, could draw upon multiple and often contradictory and inconsistent meanings of gender equality (Verloo, 2007). Also, Billig et al. (1988) showed how the principles of tolerance, equality and justice could produce a plethora of ideological dilemmas regardless of the place taken on the political spectrum.

Building on prior studies that analysed the ways in which disparities between groups have been justified in a way that helped maintain the status quo, this thesis was interested in exploring an area that is often overlooked in contemporary social psychological research. The aim of this thesis was to explore the various views expressed about ethnic disparities in what is usually seen as an anti-racist context where public policies that address disparities are proposed and enacted. Specifically, this research will be focusing on views about the disparities between Romanian Roma and non-Roma people expressed in three different contexts of discourse: (a) academic

publications, (b) political documents and (c) conversations between practitioners and beneficiaries of policy programs for redressing disparities.

Structure of thesis

This thesis is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 covers two matters of theoretical interest. Firstly, the chapter introduces a general discussion of the conceptual debates surrounding the terms used to describe differences between people and the ways in which the differences in meanings can lead to differences in arguments concerning policies for redressing disparities. Secondly, I will consider the social psychological literature about the link between disparities and racial or ethnic prejudice. Also, the social psychological ways of explaining the existence of disparities and the explanations given for the opposition to policy measures for redressing disparities are discussed.

In Chapter 2, I will turn to the specific context of Romania and the disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. The political context of contemporary Romania will be described, with a focus on the ways in which the transition from communism to democracy has been marked by economic decline and corruption, leading to increased inequality between people, especially between Romas and non-Romas. This chapter will present an overview of the disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in the areas of education, employment, health and housing, and the policy measures available to address these disparities.

In Chapter 3, I will describe the general methodological approach adopted by the research, starting with an overview of the possible ways of studying discrepancies between groups from a social psychological perspective, followed by a presentation of the methodological framework of this thesis. This chapter includes a discussion about the communities of practice chosen as sites for data collection. In this chapter I also describe the ways in which the data was collected and analysed, including an overview of the data corpus, analytic procedure and coding.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are analytical chapters which focus on the views about disparities between Romanian Roma and non-Roma people expressed in (a) published texts proposing policy measures for addressing disparities between Roma and non-Roma people (Chapter 4), official documents concerning measures for Roma inclusion (Chapter 5) and group conversations in contexts where various Roma inclusion policy measures were implemented (Chapter 6).

In Chapter 4, attention is given to the evolution of frames found in academic publications in texts about Romanian Roma published between 1990 and 2015. The shifts in academic debates and public policies are mapped. I this chapter I focus on how the problem of disparity was portrayed in academic publications, the policy solutions proposed by academics, and the ambivalent, dilemmatic or concealed aspects found in publications concerning disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. The study also considers the strategies used in academic publications to include, or exclude, the perspectives of Roma people in the discussions about ethnic disparities.

In Chapter 5, I will consider the ways in which frames used by the authors of academic work are adopted, adapted and transformed in policy documents, published between 2001 and 2015, which proposed measures for redressing disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. The goal is to identify the similarities and differences between and within frames found in policy documents, and between frames found in policy documents and academic publications concerning the political agenda for Roma inclusion. The focus of the analysis is placed on the ways in which the problem of disparity was portrayed by policymakers, and the policy solutions proposed. Also, care is taken to identify any ambivalent, dilemmatic or concealed aspects present in policy documents for Roma inclusion, and whether the perspectives of Roma people are included or excluded from the documents.

Chapter 6 involves analysing the ways in which practitioners and beneficiaries of policy measures for redressing disparities can use similar arguments with those found in academic publications and policy documents to present views concerning differences between Roma and non-Roma people. The chapter focuses on identifying the views about ethnic disparities presented in conversations taking place in contexts where policy measures for Roma people were implemented. The analysis is organized around the ways that the problem of disparity was portrayed, and the solutions that were proposed by participants. The ambivalent, dilemmatic or concealed aspects are noted, and attention is given to ways in which the perspectives of Roma people are included or excluded from the debates about disparities.

In chapter 7, answers to the research questions which guided the three empirical studies are described and discussed in the context of the broader social psychological literature about ethnic or racial disparities. The research questions guiding the three studies are: (1) How was the problem of ethnic disparity portrayed? (2) What were the solutions proposed to the problem of disparity? (3) Were there any ambivalent, dilemmatic or concealed aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people? (4) Were the perspectives of Roma people accounted for? (5) What were the similarities and differences between the arguments used across the three contexts analysed? In this chapter, the answers to these questions are organized around four key findings that emerged from the three studies conducted for this thesis: (1) subtle forms of ethnicism within an explicitly tolerant agenda; (2) private versus political matters in discussions about disparities; (3) inclusion and exclusion of Roma voices; (4) ambivalence, dilemmas and matters of concealment.

The research undertaken as part of this thesis was conducted with both a view of contributing to the social psychological theory of disparity, and a desire to inform governmental policy and social work practice about the possible consequences of political solutions to disparities. Currently my work involves both academic and social work. Since 2001, one of the

courses that I teach undergraduate and graduate students in a Social Work Department of a Romanian University is on social psychology applied to social work practice. Also, since 2008, I have been working with a non-governmental organization as part of various research and implementation grants that aim to propose and implement policy measures in order to systemically improve the life chances of people living in disadvantaged communities, including people living in segregated Roma communities. Consequently, the motivation for this thesis was driven as much by my academic curiosity, as by my professional interest in contributing to the understanding of the ways in which academics, policymakers and practitioners discuss policy measures for redressing disparities and how the framings of different policy measures may impact the lives of those they aim to help.

CHAPTER 1: SOCIAL DISPARITIES: DEFINITIONS, EXPLANATIONS, AND VIEWS

Academics, activist groups, and professionals working in the field, often attempt to shape public policy through research, advocacy, or the mobilization of different groups. Public policy, in turn, influences the kinds of issues that receive funding for research, while also drawing upon that research in drafting the policies. The process invariably involves efforts by competing actors, and the variety of perspectives are likely to lead to several competing perspectives operating in the arenas of academic publications, governmental policy documents, and field implementation of projects. These perspectives can be transmitted through various interrelated means, including mass-media, academic publications, political documents, conversations between practitioners, or everyday conversations. In this study, the focus was on three modes of communication: academic texts, policy documents and group conversations between practitioners and beneficiaries of policy measures for redressing disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in Romania.

Academics, policymakers, practitioners and ordinary actors exert a continuous influence on each other. Various changes and transformations occur within and between these groups in the process of creating, building and exchanging information about the problem and the solutions for the disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. For example, academic discourse exerts a great influence on multiple social domains (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; van Dijk, 1993). In contemporary democratic societies, social scientists produce, manage and share various explanations about ethnic relations and ethnic disparities. The ways in which influential social science researchers frame problems and solutions regarding ethnic disparities can lead to routine ways of understanding racial or ethnic theories, and can serve to legitimize or challenge power and dominance in policy documents and during field implementation of policies. Academic writings can also provide research support and contribute with various arguments for

policymakers interested in proposing policy measures for resolving disparities between ethnic groups in areas such as housing, education, employment or healthcare. As van Dijk (1993, pp. 160) observed, political documents and national ethnic policies "are imbued with ideological and cultural frameworks of which the elements continue to be supplied by academics". In the same vein, academic publications might have ingrained in their argumentative perspectives at least some of the ideological and rhetorical elements provided by policy and everyday discourse, while also adding different or novel views. Lastly practitioners, and other ordinary actors, interacting in contexts of implementation of policy measures are bound to draw upon some of the same ideologies and arguments about disparities.

This thesis was interested in the variety of ways in which views about ethnic disparity were presented in contexts which actively proposed or enacted policy measures for resolving ethnic disparities. These contexts explicitly aimed to (re)produce a system of ethnic equality by producing arguments and practices that could lead to a systemic process of societal change[2] (cf. Howarth, et al., 2013). The overall goal of the academics, policymakers, practitioners and beneficiaries of Roma programs whose perspectives were included in this thesis was to contribute to tolerance and oppose racist and discriminatory practices. By a systematic and in-depth analysis of the variety of ways in which disparities were presented in the data, this thesis aimed to contribute to the understanding of how ethnic (in)equality can be rhetorically reproduced or challenged.

This chapter begins with a general discussion of the conceptual debates surrounding the terms used to describe differences between people, and ways in which differences in meanings can also lead to differences in arguments for, or against, policy measures for redressing disparities. The second part of the chapter will move on to consider some of the ways in which social psychological research linked disparities between racial or ethnic groups with prejudice and discrimination.

1.1. Definitions and Conceptual Debates

In academic theory and political discourse, differences between people can be expressed by a variety of terms. Some of the common terms used by studies interested in ethnic or race relations are: difference, inequality, disadvantage, disparity, and inequity. For example, Zinn and Dill (1996) argue that the word difference should be used in debates about race, ethnicity, class, and gender. According to the authors, the concept of difference encompasses an organizing principle that creates and positions groups of people based on race, ethnicity, class, and gender within structures of opportunity within a society (p. 323). Other authors propose the use of the term inequality to express a set of interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings that help create and maintain differences based on class, gender, and race between groups of people (Acker, 2006). Another term that can be used to convey the image of a hierarchy of groups is "disadvantage", understood as a process by which some people are unable to fully participate to the economic, cultural, social, and political institutions within a society, and which are fully available to other members of that society (Todman, 2004). Other studies propose the use of the term disparity (Gilliam, 2006) to explain the differences between groups of people regarding access to resources, opportunities, and outcomes. Finally, inequity is also a common term used by academics interested in differences in health, income, housing, or education between some people compared to a normative ideal, or a norm group (Kawachi & Kennedy, 2002).

Although, any of the above terms could have been adopted for this thesis, the term disparity was chosen. This thesis was interested in views about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people concerning four dimensions which are targeted by corrective or affirmative social policy measures in Romania in education, employment, health and housing. The term disparity is a technical term used by the Romanian National Institute – *disparitate* – to report on differences in income and employment between different Romanian regions (Comisia Nationala de Prognoza, 2013). Also, the Romanian Academy uses the term, suggesting that it is a concept

that explains differences between groups of people concerning additional dimensions of disparity such as health, education, and housing (Antonescu, 2012). For the purposes of this research, however, "disparity" will be used in a non-technical way, as it is part of the topic under enquiry. The thesis will not use the term as a theoretical tool for understanding the subject, but rather will investigate what it means when academics, policymakers, practitioners and beneficiaries of corrective and affirmative Roma policies compare the wellbeing of Roma and non-Roma people in Romania. It is expected that a variety of terms will be used by the study's participants, who write and talk about what is broadly referred to in this thesis as "disparities".

1.1.1. Debates About Disparities Between Individuals and Disparities Between Groups

There are two main ways in which social and political scientists approach the measurement of disparities, leading to different political solutions. One way is to look at disparities between individuals, and the other is to focus on disparities between groups. Concerning the first approach, in political and legal debates taking place in the Unites States, there is often a preference for political intervention when the evidence shows that actions or policies had a negative impact on an individual, rather than on a group. For example, in the case of City of Richmond vs. J. A. Croson (1989), one recurring argument was that discrimination affects the individual not the group. Consequently, on this view, any harm or discrimination that can be measured specifically at a group level is not deemed to justify political action. Accordingly, classifications based on ethnicity and race, are seen to perpetuate social divisions. The political goal is to promote a colour-blind society where characteristics that placed some racial or ethnic minorities in situations of exclusion are ignored. Inevitably, political action that target disparities between groups, such as affirmative action programs, are attacked as means by which some people are encouraged to claim a victim status for an entire group, failing to take into consideration the social and economic variability within the group (Rae, 1981). For example, a group based comparison between Roma and non-Roma people on a measure of

economic well-being, which uses a statistical average or medians, could show that the average income of a Roma person is significantly lower than the average income a non-Roma person similar in age and educational attainment. Nonetheless, some Roma people may have a higher income than some non-Roma people. In this case, the political action called for can involve income or taxation policies that achieve equal median group statuses. This outcome, however, can be criticized on the ground that some individuals in either group are denied what they deserve for the purpose of a "patterned outcome" (Young, 2001, p. 6). From the standpoint of a comparison between individuals, arguments about the liberty of people to voluntarily pursue their goals, and the protection of this liberty through equality in formal procedures, take centre stage. Considerations of discrepancies based on power or dominance are generally considered irrelevant (Dworkin, 1981). The focus falls on personal decisions and preferences. If one argues that the lower housing condition of one individual compared to another lies in the un-coerced educational and employment decisions of the former, then the discrepancy cannot be considered unjust, and is thus not a target for remedial social policies. When outside influences for which an individual is not responsible are considered, within this perspective, they are generally broadly categorized as "bad luck" – and thus, not in need for a comprehensive policy of redistribution of resources or improved access to opportunities (Young, 2001).

A contrasting argument is that due to systemic inequality, some people are involuntarily placed in a position of disadvantage, while others are privileged. From this point of view, systemic inequality - understood as a set of social processes that enable or constrain individual actions beyond individual control (cf. Young, 2001) - justifies political solutions that affirmatively target the distribution of resources or offers remedial opportunities to particular groups of people. For example, social and economic discrepancies between groups of people can be seen as being caused by patterns of systemic discrimination (Tsang, 2013), including biased employment decisions, and structural racism (Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, & Abdulrahim, 2012). If

that is the case, then a majority of people belonging to the same social group - such as class, ethnicity, race or gender - experience various forms of exclusion, and unequal benefits or burdens caused by institutional and organizational norms and decisions. In other words, if by comparing the average income of a Roma person with the average income of a non-Roma person of a similar age and educational attainment, a pattern of discrepancy in averages can be seen across a particular time frame, then an argument can be made concerning the social causes of the discrepancy and the responsibility of the entire community to remediate the discrepancy through structural interventions – interventions that seek to change the social structures. which in turn shape behaviours (Gupta, 2008). When differences between groups of people are viewed as an unfair structural (dis)advantage of some people compared to others (Ward, Johnson, & O'Brien, 2013), social and political scientists usually express a moral commitment to concepts such as justice and fairness (Hochschild, 1981; Rawls, 1999; Rawls, 2003).

An additional academic debate is about the moral evaluations of what "ought" to be the reference point when comparing groups of people. For example, the group that represents the largest proportion of the population might be chosen as a reference point, thus becoming a norm group. Or the group with the "best" measurements, or the arithmetic mean of the rates for the groups compared, or even an ideal standard (Keppel, et al., 2005). These choices involve normative judgements about what should be compared, and which group has (or is) a problem group, and which group is a norm group. Moreover, even the notion that disparities should be measured, implies various moral judgements regarding notions of fairness and justice (Kawachi & Kennedy, 2002).

Depending on the comparison, and the reference point, the size and direction of disparity can be very different, leading to different problems requiring different solutions. For example, whether a rate ratio or rate difference is measured, opposing data could be presented concerning health related racial disparities (Harper, et al., 2010). Using data from the National Cancer

Institute Surveillance Research Program from the United States, Harper at al., (2010) have drawn attention to how trends in age-adjusted prostate cancer mortality between black and white men between 1990 and 2005 can be presented, in technically correct ways, but with politically different implications. If rate ratio were chosen as measurement (R black/R white), then it would indicate that racial disparity has increased by approximately 16%. If, however rate difference was chosen as measurement (R black – R white), then racial disparity would appear to have decreased by 26%. The two measures, although mathematically correct, could be used to rhetorically support or oppose, praise or critique various policy measures, as they could offer factual support to opposing matters of whether racial disparity has decreased or increased vis-à-vis a health-related issue.

Deciding which measure to use, and how to present the data, requires moral choices, and the presentation of numerical data can be used rhetorically (Potter, Wetherell, & Chitty, 1991), rather than objectively. One could ask if equality is a normative goal in itself, or if other issues should be considered (Harper, et al., 2010). If for instance a rate ratio measurement, which implicitly would adopt a normative position of strict bottom-line numerical parity, could show that disparities are decreasing across a number of groups, then an argument for progress could be made. If on the other hand, rate differences, which implicitly adopt a normative position of parity between advantaged/disadvantaged groups, show that disparity disproportionately affects a disadvantaged group, then an argument for affirmative programs can be made.

As the examples above indicate, there are a variety of contrasting views about the definitions, meanings, and measurements of disparity between individuals and groups of people. Also, many of the academic questions relating to the concept of disparities are a matter of ethical deliberations, illustrating political and ideological positions concerning differences between individuals or groups of people.

1.2. The Link Between Disparities and Prejudice

This thesis focuses on the views about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in Romania in contexts where proposals for political measures for addressing disparities, in both opportunities and outcomes, have been made. The theoretical foundation for the thesis was offered by the body of social psychological research interested in studying the link between ethnic or racial disparities and prejudice. The view of prejudice used in this thesis is drawn from Allport (1954), and may be defined as a feeling or expression of antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization directed toward a group or an individual belonging to that group. In addition, the thesis was interested in disparities measured at a group, rather than an individual level, and the focus was on unequal group relations (Blumer, 1958), and group dominance. The institutionalization of ethnic differences, peculiarities, histories, practices, and cultural experiences within a social hierarchy, was understood as ethnicism, which according to Mullard (1985) is a sub-type of racism.

1.2.1. Social Psychological Explanations for Disparities

There are at least two contrasting ways in which disparities between people can be accounted for in the social psychological academic literature. One perspective, which was popular in the United States among academics up to the 1920s, was that the lower social and economic status of black people was due to the biological inferiority of the blacks. The notion present on the other side of the same coin - white superiority – was useful in justifying the subjugation of people of different (darker) skin colours, and differences in skin colour were often used by white academics to account for differences in social outcomes. “Scientific” race theories drawing upon evolutionary backwardness, and inferior intellectual capacity were cited in order to explain the advantages of the deserving whites and the disadvantages of blacks (Samelson, 1978). During this ideological climate of the time, Thomas Garth published two widely cited

inter-war reviews (Garth, 1925; Garth, 1930) that subsequently helped earn him the enduring and disreputable label of the "Scientific Racist" (Richards, 1998)[3].

A second perspective, notably coinciding with the black civil rights movement in the United States, led to explanations of social-economic differences between whites and blacks in terms prejudice and discrimination. Myrdal's (1944) seminal work, which was further developed by Allport (1954), defined white racial attitudes as negative, unwarranted, and irrational, and positioned them as causes for the social exclusion of black people. Theoretically, prejudice was transferred from the surface of the black skin to the depths of the white head. While Allport argued that categorization was a universal, although biased, condition of people, he also recognized the role played by social norms in the development of prejudice. In the United Kingdom, Tajfel and Turner (1979) argued against the view that natural and cognitive processes underlie prejudice and discrimination, proposing instead a radically situationist account of perceived differences between people. Alternative explanations of disparities between people based on universal psychodynamic processes were also proposed. Possibly among the best known are Dollard's explanation about displaced frustration towards minorities as scapegoats (Dollard, Doob, Miller, & Mowrer, 1939) and Adorno and Stanford's (1950) theory on the authoritarian personality.

Other notable explanations for disparities between groups of people with a focus on the sociocultural influences of prejudice were Pettigrew's (1958) theory of conformity to institutionalized norms of prejudice, and Proshansky's (1966), work on early socialization. After a number of puzzling survey results that showed a decline in self-reported racial prejudices but not in institutional and systemic discrimination (Pettigrew, 1975), during the 1970s and 1980s, theories of modern forms of symbolic racism began to make an appearance on the scientific arena (McConahay, 1986). Explanations for disparities focused on the gap between what white people endorsed in principle and the policies they were (un)willing to accept in order for those

principles to be achieved. A number of academics (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Katz, 1981; McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988) argued that a white resistance against affirmative measures for redressing disparities suggests the presence of subtle forms of racism.

1.2.2. Ordinary Accounts for Disparities

In addition to the social psychological explanations about the causes of disparities between different ethnic or racial groups, some researchers have analysed the ways in which ordinary people account for the differences between groups (Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Every, 2005; Condor, Figgou, Abell, Gibson, & Stevenson, 2006; Santa Ana, 1999; van Dijk, 1987; Wodak & van Dijk, 2000; Verkuyten, 2001), including on the ways in which Romanian people account for extreme prejudice and legitimate blame when talking about Roma people (Tileaga, 2005). Most of this research looks at the discourses of advantaged group members (for a study on minority' discourses see: Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2006). Analysis of the talk of ordinary people showed that talkers themselves may suggest that prejudice accounts for social and economic disparities while also ascribing blame to members of disadvantaged groups. As a general rule, speakers present themselves as rational and justified, especially when expressing what they believe can be heard as racist or prejudiced opinions.

Research in this field is relatively young, with a history of about twenty years, and informed by a number of different disciplines such as social psychology, sociology, discursive psychology, critical discourse studies, and linguistics. Despite the theoretical and methodological diversity, there are a few common strategies that can be identified when people are expressing opinions about "others". According to Augoustinos and Every's review (2007), there are five common strategies used: (1) the denial of prejudice, (2) grounding one's views as reflecting the external world: reason and rationality, (3) positive self and negative other presentation, (4) discursive deracialisation and (5) liberal arguments for "illiberal" ends.

Firstly, the denial of prejudice refers to the use of disclaimers (I'm not racist, but...") to deny that whatever follows can be labelled as prejudiced or racist. This strategy can also be used by people to disclaim racism on behalf of others ("They're not racist...") (Condor, Figgou, Abell, Gibson, & Stevenson, 2006). An interesting fact of disclaimers is that by denying racism or prejudice speakers draw attention to the denied possibility, since if there was no likelihood of mistaking a statement for racism or prejudice the disclaimer would not have been needed.

Secondly, grounding one's views as reflecting the external world is a strategy that helps speakers avoid appearing prejudiced by making negative evaluations of others seem like natural or obvious features of the world. The "out-there-ness" is accomplished by making factual assertions about others ("They are...") as opposed to attitude statements ("I feel...") (Potter & Wetherell, 1988). If speakers can rhetorically prove that the antisocial behaviour or transgressing inclinations of minorities are "factual", they can continue to appear rational and reasonable.

A third strategy is a positive self-presentation, or in-group presentation accompanied by a negative other-presentation. For example, a statement about "our traditions of fairness and tolerance" can be followed by a criticism of immigrants who get a "free ride" at "our expense" (van Dijk, 1992, p. 103). According to van Dijk (1992) the distinction between us and them can be used to portray "us" as fair and reasonable, while at the same time warn that if not vigilant, "we" might be taken advantage of by "sneaky outsiders."

Fourthly, discursive deracialisation is a rhetorical strategy that removes race from potentially racially motivated arguments. For example, people can oppose asylum on economic or religious views, carefully fending off the prospect that the disapproval might be racially motivated (Goodman & Burke, 2011).

A final strategy identified in Augoustinos and Every's (2007) review is the use of liberal arguments to achieve illiberal ends. An example of this can be the discourse of meritocracy

(„everyone can succeed if they try hard enough”). This argument can help justify the exclusion or marginalization of certain groups of people, by drawing attention away from white privilege and ignoring systemic patterns of racial discrimination.

It is important to note, however, that even if broad strategies can be identified, researchers interested in discourse argue that one of the main features of talk about “others” is the variability with which people orient to matters of group difference and prejudice (e.g. Figgou & Condor, 2006).

1.2.3. The Perspectives of Disadvantaged Groups

Although most social psychological work on disparities in terms of racism, prejudice or discrimination looked at the perspectives of the majority/advantaged group (for a review see: Paluck & Green, 2009), there has been some work that focused on the perspectives of minorities or disadvantaged groups. There are three types of research that studied the perspectives of disadvantaged groups: (1) studies that looked at the consequences of prejudice and discrimination on disadvantaged group members, (2) studies on when and how stigmatized group members perceive prejudice and discrimination, and (3) studies focusing on the ways in which minorities cope with prejudice.

The social psychological research that looked at the impact of prejudice on minorities’ psyche and well-being (Clark & Clark, 1947; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Saenz, 1994; Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997) overwhelmingly concluded that the consequences were negative (for a review see: Barreto & Ellemers, 2010), and noted that the psychological and interpersonal costs further increased when the targets of discrimination reported it (Kaiser & Major, 2006). Other researchers, however, voiced concern that representations of damaged minority psyches were themselves negative, by firstly, reinforcing social myths about that minority and secondly, by providing a legitimate

reason to initiate person-change rather than system change programs (Caplan & Nelson, 1973). For example, a study on the perceptions of social workers working with children in the United Kingdom (Owusu-Bempah, 1994) showed that the interventions preferred for black children were different from those suggested for white children. Black children were routinely perceived as being in need for remedial identity work, while white children in comparable situations were viewed as well-balanced, and not in need for personal-based interventions. In a similar vein, citing Archibald (1970), Caplan and Nelson (1973) noted that when psychologists turn their attention to social problems the assumptions they make are akin to arguing that "if the shoe doesn't fit, there's something wrong with your foot." According to this argument, person focused interpretations distract attention from the systemic causes, while also discrediting criticism oriented towards the system.

Other social psychological work focused on how and when disadvantaged group members perceive that they have encountered prejudice and discrimination (Taylor, Ruggiero, & Louis, 1996; Yechezkel & Resh, 2003), and their perceptions about fairness and equality in society (Major, 1994). Research on minorities' perceptions of prejudice and discrimination mirrors the traditional study of prejudice which focuses on individual and contextual determinants of prejudice. For example, a study on the experiences of prejudice by Roma entrepreneurs in Finland, noted that prejudice was perceived as occurring during a wide variety of job-related face-to-face interactions including with city councillors, bank workers, insurance agents, suppliers, retailers, customers and competitors (Anttonen, 2008).

Various biases in the judgements of disadvantaged group members about of prejudice are also explored in the literature about the perspectives of minorities (Swim & Stangor, 1998). Two of the major types of perception biases that occur are the vigilance bias, when people perceive more discrimination than there actually exists, and a minimization bias, when people perceive less discrimination than there actually exists (Major & Kaiser, 2005).

Lastly, research on the ways in which members of disadvantaged groups attempt to cope with the impact of prejudice and discrimination looks at the possible stressor effects that leads to buffer responses (Cross & Strauss, 1998; Bakouri & Staerkle, 2015). These responses include efforts to change the status of the stigmatized group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), create bonding identities (Bakouri & Staerkle, 2015), disconfirm the beliefs of others (Deaux & Major, 1987), accept the negative stereotypes (Swann, 1997), or instigate collective action (Taylor, Moghaddam, Gamble, & Zellerer, 1986).

1.2.4. Social Psychological Strategies for Tackling Disparities

There is a large body of social psychological research suggesting that disparities caused by systemic disadvantage can be explained with reference to psychological processes of prejudice. One underlying assumption of this research is that prejudice is not fixed, but rather flexibly built on the perceptions of social subjects, and is thus a likely candidate for psychological reduction strategies. The concept of perceptualism (Mazur, 2015) reflects this idea that perceivers subjectively (re)produce group categories and labels, which are not objective representations of the people perceived. Drawing from this research, a number of recommendations for prejudice reduction strategies have been proposed (Abrams, Vasiljevic, & Wardrop, 2012; Banfield & Dovidio, 2013), one of the most widely cited being Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis. Generally, prejudice reduction strategies work to promote positive intergroup relations by diminishing people's tendency to categorize the world into "us" versus "them" (Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2009; Gonzalez & Brown, 2003). Strategies on prejudice reduction focused on the attitudes of historically advantaged majority groups towards historically disadvantaged groups (Dixon, et al., 2015), including Roma people (Lasticova & Findor, 2016; Varadi, 2014).

Intergroup research, especially the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) has looked holistically at the dynamic between the perspectives of majorities and minorities

interacting within systems of structural inequality. The aim of this line of research was firstly to destigmatise minorities - by focusing on the perceived permeability of group boundaries when social mobility out of a disadvantaged in-group was possible, and the situations in which the discrepancies in group status were understood as legitimate or illegitimate (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) - but also to show some ways in which social change could be brought about. Nonetheless, the conditions for change, from a disadvantaged in-group to a favoured advantaged out-group, were taken to indicate a psychological damage, a "negative social identity" on the part of the disadvantaged members.

A radically different way of tackling group disparities caused by systemic disadvantage is offered by the social psychological literature on collective action (e.g. Dixon & Levine, 2012). This perspective arose from criticisms about the ironic (Wright, 2001) or sedative effects (Cakal, Hewstone, Schwär, & Heath, 2011) of prejudice reduction strategies. The gist of the criticism was that the reduction of prejudice between groups of people, ironically leads to the maintenance of systems of inequality. For example, research shows that when people belonging to the disadvantaged group begin to like the advantaged group, they perceive less discrimination and are, consequently, less likely to demand and support corrective policy measures for past injustices (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007; Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010). Also, when the members of the advantaged group like the disadvantaged group, they are less likely to support social policies that aim to address disparities caused by systemic injustices (Dovidio, Gaertner, Shnabel, Saguy, & Johnson, 2010). Broadly, one of the main arguments of this line of research on collective action was that systemic inequality can be tackled mainly through intergroup conflict, which in turn can be prompted by perceptions of a fixed group identity. Consequently, the flexible, contextual, and inter-relational processes through which group categories (i.e. class, race, ethnicity, gender, etc.) were produced are routinely ignored

(Reicher & Hopkins, 2001), leading to an implicit view of the essentialist nature of groups (Haslam, Rothschild, & Ernst, 2000; Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2015).

A separate body of literature proposes a third way of tackling disparities that moves away from both prejudice reduction strategies, and confrontational collective actions, towards ways of psychological resisting disadvantage (Leach & Livingstone, 2015). Psychological resistance strategies can be overt or covert, and include: working class people resisting management norms in the workplace (i.e. losing track of lunch break, feigned misunderstanding of instructions) (Yucessan-Ozdemir, 2003), resistance to implicit gender stereotypes by progressive women (i.e. women who showed support for affirmative action programs) when exposed to traditional gender roles (de Lemus, Spears, Bukowski, Moya, & Lupianez, 2013) and ridicule directed towards those in authority (Billig, 2005). Although varied, what these strategies have in common is an attempt by people from disadvantaged groups to resist disadvantage in psychological terms, rather than confrontational protest.

1.2.5. Opposition to Policy Measures for Redressing Disparities

Disparities between groups are present when race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion or immigrant status, are linked with unequal access to power, resources, and life chances (Carter & Reardon, 2014). Policy measures for redressing disparities include policies that aim to reduce inequality in opportunities (access to life chances and power that facilitate the fulfilment of one's goals), and inequality in outcomes (health, success, material possessions, and general well-being). Broadly, there are three ways in which these inequalities can be tackled politically: (1) policies that moderate income inequality (e.g. labour market policies, redistributive measures, promotion of equal access to labour markets and affirmative action programs), (2) policies that aim to close gaps in education, health, housing, employment (e.g. strengthened institutional capacities, expanded access to institutions and services, affirmative action programs) (3) policies

that address social exclusion and discrimination (e.g. engagement of socially excluded groups, anti-discriminatory legislation).

Social psychological research in the United States shows that, in general, from the 1970s, people belonging to the advantaged group did not oppose policies that offered minorities the freedom to compete for equal opportunities. Rather, there seemed to a broad consensus in support of equality and civil rights laws, including laws that supported equal access to school, housing, jobs, public transportation, and inter-racial marriage (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). Also, typically people expressed more liberal and inclusive views when they were questioned about abstract and hypothetical situation, rather than about specific events or processes. Moreover, research on the construal theories, argued that when the event or process in question was distanced in time or space, people may be more accepting of policies for disadvantaged groups (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). General opposition, however, was directed towards affirmative policies such as quotas in housing, employment and education – in other words, policies designed to reduce outcome inequality (Katz & Hass, 1988; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Pearson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2009).

Affirmative action policies or programs can also be divided into three different types: (1) opportunity enhancement policies which offer target group members extra training and assistance, increasing the available number of people for selection by decision makers; (2) equal opportunity policies which aim to eliminate discrimination in access to institutions and services; (3) preferential treatment or quotas to members of a target group, that aim to redress inequality due to historical disadvantage. A review of the psychological research on attitudes towards employment affirmative action programs in the United States from the 1970s to late 2000s (Harrison, Mayer, Leslie, Kravitz, & Lev-Arey, 2006), shows that opposition was less likely to be against the first two types of affirmative action, and strongest for the third. However, the

opposition against quota based policies was stronger in the case of non-target members compared to members of the disadvantaged groups.

1.2.5.1. Social psychological explanations of public opposition to affirmative action measures for redressing disparities.

The theories proposed by social psychologists to account for the white opposition to affirmative action measures for racial minorities arose from a preoccupation to explain the paradoxical trends concerning (white) public opinion in the United States. For example, surveys data starting with 1970s found that there was a widespread opposition reported by white Americans to affirmative policy measures designed to help racial minorities (Pettigrew, 1975). However, there was also a decline in the support for discriminatory policies, which were becoming illegal, such as school or neighbourhood segregation or laws banning interracial marriage. During the same time period, there was a consistent change in the content of self-reported racial attitudes expressed by white people (Bobo, Charles, Krysan, & Simmons, 2012). Common explanations for social and economic disparities shifted from inborn failings of black people towards cultural attributions. For instance, white people argued that black people might be less “industrious” or more “lazy”, and thus, not displaying the American valued traits of hard work, motivation, perseverance, and industriousness. Likewise, the thrust of prejudices seemed to shift from generalized attributions based on biological differences in appearance, to those based on cultural characteristics.

It is important to make three observations regarding this attitudinal shift, and ambivalence displayed by white people. Firstly, biological attributions did not disappear. Research has found that biological, race based explanations continued to be offered by some study participants for perceived differences in mathematical ability, intelligence, and predilection for violence (Jayaratne, et al., 2006). Secondly, the “new” cultural attributions which established whiteness as norm to which any other racial or ethnic groups should aspire to can be traced back

to European colonial rule (Pehrson & Leach, 2012). Thirdly, trait-based explanations, although usually offered by white people, were also found among black people. For example, one study found that a lack of motivation was suggested as a reason for social and economic disparities by 44% of black respondents (Samson & Bobo, 2014).

To a number of social psychologists it looked as if white (American) people continued to experience anti-black affect, while also embracing the principles of racial equality and inclusion in areas such as education, employment, housing, segregation and interracial marriage. Thus, existing disparities between racial groups were beginning to be discussed, by some authors, in terms of subtle forms of prejudice. Four different concepts were proposed, all of which liked ethnic/racial disparities with subtle forms of prejudice: symbolic racism (Sears, Symbolic racism, 1988), modern racism (McConahay, 1986), ambivalent racism (Katz, 1981) and aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1989, 1999, 2000).

Symbolic racism (Sears, 1988) and modern racism (McConahay, 1986), are two closely related concepts. In fact, modern racism (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981) derived from the theory of symbolic racism, which emerged in the early 1970s. Consequently, the two positions are often treated as interchangeable. It was only later developments concerning the origin of attitudes in the theory of symbolic racism which helped distinguish the two theoretical positions. Symbolic and modern racism were understood to involve a comprehensive system of ambivalent beliefs held, in most part, by white Americans against Blacks. According to the theory of symbolic racism, black people were no longer seen as the victims of a Jim Crow variety of prejudice and discrimination. Modern racism allowed that prejudice and discrimination may occur, although since it became socially unacceptable - as a result of the civil rights movement - it has largely been abandoned by white people. Both theories explained that any failure to progress, on the part of black people, was understood to be a result of their unwillingness to work hand. From the view point of symbolic racism, white opposition to affirmative action

programs designed to help racial minorities was deemed as an expression of indirect prejudice. Modern racism explained that policy demands of resolving racial disparities such as special housing assistance, affirmative action in university admissions, busing for racial integration were considered excessive and affirmative measures seen as a way of offering black people more than they deserved.

The gist of the both theories was that symbolic racism influences white peoples' political attitudes against racial policies. According to the theory of symbolic racism, however, the origin of these attitudes can be found in a blend of negative anti-Black feelings, acquired in childhood together with traditional American moral values. The target of symbolic and modern racism was black people as a group, rather than individuals, and at its heart there were white American abstract moral values, instead of personal interest or personal experience (Sears, 1988; Sears & Henry, 2005; Sears, Sidanius, & Bobo, 2000; McConahay & Hough, 1976). Criticisms of the theories of modern and symbolic racism suggested that symbolic racism wrongly treated political conservatism as racial prejudice. Accordingly, the opposition to affirmative action policies reflects a conservative aversion to large-scale government programs, rather than anti-Black affect (Feldman & Huddy, 2005; Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986).

The notion of ambivalent racism maintains that white people can experience emotional conflict between positive and negative feelings (Katz, 1981). For example, white Americans may feel appreciative, but ultimately paternalistic attitudes towards successful black people and at the same time feel resentful towards underprivileged black individuals, who may appear to them as unwilling to work hard enough. In addition, pro-black attitudes attribute black disadvantage to discrimination and a lack of opportunities, while anti-black attitudes attribute black disadvantage to unambitious, disorganized, and un-American work values (Fiske, 2012). Similarly, research on the attitudes of white people living in Italy towards Roma people showed that Roma people were ambivalently perceived (Villano, Fontanella, & Di Donato, 2017). On the one hand Roma

were romantically viewed as being “free” from societal constrains, while on the other hand they were criticized for exploiting the welfare system. White attitudes can flip from one pole to another, often depending on situational cues.

Lastly, the theory of aversive racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) explains the presence of ambivalent feelings towards ethnic or racial minorities by people who profess beliefs of equality. According to this theory, aversive racists will often deny – even to themselves - that their behaviours towards black people can be racially motivated. Instead, the biased motivation may be implicit or unconscious, rather than explicit and conscious. According to Gaertner and Dovidio, the majority of (white) Americans are socialized in accord with egalitarian values. As a result any biases on their part are manifested in situations where the social norms of right and wrong are ambiguous. For example, in situations such as employment or university admissions, white people can rationalize their decisions of consistently choosing a white candidate over a black candidate when the credentials were evenly matched, on factors other than race (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1989, 1999, 2000).

These concepts, which can be encompassed under the umbrella term “subtle racism”, were used as possible explanations for when and why resistance to policy measures for outcome equality occur. Also, the theories of subtle racism offer explanation for the maintenance of disparities in outcomes between the historically privileged and historically underprivileged.

Samson and Bobo (2014, p. 519) observed that subtle racism intruded into political contests and contestations with real consequences in policies such as housing, employment or university admissions. A major element in understanding the relationship between race and politics was that white people’s opposition to systemic solutions that could redress racial disparities in outcomes was presented as being motivated by a perception of unfair demands

made by racial minorities, rather than racial prejudice. In other words, racial discrimination was achieved in apparently non-racial ways.

Overall, the theories of subtle forms of racism show that, in the abstract, the ideals of equality between people are viewed approvingly. As was seen in this section, people belonging to the majority group are more likely to oppose than to approve of affirmative policy measures for disadvantaged ethnic or racial groups or individuals. Taken together, the research results on subtle forms of racism indicate that new forms of racism are present in contexts where ordinary white people evaluate the need for, or the merits, of policy measures for disadvantaged ethnic or racial minority group members.

1.3. Theoretical Framework and General Problematics of Research

This thesis was interested in the study of discourses about discrepancies between Roma and non-Roma people living in Romania. The thesis was built on the theoretical foundation offered by the social scientific literature that links ethnic or racial disparities with prejudice (e.g. Allport, 1954; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1989, 1999, 2000; Katz, 1981; McConahay, 1986; Pettigrew, 1958; Sears, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The view that is taken throughout the study is that prejudice, racism – including its subtle forms - and discrimination are some of the major causes for the social and economic discrepancies between Roma and non-Roma people. Due to a belief that disparities between groups occur when ethnicity, race, gender, sexual orientation, religion or an immigrant status are linked to an unequal access to power, resources and life chances, this study starts from the premise that ethnic inequality is best tackled politically.

The data for this thesis consisted of (a) academic publications, (b) policy documents and (c) group conversations taking place during government funded projects for Roma inclusion. Within these three data sets, authors, policymakers and conversationalists aimed to systemically close the gaps in education, health, housing and employment and address social exclusion and

discrimination in both legislation and policies. The focus was on the variability of views expressed by people actively engaged in redressing unjust social and economic differences. Building on early approaches to discourse analysis in sociology (e.g. Gilbert & Mulkay, 1984) and social psychology (e.g. Potter & Wetherell, 1987), this thesis emphasizes that the views adopted by individuals often reflect widespread interpretative repertoires. Also, this study acknowledges that the availability of multiple and contradictory interpretative repertoires within a community of practice can lead to variability within and between the accounts of individuals and groups (Billig, et al., 1988; Billig, Condor, 2017; 1989; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Potter & Wetherell, 1988; Verloo, 2005; Wetherell & Potter, 1988).

The thesis is comprised of three different studies. The first study analysed all of the academic publications about Romanian Roma published between 1990 and 2015 that included a discussion about public policies as appropriate solutions for redressing ethnic disparities (72 publications). The research questions that guided this study were: (1) How was the problem of ethnic disparity portrayed? (2) What were the academic solutions proposed to the problem of disparity? (3) Were there any ambivalent, dilemmatic or concealed aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people? (4) Were the perspectives of Roma people accounted for in the academic literature?

The second study analysed all of the policy documents proposing policy measures for Romanian Roma published between 2001 and 2015 (four documents). The questions that guided this study were: (1) How was the problem of ethnic disparity portrayed? (2) What were the governmental solutions proposed to the problem of disparity? (3) Were there any ambivalent, dilemmatic or concealed aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people? (4) Were the perspectives of Roma people accounted for in the policy documents? (5) Did formal policy documents drew upon academic publications as arguments for, or against policy solutions? (6) Were academic publications which were intended to inform public policies

for Romas acknowledged within policy documents? (7) What were the similarities and differences between academic and political perspectives?

The third study analysed the conversations of 88 participants from fifteen parts of Romania, covering the main geographical areas of the country, interacting in 28 mixed ethnic groups organized as part of different programs and projects initiated as a response to the governmental policies for Roma people. The questions that guided this study were: (1) How was the problem of ethnic disparity portrayed? (2) What were the conversational solutions proposed to the problem of disparity? (3) Were there any ambivalent, dilemmatic or concealed aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people? (4) Were academic publications or policy documents acknowledged within policy documents? (5) Were the views identified in academic and policy documents used in conversations? (6) Did conversationalists moved away from the elite discourses of academics and policymakers, introducing novel ways of understanding ethnic disparities?

The analysis for this thesis began with a focus on academic publications, with each subsequent study incrementally building on the previous study's results.

1.4.Concluding Remarks

This chapter began by arguing that disparity, as a concept that can be used to describe social and economic differences between people, inevitably involves normative evaluations about fairness and justice. The second part of the chapter described the various ways in which the social psychological literature explained the existence of economic and social disparities between the historically privileged and the historically underprivileged.

There are four main conclusions that can be drawn from the social psychological literature review on disparities. Firstly, most of the social psychological research has been experimental, with very little focus on the discursive practices concerning ethnic disparities.

Secondly, although some of the social psychological literature, especially research on the contact hypothesis and social identity theory, has looked at the dynamic interrelationship between advantaged and disadvantaged group members, most research has focused only on the perspectives of the advantaged group members. Therefore, there remains a research gap in the literature concerning the perspectives presented in inter-ethnic interactions, and even more so, by disadvantaged group members. Thirdly, although emergent work looks at the ambivalent views of majority members about ethnic minorities and the ironic effects of prejudice reduction strategies, there is virtually no research about the possible ambivalent views displayed in anti-racist contexts and the ironic, or dilemmatic effects of strategies which target systemic based ethnic disparities. Finally, most social psychological research focuses on a single context of study, most commonly the public perceptions about members of the disadvantaged groups, but also marginally mass media representations, academic publications or political discourses, while overlooking an important area of study concerned with whether and how discourses can move between different domains, and the impact or acknowledgement of elite discourses on the everyday conversations.

This thesis was interested in contributing to the social psychological study of ethnic group relations by exploring the views about ethnic disparity across three discursive contexts which actively proposed or enacted policy measures for resolving disparities. The thesis added to the analysis the perspectives of advantaged and disadvantaged group members - separately and in interaction - and explored whether there are any ironic, ambivalent or dilemmatic effects of strategies which target systemic based ethnic disparities.

CHAPTER 2: THE RESEARCH CONTEXT: ROMA AND NON-ROMA PEOPLE IN ROMANIA

The aim of this chapter was to present the context of research for this thesis. The chapter begins with a general presentation of the political context of contemporary Romania and the history of Roma people in Romania. This presentation is followed by a discussion about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in education, employment, health and housing. Finally, the chapter covers the policy measures that exist in Romania for redressing ethnic disparities between Roma and non-Roma people.

2.1. Political Context of Contemporary Romania

Romania declared its independence from the Ottoman Empire in May 1877 and after the Russo-Turkish War, its independence as a *de facto* sovereign principality was officially recognized in the Treaty of Berlin (1978). In 1881 the Romanian principality became a kingdom under the rule of King Carol I. Up until the end of the Second World War Romania's external boundaries suffered a series of changes with the loss and acquisition of different territories (Georgescu, 1984). At the outbreak of World War I, the country's territory included the provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia and Dobrogea. After World War I, in 1918 Romania acquired Basarabia, Bucovina and Transylvania resulting in what was called "Greater Romania". During the Second World War, Romania lost territory in both east and west, and following these loses, the military dictator Ion Antonescu seized the ruling power. Romania entered the war on the side of the Axis powers, recovered some of its land from Soviet Russia, and ended the war on the side of the Allies, with a new king in power. Again, some land was recovered, while other territories remained lost (Constantiniu, 1997).

The Red Army was at this point exerting *de facto* control, and the new king, Mihai I, abdicated and left the country. In 1947 Romania became a Republic and remained under the Soviet Union's military and economic control until the late 1950s. After the soviet troops

withdrew, the power was taken by the Communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu (Botez & Georgescu, 1992).

Romania was under communist rule for almost 50 years, and has been a political democracy only since December 1989. Romania has been a member of NATO since 2004 and a member of the European Union since 2007. The perceived benefits of an EU membership created the political incentives needed to satisfy the EU's membership requirements. However, Romania has struggled to achieve the relative success of other post-communist states that joined the EU in 2004 (Spendzharova & Vachudova, 2012). The most common publicized shortcomings were those of corruption and the poor quality of the judicial system. Even after more than twenty years of democratization, Romania was still considered a "semi-consolidated", rather than "consolidated", democracy (Freedom House, 2010). There were criticisms that the former Communist Party members were reinventing themselves as transitional democratic leaders who used the power they had to win the early elections (Spendzharova & Vachudova, 2012, p. 40).

By early 2000s, Romania was making some economic progress as the internal poverty rates were reduced (Human Development Report, 2014). However, this progress was short lived. By late 2000s the recession led to a large budget deficit and inevitably, to the worsening of living conditions. Under EU leverage, Romania has continued to pursue domestic institutional change in reforming the judiciary system and controlling corruption. Institutional reform was mostly uneven, with periods of strong pressure from the EU characterized by a strong push for reform, followed by periods of inactivity or even fall back (Ristei, 2010). The reform consisted mainly of new legislation passed in parliament that aligned with the EU ideals. This process was closely accompanied by high-level political drama. To name just a few examples of the Romanian political commotion, in the years since the revolution the ruling party changed its name several times while in power, various coalitions were made, dissolved and then remade, several parties

worked together to block vehement anti-corruption reforms which targeted mainly politicians from opposing parties, and the president was suspended by the parliament in 2007.

During the transition from a former-communist to a democratic country, Romania experienced severe economic decline and corruption which has led to inequality and the amassing of resources by a small group of elites (Precupetu & Precupetu, 2013). According to the Gini index, in 2010 Romania ranked fifth highest in EU with regard to income inequality (GINI index , 2015), and poverty continued to remain one of the crucial problems of the country (Ministerul Muncii, Familiei si Protectiei Sociale, 2010). However, according to academic research and political documents the group most affected by inequality and extreme poverty were Roma people.

The majority of the population are Romanian ethnics (88.9%). The rest include Hungarian (6.5%), Ukrainian (0.2%), German (0.2%), Turks/Tatar (0.3%), Russian/Lipovans (0.1%), Serbs (0.1%), Slovaks (0.1%) and undeclared (0.1%) ethnic minorities. According to the latest census data, 3.3% of the Romanian population (621,573) were Roma people (Institutul National de Statistica, 2011). Researchers, however, note that many Roma are reluctant to identify themselves as such in national censuses, and that the real number could be closer to 1.5 million (Zamfir & Preda, 2002), 2 million (Roma Inclusion Barometer, 2007), or even 2.5 million (World Bank, 2014). The discrepancy between the official statistics and estimations is given, on one hand, by the reluctance of the more affluent Roma to self-identify as Roma, due to the “ghetto stigmatization”, and on the other hand by the fear due to the collective memory of the Transnistria ethnic motivated deportation during the Antonescu regime (Kelso, 2013).

2.2. The History of Roma People in Romania

Although there is some debate regarding the approximate date Roma people arrived on Romanian land (Achim, 1998; Grigore, Neacsu, & Furtuna, 2007; Sandu M. , 2005) historical

documents hint that Roma people, originally from India, migrated to the region known today as Romania sometimes between 11th-14th centuries. Most sources indicate the fourteenth century as being the more accurate date, a period that coincided with the beginning of Roma slavery in the Carpato-Danubiano-Pontic space.

2.2.1. Roma Slavery

Roma people were mentioned for the first time in an official document in 1385 in Wallachia, as 40 families of *Atigani* were awarded to Tismana Monastery by the Prince of Wallachia, Dan I. In Transylvania, Roma people were mentioned for the first time in surviving documents from the 1400s, when it was attested that 17 *Ciganus* belonged to a rich boyar. In Moldavia, Roma people were mentioned in 1428, as another prince, Alexander the Good, donated 31 families of Tigani to another Monastery, called Bistrita Monastery (Achim, 1998).

The migration of Roma people from India or Persia to Europe was influenced by the military events of the time. Various groups of Roma, affected by the major upheaval of the Middle East and South-Eastern Europe, were fleeing inevitably towards the west, while trying to escape, first from the Seljuk Turks and then from the Ottoman Turks. They were known in European languages as *Tsiganes* (and its derivatives), but they called themselves Rom. By the beginning of the eighteen century in Moldavia the number of Roma people was large enough for Dimitrie Cantemir (twice Prince of Moldavia) to write that “there is no boyar to be found that does not have a few Gypsy families in his possession (Cantemir, 1973, p. 168). However, since the statistical sources of the time did not include slaves, it is impossible to accurately estimate their number.

It was customary for the male children of boyars - who together with clergymen, were the main slave owners- to be send to the West, particularly to France, to carry out their studies. After their return, some of the youth began to speak against Roma slavery. Adding to the (young)

intellectual liberal voices of the newly returned youth, foreign intellectuals also warned that the country's slavery was "a great shame" and a "black stain in front of foreigners" (Potra, 1939). At a time when in other countries and in English and French colonies slavery was abolished, Romanian decision makers found themselves in the conflicting and embarrassing situation of wishing to count themselves as part of the "civilised world" while in their newspapers it was advertised "for sale: a young Gypsy woman" (Achim, 1998, p. 98).

After the abolition of slavery, nearly 500 years later (1385-1856), statistics published by the Ministry of Finance in 1857, declared the number of freed Roma in Wallachia to be 33,267 families (out of 466.152 families living in the country) (Filitti, 1931, p. 123). In Moldavia, after the year 1956, Roma people were counted as Romanians for the purposes of tax records and also for ethnic data (Achim, 1998, p. 95).

The idea of freedom for all was not readily embraced in a slave-free Romanian society. The political power was in the hands of former Roma slave owners: the wealthy conservative boyars and the clergy. After the law of emancipation was passed, those that were entitled by law to compensation were not the formerly enslaved Roma people, but their slave owners, who, according to historical documents, were "rewarded" with approximately ten ducats per slave for their willingness to free them (Achim, 1998). Moreover, all taxpaying Roma people were also required to contribute to the slave Compensation Fund. In the rare event that a slave owner refused compensation, he was offered exemption from taxes for a period of ten years. In consequence, Roma people found themselves free, but without any economic and social protection. The laws indicated that the free Roma people were to settle in villages or on estates, but landowners or monasteries were not required to provide their former slaves with land, tools of livestock. Although, in theory, they could have done so, most proved less generous (Potra, 1939). Freedom came with tax burdens, and paradoxically, the rights granted on paper proved to be exploitative in practice.

Most Roma people began to establish themselves in separate settlements, working as craftsmen and tradesmen, a phenomenon encouraged by the authorities at a time when the reorganisation of rural property and the tax system in the villages was a main priority for political actors. With the exception of a public policy attempt at social assimilation during the Communist years, the physical separation of Roma people was to remain mostly unchanged up to the deportation to Transnistria during 1942 – 1944, where approximately 36.000 adults and 6000 children were killed, and until the present day.

2.2.2. Roma People and the Communist Regime

During the communist regime in Romania (1947-1989) there was a Universalist theory of public policy (Zamfir & Zamfir, 1993), where theoretically there was a general provision of goods and services for the needs of all people. The accent was placed on the ideal of cosmopolitanism, but in practice ideological Universalism turned out to be a surface political attempt of covering up the traces left over from the former political, cultural and economic imperialism.

During this period there was a political attempt of Roma assimilation (Grigore, Neacsu, & Furtuna, 2007) to the non-Roma social and cultural norms. This was achieved mostly through administrative and bureaucratic means, backed up by the various political objectives. For example, there were local level orders denying Roma people from publicly speaking in their own language and for many years they were not allowed to form cultural associations (Helsinki Watch, 1991). Roma people were also not granted the status of ethnic minority.

During Communism, Roma people were not only in a position where the majority population looked down on them as the ethnic-less “others”, they also had to (re)negotiate their own definitions regarding the newly received decorticated identity as “Romanian only” (Neacsu, 2007). The new and simplified label did not sweep under the ideological rug the longstanding

cultural values, or the centuries of slavery, or the social marginalization that seemed to be attached to the social and political category of Roma. Rather, in Romania the Romanian ethnicity was the desired ideal. In this context, the socially accepted Roma was the one that managed to blend in as much as possible and to look and act as little as possible as the stereotypical prototype collectively known as "Roma". Also, the Universalist ideology did not root out the existing hierarchies. On paper, Roma ethics had jobs, housing and their children were enrolled in school. However, in practice, assimilation proved to be discriminating, and without legal recognition, any talk about the protection of human rights was a moot point (Helsinki Watch, 1991).

2.2.3. Roma People in Democratic Romania

The post-communist years were generally characterized by a somewhat reluctant acceptance of ethnic diversity, where public ethnic manifestations were finally a legally endorsed possibility. The recognition, even if not the actual celebration, of ethnic diversity allowed Roma people to organize, mobilize and engage politically and culturally (Zamfir & Zamfir, 1993). However, a significant portion of Roma people experienced increased economic and social marginalization (Pons, 1999). In this social context, a group of Roma activists and social scientists started to protest and write about the injustices observed, or in some cases, experienced.

Most of the academic literature on Romanian Roma people was written after 1990. This is not particularly surprising, given the politics of Roma cultural assimilation during the communist period in Romania, a time characterized by a research gap regarding all ethnic minorities. On one hand, the authors publishing their work post 1989 continued the tradition established during the first half of the twentieth century (e.g. Ion Chelcea's ethnographic studies 1934, 1942, 1944) or after the Second World War (e.g. Nicolae Gheorghe's *Origin of Roma's slavery in the Romanian Principalities*, 1983), writing monographs, ethnographic studies and historical depictions of Roma people. On the other hand, the newer writings brought to the table

additional analytic interests such as: social policies, inclusion measures, needs assessments and diagnoses (Achim, 1998; Crisan, 1999; Grigore, et al., 2009; Ionescu & Cace, 2000; Nicolae, 2002; Nicolae, 2006a; Nicolae, 2006b; Oprea, 2005; Preoteasa, Cace & Duminica, 2009; Zamfir & Preda, 2002; Zamfir & Zamfir, 1993).

The growing academic and political interest about Roma people in Romania developed in a social context in which university undergraduate and graduate programs in psychology, sociology, social work and anthropology were re-launched after being pushed out of university and academic life during the Communist years. Other developments of consequence were the emergence of social research institutes and centres (e.g. the Research Institute for the Quality of Life - functioning under the auspices of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest; the National Institute of Statistics – a Romanian government agency, Bucharest), and national and international organizations that began offering funding for research relating to Roma people (e.g. ANR, World Bank, Save the Children, Romani CRISS, UNICEF, Open Society Foundation, USAID). These developments resulted in the publication of a growing number of studies, research reports and surveys relating to the Roma minority in Romania, giving rise to a varied number of observations, challenges and recommendations, made by Roma and non-Roma academics and activists for the inclusion of Roma people.

2.3. Disparities between Roma and Non-Roma People in Romania

2.3.1. Education

Available data[4] indicates a high rate of illiteracy in the Roma population (Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2010; Zamfir E. , 2007), The EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program (2007) reported some studies to have found approximately 34% of Roma were illiterate and had no formal education, compared to 5% of the non-Roma population. In 2011, 10% of Roma aged 25-64 had

graduated secondary education, compared to 58% of non-Roma adults (United Nations Development Programme, 2012a).

However, other research indicates that most Roma children do in fact experience some form of formal education, and Duminica & Ivasiuc, (2013) have estimated that only 2% of school aged Roma children had never attended school. In particular, early school participation rates among Roma children appears to be relatively high, with some studies finding up to 71% attending some form of preschool (Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2013). On the other hand, studies that have measured rates of school attendance have found that that in some segregated Roma communities, 2 out of 10 Roma children between the ages of 6 and 16, did not attend school on a regular basis (Tarnovschi, 2012).

The schools attended by Roma children are also generally of a relatedly poor standard. A study conducted in 2007, found a negative correlation between the number of Roma children enrolled in a school and the presence of qualified teachers, school library, sport grounds or computer labs (Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2010).

2.3.2. Employment

During communist years, in the absence of private businesses, most Roma people were employed by the state in agricultural jobs, construction work, or food processing. After centralized economy came to its end in December 1989, the number of available jobs decreased and according to available data, Roma people were among the first in the letting-go line (Fossland & Dohlie, 2013; Zamfir & Zamfir, 1993).

Jobs to which an unemployed Roma ethnic could aspire to after 1989, consisted of low paid work with a higher risk of vulnerability, such as unqualified work on farms or road sweeping (Word Bank, 2014). There is also evidence of a discrepancy between unemployment rates among Roma and non-Roma people. For instance, in 2011, 66% of non-Roma men and 53%

of non-Roma women aged between 15 and 65 were employed, while for Roma people the employment percentiles were 42% for men and 19% for women. Moreover, the employment percentiles for Roma people included undeclared or black economy work (World Bank, 2014). Also, there are differences in employment between Roma people and their non-Roma neighbours, suggesting discrimination in hiring practices. In 2011, in the same neighbourhood 44% of non-Roma people had a job, compared to 30% of Roma (World Bank, 2014).

Regarding long term unemployment Roma women and Roma youth have the highest unemployment rates, of up to 60% (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014). By 2013 the formal employment rates had increased by 10% since 1998 for the general Roma population. However, up to 79% of young Roma women between the ages of 15-24 were working in the informal market (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014).

2.3.3. Health

According to Health at a Glance (OECD, 2014) Romania's life expectancy was consistently lowest among European Union member states, at 74.5 years. By comparison, in the other EU member states, life expectancy increased between 1990 and 2012 with just over 5 years, reaching 79.2 years. Some of the reasons cited by the study for Romania's stagnation in this health indicator, included the scarce funds allocated from the budget (4% of the GDP) and the poorly monitored healthcare system. Whereas, Romanian citizens in general had lower numbers in health indicators compared to their European neighbours, health indicators for Romanian Roma were lower. Romanian Roma life expectancy was 6 years lower than the life expectancy of non-Roma people in 2003, and 16 years lower in 2013 (World Bank, 2014). In 2012, about half had access to health care, in comparison to 97% of non-Roma people (Tarnovschi, 2012). Roma people are also disproportionately affected by some transmittable diseases such as tuberculosis, hepatitis A (Giurca, 2012), and respiratory diseases (World Bank, 2014). Moreover, 45.7% of Roma children had benefited in 2009 of the free vaccinations offered as part of a national

program, compared to almost 90% of non-Roma children (Wamsiedel, Jitariu, Barbu, & Cnab, 2009). More than half of the sample of Roma children included in the same study had never been vaccinated. In 2014, more than 75% of Roma people lived at a distance of at least 3 km from the nearest health care facility, and over 80% of interviewed Roma people reported that they could not afford the costs associated with health care, even if in theory health care is free in Romania (World Bank, 2014).

2.3.4. Housing

The general housing quality in Romania was lower than the European average, with more than 30% of people living in inadequate conditions in 2010, compared to the average of 7% of people living in other European countries (Eurostat, 2010). However, for most Roma people the housing indicators showed lower numbers. For example, in the same year at least 30% of Roma people had no legal housing or land documents, and many were evicted (Institutul de Cercetare a Calitatii Vietii, 2010). A number of Romas who were evicted, were moved to areas close to landfills or in industrial areas where access to public utilities, transport, heath clinics or schools was minimum (Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2013).

After 1989 there was a policy of mass privatization of nationalized housing. While these houses were being restituted to their former owners, the tenants were officially promised access to social housing. However, the budget was too small for the number of people in need of a place of accommodation and since most Romas had an income that could not cover the higher rent of social housing, some moved into abandoned and unsanitary apartments- forming urban ghettoes - or in makeshift shanty towns at the fringes of communities (World Bank, 2014, p. 252). In 2013, up to 77% of Roma lived in segregated communities at the margins of communities, mostly in makeshift and inadequate housing (Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2013). In 2010, more than 90% of Roma owed houses did not have access to utilities such as hot water, central heating or

connection to sewage. Also, according to the same study, more than 50% of Roma people did not own a refrigerator, cooker or indoor bathroom (Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2013).

Although there was indication that inequality between other groups of people was also present (e.g. between those living in rural vs urban areas, older and younger generations, men and women, etc.), there was a general consensus among researchers that the differences between Roma and non-Roma people were starkest (Preoteasa, Cace, & Duminica, 2009).

2.4. Policy Measures for Redressing Ethnic Disparities

In 1997, when the European Commission answered the Romanian request to join the EU, it insisted that more effort was needed to improve the situation of Roma people. Social policy used to address inequality had gone through a series of stages in Romania. In the years after 1990 social policy went through what was called a "reparative phase" where the goal was to compensate for the deprivation experienced during the communist years. After that, a "strategy conception phase" followed, with a designed legislative and institutional framework. Finally, the "actual policy phase", began, with policies for a welfare regime outlined and implemented (Precupetu & Precupetu, 2013).

In 2001 the first governmental strategy which aimed to improve the situation of Romanian Roma was formulated. According to The Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma (GD 230/2001), its objectives and measures were fashioned according to the European Commission's directives: changing public opinion concerning Roma people, eliminating discrimination in public institutions, encouraging Roma people' social and political participation, and promoting equality.

Another important measure conceived during this period was the National Plan to Combat Poverty and Promote Social Inclusion (GD 829/2002). According to its text, this plan represented a social construction program aspiring to create a European Society in accord with

the Millennium Summit's (2000) objective to eradicate extreme poverty by 2015. Also, by 2015, the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015), in the same ambitious vein, proposed to close the income gap between Roma and non-Roma people, and put an end to the poverty and exclusion of the majority of Roma in the twelve participating countries. The Decade of Roma Inclusion was financially supported by an array of reputable organizations such as: World Bank, Open Society Institute (now known as Open Society Foundations), Council of Europe, UN-HABITAT, UNHCR, UNICEF, World Health Organization, etc. This project targeted intervention areas such as: education, employment, health and housing.

In 2011, all Member States were invited to present to the European Commission their strategy for Roma inclusion, including the specific policy measures for social inclusion in four key areas: education, employment, health and housing. The recommendations were part of the European Framework for the National Roma Inclusion Strategies. During the same period there was an increase in the focus on Roma inclusion, by civic organizations (e.g. Open Society Foundation, Save the Children, Together Agency, Romani CRISS, PHARE programs) and funding instruments (e.g. European Social Fund; The Regional Development Fund, etc.).

Various policy measures for Roma people were implemented and policies that brought various issues disproportionately affecting ethnic groups on the politicians' agenda had a number of positive effects, in terms of societal changes promoting rights and freedoms[5]. For instance, the Governmental Strategy for the improvement of Roma situation (2001-2010) and The Governmental Strategy for the inclusion of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority (2012-2020 & 2015-2020) were legislative steps that aimed to redress ethnic disparities in education, employment, health and housing and to formally facilitate the participation of Roma people (especially those living in segregated communities) to the economic, social, cultural and political life. However, the same policy measures were often inefficient due to little oversight, and almost no evaluation of the assumed indicators (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014; Grigore,

et al., 2009; Giurca, 2012; Surdu & Szira, 2009). There were also a large number of isolated regional efforts which remained unsustainable (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014; Preoteasa, Cace, & Duminica, 2009), due mostly to *ad hoc* implementation (Nasture, 2005; Open Society Institute, 2004; World Bank, 2014).

In the sections that follow, the policy measures for Roma inclusion proposed by the Romanian government will be presented.

2.4.1. Educational Policy Measures

Two main policy measures in education aimed to primarily correct past injustices. Firstly, there was the desegregation policy initiated in 2004, (Dobrica & Jderu, 2005; Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2010). Although commended for its aim, researchers argued that the measure did not lead to a complete eradication of school segregation. The blame was placed on the heads of local authorities and the lack of centralized oversite (World Bank, 2014). In 2007, a Memorandum was penned calling for an institutional cooperation in putting a stop to segregation in schools. After that a Ministerial Order (no. 1450/19.07.2007) was published, and was then succeeded by a methodology and an evaluation index. Impact evaluation reports were written (Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2010; Rostas, 2012), and the language used suggested bleak results: "implementation efforts were modest", "monitorization was absent", and "evaluation was chaotic" (Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2010; Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014). According to World Bank, in 2011 "46% of Roma children enrolled in preschool programs were placed in segregated classrooms" (World Bank, 2014). Also, comparison data, showing ethnic discrepancies were offered by the same study. Readers were informed that "approximately one fourth of Roma students were enrolled in predominantly Roma classrooms, compared to only 9% of their non-Roma neighbours" (World Bank, 2014). Other researchers drew attention to the difficulties of challenging the inefficient implementation of the desegregation legislation. For example, Farkas (2014) argued that the new Law of education (law no 1/2011) did not mention school segregation, and the anti-

discrimination Law in Romania did not include measures against segregation, making it very difficult for such cases to reach the Courts.

Secondly, there was the affirmative action policy measure consisting of quotas for Roma ethics in high schools and universities (Grigore, et al., 2009). The first Governmental affirmative action in Romania took place in 1990 and consisted of quotas for Roma people in pedagogical high schools. Specifically, 55 places were set apart for Romas in pedagogical high-schools in three counties (Bucuresti, Bacau and Targu Mures) (Grigore, et al., 2009). Starting with the fall of 2000, the Ministry of Education broadened the program by offering two special places to Romas in all Romanian public high school classes, regardless of their educational profile. The number of places offered to Roma people grew each year. For instance, in 2009 there were approximately 2500 Roma people going to high-school with the help of this affirmative measure (Neacsu, 2009).

The educational affirmative action was extended to University programs. In 1992, ten places were offered to Romas by the Social Work Department in the University of Bucharest. The program was adopted by other Universities from Cluj, Iasi and Timisoara. In 1998, forty special places were offered by the Ministry of Education to Roma people studying in four Universities. Shortly after, through a Governmental Order (O.G. 3577/15, from April 1998), eight universities offered 140 seats to Romas. Starting with 2002, there were approximately 400 seats per year awarded to Romas in Social Work or Romani language undergraduate programs in Romanian Universities (Popoviciu S. , 2013). Later, the offer for Romas included: Sociology, Political Sciences, Public Administration, Psychology and more recently Law and Medicine (Giurca, 2012). What these "special" places meant was that Roma students did not have to compete with non-Roma during the admissions process. They did, however compete among themselves. Those who passed the admission process (e.g. written exams, essay competitions and/or interviews) could also receive a full scholarship.

At the time of this study, affirmative measures had not been systematically evaluated and there was no national data about their cost or efficacy. However, small scale studies argued that the promotion of these measures was not very efficient. Some researchers, offered data showing that affirmative measures were known by less than 27% of people living in predominantly Roma communities in 2011, and that less than 3% of Romas from these communities reported benefiting from affirmative measures in high-school or university (Tarnovschi, 2012).

There were also governmental educational measures that aimed to offer financial help to disadvantaged students, and separate policy measures that aimed to promote diverse traditions and cultures. Educational programs and projects that offered support to students living in disadvantaged communities without targeting Roma people directly (often called mainstream approaches) included free school snacks (milk and bagels), free after school programs, literacy programs for adults (Capoeru, Pop, & Vermeulen, 2007), and social scholarships or financial help in purchasing school supplies or a computer (Cace et al., 2014). Other programs were specifically designed with the promotion of diversity in mind and included measures such as: bilingual classes, national competitions on cultural themes, or cultural events (Neagu, 2012).

Some educational measures, especially those financed through public resources, extended over a long period of time and benefited a large number of people (e.g. all of the children attending school). Others, such as early education programs offered in marginalized communities with a majority of Roma people (Seghedi, Gheorghiu, & Hawke, 2011), adult literacy programs (Capoeru, Pop & Vermeulen, 2007) or the organization of cultural events (Neagu, 2012) focused on a specific category of people, were implemented in a fixed number of communities and usually for a fixed period of time. Systemic long term solutions, such as the state allowance offered to school going children or the meals for disadvantaged children were said to have the best positive short term and long term effects regarding school attendance rates for Roma children (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014).

Despite the presented benefits educational measures, most had a limited impact. For example, although the percentile of Roma people graduating high school almost doubled from 4.6% in 1998 to 8.9% in 2012, the gap between Roma and non-Roma people was still high. According to one study, (Tarnovschi, 2012), for every Roma high school graduate there were four non-Roma graduates. It is noteworthy that the national educational statistics, at the time, did not publish separate data on Roma and non-Roma people. Official data showed that the number of high school graduates increased since 1998/1999, when only 20.4% of students graduated high school (regardless of ethnicity) (Anuarul statistic al Romaniei, 2008) to 34.9% in 2012 (Anuarul Statistic al Romaniei, 2013).

2.4.2. Employment Policy Measures

The need for correcting the employment gap between Roma and non-Roma people was first mentioned in the National Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma (GD 230/2001). The National Strategies for the period 2012-2020, and then 2015-2020, also incorporated requirements for stimulating the growth of the employment rates among members of Roma minority, with a fixed objective of 60,000 Romas (25.000 women) hired by 2020.

Although reports presented data showing that in 2012, only 5 out of 100 professionally trained Roma found a job (compared to 1 out of 3 professionally trained non-Roma) the priority measures of governmental strategies included measures targeting implied Roma psychological shortcomings, rather than the systemic ones (World Bank, 2014). According to the policy documents, measures which aimed to correct past injustices, which led to present day employment inequality were: (1) training sessions and (2) professional counselling. Likewise, the National Employment Agency had a number of motivational incentives for improving the employment prospects of vulnerable people. However, the Agency focused on motivating non-Roma employers, and not just training potential Roma employees. For example, one policy measure promised employers economic incentives if they hired people belonging to vulnerable

groups, including Roma people. Most of these measures, however, had an inefficient implementation. For example, a World Bank (2014) report noted that in 2013, the objective of the National Employment Agency was for 6515 Roma people to be hired by the end of the year, but by 30 June 2013, only 978 were hired.

Other noteworthy employment measures consisted of: (1) the inclusion of Roma representatives in local councils and (2) the organizing of the National Agency for Roma people which was responsible for evaluating the implementation of the Governmental measures described in the Romanian Governmental Strategy for Roma Inclusion 2015-2020 (Cretan & Turnock, Romania's Roma population: From marginality to social integration, 2008; O'Higgins & Ivanov, 2006). According to evaluation reports, the mediation services by Roma representatives had some positive impact on facilitating Roma access to jobs. For example, the cooperation between Roma representatives and the National Employment Agency in predominantly Roma communities has led to the hiring of 2100 Romas in 2013 (World Bank, 2014). Nonetheless, there was also criticism of the policy based measures, which were said to lack: “a clear implementation mechanism”, “resources” and “influence” (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014; World Bank, 2014; Zamfir C. , 2014).

One problem was that systemic based inequality in job offers were very difficult to change. As a possible consequence, there was a political focus on measures that could lead to individual improvements such as counselling or skills training (Cace, et al., 2014, Giurca, 2012, Zamfir, C., 2014). In fact, the employment strategies for the inclusion of Roma people almost exclusively included training programs (Cace et al., 2014; Giurca, 2012; Ionescu & Cace, 2006; Preoteasa, Cace, & Duminica, 2009; Fossland & Dolhie, 2013; Nasture, 2005; Duminica & Preda, 2003). Normally, skills training could only make sense as long as one of the proposed causes of Roma unemployment was a lack “modern” Roma skills, and indeed, this was at times presented as a problem (Zamfir C. , 2003).

Research that evaluated the impact of skills training, argued that for Roma people the correlation between skills training and employment was not significant (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014). Some researchers suggested that the problem was not with a lack of Roma skills, but rather with the lack of firms lining up to hire Roma people, regardless of the training diplomas they may have (Cace, et al., 2014). Another political solution targeting individual improvement was proposed: entrepreneurial skills training. The hope was that entrepreneurially minded Roma could become self-employed. To date, only a few of these programs were evaluated. In these cases, their success was measured by the number of people who received new qualifications, rather than the number of people (self)-employed after the training program came to an end (Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2013). On the one hand, it was suggested that the systemic solutions targeting psychological change were successfully implemented, with a number of Romas transformed into diploma holding entrepreneurs. On the other hand, if future research will show that the newly trained Roma were unable to open and successfully run their own businesses, the blame can fall on them, rather than the system.

At the time of this study, the number of qualified and unemployed Roma people, that were actively looking for a job was growing (Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2013). Despite data that questioned the efficiency of entrepreneurial skills training, and the research data available from other poor countries (e.g. Blattman & Ralston, 2015) that showed their limited impact on employment, in Romania, at the time of this study, there was an abundance of training programs without the support of cash transfers. In other words, the accent was placed on “personal development” (Giurca, 2012), “motivational growth” (Cace et al, 2014) and psychologically “stimulating the desire for active job searching” (World Bank, 2014). A systemic political solution which insured that Roma people had access to a starting capital was missing from both political and academic arguments.

2.4.3. Health Policy Measures

The quota placement of Roma people in jobs such as community mediators in problems of health (Berevoescu, et al., 2002) was, at the time of this study, the most common. In order to correct the health disparities between Roma and non-Roma people, a national program of mediation between Roma people and the health system, commenced in 2002. Health mediators were in charge of facilitating the access to health care services (e.g. vaccinations) and finding solutions to different problems that were blocking Roma people' access to health care (e.g. lack of identity papers) (Moisă, et al., 2012).

-There were no published official evaluations of the program's impact on Roma health, when this study was conducted. However, reports noted that there was a gradual decrease of the number of Roma people hired as health mediators, which led to its inefficient implementation (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014; World Bank, 2014). One study noted that, "after the program was decentralized in 2009", "the number of mediators was reduced from 688 in 2008 to 420 in 2012", which lead to the unmanageable large caseloads of approximately 1400 people per mediator (Cace et al. 2014). Although the study did not specify who did the "descentralizing", or the "reducing" it was implied that it was a political decision.

The National Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma (GD 230/2001) was the first post-1989 document to sketch the health measures considered necessary in order to address the precarious health of a majority of Roma people. A significant part of the proposed measures pertained to informational attitude-changing campaigns for women on topics such as: family planning options, basic sanitation norms, and the importance of medical check-ups (Preoteasa, Cace, & Duminica, 2009). There were also measures proposed for teaching entrepreneurial skills for Roma women, which, was argued, would improve the chances of self-employment for Roma women, which in turn would lead to them being able to afford healthcare services for their families.

Most programs consisted either of training sessions for Roma women about the importance of health, or training sessions for the medical personnel on how to convince Roma people that health care was important. (Cace et al., 2014). Only, on occasion organizations used funds to address systemic, rather than personal issues. One such example was a short-term program implemented by the National Agency for the Roma, who used EU funds to develop mobile medical labs with specialized personnel to carry out tests and offer treatment (Moisă, et al., 2012).

Health measures did not significantly improve general Roma health (Cace & Vladescu, 2004; Sandu A. , 2005; Wamsiedel, Jitariu, Barbu, & Cnab, 2009). One problem that remained was the unequal access to health services and the lack of information available in segregated Roma communities about health services. However, health policy measures continued to focus on "educating" Roma (women) about health choices, rather than focusing the financial effort towards systemic obstacles which could not be amended through training sessions. The government policies did not address problems such as: loss of healthcare due to not being included in the guaranteed minimum income scale (Law no. 95/2006); absence of identification papers; not being able to afford informal out-of-pocket payments; special segregation in medical centres; and distance to the closest health facility (Badescu, Grigoras, Rughinis, Voicu, & Voicu, 2007; Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014; Garaz, 2015).

2.4.4. Housing Policy Measures

At the time of this study, there were no official housing policy measures specifically for Roma people. The Romanian authorities accounted for this absence by invoking the norm against ethnic discrimination. For example, one report quoted a "Romanian authority" who explained that "it would be impossible to positively discriminate the Roma minorities" by facilitating access to social housing based on ethnicity (Cace et al., 2014, p. 101). However, the law against social marginalization (law no 116/2002), offered local authorities legal power of providing

social housing and financial help in covering living expenses for families and individuals who lived on welfare, did not own a home or had inadequate housing. Interestingly, in other key intervention areas, such as education, employment and health, the governmental policies of quotas based on ethnic considerations were not considered discriminatory by the Romanian Government.

A possible explanation could be that, although a large part of the educational, employment and health services were state owned, housing was mostly a private business. For instance, in 2011, only 1.4% of all housing was state owned (Institutul National de Statistica, 2011). Consequently, the Romanian state had few housing resources to begin with. However, the lack of resources was not cited as problematic. According to the official governmental position, the lack of corrective Roma housing was attributed to the moral responsibility of avoiding positive discrimination. On the other hand, researchers and Roma activists blamed the discriminatory implementation of governmental policy for the lack of corrective housing measures for Roma. For instance, although the majority of Roma people lived in inadequate housing- compared to less than 5% of non-Roma people - less than 2% of Roma had access to social housing in 2014 (World Bank, 2014). Moreover, there were several documented cases where due to the renovation of state housing with the help of EU funding, former Roma tenants were forcefully evicted to non-insulated plastic or steel container homes, near the sewage plants or on chemically contaminated land (Cace, et al, 2014; Filippou, 2011; Romani CRISS, 2004; World Bank, 2014).

Housing projects for the general population - which in theory should equally benefit members of all ethnic groups - were not common (Filipescu, 2009; Fleck & Rughinis, 2008). The governmental housing measures were limited to two programs: (1) The First House Project offered by the National Agency for Housing, and (2) the Social Housing Programme offered by the Ministry of Regional Development and Public Administration. The first project had middle-

class families or individuals under 35 years of age, with a stable income, and preferably with a college degree as desired beneficiaries, and thus excluded a large portion of Roma people. The second programme, although theoretically it could have benefited Romas, in practice it did so in less than 2% of cases (World Bank, 2014).

The few housing programs offered by local authorities and various NGOs were small scale and consisted of building or renovating houses or apartments for Roma people (Cace et al., 2014; Filipescu, 2009; Fleck & Rughinis, 2008; World Bank, 2014). According to the governmental strategies for redressing ethnic disparities, past housing measures were few and limited in scope (The Governmental Strategy for the inclusion of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority 2012-2020 & 2015-2020). The blame was placed on the "lack of funding" and/or the "small-scope of implementation" (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014). An additional problem was that housing programs designed specifically for Romas maintained spatial segregation (Rughinis, 2003/2004). By building or renovating the dwellings found inside the predominantly Roma communities, rather than spatially dispersing the houses throughout the cities or villages, a majority of Roma people continued to be excluded from mostly non-Roma neighbourhoods.

2.5. Concluding Remarks

In general, there are four areas of disparity between Roma and non-Roma people in Romania: education, employment, health and housing. The social policies implemented in order to address the ethnic inequality have broadly evolved in three stages. Firstly, after 1990, corrective or compensatory measures were proposed for the injustices experienced by Roma people before the Romanian 1989 revolution. Secondly, in the mid-1990s a period reserved for drafting a Governmental Strategy for the improvement of Roma situation followed, including a follow up on the corrective measures proposed. Thirdly, especially after 2001, an actual policy implementation stage began, with policies targeting Roma people outlined and put into practice.

Although the policy and legislative steps taken by the Romanian Government in order to redress ethnic disparities in education, employment, health and housing had a number of positive benefits, they were often inefficient due to unavailing Governmental efforts and supervisory mistakes made by public authorities responsible for implementing the measures at regional levels.

Chapter 3 will present the methodology used in this thesis, and Chapter 4 will then proceed to analyse the views expressed in academic research, about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people, especially the possible ambivalence, or dilemmas concerning the problem of disparity and the solutions identified by academics.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK, DATA CORPUS AND ANALYTIC PROCEDURE

This chapter was divided into two sections. The first section outlines the general methodological approach adopted by the research, starting with an overview of the possible ways of studying discrepancies between groups from a social psychological perspective, followed by a presentation of the methodological framework of this thesis. This section also includes a discussion about the communities of practice chosen as sites for data collection. The second part of this chapter describes the ways in which the data was collected and analysed, including an overview of the data corpus, analytic procedure and coding.

3.1. Methodological Framework

This thesis was interested in the study of discourses about discrepancies between Roma and non-Roma people living in Romania. This study adopts the theoretical social psychological perspective that explains discrepancies between ethnic or racial groups in terms of majoritarian prejudice or racism against disadvantaged groups. In social psychological research there are three main ways of studying prejudice and racism. Firstly, researchers that treat prejudices and racism as consciously held attitudes, usually study them with the help of self-report measures (Glick & Fiske, 1996; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981; Sigall & Page, 1971). However, it has long been recognized in psychology that self-report measures are problematic as people are conscious of the social norms regarding various issues and routinely “fake good” or “fake bad”. This tendency can present researchers using self-reports to measure individual or group differences regarding prejudice with a serious theoretical headache. As a result, measures of social desirability in responding to survey questions were designed to counter-balance desirability biases (Marlowe & Crowne, 1960). Nevertheless, questions about their reliability are still raised by some studies (e.g. Thompson & Phua, 2005).

Secondly, some researchers treat attitudes towards historically disadvantaged groups as implicitly biased. Thus, a second approach to study prejudice or racism is to focus on the automatic and implicit processes involved, revealed with the use of technology (Blair, E., & Lenton, 2001; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). The hope is that these measures will allow researchers to measure implicit attitudes and help them get around the difficult problem posed by social-desirability bias. However, there are limitations and questions raised about these measures as well. For example, The Implicit Association Test (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995) poses questions whether the test results reflect actual animus or only a cultural knowledge of different stereotypes (Arkes & Tetlock, 2004).

Both scale approaches and implicit attitudes tests are on the whole detached from the ways in ethnic discrepancies are actually communicated in texts and interactions, and consequently neither was suitable for this study. A third way of approaching the study of ethnic or racial discrepancies is by using discursive research. Although, there are a variety of ways of doing discursive research - and multiple developments such as conversation analysis (e.g. Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Sacks, 1984), discursive psychology (Potter & Edwards, 2001), or discourse analysis (Potter & Wetherell (1987) - what is common is a view of language imbedded in social interaction. In this thesis, in order to capture the full complexity of the data, it was considered important to attend to the situated discursive and textual practices, and focus the analysis on the ways in which communication actually occurs in texts and conversations, making insights from discursive research an appropriate choice. One of the main aims of discursive research is to explore how matters such as prejudice or racism are build up through descriptions of actions, events or circumstances (Hepburn & Wiggins, 2007). The novel proposition in discursive research was that what people say, or write, does not necessarily represent what they are “really” thinking, or even what is “really” happening. In fact, for discursive analysists, discourse is seen primarily as a resource in communication (Augoustinos & Every, 2007).

Moreover, discourse research grounds analyses in the aspects of talk that actors themselves consider relevant. For example, when studying prejudice and racism from a discursive perspective, researchers can look at the ways in which these constructs are used and understood by the speakers themselves (e.g. Figgou & Condor, 2006).

Although, this thesis drew upon insights from discursive research, the main methodology used was frame analysis which allows for the identification of the variety of themes, discourses, or interpretative repertoires found in written or oral communication that persist in time, making some aspects of reality more salient than others. The data for this thesis consisted of academic publications, political documents and group conversations during the implementation of social policies for Roma people, taking place in the timeframe of 2001-2015. One of the objectives of the research was to investigate which discourses persisted across time and contexts, and which were specific to only some of the discursive contexts, making frame analysis a suitable method. Framing has also been used to explain the process of social movements, as carriers of ideologies (Snow & Benford, 1988). This thesis was interested in studying the variety of discourses produced by people actively engaged in proposing social and political changes in Romania for the inclusion of Roma people, and focused on identifying the ideologies, dilemmas, ambivalences and contradictions present in their arguments.

In the academic literature, framing is usually defined in general terms, leaving the explicit operational understanding of the concept of frame open to the reader's interpretation (Matthes, 2009). One of the most widely used definition is Entman's (1993, p. 52), which maintains that the process of framing involves a selection, on the part of authors or speakers, of some aspects of (perceived) reality which are salient in communication, in a way in which only certain versions of the problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation are promoted. Usually, frame analysis involves identifying, in various texts or

conversations, definitions of problems, proposed solutions, attributions of causality and, if present, moral evaluations.

The research in this thesis was conducted in line with Verloo's (2007) methodological approach to frame analysis. The philosophical position underpinning the method is that of subtle realism (Hammersley, 1992). The view of language is constructionist, and the various argumentative stances identified were understood as reflecting various, and at times, conflicting points of view. However, a belief about constructed and multiple realities does not presuppose that all views are equally valid or that every construction is as good as all others. As Edelman (1988) explained, there are multiple explanations of events because people differ in their situations and contexts. For example, the views about poverty constructed by a disadvantaged person from an ethnic minority can be very different than those proposed by a conservative political candidate. In this thesis, the existence of multiple and constructed views was used towards a critical and reflexive stance (Verloo, 2007), with the researcher's sympathies being on the side of the historically oppressed group. The focus was on the ways in which discourse can be used to legitimate or oppose ethnic disparities. In this sense, the researcher's position was to try to understand ethnic based social inequality, and the ways in which political solutions for redressing disparities were framed by people on the side of tolerance. Frame analysis was used to identify the different kind of perspectives that people used to legitimate or oppose the existence of ethnic disparities.

Frame analysis was also used to explore the processes that may have systematically excluded some actors from the debate on ethnic disparities. For example, certain frames may draw upon specialist or elite knowledge, such as research results, or sociological theories, excluding from the argumentation the perspectives of those affected by the problem studied. By framing an issue, one positions themselves on a contentious issue. Thus, framing involves a selective focus on some arguments and some voices, while ignoring others. An awareness of

exclusionary practices in framing can be extremely helpful for academics, policymakers and practitioners interested in proposing inclusive policy measures.

3.1.1. Frame Analysis and Reducing Opposition to Policy Measures for Disadvantaged Groups

There can be multiple theoretical approaches to frame analysis, but the underlying assumption is that there are various understandings and interpretations regarding problems and solutions within the process of policy making, policy implementation and policy evaluation (Verloo, 2005a). Introduced by Goffman (1974), and developed by social movement theory (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Denford, 1986), the method has been widely used in communication studies, and can be applied to a virtually unlimited number of topics (Kuypers & D'Angelo, 2010). Frame analysis has been used to study some of the ways in which public opposition to policy measures for redressing ethnic or racial disparities may be reduced. In general terms, research has found that people are usually less likely to oppose policy measures, when: (1) the difference or inequality is seen as substantial, and (2) the causes are not readily explained in terms of personal responsibility (Gandy, Kopp, Hands, Frazer, & Phillips, 1997). For example, the majority of non-Roma people might view a 30% disparity in the rates of illiteracy between Roma and non-Roma people as a significant social problem (EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program, 2007), but in order for them to stop opposing affirmative action policies in education, they would also need to view the problem as being caused by systemic problems, or other causes that would place the problem outside of personal control (Gandy, et al., 1997).

Looking at the influence of framing on expressed opinions, Iyengar (2005) maintained that by simply emphasizing or de-emphasizing particular facets about that issue expressed opinions change. In one of his studies on American television news programs, he found that by identifying the race or ethnicity of a victim of a structurally caused problem might be sufficient for people belonging to a dominant group to attribute the blame individually and thus, to oppose

policy solutions (Iyengar, 1991). Specifically, two types of frames were found to alter white people's blame attributions for the misfortunes of racial minorities. Episodic framing, which focused on individual case studies, correlated with a tendency of blaming a victim of poverty, unemployment or other forms of inequality. On the flip side, thematic framing, which focused on the context or the trends in time of a social problem, was associated with the tendency of blaming the social context or state institutions, and thus leading to a decrease in the public tendency of opposing public policies for minority groups. Nonetheless, when the victim was a black person, attributions of individual responsibility were given regardless of the type of frame used.

Other research that studied the effects of differences in framing a problem on the support or opposition by white Americans for public policies for disadvantaged groups, also found that by identifying the race of possible program beneficiaries influenced attributions of blame and willingness to support policy based measures for disparities. In a series of studies, Gilliam (2006) found that overall, some frames work better than others in moving public opinions away from opposition and towards supporting policy measures. Five of the eleven frames tested that were unable to lead to a support of racial policies such as health programs or affirmative action programs. These unsuccessful frames were: Diversity as Strength Frame, Prevention via the Miner's Canary Frame, White Privilege Frame, and Disparities as Structurally Driven Frame.

Diversity as Strength Frame used a narrative that stated that a society could be stronger if it included multiple experiences and perspectives. Although the participants in the study agreed in theory, they also argued that firms and organizations should hire the person with the best skills, moving the discussion towards political correctness and the race of hypothetical applicant.

Prevention via the Miner's Canary Frame, adopted the analogy proposed by Guinier and Torres (2003). Deep in a mine, a distressed canary becomes a warning signal for the presence of

poison in the air. Guinier and Torres contend that in America, the injustices experienced by black people are similar to a miner's canary, warning the rest of society of the presence of systemic toxins which will eventually threaten everyone. The main argument was that the social problems affecting black communities were disadvantaging white people as well. In Gilliam (2006) study, within this frame prevention was explicitly linked to a minority status. Consequently, participants began to discuss race, vulnerability, black related problems, and inevitably, black related weakness. People argued that if current problems were located in a sub-group of black people, then the responsibility for solutions should also fall on people from those sub-groups. The state's responsibility was seen as controlling the spread of negative influences from minority communities to mainstream society.

White Privilege Frame presented a narrative of white people who enjoyed structural advantages favouring them in the allocation of power, goods and services. The frame, however, led people to attribute success to merit, and thus, individual effort was seen as surpassing structural disadvantage.

Lastly, the Disparity as Structurally Driven Frame consisted of explaining the role of historical and structural racism in both creating and maintaining disparities between groups. People exposed to this frame, however, favoured explanations of disparities which attributed failure to a lack of desire or a lack of ability, rather than to a lack of equal access to resources.

The six framing strategies that improved the chances of conversations shifting away from opposition and towards support for policy measures were race-neutral and consisted of: Ingenuity Frame, Opportunity for All Frame, Interdependence Frame, Prevention as Access to Preventive Programs Frame, Fairness Between Places Frame and the Frame of Prosperity Grid.

The Ingenuity Frame emphasized the need to use innovation and apply American ingenuity in improving local communities. This frame was successful in getting people to talk

about policy solutions that could lead to an equal access to social resources. The Opportunity for All Frame was able to lead people to discuss the systemic breakdowns that left some communities behind, and the policy solutions that could result in a better quality of life for all communities. However, when, within this frame, the race of a victim of systemic problems was mentioned, the discussion moved towards the theme of meritocracy, and policy solutions were opposed. The Interdependence Frame focused on the idea of common good and a shared fate between members of society. Within this frame people usually discussed policy solutions for the common good of communities. When the concept of race was introduced, the conversation again moved away from policy talk towards discussions about racism and prejudice. Within the Prevention as Access to Preventive Programs Frame, talk about the value of preventing problems (such as health) before they get worse, was successful in shifting the conversation from individual choices towards support for public policies, especially in health. The Fairness between Places Frame, rather than between groups or people, was shown to improve support for redistributive policy. Lastly, the Prosperity Grid Frame, used the metaphorical idea of a grid to map various communities and discuss structural differences and the social resources that could help improve the placement on the grid. As long as the race of the people who would benefit from policy measures was not explicitly identified, communicators were at times able not only to show support for, but also propose, various systemic solutions.

3.1.2. Communities of Practice as Sites for Data Collection

The sites of data collection for Chapters 4, 5, and 6 were treated as communities of practice. The concept of community of practice was introduced in the context of group interaction, offering a new perspective of learning (Wenger, 1998). The concept can be used for any group of people which have in common a profession, a set of interests or needs, and a number of common objectives. Groups which can be considered communities of practice set

goals for finding solutions for various problems, and create shared repertoires which include words, ways of doing things which become an integral part of their practice.

The three communities of practice included in this thesis were: (1) the community of academics who published texts proposing policy measures for addressing disparities between Roma and non-Roma people (Chapter 4), (2) the community of policymakers who authored official documents concerning measures for Roma inclusion (Chapter 5) and (3) the community of practitioners and beneficiaries taking part in the implementation of various Roma inclusion policy measures (Chapter 6).

The study adopted Wenger and Snyder's (2000) criteria for the inclusion of a group in the category of a community of practice: groups which set goals for finding solutions for various problems, and create shared repertoires which include words, ways of doing things which become an integral part of their practice. Three relevant communities of practice were studied: academic researchers, policymakers and practitioners interacting with beneficiaries while implementing policy measures for Roma people. Membership in an academic research community of practice depends on the development of a research profile which in turn invariably depends on the alignment of the newcomer's area of research with existing research practice and its underlying ideologies. During this process, the publication of academic papers forms a key element of a shared repertoire, and provides a boundary for people negotiating their way into an academic community of practice (Jawitz, 2007). Although, there are a variety of potentially incompatible voices and intellectual positions within the ranks of academics, these are often placed in the background as scholars join thought communities identified by a series of shared constructs and shared interests (Condor, 1997).

The discourses of academics can be transferred from the scientific realm to everyday discourses (Moscovici & Duveen, 2001). Research reports intended for scientific peers can pass

into popular accounts aimed at a general public. Through this movement from one rhetorical context to another, the information is changed in both genre and status (Fahnestock, 1986). For instance, publications that were initially interested in the validity of facts, and in which authors presented information in a hedged and qualified way, are often transformed into works in which science is celebrated, and where reported facts are given a much greater certainty.

Academic work may reveal information that can go beyond common sense (Borgida & Fiske, 2008), and which subsequently can be transferred into the political and lay discourse (van Dijk, 1993). The translation of ideas from academia to the political and everyday understandings is not necessarily linear, produced by a broad trickle-down effect. Academic interests also reflect policy concerns and common sense ideology (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The relationship between science and commonsense is a two way street, with commonsense sometimes influencing scientific understandings. However, many academics and lay people assume that the knowledge produced in the scientific sphere is superior (Batel & Castro, 2009). In academia, researchers express, and also represent, the opinions and concerns of many silent actors of the social world (Callon, 1986, p. 19). By claiming to speak on behalf of "the people", academics are also revealing a desire to buttress authority within a hierarchy of dominating-dominated positions (Bourdieu, 1990).

For policymakers the community of practice develops through the common interest regarding a particular policy aim, and through the sharing of information between the representatives of different Ministries and interest groups as they collaborate for the purpose of drafting a common policy document (Spiegel, et al., 2011). Nonetheless, the unified group of policymakers whose proposals are in full consensus is often nothing more than a fictional creation which serves the political purpose of presentation of "facts" (Potter & Edwards, 1990). Moreover, according to Young, Borland and Coghill (2010) policy change and innovation is not necessarily dependent on the evidence or the internal coherence of arguments, but rather on the

capacity of the community of policymakers to keep arguments alive, a process inevitably involving persistence and power. This capacity is in turn influenced by the ways in which problems and solutions are framed and the narratives and stories presented.

Practitioners in interaction with beneficiaries of Roma social policies during the implementation of social projects are drawing from a common ground of knowledge provided by an amalgam of information including: shared stories of everyday experiences, various bits and pieces of academic research, ethnic theories, ideologies, political anecdotes, and so on. During this process, practitioners and beneficiaries can be identified as a dialogic community of practice sharing group expertise while enacting various ethnic inclusion policy measures.

3.2. Method

3.2.1. Data Corpus

This thesis used three types of data: (1) academic publications about policy measures for redressing disparities between Roma and non-Roma in Romania; (2) policy documents for the inclusion of Roma people in Romania; and (3) group conversations in contexts where policy measures for Roma people were implemented. In the sections that followed, the three types of data corpuses will be detailed.

3.2.1.1. Selection of academic publications.

All academic publications about policy measures for redressing disparities between Roma and non-Roma in Romania published between 1990-2015, written in English or Romanian and available online were included in the analysis. Only papers visible on the Internet were included for three main reasons. Firstly, the Internet is one of the most popular options for academics and for the general public when searching for information (Novotny, 2004). An analysis on the academic work available to a large group of Internet using people is necessary if one wants to understand the academic language used when describing problems and proposing solutions for

problems faced by a large number of Roma people. Secondly, due to the fact that the papers chosen for analysis are available to other researchers, the results can be checked, improved and updated as new studies become visible on the Internet. Thirdly, most articles published in academic journals indexed in International Databases provide some proof that the work is at least of a decent quality, since it has passed through a peer-review process. That is not to say, however, that there are no high quality papers published absent of peer-review, or that bad science doesn't ever get published in peer-reviewed journals. Nevertheless, when an author's work is evaluated by people with similar competences, it helps maintain some standards of quality and it provides credibility within the relevant field.

Papers were identified using: ProQuest, EBSCO, CEEOL, Index Copernicus, Scopus (Elsevier), Web of Science, PsycINFO, Eric, PubMed, Google Scholar and Google. Texts were also identified using WorldCat to search for the following key words: *"Romanian Roma", „Romanian Romani", "Romanian Gypsy", "Romanian ethnic minorities*" *"Roma population", "Romanian ethnic minority"* (and their Romanian language equivalents). Subsequently, bibliographical references cited by all the articles, reports and volumes published since 2010 were checked, in order to identify any relevant work that had not been picked up through the search engines. Press releases, PhD theses and genetic or biological papers referring to Romanian Roma people were excluded.

The internet search engines and the International Databases yielded a total of 276 publications about Romanian Roma from the field of: social policy, social work, sociology, psychology and ethnic studies. The criterion for choosing publications for further analysis was that the texts included a discussion about public policy as an appropriate solution for redressing ethnic disparities. Based on this criterion, 204 publications were excluded, leaving 72 academic works for analysis (for a list of publications included in his analysis see: References. Publications are marked with **).

3.2.1.2. Selection of policy documents.

The analysis included four key public policy papers concerning Roma inclusion in Romania adopted by the Romanian Government after 1989[6]. The documents were published in *Monitorul Official* (Official Journal of Romania) between 2001 and 2015 and were accessed online using the Romanian legislative software *lege5*. The four documents were divided into three governmental strategies, with Strategy number 1, consisting of two separate documents (2001, 2006).

1. *The Governmental strategy for the improvement of Roma situation*. This strategy was adopted by the Romanian Government in 2001, and was in effect until 2010. Its plans were outlined in two documents. The first document, which outlined a four year plan, was published in 2001 (Romanian Government - HG 430/2001). The second document was published in 2006 and outlined a two year plan (Guvernul Romaniei - HG 522/2006, 2006). From 2008-2010 the Government did not propose an additional plan for Roma inclusion. These first two documents (2001, 2006) were written after the European Commission answered the request to join the European Union of the newly democratic Romania with a request of its own. The Commission called for "more progress in improving the situation of the Roma" (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014), a request which was transferred firstly into the title "….*improvement of Roma situation*" - and then the content.

2. *The Governmental Strategy for the inclusion of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority for the period of 2012-2020*. This document was adopted in 2011 (Guvernul Romaniei - HG 1.221/2011) and repealed in 2015.

3. *The Governmental Strategy for the inclusion of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority for the period of 2015-2020* (Guvernul Romaniei - HG 18/2015). This document was published in 2016, although its action plan included the year 2015. This strategy, as the one

repealed in 2015, was written after Romania's EU-accession in 2007, and also after the creation of the European Framework for the National Roma Inclusion Strategies (2011) for the Europe 2020 strategy for economic growth. The framework's language of "inclusion" rather than "improvement", was reflected in the change of the title - "…. *the inclusion of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority*"- and, as it will be shown in Chapter 5, the change was also present in the content of the last two documents.

3.2.1.3. Selection of conversational data.

Recorded conversations with 88 participants residing in fifteen parts of Romania, and covering the main geographical areas of the country, were included in the analysis (see Figure 3.1). The recorded conversations contained 33.15 hours of recordings, ranging from 43 minutes to 4 hours (Mean=77 minutes). The participants interacted in 28 groups organized as part of different programs and projects initiated as part of the first two Governmental Strategies for Roma inclusion (Guvernul Romaniei - HG 1.221/2011, 2012; Guvernul Romaniei - HG 430/2001, 2001). All conversations were fully transcribed for content. Approximately 45% of all data was translated into English (generating an English language transcript of 80,174 words). The Romanian language transcripts had 178135[7] words covering 507 pages. The analysis was conducted on the original Romanian, with the extracts of relevance for the inclusion in the thesis translated into English.

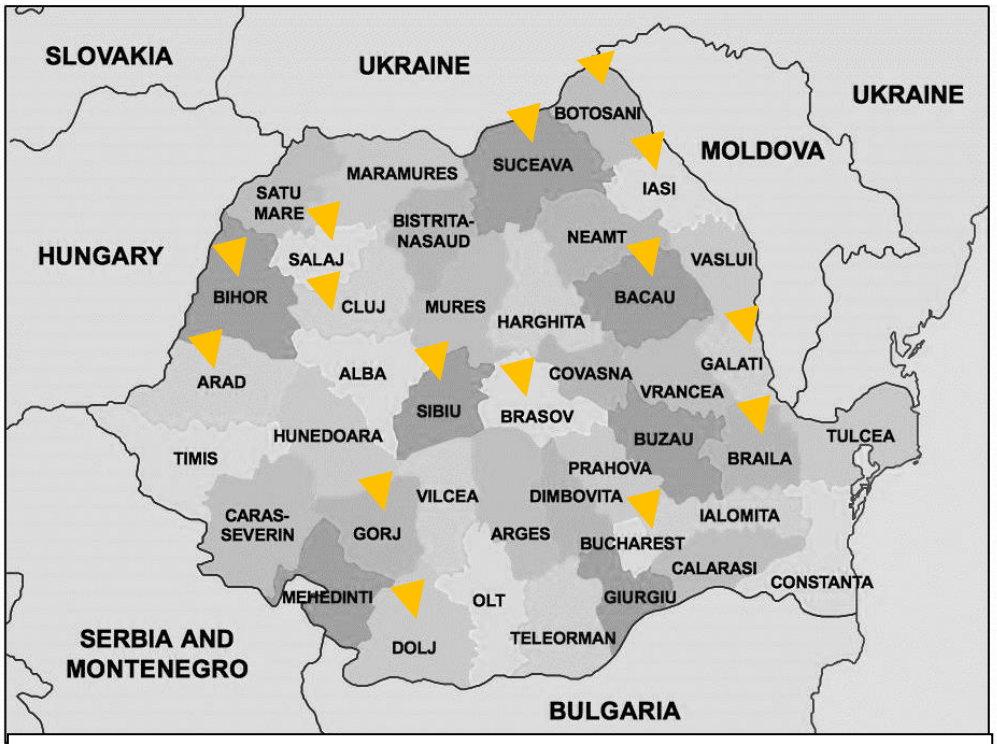


Figure 3.1: Locations of places of residence of study participants

3.2.1.3.1. Sampling and participants.

The participants included in the analysis were recruited using a combination of opportunistic and theoretical sampling. Opportunistic sampling involved the researcher adopting a flexible approach to selecting study participants by taking advantage of field opportunities as they arose (Patton, 2002). The participants were accessible to the researcher, as part of her social work activities with a non-governmental organization that implements programs and projects for Roma inclusion. Also, some participants were recruited as part of research conducted by a social work university department for the implementation of the governmental strategy for Roma inclusion. The opportunistic sampling used was different than convenience sampling, as the objective was to seize unforeseen opportunities in the field, rather than to choose a sample according to ease of access. Even if statistical generalisation was not the goal of this study, a systematic and purposive approach to sampling was preferred (Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam, 2003).

Thus, opportunistic sampling was supplemented by theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The research process was iterative as additional participants were selected throughout the entire research process, including during the analysis stage, until the description of experience was saturated. New participants were included in the study until the new sources began to repeat what has been previously learned or it was considered that additional recordings will not add to, or challenge, current findings.

The sample was composed of 88 Roma and non-Roma people of diverse educational, occupational and economic backgrounds. The Roma ethnic sample included people who were unemployed, blue-collar workers, white-collar workers, middle-class professionals and students. Some were illiterate or with little education, others finished their secondary education or high school and a few were holders of postgraduate degrees (including one PhD). The Romanian and Hungarian ethnic sample includes middle class professionals, white-collar workers, and students. All members of the non-Roma group had at least a high-school diploma, and some were holders of a PhD degree. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 65 years (for more details about the participants, see Appendix A).

3.2.1.3.2. Overview of the conversational groups.

In this study the researcher took a mostly silent part in a few of the recorded discussions (groups 1-4), actively participated in a couple (groups 5-6), sat out from most (groups 7-27) and initiated one (group 28)[8]. In the sections that follow an overview of the 28 conversational groups will be presented.

Brief overview of Groups 1-3. Groups 1 to 3 consisted of a series of workshops organized by a charitable organization as part of a funded programme. The programme was designed to answer the Governmental Strategy's educational target action number 16, concerning the

implementation of programs and activities for parental education in order to facilitate Roma parental engagement in the educational process and to improve Roma children's access to education (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012, p. 18).

The general theme of the workshops was „Promoting Desegregated Education and Social Inclusion". These workshops were part of a larger award winning program called "A Good Start". The program spanned over a period of 5 months (February-June 2013), and included workshops for mothers living in segregated Roma communities. The objective of the programme was to promote school participation and prevent illiteracy among young children (under 6 years of age) living in segregated Roma communities. According to data offered by the organization, (pre)school attendance was at the beginning of the intervention under 50%. By the end of the training sessions (organized as monthly workshops) early school participation was up to 90%, earning the programme an international good practice award.

The village where the workshops took place was home to approximately 800 people, half of which were of Roma ethnicity, and the other half, Hungarian and Romanian. Most Roma people lived in what villagers and the workshop participants called "The Gypsy Colony", a geographically segregated area situated at the margins of the village. Other than the actual houses, a social work centre, and two evangelical Roma churches, all of the other facilities (school, health clinic, postal office, grocery shops, etc.) were in the village, which could be reached in a thirty-minute walk through unpaved streets.

Before the first workshop, the participants, all living in the Gypsy Colony, were told by the programme manager - a social worker who did not attend any of the recorded sessions - that they were chosen as beneficiaries for the intervention programme because of their children's high risk of social exclusion due to a low level of school enrolment of Roma children living in the area.

As part of a team supervising these workshops, the researcher audio recorded three of the workshops (February-June 2013). All meetings were organized by a Romanian educational psychologist, who was hired for the as part of the funded program for the social and economic inclusion of Roma people.

In group one there were 14 participants: 11 Roma women, 1 Hungarian woman, a Romanian educational psychologist, male and the researcher - female, Romanian. Participants ranged in age from 23 to 46 years (M=30.43) and had between one and seven children. Academic attainment ranged from illiterate to PhD. Recording time: 96 minutes.

In group two there were 9 participants: 5 Roma women, 2 social work undergraduate students (both Romanian male, and the only new participants since group one), an educational psychologist - male, Romanian, and the researcher - female, Romanian. Participants ranged in age from 26 to 46 years (M=32.22) and had between zero and seven children. Academic attainment ranged from illiterate to PhD. Recording time: 74 minutes.

In group three there were 7 participants: 4 Roma women, 1 Hungarian woman, an educational psychologist - male, Romanian, and the researcher - female, Romanian. Participants ranged in age from 26 to 46 years (M=35.75) and had between one and seven children. Academic attainment ranged from illiterate to PhD. Recording time: 72 minutes.

All participants gave their consent for the data to be used for research purposes. The total recording time was 242 minutes (4.03 hours)

Brief overview of Group 4. Group 4 consisted of a meeting held during a Roma Youth Forum (RYF) which was held as part of the second Governmental Strategy's justice and social order priority areas 2.1 and 2.4 concerning the organization of campaigns and programs for the promotion of human rights and liberties, including civil, political and social rights and also for juridical and civic education of young people in interethnic groups (Romanian Government - HG

1.221/2011, 2012, p. 24). Seventeen participants took part: nine students (seven undergraduates, and two graduates), a college drop-out, six professionals and the researcher.

RYF was a group that began in 2007, as part of a funded program, and grew to approximately fifty members in 2013, when the data was recorded. It was organized by a Romanian NGO, and according to its website, its declared purpose was to create a platform for Roma youth to interact with Roma and non-Roma students and professionals actively engaged in helping Roma people integrate in Romania. In this forum each member was responsible to look for possible educational funding for Roma students and when such funding was found it was discussed at the forum and usually if the NGO hosting this forum was eligible to apply for funding, or if the students could apply themselves, they did so. All Roma students, members of this forum had at least one time received some educational funding with the help of this forum.

During these meeting discussions proceeded freely and it was common for participants to share their life experiences, describe opportunities for Roma people (e.g. scholarships, conference and workshop dates, social projects, etc.), and discuss topics such as: Roma identity, inter-ethnic differences, stereotyping, prejudice, school participation and drop-out risks, street children, Roma beggars. In the past discussions have led to community development projects, advocacy programs, and grassroots lobbying that guided legislative change.

As a member of the RYF, the researcher audio recorded one such meeting in March 2013. It was customary for each meeting to be recorded, audio, video, and/or through photographs, in order to document RYF activities for the funding bodies. Participants, eight male and nine females, ranged in age from 19-42 (M=27.41), and had between zero and two children. Seven were Romanian ethnics, nine Roma people, and one Hungarian ethnic.

All participants gave their consent for the data to be used for research purposes. The total recording time was 64 min (1.06 hours).

Brief overview of Groups 5-6. These groups came together for a two-day regional workshop titled „Innovation in pre-service teacher training and in social sciences" (5-6 December 2013). There were 7 participants, all academics with experience in the award winning program „A Good Start", organized as part of the European Framework for the National Roma Inclusion Strategies, which was adopted by Romanian Governmental through its Strategy for Roma inclusion (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012).

The workshop was organized by a multi-national organization. The aim of the program was to help close the educational outcomes gap between Roma and non-Roma people. The organization was created in 2005, and it financially supported national policies and programs which ensured quality education for Roma people, including measures against ethnic segregation and the national implementation of different educational programs. Through its activities, the organization promoted Roma mainstream inclusion in all aspects concerning the national education systems of the twelve countries participating in the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015): Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Spain. The organization had five major programs: (1) Project Support Program which financed projects and programs in the twelve countries participating in the DRI; (2) Scholarship Program - a tertiary scholarship program for Roma students; (3) Policy Development and Capacity Building Program which supported activities that helped create a framework for dialogue with governments and civil society on education reform and Roma inclusion; (4) Communication and Cross Country Learning Program which included activities that promoted the exchange of knowledge on education reforms and Roma inclusion; (5) Reimbursable Grant Program to help Roma NGOs and the local Government's access EU funds for the purpose of Roma inclusion.

Two presentations and a round table discussion were audio recorded by the organizers, and were made available to all participants. Participants, four females and three males ranged in

age from 35 to 53 years (M=40.14). Two were Romanian ethnics, one was a Roma people and four Hungarian ethnics. All participants gave their consent for the data to be used for research purposes.

Recording time was 2.2 hours in day one (group 5), and 1.31 hours (group 6). Total recording time was 231 min (3.85 hours).

Brief overview of Groups 7-23. As part of a research study financed by the Romanian Ministry of Culture in 2012, seventeen groups were formed aiming to present the perspectives of Roma leaders and Roma intellectuals about what it was like to be a successful Roma in Romania. This national project answered the Governmental Strategy's second objective of promoting Roma intellectual and economic elite which could help the process of Roma social integration, by providing an example of "modern" Roma (Romanian Government - HG 430/2001, 2001, p. 2). Roma success stories were collected and published in a volume. Most data was collected with the use of survey instruments, but a subset of data consisted of seventeen semi-structured interviews. The respondents were seventeen Roma religious leaders (all male) who were asked about (1) how they became the leaders of a local church, (2) their conversion experiences, (3) the relationship between their church and the larger Roma community, (4) the common themes preached during church services, (5) how the members of their churches were encouraged to overcome their problems, (6) hopes and dreams for their children and grandchildren and (7) the ways in which they encouraged their children and grandchildren to be successful.

Fifteen interviews took place in the respondents' homes or churches, and two interviews were conducted over the telephone. They were collected and recorded by a 36 years old Romanian social worker, with a PhD diploma. The people interviewed ranged in age from 25 and 63 years (M=45.47), and had between 0 and 7 children. Academic achievement ranged between 4 grades and Professional School.

All participants gave their consent for the data to be used for research purposes. Total recording time was 1245 min (20.75 hours).

*Brief overview of Group 24.*This group consisted of an interaction between two Romanian and two Roma people. The discussion took place in June 2014. It was organized and recorded by a Romanian social work undergraduate student who interviewed three of his friends for a social work university project, as part of the second Governmental Strategy's principle of inter-cultural dialogue, which encouraged the organization of various events and projects where Roma and non-Roma people could interact (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012, p. 16). Two of the people interviewed worked for the same non-governmental organization for Roma inclusion, and one of them did some farming work in the United Kingdom during the summer. The two Roma people in the group used to live in a segregated Roma community, before moving into a city. They were also romantically involved at the time of the data collection.

Participants ranged in age from 21-34 (M=29.75). Three had a Masters' degree and one (the interviewer) was an undergraduate student. All participants gave their consent for the data to be used for research purposes. The total recording time was 35 minutes.

Brief overview of Group 25. This group was comprised of three Romanian people and two Roma people, who engaged in a street conversation. The discussion, which took place in June, 2014 was initiated by a Romanian social work student, who together with two other Romanian students talked with two female Roma people. The students were visiting a Roma community as part of a university program designed for the facilitation of inter-ethnic communication. This program aimed to implement the second Governmental Strategy's principle of inter-cultural dialogue, which encouraged the organization of various events and projects where Roma and non-Roma people could interact (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011,

2012, p. 16). The discussion flowed freely and the interactants covered a series of topics such as: family life, religion (conversion), witchcraft, theft, domestic violence, ethnicity, discrimination, poverty, migration, everyday life, early marriage, clothing codes.

Participants, four females and one male, ranged in age from 19 to 55 years (M=32.6), and had between 0 and 6 children. The Roma people did not have any formal education at the time of the recording. All participants gave their consent for the data to be used for research purposes. The total recording time was 59 minutes.

Brief overview of Group 26. Group 26 consisted of a discussion that took place after a church service in a predominantly Roma community. The discussion, which took place in August 2014, was initiated by a Romanian social work student who visited the community as part of a university project for facilitating inter-ethnic interaction. The project answered the second Governmental Strategy's principle of inter-cultural dialogue, which encouraged the organization of various events and projects where Roma and non-Roma people could interact (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012, p. 16). The student talked with two Roma couples, asking about their life in the Roma community. Two other Romanians, including the preacher briefly joined the discussion.

Participants, three females and four males, ranged in age from 20 to 43 years (M=34.29), and had between 0 and 5 children. Three participants were Romanian and four were Roma people. Academic attainment ranged from illiterate to Masters' degree. All participants gave their consent for the data to be used for research purposes. The total recording time was 25 minutes.

Brief overview of Group 27. The group consisted of seven students, four Roma people and three Romanian ethnics who were acquainted with each other, but were not close friends. A Roma International Law graduate student initiated the discussion as part debate group she started

in answer to the Governmental Strategy's justice and social order priority 2.2 concerning the development of public awareness programs for the identification of Roma discrimination cases (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012, p. 24). The discussion took place in July 2014.

Participants, five females and two males, ranged in age from 20 to 25 years (M=22.14). None of the interactants had any children at the time of the discussion. Three were Romanian ethnics and four were Roma people. Two participants were graduate students and the rest were undergraduates. All of the Romanian participants were social work students, while the Roma students studied Art, International law, Law, and Medicine.

Three of the Roma people were beneficiaries of affirmative measures in higher education. The organizer of the group was adopted when still a baby by a Romani couple and it was assumed that her own ethnicity was Roma. She was found on the streets, and taken to a hospital. Her birth parents remained unknown. Possibly, due to the common stereotype that Roma parents were more likely to leave their children on the streets than Romanian parents, the ethnicity the officials recorded in her birth certificate was Roma. The group discussed multiple topics including: adoption, parenting styles, begging, gender roles discrimination and hate-speech.

All participants gave their consent for the data to be used for research purposes. The total recording time was 45 minutes.

Brief overview of Group 28. The participants in group 28 were eight students, all female, the researcher (female) and a social work professor (male), who joined the discussion briefly. The data represented a discussion which took place spontaneously after a class on disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. The class was organized in March 2015, and was in line with the second Governmental Strategy's educational key action 17 concerning the organization of educational classes for the promotion of diversity, multiculturalism and the prevention of discrimination in the educational system (Romanian Government – HG 1.221/2011, 2012, p. 18).

After the class, the students found out that the next seminar had been cancelled and some of them lingered on, which spontaneously led to the recorded discussion.

Participants ranged in age from 18 to 38 years (M=22.2). Nine were Romanian ethnics, and one a Roma ethnic. All participants gave their consent for the data to be used for research purposes. The audio recording covered 43 minutes of an approximately one-hour of talk.

Table 3.1. Governmental aim and programs

Group No	Governmental strategy implemented	Presence of researcher
1-3	Governmental Strategy's educational target action number 16, concerning the implementation of programs and activities for parental education in order to facilitate Roma parental engagement in the educational process and to improve Roma children's access to education (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012, p. 18).	Yes
4	Governmental Strategy's justice and social order priority areas 2.1 and 2.4 concerning the organization of campaigns and programs for the promotion of human rights and liberties, including civil, political and social rights and also for juridical and civic education of young people in interethnic groups (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012, p. 24).	Yes
5-6	European Framework for the National Roma Inclusion Strategies, adopted by Romanian Governmental through its Strategy for Roma inclusion (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012).	Yes

7-23	Governmental Strategy's second objective of promoting Roma intellectual and economic elite which could help the process of Roma social integration, by providing an example of modern Roma people (Romanian Government - HG 430/2001, 2001, p. 2).	No
24	Governmental Strategy's principle of inter-cultural dialogue, organization of various events and projects where Roma and non-Roma people could interact (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012, p. 16)	No
25	Governmental Strategy's principle of inter-cultural dialogue, the organization of various events and projects where Roma and non-Roma people could interact (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012, p. 16)	No
26	Governmental Strategy's principle of inter-cultural dialogue, the organization of various events and projects where Roma and non-Roma people could interact (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012, p. 16).	No
27	Governmental Strategy's justice and social order priority 2.2 concerning the development of public awareness programs for the identification of Roma discrimination cases (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012, p. 24).	No
28	Governmental Strategy's educational key action 17 concerning the organization of educational classes for the promotion of diversity, multiculturalism and the prevention of discrimination in the educational system (Romanian Government – HG 1.221/2011, 2012, p. 18).	Yes

3.2.1.3.3. Ethical considerations.

This research was designed and conducted in line with the guidelines provided by the Emanuel University of Oradea Ethics Committee, Loughborough University's Code of Practice on Investigations Involving Human Participants, the Romanian law number 206/2004, concerning the Good Practice in Scientific Research, Technological development, the Romanian Law no 677/2001, notification no 9088, concerning the protection of people and the processing of personal data and the free circulation of personal data, and Innovation, and the British Psychological Society's Code of Human Research Ethics (2014). Ethical approval was obtained for all of the data included in this research. Participants were assured anonymity, data protection and were given informed consent forms to sign (see Appendix B). All recordings were collected as part of procedures undertaken in nationally or internationally funded projects or programs which were expected to contribute to the benefit of the individual participants, specifically the inclusion of Roma people in Romania.

Prior to signing the consent form, all participants were provided with: (1) information about the recorded activity, funded programme or intervention project, (2) an opportunity to ask questions and discuss any aspect of the activity, intervention programme or project in which they took part; (3) assurance that any participant was free to withdraw from the activity, project, or programme at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequence on the present of future participation in other funded intervention activities, programs or projects, (4) the choice to accept or decline to have the photographs of the meetings, audio or video recordings, and/or transcripts used for research purposes which may appear in academic publications or on the websites of the organizations conducting the activity, program, or project.

One ethnical difficulty which arose was that not all participants were able to read or write. The solution taken was that in each group one person was asked to read out loud all of the written information handed out, including the information on the consent forms. When participants were asked to sign papers, in order to prevent any embarrassment, all names were written in advance in block letters, and participants were told that, if they agreed with the information that was read before, they could make "a pen mark" on the signature line. Examples of possible choices for "pen marks" were drawn on a white board or flipchart.

3.2.2. Analytic Procedure and Coding

A multi-stage analytic procedure was adopted for the study. The first stage involved a basic content analysis. The objective of content analysis was to systematically identify the properties and the general structures of the data included in the analysis. Analytical categories were generated through a compare and contrast approach based on Glazer and Strauss (1967) constant comparison method and used as a first stage in the frame analysis method proposed by Verloo (2007). This process began by reading the data and looking for similarities and differences. The data was then segmented and each segment was labelled according to what was similar. Analytical categories were specified for each data segment according to the conditions that gave rise to them, the context in which they occurred, the action strategy by which it was carried out, and the consequences of these action strategies (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The analytical categories generated for the academic publications were: (1) Timeframe and the social, political and economic context of publications; (2) Authors; (3) Funding and methodological approach (4) Evaluation of policies or programs.

The analytical categories generated for the policy documents were: (1) the title of the publication, (2) the size of the document, (3) the general justifications of why the Government adopted the strategy, (4) the general information about Roma people included (i.e. the types of general problems identified), (5) the key challenges, (6) presentation of the results of the former

Strategy, (7) guiding principles, (8) the Strategy's objective, (9) the target group, (10) duration of the Strategy's action plans, (11) the category and number of action plans, (12) financial support for the measures proposed, (13) success indicators, (14) provisions for supervision and evaluation of the Strategy, (15) the type and number of measures' plan, (16) evaluation checklist for supervisors, (17) the signatory parties.

The analytical categories generated for the conversations were: (1) talk about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people; (2) mapping of frames found in academic publications in conversational contexts; (3) mapping of frames found in policy documents in conversational contexts; (4) additional frames found only in conversational settings.

Although content analysis offered a broad view of the general patterns of the academic publications, policy documents and conversations, this thesis aimed to capture the complexity of situated discursive and textual practices concerning debates about ethnic disparities. Consequently, the second analytical stage involved a detailed study of the frames included in the academic publications, policy documents[9] and conversations[10]. Coding of frames was based on techniques of frame analysis as outlined by Verloo (2007). First, frames were inductively identified in relation to a specific issue. For example, in academic publications the broader problem of disparity was discussed through a celebration of diversity approach or a demand for equality approach. The two approaches, involving two separate issues (diversity and equality) gave rise to two different frames. Secondly, a coding scheme was created, based on each frame, and the connection between frames. Lastly, a list of prototypes of various phrases and ideas was made, to allow for the identification of frames. For example, mentions or suggestions that equality can be achieved by achieving sameness between different ethnic groups denoted equality as sameness frame; achieving equality by proposing special or positive measures for Roma people, denoted recognizing cultural differences frame, and so on.

In line with Verloo's (2007) methodology for frame analysis, the major frames were distinguished from the minor frames based on (a) frequency: the number of occurrences in the data; and (b) comprehensiveness: the extent to which a frame included the aspects of voice, problem, causality and solutions (see table 3.1) – a frame that included at least three was considered a comprehensive frame.

Through-out the stages of analysis, the data was analysed on the basis of a set of sensitizing questions, adapted from Verloo's (2007) critical frame analysis study of gender policies in Europe (see Table 3.1). The sensitizing questions helped establish the different criteria of a frame found in texts or conversations, such as the definition of a problem, causality, voice and solutions.

Table 3.2. Sensitizing questions

General information about the text/conversation	• Title of text / Group number • Date of publication/conversations • Date of research – if applicable (academic texts only) • Who were the participants? (conversations only) • Country or place that was presented as the analytical and/or geographical context of the text (academic texts only) • What was the event or reason for the conversation? (conversations only) • Type of document (academic texts only) • Was the ethnicity of the authors declared? (academic texts only) • Who were the signatory parties? (policy texts only) • What was the event or reason for the appearance of text/

	conversation?
Information about voices	• Who was the intended audience of the text? • What was the professional title and academic/professional affiliation of the author(s)? (academic texts only) • Which political or civic organizations were represented by the signatory parties? (policy texts only) • What were the membership categories adopted by the participants? (conversations only) • What references were made in the data about other people, studies or documents?
Information about the problem(s)	• What was seen as the problem? • Why was it seen as a problem? • How was the problem portrayed in the data?
Information about causality	• What/who was seen as a cause of the problem? • What/who was seen to be responsible for the problem? • Who had the problem; who was the problem group? • Who was the norm group? • Who was seen responsible for solving the problem? • What/who was justified as not being a problem? • What were the normative considerations?
Information about solutions	• What can/should be done? • What were the priorities? • What were the resources? • Who had the resources? • Who had the voice in suggesting solutions?

Information about frames	• Who was the target group? • What were the dominant discourse frames? • What frames that were used in academic or policy documents were also used or mentioned in conversations? • Were there novel frames included in conversations? (conversations only) • What were the divergences, contradictions and inconsistences found between and within frames? • What were the normative considerations? • What were the contradictions and the frictions?

Voice was defined as a descriptive or distinctive name, title or designation belonging to a person, study or a political document used to confer preference or rejection of an argumentative position vis-à-vis the problems and the possible solutions concerning ethnic disparities.

Problem was defined as a situation regarded by authors, policymakers or conversationalists as troublesome or harmful and requiring a solution. Problem included (a) what was seen as a problem, (b) who was seen as a problem and (c) why and how it was portrayed as a problem, (d) who portrayed it as a problem (voices).

Causality related to who or what was seen to (a) have made the problem, (b) have the problem, (c) be responsible for sustaining the problem, (d) solve the problem, (e) not be a problem, and (f) be the norm group.

Solutions referred to the courses of action about (a) what can or should be done, (b) the priorities, (c) resources, (d) target group and (e) voices proposing the solutions.

Coding techniques used in the frame analysis methodology proposed by Verloo (2007) relies on Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1997) for the identification of patterns in the data. Publications were initially openly coded, with coding labels taken directly from the language of the texts. During the open coding stage, the academic publications, policy documents and conversational transcripts were analytically broken down into separate blocks, which ranged from a few lines of text to a few pages, and coded colloquially with *in-vivo* codes. A succession of codes was developed and these codes were used as indicators that related directly to the data. These codes were treated as components of theories formulated by the producers of the texts and conversations. *In-vivo* codes had a provisional character, and in the course of analysis became increasingly numerous, differentiated and abstract. Theoretical codes, in the sense of labelling concepts adopted from scientific theories later replaced some of the provisional in-vivo codes, as the researcher's theoretical background knowledge offered an additional tool which helped guide the interpretation of the data. Frame Analysis was used to code different positions for each text and transcript of conversations.

The framing techniques helped group ideas into frames, defined as organizing principles used to transform flexible and fragmentary information into a relatively meaningful design containing the definition of a problem and (usually) a proposal for a solution (Verloo, 2005b).

The discussions about ethnic disparities were framed in multiple, and often opposing ways. Discourses about problems do not necessarily involve damaging conditions that need to be solved. For example, within a frame that presents Roma people as having a problematic way of life, *they* may be portrayed as a problem, but discrimination against them not. As Edelman (1988, p. 13) observed, "if social problems are constructions, it is evident that conditions that hurt people need not become problems". Rather, culturally available frames can be used to describe problems which ultimately lead to a reproduced status quo. Also, from this perspective, solutions involve strategies for specific courses of action within a particular ideology. In this

sense, silence about damaging conditions and possible solutions can also function as a reinforcement of a preferred ideology.

3.3. Concluding Remarks

This chapter described the specific methodological approach of frame analysis and the methods adopted by this study. Frame analysis begins with the assumption that there are multiple understandings and interpretations about problems and solutions emerging during the process of policy making and implementation. The chapter raised a few reflexive points about this methodology, and the ways it was adapted for this thesis. The chapter also evaluated the utility of frame analysis for the study of diverse views about disparities in academic publications, policy documents and group conversations in contexts where policy measures for resolving ethnic disparities were implemented. The communities of practice which were used as sites for data collection were described. Lastly, the chapter described in detail the methods used to select, code, and analyse the data, setting the ground for the following analytical chapters.

CHAPTER 4: VIEWS ABOUT ETHNIC DISPARITIES IN ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS ABOUT ROMANIAN ROMA

This chapter aimed to analyse the academic views presented in texts published between 1990 and 2015 about disparities between Romanian Roma and non-Roma. The study was guided by four research questions: (1) How was the problem of ethnic disparity portrayed? (2) What were the academic solutions proposed to the problem of disparity? (3) Were there any ambivalent, dilemmatic or concealed aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people? (4) Were the perspectives of Roma people accounted for in the academic literature? The evolution of views as related to changes in academic debates and policies for Roma people in Romania was also mapped. The study also considered the strategies used in academic publications to include, or exclude, the perspectives of Roma people in the discussions about ethnic disparities.

4.1. Introduction

Academic discourse has a tremendous influence on multiple social domains (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; van Dijk, 1993). In contemporary democratic societies, academics in the social sciences produce, manage and share various theories and philosophies about ethnic relations and ethnic disparities. These theories and philosophies can become arguments that can be used for or against policies on issues such as discrimination, housing, employment, education and health. Thus, academics can provide support for, or instruct opposition to, the decisions and the political and everyday opinions expressed by policymakers and practitioners with regard to minorities, and they can also contribute to the opinions and debates about ethnic minorities. The power of academics resides in the realm of words and ideas, and academic publications can have a crucial role in political agenda setting, in framing the ways in which the problems are defined and debated, in placing the academic boundaries of consent

and dissent, and in influencing the norms and values used by policymakers and practitioners when evaluating ethnic related events (van Dijk, 1993).

Before the Romanian Revolution in 1989, the interest shown by academics towards Roma people was marginal, with virtually no interest in the disparities between Roma and non-Roma ethics. This academic disinterest was linked to a corresponding political attitude towards Roma ethnicity. The political norm was cultural assimilation of minorities, and during this time there was a lack of publications about any Romanian ethnic minorities. The few available academic publications about Roma people prior to 1989 consisted of monographs, ethnographic studies and historical depictions of Romas (Chelcea, 1934, 1942, 1944; Gheorghe, 1983). These publications were interested in mainly providing descriptive accounts of the lives, customs and ethnic particularities of Roma "others".

After 1989, with the establishment of human rights groups and non-governmental organizations led by Roma activists, the issues of Roma rights protection and ethnic disparities moved to the Romanian academic foreground. Since the 1990s, the issue of Roma discrimination in Eastern European countries wishing to enter the European Union has also been included in the political agenda of the EU, further leading towards international academic and political interest in Romanian Roma people. In 1975, by signing the Helsinki Final Act, Romania assumed the obligation of protecting the rights of people belonging to national minorities, although before 1989, Roma people were not granted the status of national minorities. However, it was only in 1992 that the Council for National Minorities began to include representatives of all the legally constituted national minorities after the Revolution. The new rights from which Roma people could benefit included the right to keep, develop and freely express their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity (Ionescu & Cace, 2006b). In 1995, the Council had a budget allocated for projects relating to fighting racism and intolerance, but only in 2000 did the government introduce the first Ordinance on Preventing and Punishing All forms of

Discrimination (Ordinance no 137/2000) and signed an international Protocol to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (Protocol no 12 – ECHR), which also prohibits discrimination. These political developments coincided with a growth in the number of academic publications writing about the problems affecting most Roma people (Popoviciu S. , 2013).

The new policies were closely monitored by academics interested in human rights issues. For example, only a few months after the Ordinance 137 was introduced, Claude and Dimitrina (2001) drew attention to some of the problems they found in the policy text. The authors explained that the Ordinance did not conform to the requirements of the Council of the European Union Directive (2000/43/EC), in two important ways. Firstly, the Ordinance did not provide a reversal for the burden of proof in civil cases of discrimination, meaning that the accusing party had to prove that there had been a breach of the principle of equal treatment. Secondly, the institutional body responsible with overseeing the implementation of the Ordinance's provisions had yet to be named in 2001 (Claude & Dimitrina, 2001, pp. 88-89). In a similar vein, academics continued to provide critiques of policies and, in some cases, propose alternative solutions (Burtea, 2012; Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014; Ionescu & Cace, 2006b; World Bank, 2014; Zamfir & Zamfir, 1993).

Although a particular academic field presupposes a minimum level of consensus about a number of basic principles, academia is, according to Bourdieu (1993) in permanent conflict. Agents and institutions, individually or collectively take multiple positions in promoting and defending some positions against others. From this perspective, in this chapter it was assumed that ethnic disparity, as a social problem, would be framed by academics from a variety of positions, and also that public policy solutions would be subject to a variety of understandings and interpretations.

Currently, there is a gap in research analysing the variety of views expressed in academic research, concerning ethnic disparities. This study aimed to analyse this variation in views and identify the ideological boundaries of consent and dissent. The main research questions that guided the study were: The research questions that guided this study were: (1) How was the problem of ethnic disparity portrayed? (2) What were the academic solutions proposed to the problem of disparity? (3) Were there any ambivalent or dilemmatic aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people? (4) Were the perspectives of Roma people accounted for in the academic literature? In addition to these questions the evolution of views as related to shifts in academic debates and ethnic public policies was also mapped. Finally, the study considered the strategies used to include or exclude Roma voices in the definitions of problems and the proposals for solutions.

4.2. Analyses

The data corpus for this study was comprised of all of the academic publications (N=72) about policy measures for redressing disparities between Roma and non-Roma in Romania published between 1990-2015, written in English or Romanian, and available online. The analytic procedure adopted for this study was multi-stage and involved a basic content analysis followed by a more specific method of frame analysis. The analytical categories were generated through a compare and contrast approach based on Glazer and Strauss (1967) method of constant comparison and used as a first stage in the frame analysis proposed by Verloo (2007). The following analytical categories were used for content analysis: (1) Timeframe and the social, political and economic context of publications; (2) Authors; (3) Funding and methodological approach (4) Evaluation of policies or programs.

For the second stage of frame analysis, coding was based on techniques of frame analysis as outlined by Verloo (2007). Firstly, frames were identified in relation to a specific issue. Secondly, a set of frames were generated, creating a coding scheme. Thirdly, lists of prototypes

of phrases and ideas were made. Lastly, in line with Verloo's (2007) methodology for frame analysis, the major frames were distinguished from the minor frames based on (a) frequency: the number of occurrences in the data; and (b) comprehensiveness: the extent to which a frame included the aspects of voice, problem, causality and solutions (Form more information see, Chapter 3, Table 3.1). A frame that included at least three out of the four aspects was considered a comprehensive frame.

4.2.1. First Stage of Frame Analysis: Content Analysis

The aim of the content analysis was to systematically identify the properties and the general structures of the academic publications included in the analysis.

4.2.1.1. Time frame and the social, political and economic context of publications.

During the period 1990-2015 the number of publications available online proposing policy measures for redressing ethnic disparities increased from 10 publications published in the period of 1990-2001 to 62 in the period of 2002-2015.

This increase can be explained, in some measure, by the Romanian social, political and economic context. On one hand, the Internet became available to Romanians in 1995. Digital versions of the publications became available after 2000, with benchmark publications posted on the webpages of libraries, publishing houses, universities and research institutes[11].

4.2.1.2. Authors.

Of the 72 publications analysed, 22 were authored by Roma activists and academics who publicly self-identified as Roma in at least one of the following contexts (a) the introduction or the preface of the publication, (b) in interviews, (c) on their personal websites, (d) on the websites of various non-governmental organizations, or (e) in casual conversations with the author of this thesis. Sixteen publications were authored by non-Roma people. The criteria used to determine a non-Roma ethnicity was that the author self-identified as a member of the

majority/advantaged group in at least one of his/her publications, or in public interviews. Nine publications were co-authored by Roma and non-Roma people, and in the case of twenty publications the ethnicity of the authors could not be determined. Consequently, at least 43% of publications proposing policy measures for redressing ethnic disparities were authored or co-authored by self-identified Roma people.

From 1990 there was a consistent increase in the number of non-governmental organizations which aimed to work specifically in addressing problems faced by segregated and marginalized Roma communities. The leaders, and other members of these organizations, often of Roma ethnicity, began publishing articles and reports about the problems they identified in the field, and began proposing various policy measures. After 1994, the Romanian academic community broadened with the addition of the first post-revolutionary students, some of Roma ethnicity, graduating in psychology, sociology, and social work. Their publications began to appear in scientific journals after 2001. In the period following 2001 there was a significant increase in the number publications, and also a growth in the number of Romanian journals and volumes indexed in international databases and research reports posted on the websites of national and international organizations. During this time, the number of self-identified Roma authors also increased. They began to contribute to the academic understanding of the challenges met by ethnic minorities in Romania, and the possible systemic solutions (e.g. Burtea, 2002; 2012, Grigore, Neacsu, & Furtuna, 2007; Ionescu & Cace, 2000; Ionescu, 2011; Oprea, 2005; Sandu, 2005; Surdu, 2004).

4.2.1.3. Funding and methodological approach.

Content analysis revealed the differences in funding and methodological approach of publications, which are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Funding and methodological approach of publications

Funding and methodological approach	No	%
Funding		
State, NGO, or EU commissioned policy evaluation reports	31	43
Academic research reporting on the results of a state, NGO or EU grant	23	32
State commissioned needs assessments	13	18
Opinion pieces published in academic journals/volumes	5	7
Methodological approach		
Theoretical publications	16	22
Quantitative empirical study	9	13
Qualitative empirical study	13	18
Mixed methodology empirical study	34	47
Place of residence of Roma study participants		
Romanian Roma living in Romania	57	79
Romanian Roma living in Europe (mostly Eastern-European countries)	15	21

4.2.1.4. Evaluation of policies or programs.

None of the publications involved conditional probability results, and 31 (43%) reported on correlational results[12]. There were no published pre and post evaluations of any programs or measures implemented in Romania during the period of 1990-2015. The only evaluations published were needs evaluations, and statistical information about the indicators specified by the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015, or the Governmental Strategies for Roma Inclusion with the four priority areas: education, employment, health and housing. These evaluations had a

program evaluation theory built on a model of cause and effect of how a program ought to work (Bickman, 1990). Resources, program activities, intended outcomes and a chain of links between these were identified. Although academic reports claimed that some programs and policies did not offer completely rational solutions, there was an inductive norm found in 31 publications that programs and policies should in fact be rational and there was a call for a larger number of *comprehensive evaluations* (e.g. Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014; Capoeru, Pop, & Vermeulen, 2007; Zamfir C., 2014).

4.2.2. Second Stage of Frame Analysis: Academic Debates about Ethnic Disparities and Shifts in Framing

Frame analysis was used to identify the academic views relating to or about ethnic disparities in publications where social and political changes were proposed for the inclusion of Roma people in Romania. The analysis focused on studying the ideologies, dilemmas, ambivalences, contradictions and the concealed aspects found in academic discourses.

Frame analysis revealed that there were three broad stages in the ways in which academics framed the discussions about ethnic disparities. Firstly, in the 1990s, the academic debates concerning disparities between Roma and non-Roma people living in Romania had been predominantly on issues of human rights, specifically violent crimes against Roma people. Secondly, starting with the early 2000s other concepts such as equal opportunities and equal outcomes emerged as equivalent ways in which ethnic disparity could be debated within the community of practice of academics. Thirdly, also beginning in 2000, disparities were discussed in terms of Roma diversity. These debates gave rise to a series of shifts in the major frames used and, also, to several alternative minor frames.

4.2.2.1. Major and minor frames within academic debates about human rights.

The texts published between 1990 and 2001 (N=10) discussed disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in terms of human rights, specifically the right for protection from ethnically motivated crimes and/or violence. Authors attributed crimes or violence against Roma people to (a) the state, or state institutions; (b) the majority's anti-Roma stereotypes and prejudices and (c) Roma behaviours and lifestyle. These attributions were presented as alternative positions by authors. However, authors drew upon a variety of arguments, which at times overlapped. The differences between publications lied in the level of emphasis given to an argument. For example, some authors emphasized the responsibility of the state or state institutions. Nonetheless, at times, they also briefly mentioned that the traditional Roma lifestyle was somewhat blameworthy.

Based on the criteria of frequency and comprehensiveness two major frames and one minor frame were identified. The major frames were: (1) Passive State frame (N=8) (2) and Complicit State frame (N=7); and the minor frame was: (3) Reaction to Roma violence (N=4). It is important to note that publications included between two and six different frames, and although the frames within the discussion of human rights were central to the texts published between 1990 and 2001, there were also found in texts published between 2002 and 2015.

Major frame 1: Passive State in the face of anti-Roma violence.

This frame relates to physical violence against Roma people. According to this frame, violence against Romas constitutes criminal action and State intervention is imperative. As will be seen in Extracts 1 to 4, there were two matters of differential treatment of Roma compared to non-Roma people: (1) Roma people did not benefit from equal state protection of human rights, and (2) Roma people received harsher legal punishments when accused of breaking the law.

The causes of the acts of violence were usually left unmentioned or vaguely connected to racist hatred or people's frustrations in an ongoing period of socio-economic transition. The anti-Roma violence itself was presented as a ubiquitous social problem in the post-89 Romanian or European climate. The next two extracts are from two academic reports written by human rights experts with the aim of raising international awareness of anti-Roma violence and the lack of state protection of human rights concerning Romanian Roma.

Violence and persecution against Roma.

Extract 1: Violence against Roma – example 1 (Claude & Dimitrina, 2001, p. 7-8 – Original in English)

Ethnic hatred and violence directed against Gypsies in Romania has escalated dramatically since 1989 revolution. During the last 20 months, rarely a month went by without another Gypsy village being attacked.

Extract 2: Persecution against Roma - example 2 (Brearley, 2001, p. 588 – Original in English).

Since 1987, the situation of Gypsies throughout Europe has deteriorated sharply. Numbering 7 to 9 million, they are Europe's largest and, after the Jews, arguably the second oldest minority. They are now the most persecuted minority by far. Leading Rom activists argue that Roma are, post 1989, in a similar situation to that of Jews in 1937 (Gheorge, 1992a, Holl, 1993; cf. Margalit, 1999).

1. *The problem.*

The problem of violence (Extract 1) and persecution (Extract 2) was related to ethnicity, as a form of "blood and gut" theory (cf. Tajfel, 1969) of ethnic hatred. Typically, within this frame, when texts mentioned perpetrators, they did so with the help of labels such as "mobs", or "a mob of ethnic Romanians and Hungarians", implying a deindividuation dimension to the violence (Prentice-Dunn & Rogers, 1980), and suggesting an irrational group response which could not stop its actions without outside constrains.

Generally, in this frame, the group that was directly affected by the problem was Roma, but the problem group consisted of authorities who remained passive in front of the human rights violations. In the reports from which Extracts 1 and 2 were selected, authors blamed the state for failing to initiate legal proceedings, bring the perpetrators to justice and compensate the victims.

There was a distinction between the agents responsible for the problem, and the agents responsible for solving the problem. The primary responsibility for resolving the problem of violence against Roma people was assigned to the State or national and local authorities, which were considered guilty for neglecting their legal and moral duty towards Roma people.

Extract 3: Passive authorities (Liegeois & Gheorghe, 1995, p. 14 – Original in English).

Frenzied mobs have assembled to the sound of the church bell to attack Roma/Gypsy homes. These scenarios are the contemporary equivalents of pogroms once common in Central and Eastern Europe. In the district of Giurgiu alone, four incidents of this type occurred during April-May 1991, all in the villages close to Bâcu, and all culminated in the burning of Roma/Gypsy homes and the expulsion of their occupants from the village. To this day, the perpetrators have not been brought to justice. Investigations and legal proceedings – launched in response to

10 direct complaints from the victims rather than at the initiative
11 of the authorities have often failed due to lack of evidence
12 because of villagers' solidarity. The victims have been left to
13 pick up the pieces by themselves, with no compensation.
14 The Federation of Romanian Roma and the Roma Centre for Social
15 Intervention and Studies – Romani CRISS, (members of the
16 International Romani Union and of the Standing Conference for
17 Cooperation and Coordination of Roma Associations in Europe),
18 have denounced these attacks and protested against the
19 authorities' passive attitude in the face of repeated,
20 collective violence directed at the Roma/Gypsies. These
21 organizations fear that the current situation of mass violation
22 of human rights may go on indefinitely unless those in power
23 resolve to put an end to it

Typically, within the passive state frame, there were descriptions of various incidents where groups of non-Roma people - portrayed in terms which suggested irrationality, anger, violence, (*frenzied mobs*, line 1; *expulsions*, line 6), and a planned course of action (*assembled to the sound of the church bell*, line 1) - launched attacks against innocent Roma people. Within this frame, the incidents were described with the use of strong language, suggesting critical circumstances, and an escalation in the frequency of violence. Specifically, in Extract 3, the *scenarios* (line 2) were labelled as contemporary versions of Central and Eastern European pogroms – most likely references to the fourteenth century pogroms against Jews in Poland, when Jewish houses were burned and hundreds of Jews killed (Newman, 2012), but also to the twentieth century pogroms in Romania (Radu, 1993) and Ukraine where thousands of Jews were murdered (Himka, 2011). The events were described as attacks, rather than conflicts or clashes,

and the depictions virtually always culminated in the burning of Roma homes and with violent evictions.

Other publications using this frame also mentioned the beating, shooting, stabbing, and at times the murder of Roma people. The authors typically seemed to be primarily interested in raising awareness in the international academic community about, what in Extract 3 is described as a *mass violation of human rights* (line 18). The problem of human rights violations necessitated urgent measures, possibly in the form of international pressure on the Romanian government. Given that Romania was, in the second half of the 90s beginning to prepare documents and reports for the EU accession, the international opinions were bound to be given increased attention.

The voices of interviewed Roma victims or Roma witnesses were at times included in the descriptions of the unfolding events. In some publications it was implied (Extract 2, lines 9-10), and in others explicitly stated that the villagers unanimously either blamed Roma people for provoking the violence, or provided credible alibis for the suspected perpetrators. However, in each case, accounts which adopted this frame suggested that it was it was obvious who was innocent and who was guilty. In the face of *repeated violence* (line 16), the authorities' inaction was attributed to a subjective response of passivity rather than an objective response based on a scrutiny of available evidence (cf. Edwards, 2007). The authorities' *passive attitude* was not cast as a social and legal justice problem, but also as a problem that helped reproduce the crimes indefinitely (lines 18-19). As such, all publications using this frame simultaneously portrayed the State's criminal justice system was as a problem and as a cause of the problem.

2. *The solutions.*

The solutions proposed in the publications employing this frame were complex and included several angles for possible action, organized around ideas of individual bigotry and

collective guilt (Wetherell, 2012). One line of action recommended a focus on the victims. Local and national Roma associations were presented as actively involved in helping families re-establish themselves in the villages from which they were expelled. It was not clear if this action consisted of logistic help, financial help, personal encouragement, or other measures, but it was cast as being in line with humanitarian values.

A second line of action entailed a focus on the actual individuals suspected as perpetrators of violence and consisted of identifying and denouncing, possibly on an international platform, the human rights violations against Roma people.

A third line of action included a focus on the general non-Roma public and consisted of symbolic measures like the promotion of inter-cultural dialogue, or grass-roots democracy building.

All of these solutions were portrayed as being the responsibility of human rights activists and Roma people. Anti-racist non-Roma actors were not presented as possible candidates for this role, although a significant number of authors writing about this type of solution were non-Roma.

Although these solutions were cast as the responsibility of Roma activists and Roma professionals working in/with Roma communities, they were ultimately presented as inefficient unless connected to the final line of action. The last line of action, which was presented as necessary in all publications using this frame, was the sustained action of political authorities in the service of the rule of law for all citizens.

Extract 4: State protection of all citizens (Liegeois & Gheorghe, 1995, p. 15 – Original in English)

1 It is nonetheless imperative to emphasize that only sustained
2 action on the part of the political authorities – aimed at

integrating the institutions of the rule of law into the daily lives of all citizens, most of whom live in multi-ethnic and intercultural communities – will bring these efforts to fruition.

The authors of the text presented in Extract 4 emphasized the State's political role in the efforts of stopping crimes against Roma people. Although the message targeted the Romanian authorities, the text was written in English, and published by a foreign press. In 1995, access to the Internet in Romania was in its very early stages, and as a result, a Romanian readership for this publication was likely to be very limited. Most publications written in the early 1990s were either commissioned by international organizations, which then published the reports detailing the human rights violations, or they were submitted by authors to international journals. For example, the text quoted in extracts 2 and 3 was a report on Roma/Gypsy minority, published by Minority Rights Group International, based in the UK. According to the information written on the cover page of the report, the Group (which was founded in the 1960s), worked to secure the rights and justice for ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities, and was dedicated to the cooperation and understanding between communities. The second paragraph informs readers that one of the group's aims was to warn governments, and present the international community, NGOs and the larger public with information about the situation of minorities. Liegeois and Gheorghe's publication can be, thus, seen as a type of advocacy on behalf of the Romanian Roma minority, which was used a means of getting the Romanian state from inaction to action, through international pressure.

3. Concealment.

The ultimate solution presented in Extract 4, broadened its scope from an all-Roma problem to an all-citizens solution, including multi-ethnicities and intercultural communities

under the expected equal protection of State institutions. Interestingly, while implying that most people lived in mixed ethnic and cultural communities, the situation of segregated Roma communities, found on the margins of villages was momentarily concealed (cf. Schroter, 2013) from the human rights agenda. Although, in the choice made by the authors to shift to an inclusive solution for all citizens was not necessarily made with the intention of leaving out the particular problems of Roma people, discussed at length by Liegeois and Gheorghe in earlier pages. However, the effect of brushing over ethnic specific problems when discussing solutions was still the effect of the process of choosing to present some solutions rather than others.

Major frame 2: Complicit State in the face of anti-Roma racism.

The passive state frame presented authorities as acquiescent in the face of anti-Roma violence. In this frame, rather than a shift in framing, the changes in argumentation could be labelled as frame-extension (cf. Verloo, 2007). In the frame presented in the prior section, the State was depicted as guilty by inaction, but this problem was amplified in this frame as the State became guilty through the actions of its officials.

Extract 5: Official contribution to anti-Roma racism (Claude & Dimitrina, 2001, pp. 49-50 - Original in English)

It appears that high-ranking Romanian officials are not only oblivious to their responsibility to counter racism, but themselves contribute to perpetuating anti-Romani sentiment by public defamation of Roma. On December 4, 1999, Brigadier General Mircea Bot, then-head of the Bucharest police department, made a number of defamatory comments with regard to the Roma in an interview for the Romanian daily newspaper *România Liberă*. General Bot made extensive comments on "Gypsy

9 criminality and Gypsy gangs" and asserted that "up until now
10 Gypsy people were used to stealing and robbing", while "now"
11 they are focused on "financial criminal acts […]". In the
12 conclusion of the interview General Bot stated that "there are
13 Gypsies who are born criminals, and […] do not know anything
14 else than to commit criminal acts." The article was printed
15 along with a list of "addresses of Gypsy criminals in
16 Bucharest." The ERRC is not aware of any adequate disciplinary
17 measures taken against General Bot in response to his public
18 racist statements.

1. The problems.

This frame presented a series of interrelated problems. Firstly, there was the problem of anti-Roma racism, presented as a *sentiment* (line 3) against an ethnically defined group of people. Secondly, there was the problem of racist public remarks. Thirdly, Romanian authorities were said to *appear* (line 1) incognizant with regard to their responsibilities of countering the general anti-Roma racism. Finally, the authorities were publicly acting in ways that were keeping racist attitudes alive. The text is unclear whether refraining from *public defamation* (line 4) of Romas would lead to the cessation of private racist sentiments, mirroring a similar ambiguity in social psychological understandings of racism (cf. Ederhardt & Fiske, 1998). Claude and Dimitrina's (2001), text aimed to stop the public manifestations of racism, a task for which authorities were supposed to be responsible, but according to appearances were not.

Within this frame, publications typically offered examples as evidence of the Romanian State's complicit stance in the face of anti-Roma racism. In these examples, the beliefs, rather than the sentiments, of various state officials, about the in-born Roma predispositions towards criminal behaviours were described. In extract 5, General Bot's comments, printed in a right-

wing Romanian newspaper, were quoted. Details, such as dates, names and places offered additional information which added to the factuality of the discourse (cf. Wooffitt, 1992). The argument implies that the appropriate legal authorities had all of the information they needed in order to impose punitive measures to obvious public racist remarks. The fact that they did not was presented as a confirmation of their complicity to Roma racism.

The *defamatory comments* (line 6) were accompanied by a singling out of those Roma which were considered by General Bot to be innate criminals, with a list of addresses having been included at the end of the newspaper article. Given that prior to the text included in Extract 5, Claude and Dimitrina had chosen to describe in great detail a number of cases where groups of non-Roma set forth to Roma neighbourhoods in order to violently assault people, the implication in Extract 5 was that the racist comments and the addresses presented by the newspaper encouraged a penchant for anti-Roma violence.

2. The solutions.

The solution to the problem presented by publications which used the complicit state frame was two-fold. Firstly, authors requested that the Romanian Government would begin to ensure a greater judicial control over the activities of state officials, specifically those active in the police force. Secondly, the European Commission was called upon to document cases of anti-Roma violence and abuses, and disclose this information in the reports about Romania's progress towards EU accession. Roma activists and human rights specialists were considered to have the main responsibility in bringing to light these cases and ensuring that European and other Human Rights Committees would have access to such information.

Minor frame: Reaction to Roma violence.

In addition to the dominant frames of Passive State and Complicit State, four publications shifted the attention from the state as problematic to Roma lifestyle and behaviours as the issues

of contention. In the period of 1990-2001, only one publication adopted this frame. This publication was a multi-authored book edited by two self-identified Romanian ethnics, and one of the eight contributing authors was a self-identified Roma ethnic. This publication was different from the rest of the texts written between 1990 and 2001 in a number of ways. Firstly, it was the only publication written in the Romanian language. Although it was subsequently translated into English, at the time of its initial publication, it was intended for a Romanian readership only. Secondly, the authors were among the Romanian academic pioneers (including Roma and non-Roma people) in arguing for the proposal of policy measures for Roma people, as academics and as politically active members of centre-left circles. For example, one of the editors of the text worked as the General Secretary of Education. She was part of the team who introduced the quota based affirmative action program in state universities. The other editor was the First Minister's Counsellor in Work and Family Matters, and has been an active political speaker on behalf of Roma related matters. The other authors also worked in various academic-based Roma projects and presented themselves as both scholars, and proponents of ethnic tolerance. The publication from which the following extract was taken, is a widely cited text, written during a time when there were virtually no Romanian language publications, about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people, written for a Romanian readership - a public which, given the prevalent stereotypes about Roma (Helsinki Watch, 1991), was likely to be sceptical of any policy measures proposed for Roma people.

Extract 6: Moderate reaction to Roma violence (Zamfir & Zamifir 1993, pp. 164-165 – Original in Romanian)

The rise in delinquency and violence is likely to strengthen the negative stereotypes of the majority population, leading to marginalization and the risk of some conflict.

The rise of criminality at the level of Roma population and the changes in its character are likely to stir a stronger collective reaction, both in the legal ways of law and order institutions, and also, illegally, among some groups of the population.

There has been a growth in the number of criminal bands formed exclusively by Roma. There are cases where whole communities (villages, neighbourhoods, areas) are terrorized by such bands. Here there is another aggravating factor for polarization and interethnic tensions: the combining of ethnic, community and family solidarity with the criminal behaviour. There can be numerous cases cited of interpersonal conflict, without any ethnic colour, where a Roma was involved, that generated an involvement of other Romas, on the basis of ethnic solidarity reasoning. Such solidarity is clearly strengthening the negative ethnic stereotype, the attitude of rejection and the hostility of the majority population. There are of course cases of solidarity in the running of such conflicts by people of other ethnicities against Romas.

Democratisation and the decrease in the control of the state's authority created the possibility of collective anti-Roma manifestations. Such manifestations are exceptions, but they did exist, presenting however a moderate level of violence. There were cases of Roma houses set on fire, but no cases of lynching, and only exceptionally, physical violence against

29 people. They were triggered on the basis of some structural
30 tensions generated by the often borderline Roma lifestyle,
31 transforming, personal conflicts, on the basis of some
32 stereotypes which were strengthened during centuries, in
33 manifestations against some groups of Romas. There are
34 indications that there are also groups which are beginning to
35 appear, especially young people (seemingly under the influence
36 of Western models), oriented towards systematic violence against
37 Romas. But such cases appear to be more likely exceptions for
38 the time being. Stopping their amplification in the early stages
39 is crucial for the future relationship dynamic between the
40 majority population and Romas.

1. *The problem and dilemmatic matters.*

Although, the sympathies of the text lie with the majority non-Roma people, some measure of concern for anti-Roma violence was also raised. However, this was not achieved in a straight-forward and unproblematic way.

In a similar fashion to Brigadier General Bot's labelled-as-racist comments in Extract 5, the authors of the text from Extract 6 linked violence, criminality and gangs with the Roma ethnicity. However, while Claude and Dimitrina attributed Bot's views to personal racism, Zamfir and Zamfir presented the link as apparently non-racist descriptive information that could constitute common knowledge - or at least a common stereotype - for a significant part of their readers. In fact, racism was not invoked in Zamfir and Zamfir's argument. In the entire publication, extending over 200 pages, there was only one mention of racism – the anti-Roma genocide which took place in the 1940s in Romania – which was characterized as "fascist racism" (Zamfir & Zamfir, p. 36).

The authors framed the problem of anti-Roma violence in terms of reactions to Roma violence. The major triggers of inter-ethnic conflict (line 3), *anti-Roma manifestations* (lines 23-24), and *violence against Romas* (line 35) were seen to be primarily Roma behaviours and Roma borderline lifestyle (line 29). In contrast to the frames presented this far, in the reactions to Roma violence frame, the most numerous victims of the dangerous criminality and violence that terrorized entire villages or neighbourhoods (lines 9-10) were non-Roma people and the perpetrators were Romani gangs. In this context, non-Roma people collectively, although wrongly, reacted against Romas (lines 5-6), pointing to a fact/value dilemma which could provide a useful rhetorical device for implying that hostility was legitimate (cf. Wetherell, 2012).

Framing anti-Roma violence in terms of reactions to Roma lifestyle and behaviours did not, however, lead to condoning the majority's reaction. The authors branded the negative views about Romas as *negative stereotypes* (lines 2, 18), and called anti-Roma *reactions* (line 6) illegal. Also, the text took a negative stance against Roma marginalization, conflict, hostility, tensions and violence. Nonetheless, the fault primarily lied with Roma people, who were seen as one of the major causes of the problem. Other causes were the age-old stereotypical perceptions towards Roma people and the *democratisation and the decrease in the control of the state's authority* (line 22).

In other words, there was a hierarchy of causes leading to the problem of inter-ethnic conflict:

(1) Roma people displayed a borderline lifestyle and were guilty of criminal and violent behaviour, or of ethnic based solidarity with those exhibiting the criminal behaviours.

(2) Non-Roma people, in general, had apparently inherited a moderate, and possibly passive century-old stereotypical beliefs (line 31), and had attitudes of rejection (line 18) toward Roma.

(3) In the context of a newly democratic state with lower levels of authoritarian control, the negative feelings and beliefs of non-Roma people spilled into inter-ethnic conflict and anti-Roma violence.

There was a contrast in the ways in which Roma violence and anti-Roma violence were portrayed. On the one hand, Roma violence was described as rising in severity and changing in character - presumably from scattered cases of petty crimes and inter-personal conflicts, to organized gang violence. However, no examples were offered as to what this criminal behaviour entailed; only the terrorized and retaliatory reactions of the victims were mentioned. On the other hand, anti-Roma violence was presented as an exceptional and moderate manifestation by a few, mostly young people, ostensibly influenced by *Western models* (line 34) of racial or ethnic antipathies. A few examples of what could be characterized as moderate versus severe violence were given. According to the authors, arson was one instance of what *moderate anti-Roma manifestation*s (line 23-24) consisted of. This view is markedly different from the perspective presented in Extract 3, where the burning of Roma houses was compared with the extreme violence of the fourteenth and twentieth century pogroms. Possibly, a more serious, although *exceptional* (line 27), case was the systematic anti-Roma physical violence. Severe violence, such as lynching, was yet unheard of, and thus, the authors concluded that non-Roma people were (still) moderate in their anti-Roma manifestations. It is doubtful that the burning of a few non-Roma houses would have elicited the same label of "moderate" reactions.

2. The solutions.

In terms of solutions, the authors proposed stopping the *amplification* (line 36) of those moderate levels of anti-Roma violence. The reasons offered for this desire did not include the right of innocent people to be protected, but rather the desire of insuring better relations between the majority and Roma people (lines 36-37). Since, those responsible with insuring peaceful

neighbourly cohabitation are the police officers and other law and order state officials, it was implied that the call for stopping the emerging and escalading inter-ethnic conflicts was directed towards then. Unfortunately, although the authors noted that the law and order institutions were likely to react strongly (although in apparently still *legal ways*, line 5) to Roma, rather than anti-Roma criminality, within this frame, the police generals, like Brigadier General Bot, could continue to be perceived by the non-Roma majority as law abiding and law enforcing authorities, with moderate anti-Roma sentiments.

4.2.2.2. Major and minor frames within academic debates about equality.

The 43 (66%) texts published between 2002 and 2011 discussed disparities between Roma and non-Roma people mostly in terms of equality between groups of people. Eighteen publications were written in the Romanian language, consisting of commissioned reports, usually including the results of studies evaluating the impact of various governmental measures in the areas of education, employment, health and housing, implemented as part of the Governmental Strategies for the improvement of Roma situation or the inclusion of Roma citizens. Ten texts were policy evaluation or monitoring reports, written in English and commissioned by the Romanian Government, the European Commission, Roma organizations, or international organizations interested in human rights issues. The rest of the publications (15 texts) were either academic articles or essays published in international academic journals.

The major problem addressed within this discussion was the unequal treatment of Roma people, at times described as socio-economic exclusion or marginalization. Authors articulated four ways of achieving equality, which led to different political strategies and solutions.

1. Ensuring equal opportunities for all people - which were framed as achieving sameness.

2. Special or positive measures for Roma people, framed as recognition of difference from the norms applied to the majority population.

3. Broadening the political agenda to include the Roma perspective in all areas of public policy, which was framed as mainstreaming.

4. Reforming Roma culture or identity, framed as successfully assimilated Roma.

These four strategies were presented as alternative views by authors. Nonetheless, all texts presented more than one alternative, as authors drew, with different levels of emphasis, upon a variety of frames.

Based on the frequency and comprehensiveness of the conceptualizations of equality, three major frames and one minor frame were identified. The major frames were: (1) Equality as sameness (23 publications) (2) Recognizing cultural differences (18 publications) (3) Mainstreaming ethnicity (10 publication); and (4) Successfully assimilated Roma (2 publications). Although the theme of equality was central to the texts published between 2002 and 2011, this theme was also present in publications published prior to 2002 or after 2011. Some texts that mainly discussed the theme of equality, also marginally included other themes related to disparity, such has human rights or diversity, and within those marginal themes, other frames were present, which were either discussed in the prior section, or will be presented in the next section.

Major frame 1: Equality as sameness.

According to the frame of equality as sameness, the problem discussed was the unequal treatment of Roma people in comparison to non-Roma people, and the solution proposed was the inclusion of Roma people into mainstream Romanian society. The main conceptual explanation was that each person should have equal access to the opportunities, rights and outcomes, which were already enjoyed by the majority Romanian ethnics. According to this frame, there was a

moral aspiration to an ethnically neutral society where all people would be treated in agreement to the same (Romanian) standards and norms.

Extract 7: Correcting the mechanisms that reproduce social inequities (Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2010, p. 6 – Original in Romanian)

We would like to constructively contribute to the regulations of the new educational law, so that the Romanian school would become a friendlier place, a more equitable institution, a true model for all children, including the Roma. For this, there are necessary from our point of view a few measures for correcting the mechanisms that reproduce social inequities that unfortunately the school still maintains in its mode of functioning. The present study will outline these mechanisms, thus pressing the finger on a severe, deep wound, which necessitates an urgent intervention: the deficit of quality in the education to which Roma children have access to.

Extract 8: Eliminate the causes that lead to a more precarious state of health (Cace & Vladescu, 2004, p. 64 – Original in English; Roma spelled with a double "r" in original)

Successful sanitary policies designed to improve Rroma health status depend on successful policies in the field of housing, social security, economy, and child protection. In other words, in order to improve the Rroma health status on a medium and long term, the government's strategy to improve Roma situation must be efficiently implemented in all the above mentioned levels. Unless the state and NGOs take efficient action for the

8 improvement of Rroma living conditions, the policies in this
9 field can at best insure a better access of Rroma the health
10 care services but will not eliminate the causes that lead to a
11 more precarious state of health of the Roma population compared
12 to the majority population (fact reflected in a lower rate of
13 life expectancy of the Rroma population compared to the majority
14 population.

1. *The problems.*

The texts from Extracts 7 and 8 were written in a political context when a *new educational law* (Extract 7, line 2) was being drafted, and a new four-year plan for the Governmental Strategy (Extract 8, line 5) containing policies *for the improvement of Rroma living conditions* (Extract 8, lines 7-8) was planned. Roma activists and academics were officially invited by the Romanian Government to contribute to the drafting of these new political measures, and also to monitor and evaluate the process of policy implementation (Guvernul Romaniei - HG 430/2001, 2001; Guvernul Romaniei - HG 522/2006, 2006; Guvernul Romaniei - HG 1.221/2011, 2012). As a possible result, both extracts suggested urgency in the policy-based solutions proposed. In extract 7, the authors claimed that their contribution could help improve the Romanian educational institution for all children, including Roma children (lines 1-4). The drafting of the new educational law provided an opportunity for the request of *an urgent intervention* (line 9). In extract 8, as the first Governmental Strategy's four-year intervention plan came to an end, the authors suggested policy measures which *must* (line 5) be taken if the *causes* (line 10) of the problem of inequality were to finally be tackled.

In both Extracts 7 and 8 the focus pertained to an inequality between a problem group - Roma minority - and a norm group - non-Roma majority. The difference between the two extracts lied in the form of inequality considered problematic. In extract 7, Duminica and Ivasiuc

described a situation of inequitable *access* (line 10) to quality education. According to this view, the solution for reversing the mechanisms that produced social inequality resided in the provision of equal access to quality education by all children, regardless of ethnicity. The authors implied that education was a powerful determinant of social options and chances, and that equality (possibly economic and social class equality) was dependent on equal access to resources. The gist of the argument was that if all children had access to the same educational quality standards, then society could become (more) equitable, a view often adopted by proponents of affirmative action programs (cf. Hurtado, 2005).

In a somewhat different argument, Cace and Vladescu suggested that successful policies in achieving health equality were not necessarily those that focused on access to health services (line 9), but those that could resolve disparities in outcomes, such as differences in life expectancy between Roma and non-Roma people. In extract 8, the authors also desired an equal society understood as uniformity in the measurements of particular indicators between Roma and non-Roma people. However, in order to reach sameness, Cace and Vladescu argued that the Government, and non-governmental organizations should implement targeted measures for Roma people more than one area. According to the text, an intricate network of inequalities in housing, social security, economy, child protection, and access to health care services prevented equal health outcomes. However, those targeted measures did not imply a differential treatment between Roma and non-Roma people. Later on in their report, Cace and Vladescu explained that what they had understood by successful Roma policies in the listed areas comprised of equal access to the respective institutions and services. In other words, the authors suggested that equal outcomes could be achieved by equal access to multiple inter-related *levels* (line 6) where there were discrepancies in both access and outcomes between Roma and non-Roma people. The responsibility for change resided with NGOs, who had the task of drawing attention to

discrepancies in access and outcomes, and the Government who was proposing the political Strategies.

2. *The solution and concealment*

According the frame of equality as sameness, typically, the solution proposed was to include Roma people in the Romanian society, which concealed any argument about challenging the underlying majority norms and values. The non-Roma majority was already enjoying access to rights, opportunities, institutions and services, and the path towards equality was paved with principles and standards of inclusion. However, this frame does not directly challenge dominant Romanian values, but rather treats as ideal a world in which there would be no more differences between Roma and non-Roma people, due to Roma becoming like Romanians. Sameness was to be achieved when Roma children's educational attainments mirrored the Romanian children's, Roma houses resembled Romanian houses, Roma people enjoyed the same social security and welfare benefits as Romanian people, Roma children were raised in accord with Romanian family values and Roma health and life expectancy echoed the Romanian equivalents.

***Major frame 2: Recognizing cultural differences*.**

In contrast to the frame of equality as sameness, in this frame authors focused on the existence of a majority norm that was at odds with a traditional Roma culture. The proposed solution involved new policies that would recognize Roma people's non-hegemonic culture, and which would encourage them to adopt certain majority norms or values. This frame helped recommend taking ethnic differences into account when establishing policies for the decrease of Roma marginalization.

Extract 9 was taken from a research report, authored by Dobrica and Jderu (2005). At the time of this publication, the Governmental Strategy for the improvement of Roma situation (2001) had fourteen bullet-pointed measures for improving Roma school participation. With the

exception of two measures – (1) the provision of a free meal a day for all students in the primary and secondary grades, and (2) a quota based affirmative action program for Roma students enrolled in Colleges and Universities – all other measures consisted of academic and administrative plans. These plans contained the following proposals: the elaboration of educational reports, studies and projects, the presentation of intervention plans and professional training plans, the revision of school curricula, and the organization of meetings.

Extract 9: Solutions (…) must be culturally constituted (Dobrica & Jderu, 2005, pp. 124 - 125 – Original in Romanian. Emphasis in original)

Overall, the causes of non-participation in school can be combined into two aspects: **poverty and traditionalism. Poverty and traditionalism are the most important factors that limit Roma access to education.** Concerning the administrative issue and the educational policy, **these do not yet address correctly Romanies' problems, despite the consistent efforts used so far to decrease their marginalization.** This is because, until now, the emphasis was placed on elements of prompt support, [which were not] not connected in a unitary design, the policy of support for this group was not *culturally* grounded, in other words placed in accord with the *auto-perceived Roma needs*.

It is symptomatic, from this point of view, the fact that until now, Roma problems were limited to the issue of poverty. Although poverty generates a whole series of problems, this in itself, produces different effects in different social and ethnic communities. Some are fixed, for others it is a challenge. That is why the solutions that target poverty must be

culturally established depending on the social substance of the recipient.

Roma groups are, *par excellence*, *traditional, paternalistic and conservative,* additionally, *anchored in a dominant present-minded attitude account of* these aspects. Romanies were and are further treated as an ethnic minority that is relatively oppressed by the majority. This perspective is in most part erroneous. As an ethnic group Romanies have their own cultural models. The research has shown that this model **has a neutral orientation towards the values of the dominant culture. The model of traditional Roma culture has different orientations towards individual destiny compared to the one promoted by the modern, dominant culture** (implicitly European).

1. The problems, ambivalence and matters of concealment.

The authors criticized the government's approach to *the administrative issue and educational policy* (lines 4-5) by arguing that out of the two major causes for Roma lack of school participation, only poverty was addressed (presumably through the one-meal-a-day policy), while the cultural problem was ignored.

The emphasis on differences, however, appears ambivalent (cf. Marinho & Billig, 2013). On the one hand, cultural differences are recognized, but on the other hand, those differences are seen mainly in terms of diverse and multiple social problems. From the viewpoint of this frame, different *cultural models* (line 18), are not seen as advantageous, but rather disadvantageous. At face value, the text suggests that in order for Roma educational policy to succeed, it should take into consideration Roma's own perceptions about their needs (lines 2-3). However, in the process of recognizing cultural differences, authors suggested that education, desired and

promoted by the dominant and European culture (lines 21-22), was a non-negotiable norm or value, despite mentioning that Roma culture had different views about *individual destiny* (line 20), supposedly including individual educational prospects.

The cultural characteristics given to Roma people were generally negative. Roma groups were described as: traditional, paternalistic, conservative, and with an attitude focused mostly on the present. Also, the problem of Roma marginalization was, according to the authors, not caused by oppression by the majority population, but was rather due to Roma *cultural models* (line 17).

In contrast to Duminica si Ivasiuc's (2010) text from extract 7, in extract 9 the questionable quality of schools to which Roma children had access was concealed from the argument. Even the apparent structural problem of poverty was linked to ethnic responses. Some social or ethnic groups were said to find poverty a challenge, which presumptively could be overcome, while others – by implication Roma people - found themselves stuck (*fixed*, line 8) in its adverse net of effects.

2. The solution.

What the authors appear to be arguing is that an educational policy designed to appeal to Roma cultural characteristics and a vaguely implied Roma *social substance* (line 10), had a better chance to persuade Roma people to adopt dominant and European norms and values, at least with regard to education. In other words, the policies proposed to decrease the problem of marginalization were supposed to appeal to traditional Roma in order to persuade "them" to integrate into the mainstream Romanian and European culture.

Major frame 3: Mainstreaming ethnicity.

In this frame, similar to the frame of recognizing cultural differences, authors presented the existence of a majority norm as problematic. However, while the frame of recognizing cultural differences suggested that Roma culture was lesser than non-Roma or European culture,

in this frame cultural hegemony was criticized. A mono-cultural policy model was seen as perpetuating anti-Roma discrimination and prejudice, and thus, it was presented as one of the major problems necessitating a policy-based solution.

Extract 10: Inclusion of Roma identity (…) at all of the educational levels (Grigore, et al., 2009, p. 8 – Original in Romanian; Roma spelled with a double "r" in original)

The results of a study, completed in December 2005, by the Centre of Urban and Regional Sociology, commissioned by the National Council for Combating Discrimination, at the national level, concerning discrimination and tolerance, shows the level of intolerance in Romania:

- 81% of those surveyed considered that the majority of Rromanies break the law;
- 61% of those surveyed considered that Rromanies are a disgrace for Romania;
- 52% of those surveyed considered that Rromanies should not be allowed to travel abroad.

This model of prejudicial thought was perpetuated by the educational policies of Romania, even if not directly by a position of rejection of the Rroma child, but was rather made permanent by a mono-cultural educational model. The educational system of a majoritarian society offers, as a single model of reference, the values of the dominant culture. Given the conditions of this policy, based on a numerical criteria and on an autarchic "prototype", the majority holds

20 the levers of power and of the representative and training
21 institutions, while the Rroma cultural model is subject to the
22 negative stigmatizing stereotypes, and is perceived as
23 deviant, and implicitly acculturation is advised. The
24 prejudices and stereotypes against Rromanies are due
25 especially to the lack of information about Rroma in the pre-
26 university school curricula, but also to the lack of an
27 intercultural curricula and the absence of a coherent systemic
28 approach, in the school education, of subjects such as racism,
29 discrimination, minority history and culture and cultural
30 diversity. Inclusive education represents for "Amare
31 Rromentza" *((Roma NGO, the Romani language title meaning "With*
32 *Our Roma"))* the inclusion of Rroma identity with all of its
33 components (language, history, culture, etc.) in the formal,
34 informal and non-formal education, and quality education
35 means, also, the presence of the relevant elements concerning
36 identity at all of the educational levels. Put in another way,
37 a Rroma student with a high educational performance, who
38 learns in a school which has excellent facilities, but who
39 does not find a component of [his/her] identity inside the
40 school environment, is not, from the point of view of our
41 organization, the beneficiary of a complete quality education.

1. *The problems and solutions.*

In the text quoted above, the authors were building an argument for an educational policy which moved away from the majority's *"prototype"* (line 19) towards a policy of diversity.

Compared to the frames presented so far, this frame presented the most transformative political vision. Rather than achieving sameness in an ethnically neutral society, or recognizing differences within a hierarchy of cultures, incorporating ethnicity into the mainstream implies a continuous policy debate, in this case within the educational system, where *components* (line 32) of Roma identity were to be included at all possible types of education and all levels of education.

The existing hegemony was seen as a problem and was challenged by proposing to include non-hegemonic Roma *identity* (line 31), including culture, into the educational system. Positioning themselves on an institutional footing (cf. Goffman, 1081), the authors explained that a comprehensive (*complete,* line 30) quality education is one that includes, ideally all of the conceivable components of identity (*language, history, culture, etc*., line 32), but necessarily, at least one component (lines 37-38). Within this frame equal access to *excellent* (line 37) school facilities, or a lowering of the educational performance gap, would not be enough to combat anti-Roma discrimination, prejudice and the negative stereotypes, because the educational values remained the property of the dominant group. As long as educational policy is not diversity-based and inclusive (lines 28-29), the authors, envisioned only two possible outcomes for Roma people: stigmatization or acculturation – both of which were presented as unsatisfactory and thus, best resolved thorough systemic change.

2. Concealment.

The authors noted that the voices involved in the educational policy debates were routinely majoritarian, presenting a *single model of reference* (lines 16-17). Also, it was proposed that this "right" to have a voice was connected to matters of power and related to the stigmatization of Roma who were perceived stereotypically as *deviant* (line 22). However, the authors remain silent about who has, or who should have, a voice in the political debate about the

kinds of cultural information desired, and the ways in which this information should be incorporated into the educational curricula. The text remains silent whether (only) experts on matters of ethnicity were to be consulted, or whether concerns presented by various civic groups, which might not be a part of the expert's experiences, might also be included.

Minor frame: Successfully assimilated Roma.

In addition to the three dominant frames within academic discussions about equality, two publications proposed equality through assimilation. These publications, authored by Cretan and Turnock, focused on Roma as a problem, and suggested educational solutions which would help change aspects of typical Roma identity. Within this frame there were two possible outcomes for successful Roma programs: improved circumstances for marginalized Roma communities and, in time, successful assimilation in mainstream non-Roma society.

Extract 11: Many Roma elements have been successfully assimilated (Cretan & Turnock, 2008, p. 274 – Original in English)

We examine the key concepts relevant to marginality, arguing for an element of self-exclusion, because many Roma elements have been successfully assimilated over the years, a large residual element insists on preserving elements of "identity", implying separation from the mainstream in terms of the modernising ethos and the rule of law. The main thrust of the paper rests with a comprehensive programme to improve the condition of the Roma community as a major element among a number of other factors which are working towards the same objective. We give particular attention to the educational programme that is now making significant progress.

1. *The problem.*

The article from which extract 11 was taken was different from the other texts included in the analysis in a number of ways. Firstly, it was the only article published in a Geography journal, and it seemed to view the problem of marginalization mostly in terms of territorial segregation than as a complex process of political, economic, cultural, social disadvantage and social exclusion (cf. Silver, 2007). Secondly, there was no indication that the interview-based and observational study on which the article was based was commissioned by the Romanian government, a human-rights or Roma organization, although the authors acknowledge that some of the information was received from two Roma NGO. Thirdly, the authors' academic affiliations consisted of two geography university departments, rather than the usual professional affiliations the other authors, and which included one or more of the following: public policy, social work, human rights, sociology, psychology, social sciences or political science. Fourthly, Cretan and Turnock were the only authors who referred to Roma assimilation as a desirable and successful outcome. Lastly, no other text included in the analysis labelled Roma in an overtly dehumanizing way (cf. Kelman, 1976) (*elements*, line 2, *residual element*, line 3).

The text implied that the *many* (line 2) assimilated Roma were in the long run successful, because they did not stubbornly insist (line 4), on upholding a typical Roma way-of-being ("*identity*", line 4). According to Cretan and Turnock's argument, Roma people who did not resist modernizing themselves and obeyed the law, were welcomed into the Romanian mainstream society. Importantly, however, modern and law-abiding Roma were not the ones rhetorically doing the assimilating, rather they were *assimilated over the years* (line 3), suggesting a long-standing social hegemony where non-Roma were deciding the criteria and the selection process for the apparently desired Roma assimilation.

2. *The solution.*

If many Roma were assimilated, the bulk of the ethnic group (*a large residual element*, line 3), remained marginalized mostly through personal stubborn indisposition. This significant sub-group of Roma people was the target of the programme-based solutions. This group was considered problematic, and similar to other social representations of communities or individuals in social research (Howarth, Wagner, Magnusson, & Sammut, 2014; Wager, Sen, Permanadeli, & Howarth, 2012), Cretan and Turnock constructed Roma people as marginalized, dysfunctional and failing to integrate into the mainstream society, without taking into account the societal constraints and the systems of exclusion that made inclusion or integration difficult. Thus, the solution involved improving the *condition* (line 7) of Roma people, which consisted of an educational programme implemented in a segregated Roma community designed to improve Roma children's chances of being assimilated, by changing elements of their identity.

4.2.2.3. Major and minor frames within academic debates about Roma diversity.

From 2002 publications began to discuss disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in terms of differences within the Roma group. These cases either focused on (a) proposing solutions for the diverse needs of Roma communities, groups, families, or people, or (b) suggesting diverse Roma answers to systemic problems. This shift came one year after the publication of the first Governmental Strategy for the Improvement of Roma situation (2001), which had proposed measures that encouraged projects focusing of the diverse Roma culture and folklore and also planned a date when Roma organizations could present a plan for the mediatisation of Roma success models.

Based on the criteria of frequency and comprehensiveness two major frames and one minor frame were identified. The major frames were: (1) diverse Roma people (16 publications) (2) overcoming systemic inequality (15 publications); and the minor frame was: (3) intersectionality between gender and ethnicity (3 publications). Individual publications could include between two and six different frames. With one exception, the frames within the

discussion about Roma diversity were found in texts published between 2002 and 2015. Publications that centrally discussed the theme of Roma diversity, also included other themes relating to the concept of disparity, but in a more marginal way (i.e. human rights or equality), and within those marginal themes, one or more of the frames discussed in the sections above were found.

Major Frame 1: Diverse Roma people.

Up to this point the differences discussed were exclusively between Roma and non-Roma people. This frame, while allowing for ethnic differences, focused mainly on the existing diversity between Roma groups or families. In a sense, what was problematized was the idea of a typical Roma individual, or a typical group. If Roma people were presented or perceived as a heterogeneous group, then the existence of common needs or aims become a disputable point. No group of Roma could be chosen as representative for all. Moreover, if common needs or aims do not exist in practice, then common political perspectives or proposals are not viable solutions.

Extract 12: The needs of such diverse families (Fleck & Rughinis, 2008, p IX – Original in Romanian)

In a series of local level studies conducted as a result of this project, we find out what this diversity means in practice, on the field, and how an undifferentiated "policy for Romanies", has absolutely no sense. To give just one example, in the city Targu Mures, one of the researchers notes three completely different types of interactions between Roma and non-Roma. In a poor area, its inhabitants are seen as alien who are more or less intangible and are openly despised as socially inferior persons. These Roma households limit themselves most of the time

10 to collecting scraps of iron, and if they are lucky, working
11 with rubbish [*collection*]. But, only a few steps away, the
12 researcher finds a few families, only slightly better off, who
13 are treated, by their non-Roma neighbours, as a convenient and
14 trustworthy source of labour. The members of these households
15 find jobs in farms, gardens and also in the houses of their
16 employers. And, lastly, scattered in the same city, we find the
17 rich families of traders, some with incomes of 3000 euros or
18 even more per month. What kind of "policy for Roma" could
19 approach the needs of such diverse families?

1. The problem and matters of ambivalence.

In Extract 12 two types of diversity were discussed. Firstly, there was a diversity of interactions between Roma and their non-Roma neighbours and secondly, there was a diversity of Roma families or households. With regard to the diversity of interactions between Roma and non-Roma people, the information was presented from the vantage point of the non-Roma reactions and treatment towards their Roma neighbours. The reader is informed that, depending on the level of Roma poverty and skills, non-Roma could either treat Roma people in an openly spiteful way (*openly despised*, line 8), or capitalize on the local and uncostly *source of labour* (line 13). The authors did not offer any indication of the non-Roma behaviours or attitudes towards the few rich Roma families, who were apparently residing inside the city - in contrast to the *poor* (line 6) and the *slightly better of* families (line 12), who were huddled together, presumably in a spatially segregated area (*poor area*, line 6; *a few steps away*, line 11).

Authors described an ambivalence in the non-Roma perceptions towards poorer Roma households, ranging from a number of negative characterizations (*alien*, line 7; *intangible*, line 7; *socially inferior*; line 8) to one conveniently positive trait (*trustworthy*, line 13). Other than the

difference in the level of poverty, Fleck and Rughinis also suggested another important difference between the poor, the slightly-better-off and the rich Roma. Differences in skills and income seemed to correspond to individual differences in the approaches to job finding. The poor were *limiting themselves* (line 9) to working in low-skilled, low-paid, low-security jobs (scrap and rubbish collection), the better-off were actively *finding* slightly better-skilled, better paid and possibly more stable jobs (farming, gardening, house cleaning), while the rich were entrepreneurial (traders).

2. The solutions.

The three examples worked to create the perception of a large gap, or an income inequality within the same ethnic group. This approach helped the authors to argue that a uniform public policy for Roma people as a homogeneous group has *absolutely no sense* (line 4), and that one *kind* (line 17) of Roma policy cannot be possible. The frames presented so far in this chapter, focused on differences between Roma and non-Roma people. This difference was presented by authors as significant, and was used as a platform for the policies proposed in order to bridge whatever gap was described. Fleck and Rughinis' however, described three different groups with apparently different types of (income) needs, suggesting an alternative possibility for political intervention. Authors argued that public policies should not focus on Roma *versus* non-Roma disparities, but rather on structural changes which would benefit all Romanian citizens, including Roma.

Extract 13: Structural changes (…) in Romanian institutions (Fleck & Rughinis, 2008, p. 211– Original in Romanian)

1 The accent placed on Romas as problems and sources of problems
2 that need to be resolved, even thorough the most understanding
3 programs possible, leaves in the shadows the problem of

4 structural changes that should be launched in Romanian
5 institutions. The need for change does not limit itself to only
6 Roma ethnics, and Roma communities. Quite contrary, there is a
7 need that is found in the Romanian educational system, and in
8 the medical system, and in public administration, and in mass-
9 media, and in the practices concerning employment, and most
10 probably, in many other institutions. Certainly, these changes
11 are not necessary only for Romanies – although they are entitled
12 to benefit from them. These changes are necessary for all the
13 Romanian citizens who are excluded or marginalized when they
14 interact with agents from these domains, for all those who are
15 wasting their time in unprofitable exchanges, or with too little
16 profit.

1. *The problem.*

As seen extract 13, from within this frame, policies for Romas were seen as inadvertently labelling Roma as *problems* (line 1), or as the cause of problems (line 1), while placing structural problems *in the shadows* (line 1-2). It was implied that not even a culturally-grounded approach was applicable (*the most understanding programs possible*, lines 2-3).

2. *The solution.*

The solution proposed was to initiate overall institutional change, in contrast to (only) Roma change. The transformation of Romanies was, however, not completely abandoned as a solution. The text asserts that the *need for change does not limit itself to only Roma ethnics, and Roma communities* (lines 4-5), nor that it should not be part of the political discussion, at all. Fleck and Rughinis' report, did not mention if this transformation should target all, or only some,

of the varied Roma households or families described in extract 12. Although allowing for a political appeal to Roma change, authors focused their attention on other, more important needs concerning Romanian institutional shortcomings. These changes were portrayed as necessary measures for *all* (line 12) Romanian citizens, who met the criteria of being in a position of disadvantage (*excluded or marginalized*, line 13) when interacting with public agents. At the same time, the text, vaguely suggested that by broadening the group of beneficiaries, anti-Roma discrimination might be overlooked. Authors were careful no note that, although changes should be made for all (disadvantaged) people, Roma people were *entitled to benefit* (line 11) from the improved institutional systems. No such cautionary note was deemed necessary for the other possible marginalized or excluded groups.

Major Frame 2: Overcoming systemic inequality.

This frame, which was found in 15 publications (23%), moved the focus away from systemic disadvantage, and placed some measure of responsibility for overcoming disparities on the shoulders of resilient or gritty (cf. Duckworth, Peterson, Matthews, & Kelly, 2007) Roma people. Although, this frame was present in publications which proposed policy-based solutions, when this frame was introduced, the solutions proposed were individual rather than systemic.

There were two types of publications which used the frame of overcoming systemic inequality: (a) publications containing a published interview with Roma people presented as successful (Beck, 1993; Braga, Catrina, Gamonte, Neaga, & Andreescu, 2009; Gheorghe, Mocanu, & Zamifr, 2009); and (b) publications which described and/or critiqued various anonymous role-models (Cace, 2007; Grigore, Neacsu, & Furtuna, 2007). Across publications authors presented, at least one of four possible strategies used by Romas in pursuance of four types of recognized success stories. The four types of succes stories were about: (1) the self-

made traditional Roma leader; (2) the religious Roma; (3) the Roma activist, and (4) the intelectual Roma.

Success stories, placed within publications in which the primary goal – according to the abstract or introduction – was to propose policy measures for redressing disparities – had two main functions. Firstly, these stories were mostly presented as optimistic narratives, indexing the possible psychological benefit of encouragement for other, possibly not yet succesful, Roma people. Secondly, the stories placed the systemic barriers, discussed through the other frames, in the background. As a result, this frame placed the spotlight on the heroic Roma people who overcame barriers, often in the form of systemic disadvantage, by exibiting resilience and grit. The four different success stories found within the frame of overcoming systemic inequality will be presented in the following sections.

Success story 1: The self-made traditional leader. This success story type pertained to a traditional leader or a monarch who aimed to unify Roma people under his rule. Instead of being portrayed as a unifying institution, however, the Roma monarchy was presented in the literature as a source of contradictions, especially between the self-proclaimed rulers themselves. There was more than one person claiming both crown and deference, and the Romanian Roma people faced a plethora of sovereigns asking for their alliance: Dorin Cioaba, the "King of the Roma Everywhere", Iulian Radulescu, "Emperor of the Roma Everywhere", Dan Stanescu, "The International King of Christian Roma", and for those with republican leanings, Sandu Anghel, "The President of the Roma".

Academics noted that although the crowned heads dwelling in palaces presented themselves as representatives of Roma people, their influence was geographically limited. Their "patriarchal attitudes" were criticized in the literature, as academics noted that traditional Roma leaders were either traditional in dress and patriarchal in attitude or modern in dress, but still

patriarchal in attitude. There were criticisms that traditional leaders enforced inequality and oppressing gender roles, with an unjust male advantage over aspects of morality, social privilege, and property (Gheorghe, Mocanu, & Zamifr, 2009; Marx, 2010; Oprea, 2005). Academics explained that financial power was at times translated into temporary social power, with the richest member locally accepted as "leader", "president" or, if a crown was available, as king (or emperor).

In describing "typical" self-proclaimed traditional Roma leaders, the academic publications mentioned business success, ethnic representation and authority. In this frame, there was an implication that success could be achieved by personal gritty means, the leaders were not presented as role models for others.

Extract 14: Traditional leaders (Barany, 2002, pp. 291-292 – Original in English)

1 [Traditional leaders] tend to be rooted in their communities and
2 typically have little formal education but have been successful
3 in business or some other respected endeavour. Some traditional
4 leaders are self-promoting 'ethnic entrepreneurs' who use family
5 influence to create momentary political spectacles, while others
6 have actually worked hard for Gypsy causes. Although traditional
7 leaders often claim to represent the entire Romani community of
8 their country, they seldom command respect or authority outside
9 their immediate surroundings.

In Extract 14, traditional Roma leaders were portrayed in general terms, as having deep ties in *their communities* (line 1). It was implied that the communities in question were segregated, and by implication disadvantaged, Roma settlements. By mentioning that *typically* (line 2) such leaders had little formal education, the text was offering evidence that this type of leader had similar experiences to the majority of Roma living in marginalized neighbourhoods.

What set them apart in *their* community was their success in *business* (line 3) or other similarly *respected endeavours* (line 3). The implication was that traditional Roma leaders, managed to be successful, without any outside systemic, policy-based help, and reached some kind of respected success. This success, apparently could lead to *family influence* (line 4-5) suggesting that leadership, and possibly the financial power that came with the success was further transmitted to (male) offspring. Also, the success of the Roma leader was defined from the vantage point of Roma communities. In other words, the person in question had success relative to other Roma people. The possible discrepancies between Roma leaders and non-Roma leaders was briefly touched upon: rarely was their influence felt outside the community. The text, however, remained silent (cf. Schroter, 2013) about the discrepancies in political power, education or income between Roma and non-Roma leaders.

There were two generic types of traditional leaders. On the one hand, some were said to use their business success and subsequent authority for their own selfish purposes. On the other hand, others, perhaps somewhat surprisingly (*actually*, line 6), used their influence for *Gypsy causes* (line 6). Differently from the frames proposing policy-based solutions, within this frame, discrepancies were only hinted at. The rhetorical spotlight was on the (a) self-made leader and (b) his contested or limited authority. The type of traditional leader who was portrayed as furthering *Gypsy causes* (line 6), presumably by proposing politically based systemic solutions, was described in positive terms.

Success story 2: The religious leader. A second type of Roma success story presented in the frame of Overcoming systemic inequality was the success of the religious Roma. This success story overlapped with the conversion story, usually to a branch of Protestantism (Gog, 2009; Popoviciu & Popoviciu, 2012; Ries, 2007). Research texts, using this frame, presented statistical data indicating a growing number of Roma religious leaders who set up Romani language (mostly Pentecostal) churches (Gog, 2009; Foszto, 2009; Popoviciu & Popoviciu,

2012). The religious leaders were quoted as using a religious discourse of spiritual ties (e.g. “the Christian brotherly bond”) which could be used to create an ideal of spiritual equality between Roma and non-Roma Christians.

The success story of the religious leader included some of the common patterns of a heroic story (Campbell, 1968). It usually began with a departure from the world of sin. The convert, encountered a series of events (supernaturally) intended to test his or her faith. After the convert overcame the test of his or her faith, he/she emerged as a “born again” Christian (Foszto, 2009). In the academic literature using this frame, authors described sermons which drew attention to the theme of the marginalized Roma who were especially loved by a sympathetic Jesus, who knew what it was like to suffer unjustly and be ostracized by peers. The climax of these messages was not a call for action to challenge present day systemic disadvantage, but rather a call for patience with the attached promise that in the “Kingdom to come” the power structure will be reversed. In the after-world, church going Roma were told that they will occupy the most esteemed heavenly positions available (often calculated in terms of physical proximity to Jesus) (Popoviciu & Popoviciu, 2012; Ries, 2007).

Other than the promise of justice in the afterlife, the more palpable benefits of being the subject of a religious success story included the admiration of fellow converts, and even (at times) the appreciation of non-Roma believers (Kotics, 1999; Ries, 2007). The grittiness of the religious Roma was rhetorically displayed only in overcoming “sin” and “temptation”. In a different fashion from the positively described traditional leader who worked for Roma “causes”, the successful religious Roma role-model was presented as exhibiting a Christian spirit of meekness and patient tolerance in the face of systemic disadvantage (Popoviciu & Popoviciu, 2012; Ries, 2007).

Success story 3: The Roma activist. Authors describing this type of success story explained that after the fall of the Ceausescu's regime, in the general enthusiasm that followed, some intellectual Roma took up the initiative and set up a number of civic and political organizations (Mark, 2009). They proceeded to pen a series of requests for the Government and arranged campaigns for the legal recognition of the Roma minority, and then for other policy-based solutions to predominant Roma problems.

The problem with Roma activists seemed to be that, in contrast to traditional Roma leaders, it not seen as "genuine" Roma, but assimilated Roma or "Romanianized Roma", and as such could not be considered representative (Neacsu, 2007). The criticism implied that a Roma representative had to first experience disadvantage, overcome it. The argument was that someone who did not grow up as a typically disadvantaged Roma could not genuinely speak on behalf of other (stereo)typical Roma. There was a reoccurring argument that an assumed Roma identity, without a lived Roma experience translated into a "professional Roma" who knew little about the Roma people and their problems.

Extract 15: Professional Roma (Grigore, Neacsu & Furtuna, 2007, p. 62 – Original in Romanian)

They are born and grow up just like Romanians, but once they reach maturity they end up as part of an association, where due to past work and some acquired abilities, end up in leadership positions. But beware: the person who ends up leading the association is someone who in the majority of cases had nothing to do with Roma culture, he wanted so much to be a Romanian (most of us wanted that) and yet destiny led him to be a professional Roma. In other words, to work for Roma people, with as little as he knows from his experience about who the Roma are,

10 and what their problems are.

The contentious issue seemed to be one of choice. The argument implied that if one had a choice to "become a Roma", that choice placed the person in a position of advantage. A further implication was that advantaged people, regardless of ethnicity, did not have to overcome systemic disadvantage. Arguably, the minority of Roma people who had "something to do with Roma culture", possibly lived in segregated communities, and experienced systemic disadvantage in education, employment, health and housing, had the potential to representatives of Roma *if* they grittily overcame their given situation.

Disadvantaged Roma, who could be recognized as representatives of Roma people in general, were probably not offered a choice to become Roma, but rather their disadvantaged beginnings insured they were perceived as such. In a sense, as Surdu (2010) noted, the criticism seemed to be that "representatives are no longer representative". By assuming a stigmatized identity, advantaged and thus not "genuine" Roma activists, were criticized as only "professionalizing the stigmatization" rather than experiencing it (Surdu L. , 2010). There was even a common joke presented in one of the publications written by self-proclaimed Roma people, about there being two categories of g*adjo* (non-Roma): "their *gagii"* (non-Roma activists) and "*our gagii*" (Romanianized Roma activists) (Grigore, Neacsu & Furtuna, 2007).

In the literature about Roma activists, ethnicity was presented in a dilemmatic way. On the one hand, ethnicity had an "essentialist" quality (cf. Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2015). On the other hand, ethnicity was presented as a social label based on lived experience. There were "genuine" Roma activists presented by the literature, who experienced the disadvantage and discrimination associated with being seen as a Roma. They were Roma, partly as a result of the society's verdict. Due to a mixture of personal grit and some favourable circumstances, they became the heads of organizations delivering social services or elaborating drafts for policy measures for Romanian Roma people. Disadvantaged Roma people who grittily overcame

systemic disadvantage were admired for their efforts, while the academic literature criticized advantaged Roma who were said to present themselves as "vulnerable Roma people" in order to further their own social, economic or political interests (Barany, 1998; Bunescu, 2007; Cretan & Turnock, 2008; Grigore, Neacsu, & Furtuna, 2007; Marx, 2010; Troc, 2002).

The problem could also be presented as one of motive, rather than ethnicity: if a Roma ethnic, who experienced disadvantage and discrimination, ended up in a successful and influential position, the question might not be whether he or she was a Roma ethnic *per se*, but whether his or her reasons were altruistic or not. Even the success story, build upon the foundation of experienced ethnic inequality, came with the present day benefits of personal affirmation and a comfortable middle class income, and thus criticisms of motive could arise (Grigore, Neacsu, & Furtuna, 2007).

Success story 4: The Roma intellectual. The last type of success story pertained to the intellectual Roma. When adopting this type of success story, authors agreed that one of the biggest obstacles to Roma inclusion was the lower educational achievement of the majority of Roma people (Cace et al., 2014; Dobrica & Jderu, 2005; Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2010; Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2013; Roma Education Fund, 2007). Some publications presented a number of Roma people, who despite systemic barriers, displayed perseverance and passion for long-term goals. There was a particular pattern that emerged, in some ways similar to the three main stages of Campbell's (1968) hero's story. For example, in each case, the success story of the intellectual hero began with a departure from a marginalized Roma community, usually in pursuance of a better education (Beck, 1993; Cace, 2007). A Roma State Secretary recounted in a published interview:

Extract 16: Come to Bucharest and finish your school (Cace, 2007, p. 115 – Original in Romanian)

One day my brother came to Focsani and asked me, "What are you still doing here? Why don't you come to Bucharest and finish your school, have a career?" (…) And that's what I did. (Roma ethnic, State Secretary)

The stories were similar. Roma people, whose ethnicity, professional titles and accomplishments were given at the beginning of the interview, proceeded to briefly describe the disadvantaged Roma community where they grew up, pointing to the lack of educational and career opportunities found there. Then, the usually active voice (Wooffitt, 1992) of the parents, siblings, or teachers was presented as the helpful encouragement needed to depart from home in pursuit of educational goals somewhere else. The systemic Roma disadvantage was presented as unfortunate, but its only rhetorical role seemed to have been as a narrative prop bolstering the heroic overcoming claims.

A second stage in the heroic story, involved at least one, but usually several, examples of trials, where the individual adapted to the new surroundings, exhibiting grit by working especially hard towards an educational or career goal, among non-Roma people.

Extract 17: Took me an hour and a half (Cace, 2007, p. 104 – Original in Romanian)

I went to Magurele, 12 kilometres outside of Bucharest, it took me an hour and a half to get to university (Roma Agency Director).

Extract 18: **7 years of work, 14 hours a day (Cace, 2007 , p. 105 – Original in Romanian)**

I repeat, but summarize, I left the place that I left, and I got here. Behind it all, a lot of work, 7 years of work, 14 hours of work a day, sometimes more. (Roma Agency Director)

Extract 19: They said 8 hours (….) I stayed 12 (Cace, 2007, p. 108 – Original in Romanian)

Wherever they sent me I did my duty, and when they said 8 hours of work, I stayed 12, I worked on Saturday, in the same way, and sometimes on Sunday (Roma Party member)

In these narratives, Roma intellectuals, speaking from a position of personal footing (Goffman, 1981) emphasized how they overcame challenges and how, as a result of their personal hard work, graduated, or ended up occupying various positions of prestige within an organizational structure.

The final stage of the narratives included a return of the intellectual hero to the Roma community as an example for others. However, when the intellectual heroes "returned", they did so mostly as visitors, not as residents. As practitioners and academics, working for, teaching, or leading reputable organizations or Universities in Romania or abroad, they took upon themselves a declared mission of helping change something about Roma psychology.

Extract 20: Help people develop a feeling of belonging (Beck, 1993 – Original in English)

I want to help people develop a feeling of belonging. The possibility that I could resolve some tensions in people's souls motivates me. This is worth doing for the *tigani."* (Nicolae Gheorghe, a Roma sociologist)

Extract 21: It's not easy (…), but with Roma it is even harder (Cace, 2007, p. 122– Original in Romanian)

For me personally, I would like most to work in prisons, to talk to people. I have a personal opinion about this thing: it's not easy to work with disadvantaged people, in general, but with Roma it is even harder. Hard because of this feeling about ethnic belonging is negatively accepted by the majority, a

reason for which Roma are very sensitive, untrusting, despite appearances" (Roma ethnic, Executive Director of a Roma Agency)

Roma intellectuals positioned themselves as "outsiders" helping a group of disadvantaged Roma people, who presumably did not yet overcome systemic inequalities. Disadvantage, although, either implied or affirmed in the narratives, took a back seat. The "Roma problem" that had to be resolved with the help of heroic intellectuals was constructed as being about "feelings", psychological or moral "tensions", "sensitivity", "trust", or other psychological issues attributed to Roma people.

There was an implication that if these rare examples of Roma success stories were possible, then others could also be motivated to overcome disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. Newspapers printed stories about the interviewed Roma intellectuals, (Delia Grigore: BBC Romanian, 2005; Valeriu Nicolae: Dilema Veche, 2006; Nicolae Gheorghe: The Economist, 2013). Their experiences were presented in the press and in the academic literature as admired models to follow for any disadvantaged Roma ethnic who desired to follow the path towards high achievement and inclusion into mainstream Romanian society.

Minor frame: Intersectionality between gender and ethnicity.

Four publications steered the debate of Roma diversity towards a more complex way of treating ethnic discrepancies, by suggesting that policies should focus on the point at which the various inequalities of race/ethnicity, gender, class, and other social divisions intersect with each other (Crenshaw, 1989). Within the frame of intersectionality a different theoretical and political approach to discrimination was proposed. In this frame the importance of Roma women's experiences was grasped and their unique compound of experiences was affirmed.

Extract 22: The intersection (…) among these issues (…) need to be recognized and form the basis of policies (Surdu & Surdu, 2006, p. 9 – Original in English).

This report argues that the situation of Romani women can only be accurately addressed by focusing on the simultaneous forms of gender, racial, and ethnic based discrimination that are particular to Romani women and are often compounded by poverty and social exclusion. It is not enough to elaborate and implement initiatives that deal with each issue in isolation: first racial and ethnic discrimination, then gender discrimination, then poverty and social exclusion. Rather, the intersection and relationship among these issues and types of discrimination need to be recognized and form the basis of policies. While there are significant national and EU-level laws and policies dealing with discrimination and gender equality, there are currently no comprehensive policies specifically addressing the situation of Romani women, either at the national or the European level. However, a growing number of advocacy initiatives are pushing for the incorporation of Romani women's issues into both the Roma inclusion and gender equality agendas. The surveys and discussion results featured in this report are intended to provide some of the crucial data to help policymakers and Romani advocates effectively incorporate the needs and concerns of Romani women into Roma inclusion and gender equality agendas.

1. *The problem.*

The problem noted in extract 22 was the lack of policies addressing the unique experiences of Roma women. According to this frame - which can be seen as an extension of the

diverse Roma people frame - Roma women were familiar with ethnic discrimination and gender discrimination, but also faced additional issues such as *poverty and social exclusion* (line 8).

2. The solutions.

The text suggested that there can be an accurate and an inaccurate (political) way of resolving problems singularly affecting Roma women. The accurate way consisted of simultaneously focusing on the intersection of issues affecting the social category of Roma women, as opposed to problems faced by the usual categories targeted by public social policies at the European of national level: "Roma" or "women". The argument implied that the experiences of Roma women should not be absorbed into the collective experience of a single category of people such as: "Roma people" or "women", or "poor people", or "socially excluded people". In a similar way to Crenshaw's (1989, p. 150) feminist critique, Surdu and Surdu (2006) suggested that Roma women's *situation* (line 1) has been excluded from the political arena. The responsibility for resolving this problem was attributed to advocacy groups who were described as actively *pushing* (line 15) issues of interest for Romani women into two types of political agendas: Roma inclusion policies and policies for gender equality.

3. Concealment.

What was concealed in Surdu and Surdu's report was the possible risks of engaging in the process of political debates an increasingly diverse number of Roma sub-groups, each with a different set of views, agendas and experiences. This risk was noted by other academics (e.g. Barany, 1998 – who was previously cited in other publications by Surdu and Surdu), and who explained that a focus on Roma diversity can bring about a lack of ethnic solidarity and as a result it can undermine the ethnic group's political power. In academic publications, however, debates which focused on the intersection of gender and other discrepancies, despite their relevance, received limited attention.

4.3. Concluding Remarks

This chapter discussed the variety of views expressed in academic research about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in Romania. The research questions which guided the analysis were: (1) How was the problem of ethnic disparity portrayed? (2) What were the academic solutions proposed to the problem of disparity? (3) Were there any ambivalent or dilemmatic aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people? (4) Were the perspectives of Roma people accounted for in the academic literature?

Analysis revealed that the perspectives of Romanian Roma people were included in the academic literature. Findings showed that throughout the last twenty-five years there has been a growth in the number of publications available online proposing policy measures for Roma people. At least 69% of these publications were authored or co-authored by self-identified Roma people, writing as representatives of the general group of Roma people. However, the actual perspectives of ordinary Romas were typically not included. All publications reported on the situation of Roma people living in Romania, although 20% also included information about Roma living in Europe.

A matter of interest for the study was to identify the ways in which ethnic disparities were portrayed, including the academic definitions of problems and solutions concerning disparities. Throughout the analysis the focus was placed on matters of ambivalence, dilemmas and concealment in academic discourse. Frame analysis revealed that the academic publications broadened their agenda on issues about disparities between Roma and non-Roma from a close focus on anti-Roma crimes, towards a broader approach that included discussions of equal opportunities, equal outcomes and Roma diversity.

There was a relatively strong consensus that disparities between Roma and non-Roma people were a problem. There were, however different definitions and arguments about how this

problem can, or should, be defined, who has the problem, what (or who) was the problem, and what part of the problem consisted of a policy problem or an individual problem.

Academic texts seemed to have a dilemmatic approach towards the political focus vis-à-vis disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. On the one hand, there was a push towards ethnic centred policies, and on the other hand there was a push towards ethically neutral policies. Proposed measures such as minority protection legislation, policy measures insuring equal access/equal outcomes between ethnic groups, ethnic mainstreaming, or legislation recognizing additional Roma categories, such as women, emphasize the need of making ethnicity central to political debates about disparities.

Up to the introduction of the first the first Ordinance on Preventing and Punishing All forms of Discrimination in 2000, and then the publication of the first Governmental Strategy for the improvement of Roma situation in 2001, academic texts typically focused on the problem of State passivity or State complicity vis-à-vis anti-Roma violence.

These publications played an advocacy role, hoping to get international (European) attention towards the problems faced by a majority of Roma, and hoping for a subsequent diplomatic pressure on the Romanian state to introduce protective legislative measures. Up to this point, disparities were presented as differences between Roma and non-Roma people concerning access to legal protection of human rights. Also, academics pointed to differences between ethnic groups with regard to the expected justice measures as a result of breaking the law. Roma people were seen as the disadvantaged group or as the problem holders, and the state and state institutions as problem sustainers. The exception to view, was the presentation of Roma people as not only holders of the problem, but also as instigators of the problem – a frame in which anti-Roma violence was presented as an understandable, moderate, albeit unfortunate, majoritarian reaction to Roma violence (Zamfir & Zamfir, 1993). The role of the majority

population in anti-Roma violence was either ignored or vaguely touched upon, as brief explanations of racist hatred or personal frustrations were offered as possible explanatory causes of anti-Roma violence.

After the legislative changes of the early 2000s the academic debates shifted from human rights concerns towards issues of equal opportunities, equal outcomes, and differences. These publications typically presented the results of studies evaluating the impact of the various, and newly implemented governmental measures in the areas of education, employment, health and housing. These texts were aiming to improve the implementation of legislation, rather than propose new legislation. Disparities were seen as unequal treatment resulting in the socio-economic exclusion and marginalization of Roma people. The problem holders - who at times were portrayed as also the cause of the problem (Dobrica & Jderu, 2005) - were Roma people. The responsibility for resolving the problem of inequality was given to the State, and in some measure to Roma people, who were encouraged to reform their traditional culture. Authors proposed four different frames of achieving equality; three political and one individual. In two of the major frames identified - equality as sameness and recognizing cultural differences – the norm group was seen as the majority non-Roma, and the ultimate hope was the achievement of an ethnically neutral society (Cace & Vladescu, 2004; Dobrica & Jderu, 2005; Dubimica & Ivasiuc, 2010). Also, the successfully assimilated Roma frame proposed policy based educational measures aimed at reforming Roma culture or identity in line with the norms of mainstream society (Cretan & Turnock, 2008). One of the frames within the discussions of equality criticized the cultural hegemony and argued for an ethnicized discussion of policy measures that would promote diversity and inclusion by taking into account Roma culture, norms and values (Grigore et al., 2009).

An alternative way of discussing disparities between Roma and non-Roma people shifted the focus from issues of equality towards questions of Roma diversity, in some ways pushing for

ethnically neutral policies, and in others for ethnically (and gender) centred policies. This frame took two different forms. On the one hand, Roma people were no longer seen as the holders of problems. Rather, the problem was moved to the entire Romanian society, who, it was argued, could benefit from systemic and institutional changes (Fleck & Rughinis, 2008). On the other hand, Roma people were seen as not only the holders of problems but also as the solvers of problems (Cace, 2007). The point of discrepancy was no longer fixed between Roma and non-Roma people, but varied between Roma households, Roma genders, and Roma individuals. The proposed solutions also varied from ethnically neutral policies, in which Roma people were seen as only one of a number of possible victims of social exclusion and marginalization (Fleck & Rughinis, 2008); to gender specific policies, in which Roma women constituted a unique category of multiply-disadvantaged people (Surdu & Surdu, 2006); to individual encouragement to overcome systemic barriers (Cace, 2007).

The next chapter will consider how the frames used by authors of academic work were adopted, adapted and transformed in policy documents which proposed official measures for redressing disparities between Roma and non-Roma people.

CHAPTER 5: VIEWS ABOUT ETHNIC DISPARITIES IN POLICY DOCUMENTS CONCERNING ROMA INCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to analyse the spectrum of views presented in official policy documents concerned with addressing disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. In doing so, the goal was to identify the points of dissent and consent between and within frames found in policy documents, and between frames found in policy documents and academic publications vis-a-vis the political agenda for Roma inclusion. The study was guided by seven research questions: (1) How was the problem of ethnic disparity portrayed? (2) What were the governmental solutions proposed to the problem of disparity? (3) Were there any ambivalent, dilemmatic or concealed aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people? (4) Were the perspectives of Roma people accounted for in the policy documents? (5) Did formal policy documents drew upon academic publications as arguments for, or against policy solutions? (6) Were academic publications which were intended to inform public policies for Romas acknowledged within policy documents? (7) What were the similarities and differences between academic and political perspectives?

This chapter draws upon a well-established tradition of analysing frames in policy communication (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Entman, 1993; Iyengar, 1991; Kuypers & D'Angelo, 2010; Matthes, 2009; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Denford, 1986; Verloo & Lombardo, 2007). The focus was on the ways in which formal policy documents draw upon academic publications as arguments for, or against certain policy solutions, and how, or if, academic publications which were intended to inform policy, were acknowledged within official documents (for the analysis of frames found in academic publications see Chapter 4).

5.1. Introduction

Governments, political parties and organizations with a political interest are involved in the policy debates and legislative decisions about the pressing issues of the day (Crosby & Konrad, 2002; Crosby, Iyer, Clayton, & Downing, 2003; Du Bois, 1969; Lauren, 1988; Tileaga, 2013; van Dijk, 1993). In the emerging democracies of Central and Eastern European countries an important political and intellectual preoccupation was the disparities between different social groups, and the various social inequalities based on ethnicity, race gender, age, and other differences between groups of people. The political shifts that occurred post 1989 have given rise to a variety of explanations and positions *vis-à-vis* the topic of disparities between people, as European and national bodies have pursued the obligation of shaping policies in accord with the values of equality and social inclusion of all citizens (Balch, Balabanova, & Trandafiroiu, 2014; Bunescu, 2007; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights & UNPD, 2012). For example, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Right (2012) explained that one of the causes for social disparities between Roma and non-Roma people living in European member States was that Roma people were not "sufficiently aware of their rights guaranteed by EU law, such as the Racial Equality Directive" (p. 14). Accordingly, awareness raising campaigns were presented as desired solutions. According to Balch, Balabanova and Trandafiroiu (2014, p. 1163), the Romanian Government framed the problem of social and economic disparities between Roma and non-Roma people as falling under the responsibility of the European Union, focusing on European policy shortcomings in insuring that rights are guaranteed equally to all people. From this perspective, the solution was seen as an improvement in policy implementation.

In Romania the first official document acknowledging a difference in living standards between Roma and non-Roma people was a policy document published by the Communist Party in 1978, titled "Communication concerning some problems raised by the Gypsy population for our country[13]" (Partidul Comunist Roman, 1978). The document was authored by a consortium

of public authorities including representatives from: The National Commission for Demographics, The Committee for the Problems of the Popular Councils, The Ministry of Study and Education, the Ministry of Work, the Ministry of Health, The Internal Ministry and the General Prosecutor for the Socialist Republic of Romania. Within the document, Roma people were labelled as “unstable” (p. 5), “backward” (p. 5), “parasites” (p. 6), the cause of “mass spreading of diseases” (p. 4), and responsible for the majority of recorded crimes (p. 5) (The National Commission for Demographics; The Committee for the Problems of the Popular Councils; The Ministry of Study and Education; The Ministry of Work; The Ministry of Health; The Internal Ministry; The General Prosecutor for the SRR, 1977). The document used overtly racist language to describe the way of life of Roma people, and it included provisions for assimilation policies in the areas of education, health, employment, housing, and social participation. However, the political rights of Roma people as members of an ethnic minority were not acknowledged. The political plan was to ‘help’ Roma people – labelled by the policy document as criminally and parasite minded Gypsies -– to become people undistinguishable from the majority of Romanian ethnics.

After the 1989 Romanian Revolution, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe began to draw international attention to some of the problems faced by most Roma people. An Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights was opened, and within this office, a Contact Point on Roma and Sinti Issues was established in Warsaw (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014). The Contact Point was led by Roma academics who tried to mobilize European institutions that could put pressure on the Romanian Government so that it would begin to address the anti-Roma crimes committed post ’89. Some examples of the articles published as a part of these human rights efforts were discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.2.2.1. As a result of awareness raising efforts by human rights activists, in 1993 the European Commission proposed a set of recommendations for the improvement of the situation of Roma people.

However, there were no immediate legislative changes in Romania. It was only after 1997, when the European Commission answered Romania's request to join the EU on the condition that the government would make more progress to "improve the Roma situation", that political changes began to be made. The first Governmental Strategy for the Improvement of the Situation of Roma was published in 2001 (Guvernul Romaniei - HG 430/2001, 2001). Also, in the same year, the National Agency for the Roma was established – the first of its kind in Romania. In 2002, the European Commission set forth a more detailed set of conditions for policies concerning the improvement of Roma situation. These conditions were introduced in the new national plan (2006-2008) of the first Governmental Strategy.

In 2011, some of the results of the Governmental strategy for the improvement of the situation of Roma people were presented during the international conference held under the patronage of European Parliament, "National Roma Strategies: Ensuring a Comprehensive and Effective European Approach. The overall consensus of academics and policymakers was that the commonly agreed targets for social inclusion were not met. Bureaucracy in reporting, and an overly complex process of accessing European funds were blamed (European Commission, 2011). Consequently, the European Commission proposed the adoption of a stricter monitoring policy of national strategies for Roma inclusion. In the same year, the European Framework for the National Roma Inclusion Strategies was created for the Europe 2020 programme. This development insured that the European Commission could not only propose recommendations for each EU member state, but could also monitor progress. Romania's answer was to draft another Strategy, this time for the Inclusion of Romanian Citizens belonging to Roma minority 2012-2020 (Guvernul Romaniei - HG 1.221/2011, 2012). By the end of 2012, the European Commission conducted evaluations of the national strategies of all member states, and created the European Platform for Roma Inclusion with the aim of facilitating a common framework for the social inclusion of Roma people. The four key areas of social inclusion that, according to the

European Commission, needed to be correlated across the European member states were: education, employment, health and housing. Consequently, the 2012 Romanian Governmental Strategy was withdrawn and a new Romanian Governmental Strategy of the Inclusion of Romanian Citizens belonging to Roma minority for the period of 2014-2020 was drafted and adopted (Guvernul Romaniei - HG 18/2015, 2015).

From 2001 to 2015, each new Governmental strategy for Roma people was drafted in accord to the latest EU requirements for EU membership. All of the Governmental Strategies were built on a general political consensus of the existence of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in terms of economic, social and political considerations. However, there are also points of conflict between and within the strategies. Each strategy was authored by multi-ethnic representatives of various Ministries and organizations, which individually, and collectively, produced various positions present in each of (and across) the Policy documents.

5.2. Analyses

The data corpus for this study was comprised of four public policy papers concerning Roma inclusion in Romania adopted by the Romanian Government, between 2001 and 2015. The four documents were:

1. *The Governmental strategy for the improvement of Roma situation* (2001). This strategy was adopted by the Romanian Government in 2001, and had a four year plan (Romanian Government - HG 430/2001).

2. *The Governmental strategy for the improvement of Roma situation* (2006). This strategy was adopted in 2006 and outlined a two year plan (Romanian Government - HG 522/2006, 2006). From 2008-2010 the Government did not propose an additional plan for Roma inclusion.

3. *The Governmental Strategy for the inclusion of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority for the period of 2012-2020*. This document was adopted in 2011 (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011) and repealed in 2015.

4. *The Governmental Strategy for the inclusion of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority for the period of 2015-2020* (Romanian Government - HG 18/2015). This strategy was published in 2016, although its action plan included the year 2015.

The analytic procedure was multi-stage and consisted of a basic content analysis and frame analysis. The analytical categories were selected through a method of compare and contrast (Glazer & Strauss, 1967), which was the first part of the frame analysis approach proposed by Verloo (2007). The analytical categories used for the content analysis were: (1) the title of the publication, (2) the size of the document, (3) the general justifications of why the Government adopted the strategy, (4) the general information about Roma people included (i.e. the types of general problems identified), (5) the key challenges, (6) presentation of the results of the former Strategy, (7) guiding principles, (8) the Strategy's objective, (9) the target group, (10) duration of the Strategy's action plans, (11) the category and number of action plans, (12) financial support for the measures proposed, (13) success indicators, (14) provisions for supervision and evaluation of the Strategy, (15) the type and number of measures' plan, (16) evaluation checklist for supervisors, (17) the signatory parties.

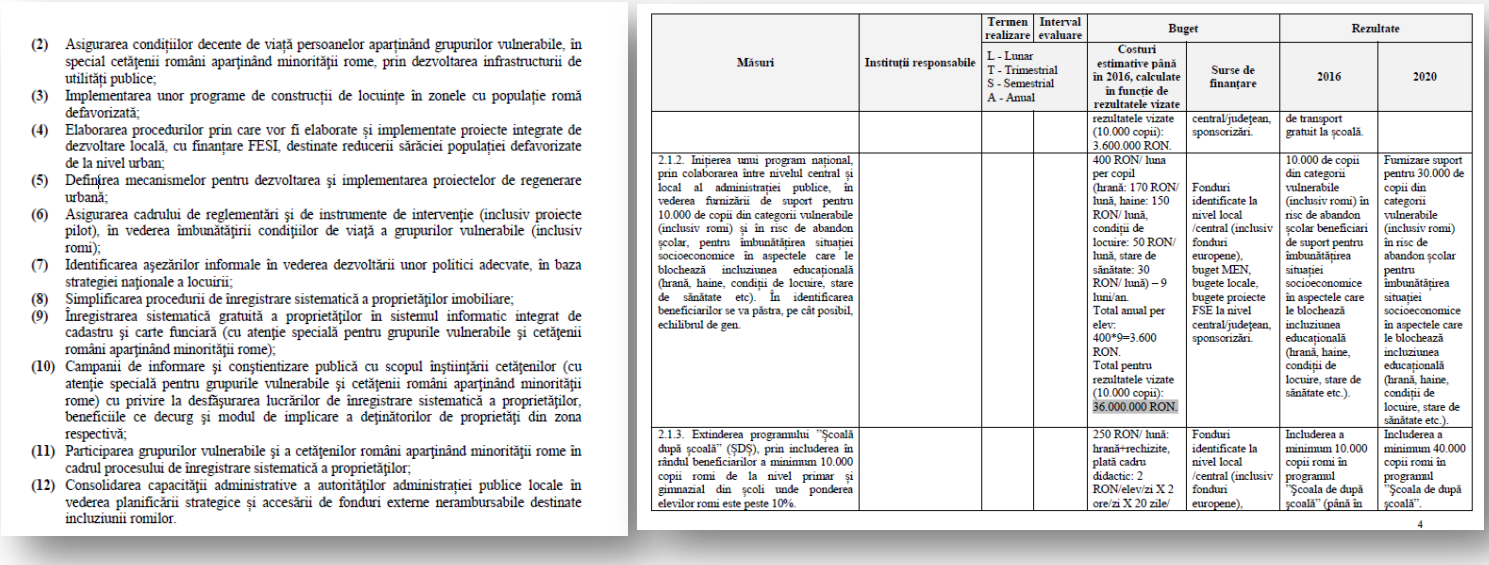
For the second part of the frame analysis, coding was based on the methodology proposed be Verloo (2007), which involved the use of a set of sensitizing questions for the generating of codes (for a detailed discussion of the Method used in the study, see chapter 3).

5.2.1. First Stage of Frame Analysis: Content Analysis

The four documents shared a similar general structure. Each document began with a general justification of why the Romanian Government wished to adopt a Strategy for the

improvement of Roma situation/the inclusion of Romanian Roma. Several guiding principles followed, accompanied by the objectives, target groups, duration, action plans and a plan of measures.

Each document included one or more of the following: (a) the general justification for each Strategy, (b) general information about Roma disadvantage, (c) key challenges, (d) results of former measures and (e) evaluation strategies – the bulk of each document was apportioned into either stand-alone numbered or bullet-point paragraphs, or numbered paragraphs divided into categories and placed into tables. For example, in the section titled "Action Plans" (included in the four documents analysed), there were several indicators of Roma disadvantage (e.g. education, employment, health, etc.) which were addressed through a series of relatively concise numbered planned interventions, similar in appearance the numbered articles found in most legislative documents (See figure 5.1 for a preview of two pages of a document)



(2) Asigurarea condiţiilor decente de viaţă persoanelor aparţinând grupurilor vulnerabile, în special cetăţenii români aparţinând minorităţii rome, prin dezvoltarea infrastructurii de utilităţi publice;
(3) Implementarea unor programe de construcţii de locuinţe în zonele cu populaţie romă defavorizată;
(4) Elaborarea procedurilor prin care vor fi elaborate şi implementate proiecte integrate de dezvoltare locală, cu finanţare FESI, destinate reducerii sărăciei populaţiei defavorizate de la nivel urban;
(5) Definirea mecanismelor pentru dezvoltarea şi implementarea proiectelor de regenerare urbană;
(6) Asigurarea cadrului de reglementări şi de instrumente de intervenţie (inclusiv proiecte pilot), în vederea îmbunătăţirii condiţiilor de viaţă a grupurilor vulnerabile (inclusiv romi);
(7) Identificarea aşezărilor informale în vederea dezvoltării unor politici adecvate, în baza strategiei naţionale a locuirii;
(8) Simplificarea procedurii de înregistrare sistematică a proprietăţilor imobiliare;
(9) Înregistrarea sistematică gratuită a proprietăţilor în sistemul informatic integrat de cadastru şi carte funciară (cu atenţie specială pentru grupurile vulnerabile şi cetăţenii români aparţinând minorităţii rome);
(10) Campanii de informare şi conştientizare publică cu scopul înştiinţării cetăţenilor (cu atenţie specială pentru grupurile vulnerabile şi cetăţenii români aparţinând minorităţii rome) cu privire la desfăşurarea lucrărilor de înregistrare sistematică a proprietăţilor, beneficiile ce decurg şi modul de implicare a deţinătorilor de proprietăţi din zona respectivă;
(11) Participarea grupurilor vulnerabile şi a cetăţenilor români aparţinând minorităţii rome în cadrul procesului de înregistrare sistematică a proprietăţilor;
(12) Consolidarea capacităţii administrative a autorităţilor administraţiei publice locale în vederea planificării strategice şi accesării de fonduri externe nerambursabile destinate incluziunii romilor.

Măsuri	Instituţii responsabile	Termen realizare	Interval evaluare	Buget		Rezultate	
		L - Lunar T - Trimestrial S - Semestrial A - Anual		Costuri estimative până în 2016, calculate în funcţie de rezultatele vizate	Surse de finanţare	2016	2020
				rezultatele vizate (10.000 copii): 3.600.000 RON.	central/judeţean, sponsorizări.	de transport gratuit la şcoală.	
2.1.2. Iniţierea unui program naţional, prin colaborarea între nivelul central şi local al administraţiei publice, în vederea furnizării de suport pentru 10.000 de copii din categorii vulnerabile (inclusiv romi) şi în risc de abandon şcolar, pentru îmbunătăţirea situaţiei socioeconomice în aspectele care le blochează incluziunea educaţională (hrană, haine, condiţii de locuire, stare de sănătate etc). În identificarea beneficiarilor se va păstra, pe cât posibil, echilibrul de gen.				400 RON/ luna per copil (hrană: 170 RON/ lună, haine: 150 RON/ lună, condiţii de locuire: 50 RON/ lună, stare de sănătate: 30 RON/ lună) – 9 luni/an. Total anual per elev: 400*9=3.600 RON. Total pentru rezultatele vizate (10.000 copii): 36.000.000 RON.	Fonduri identificate la nivel local /central (inclusiv fonduri europene), buget MEN, bugete locale, bugete proiecte FSE la nivel central/judeţean, sponsorizări.	10.000 de copii din categorii vulnerabile (inclusiv romi) în risc de abandon şcolar beneficiari de suport pentru îmbunătăţirea situaţiei socioeconomice în aspectele care le blochează incluziunea educaţională (hrană, haine, condiţii de locuire, stare de sănătate etc.).	Furnizare suport pentru 30.000 de copii din categorii vulnerabile (inclusiv romi) în risc de abandon şcolar pentru îmbunătăţirea situaţiei socioeconomice în aspectele care le blochează incluziunea educaţională (hrană, haine, condiţii de locuire, stare de sănătate etc.).
2.1.3. Extinderea programului "Şcoală după şcoală" (ŞDŞ), prin includerea în rândul beneficiarilor a minimum 10.000 copii romi de la nivel primar şi gimnazial din şcoli unde ponderea elevilor romi este peste 10%.				250 RON/ lună: hrană+rechizite, plată cadru didactic: 2 RON/elev/zi X 2 ore/zi X 20 zile/	Fonduri identificate la nivel local /central (inclusiv fonduri europene),	Includerea a minimum 10.000 copii romi în programul "Şcoala de după şcoală" (până în	Includerea a minimum 40.000 copii romi în programul "Şcoala de după şcoală".

4

Figure 5.1: An example of two pages from Strategy 3

Content analysis revealed differences between the four documents, which are presented in Table 5.1 and Table 5.2.

Table 5.1a: Comparative size of documents

Document	Date	Number of pages	Number of words	Number of paragraphs
Strategy 1a – 4 years plan (2001-2004)	2001	19	7244	228
Strategy 1b – 2 years plan (2006-2008)	2006	28	8456	124
Strategy 2 – 8 years plan (2012-2020)	2011	67	20164	495
Strategy 3 – 5 years plan (2015-2020)	2015	117	36186	761

Although the second document has a larger number of pages, only 15 pages covered new material. Just over 13 pages included in Strategy 1b contained a table recounting the plan of measures proposed by Strategy 1a. Also, As demonstrated in table 5.1.a, the length of policy documents increased incrementally over time, with the latest (2015) document being more than six times the length of the first (2001).

Table 5.1b: Content analysis of proposed action plans

	Strategy 1a		**Strategy 1b**		**Strategy 2**		**Strategy 3**	
	N[14]	%[15]	N	%	N	%	N	%
Administration and community development	9	10.11	1	5.88	11	13.10	5	7.94
Housing /Infrastructure	5	5.62	4	23.53	6	7.14	12	19.05

Social Security	7	7.87	1	5.88	0	0.00	0	0.00
Health	8	8.99	3	17.65	14	16.67	4	6.35
Economy/ Employment	8	8.99	1	5.88	20	23.81	7	11.11
Justice and social order	8	8.99	2	11.76	4	4.76	5	7.94
Child protection	11	12.36	2	11.76	3	3.57	5	7.94
Education	11	12.36	1	5.88	17	20.24	20	31.75
Culture and religion[16]	10	11.24	1	5.88	9	10.71	5	7.94
Communication and civic participation	12	13.48	1	5.88	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	89	100	17	100	84	100	63	100

The number of action plans differed across the four documents. For example, the number of plans for Roma housing and infrastructure community projects doubled in 2015 compared to 2011, and tripled compared to 2006. However, in 2006, there was greater emphasis given to housing and infrastructure compared to the number plans proposed for other key areas for intervention. Plans for child protection interventions although a priority in documents published in 2001 and 2006 received less attention after 2011. Apart from the 2006 document, education

received one of the highest numbers of plans. Communication and civic participation, although an area with the highest number of plans in the 2001 document, by the 2011 document it was dropped from the list of governmental priorities. Similarly, the 2011 and 2015 documents no longer mentioned religion as an action plan area.

Table 5.1c: Content analysis of plan of measures

	Strategy 1a		**Strategy 1b**		**Strategy 2**		**Strategy 3**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Organizational	16	12.90	9	23.08	0	0	0	0
Public administration and community development	7	5.65	4	10.26	5	6.25	10	12.35
Housing / Infrastructure	6	4.84	2	5.13	17	21.25	11	13.58
Social security / justice and public order	13	10.48	3	7.69	6	7.50	4	4.94
Health	11	8.87	3	7.69	9	11.25	25	30.86
Economy/ Employment	19	15.32	3	7.69	22	27.50	7	8.64
Child protection	12	9.68	4	10.26	4	5.00	3	3.70
Education	16	12.90	5	12.82	11	13.75	10	12.35
Culture and religion[17]	9	7.26	4	10.26	6	7.50	11	13.58

Communication and civic participation	15	12.10	2	5.13	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	124	100	39	100	80	100	81	100

Each action plan was translated into a number of governmental measures for Roma. Among the measures receiving most attention in terms of the number of plans across the four documents were (a) education and (b) administration and community development. Measures for the economy, although receiving a separate and important focus in the 2001 document were subsequently merged with social security measures in the 2006 document, and in the 2011 and 2015 documents, the economic focus was introduced within the measures for employment. Also, the number of child protection measures was incrementally smaller with each new Strategy.

The number of health measures, however, more than doubled in the 2015 document, compared to the first three policy documents.

The differences in content between the four documents are summarized in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Summary differences in the content of the policy documents

	Strategy 1a (2001) The Governmental strategy for the improvement of Roma situation	Strategy 1b (2006) The Governmental strategy for the improvement of Roma situation	Strategy 2 (2011) The Governmental Strategy for the inclusion of Romanian	Strategy 3 (2015) The Governmental Strategy for the inclusion of Romanian

	2001-2010. Plan of measures 2001-2004	2001-2010. Plan of measures 2006-2008	citizens belonging to the Roma minority 2012-2020	citizens belonging to the Roma minority 2015-2020
	Justification for strategy			
Response to EU conventions and legislation	1	1	0	1
Government concern to improve the situation of Roma	1	1	1	1
Need to change the majority's mentality	0	0	1	1
Compensatory measure for past Roma slavery	1	1	0	0
Response to present Roma difficulties	1	1	1	1
Governmental aim to improve the overall Romanian economy by including Roma	0	0	0	1
	Guiding principles			
Consensus about the measures taken	1	1	0	0

Social utility	1	1	0	0
Sectorial division	1	1	1	1
Decentralization in execution	1	1	1	1
Internal legislative compatibility	1	1	1	1
EU legislative compatibility	0	0	0	1
Identity differentiation	1	1	0	0
Equal changes	1	1	1	1
Cooperation and intercultural dialogue	0	0	1	1
Non-discrimination and respect for human dignity	0	0	1	1
Active Roma participation	0	0	1	1
Complementarity and transparency	0	0	1	1
Explicitly but not exclusively target Roma minority	0	0	0	1
Involvement of civil society	0	0	0	1
Additional funds	0	0	1	1

Objectives				
Improving the situation of Roma	1	1	1	1
Inclusion of Roma people	0	0	1	1
Implementing integrative policy measures	0	0	1	0
Provision of equal chances through policy measures	0	0	0	1
Target groups				
Romanian Roma	1	1	1	1
Prioritizing Roma who experience marginalization and social exclusion	0	0	1	1
Political leaders	1	1	0	0
Public institutions	1	1	0	0
Civil servants	1	1	0	0
Mass-media	1	1	0	0
Public opinion	1	1	0	0
Financing of measures				
State funding	0	1	1	1
Pre EU accession funds	0	1	0	0

EU funds	0	1	1	1
Local budgets	0	0	0	1
Other sources	0	1	1	1
Success indicators				
Education	0	0	1	1
Employment	0	0	1	1
Health	0	0	1	1
Housing	0	0	1	1
Culture	0	0	1	1
Child protection	0	0	1	1
Justice and social order	0	0	1	1
Administration and community development	0	0	1	1
Supervision and evaluation of Strategy				
National teams	0	0	1	1
Local teams	0	0	1	1
Signatory parties				
The Prime Minister	1	1	1	1
The Minister of Public Information	1			
The General Secretary	1	1	1	1
The Minister of Public Administration / The Minister of	1	1	1	1

Administration and Interior / The Minister of Regional Development and Public Administration				
The Minister of Public Finances	1	1	1	1
The Minister of Family and Health / The Minister of Work, Family and Social Protection / The Minister of Health / The Minister of Work, Family, Social Protection and Elderly People	1	0	1	1
The Interior Minister / The Minister of Internal Affairs	1	0	0	1
The Minister of European Integration	1	0	0	0
The Minister of Education and Research / The	1	0	1	1

Minister of Education, Research, Youth and Sport / The Minister of Education and Scientific Research				
The Minister of Public Administration, Transport and Housing / The Minister of Regional Development and Tourism	1	0	1	0
The Minister of Culture and Religion / The Minister of Culture and National Heritage / The Minister of Culture	1	0	1	1
The Minister of Work and Social Solidarity / The Minister of Economy, Trade and Business	1	0	1	0
The Minister of Justice	1	0	0	0
The President of the National Agency for Roma	0	1	1	

The Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development	0	0	1	0
The Minister of Environment and Forests	0	0	1	0
The Minister of European Affairs	0	0	1	0
The Foreign Minister / The Minister of External Affairs	0	0	1	1
The State Secretary	0	0	1	0
The Minister of European Funds	0	0	0	1

One of the first notable differences in content between the documents was the wording of the title. The 2001 and 2006 documents were presented in their title as governmental strategies for the "improvement of the Roma situation" while the 2011 and 2015 documents were framed as governmental strategies "for the inclusion of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority".

A second difference was the change in the target groups from the all-inclusive category of "Roma" in Strategies 1a (2001) and 1b (2006), to a specific focus on a sub-category of "Roma who experience marginalization and social exclusion" (Strategies 2 and 3).

A third difference was in the new categories introduced in the 2006 document (financing measures), 2011 document (general information about Roma people; results of former strategy; success indicators; supervision and evaluation strategy), and 2015 document (key challenges; evaluation checklist for supervisors).

A fourth difference was the inclusion of a Roma representative in the signatory parties for strategies 1b (2006), 2 (2011) and 3 (2015). The representative was the President of the National Agency for Roma – an agency established as part of a governmental measure included in Strategy 1a. Consequently, apart from Strategy 1a (2001), the other texts were produced (signed) by a majority of non-Roma, and one Roma acting as representative of all Romas.

5.2.2. Second Stage of Frame Analysis: Governmental Debates Concerning Ethnic Disparities and Shifts in Framing

From 2001 to 2008, the policy debates about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people living in Romania had been mainly about the improvement of Roma situation. This improvement was framed in a variety of ways ranging from an emphasis placed on legal requirements, to an emphasis on the moral desire to resolve Roma difficulties. After 2011, new discussions about Roma inclusion were introduced, which added to the diversity of frames used to address disparities between Roma and non-Roma people.

The first two policy documents (2001, 2006) did not draw upon academic publications as arguments for, or against policy solutions. Also, the academic publications which were intended to inform public policy for Romas were not acknowledged within governmental document. The two later documents (2012, 2015), however, often drew upon academic research, by mostly citing factual, numerical data. As it will be seen, the factual data presented did not necessarily correspond to the cited academic results.

5.2.2.1. Major and minor frames within policy debates about the improvement of Roma situation.

The two documents published in 2001 and 2006, with policy plans for 2001-2004 and 2006-2008, discussed disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in terms of "improvement". Within these documents, the frames used in academic publications were not employed, and there were no references made to any academic documents. Any references to other documents were confined to other legal or political documents.

The major problem addressed by these two policy documents concerned the disadvantaged position of Roma people in comparison to non-Roma people. The objective was the improvement of Roma situation in accord to the standards of a non-Roma norm group. Within this discussion, there was no mention of equality between groups, but rather it was implicitly assumed that the non-Roma group provided a standard to which Roma people, with the help of policy measures, could advance towards, but maybe not quite reach.

The two documents framed the governmental preoccupation for the improvement of Roma situation in three ways: (a) as legal requirements, (b) as a way of compensating for Roma difficulties, and (c) as an opportunity for Roma identity and behavioural improvement. Based on the criteria of frequency and comprehensiveness, the first two frames were major frames, while the last was a minor frame. The first policy document had three frames and the second had five frames. Although these frames were central to the 2001 and 2006 Policy documents, they were also found in the 2011 and 2015 documents, but in a more marginal way (See Table 5.3).

The marginal frames found in the first two documents will not be discussed in this section. Since these frames were a major part of the 2011 and 2015 documents, the will be analysed in a later section.

In line with Verloo's (2007) methodology for frame analysis, the major frames were distinguished from the minor frames based on (a) frequency: the number of occurrences in the data; and (b) comprehensiveness: the extent to which a frame included the aspects of voice, problem, causality and solutions (Form more information see, Chapter 3, Table 3.1). A frame that included at least three out of the four aspects was considered a comprehensive frame.

Table 5.3 Frames in Policy documents 1 and 2

Document	Document 1: Strategy 1a (HG430/2001)	Document 2: Strategy 1b (HG522/2006)
Legal requirement	Major	Major
Compensating for Roma difficulties	Major	Major
Opportunity for Roma identity and behavioural development	Major	Minor
Standard of living	-	Marginal frame
Blocked access	-	Marginal frame

Major frame 1: Legal requirements.

According to this frame the Roma situation was on the Government's political agenda because of legal obligations which were either EU, or self-imposed. As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, the academic literature about Roma people published up to 2001, authors insisted that the Romanian state and local authorities were a problem group by ignoring their legal duty towards Roma people and by being complicit in anti-Roma discrimination and violence. Consequently, academics requested, often in international publications, that the Romanian Government would begin to insure legal protection against documented cases of Roma discrimination and anti-Roma violence, and called upon the European Commission to

place diplomatic pressure on the Government during a time of preparation for EU accession. In contrast, although the Governmental texts mentioned legal requirements, and at times, quoted legal documents, there was hardly any explicit mention of any on-going anti-Roma discrimination or violence, subjects extensively covered by academics (see Chapter 4: Major and minor frames within academic debates about human rights).

Within the frame found in policy documents, there were two ways in which the authors justified governmental intervention. As will be seen in Extract 1, on the one hand, there was an explicit legal obligation to improve Roma situation, due to some specific circumstances affecting the ethnic group. On the other hand, the focus was placed on improving the general situation of all national minorities, not specifically Roma, by means of policy measures.

Extract 1: Significantly improving Roma situation (HG 430/2001 & HG 522/2006 – Original in Romanian)

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1 [The Romanian Government] takes into consideration the
2 requirements of the Governing Program 2001-2004 concerning the
3 prevention of discrimination and the elaboration of a strategy
4 for the significant improvement of Roma situation.
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1. *The problem.*

In Extract 1 the authors mention of a "Roma situation" that needed either *improvement* or *significant improvement* (line 4), Strategies 1a and 1b did not explicitly define or describe what that situation was. The proposed solutions involved improvement of legal framework measures (administration and community development, social security), access to services (health, education, communication and civic participation, economy), living conditions (housing), and improvement of Roma culture or lifestyle (economic competitiveness, justice and social order, child protection, culture and religion). Although the inadequate Roma situation was presented as

a self-evident problem for Roma people, discrimination was an ongoing fact that needed prevention measures (line 3).

2. The solutions.

The main responsibility for solving the problem was attributed to the Romanian Government, who claimed to consider the latest governing program and the political strategy in proposing new policy based solutions. Although the group affected by the problems was (or included) Roma people, within this frame, the text did not explicitly point to a problem group that needed changing.

Extract 2 also mentions legal requirements as a statement of principle. There are, however two differences compared to the text from extract 1. Firstly, the authors present the Government's desire to improve the situation all national minorities, not just the Roma minority. Secondly, the text argued that this desire was demonstrated by a free-willed adherence to European documents.

Extract 2: Improving the situation of national minorities (HG 430/2001 & HG 522/2006 – Original in Romanian)

1 The Romanian Government desires to improve the situation of
2 national minorities according to the requirements of the
3 Romanian Constitution, demonstrated through the voluntary
4 adherence to the international instruments of the Council of
5 Europe such as: The Framework convention for the protection of
6 national minorities, The Resolution ECRI ((*European Commission*
7 *against Racism and Intolerance*)) no 3, The Recommendation 1203
8 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, The UN

9 Convention concerning the elimination of all forms of racial
10 discrimination, and other international documents.

1. *Similarities and differences.*

As was seen in chapter 4, academic authors viewed the Government's adoption of international legal measures for the protection of national minorities (especially Roma), as a direct consequence of international pressure. In contrast, the governmental texts put forward an alternative explanation of *voluntary adherence* (line 3).

2. *The problems and solutions*

In Extract 2, there is no clear indication that the measures were designed for Roma people, or that *the situation* (line 1) of Roma people might be in any way different from that of other national minorities. The four international documents listed in the text from extract 2 have in common a focus on the protection of all minorities against racism, intolerance, discrimination. Specifically, the title of the *UN Convention concerning the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination* (lines 8, 9), suggests that there was some form of racial discrimination going on presently, but since the document is international, there is no clear indication that it affected Roma people in Romania. However, on closer inspection, one document, *The Recommendation 1203* (line 7), was a 1993 policy paper pertaining precisely to the protection of "Gypsies in Europe". According to this document, general legal protection of all national minorities was important specifically for Roma people.[18] According to this policy paper, Roma people had specific problems, not shared by other national minorities. *The recommendation 1203,* stated that due to the "non-territorial" particularity of the European Roma, there was a need of "special protection" of Roma culture and identity, and also a legal protection against anti-Roma "outbursts of racial and social hatred" (Parliamentary Assembly, 1993). By referring to this

document, the text from Extract 2 suggests that the situation of Roma people might require a special kind of intervention.

One of the upshots of the text from extract 2 was that the national minority "situation" that needed improvement was in some ways connected to measures against racially motivated discrimination or intolerance. Thus, the possible candidates to the category of national-minorities-under-current-governmental-discussion were narrowed from all possible minority groups to only ethnic or racial minorities. Another implication was that the Governmental Strategy, albeit placed in the rhetorical context of protection of all racial/ethnic minority groups, had a specific focus on Roma people, justified by (a) the possibility of an intolerant (European) majority and (b) the "special" cultural particularities and ontology of identity of Roma people.

There was a two-fold rhetorical function of the governmental statement of principle concerning its desire to improve the situation of (Roma) minorities in line with legal requirements. On the one hand, it helped establish the willingness of the state to act, especially against a backdrop of highly publicized academic criticism (Ionescu & Cace, 2006b). On the other hand, by adopting a legalistic repertoire (cf. Hollander, Jacobsson, & Sjostrom, 2007), the focus was moved away from the particular issues faced by Roma people, towards aspects of procedure.

Major frame 2: Compensating for Roma difficulties.

The legal requirements frame emphasized the Government's legal willingness to improve the situation of Roma people. Within the compensating for Roma difficulties frame, the Government continued to assert its desire for improving the Roma situation, but shifted the argument toward moral, rather than legal requirements, as a justification for adopting a policy based Roma Strategy. Extract 3, shows how past Roma difficulties caused by the majority population can provide moral justification for present day policy-based interventions.

Extract 3: Object of slavery and discrimination (HG 430/2001 & HG 522/2001 – Original in Romanian)

1 Taking into consideration the fact that Romas have been
2 throughout history the object of slavery and discrimination,
3 phenomena that has left deep wounds in the collective memory all
4 over the world and have led to the marginalization of Romas in
5 society, [and] taking in consideration the difficulties that the
6 Romanian citizens of Roma ethnicity are faced with, and
7 considering the desire to identify optimal solutions for solving
8 these them [the Romanian Government] adopts this present
9 Strategy for the improvement of Roma situation.

1. *Similarities and differences.*

In the academic literature, authors described in great detail instances of anti-Roma discrimination in Europe dating from the 16th Century. Many European countries had Roma expulsion laws (Kendrick & Puxon, 1972). Guilds laws preventing Roma from working at trades within city limits were passed in many European places, and "Gypsy hunts" were common in Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries (Greenfeld, 1977). However, Roma slavery was a uniquely Romanian practice. Thus, in Extract 3, at least partially, the *all over the world* (line 4) *phenomena* (line 3) was, in fact, a local occurrence. The local events which the text was most likely referring to were the 500 years of Roma slavery on the territory that would later be known as Romania (1385-1856) (Achim, 1998; Filitti, 1931; Potra, 1939), and possibly also the deportation to Transnistria during the Antonescu regime (1942-1944) where 36.000 adults and 6000 children were killed (Achim, 1998).

2. *The problems.*

This frame presented past problems as the causes for the present problems affecting Roma people. The past problems of *slavery and discrimination* (line 2) were depicted as universal, rather than local problems. Thus, Romania was rhetorically portraying itself as similar to (all) other nations concerning past discrimination of Roma people. Moreover, according to the text quoted in extract 3, the *deep wounds* (line 3) left by Roma slavery and discrimination were affecting the universal *collective memory* (line 3).

The authors argued that the collective memory of these past problems were a cause of present day Roma marginalization and other, unspecified *difficulties* (line 5). Although Roma marginalization could be understood as a generic problem for any society (line 5), the difficulties were portrayed as belonging specifically to Romanian Roma[19].

3. The solutions

The language of the text has moved away from the legalistic language of Extracts 1 and 2, bringing moral concerns to the forefront. The role of history was to account for the willingness and reasonableness of state action. Nonetheless the vague language continues to play a role in glossing over the specifics of past discrimination and present day *difficulties* (line 5).

The solutions for solving the current Romanian Roma problems were (self)ascribed to the Romanian Government. Given that past problems – and at least partly, present problems - were presented as being caused by a (universally) intolerant majority, the justification for desiring to identify *optimal solutions* (line 7) contained a moral note. The measures proposed in the Governmental strategy were part of a process in which past injustices and violations of human rights were to be taken into consideration (line 1) through present day compensatory and reparatory laws and policies for Roma people.

Minor frame: Opportunity for Roma identity and behavioural improvement.

In addition to the dominant frames of legal requirements and the compensating for Roma difficulties, the policy documents occasionally adopted an alternative frame which shifted the attention from the main objective of improving Roma situation towards the opportunity of improving Roma people. Compared to the major frames, this frame was positioned by policymakers in a more marginal way, both in terms of comprehensiveness of the frame and in terms of frequency.

There was a contradiction regarding the solutions needed to resolve the systemic problem disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. On the one hand, within this frame the need for policy based situational improvement was not abandoned. On the other hand, there was a recurring argument about Roma requiring some measure of improvement at both the individual and collective levels. This frame indicated that a situational change was not enough; changes had to be made concerning Roma identity, or other implied character flaws. Also, the frame moved away from justifying a Governmental "desire" to improve a problematic situation, towards noting a set of Strategy "objectives" or "aims", which included Roma changes.

Arguments for the improvement of Roma people included a "Roma change" interpretative repertoire (cf. Potter & Wetherell, 1987), which was defined as one or more sentences containing at least one reference to the following repetitive motifs or expressions: "improving", "reconstructing", "modernizing", "revitalizing", "developing", "intervening", "counselling" or "educating" individual aspects of Roma people such as their "particularities" or "identity".

In the Policy documents, there were 11 references to the improvement of Roma identity. These instances appeared regularly within the 2001 Strategy, and once in the Second Strategy. Roma identity was portrayed as a problem in need of "reconstruction", "reinvigoration", or "cultivation". Extract 4 shows how Strategies 1a (2001) and 1b (2006) introduced the idea of

Roma identity reconstruction. In both documents, the text appeared relatively early: on page 4 (Strategy 1a), and on page 2 (Strategy 1b). Also, in both documents this was the first reference of a desired change concerning Roma people.

Extract 4: Identity reconstruction (HG 430/2001 & HG 522/2006 – Original in Romanian)

6. The principle of identity differentiation: The strategy aims to build an institutional system of community development, fight Roma discrimination, promote intercultural education, and create Roma elites for the social reconsolidation and identity reconstruction.

1. The problem.

In extract 4, the only problem that is explicitly mentioned is Roma discrimination. However it is also implied that the lack of Roma elites is a problem that can be solved by governmental programs. By introducing the text presented in extract 4 as a "principle" the authors were announcing that the proposition which followed was intended to be seen as a moral rather than just a matter of policy. Interestingly, the differentiation of identity, a process by which Roma people were in effect made "Other", was a matter of principle. The group of "others", however, was not a homogeneous group. By not explicitly mentioning whose identity was differentiated from whose, the vagueness of the text allows for layers of "other-ness". Firstly, there is a difference being made between Roma people as a discriminated group, and the group of un-discriminated non-Roma. Secondly, there is a difference presented between Romas in general possessing an "identity" in need of some "reconstruction", and the minority sub-group of Roma elites who will assist in this regenerative work. Thirdly, there is a difference implied between elites in general, and Roma elites in particular.

2. *The solutions.*

The text explicitly expressed the need of systemic solutions which would lead to community development, a fight of discrimination, and a promotion of intercultural education. However, at the same time it also suggested that these systemic solutions would lead to a gradual change of Roma people, which would then lead to a reconsolidated society. There is a gradual process implied, involving three steps. Firstly, systemic solutions will be implemented. Secondly, a sub-category of Roma elites would be created, with strategic, official help. Thirdly, the newly created elites would have the responsibility of reforming the identities of the remaining Roma people.

The Strategy was described as a document which was developing policy plans constructed on legal and political foundations. By contrast, the creation of elites (line 4) implied an imagining of Roma people by non-Roma people, and in accord with non-Roma principles.

3. *Concealment and ambivalence.*

What the documents concealed was that at the time the first Strategy was published, there were already numerous Roma ethnic academics, practitioners, artists, and activists recognized by the academic community as "elites" (Zamfir & Burtea, 2012), and, as was seen in Chapter 4, some were publishing academic papers concerning the situation of Romanian Roma people. Moreover, Roma academic "elites" were part of the team of authors for the policy document.

There was also rhetoric of concealment present, where the voices of the minorities themselves were not acknowledged. The result could be seen in terms of imposed silencing, where on a structural level, the authors of the Strategy participated in concealing and

silencing the academic voices of minorities, and thus contributed to the maintenance of hegemony where the dominant voices belonged to the dominant group.

By silencing the voices of existing "elites", the text was able to produce a discourse where Roma people were inferiorised as a group due to a homogeneous faulty identity. The general Roma identity - which by implication was damaged at some unmentioned time and place in the past - had to be "reconstructed" with the help of the stellar example set by the elites created in the image of their non-Roma makers.

Assumptions about Roma's inferior psychology were vague in the policy documents, perhaps for the purposes of avoiding being perceived as prejudiced. However, at the same time ethnic inequality was legitimized. Within the frame, the burden of inclusion, and by implication the blame for failure, was placed on the shoulders of Roma people, creating an ambivalence between presenting Roma people as having problems and Roma people being a problem to be solved by policy measures. The routine phrases of Roma "identity reconstruction", "identity reinvigoration", or "identity cultivation" were suggesting that Roma people were, at least in part a problem, and that they could consequently be blamed the past, present and possibly future disadvantage.

Opportunity for Roma crime prevention and other illegal behaviours. Within the frame of opportunity for Roma identity and behavioural improvement, there was a sub-frame which focused on strategies for Roma crime prevention. In these cases the proposed improvements were implicit. There were similarities between the frames, in the sense that Roma improvements were suggested through a series of sentences designed to advance transformative-inducing actions (cf. Austin, 1961). Thus, in various places throughout each Strategy there were depictions of governmental proposals intending to "educate", "counsel", "intervene", "fight" or "prevent" a negative aspect rhetorically imbedded into Roma

individual traits. The difference, nonetheless, was that the individual defects were implied through an association between ethnicity and undesirable behaviours. For example, programs were suggested to educate or counsel Roma people about illegal behaviours: the dangers of early marriage (2001, 2015), justice and public order (2001, 2006, 2011, 2015), and school enrolment of children (2001, 2006, 2100, 2015). There were also preventive programs proposed for behaviours such as: working in the black market economy (2001), family violence (2015), catching or spreading sexually transmitted diseases (2001, 2011, 2015), child abuse and neglect (2001, 2011, 2015), and engaging in crime (2001, 2011, 2015).

Extract 5 presents an example from Strategy 1a (2001) about a proposed intervention for opposing and preventing crime among Roma. The text appeared under the heading "Justice and Public Order". Similar programs were also suggested in the 2006, 2011, and 2015 documents. In total there were 11 instances across the four policy documents where Roma ethnicity was associated with crime, most found under the heading of "Justice and Public Order".

Extract 5: Preventing and fighting crime among Roma (HG 430/2001 - Original in Romanian)

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72. Developing a partnership relationship and organizing
monthly meetings with the local Police and Roma community
leaders, in order to prevent and fight crime among citizens of
Roma ethnicity.
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1. Similarities and differences.

As was seen in Chapter 4, in the academic literature published up to 2001 (the year Strategy 1a was adopted), eight out of nine texts were concerned with anti-Roma crimes and violence (Bearley, 2001; Claude & Dimitrina, 2001; Liegeois & Gheorghe, 1995). There was,

however one text in which the victims of criminality and violence were presented to be non-Roma people and the perpetrators "Romani gangs" (Zamfir & Zamfir, 1993, p. 164). Interestingly, while within the policy documents, concerns voiced by academics about anti-Roma crimes were only hinted at (specifically in the two major frames discussed above), preoccupations for Roma crimes were repeatedly mentioned.

2. The problem.

The language used in Extract 5 to describe Roma as a social problem containing an "essence attribution" (cf. Anthias, 1998). In fact, by positioning the text within the broader preoccupation with Law and Order, the very notion of Roma drew upon contrasting concepts such as lawful versus unlawful, superior versus inferior, segregation versus inclusion, "us" versus "them". Placing ethnicity under the heading of "Justice and Public Order" and "crime" may both reflect and perpetuate the system of dominance-subordination (Condor, `Race stereotypes` and racial discourse, 1988).

The categories of "citizens of Roma ethnicity" (lines 3, 4) and "Roma community leaders" suggest that there were multiple layers of judgements about ethnicity.

(1) Roma citizens - as a general category of people - were pictured as a segregated community.

(2) The general category of spatially or socially separated Roma was depicted as problematic. Roma people were either criminal (thus the need to "fight" existing crime) or prone to crime (thus the need to "prevent" crime).

(3) A small subgroup of Roma leaders was placed on a morally superior ground compared to the general group of Roma people. However, this elevated group of leaders were still depicted as "different" compared to the non-Roma local Police. The idea of a solution depending on a partnership between Government officials, the local

police and Roma leaders implies an ordering of power, dominance, influence and responsibility in solving a Roma crime problem.

3. *The solutions and matters of ambivalence.*

There was also an implied understanding of Roma particularities that needed a long-term effort to change, an understanding which placed Roma people outside of the moral boundary (Tileaga, 2007). According to governmental strategies, an improvement in Roma behaviours presupposed a continuous monthly intervention. In the table where the proposed measure presented in Extract 5 was placed, there was a deadline column. For other types of measures such as housing projects, health programs, educational policies, deadlines usually consisted of a particular calendar date. However, when it came to preventing and fighting Roma provoked crime, placed under the deadline section of the proposed measures table were the words "permanent".

The text implied that there was a problem with Roma crime, but at the same time it was also careful to frame the initiative for solutions as a *partnership relationship* (line 1), pointing to the inherent ambivalence (cf. Marinho & Billig, 2013) present within the policy document. In this frame ethnicity was associated with a deficient identity, notions of chaos, crime and impending social disorder. Nonetheless, the frame was placed next to the other major frames which focused on improving a problematic situation, rather than a problematic group of people.

5.2.2.1.1. A matter of reframing.

The link between Roma and crime was not abandoned in subsequent policy documents. Rather the association was reframed becoming increasingly subtle within each new published policy document.

Extract 6: (Crime) prevention among Roma people – Example 1 (HG 430/2001 – Under the heading "Justice and Public Order" – Original in Romanian)

7. Initiating some legal and civic education programs and crime prevention, in collaboration with members of Roma ethnicity.

Extract 7: (Crime) prevention among Roma people – Example 2 (HG 1.221/2011 – Under the heading Priorities, Politics, Existing Legal Framework – Original in Romanian)

According to the Programme for Governance for the period of 2009-2012, the problem of Roma social inclusion is found in the strategies of the relevant Ministries and contains measures for Roma in the domains: education, employment, health, and housing. According to this [document] "the problem associated with the Roma community is a special domain that necessitates both local level efforts, and a correlation with the European efforts of eliminating social discrepancies. It is considered necessary for the National Strategy to be applied in a more efficient manner and a reorientation of this strategy towards specific programs, designed to assure a substantial improvement of Roma situation, through:

-consolidating the implementation structures for the national strategy for Roma at a local level;

-realizing a viable partnership between the public administration structures and Roma communities;

-resolving property problems regarding the lands and housing held by Roma and implementing some housing rehabilitation programs in areas in which Roma live, through assuring access to electricity, drinking water, sewage, natural gas, sanitation;

-making efficient the measures which target sectorial aspects (access to the job market, promoting income generating activities, access to medical services, reducing school drop-out, promoting artistic values, creation of civic education programs and crime prevention)".

Extract 8: (Crime) prevention among Roma people – Example 3 (HG 18/2015 - Under the heading "Justice and Public Order" – Original in Romanian)

d. Presenting a national prevention program and civic education in collaboration with Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority.

1. *The problem and solutions.*

All of the three examples presented above link Roma ethnicity with criminal behaviour. Moreover, each Strategy suggested the implementation of educational programs designed to help Roma people change their criminal predispositions, and consequently improve social justice outcomes and lead to public order. The difference between the documents lies in the ways in which the ethnic theory about Roma people was framed and reframed. Strategy 1a (2001), concisely and in a straight-forward way suggested the initiation of educational programs designed to cover legal, civic and crime prevention topics. Differently than the text from Extract 5, in Extract 7, the association between ethnicity and

crime was vague, allowing for multiple interpretations about who the target group might be. The phrase "education programs and crime prevention" was explicitly linked with "Roma people" or "citizens belonging to Roma ethnicity" in 5 out of the 11 instances where crime prevention was mentioned in the three strategies, suggesting that in this case, Roma induced crime was at least one of the possible prevention targets. The text also allows for a common-sense understanding of Roma as criminally predisposed people with little, to no knowledge of legal and civic matters, pointing to an understanding of Roma people as a problem to be solved by policy measurs rather than Roma people as having systemic problems.

2. *Matters of concealment and subtle forms of ethnicism.*

The text displayed, but also concealed a stereotypical understanding of Roma as inherently criminal. One the one hand, Roma crime was implied. On the other hand, some (morally-minded) members of Roma ethnicity were exempt from the association, being selected in the group of educators and preventers of possible Roma crime. The displayed understanding of group variability did not, however, disconfirm the general stereotype about unlawful Roma. Instead, with the help of superordinate stereotypes (Maurer, Park, & Rothbart, 1995), two clusters of Roma people were formed: one in need of a new behaviour and the other helping, in collaboration with non-Roma people, to bring about that change. In a similar fashion to the text presented in Extract 5, by including the "special-case" of morally-minded Roma, the text helped make a case for tolerant collaboration between the non-Roma implementers of Strategy 1a and Roma people, providing an example of the strategy that Allport (1954) called re-fencing. The overall group of Roma remained in the category of "criminally Other".

In the 2011 document, the path towards the association between Roma ethnicity and crime was less straight-forward than the one in the 2001 document. The text, which appeared

under the heading “Priorities, Politics, Existing Legal Framework”, began with a relatively lengthy introduction about the aims of the Governance Programme for 2009-2012. Quoting directly from the original Governance Programme document, the text presented itself as a document concerned with systemic Roma problems requiring systemic policy based programs for the improvement of Roma situation. The text mentioned consolidating *structures* (line 13), administrative partnerships (line 15), access to safe housing, improved infrastructure in disadvantaged Roma communities (lines 17-21), and access to employment, health and education (lines 23-25).

In this rhetorical context there was a display of a progressive ideology as evidenced by the proposals of compensatory policies directed towards the redistribution of welfare for disadvantaged groups (Duncan, 1977). However, at the end of the extract, placed in parentheses and seemingly disconnected from the other systemic proposals, almost as an after-thought, the text introduces the measure with ethnic blaming implications: the *creation of civic education programs and crime prevention* (lines 25-26). Presumably, according to the 2011 Governmental Strategy, measures designed to facilitate access to employment, health and education, and the promotion of Roma “artistic values” were not enough in the way of making the sectorial measures *efficient* (line 22). In order for the Strategy to be applied in an *efficient manner* (line 10) and for the Roma situation to be substantially improved (line 12), there had to be education classes about civic matters and crime had to be prevented. In this instance, similar to the text quoted from Strategy 1a, the target group for the crime prevention intervention was not clearly mentioned. It could be argued that, in fact, the strategy may have referred to the prevention of hate crimes against Romas– a topic which was repeatedly mentioned by academics (European Roma Rights Centre, 2001; Nicolae, 2006). However, since the target group for the other systemic measures listed was clearly Roma, the crime

prevention was, by implication, also linked to the same systemically disadvantaged ethnic group.

The crime prevention text from the 2011 Strategy was less wordy compared to the one found in the 2001 Strategy. It was the last example mentioned in a string of several measures. Also, it did not take as much page space as the text quoted from the 2001 document. Lastly, it was the only "crime prevention" measure mentioned by the Strategy, which was not given its own stand-alone numbered paragraph. Roma ethnicity was in effect, associated with crime at a vaguer, briefer, and lower-rank level compared to the text from Strategy 1a. Nonetheless, the association remained present in the text, pointing to the persistence of a race theory about psychologically and behaviourally "different" and in-need-of-reform Roma.

In the 2015, the association is even more difficult to spot. For starters, the word "crime" which was absent from Extract 8, was also absent from the entire Policy document. If one were to read only the fourth document (2015), one could reasonably conclude that any number of things could be prevented, "Roma crime" not necessarily being one of them. The text quoted in Extract 8 appeared three times in Strategy 3, with almost the exact same wording. The only difference was the labelling of Roma people. Twice, the collaboration proposed was to be with "members of Roma minority" and once, as seen in Extract 8, with *Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority* (lines 2,3). Other than that, the reader of the latest governmental Strategy is informed about the needed legal and civic education programs, presumably for Roma people possibly living in segregated Roma communities. The text from Strategy 3 (2015), like the one from Strategy 1a (2001), was placed under the heading "Justice and Public Order" suggesting a stereotypical association between Roma ethnicity and issues pertaining to law and order. Moreover, in the 2015 document the word "crime" was absent.

By comparing instances across the three Strategies, two things become evident. Firstly, the "prevention" programs were most likely designed to target Roma crime. Secondly, explicitly associating "crime" and "Roma" was slowly abandoned. Measures were taken to carefully avoid the explicit association, while not (yet) completely deleting the implication. Considering, that in 1978, the Romanian Communist Party had a policy document for Roma inclusion in which "Gypsies" were described as "parasitic" in "urgent need of transformation", all of the post 1989 documents look decisively progressive. It is possible that as the newly democratic government was becoming increasingly aware of the European norms against overt expression of ethnic prejudice (van Dijk, Discourse and the denial of racism, 1992), Roma disadvantage was beginning to be described in increasingly more politically and Europeanly correct ways. Nonetheless, throughout the four documents analysed, there were still instances where prejudicial and stereotypical views about Roma psychology and behaviour were expressed. While inequality and disadvantage were consistently attributed to contextual factors, the progressive outlook did apply to instances of implicit attributions of individual blame concerning Roma exclusion.

5.2.2.2. Major and minor frames within policy debates about the inclusion of Roma people.

The two documents published in 2012 and 2015, with policy plans for 2012-2020, and 2014-2020, discussed disparities between Roma and non-Roma people mostly in terms of Roma inclusion into Romanian society. Within these two documents, academic research results were often cited. In each frame found in policy documents there was at least one reference made to an academic text. Nonetheless, although numerical data was cited, academic ideological or moral concerns about Roma people were rarely hinted at.

The major problem addressed was the discrepancy between Roma and non-Roma people *vis-a-vis* standard of living, access to institutions and services, and socioeconomic

status. The objective was to provide vulnerable Roma people with the necessary resources and opportunities to reach a “normal” (Romanian) standard of living. This standard was to be achieved by strategically “lifting” vulnerable Roma to a socially acceptable level of social and economic wellbeing.

Based on the criteria of frequency and comprehensiveness the governmental strategies published between 2012 and 2015 constructed their discourse about the inclusion or Roma people around three major frames and three minor frames. The major frames were (1) standard of living frame, (2) blocked access frame, and (3) a measure of progress frame; and the minor frames were: (4) Roma economic deterioration frame, (5) Romanian economic costs frame, and (6) a change of mentalities frame (see Table 5.4).

There were also marginal frames found in the last two documents which will not be discussed in this section. Since these frames were a major part of the first two documents, they were analysed in the previous section.

Table 5.4 Frames in Policy documents 3 and 4

Document	Document 3: Strategy 2 (HG1.221/2011)	Document 4: Strategy 3 (HG18/2015)
Standard of living	Major	Major
Blocked access	Major	Major
A measure of progress	Major	Major
Roma economic deterioration	Minor	Minor
A change of mentalities	Minor	Minor
Romanian economic costs	-	Minor
Legal requirement	Marginal	Marginal

Compensating for Roma difficulties	-	Marginal
Opportunity for Roma identity and behavioural development	Marginal	Marginal

***Major frame 1: Standard of Living*.**

According to this frame, disparity between the levels of income and social inclusion of vulnerable groups compared to the general population was portrayed as a major problem addressed by the Romanian Government was a disparity. The political aspiration was the wellbeing of all members living in an inclusive society. The special focus, however, was placed on people belonging to vulnerable groups, whose wellbeing was to be stimulated through the solution of governmental policies of employment and inclusion into mainstream society.

Extract 9: The growth of the general standard of living (HG 1.221/2011 – Original in Romanian)

The Social Inclusion Policy of the Romanian Government is based on a pro-active approach which has as objective the growth of the general standard of living of the population and the stimulation of income obtained through work through the facilitation of employment and the promotion of inclusive policies addressed towards all vulnerable groups: Roma minority, people with disabilities, women, street children, young people over 18 years old leaving the state protection institutes, elderly people. Applying the social policy of Roma minority inclusion presupposes an integrative approach, a

11 planned process and conjugated actions, followed by the
12 adoption of specific strategies, programs and projects.

1. *The problem.*

The text from Extract 9 was written during a time of financial crisis, when there were Governmental cuts in social spending, including in social pensions, family support allowance, single parent allowance, child benefit, social welfare benefits for people with disabilities, and state budgets for the rehabilitation of disadvantaged areas. According to governmental reports (Alexandru & Diaconescu, 2012; Ministerul Muncii, 2012) and newspaper articles (HotNews.ro, 2010) the standard of living for the general population, but especially for those belonging to the vulnerable groups (including those listed in lines 6-9), was in decline. The governmental strategy, however, presented its solution to the problem of disparity as being a proactive, rather than a reactive, response to a deteriorating economy unequally affecting the population.

2. *The solutions and concealment.*

The humanitarian concern for *all vulnerable groups* (line 6) was situated in a broader preoccupation for all Romanian population (line 3). Although the ways in which the wellbeing of all could be improved through a *Social Inclusion Policy* (line 1) were not disclosed at this point, the Strategy indicated two of the central schemes through which vulnerable people were to be included into mainstream society.

(1) A growth in income was to be earned through work (line 4) by *all vulnerable groups* (line 6). However, at least for two of the groups mentioned in Extract 9 - namely street children and elderly people - a growth in income would primarily depend upon a raise in allocated national budget for social services, and not on employment. Moreover, as some academics suggest, the wellbeing of all (vulnerable) groups in general, could partly depend

on state funded welfare services (Barr, 1992). Nonetheless, within this frame, standard of living for all vulnerable people was linked to employment, rather than social services and social assistance.

(2) Inclusive policies were to be promoted. The kinds of measures that were entailed by a social inclusion policy were detailed on subsequent pages, and focused almost exclusively on Roma people. Although some social policy measures for (Roma) women or (Roma) children were discussed, inclusion strategies for people with disabilities, street children, previously institutionalized young people, or elderly people of Roma or non-Roma ethnicity were not elaborated upon in the policy document.

The proposed solutions focused on two overlapping groups of people: (1) Romanian Roma in general and (2) a "priority group" of Roma people experiencing marginalization and social exclusion. Solutions for the general group of Roma people included vague calls for "combating discrimination", and "the promotion of equal chances". Solutions for the priority group of marginalized or excluded Roma people entailed bullet pointed social measures in the areas of education, employment, health, housing and infrastructure and additional measures for combating poverty through the facilitation of self-employment, specifically entrepreneurship skills training.

The responsibility for proposing the solutions was self-attributed to the Government. Nonetheless, during the implementation and evaluation stages, the idea of partnership with governmental and nongovernmental organizations, including those led by Roma people, was introduced. The responsibility for seizing the (self)employment facilitation measures proposed by the Government was extended to vulnerable Roma people. This suggested that either, the current Roma standard of living and exclusion was mainly due to unemployment, or that it could be resolved mainly through employment.

Within this frame, the matter of income discrepancy between employed Roma and non-Roma people, or between other various vulnerable groups, was concealed from the political discussion, although multiple studies – including previously published Governmental reports - (e.g. Duminica & Preda, 2002; Ministerul Muncii, Familiei si Protectiei Sociale, 2010; Vincze, 2001;), noted that the unemployment rate of Roma people was higher than that of their non-Roma neighbours.

Major frame 2: Blocked Access.

Within the blocked access frame the major group that had the problem was Roma, but the target for the solutions was a group of vulnerable people, including Roma. The problem of access was with regard to social assistance, housing, education, employment, health and civil rights. Apart from the solutions offered for Roma women, all other solutions proposed by this frame were aimed at a generic group of vulnerable or disadvantaged people.

Extract 10: Blocked access to services (HG 1.222/2011 – Original in Romanian; Emphasis in original)

The lack of a decent housing and utilities, of property documents and land leads to social exclusion, blocking access to services of social assistance, medical assistance, education and, in general to all civil rights. According to the Barometer for Roma inclusion from 2006, the great majority of Roma live in the peripheral areas of localities (83%), in compact communities (77%). Only 40% of them own a home, and a quarter live in housing owned by their parents, preponderantly in rural areas. In urban areas, 14.2% rent public housing and only 1.2% [live] in social housing. A percentile of 66% of the

population belonging to the Roma minority have an up-to-date legal contract, 4% have expired contracts and 30% don't have any form of contract for the housing they live in. A significant percentile (2.7%) lives in improvised housing.

In the area of housing, the building of social housing programmes foresees:

-Building of social housing for vulnerable categories;

-Financial support for local projects and programmes that aim to insure normal living conditions in urban and rural areas for vulnerable categories (including in areas populated by Romas);

-Full or partial support for housing rehabilitation or house construction projects in disadvantaged communities (including in Roma communities).

Through the Ministry of Regional Development and Tourism, the Romanian Government implements the Program for the building of social and necessity housing, and for this the settled funds are approved through the state budget law for the respective year.

1. *Inclusion of academic research.*

Out of the governmental frames covered so far in this chapter, this is the first one to include academic research results. The first two documents, published prior 2011 made no reference to academic work, referencing only other legal and political documents. The 2011

and 2015 documents, however, drew heavily upon numerical data offered by academic research.

2. *The problems.*

In Extract 10, rather than describing Roma related problems in general terms, quantitative data was offered as factual evidence for the scale of the problem and the proportion of people affected. The housing problem was portrayed as a crucial issue needed to be addressed through policy measures. Housing problems – whether a lack of a *decent housing and utilities* (line 1), or missing, insufficient or incomplete housing or land documents (lines 1-2) – were construed as problems with far-reaching consequences. It was linked to a blocking of access to other services and, as a result as a limitation to the rights of any citizen to political and social equality (lines 2-4). Factual data was cited to argue that *a great majority* (line 5), or that *a significant percentile* (line 13) of Roma people were in a problematic housing situation that would effectively block their access to other important services and rights, leading to, or perpetuating, social exclusion (line 2).

Whether a percentile was *significant* (line 13) in terms of showing that a great number of people were having a problem - or that a small number of people were not having that problem - was not always numerically self-evident. For example, although by any measure, *83%* (line 6) is a *great majority* (line 6) and *1.2%* (*only*, line 9) represents a small minority, in other cases the data was less straightforward. For example, 40% of people owning a house (*only*, line 7) was considered too little, while a 2.7% living in poor housing conditions was presented as *significant* (line 13). Since no comparison data between Roma and non-Roma people was offered in the text from extract 10, the reader is led to understand that 40% means that only a few Roma people own a home, and that the 2.7% of Romas living in improvised housing shows a problem for a substantial number of people. Also, the data about the 1.2%

of Roma living in social housing (line 9) and the 14.2% renting public housing (line 9) in urban areas, was not portrayed as a sign of relative prosperity for the rest of the 84.6%. Out of this group, 2.7% were living in improvised housing, and 34% had an expired or no housing contract. Even if these groups do not overlap (which is unlikely), the text brushes over at least 16.9% of Roma people who are not covered by any of the categories described. Presumably, some might be renting private properties in urban or rural areas. The text also seems to suggest that 66% of the 65% who own a home (40%, line 7) or live with their parents, (25%, *a quarter*, line7) have up-to-date housing documents.

There are three possible explanations for this surprising result: (1) the mathematic calculation is faulty – which would raise questions about the other percentiles cited, (2) the 66% covers up-to-date rent documents as well or (3) the data has been misquoted. On closer inspection, the second and third explanations both hold some measure of truth, pointing to some of the similarities and differences between the actual academic research and the way it is transferred into policy documents.

3. *The transfer of academic research into political documents.*

The policy documents quoted a 2006 study, the Barometer for Roma Inclusion. However, there was no such study published in 2006. Although, there are several such Barometers available, the first was published in 2007, although the research it reports on was conducted in 2006 (Badescu, et al., 2007). In this document, the percentile of Roma people renting properties with up-to-date documents was 9%; while 58% owned their own place, or lived with parents or partners, and had up-to-date housing documents (pp. 34-35).

Supposing that the study referred to in the text is the 2007 Barometer, errors in reporting study data abound, providing an illustration of how an authoritative construction of texts can occur (Green, 1983). For example, the Barometer reported 68% of Roma living in

peripheral areas of communities (p. 32), rather than the 83% (*the great majority*, line 6) proposed by the policy document. Moreover, the Roma living in improvised housing was according to the Barometer 3% in rural areas and 7% in urban areas, arguably a more *significant* percentile than the 2.7% offered by the policy document (line 13).

It is beyond the scope of this study to find all the misquotations and errors in data reporting present in policy documents. However, two points can be made:

(1) Governmental texts do not necessarily present data which corresponds to objective reality, producing instead "reality effects" (Green, 1983).

(2) Numerical data can be presented and then interpreted ("only", "a great majority", "a significant percentile"), in order to present a problem as objectively severe in scope and in the proportion of people affected.

After all, the policy documents seemed to be less concerned about fairly representing academic results, than with drawing upon quantification rhetoric (cf. Potter, Wetherell, Chitty, 1991) in order to present a social problem which needed policy solutions. The assumed readership possibly did not include the authors of the academic studies (mis)quoted as factual evidence.

4. The solutions.

The point of the text quoted in extract 10 was to present a vulnerable group of Roma people in comparison to an imagined non-vulnerable, non-Roma group. When the text proposed housing solutions, the group of vulnerable Roma people was included in a broader category of vulnerable people, which included Roma, but was not exclusively Roma. Possibly in an attempt to allude to a mainstreaming policy agenda[20], the text intended to incorporate Roma ethnicity into the social policies, programs and projects concerning public funded housing. Consequently, the solutions were aimed at *vulnerable categories* (lines 17,

20), and/or disadvantaged communities (line 22), but with the repeated specification that these categories also included Roma communities or areas.

5. *Concealment.*

One thing that was concealed within this frame was the way in which the Government would insure that solutions for vulnerable people would also be accessible to Roma people, given the possibility of discrimination in resource allocation. In fact, academic studies published after the second governmental strategy was adopted, drew attention to discriminatory implementation of policies concerning housing for vulnerable groups, where Roma were systematically excluded from the lists of possible beneficiaries (World Bank, 2014). Additionally, researchers noted that in several documented cases, due to the renovation of state housing - aimed at providing decent housing to vulnerable people - Roma tenants were evicted to peripheral urban areas, often near sewage plants or even on chemically contaminated land (Cace, et al, 2014; Filippou, 2011; Romani CRISS, 2004; - World Bank, 2014). Although the Governmental Strategy remained silent about these academic results, it did use other types of quantitative data produced by the academic studies, indicating knowledge about the problems of Roma access to community resources.

Blocked access – a gendered dimension. Within the blocked access frame, a reoccurring sub-topic was the problems affecting Roma women and girls. The main problem described was one of access to educational, employment or health services which was causally tied to Roma traditional communitarian norms and gender inequality.

Extract 11: Roma girls face disproportionate risks (HG 1.221/2011 – Original in Romanian)

1 At the level of public policies for Romas, the CPARSD report
2 identified the following problems:

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3  1. Regarding access to education, a special case of
4  nonparticipation in education is that of children belonging to
5  Roma minority, especially those from traditional communities
6  and especially girls. Roma girls are confronted with
7  disproportionate risks, gender inequality being more
8  pronounced in the case of Roma population.
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1. The problem.

The CPARSD report mentioned in the text from Extract 11 (line 1) is one of two academic contributions published by the Presidential Administration, The Commission for the Analysis of Social and Demographic Risks in 2009. The Report, entitled *Risks and Social Inequities in Romania* provides statistical data concerning discrepancies based on age, gender and place of residence (urban or rural) in income, housing, health and education. The report also has a chapter on the social groups at risk of social exclusion which includes a subsection on Roma people. The problem *regarding access to education* (line 3) was one of seven discrepancies between Roma and non-Roma people identified by the governmental strategy. The other discrepancies were in the areas of employment, health, housing, culture, child protection and discrimination. Discrepancies involving the intersection of gender and ethnicity were found in education, employment, health, and child protection.

The problem of access to education was defined in Extract 11 as *nonparticipation in education* (line 4), which was considered to be a *special* (line 3) type of problem for Roma children. The text suggests that although other non-Roma children might encounter difficulties in educational access, a complete lack of school participation was a distinctive Roma problem. There were two kinds of Roma children which were portrayed as being *especially* (lines 5, 6) at risk: children living in traditional communities and girls. Arguably,

the risk of nonparticipation to education would increase with each additional attribute, with Roma girls from traditional communities being at the highest danger of not having access to education.

2. *The transfer of academic research into political documents.*

This idea seems to suggest an awareness of intersectionality between gender, ethnicity and other social problems. This argument, which was also found in Surdu and Surdu's (2006) feminist discussion about the experiences of Roma women, was covered extensively in Chapter 4. For now, it will suffice to recall that the authors argued that Roma women's experiences should not be absorbed into the collective experience of one social category, such as "Roma people" or "women". Rather the point of intersection between the various inequalities of ethnicity, gender, class, and other social divisions should be taken into consideration within policy discussions. However, in the policy documents, the barriers to Roma girls' education were causally linked only to traditional Roma norms. The text from Extract 11 suggested that traditional Roma communities had an anti-education stance, and that Roma gender prejudices, were *more pronounced* (line 7) than their presumably milder non-Roma equivalents. Consequently, within this frame the lack of educational access was not due to anti-Roma prejudice, discrimination or marginalization, but rather due to Roma values, norms and gender prejudices. In other words, through a veiled blame discourse, Roma not only had a problem of educational access, but also contributed to the perpetuation of the problem.

3. *The solutions.*

The blocked access frame, except for gendered solutions, proposed measures for a general category of vulnerable or disadvantaged people, as was seen in Extract 10. Nonetheless, as will be seen in Extract 12, when gender was discussed, the solutions

proposed exclusively targeted Roma women who were seen as instrumental in overcoming the educational barriers.

Extract 12: The central role of women (HG 1.221/2011– Original in Romanian)

1 5. The principle of equality of chances and awareness of the
2 gender dimension – The Governmental Strategy for the inclusion
3 of Roma minority sees the central role of women who have an
4 important role in their families and within the minority
5 itself, by raising the level of education and qualification,
6 and also of the rate of employment, through their involvement
7 in their children's education and other activities which
8 insures a raise in the level of wellbeing of families, family
9 cohesion and the development of future generations.

1. *The problems.*

In Extract 12, the additional inter-related problems of qualifications and employment were added next to the problem of (low) *level of education* (line 5).

2. *The solutions.*

The responsibility for solving these problems were offered by the Governmental Strategy to Roma women, who were considered to have both an *important* (line 4) and a *central* (line 3) role in the solutions. The ways in which women were seen to resolve the problems of Roma education, qualification and employment were through a direct *involvement* (line 6) in their children's education and other nondisclosed family related activities.

3. *Concealment.*

The policy documents did not address the ways in which Roma women - who, according to the data presented by the Strategy, were likely to not have gone to school at all, or to have left school early – could improve their children's education, qualifications or rate of employment. This absence points to a textual concealment (cf. Schroter, 2013), where there was a failure on the part of the authors of the policy document to explicitly address a possibly uncomfortable problem.

4. *Assumptions about Roma women.*

Extract 12 made at least two assumptions about Roma women. On the one hand, educational and employment prospects of future Roma generations as well as family wellbeing and cohesion depended in great measure on women's involvement. On the flip side of this assumption, problems in the education or employment of (male) children and other family related problems or conflicts, were implicitly attributed to Roma women's failure in achieving their central social role: child carers and homemakers. These roles which were ascribed to Roma women in the name of *equality of chances* (line 1) and the Governmentally affirmed axiom of gender awareness, are part of traditional heterosexual marriage norms and values (Gerber, 1988). Only a few paragraphs before, the Strategy has declared that a Roma community based on traditional norms and values was part of the problem that was leading to a barrier to education, *especially* for girls (Extract 11, lines 5-6).

Major frame 3: A Measure of Progress.

In this frame the policy documents discussing Roma inclusion described a progress made in solving a Roma related problem. The progress was attributed to policy based efforts which elevated Roma people's level of inclusion into Romanian society. Nonetheless, it was suggested that the inclusion of Roma people depended on some transformation of Roma people, rather than of Romanian society.

Extract 13: A consequence of direct and constant national efforts (HG 18/2015 – Original in Romanian).

1 Anti-Roma discrimination is a phenomenon that continues to
2 manifest itself, just like in other European countries, with
3 regard to access to public services, work force, and mass-
4 media coverage, these attitudes being kept alive by negative
5 stereotypes and prejudices rooted in public mentality.

6 At a European level, Romania registers the lower level of
7 Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority who declare that
8 they have suffered discriminatory acts from the others due to
9 the fact that they are Romas, [Romania] being the only country
10 from the EU who records in this indicator a value lower than
11 30%. This fact is also a consequence of direct and constant
12 efforts made after the year 2000 in Romania for the
13 improvement of social inclusion of Romanian citizens belonging
14 to Roma minority.

1. *The problems.*

Extract 13 began by pointing to one major problem of anti-Roma discrimination which manifested itself in three problematic areas: access to services, employment and mass-media coverage (lines 1-3). The problem, although displayed in Romania, was depicted as a broader European problem, with Romania *just* (line 2) one of the numerous countries in which Roma were discriminated against. By introducing the word "just", the text seems to undermine the national responsibility or the seriousness of the topic (cf. Weltman, 2003).

Anti-Roma discrimination in Romania was presented as being partly due to geographical coincidence. Discrimination, defined in turn as a *phenomenon* (line 1), attitude (line 4) and act (line 8), was attributed to fixed (*rooted*, line 5) and geographically extensive non-Roma negative stereotypes and prejudices. The text constructed the problem as a matter of public concern (cf. Tileaga, 2009), being kept alive by *public mentality* (line 5), rather than by the sentiments and behaviours of individual people.

2. *The transfer of academic research into political documents.*

Once it was established that the anti-Roma discrimination problem was an ongoing European matter, the text continued by presenting the superior position of Romania on a European hierarchy of (in)tolerance. Using the voice of academic research, the policy document, uses a factual account (cf. Potter, 1996) to point out that Romanian Roma reported the lowest levels of experienced ethnic-based discrimination compared to Roma reports from other European countries. It is important to note that the evidence about the measure of progress in resolving the problem of anti-Roma discrimination was not offered with data about improved access to public services, work-force or in mass-media coverage. In contrast, subjective data about perceived levels of ethnic discrimination was given. The study cited, however, – a 2012 survey on the situation of Roma in eleven European member states (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights & UNPD, 2012) – included data on access to services and employment - although not on media-coverage - but those measures did not place Romania on favourable position among the rest of the European states included in the study.

A level lower than 30% of Roma reports of discriminatory experiences from non-Roma *others* (line 8) was presented as a positive consequence of Governmental direct efforts (line 11). By mentioning the year 2000, the text was making a reference to the first Romanian

Ordinance on Preventing and Punishing All forms of Discrimination (Ordinance no 137/2000) and the adoption of the Protocol to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (Protocol no 12, 2000 – ECHR). These were the first two steps taken by the Government to legally prohibit discrimination. Also *after 2000* (line 12), the first Governmental Strategy for the Improvement of Roma Situation was adopted.

Although, the text referred only to a 2012 study as evidence of the level of reported discrimination - and the study covered only discrimination experienced in the last 12 months by Roma respondents age 16 and up – the intertextuality (cf. Atkinson & Coffey, 2004) was helpful in pointing to a gradual improvement (*constant efforts made after the year 2000*, lines 11-12) from whatever level might have been experienced prior to 2000. The text also implied that Romanian efforts may have been either better received, or more efficient than those of other EU countries.

3. *The solutions.*

On line 13, the text shifts attention from anti-discrimination policy measures and their favourable results to the social inclusion of Roma people. The Governmental efforts – whether legal documents, international protocols prohibiting discrimination, or Governmental Strategies proposing measures for Roma people – were seen as accomplishing an advancement (*improvement,* line 13) in Roma inclusion, and not a decrease in anti-Roma sentiments and behaviours. This is an important shift because it implied that anti-racism was in some ways tied to inclusion. In other words, if the Government has accomplished lifting Roma people to a Romanian standard, then reported acts of ethnic discrimination would also be reduced. Within this frame, there was a rhetorical distancing from the problem on the part of the governmental authorities. The problem was placed on the shoulders of a general non-

Roma intolerant mentality. However, no changes were required of this group. The solution involved a constant evolution towards Romanian norms made by Roma people. Instrumental in this process were the policy, legislative and diplomatic measures adopted and proposed by the Romanian Government.

Proposals for changes in Roma values and subtle forms of ethnicism. In the 2011 and 2015 policy documents, there were no calls for Roma identity changes. However, the texts did not entirely relinquish the arguments for Roma individual changes. These arguments were not present as a separate frame, but other frames, such as the measure of progress frame, which was discussed above, included calls for individual changes in values. In the 2011 and 2015 Governmental Strategies, changes were proposed with regard to Roma values, rather than identity. The expressions used to convey these aretaic concerns were: "educating values", "promoting values", "urgent reconstruction of values", "growth of values", and the social inclusion benefits of new "religious values".

Extract 14, was taken from the conclusion of the section entitled "General information about Roma people" in Strategy 3 (2015) (see Table 5.2). This section began included a four pages long presentation of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in the areas of education, employment, health and housing, which were still present despite the progress made.

Extract 14: The catalysing effect of [new] religious values (HG 18/2015 - Original in Romanian)

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Despite progress made in the last 10 years, as a result the
efforts made, there is a perseverance noted also in the
quality of housing. Thus, in 2011, 36% of Roma households
had access to the public network of drinking water, in the
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context in which, according to data form INSSE (*The National Institute of Statistics from Romania*), 61.2% of all households in Romania had access to the water supply through the public network. 24% of the Roma houses in Romania had access to sewage (public network or septic tanks) compared to 43.5% at the national level. A proportion of 16% had a bathroom with running water, in contrast to 42% of Romania's population, and 68% said that they have an outdoor toilet in the yard or outside of the house premises.

Cultural elements can also play a role in this process. For example, regarding the religion of those who in the 2011 census declared themselves Roma, most often they shared the religion (or religious subdivision) of the majority population living nearby. However, it can be noticed, that compared to the 2001 census, there is a marked increase in the number of Roma who joined the neo-Protestant denominations (particularly the Pentecostal one-71.262 people). There are, thus, some interventions and case studies which show that church values/religion can be a catalyst for social inclusion.

The paragraph started with a declaration of progress and good intentions. There were ten years[21] of *efforts made*, *progress* professed, but despite all this, *perseverance* of disparities were still to be noted. Various comparative factual assertions were presented as evidence for the continued state of Roma disadvantage, and percentiles taken from official

statistical data were displayed. Roma disadvantage was presented as factual, independently corroborated (Wooffitt, 1992) and produced without personal interest.

The differences pointed to were not only between housing data, but also between categories of people. For example, *Roma households* (line 4) were contrasted with *all households in Romania* (line 7); *Roma houses* (line 9) with *national* houses (line 11); and (implied) Roma people with *Romania's population* (lines 12-13). Roma people were not presented as part of the same national community; they were rhetorically out-of-place in the Romanian national space (Tileaga, 2007).

Another difference introduced in the text was concerning the types of housing inequality which could have been influenced by *cultural elements* (line 15). The positive example offered was the conversion of a growing (but unspecified) number of Roma to neo-Protestant denominations, specifically to Pentecostalism, who apparently were ahead in the process of social inclusion. If, in describing housing inequality the factual statements presented as a documentary reality (cf. Smith, 1974), based on objective, detached, and "cold" numerical facts, the rhetoric used to describe changes in religious affiliation, was markedly different. This time, the text had an evaluative and reflexive quality about it (Garfinkel, 1967). The readers of the policy document are informed that *most often* (lines 17-18) Roma people share the religion of the majority living close by, but that there was a *marked increase in the number* (line 21) of recent neo-Protestant Roma. How much was "often" and what percentile constituted a "marked increase" was not based on comparative numerical information. The number of Pentecostal Roma cited (*71.262 people*, line 23) was possibly supposed to offer some evidence for the magnitude of Roma converts, but since it was not placed in the context of other numerical information, it did not convey any additional understanding in terms of numerical contrast. Overall, the conversion of Roma was not

demonstrated with the use of clear contrasts; it was displayed as a self-evident snippet of common-sense knowledge (*it can be noticed*, line 20).

There were two points being made in the text. Firstly, despite years of governmental efforts, and some progress, Roma disadvantage was still persevering. Secondly, Roma values might have been the cause of some of the experienced problem of inequality. Specifically, according to the document, case studies and interventions showed that church values or religion can accelerate the *process* (line 16) of social inclusion.

The text provided for an equivocal reading (cf. Jayyusi, 1991), as there appeared to be a disconnection between what the account described as the problem and what it was suggesting as a solution, pointing to the possible presence of subtle forms of ethnicism (cf. Mullard, 1985). The ways in which Roma religious affiliation could be a *catalyst* (line 26) for the disparities referred to in extract 14: access to drinking water, public sewage network, indoor bathrooms and running water. Also, the text did not offer any indications of how non-protestant non-Roma people were faring with regard to access to public resources, or if non-protestant values need changing. Nonetheless, the message of a change in the religious values of a growing number of Romas was presented in optimistic terms: religious interventions were instrumental in increasingly helping Roma people become socially included in the Romanian national landscape. The footnote of the text pointed to a website belonging to a non-governmental foundation called "Pro-Roma". On the website's home page, the organization advertised itself in terms of helping "discriminated Roma" by opening "Christian Schools in Roma areas", and educating Christian values. Thus, the Government might be in charge of financing systemic interventions such as access to drinking water, but what was left unsaid, but was implied, was that systemic disadvantage was only part of the problem. The other part had something to do with the flawed Roma value system, an obstacle not readily assumed by secular governmental policies. However, in educating the right values

for Roma people, partnerships with churches (2001, p. 16; 2006, p. 15, 2015, p. 9) and non-governmental (religious) organizations (2001, p. 4; 2006, p. 2; 2011 p. 5 & 2015, p. 5) presumably come in handy.

Minor frame 1: Roma Economic Deterioration.

As seen above, some issues, such as anti-Roma discrimination were presented within a frame of progress. The issue of the economic situation or Roma people, however, could be described within an opposite frame of deterioration. The frame of Roma economic deterioration was a minor frame, appearing only once in the Governmental Strategy 3. The text presented in Extract 15 was placed one paragraph below a section which adopted the Measure of Progress frame.

Extract 15: The economic situation (…) has deteriorated (HG 18/2015 – Original in Romanian)

It is important to mention that the economic disparities between the Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority and the rest of the population are significant. In the year 2011, three out of four people belonging to the Roma minority were in relative poverty, while only one of four majority citizens were in a similar situation. The economic situation of the Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority has deteriorated in 2011 compared to 2005 (in the year 2005, two out of five Roma citizens were in relative poverty, while in 2011, three out of four were in the same situation). This fact confirms the evolution taking place at a global level, respectively at a European [level]: the recent economic-financial crisis has

13 left a more pronounced negative imprint on the social
14 situation of vulnerable groups, which at the moment are the
15 Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority. If we take into
16 account the rate of absolute poverty, this is at least four
17 times higher among the Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma
18 minority, compared to the rest of the population (54% in the
19 case of the Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority
20 vs 13% in the case of the Romanian citizens not belonging to
21 the Roma minority. The disparities in income among Romas are
22 larger than those registered within the rest of the
23 population, which emphasizes the existence of a subgroup of
24 Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority which is
25 subject to a more accentuated risk of poverty [study cited:
26 United Nations Development Program, 2012]

1. The problem.

Extract 15 presented various comparisons concerning economic disparities between groups of people, and concerning types of measurements of poverty. Firstly, a "reality effect" (Green, 1983) was achieved with the help of quantitative data offered about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. Secondly, the text asserted that there were disparities present between subgroups of people of Roma ethnicity. The economic comparisons between groups, and subgroups, also varied with regard to types of poverty. Roma people– repeatedly referred to as *Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority* (lines 2, 6-7, 14-15, 16-17, 18, 23), a point which will be discussed in a later section – were doing *significantly* (line 3) worse economically, compared to *the rest of the population* (lines 2-3) in both measures of relative poverty and absolute poverty. Additional data also showed a decline (*deterioration*,

line 7) in the economic situation of Roma people between 2005 and 2011). Finally, the text suggested a financial hierarchy with the general group of non-Roma people placed at the top, and at least two different Roma subgroups situated at the bottom: the relatively rich, the relatively poor and the poorest.

This multifaceted description of the problem was not balanced by a corresponding description of the causes of the problem. Within this frame, no explanations were offered about the variations in the absolute rates of poverty between ethnic groups or about variations in the poverty levels found within the Roma group. The only explanatory information offered was about the deterioration of the Roma relative level of poverty. The economic deterioration was placed in the broader context of the global – and specifically European - *economic-financial crisis* (line 12) which for undisclosed reasons disproportionately (*a more pronounced negative imprint*, lines 12-13), and universally, affected vulnerable groups. Zooming back in from the global economic victims to the local ones, the text names the current Romanian vulnerable group: *the Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority* (lines 14-15).

2. The solutions.

Out of the frames covered so far in this chapter, this was the first frame with no solutions mentioned. Consequently, this frame could be considered not only a minor frame found in policy documents, but also *fragmented frame* (cf. Verloo, 2007) missing its solution element. The next paragraph in the Policy document shifted the attention to another topic – Roma health. For this topic, the framing resumed to the previous measure of progress frame, and closely followed the patterns discussed in Extract 13. This frame's orientation towards diagnosis - and its textual silence regarding articulated solutions for Roma economic problems - provides an example of how policy documents can perpetuate a focus on ethnic

stereotypes about “poor Roma”, without offering any concrete observations beyond those stressing the reality of a growing inequality.

Minor frame 2: Romanian Economic Costs.

Economic issues could be not only be framed in terms of Roma-non Roma / Roma-Roma discrepancies, with a focus on the deteriorating conditions for Romas, but also in terms of economic non-intervention costs, with a focus on the deteriorating conditions for non-Romas. Within the frame of Romanian economic costs, the discursive attention was placed on Romanian, rather than Roma problems. However, the causes for the Romanian economic troubles consisted of problems relating to Roma people. Moreover, the solutions depended exclusively on Roma inclusion.

Extract 16: Considerations that relate to the durable economic and social development of Romania (HG 18/2015 – Original in Romanian)

The new strategic approach for the growth of social inclusion of the Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority takes into account [the following]:

1. understanding the desideratum of public intervention for the improvement of Roma situation, not just out of considerations of justice and social protection, but also out of considerations that relate to the durable economic and social development of Romania – the human resource provided by the Roma population, is one of the youngest in EU, gaining a very high stake. This aspect is very important, especially in the context of identifying solutions for the sharp fall in the natality rate in the last two decades, taking into

13 consideration the major challenges for the maintaining of an
14 equilibrium in the system of pensions in the following
15 decades. The costs of non-intervention are very high. Thus, by
16 2010, World Bank estimated that for Romania, the costs in
17 annual productivity, due to Roma exclusion, [are] 887 million
18 Euro.

1. *The problem and solutions.*

The frame of Romanian economic costs was used only one time in the Policy documents, in the text cited in Extract 16. In the introduction of Strategy 3 (2015), the text listed four of the major revisions made to the former Strategy for Roma inclusion (Guvernul Romaniei - HG 1.221/2011, 2012). The first change consisted of a *new* (line 1) argumentative position *vis-à-vis* the desire to improve the Roma situation (line 5). This improvement was placed within a *strategic approach* (line 1) of improving the level of Roma social inclusion. In other words, Roma social inclusion was presented as a process which included a constant improvement of a distinctive Roma situation. This frame did not offer details about what the Roma situation entailed, or the causes of the implied Roma exclusion. Only vague allusions were made about *justice and social protection* (line 6), indicating possible Roma discrimination or human rights violations.

The spotlight was placed on Romanian problems and solutions for Romanian citizens. However the backdrop for the non-Roma problems presented in Extract 15 was provided by Roma problems. An undesirable Roma situation coupled with unsatisfactory levels of social inclusion was creating problems for Romania, in general. Since the problem affected the society at large, the solution involved a call for an understanding of the importance of *public intervention* (line 4). Firstly, moral and legal considerations commanded public approval of governmental actions. But, more importantly, within this frame, long-

lasting economic and social progress, in Romania, but also in the EU (lines 8, 9), were forceful reasons for intervention. A favourable socio-economic outlook was dependent on both the Roma situation and the status of Roma integration. Especially the young Roma, were portrayed as an important resource for (Romanian) economic and social prosperity for decades to come (lines 14-15), in the face of *major challenges* (line 13). Consequently, this frame found in policy documents has achieved the singular feat of presenting Roma people as assets, rather than as problem bearers, or problem producers. The rhetorical importance of (young) Romas particularly stood out against the alarming descriptions of the interrelated problems of natality rates and pensions' system: *high stakes*, decade long *sharp fall*, and *major challenges* (lines 10-13).

The pragmatic value of intervention was contrasted with its antithetical position of *non-intervention* (line 15), which was depicted as a nationally costly position.

2. *Transfer of academic research into political documents.*

Citing data from an economic report brief commissioned by the World Bank (Laat, 2010), the governmental text presented factual numeric evidence of annual costs due to Roma exclusion. Within this frame, the costs of Roma exclusion for Roma people were not elaborated upon. The economic concerns were primarily reserved for non-Roma pension prospects, and annual productivity rates, with Roma people instrumental for the solutions benefiting non-Romas.

Minor frame 3: A Change of Mentalities.

The last minor frame included in the discussions about Roma inclusion added an additional element into the policy debates. This frame suggested that in order for Roma inclusion to occur, important mentality changes needed to be made. However, the difference in this frame compared to all of the other frames, was that, in what appeared to be a strategic

move toward an egalitarian stance, it was argued that both the Roma mentality and the majority's mentality had to change.

Extract 17: Important changes to mentalities (HG 18/2015 – Original in Romanian)

1 According to the Communication of the European Commission from
2 2011, A EU framework for the national strategies for Roma
3 inclusion by 2020, the inclusion of EU citizens belonging to
4 Roma minority is one of the most stringent social aspects of
5 Europe. Although the main responsibility for Roma social and
6 economic inclusion lies with public authorities, Roma
7 inclusion is a process that presupposes an important change in
8 both the mentality of the majority, and the Roma mentality, a
9 challenge requiring firm actions, carried out in the framework
10 of an active dialogue with Roma representatives, both at the
11 national level, and the EU level.

1. *The problem.*

The text presented in extract 17 appeared twice with almost the exact same wording: once in Strategy 2 (2011) and once in Strategy 3 (2015). The only difference consisted of the description of the target group: the 2011 document referred to Roma people as "citizens belonging to Roma minority", while the 2015 document wrote about "EU citizens belonging to Roma minority" (lines 3, 4). These two instances contained the only mention of mentalities in the policy documents. Although other changes in Roma psychology, (e.g. identity changes), were proposed by the policy documents within other frames, the proposed changes in mentalities were framed differently. The striking difference was the inclusion of what appears to be equal opportunity repertoire in terms of actions for both Roma and non-Roma people.

Before the text mentioned mentalities, it firstly introduced an important rhetorical move: it placed the national strategy within the broader context of European policies. By describing the aim of Roma inclusion by 2020 as *one of the most stringent* (line 4) social problems of Europe, the text was making four main points. Firstly, the national Government was portrayed as having an extremely demanding task ahead with a strict European deadline; secondly, the problem was presented as European, and consequently, all European states had the same problem; thirdly, Roma people were depicted as the cause of this most "stringent" of European problem; lastly the geographical boundaries of inclusion were meant for the broader category of "European citizens", rather than for the narrow category of Romanian Roma.

In a way, the text can be seen as functioning as a governmental justification for the continued existence and usefulness of a third Strategy, fourteen years after it first aimed, but then failed, to significantly improve the situation of Romanian Roma people by the initial deadline of 2010. By writing about European Roma, the blame was pushed away from Romanian systemic failures, and towards Roma induced troubles in all of Europe.

2. *Similarities and differences.*

Academics noted that for the 2001 Strategy, Romania was asked to do more for the inclusion of Roma people in order to be able to join the European Union (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014). The implication of the EU requirement was that Romanian Roma disadvantage was due to Romanian systemic obstacles. In contrast, after the EU-accession, the policy document presented Romania alongside other states drafting national strategies for the inclusion of disadvantaged European Roma. This tacit understanding of Roma people posing great challenges for any European state aiming to integrate "them" set the stage for the solutions presented by the policy document.

3. *The solutions***.**

The text exhibited a hierarchy of responsibilities for the solution of Roma inclusion. It informed readers that *the main* (line 5) responsibility for Roma inclusion *lies with public authorities* (line 6). However, this responsibility was ascribed to *social and economic inclusion* (lines 6, 7). According to the text, *inclusion* (line 7), could also be construed in a broad and vague way. This second type of all-encompassing inclusion presupposed more than measures implemented by public authorities. Inclusion, it was argued, also depended on *important* (line 7) psychological changes - which required individual, rather than political responsibility.

4. *Subtle forms of ethnic blame.*

From an apparently egalitarian standpoint, mentality changes were said to be required of both Roma and non-Roma individuals. Arguably, as the popular saying goes "there is always room from improvement", all mentalities, regardless of ethnicity, could benefit from some changes. However, in this rhetorical context, the text suggested that an *important change* (line 7) in mentalities was needed, and not just a bit of improvement. Also, the text did not elaborate on what this change in mentalities could entail, suggesting that there was a common-sense understanding about the needed mentality change.

The first mentioned candidate for change was the mentality of the majority. On the face of it, since the rhetorical context was about Roma inclusion, the (prejudicial) mentality of the majority towards Roma could be the likely target for change. The Government could draft policies for the social and economic inclusion of Roma people, but for inclusion, in the broad sense, to happen, the majority needed to change their stereotypical attitudes towards Roma. Changes in Roma mentality, however, implied other kinds of connotations, which do not involve Roma (prejudicial) perceptions toward the majority. Given the asymmetry in numbers, power, wealth and social status, governmental advised changes in discriminatory sustaining mentalities were more likely reserved only for the advantaged group. Proposed

changes to Roma mentality, in this context was not necessary, unless for the implication that Roma psychology in some (unmentioned) ways sustained disadvantage and placed a barrier to inclusion. The text ends by reintroducing the concepts of *framework* (line 9), *EU level* (line 11) and *Roma representatives* (line 10), thus, implying that the focus for the *important* change remained (mostly) on Roma mentality. In the end, this frame showed itself to be the exception that proved the rule, when it came to arguments for individual changes it suggests the presence of subtle forms of ethnic blame.

5.2.2.3. A matter of labelling.

Moving beyond frames, it can be noted that across the four documents the most common way of labelling the group of people who had a problem - or were a problem - was by invoking ethnic categorization. Roma people were, in most part, identified by the ethnic label "Roma". The category of "Roma" was presented as something that one simply was as a matter of ethnic descent. Thus, the texts mentioned "Roma", "Roma ethnics", "Roma women", "Roma children", "Roma pupils and students", "Roma population", "Roma parents", "Roma families" and so on, who necessitated various policy based solutions for various problems.

Table 5.5: Differences in the category membership labels used across the four policy documents

Category labels	Strategy 1a (2001)		Strategy 1b (2006)		Strategy 2 (2011)		Strategy 3 (2015)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Roma	115	65.34	85	81.73	30	18.63	152	32.76
Roma population	6	3.41			3	1.86	27	5.82
Roma community	26	14.77	5	4.81			13	2.80

Citizens of Roma ethnicity	10	5.68	1	0.96	8	4.97	5	1.08
Romanian citizens of Roma ethnicity	10	5.68	1	0.96				
Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority					27	16.77	130	28.02
Members of the population belonging to Roma minority							1	0.22
People belonging to Roma minority	5	2.84	5	4.81	29	18.01		
Women belonging to Roma minority					4	2.48		
Citizens belonging to Roma minority					22	13.66		
European Union citizens belonging to Roma minority					1	0.62	2	0.43
Young people belonging to Roma minority	1	0.57	1	0.96				
Women of Roma ethnicity	3	1.70						

Roma women			1	0.96	6	3.73	9	1.94
Roma girls					1	0.62	1	0.22
Roma women and girls							2	0.43
Men and Roma children								
Roma families					1	0.62	3	0.65
Roma parents							5	1.08
Roma children			1	0.96	14	8.70	43	9.27
Roma pupils and/or Roma students					2	1.24	50	10.78
Roma minority			2	1.92	11	6.83	6	1.29
Population of Roma ethnicity			1	0.96			6	1.29
People of Roma ethnicity			1	0.96			7	1.51
Members of Roma communities					2	1.24		
Some subgroups of Roma minority							2	0.43
Total	176	100	104	100	161	100	464	100

As can be seen in Table 5.5, with each new strategy there were additional and more complex labels added on top of the old ones, indicating a shift in the language on the Roma used in public sphere (Sonia, 2011). Moreover, the policy documents seemed to use a formal way or categorizing Roma, which differed from the colloquial language usually used when

Roma people talked about themselves (Leudar & Nekvapil, 2000; Sonia, 2011). Some of new labels included a social dimension, which functioned in both inclusive and exclusive ways. For example, the category "Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority", placed Roma ethnics in the category of Romanian citizens, while also continuing to present them as "different" from the implied majority in both number and character.

The concept of "belonging" to an ethnicity or a minority did some interesting rhetorical work. "Belonging" did not necessarily presuppose an "essentialist" attribution (cf. Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2015), since it implied affiliation, membership, or being socially classified in a certain way. Writing that someone "*belongs*" to a minority is different than presenting someone as *being* an ethnicity. *Belonging* can be seen as a coincidental, but also an inevitable, objective, and fixed characteristic (Verkuyten & de Wolf, Being, Feeling and Doing: Discourses and ethnic self-definitions among minority group members, 2002). Roma ethnics were presented as *being* "us" by either being made a part of an esteemed group such as "European Union Citizens", "Romanian Citizens", or "Citizens" or by being placed in a generally unremarkable and humanly inclusive groups of "people", "men" and "women". However, the categorization did not stop there. The "us" which included "them", also excluded "them", by making "them" belong to "others". "They" were not simply "European Union Citizens", like the rest of "us", but rather "they" "belonged" to a subgroup of people associated with various problems: "they" were "European Union Citizens belonging to Roma minority". As was seen in Extract 14, European Union citizens did not need inclusion, and they did not present Europe with a stringent social problem: it was the "belonging to Roma minority" which proved problematic.

Extracts 18 and 19 present two instances of proposed governmental changes to Roma identity. The instances included a similar critique of the identity of two different categories of Roma. The first instance is from Strategy 1a (2001) and the second from Strategy 2 (2011).

Extract 18: Roma label – Example 1 (HG 430/2001 – Original in Romanian)

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1  100. The initiation of cultural projects of Roma identity
2  reconstruction and improving self-esteem.
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Extract 19: Roma label – Example 2 (HG 1.221/2011 – Original in Romanian)

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1  2. The initiation of cultural projects of identity
2  reconstruction and identity affirmation of the Romanian
3  citizens belonging to Roma minority.
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The two instances are very similar in their implied criticism of Roma identity and their proposed solution. Both implicitly criticized Roma identity, and explicitly proposed cultural projects for Roma identity reconstruction. According to the 2001 Strategy, the cultural projects also aimed to improve Roma self-esteem (Extract 15, line 2), while the 2011 Strategy hoped for a Roma *identity affirmation* (Extract 16, line 3). In other words, changes in identity, would lead to further psychological benefits in self-esteem and self-affirmation. The major difference between the instances was given by the two different ways of pointing to the group targeted by the proposed projects. The first instance used the common language of the 2001 and 2006 Strategies which called attention to Roma people mostly in terms of ethnic differentiation. The identity in need of change was rhetorically imbedded into the dubious Roma ethnicity. The 2011 Strategy, however, presented a different way of pointing in which ethnicity took the secondary stage. In this case, the flawed identity was owed by *Romanian citizens belonging to Roma minority* (Extract 15, lines 2, 3). Roma people were categorized as Romanian citizens first, and only secondly as Roma. Also, the category "Roma" was portrayed in terms of a minority, and not just an ethnicity. The implied difference between the general group of "Romanian citizens" and the subgroup of "Roma

minority" was in terms of population size, but it also implied certain rights, liberties and political protection.

The trend in labelling Roma as a national minority began with the official recognition of Roma population as a national minority in 1990 (Dezideriu, 2002). Eight years later, in February 1, Romania adopted the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. According to the Convention, all European states pledged to promote full equality and protection from discrimination to all people belonging to national minorities. Also, the Convention explained that each individual has the right to decide if he or she desires to benefit from the rights and liberties offered to members of a national minority, based on criteria such as language, religion or culture (Consiliul Europei, 1998). By offering the proposal of identity reconstruction to members of a national minority, rather than to Roma people, the 2011 Strategy dressed the prejudicial criticism of Roma identity in the tolerant and progressive language of minority rights and liberties. In this instance, the cultural program designed to offer an identity reconstruction was posed as a "right" offered by the Governmental Strategy to Romanian people who considered themselves a national minority benefitting from governmental care and protection. On the flip side, the language of cultural rights continued the pattern of presenting Roma people as inferior and in need of "outside" help concerning socially accepted "identity", "self-esteem", "self-affirmation" and "culture". Nonetheless, there seems to be a gradual move from categorizing Roma people as ethnically different, to apparently more inclusive, but still exclusive categorization practices.

5.3. Concluding remarks

This chapter has looked at the variety of ways in which Policy documents discussed disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in Romania. The research questions which guided the analysis were: (1) How was the problem of ethnic disparity portrayed? (2) What were the governmental solutions proposed to the problem of disparity? (3) Were there any

ambivalent or dilemmatic aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people? (4) Were the perspectives of Roma people accounted for in the governmental documents? (5) Did formal policy documents drew upon academic publications as arguments for, or against policy solutions? (6) Were academic publications which were intended to inform public policies for Romas acknowledged within governmental documents? (7) What were the similarities and differences between academic and political perspectives?

Analysis has revealed that there were two broad governmental views concerning ethnic disparity. The first view, which was specific to the 2001 and 2006 documents, was to discuss disparities between Roma and non-Roma people in terms of a desire to improve the "Roma situation". Within the frames used in this context, academic publications were not acknowledged and any references to other documents were confined to legal and political documents. Moreover, in formal policy documents, arguments found in academic publications were not used to propose or oppose various policies. The major problem addressed by these two policy documents was the disadvantaged position of Roma people in comparison to non-Roma people. The political solution was to improve the general Roma situation in accord to the standards of a non-Roma norm group, with an implicit assumption that the majority Romanian group is the standard

The second view, specific to the 2011, 2015 documents, was to place emphasis on the governmental desire to include Roma people into Romanian society. Within these policy documents, academic research results were often acknowledged. Each frame found within the discussions about Roma inclusion, there was at least one reference made to an academic text. Nonetheless, although numerical data was cited, the academic ideological or moral arguments and concerns about Roma people were rarely hinted at. The problem of ethnic disparity was portrayed in terms of comparisons between Roma and non-Roma people *vis-a-vis* standard of living, access to institutions and services, and socioeconomic status. The governmental

solution was to provide vulnerable Roma people with the necessary resources and opportunities to reach a “normal” (Romanian) standard of living. In a similar vein to the view about improving the Roma situation, this standard was to be achieved by strategically “lifting” vulnerable Roma to a socially acceptable level of social and economic wellbeing.

Frame analysis has also revealed ambivalence found in the Governmental Strategies with regard to Roma people having a problem, versus Roma people being a problem. There were differences to how this ambivalence was portrayed in policy documents and academic texts. For example, some of the frames found in academic publications which maintained a Roma-having-problems-position placed the blame on the Romanian State. Academics, (Brearley, 2001; Liegeois & Gheorghe, 1995; Claude & Dimitrina, 2001) argued that Romanian authorities were the problem by not protecting Roma people who had a problem due to a post 1989 surge in anti-Roma violence. Academics also asked for international pressure on the Romanian Government to introduce urgent policy measures for the protection of Roma people.

In contrast, the authors of the policy documents presented the Romanian Government willingness to act. While retaining a Roma-having-problems-position, within the Policy documents the “desire” of the Romanian authorities to improve the situation of Roma people was repeatedly stressed. Moreover, within the frames found in policy documents the specifics of the “Roma problems” - which included anti-Roma sentiments and behaviours detailed by academics, were brushed over and concealed (cf. Scroter, 2013). Instead the authors of policy documents choose to propose measures for the improvement of an imprecisely prescribed “Roma situation” problem. By remaining vague about the problematic “situation”, the governmental texts placed academic concerns under a veil of concealment.

There were also points of agreement between academic and policy texts arguing for a Roma-having-problems-position, specifically in frames which used the voices of academic publications as numerical and factual based evidence for the discrepancies between Roma and non-Roma people. In these cases, the academic studies cited were commissioned, and seemingly also approved, by the Romanian Government. Frames found in academic publications such as equality as sameness (Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2010; Cace & Vladescu, 2004) and frames found in policy documents such as blocked access frame or Roma economic deterioration frame factually argued that policy based steps should be taken to insure that Roma people would enjoy the same access to rights, opportunities, institutions and services as non-Roma people. Unfortunately, these frames, although having laudable objectives, failed to challenge the underlying majority norms and values. It was implied that sameness was to be achieved by changes targeting primarily Roma people, while non-Romas could continue their daily business unchanged.

Although academic texts discussed matters of diversity and intersectionality, these topics were rarely mentioned in policy documents, and only in fragmented form. The acknowledgement of either sub-groups Roma elites/leaders or sub-groups of marginalized Roma suggest an awareness of ethnic differences within the group. However, the diversity of Roma people seemed to be considered only with regard to status, wealth and power, rather than experiences. Moreover, the diverse perspectives of Roma people were rarely acknowledged by academics or the authors of policy documents. Nonetheless, by introducing a gender dimension, the latest two governmental strategies (2012, 2015) suggested certain knowledge about feminist preoccupations with the complex and intersecting experiences of women. Points of contrast were also found. On the one hand, by using the frame of intersectionality between gender and ethnicity, Surdu and Surdu, (2006) brought attention to the point of intersection between the various inequalities of ethnicity, gender, class, and other

social divisions. On the other hand, the policy documents, focused on a single link between the barriers to Roma girls' education and traditional Roma norms.

When the ambivalent position shifted from Roma problems towards Roma-as-a-problem, similarities and differences were also present between frames found in academic and policy documents. For example, with regard to the possible link between Roma ethnicity and crime, arguments found within academic texts (Zamfir & Zamfir, 1993) suggested that Roma behaviours and borderline lifestyle were a problem which triggered inter-ethnic conflict and anti-Roma violence. Thus Roma-being-a-problem was a major cause of Roma-having-problems. Arguments in a similar vein were made by the within policy documents. This frame shifted the attention from the objective of improving a Roma situation to an opportunity of improving problematic Roma people who were depicted either as criminal or prone to criminal behaviours. The point of dissent between the academic and policy frame was that while the reactions to Roma violence frame used in academic publications proposed measures for stopping the amplification of anti-Roma violence (as a reaction to Roma crime), with the help of law and order institutions, the opportunity for Roma identity and behavioural improvement frame found in policy documents focused only on solving Roma violence with the sustained help of Government officials, the local police and Roma leaders. According to the frame found in policy documents, some Roma problems, such as their identity could be solved with the help of a sub-group of Roma elites. The idea that a few Roma people could be a part of the solutions for other Roma people was also used in some frames found in academic publications, most notably the overcoming systemic inequality frame which adopted the concept of grit (cf. Duckworth, Petterson, Matthews, & Kelly, 2007), to suggest that elite and heroic Roma people could overcome systemic barriers and act as an encouragement of other, possibly still marginalized or excluded Romas. Although no frame found in policy documents contained a grit narrative, fragments of this concept have found

their way into frames included in policy documents. For example, the reader might recall that within the measure of progress frame, it was pointed out that Roma religious affiliation could be a catalyst for social inclusion, as specifically protestant Romas might develop the kinds of values that would be helpful in overcoming systemic barriers.

This association between ethnicity and problems in values, behaviour, identity or other individual traits, does not necessarily suggest that the Governmental Strategies or academic publications were racist documents, but rather that they were documents displaying an ambivalent (cf. Marinho & Billig, 2013) understanding of Roma people, which included aspects of subtle forms of ethnicism. In many ways, these documents adopted a liberal stance on Roma issues, pledging to develop systemic and policy based measures for resolving disparities in education, employment, health and housing. Also, the academic publications and the policy documents were authored (or co-authored) by people of diverse ethnicities (including Roma) who in many cases were activists for Roma causes, and who occasionally acknowledged the diverse perspectives of Roma people. At the same time, however, the documents displayed a dilemmatic perspective about the causes and also solutions to disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. The documents, by containing a variety of frames, combined recognition of systemic problems and individual problems, with proposed changes in terms of both systemic and individual reforms.

Clearly, the language used to write about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people evolved in both academic publications, and in policy documents. Specifically, the policy documents progressively became more in-line with European norms. Nonetheless, the prejudicial and stereotypical views about Roma individual problems were not completely gone. Rather, with each new Strategy ethnic blame was being inconspicuously attired more fully in the language of modern ethnicism – indicative of the modern racism of the post-civil

rights movement in America (McConahay, 1986) - making it harder to spot, and also harder to challenge.

The next analytical step, described in the following chapter, consisted of an investigation into the ways in which the frames found in academic and policy documents were used in conversational contexts where policy measures for the inclusion of Roma people were implemented.

CHAPTER 6: VIEWS ABOUT ETHNIC DISPARITIES IN CONVERSATIONAL CONTEXTS WERE POLICY MEASURES WERE IMPLEMENTED

The aim of this chapter was to analyse the views about ethnic disparities presented in conversations taking place in contexts where policy measures for Roma people were implemented. The study was guided by the following research questions: (1) How was the problem of ethnic disparity portrayed? (2) What were the conversational solutions proposed to the problem of disparity? (3) Were there any ambivalent or dilemmatic aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people? (4) Were academic publications or governmental documents acknowledged within governmental documents? (5) Were the views identified in academic and governmental documents also used in conversations? (6) Did conversationalists moved away from the elite discourses of academics and policymakers, introducing novel ways of understanding ethnic disparities?

The focus or this chapter was on the ways in which practitioners and beneficiaries of policy measures for redressing disparities can use, or draw upon academic publications and policy documents to present arguments concerning differences between Roma and non-Roma people.

6.1. Introduction

Studies that were originally concerned with the attitudes displayed by white people against black people in the United States showed that while opinion polls were showing a decline in racist responses (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981), negative feelings about black people lingered. More importantly, the issues the general public talked about shifted from explicit anti-black comments towards new topics of conversation. It was suggested that public opposition to policies designed to redress racial disparities was a defining feature of a variety of theoretical constructs including: “modern racism” (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981; McConahay, 1986), “new racism” (Barker, 1981), subtle racism (Akrami, Ekehammer,

& Araya, 2000; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Pettigrew & Meertens, 2001) or symbolic racism (McConahay & Hough, 1976). Contemporary social scientific literature on racist prejudice and discrimination, specifically the theories of modern or subtle forms of racism, were built on the assumption that there are two types of views that are in constant opposition. One type view was labelled as tolerant and anti-racist, and identified as the view that was globally in favour of public policies that address disparities between ethnic or racial groups. The other view was labelled as intolerant and (modern) racist, and identified as the view that was globally against these policies. For example, McConahay Hardee, and Batts (1981) explained,

> whites mainly recognize old-fashioned racism as reflecting racism. Any of their other opinions, beliefs, or actions that work to the detriment of blacks are not seen as prejudice; and since most white Americans either do not hold old-fashioned racist beliefs or they feel guilty about the ones they do hold, whites tend to think racism is a thing of the past. Hence, whites perceive the continuing efforts and demands of blacks as unjustified, while blacks see whites' resistance to these efforts as tangible proof of racism and hypocrisy, and the cycle of conflict continues (p. 578).

The utility of an all-encompassing account explaining the views and behaviours of a dominant group of white people was, however, questioned by a few authors. For example, van Dijk (1993) noticed that during the parliamentary debates taking place in the 1980 in several Western countries, at times, white members of the liberal left used language that was very similar to those of the far-right parties. The elites on the left of the political spectrum used the language usually associated with the far right in making arguments in favour of tolerant, pro-immigration policies. Van Dijk (1992) also showed that people can use disclaimers to deny racism in order to disguise it. Further, Billig et al., (1988) stressed that people arguing in line with principles of justice, tolerance or equality were likely to also

display opposing principles, showing the ideological dilemmas that underlie human thoughts and arguments.

In this thesis, chapters 4 and 5 showed that academic publications and policy documents, which globally were in favour of public policies for redressing ethnic based disparities, could accommodate diverse and often inconsistent and contradictory views containing both characteristics associated with tolerance *and* ethnicism[22] - which as a subtype of racism - reflects the theories of modern or symbolic racism.

This chapter focuses on group conversations taking place in settings where policy measures for the inclusion of Romanian Roma people were implemented (for details concerning participants and contexts see Chapter 3). Analysis considered the frames used when discussing ethnic disparities in these discussions and focused on the points of similarity and differences from the frames that were identified in the academic publications discussed in chapter 4 and in the policy documents discussed in chapter 5.

6.2. Analyses

The data for this study was comprised of transcripts of 33.15 hours of recorded conversations with 88 participants residing in fifteen parts of Romania, and covering the main geographical areas of the country (for the place of residence of participants see Figure 3.1, Chapter 3). The participants interacted in 28 groups organized as part of different programs and projects initiated as part of the first two Governmental Strategies for Roma inclusion (Romanian Government - HG 1.221/2011, 2012; Romanian Government - HG 430/2001, 2001) (for details about the participants and groups see chapter 3 and Appendix A).

The analytic procedure was broadly similar to the one used for the analysis presented in chapters 4 and 5. There were two stages of analysis consisting of a basic content analysis followed by an analysis of the frames used in conversations. The analytical categories for the

content analysis were selected through the method of comparing and contrasting instances (Glazer & Strauss, 1967). Content analysis was used as a first stage of frame analysis in accord with the approach proposed by Verloo (2007). The analytical categories used for the content analysis were: (1) talk about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people; (2) mapping of frames found in academic publications in conversational contexts; (3) mapping of frames found in policy documents in conversational contexts; (4) additional frames found only in conversational settings.

For the second part of the frame analysis, coding was based on the methodology proposed be Verloo (2007), which involved the use of a set of sensitizing questions for the generating of codes (for a detailed discussion of the Method used in the study, see chapter 3).

6.2.1. First Stage of Frame Analysis: Content Analysis

Analysis showed that out of the 178,135 spoken words, 80,174 (45%) pertained to talk about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. This topic was discussed across the 28 interactive groups. There were 431 instances coded "Disparity talk", defined as a sequence of words or sentences which presented, described or implied that Roma people, relative to the general population, were equal to, lower or higher in different aspects socioeconomic wellbeing: quality of life, education, employment, health, housing, infrastructure, social services, culture, and community participation.

There were 16 different ways in which talk about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people was framed. In the conversational data, there were 5 frames found in academic publications that were used in 18 group discussions, 6 frames found in policy documents and also used in the conversations from 16 groups and 5 novel frames found in 26 conversational settings (See table 6.1).

In this thesis, it was not assumed that the origin of the various frames found in academic or policy documents resided within the community of practice of academics or policymakers. Rather, it was presumed that academics and policymakers also draw upon a potpourri of information, tropes and clichés, including various frames found within the overall society, along with information from the mass-media, which was not included in the analysis. Nonetheless, within the data analysed for this thesis, it was found that the policy documents and academic publications did not use the same frames in discussing ethnic disparities, while conversations drew upon both. Thus, in the context of the data analysis at hand, the mapping of "academic frames" and "policy frames" onto conversations is understood as the use or mention of the frames found in academic, respectively policy texts, by the interactants included in this chapter.

In line with Verloo's (2007) methodology for frame analysis, the major frames were distinguished from the minor frames based on (a) frequency: the number of occurrences in the data; and (b) comprehensiveness: the extent to which a frame included the aspects of voice, problem, causality and solutions (Form more information see, Chapter 3, Table 3.1). A frame that included at least three out of the four aspects was considered a comprehensive frame.

Table 6.1. Conversational frames

Frame	Academic Publications	Policy Documents	Group discussions	Groups using frame
Equality as sameness	Major	-	Minor	1, 4
Recognizing cultural difference	Major	-	Minor	1, 2, 6

Successfully assimilated Roma	Major	-	Minor	18, 20, 25, 28
Diverse Roma People	Major	-	Minor	27, 28
Overcoming systemic inequality	Major	-	Major	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 24, 26, 27, 28
Compensating for Roma difficulties	-	Major	Minor	28
Opportunity for Roma identity and behavioural improvement	-	Minor	Minor	24, 26
Standard of living	-	Major	Minor	3, 19, 20, 25, 26
Blocked access	-	Major	Major	1, 4, 8, 14, 16, 17, 18, 23, 24, 26, 28
Romanian economic costs	-	Minor	Minor	5
A change of mentalities	-	Minor	Minor	24
Anti-Roma discrimination	-	-	Major	1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 15,

				16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28
Success of the meek	-	-	Major	3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23
Lack of quality education	-	-	Minor	1, 2, 3, 5, 26
Motivating Roma children	-	-	Minor	4, 6, 27
Roma advantage	-	-	Minor	4

Out of the ten frames found in academic publications discussed in Chapter 4, five were also used in conversational setting. The frames found in academic publications but not used by the participants of this study were: (1) passive state frame, (2) complicit state frame (3) reaction to Roma violence frame, (4) mainstreaming ethnicity frame, and (5) intersectionality between gender and ethnicity frame.

The first three frames found in academic publications missing from the conversational data were used in academic discussions of human rights in texts published predominantly between 1990 and 2001. It is thus possible that by the time the conversational data was collected - which was more than a decade later- these frames were out of fashion, both from the academic and the practitioners' communities of practice.

The fourth frame found in academic publications and missing from conversations was a major frame used within discussions of equality. The mainstreaming ethnicity frame was a

highly theoretical perspective within the academic literature which criticized the mono-cultural Romanian policy model seen as a cause of ongoing Roma discrimination and prejudice. In conversational contexts where funded programs for Roma inclusion in Romanian society were actively implemented, usually by non-Roma people for Roma beneficiaries, criticisms of Romanian cultural hegemony were, perhaps unsurprisingly, not brought up. However, as it will be seen later, "Romanian" ways of thinking and behaving towards Roma people could be criticized, but within different frames found in conversational settings.

The fifth frame found in academic publications, but absent from conversations was a minor frame used in four academic publications discussing the topic of Roma diversity. Although participants did occasionally talk about gender differences, the ways in which inequalities based on ethnicity, gender, class and other social differences intersected were not discussed.

Two out of the nine frames found in the policy documents analysed in Chapter 5 were not used or mentioned in conversations. The first frame missing was the legal requirements frame used in the first Governmental Strategy (2001) within discussions about the improvement of Roma situation. This frame was especially suited for a political document, being characterized by an explanation of the legal obligations faced by the Romanian Government which necessitated the adoption of the Strategy. The governmental Strategies were not discussed at any point by the participants, and possibly as a consequence, the legal requirements of the Government did not transform into a relevant frame for the discussions at hand. Nonetheless, the responsibilities of Romanian authorities towards disadvantaged Roma people were discussed within other frames.

The second frame found in policy documents and absent from conversations was the Roma economic deterioration frame. This frame, which appeared once in the third Governmental Strategy, was a fragmented frame, being the only frame found in policy documents to not include any solutions to the problem of deteriorating economic disparity between Roma and non-Roma people. As it will be seen in later sections, in conversations people spoke about economic disparities between Roma and non-Roma people, but not in terms of deteriorating conditions.

6.2.2. Second Stage of Frame Analysis: Conversational Debates Concerning Ethnic Disparities

With the exception of participants from groups 5, 6, and 28 the rest of the members of the groups spontaneously engaged in discussions about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people (for demographic information about the participants see Appendix A). In groups 5 and 6 the workshop's explicit objective was to exchange views about the educational outcome gap between Roma and non-Roma people. In group 28, the topic of the seminar which led to the recorded discussion was the social and economic disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. The other groups met to deliberate on and intervene on issues such as Roma parental engagement in the educational process (groups 1-3), the promotion of human rights and the civic education of young people in interethnic groups (group 4), collecting Roma success stories (groups 7-23), and university led exercises in intercultural dialogue (groups 24-27). Nonetheless, the problem of disparity seemed to form the backdrop to all conversations about the problems and the solutions concerning Roma people. There were sixteen different ways in which the problem of disparity was framed in conversations, out of which eleven were also found in academic and policy documents. Five frames found in group discussions did not appear in the academic writing or in the policy documents.

In conversations, participants may have used some of the frames found in academic or policy documents as available explanatory resources in evaluating or explaining the causes or the solutions to the problem of ethnic disparity, without necessarily being aware of how those frames were being used by academics or policymakers. The frames identified in chapters 4 and 5 were part of the linguistic repertoires (cf. Potter & Litton, 1985) available in Romania at the time of the study. A particular frame could, at times, serve different rhetorical goals in conversations compared to academic or policy texts. Additionally, especially within the frames found only in conversations, some fragmentary aspects of academic or policy frames could be merely mentioned, and used as only one of a number of explanatory resources for the argument at hand.

6.2.2.1. Major and minor frames found in academic publications and used in conversational settings.

Five frames found in academic publications were also used in 18 out of the 28 group discussions. Based on the frequency and comprehensiveness of the frames, there were one major and four minor frames. The frame of overcoming systemic inequality was the most frequently present and comprehensively used frame in conversational groups. Four frames found in academic setting which were minor frames in conversations were: (1) equality as sameness frame, (2) recognizing cultural differences frame, (3) successfully assimilated Roma frame and (4) diverse Roma people frame.

Major frame: Overcoming systemic inequality.

As noted in chapter 4, in academic publications the frame of overcoming systemic inequality was used to describe determined and resilient Roma people. Academics presented four types of succes stories (1) the self-made traditional Roma leader; (2) the religious Roma; (3) the Roma activist, and (4) the intelectual Roma (see Chapter 4, Major Frame 2:

Overcoming systemic inequality). In conversations, all of the success stories occurred spontaneously and were and had an intelectual Roma as a hero. In groups 7-23, the Roma participants were religious leaders who discussed the spiritual, emotional and behavoural benefits of Roma conversion to Christianity, and thus the religious Roma success story was anticipated, the frame employed in these discussions was not one of overcoming systemic inequlities, but one success through a meek spirit - a frame which will be presented in later sections.

In the recorded conversations, when the frame of overcoming systemic inequality was drawn upon, the same pattern found in the academic publications emerged. The pattern involved the three main stages of Campbell's (1968) heroic story: (1) a departure, (2) an initiation and (3) a return. Within this frame, the hero departed from a rural and segregated Roma community to a multi-ethnic urban setting which promised better educational prospects. The initiation took place in a broader multi-ethnic community where ethnic related problems were encountered and surmounted with some help from parents, mentors or affirmative action programs. Finally, the return involved the adoption of a mentorship role, by actively encouraging other (unaccomplished) Roma people to follow the set example.

The heroic narratives were brought up by Roma and non-Roma higher status group members such as university undergraduates, graduate students or professionals, and in all cases, the protagonist of the heroic narrative was a Roma person. Non-Roma heroes were not discussed in the data collected for this study.

Extract 1 is an example of how participants used a frame of overcoming inequality to discuss ethnic disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. The interaction begins with Corina, who announced her desire to veer the course of the conversation (which was about

how Roma people can have success in Romania despite on-going discrimination), back to an earlier topic about the worth of university studies.

Extract 1: "You just have to want it, (.) with a little help, it is possible" (Group 4)

Corina I would like to go back to the other question, (.) because to me it seems more important

Mea Ok

Corina the other one about why go to the university. Why? Um, for young Roma ethnics, from my point of view, it is a lot more important to go to a university (.) because (0.5) first of all, you overcome uh all the stereotypes and prejudices like (.) uh (0.5) uh Roma children and their parents do not like to go to school, which is not at all true. (0.5) I say this from my own experience. And second of all, (0.5) uh an uh young (.) Roma, to end up at the level of having higher education, (0.5) uh means (.) twice, three times (0.5) more (.) effort, than for a young person who is not of Roma ethnicity. (.) And here I do not say this only because a colleague of mine says this thing, but because I, in order to finish eighth grades, from the fifth grade to eighth grade I had to walk seven kilometres every day through cemeteries. (1) Maybe a child to- A child who is not a Roma (0.5) and has other means, simply it was required just to- Maybe his father would have driven him to school and pick him (.) up, (0.5) but for me

it wasn't so! And (.) all the other experiences in town (.) that were not uh (.) at all similar; to be in a high school that uh (.) is still a, a high school considered good in Rivercity and to be the only one of Roma ethnicity in all the school and the moment that it's your turn with uh (.) high school money and the memo comes around and it tells you that uh (0.5) "Corina should present herself to the administrative office (.) for uh high school money" ((*Corina refers to an national affirmative measure through which Roma people enrolled in high school receive a scholarship*)) and everyone turns their heads towards you that I was already "Why did I came to school today when tomorrow I could have gone to the administrative office on my own?" ((*laughing*)) So there are all sorts of issues like this that uh- So, (.) I encourage it! (0.5) Well, that's not the case between us cos we (.) already are- (0.5) But every time I have the possibility I say, say: (.) "Just for the simple fact that you went to university, (.) at least you have an extra chance (.) to work as a cleaning lady." (0.5)

(A) ((*quiet laugher*))

Corina If you didn't go to university, it's possible that no one will give you a chance, to talk to you not even as a cleaning lady, (.) at least to talk to

you, and say (.) “Yes, you want a job? (1) There is no such thing!” (0.5) And now if [a person] would come, let's say, if (0.5) you see on the street a (.) person who is badly dressed- (0.5) When I came to high school, to high school, (.) I had, I was badly dressed, (.) because my parents did not have the possibility to dress me with such clothing (.) in brands. (0.5) And now that I have a salary, (.) I think that that is why I don't like brands of clothes and I don't wear such things ((*laughing*)) because I have from- I hate them because of this. (0.5) Because all my colleagues had clothes (.) of I don't know what type and then- (0.5) It is shameful (.) in high school to dress with clothes from the market.

Flavia From the Flee Market!

((*collective laughter*))

Adrian From the Flee Market!

Naomi Those are nicer!

Corina Not necessarily from the Flee Market, (.) but from the market.

[((*collective laughter, overlapping comments*))

Corina [So, this is what I wanted to say and I'm finishing. (0.5) This is what I wanted to say and I'm finishing (0.5) that every time I have the possibility to say this, I do (.) dearly (0.5) because (.) I have been

there and I know that it is possible. (0.5) You just have to want it, (.) with a little help, it is possible. (0.5) But that little help has to be given.

Dana °Where from?°

Corina (2) Has to be given (.) by (0.5) the institutions that are closer to you. (.) Cos if I am in a village at the top of the mountain, Băsescu ((*former Romanian President*)) won't come to find out: "You hear me, Corina, you have to go to school!" (0.5) A social worker will (.) come or the social referent from the City Hall, who must know about me, (0.5) the Mayor will come who must know about me because my father and mother (.) voted for him (.) I don't know whatever person (.) will come, the school principal [or,

Maria [The school principal or the teacher.

Corina or the teacher or the professor who must know about me cos she has me in her database and say „Corina come to school! What are you lacking? A, a, a pair of shoes? Well just wait cos I'll go to the City Hall and ask for a pair of shoes."

Nelu This is how it should be!

Corina Well, this is how it should be, cos she said to me „Where should it be given from?" (.) I agree.

Dana °And (.) in your case where did help come from?°

Corina Uh, my story (.) is much longer ((*smiley voice, laughter*))

((*collective laughter*))

Corina This is the summary of the summary ((*smiley voice, laughter*))

Gigi Yes, but still look that (.) there are neighbourhoods where (.) they just don't have (.) schools anymore, they have nowhere for students to go (.) to school.

[It matters-

Corina [There is no such thing! I in The Poor Village, for example, I had grades I-IV. (0.5) I had two possibilities, either drop out- three, excuse me: either drop out (.) and end up with four grades, either go to Posh School, which is in a city at (.) uh 14 km round trip with a bus, (.) a bus that had to be paid, (.) money that we didn't have; (.) we should have- (.) I had a third possibility to go to Faraway School (.) on foot 7 km, and there was a fourth to send me to the mad people

((*quiet laughter*))

Corina to Neighbouring City, this is how my father expressed it, (.) the mad people, meaning

Maria [a Special needs school.

Adrian [a Special needs school.

127 Corina [a placement centre. Father understood that there
128 are mad people there and that his girl is not mad
129 and that she won't go there. But it's not true,
130 children go there that have=
131 Maria [=That don't have means
132 Tamara [Don't cope
133 Corina [problems. (.) But whatever, that is how they
134 interpreted it. And then from all of these options I
135 said, "Eh, (0.5) my dad doesn't send me to the mad
136 people cos I'm not mad,
137 [((*collective laughter*))
138 Gigi [That's your advantage, no? ((*smiley voice*))
139 ((*quiet laughter*))
140 Gigi But your parents had the courage to fight for you
141 (0.5) and they (1) also [(x)
142 Maria [They also gave you advice
143 (.) and stuff.
144 Gigi At least they gave you advice,
145 [that you need to do something
146 Maria [It matters! Cos you see that [(x)
147 Gigi [cos you are the one
148 that must do something.

1. *The problems.*

Corina's heroic story as a University Roma graduate was built upon a foundation of systemic problems. The mention of *cemeteries* (line 20) was indicative of Corina's childhood

place of residence. In Romania cemeteries are to be found on the edges of towns and villages. Usually, beyond the cemeteries one finds only empty fields and segregated Roma communities. Corina's mention of a daily seven kilometres walk through cemeteries (lines 19-20) points to two interrelated problems. Firstly, Corina's childhood home was in a segregated Roma settlement. Secondly, she either did not have a bus stop near her home, or she couldn't afford to pay for the bus fare.

The difficulties faced by Roma people in general were emphasised with the use of contrasts between Roma and non-Roma school aged children. For the generic non-Roma *young person* (lines 14-15), or the non-Roma child (lines 20-21), going to school did not require overcoming financial problems or a lack of available transportation (lines 21-22). For a Roma child, however, education came at high personal costs, including a departure from home into a predominantly non-Roma community. In Corina's case, access to a good education meant relocating to a *town* (line 25), where her presence as a Roma in a good school was exceptional (*the only one of Roma ethnicity,* lines 27-28).

2. *The solutions.*

The solutions presented did not involve changes in circumstances, but an individual overcoming of given conditions. Corina presented herself as resilient enough to not only to walk seven kilometres to school every day but also to face the daunting task of passing through cemeteries during the early hours of the day and again in the evenings, while still a child.

Although, examples of success due to personal resilience were presented in a favourable light, systemic help on the basis of ethnicity in the form of a monthly scholarship (lines 29-30, 32) was viewed as a source of embarrassment.

Solutions which required mentorship or the provision of material resources for school participation on a case-by-case basis (*a pair of shoes,* lines 95-96) from representatives of near-by institutions - such as the City Hall, social workers or school staff – were, however,

approvingly presented in contrast to ineffective directives given by top-tier politicians (lines 83-85).

3. Concealment.

During the telling of heroic narratives, in contexts were policy based measures were implemented, success due to personal effort, meritocracy and resilience provided sovereign rhetorical repertoires, but policy based help was kept out of detailed discussion. Systemic problems were presented mainly because the heroes needed to show that there were barriers that they could overcome. Analysis of the causes of social disadvantage - or a critique of the ideological forces keeping it alive - were noticeably concealed (cf. Scroter, 2013).

Briefly, the frame of overcoming systemic inequality came in direct dialogue with an opposing blocked access frame, in which the main problem was not one of systemic barriers surmountable by resilient people, but rather impossible-to-overcome-without-policy-measures-problems. On lines 107-110, Gigi brought to the table a structural problem that could not be resolved by mentorship help, or by a new pair of shoes; the problem of neighbourhoods which do not have access to a near-by school. Within Gigi's frame, a systemic problem of access, could have led to a critique of social inequality, and, as was the case in policy discussions about blocked access, to solutions involving policy measures for improved access. Nonetheless, in her portrayal of the overcoming systemic inequality frame Corina placed structural barriers in the background, as unchallenged problems waiting for a hero to overcome ("*There is no such thing! I in The Poor Village, for example* (…)", lines 112, 113).

Corina's personal example had a double function. Firstly, she placed herself in an admirable position and secondly, all possible examples of Roma people who dropped out of school were attributed to personal and not situational causes. Secondary education, and subsequently high-school and university studies were constructed as hard options, but nonetheless feasible options. Gigi's observation of the existence of places where school aged

children had "*nowhere*" (line 109) to go to school was strongly contested by Corina. Since Gigi's intervention did not include a counter narrative to substantiate his claim, Corina's forceful rebuttal coupled with a personal experience proved more persuasive. At the end of the extract, Gigi - who only a few minutes before recounted the structural and hard-to-overcome problem of isolated communities with no access to schools, produced a personal trope about who is ultimately accountable for their own accomplishment: "*you are the one that must do something*" (line 147-148).

4. *Similarities and differences.*

The ways in which the frame was used by academics and conversationalists was similar with regard to its accomplishment: disparities between Roma and non-Roma people were persuasively legitimized by a heroic explanation of why some people could succeed regardless of circumstances. There was however, one major difference. In academic publications, the intellectual hero's destination involved an inclusion into mainstream Romanian society. After all of the hard work, the disparity present at the beginning of the journey was a thing of the past, and the present success became a reason of encouragement for others. In conversational settings, the higher level qualifications acquired with a great deal of effort and perseverance led to a future of lower paid positions, such as a cleaning lady (lines 43-45).

The frame adopted by Corina, led to a tacit understanding that the young Roma people should expect and also accept that inevitably some will need to work much harder, and for lesser future resources and rewards.

Minor frame 1: Equality as Sameness.

According to the academic frame of equality as sameness, the main problem was the unequal treatment of Roma people in comparison to non-Roma people. The existence of a discrepancy between the resources and outcomes of ethnically diverse people was

condemned, and the academic solution involved the inclusion of Roma people into mainstream Romanian society. The main argument was that every person, regardless of ethnicity should have equal access to the opportunities and outcomes.

In conversations, this frame was adopted by two people in groups 1 and 4. In both instances the topic leading to the adoption of the frame was ethnic based discrimination such as school segregation, lack of respect by medical personnel or self-segregation at work. Within this frame, participants contrasted their tolerant outlook and behaviours with the unequal treatment by those in power to provide services, and argued that services and policy based help should be provided equally to all people.

Extract 2: "We have to be provided for equally" (Group 1)

```
Aniko     I'm not saying that I'm (.) more superior. (0.5)
          But, I'm also from a family (.) ahh (.) my mum was
          Romanian (.) my dad Hungarian (.) but I have (1.0)
          ahh (.) a Roma husband. So (.) I make no difference
          (.) between Hungarians (.) nor Romanians (.) nor
          Gypsies (.) but, we have to be provided for equally.
```

Extract 3: "Why doesn't it help every person equally?" (Group 4)

```
Gigi      I have (0.5) friends from, from (0.5) Poor Village,
          Romas, (.) maybe all his sneakers are torn, but I
          go and say hello, I don't care that around me there
          those that have a problem with it, some teachers,
          doctors and so on. They looked at me and I was like:
          (.) "Yeah what's your problem? He's my friend, I go
          and [meet him in Poor Village=
Maria         [Yes, that's nice.
```

```
9   Gigi      =and then not to- What will I be like? Will I have
10            the courage to shake his hand?” Right? (0.5) This
11            (.) is what I’m like. From this point of view I do
12            not (0.5) label a person for being thin, (.) fat,
13            thin, (.) ugly or anything like that. He is human
14            after all
15  Maria     Uhm.
16  Gigi      and (0.5) maybe (.) if you want to get some advice
17            or help it will be given quicker by one that (.)
18            [went through bad stuff.
19  Naomi     [that went through some bad experiences.
20  Gigi      Yes! The one that went through stuff like that. But
21            (0.5) the biggest problem is, I say that in Romania
22            that it's not, that the State does not help you
23            with anything. Why doesn't it help every person
24            equally?
```

1. *The problem.*

In both extracts the problem was the unequal treatment of Roma people. This problem was described by two participants who began by presenting themselves as tolerant. In the case of Aniko, ethnic impartiality (*So, I make no difference between…,* lines 4-6*)* was a consequence of personal experience and life-choices which have shifted her ethnic group membership from a socially supported (*provided for,* line 6) group of non-Romas to a disadvantaged group of Roma people, which in this case was composed of mothers living in segregated Roma communities. Gigi’s egalitarian stance (lines 10-14) was attributed to

friendships with disadvantaged Roma people, and a non-conforming and courageous personality.

2. *The solutions.*

In both cases the solution pertained to an insurance of equality in the provision of services, rather than encouraging the unbiased opinions and views of a larger number of non-Roma people. The views of those less tolerant than Gigi or Aniko were portrayed as a problem, but not the *biggest problem* (Extract 3, line 21), or not the problem that needed changing. Those making a difference between people based on their ethnicity (…*Hungarians, nor Romanians, nor Gypsies* Extract 2, lines 4-6), or on their outward appearance (*fat, thin, ugly*, Extract 3, line 13), could continue to do so indefinitely. What needed changing was a vaguely portrayed system of provision of presumably goods and services (Extract 2, line 6) and the ways in which the Romanian State was generally unhelpful (*does not help you with anything*, Extract 3, lines 22-23).

3. *Ambivalence.*

The specifics of what the provision or the help entailed was undetermined, and in both instances the solution itself was only briefly touched upon. Both Aniko and Gigi seem to support in principle that help for Roma was needed. However, full support for positive measures was not offered. Instead, measures that apply to a generic "you" (Extract 3, line 22) or an ethnically inclusive "we" (Extract 2, line 6) were proposed, testifying to an ambivalence concerning full support for positive action for Roma people.

4. *Similarities and differences.*

Within the frame of equality as sameness, in both conversations and academic texts, Roma people were seen as the problem group, and the non-Roma group was portrayed as the

norm group. The moral aspiration was a society where Roma people would be treated by authorities with the same standards as the non-Roma population.

The difference between the way the frame was used in academic publications and the way it was used in conversations lied in two details concerning the solution:

(1) According to academics, ideally there should be no differences between Roma and non-Roma people, but the implication was that Romas would need systemic help in order to become like Romanians. The argument was that if Roma people had the same access to goods and services as non-Roma people, in time there would be no more differences in outcomes, culture, values and behaviours. However, in conversations there was no indication that the ethnic particularities would, or should, in time be absorbed by a mainstream ethnically neutral society. The focus was only on the sameness in the provision of services and policy based-help, already enjoyed by non-Romas, while differences between outward appearance, or various ethnicities, were not assumed to cease existing any time soon.

(2) The issue of sameness of provision appeared in conversations in the context of disclaimers and explicit denials of potentially prejudiced implication of accounts. In academic texts, equality was used as a guiding principle, underpinning the value of academic research in the service of disadvantaged groups. In contrast, conversationalists used the notion of equality flexibly as a rhetorical trope in order to accomplish a positive self-presentation while also criticizing intolerant others and a generally unhelpful State.

Minor frame 2: Recognizing Cultural Differences.

In contrast to the frame of equality as sameness, in the frame of recognizing cultural differences, the focus was on a discrepancy between the majority and Roma culture. The proposed solution involved policies that would take into account multiple cultures, while also expecting some measure of change in (some) Roma people.

In academic publications this frame recommended taking cultural differences into account when establishing policies for the decrease of Roma marginalization. In conversations, the acknowledgment-of-cultural-differences part of the argument was maintained. However, the outcome of the proposed policy was not focused on reducing marginalization, but on increasing Roma school attendance and educational achievements.

In extract 4, Sandu, a Roma ethnic, talked about the educational outcome gap between Roma and non-Roma people. Sandu's talk differs from the conversations presented so far in this chapter as it was part of a workshop presentation. Although, the workshop was organized as a round-table discussion, Sandu prepared a power-point presentation for the event. During his speech there were virtually no exchanges of ideas between participants, as Sandu took the role of a presenter to a largely quiet audience.

Four of the participants did not speak Romanian, but were fluent in English. As a result, all discussions, including Sandu's speech were in English.

Extract 4: "The school (.) has to serve the needs of (1) uhh every culture" (Group 6)

```
Sandu   I have a doubt with a paradigm (.) of a (.) school that
        is build (0.5) as a (uh) bordering uh, uh, uh, uh, on a
        paradigm (1) that (.) values (.) the (.) majority's
        (1.5) uh (2) uh language, values, (1) and structures.
        So the school (1) does not have (0.5) a primary role
        (.) of including (.) uh kids (.) or to make them (.)
        culturally accustomed (.) to the, (.) uh their own
        culture. The school, it looks (.) how to make the
        children accustomed (.) with the general (.) values and
        culture of the society. (2) Then a different policy:
        "Let's assist the teachers to develop uh social,
```

intercultural competencies in order to refine their pedagogical tools”; to create inter-culturalism competences and so on and so forth. (2) I think again it's not the role of the, the school. Here I think it's (0.5) uhh- In order to be sustainable (2.5) it has to really look at the culture of (0.5) the very local community. (4) Same policy says: “Let's uhhh (1) make the school (.) to (2) cope better with uhh Roma parents (.) and this relationship to be more effective. (0.5) Here I think, yes it is (2) an important point, and I think we become little by little in (.) our practices, (4) because- (3) First of all (0.5) the school (.) should (.) serve the community, (.) not the community should serve the school. (2) But in all of the causes of the uhh, uhh Roma low attendance, Roma low (.) school uhh achievement it says (.): “These Roma are not interested about school! So the Roma parents should serve the schools”, but I think we have to put it a little bit different. (.) That (0.5) the school (.) has to serve the needs of (1) uhh every culture. (2) And of course uhh, uhh this is continuing the practice of cooperation between Roma parents and school. It has two sides. (.) So my last point is that (.) the school also has to reach out, and also Roma parents, in some cases, they have to (2) uhh do some work. (2) So, (.) as we

```
37          see in most of the, the policies now, they (1.5) invest
38          and look into the effects, rather than (.) into the (.)
39          real causes.
```

40 *1. The problem.*

Sandu suggested that the low Roma school participation and achievement (lines 26-27) was both a problem and an effect (line 38) of an ineffective educational policy paradigm built on the majority's system of language and values (lines 3-4). According to his argument, when this type of policy is adopted by schools, the result is either an attempt to mould Roma children in accord with the general non-Roma society, or educate the educators in line with the dictates of *inter-culturalism* (line 13). Rather than striving to change Roma children or their non-Roma teachers, Sandu argued that an efficient school policy seeks to understand (*really look*, line 17) the local Roma community.

2. The solutions.

Various solutions and perspectives about Roma people were paraded in the voice of a personified policy measure and then assessed by the one person jury, Sandu, who did not offer any objective factual evidence for the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the evaluated policy paradigms. As the keynote speaker of the event, Sandu, took his acquired status as an expert sociologist on Roma educational policies, as a sufficient and legitimate ground for confidently declaring his doubts (line 1), thoughts (lines 14, 15, 21-22, 29) and arguments (line 34). The best policy solution, according to Sandu, was one in which the school's practice would accommodate the needs of different communities. Sandu also suggested that a possible barrier to the adoption of such a policy could be a view which wrongly attributed the educational gap to Roma people's disinterest in education. This later view, would label Roma people, rather than the faulty educational policy paradigm as the major problem, and consequently, the solution would involve some kind of reformation of Roma educational

values, all the while the school would continue to learn how to *cope better* (line 19) with presumably difficult Roma parents. Sandu, however, suggested that the school institution should be the one reforming, by reaching out (line 35) and serving the needs of *every culture (*line 31).

3. Ambivalence.

At the end of the presentation, Sandu approvingly argued that cooperation between Roma parents and the school was an important ongoing goal. This goal had a two sided solution, and the implication was that at least in *some cases* (line 35), Roma parents were part of the problem, and also part of the solution – a position which required Romas do some of the work (line 36) for the improvement of their children educational outcomes. This position suggests ambivalence between portraying Roma people as having a problem versus Roma people being part of the problem. Yet, the problem here was one of parent-school cooperation, and not of any cultural faults displayed by Roma people.

4. Similarities and differences.

Similar to the way in which the frame of recognizing cultural differences was portrayed in academic publications, in Sandu's speech, the cultural characteristics of Roma people were presented as different from those of the majority. The difference, however, was in the way in which this distinction was evaluated in the two communities of practice. In academic texts Roma traits were presented as inferior to those of the majority's non-Roma population. Roma people were described as traditional, paternalistic and conservative; traits which academics argued were leading to self-marginalization and low school attainments. Ultimately, education practices which could become attractive to Romas were seen as a solution for the inclusion of Roma people, who could learn to adopt dominant educational norms and values.

In Sandu's speech, Roma culture was not portrayed as lesser than non-Roma culture, only as different. The argumentative appeal was in the call for policy that *really looks* (line 17) non-judgementally, and with an open mind to Roma culture and the needs of local communities. The goal was the cooperation between two equal parts: Roma parents and a largely non-Roma school institution - with policy measures insuring that the school institution does most of the changing, since it was also the *real cause* (line 39) of the problem.

Minor frame 3: Successfully Assimilated Roma.

Within academic discussions this frame portrayed Roma people as a problem, suggesting that changes in typical Roma identity and culture were needed. Educational programs were presented as an adequate solution for the assimilation of Roma people into mainstream society. In conversations, however, there was a dilemma between criticizing and praising the consequences of Roma assimilation. In turn, Roma and Romanian culture were presented as both problematic and advantageous for Roma people.

Before the interaction presented in Extract 5, the discussion was about Roma music and Roma traditional clothing, as two important features of Roma culture which should be maintained and promoted by Romas across Romania. Mihaita carried the conversation forward by beginning to lament that traditional Roma clothing was no longer worn, as Romas were gradually becoming more Romanian like.

Extract 5: "Today's Romas (hh) are Romanian like" (Group 18)

```
1  Mihaita   Unfortunately, today's Romas (hh) are Romanian like,
2            uh, uh they have become Romanian like and uh they no
3            longer have (0.5) a uh tradition, they don't have
4            their traditional clothing, uh because-
```

Ioan So, it’s a bad thing that Romas have become more Romanian like, uh does it only have negative consequences?

Mihaita It’s also a good thing (.) but uh unfortunately it also has negative consequences

Ioan Such as-

Mihaita Uh, I cannot say that (.) Romas becoming Romanian like is not a good thing, (.) or that the culture

Ioan Yes

Mihaita or that this thing of going to school and University, (.) and wearing uh trousers, uh (.) I mean (0.5) women uh

Ioan Yes

Mihaita or that they go around uh (0.5) wearing only a T-shirt and no sweater over it (.) like they used to before, that is a good thing.

Ioan Yes.

Mihaita But unfortunately this thing (.) this liberal way of living (.) uh we often go in the community and uh if we put a woman among men and they all wear trousers we can no longer tell which one is the man and which is the woman.

Ioan So, you would prefer to see a clearer distinction? ((*smiley voice*))

Mihaita Yes, of course

Ioan So is there anything else (.) you can say about Romas becoming more like Romanians?

Mihaita (hh) Uh, on the positive side (0.8) uh- Here we can- Uh first of all (0.5) we can refer to dress norms, second of all the Roma culture. So, uh, uh I noticed that in the case of our Romas (.) we see more positive things every day, if we may say so. The culture is raised a bit higher every day, more like the Romanian culture. I like this thing of children finishing eighth grades, going further to high school, finishing high school and then beginning University. There are even uh a lot uh Romas that I went to school with and they finished high school and are now uh working in the police force.

Ioan Yes, yes

Mihăiţă there are now in the uh- I had many colleagues who uh- One of them became a lawyer.

Ioan Yes.

Mihăiţă So uh this is uh a positive thing that we can be proud of.

Ioan Ok.

1. The problem and the solution.

In extract 5, becoming *Romanian like* was at the same time a problem and a solution to a problem. The problem was one of distinction between groups of people. The adoption of a Romanian way of life was presented as being at odds with Roma traditions, especially concerning female clothing styles. Mihaita maintained that looking Romanian can, in some

ways (*also*, line 8) be *a good thing* (line 8), although in the case of women, a Romanian fashion sense diverged from established cultural patterns (*like they used to before*, lines 19, 20). Again, this was labelled as a *good thing* (line 20), although at the beginning of the extract, a lack of traditional clothing was presented as an example of the unfortunate (line 1) effects of Roma people *becoming Romanian like* (line 1).

The problem did not seem to be with the actual assimilation to the Romanian way of life. The Romanian culture was displayed as a good and desirable standard which Roma people aspired to, while also maintaining some differences (*Romanian like)*. Educated Roma, who adopted Romanian educational values, were paraded as proud examples of people who incrementally helped raise Roma culture closer to its Romanian ideal (lines 36-39). The couple of Roma classmates who found jobs on the police force or in the legal field were distinctively referred to as the remarkable exemplars of assimilated Roma.

What seemed to trouble Mihaita was the inevitable blurring of lines between ethnic and gender distinctions. Perceived indistinctiveness was presented as an inevitable negative effect of a generally good process of Romanianazation. When Roma and non-Roma people dressed by the same liberal standards (lines 22-23), when skirts were no longer worn to show unmistakable gender differences, and when T-shirts worn by Roma women may uncover physical distinctions deemed too revealing when seen thorough a traditional looking glass, Mihaita disapproved. Consequently, on one hand, *being Romanian like* created problems of distinctions, but, on more positive hand (line 32) - it presented solutions for a Roma culture, which according to Mihaita, had some catching up to do.

2. Similarities, differences and dilemmatic aspects.

There were two main differences between the use of the frame of successfully assimilated Roma in academic publications and conversations. Firstly, in academic publications, modern and educated Roma were assimilated into Romanian society, based on

criteria proposed by non-Roma people, who were also part of the selection of deserving Roma. In conversations, Roma people were presented as active actors in the process of individually based assimilation. Non-Romas was not given a role in the process becoming-like-Romanians. Secondly, while academic texts seemed to take a more unilateral approach to the issue of assimilation, group conversations were more attuned to the two sides of the assimilation issue. For example, within this frame, in academic publications, the sub-group of marginalized Roma was considered a problem group, being a holder of a traditional and stubborn mindset. In conversations, traditional Roma people were not described as problematic. The loss of traditions was bemoaned, while the educational standards of Romanian culture were desired. In conversations, there was an amalgam of dilemmatic positions (cf. Billig, et al., 1988) about the unfortunate and the good consequences, the negative and the positive sides of the everyday Romanianization of Roma.

Minor frame 4: Diverse Roma People.

Up to this point, the discrepancies discussed in conversations were mainly ethnic based. Within the frame of diverse Roma people, however, ethnic differences took a backstage, while the focus was placed on the diversity between various Roma people. In academic publications, the existence of a typical Roma was criticized, and the presence of common Roma needs, or aims, become a disputable point. In conversations, the idea that there was a single homogeneous group of Romas was proposed by some participants, while others disagreed, offering counter arguments based on specific examples of atypical Roma people or groups.

Extract 6 is taken from a longer conversation about Roma poverty. Two non-Roma participants proposed that Roma poverty was in part caused by a Roma tradition in which husbands do not permit their wives to seek employment, which in turn leads to children placed in the street to beg. Three Roma participants strongly contested this view,

simultaneously offering examples from their own families where, although the Roma mothers were not employed, children were encouraged to pursue higher education. The conversation became increasingly heated, as additional stories were offered by other participants, either in favour or against the stereotypical view of paternalistic and poor Roma families, with children begging on the streets. At this point, Radu raised his voice over the others, and began offering a diagnostic for the apparent discord.

Extract 6: "We are talking about a lot of groups" (Group 27)

```
1                [((loud overlapping comments))]
2  Radu          [Our problem, OUR PROBLEM, why we don't understand
3                each other is cos (.) we are talking about a lot of
4                groups.
5  Luminita      [Exactly
6                [((loud overlapping comments))
7  Moni          [But we are talking about Romas. About THAT group.
8  Radu          That group does not exist. (.) Because just like
9                there aren't (.) two people (.) who are (.) identical,
10               that group does not exit. (.) When I said that uh the
11               woman does not go to work, I meant (0.3) strictly
12               (0.5) for (1) for some young married Romas, (0.5)
13               twenty something, thirty years old (.) I think about
14               Cristi (.). Where he, as a man, works (.), he does
15               what he can, the children grow up well with their mom
16               and so forth. (.) Eh, the category where they beg (.)
17               and the father drinks and such stuff, (.) that is a
18               different [group
19 Silvia                  [with a different philosophy. Uhm
```

Radu With a completely different philosophy. In Cristi’s case, it really (0.7)

Ramona Uhm

Radu isn't a problem (.) that she doesn't work

Silvia Uhm

Radu Now (.) there are exceptions here, too (.) And uh in some families where they say “no, it's ok even like this”. Between young people, there are some where he, the husband really doesn't care. (.) He goes to work, but doesn't trust her, and such. (.) All the time there are exceptions. (.) But in the end there are a lot (.) a lot (.) a lot of groups (.) with a very different [level

Silvia [with a low level of education

Radu No, with education, with a different life philosophy. (5) But there are also mothers who (0.5) yes (1)

Silvia There are [some Roma women who really work

Radu [don't raise their children, (.) they only care for themselves

Sivia Oh

Radu and the ch- children may support and financially care for the parents (1.5). They live on child support. (1) Eh, but there are also opposite situations (.) and the opposite situation is constantly growing.

Luminita Um (h)

```
46  Radu      Cos uh, uh, some parents try to do, to bring out the
47            best, as much as possible, (.) out of their uh
48            children. It's my situation, my situation, uh it's
49            her situation
50  Ramona    Uhm
51  Radu      (hh) and so forth.
```

1. The problem.

The main problem, according to Radu, was a failure to acknowledge the existence of many groups of people. This position, however, was not unitarily accepted by participants (line 7), and, as indicated by the loud unintelligible overlapping comments (line 6) it was a point of dispute. One position was that Roma people could be included into one unitary group, who presumably shared a single set of (negative) characteristics. The opposite position was that a homogeneous group of Romas did not exist.

There were seven possible and somewhat overlapping categories of Roma people presented, four concerning Roma families. For the family focused categories, the focus was on the ways in which the parents organized their time around employed labour and children.

The first category consisted of young Roma families adopting a traditional view concerning the division of labour: the man was the breadwinner and the woman was an apt child carer (*the children grow up well*, line 15).

The second category consisted of a drunk and seemingly unemployed father, a rhetorically absent wife/mother and children who beg.

In the third category, which was presented as an exception, the family adopted a complacent, actively voiced (Wooffitt, 1992), attitude in the face of an unmentioned but problematic situation ("*no, it's ok even like this*", lines 26-27). This possibly indicates a

regrettable case of a working Roma woman – a situation that also called for an uncaring and jealous husband.

The fourth category was formed of multiple groups of Roma people with a low level of education.

The fifth category was of multiple groups of educated Romas. This category consisted of hard working, possibly single and/or childless, Roma women (*really work*, line 36).

The sixth category involved selfish and unemployed mothers (*only care for themselves,* lines 37-38), who live on child benefits.

The last category was formed of a *constantly growing* (line 43) group of parents who tried their best, and also brought the best out of their children (lines 41-48).

Apart from Moni's rebutted intervention (*THAT group*, line 7), throughout the categorization report, care was taken by Radu and Silvia to present each category as only one of multiple examples of lots and varied groups of Romas (*a lot of groups*, lines 3-4, 31; *some*, lines 12, 26, 27, 36, 45; *there are exceptions*, line 25, 30). However, Roma families were uniformly represented through heteronormative lens, and the views about Roma men and women were homogeneously traditional. For example, the categories of men and husbands were given a hypothetical employed position (*he, as a man, works*, line 13; *the husband (...) goes to work*, line 28). Women, on the other hand, when viewed through the categories of wives and mothers, were portrayed as unemployed (lines 10-16); employment being extended only to the general category of Roma women (*Roma women who really work*, line 36). Nonetheless, the stay-at-home status of a Roma woman who was married and had children could present a problem in some cases. However, Radu insisted that for the family exemplified approvingly by him, it *really* (lines 20-23) did not cause problems – a comment

which was introduced as a possible argument to any contrary (but unvoiced) expectations of some of the people present for the recorded discussion.

Roma moms and mothers were given a limited choice between raising children (line 15) and not raising children (line 37). Roma fathers were described as drinking (line 17); Roma men were portrayed as conscientiously working (lines 14-15); and Roma husbands, while employed, were also given a couple of less than pleasant traits: uncaring and untrusting (lines 28-29). Parents were either financially relying on their children – a situation that was causally linked to selfish and uninvolved mothers (lines 35-42) – or tried their best for their children (lines 42-49). When it came to groups, the heterogeneity was limited to educated groups or uneducated groups of Roma people (lines 33-34).

2. *Similarities and differences.*

In academic publications, the existence of diverse groups of Roma people, with different needs, desires and objectives, was used to argue for policy perspectives which would take into account this variety. Authors insisted that public policies should not focus on disparities between Roma and non-Roma people, but should initiate systemic changes for the benefit of all Romanians, including Roma. Whereas, academic publications used categorizations for the explicit goal of offering support for policies for redressing ethnic disparities, in conversations this was not the case.

When this frame was used in conversations, the various Roma groups had the role of demonstrating that for every negative example of a Roma group, there were alternative positive ones. Each Roma group or family was placed under either a flattering or an unflattering spotlight, with an emphasis that the approved group was constantly growing in size. The difference between the good and bad groups of Romas was attributed to a positive or negative life philosophy (lines 19, 20, 34). Differences in behaviours caused by circumstances were not mentioned at this time.

6.2.2.2. Major and minor frames found in policy documents and used in conversational settings.

Six frames found in policy documents were also used in the conversations from 16 out of the 28 groups. Based on the frequency and comprehensiveness of the frames, there were one major frame and five minor ones. The blocked access policy frame was the most frequent and comprehensively used frame in conversations. Five minor frames were: (1) standard of living frame, (2) compensating for Roma difficulties, (3) Romanian economic costs frame, (4) opportunity for Roma identity and behavioural improvement frame and (5) a change of mentality frame.

Major frame: Blocked Access.

In policy documents, within the blocked access frame, the problem was one of access to social assistance, housing, education, employment, health and civil rights. Policymakers proposed two different solutions to the problem of access. One solution pertained to systemic interventions aimed at facilitating access to services and institutions for disadvantaged groups in general. The second solution specifically targeted Roma women, who were seen as instrumental to their children's education. The policy documents, however, did not address the ways in which Roma women, who themselves may not have had access to formal education, may help with their own children's school education.

In conversations, some of the groups met specifically to address the Governmental Strategy's educational target for Roma parental engagement in the educational process and to improve Roma children's access to education (see section "Overview of the conversational groups"), and in other groups this topic was discussed at length. Within these discussions, matters of access to education and employment were mentioned, but mostly the conversations turned to suggestions and plans of Roma parental engagement in children's education.

Extract 7, begins with Bodgan, a non-Roma educational psychologist who was encouraging a group of Roma women to share ways in which they planned to get involved in their children's "access to education".

Extract 7: "I did not have access to schooling, (0.5) but (0.5) for all that…" (Group 1)

Bogdan Anyone else? (.) What (0.5) would you like, (.) what is something you desire to put into action?

(1)

Bogdan In the, [in your relationship with your children's access to education?

Monica [For example (0.5) I (0.5) starting today (.) I realized and now in this moment while I was here that (0.5) I did not really have patience to sit with my daughter in front of a book because I did not have access to schooling, (0.5) but (0.5) for all that I noticed that, I- If I take the time (.) and explain to her „Cosmina you have to learn cos you will help me, too (.) for me to learn, too." (hh) Even if I know a few letters and I know them from the Centre, from A Second Chance ((an *adult literacy program*))(1) and then if she sees that I have a desire and I know that she might teach me herself, then she might try harder, and teach me herself. (hh) And if she, like she knows them cos she has a computer and I say „No! You have to write Cosmina". She writes. (0.5) „Write Samira" (.) and I tell her like this „S-M-A-R-I-A"

23 and repeat it until she gets it right (0.5) and
24 finally she says „what shall I write mummy?" „Write
25 Jesus" (.) and she thinks and writes. (Group 1).

1. *The problems.*

At the beginning of the extract, Bogdan framed the question in terms of desire and action concerning two implied problems: children's access to education and parents' (mothers') lack of engagement in resolving the problem of access. Monica organized her answer in terms of an immediate (*starting today*, line 7) desire to change her past neglectful behaviour, which included her lack of formal education[23]. The reasons for the lack of access to formal education were not mentioned at this time, nor were there any explicit links mad between ethnicity and barriers of access. Also, the possible external circumstances blocking (Roma) access to education were not elaborated upon.

2. *The solutions.*

The conversation centred on personal responsibility and personal solutions. The confessed instant enlightenment (*I realized and now in this moment while I was here*, lines 7-8) and the promised behavioural change "*starting today*" were followed by a causal link between personal effort and the child's imagined future accomplishment. Monica's future action was formulated in terms of if/then verbal structures ("*if I take the time (...) if she sees that I have the desire, (...), then she will try harder*", lines 12, 17, 18), indicating a personal responsibility in the matter. The future accomplishment, however, was not explained in terms of school success, such as higher grades. Although, desiring to learn and trying harder could arguably lead to improved results, Monica did not make that connection. Learning was presented as important, or even as normative standard (*you have to learn*, line 13), but in the ordering of events – the if/then verbal arrangements - parental effort led to an improved child

attitude - such as trying harder, and having a desire for learning - but not directly to school success.

3. *Concealment.*

Monica repeatedly displayed her willingness to put in the necessary effort, despite a personal lack of schooling. Ironically, her show of industry also pointed to the practical difficulties met by parents who did not have access to a formal education, but who nonetheless desire to facilitate their children's access to education. In her example of commitment to her child's education, Monica unwittingly misspelled "Samira", her daughter's name (*'S-M-A-R-I-A*, line 22). This practical problem, however, was ignored by participants, and became concealed (cf. Schroter, 2013) behind an enthusiastic display of maternal engagement in a child's education.

4. *Similarities and differences.*

Within this frame both policymakers and practitioners suggested that the problem of Roma children's access to education could be, at least in part, solved by engaged mothers. The major difference between the two communities of practice (cf. Wenger, 1998) was that in policy documents, barriers of access were causally linked to traditional Roma norms and communities. In conversations, within this frame, the fault lay with external circumstances, as participants claimed that their children's access to education was hindered by the parents' illiteracy. Nonetheless, the suggestions and the plans for improvement in parental engagement were directed at (or displayed by) people living in predominantly segregated and traditional Roma communities.

The similarity between the frame in policy documents and the way it was used in conversations was not so much in what was claimed, but rather in what was not mentioned. Segregated Roma schools, unqualified or poorly qualified teachers, anti-Roma discrimination and prejudice within schools were problems not discussed by policy documents or conversations. Instead, through a vailed blame discourse, Roma attitudes, values or norms

were portrayed as contributing factors to the perpetuation of the problem. On the flip side, if these attitudes, values or norms were to be changed, they were presented as an approved solution to the problem of access to goods and services.

Minor frame 1: Standard of Living.

According to this frame, the major problem was a discrepancy in living conditions and employment possibilities between the general Romanian population and Roma people. The aim was an improvement in the general wellbeing of Romas through various state funded programs and projects. In policy documents, a special focus was placed on state-driven employment policies. In conversations, employment continued to be invoked as a solution to individual poverty, but arguments for social projects, welfare assistance, and religious changes were also made.

In Extract 8, Emeric, a Roma who was planning on entering a political career as a Roma representative in City Hall, had begun sharing his plans for the local Roma community.

Extract 8: "We uh (.) demand (0.5) that the City Hall do something for us, too" (Group 20)

```
Emeric    I don't know if you know this (.), but here there
          are a lot of poor people who live only on welfare,
          meaning two hundred and something lei and what I
          want to do is not just help them integrate into
          Romania, but I also want to do some social projects
Ioan      Yes
Emeric    like in other places, but this is the situation mm
          until the present we don't have anyone (.) to help
          us
Ioan      Uhm, uhm
```

Emeric to be able to start making (.) a few houses that would be, (.) would be social houses, like there are uh around Rivercity, which we know of.

Ioan What do (.) the Romas from (.) the Village do?

Emeric Up until now they worked in (.) agriculture

Ioan Yes

Emeric until about four, five years ago, now-

Ioan Do they own any land?

Emeric No:, they don't own land

Ioan But they would go [and work as day labourers for others?

Emeric [they would go and work as (.) day labourers for others, (.) that is, during the spring for about (.) one month I'd say, or a month and a half, and during the autumn the same. (.) And they also went (.) abroad in Hungary for example or- (0.5) but for very little pay now

Ioan So it's not enough

Emeric uh the money (.) is very little and they (.) can hardly get by, and that is why (.) the children stop at eight classes, because (.) of poor living standards.

Ioan And what do you think is the greatest threat for them?

Emeric (hh) the greatest threat (hh) (3) is (.) that umm if they don't have anywhere to work, (0.5) if they

37		don't have a better standard of life (.) if they
38		don't have (.) food to give to the children (.)
39		there would be the problem of- (.) it would be a
40		danger to go and loot, or steal, or do something (.)
41		else.
42	Ioan	Hm
43	Emeric	But I hope that God, God will work in their lives
44		and (.) br- bring (.) better days or a, a better
45		future
46	Ioan	Hm
47	Emeric	so that (.) the Roma ethnicity would be (.) changed
48	Ioan	Hm
49	Emeric	so they can live a quieter (.) life, peaceful, a, a
50		life spent more uhh in the church (.) because when
51		(.) you are in (.) the arms of God, or in the hand
52		of God, (0.5) God, even God says that (.) his
53		children will not want for anything. (.) But still
54		(1) we, we uh (.) demand (0.5) that the City Hall do
55		something for us, too and find us jobs.

1. *The problems.*

Emeric's diagnostic of Roma problems began with the suggestion that there were lower income opportunities for people living *here* (line 1) compared to an apparent national normative standard[24]. He suggested that there was an ethnic and class divide between Roma and non-Romas, with Roma aspiring to blend into mainstream society. The lack of integration in Romania (line 4) was seen as resulting from poverty and a dependency on welfare. Roma people were portrayed as a vulnerable group, mostly due to a week financial

position. Integration was contingent on income, and a lack of integration depended in some measure on geography, as an ethnic based poverty pocket was implied (cf. Van Kampen, 1997). However, regional based inequalities were not emphasized, and the possible inadequate welfare payments were not expanded upon.

2. *The solutions.*

The solutions involved a shift from a detached footing (*them*) towards personal and collective footing associated with an individual or a collective participant role (cf. Levinson, 1988) (*I*, lines 3, 5, 43, *we*, line 54). Also, the solutions centred on an amalgam of social projects, Christian based changes, and employment opportunities.

3. *Similarities, differences and ambivalence.*

In a similar way to policy texts, in conversations employment was depicted as a solution for raising the standard of living, and was one of the demands made by Romas to the City Hall (line 55). However, in conversations, the focus was not only on access to employment, but also on complains about inadequate pay. Roma people were portrayed as a group that needed special measures to increase their living standards, through a combination of employment, better payment and social welfare projects.

Although the bottom line objective was Roma integration, social projects, and the specific example of social housing, were presented as a supplemental welfare measure for problems shared by most Roma people living in segregated communities (e.g. makeshift housing, cf. Duminica & Ivasiuc, 2013). Although the responsibility for initiating social housing projects was self-attributed to Emeric (*I also want to do*, line 5), the success of the proposal depended on outside help (*anyone to help us*, lines 8-9), possibly a reference to local authorities, or NGOs.

In conversations, the frame also departed from its portrayal in policy documents in its focus on religious changes. Roma people were not only depicted as victims of circumstances, but also as victims of ethnic shortcomings, indicating ambivalence between Roma-having-problems *versus* Roma-being-a-problem. The ways in which Roma people responded to the lack of employment opportunities, and to little pay both at home and abroad, were presented as distinctly ethnic answers. These included the combined dangers of children dropping out of school (lines 30-32) and parents breaking the law in order to put food on the table (lines 38-41). Within the frame, behaviours such as looting or stealing (lines 39-41) were viewed as troublesome reactions to social disadvantage.

Law abiding responses were attributed to the work of God and presented as a benefit of church attendance (lines 43-50). According to Emeric, the ultimate result of God's intervention was a changed *Roma ethnicity* (line 47). The three part list (cf. Jefferson, 1990) which indicated a changed Roma life counted the advantages of a quiet, peaceful and churchy life (lines 49-50), while suggesting a departure from common Roma stereotypes: "noisy", "hostile" and "ungodly" (cf. Nicolae, 2006; Popoviciu & Popoviciu, 2012; Ries, 2007). Emeric also cited God's promise for improved circumstances for God's children (lines 52-53), which functioned both a motivational argument for church attendance, and as an individual attribution for personal prosperity. Nonetheless, returning to employment practicalities, Emeric, speaking on behalf of a general group of Roma people, voiced demands (line 54) for payed labour for people currently living *only on welfare* (line 2). The responsibility for finding jobs was left with the secular institution of City Hall.

Minor frame 2: Romanian Economic Costs.

Within the frame of Romanian economic costs, there was a shift from concerns about Roma living conditions towards matters of interest for the general Romanian society. In policy documents, this frame appeared only once in Strategy 3 (2015). The main policy

argument was that Roma exclusion brought about high economic costs for the overall Romanian society. In conversations, the frame was also used once, during a workshop presentation. At the end of a presentation about the educational outcome gap between Roma and non-Roma people, Sandu turned his attention to the economic benefits of Roma integration, and the costs of non-intervention.

Extract 9: "What is the (3) economic argument of uh Roma integration?" (Group 5)

```
Sandu    Before we (.) uhh finish (1) I wanted (.) to uhh (.)
         raise (3) another uhh point with you that we can
         discuss it today or uhh, uh (2) uh tomorrow. (3)
         What is the (3) economic argument of uh Roma
         integration? (3) And this is uhh, uh more or less
         validated by the World Bank and by other people that
         uhh really uh do uh researches uh (2) uh at the
         (0.5) micro and macro levels as well. (0.5) And
         let's take part of Szilvia's presentation (0.5) the
         (1) demographic argument. (3) And we know (.) from
         the practice, the memory of the visits, (2) that in
         some villages, (1.5) some of the schools, (1) they
         are there (1) because of the Roma children. (2.5)
         So, (.) workplaces (.) for some of the teachers (2)
         are there (.) because of the Roma (1) uh students.
         (2) So this is very basic and this is in line with
         what we will do and what we, (.) we (.) have to tell
         to, to our students. But the ste- a step further (2)
         would be (2) that (1) if we (0.5) don't prepare (.)
```

these people to get into the (.) life, (1) if we don't prepare (.) these uh, uh kids (0.5) to get (.) towards (.) uh employment, (.) to get to the social, cultural et cetera life, (2) uhh (1) they will be tomorrow either our supporters, (1) some of us uhhh are not (0.5) far uhh, uhh (1) from the age of uh pension. I'm also thinking! Ha, ha, ha! Somebody has to support the, the system.

Szilvia Hmm

Sandu There has to be (.) uhhh people that will pay taxes and (.) will uhh, uhh support the economy of countries like

Szilvia Hmm

Sandu Hungary, Romania, Macedonia, (.) Germany, why not. (2) And the question is: (.) If they won't be prepared for this? (2) They will become a burden for the system, rather than a support. (.) Of course (.) for (.) the politicians this argument is that "Ah, (0.5) this is too far! My mandate is four years." But, we as professionals, we as a uh, uh people that (0.5) uh try to, (.) to build on the (.) human capital of our countries, cos again this is- (0.5) Uh, we have to have this in mind. (2) And look at the examples what was happening with the Western countries. (1) What they did (0.5) uhh during the

60s when their demography (.) suffered some changes and the Northern countries they (.) brought a lot of people from (.) India and the so-called Pakis phenomenon, (0.5) and the (.) colleagues that are studying in, in uhh London they can see even today. And the other question is (0.5): Is better to integrate Chinese workers, Paki workers, and so on and so forth, or (.) to try to do something with the people that are already here, (.) are already settled here, (.) and (0.5) they know part of the culture, they know part of the habits and so on and so forth. Because this is in the globalization era. (2) You see Dubai (.) is done by uh, uh Indian workers, (1) maybe here (1) uh, uh in Romania (.) if we don't look at these aspects, our streets will be done by the Chinese or the, (.) I don't know, by the uh Asian uhh tigers. (.) So this is also, uh, uh a thing that (.) we have to (0.5) to see this from the practical point of view not only from a theory or uh from this perspective of being uh equalitarian or uh human rights aspects. Thank you very much. (Original in English)

1. Problems and solutions.

In Extract 9, the spotlight was placed on foreseeable Romanian problems and solutions that would benefit Romanian citizens. Nonetheless, Romanian problems, and their solutions depended on Roma people.

Sandu argued for the solution of social integration or Roma people. For example, with the use of distancing pronouns (*these people,* line 20; *these kids,* line 21), an elite group of professionals (*we,* lines 19, 20, 39) was encouraged to help *prepare* Romas adopt approved mainstream social and cultural customs (*get into the life,* line 20; *get to the social, cultural et cetera life;* line 22-23). Also, with an appeal to profitability logic, Sandu implied that it was easier and cost efficient to employ people already settled and living in Romania, rather than *integrate* (line 51) people coming from other countries. On a continuum of foreignness Romas were portrayed as more familiar with the Romanian way of life compared to people from other countries. According to this argument, coping with partially integrated people was easier than dealing with "others", who might be even more disruptive to Romanian normative culture and habits. Although, it was not explicit that the standard for "*life*", "*culture*", "*habits*" or "*society*" was Romanian, the inclusion of the word "*the*", played a part in showing the banal nationalist assumptions (cf. Billig, 1995) about the "normal" national state of affairs which all ethnicities and cultures should be helped to adopt.

Suggesting a common stock of experiences and knowledge, Sandu made two claims: one concerning the economic advantages of school-aged Romas and another relating to the dangers of Roma exclusion.

The first argument, portrayed Roma children both as an economic resource for village teachers (lines 14-15) and as a monetary incentive for students aspiring to a teaching career. The second argument, added an ethnic and cultural dimention, combining matters of economics with concerns about uncompatible cultural and social practices. If in policy

documents, the costs of Roma exclusion were not elaborated upon, in the conversational data, concequences of Roma exclusion were detailed, but not the actual costs. Conversations engaged more with the future and consequences of Roma exlusion, compared to the policy documents.

With the help of contrasts, three futures were presented. The first possible future entailed a secure system of pensions due to tax-paying integrated Roma. The second forseeable future was burdened with high welfare costs due to possibly uneployed (Roma) people who were not paying their taxes. For the third possible future, Sandu anticipated similar problems with *Western* (lines 43-44) or Middle-Eastern countries (*Dubai,* line 57) concerning fears due to the change in the ethnic makeup of the population (cf. Van Dijk, 1992).

Suggesting an imagined hierarchy of disparaged outgroups (cf. Condor, 2006), Sandu implies a general fear, and also a resistance against a multicultural society, in which people from other countries would come to Romania as guest workers. Globalization, and the international movement of labor was not viewed as important to national economic development. For instance, even the potential benefits of new bussinesses brought by foreign employers were described in predatory terms (*Asian tigers*, line 61).

2. Concealment.

A first matter of concealment was with regard to the political agenda of inclusion. Moreover, the practicalities of social and cultural integration were contrasted with the theoretical – and possibly unrealistic - preoccupations of equality or human rights positions (lines 64-65). The implication was that multiculturalism was in some ways problematic, although the reasons behind the reasoning were not voiced.

A second matter of concealment pertained to the professionals deemed responsible for Roma integration. In Sandu's account, politicians were presented as being interested only in short-term goals, for the duration of their mandate. The argument, however, failed to acknowledge that the World Bank document cited by Sandu, presented politicians as the key players in the pursuit of the social and economic inclusion of Roma people for the benefit of all Romanians.

3. Similarities and differences.

Similarities with the governmental text include: (a) a presentation of Roma people as an economic asset, rather than as an economic or social problem; (b) a focus on the pragmatic value of intervention; (c) a contrast between benefits of intervention and the costs of non-action; (d) the use of a World Bank (Laat, 2010) economic report to present a research based argument and (e) economic concerns viewed in terms of pension prospects and national economic productivity.

Sandu's argument differed from the policy text in two major ways. Firstly, while the policy documents used a terminology of Roma inclusion, Sandu consistently talked about Roma integration (lines 4-5). The difference suggests not only a linguistic shift, but also changes in the political agendas. The Romanian government had a policy of Roma integration up to 2011. However, from 2012 the focus was changed to matters of inclusion (Cace, Neagu, Rat, & Ivasiuc, 2014). From a policy perspective, integration as a solution to inequality entails that minorities receive the same formal rights and State protection as the majority population. At the same time, there is an expectation that minority members would conform to the norms and practices of mainstream society (Arpinte, Baboi, Cace, Tomescu, & Stanescu, 2008). Inclusion, on the other hand implies a reconfiguration of policies in order to grasp the variety of cultural norms and practices (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010).

Secondly there was a difference between the uses of the frame in policy documents versus conversations with regard to the use of factual evidence. Although in both contexts, there was a reference to a World Bank report, the policy document proceeded to present factual numeric evidence concerning annual costs of Roma exclusion, while in conversation, the factual evidence was about the everyday experiences of professionals working in Roma communities. These factual accounts were part of the wider arguments (cf. Antaki, 1994) about demographics and economic benefits.

Minor frame 3: Compensating for Roma Difficulties.

Within the Compensating for Roma difficulties frame, the various policy measures adopted by the Government for Roma people were justified in terms of restitutive actions for past social and political injustices. Past problems such as slavery, discrimination and exclusion were presented as being the causes for present day Roma difficulties. Moral concerns were presented, and history was used to account for the willingness of state action. Extract 10 begins with a question about educational affirmative measures consisting of quota based admissions of Roma students, labelled as a political, systemic solution. While retelling a discussion that took place during a different class, Ana framed affirmative actions as a compensatory measure for slavery and other related disadvantages.

Extract 10: "The political system thought to uh (.) compensate for the five hundred years of Roma slavery"(Group 28)

```
Mea        What do you uh, think about this uh solution, at a
           political, systemic level rather than at a family
           level, the affirmative measures in university?
Ana        This is something we talked about in another class
           ((smiley voice)) [I think it is like this
Mea                         [Ok
```

Ana (.) [Mrs Andreea Popa (.) said

Mea [Right

Catrina No, [no

Ana [no?

Maria Yes

Catrina No, it was Monica Popescu

((*overlapping comments*))

Ana Anyway, she said that the political system thought to uh (.) compensate for the five hundred years of Roma slavery on our territory (.) because they were not given private property, they were not given the option to develop and to (.) create for themselves uh a developed society, or uh to develop.

Mea Uhm

Ana And then for them (.) the majority growing up in uh tribes?

Mea Right

Ana Right, or uh in secluded places ((*ahem*)) (.) not belonging with the others, right (.) it is harder for them to walk into society

Mea Uhm

Ana and with a certain shame they go to school, or maybe they don't even go.

Catrina [Yes but then (x)

Ana [And then she said that we must reward those that do go to school

```
Florina    [Yes, obviously
Ana        [we must help them, motivate them to go
```

1. *The problems and the solutions.*

Historical injustices were viewed as both a problem and as the cause of present day difficulties, such as a "*harder*" (lines 25) inclusion in society and school related problems (lines 28-29). The association between past and present problems was used as an explanatory discourse for present day exclusion from mainstream society and formal education. For example, in Ana's recounting of her professor's narrative, Roma people experienced multiple and overlapping constrains, including slavery, lack of private property, marginalization, and no "option" (line 18) to develop individually or collectively.

In extract 10, Romas were presented as passive victims of past circumstances; a discourse which helped set the stage for solutions depicted as the moral duty of non-Romas, rather than of the political bodies. Although affirmative action measures were initiated by the political system (lines 14-15), non-Romas (*we*, lines 31, 34) were given the imperative (*must*, lines 31, 34), to reward, help and motivate Roma people, presumably by actively supporting and promoting affirmative action policy measures.

2. *Concealment.*

In conversations, there was no mention of the history of Roma people in other nations, and no comparisons were made between Roma related problems and solutions in Romania and other countries. Claims of Roma slavery on present-day Romanian territory were unambiguously made, while slavery as a global problem was concealed.

3. *Similarities and differences.*

The similarity of the way this frame was used in policy documents and conversations is that in both cases, historical injustices were presented as a justification for policy based measures was offered by historical injustices.

There were three notable differences between how the frame was portrayed in the policy documents versus the way it was used in conversations. Firstly, in conversations past problems, such as slavery and exclusion, were depicted as Romanian problems, rather than universal, or European problems. In contrast, policymakers were careful to present Roma slavery as a universal, rather than an exclusively Romanian practice (Achim, 1998; Filitti, 1931; Potra, 1939).

Secondly, in conversations there was an additional association between past Roma hardships and a portrayal or Roma people as passive victims.

Lastly, in conversations the responsibility for the systemic, policy based solutions was extended from the political body to the general group of non-Romas. In contrast, in the political documents, within this frame, the Government was portrayed as the sole provider of compensatory measures for Roma inclusion.

Minor frame 4: Opportunity for Roma Identity and Behavioural Improvement.

The opportunity for Roma identity and behavioural improvement frame shifted the attention from the general objective concerning the improvement of a disadvantaged Roma situation towards an opportunity for improving Roma people. In this frame there was ambivalence about the solutions needed to resolve the systemic problem of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. Although policy or systemic based solutions were not abandoned, there was a repeated argument about a need for an improvement of implied Roma character or behavioural flaws. The following extract comes from a conversation between

Marius, a Romanian social work undergraduate student who interviewed Alin, a Roma person, for a University project on multiculturalism. Dani, Alin's Romanian employer was also present during the interview. Marius, initiated the conversation by asking a question about the possible need for systemic social work solutions for the problem of Roma employment.

Extract 11: "But without a significant (.) uh counselling job, you will fail to fix the problem" (Group 24)

```
Marius    Do you think social services could do something in
          this area (0.5) to help (.) people of Roma ethnicity
          find jobs?
Alin      Uhh I think that organizations in general could do
          more for Romas.
Marius    You're saying employers?
Alin      Uh, organizations, here I'm thinking maybe (.) why
          not [NGOs that could be a sort of whatever-
Marius        [Uhm, uhm
Dani      Mediator
Alin      Mediator (.) exactly between (.) the actual person
          [and
Dani      [the employer and eh-
Alin      The employer and the future employee. Uh, uh at
          least I know about such situations from my friends
          or eh my acquaintances who because of such mediators
          could benefit from a job placement. If they would
```

18 have gone by themselves (0.3) it would have been
19 very hard.
20 Marius Mediator
21 Alin Clearly they need a- (.) in my opinion it's uh, uh-
22 Dani Well this, this, this is only the start, the problem
23 is actually [education
24 Alin [Eh
25 Dani the way in which uh, uh Romas are educated because
26 like in his case it's obvious that someone put a
27 good word in for him to get hired,(.) but he
28 couldn't have [kept his job
29 Alin [kept my job
30 Dani stayed there if he didn't prove he had the
31 qualifications and responsibility and all that is
32 needed to keep a job, to (.) develop.
33 Marius Uhm, uhm
34 Dani I mean you can help them get a job, but without a
35 significant (.) uh counselling job, you will fail to
36 fix the problem
37 Marius Uhm
38 Dani you know, because you can be a link uh, uh to the
39 employer, you can get him hired or whatever (.) you
40 help him, you support him or whatever (.) but if he
41 doesn't learn what it means to, to work, what it
42 means to hold on to a job (0.4)
43 it would be harder.

1. The problems, the solutions, and ambivalence.

In extract 11 there are two types of problems presented, pointing to the ambivalence with regard to Roma people as having systemic problems while also suffering from ethnic-based shortcomings.. One of the problems presented was systemic: the possible discrimination in the job market; the other problem was personal: individual shortcomings of Roma people. The suggestion about undesirable work-related Roma behaviours was placed under a veil of good intentions, and was hedged as a personal opinion (line 21), rather than fact (cf. Lakoff, 1975). Nonetheless it was suggested that the "actual" (line 23) long-term problem was not job discrimination, but undesirable work-related Roma behaviours.

There were also two types of solutions proposed: systemic and personal. The systemic help proposed (lines 4-5, 7-8, 10-21) by Alin as a solution to the problem of access to the job market, and possible job discrimination (lines 17-19), was in some measure also accepted by Dani. However, with the use of disclaimers (*it's obvious that someone put a good word in for him to get hired, but…* lines 27-28; *you can help them get a job, but…* line 34; *you can get him hired or whatever (…), but*…, line 39-40), the attention was shifted from social work and institutional help for job placements to social work and institutional help in fixing (line 39) Romas through (re)education and counselling.

2. Similarities and differences.

Three points can be made concerning similarities and differences in the frame depending on the community of practice in which it was used. Firstly, in the policy documents, changes to Roma people were presented as moral matters, or as "principles" (see Chapter 5, extract 4). In contrast, in conversations, the matter of Roma improvement was seen in a more pragmatic way, constructed as a warning that if Roma people were not counselled on how to keep a job (lines 35-36), the problem of job discrepancies won't be fixed.

Secondly, the causes for the problems of Romas, versus the Roma as problems, were differently described by the policy documents compared to conversations. For example, authors of the governmental strategies claimed that Roma people had systemic problems of access to goods and services. At the same time, through rhetorical forms of indirectness (cf. van Dijk, 1993), the texts implied that Roma people were inferior compared to non-Romas. In conversations, there was no problem with Roma identity. Instead, some of the fault lied with the systemic discrimination on the job market, but, most importantly, with the education received by Romas (line 23, 25). The type of deficient education Dani had in mind was not elaborated upon, and could include informal education received at home, or the lesser quality formal education found in predominantly Roma schools (cf. Jigau & Surdu, 2002).

Thirdly, in policy documents there was a gradual process for Roma changes, involving three steps: (1) systemic solutions; (2) creation of a sub-group of Roma elites with official help; (3) placing responsibility on the Roma elites to reform regular Roma people. In conversations, the idea of a process of changes was maintained. For example, systemic help consisting of mediation work, presumably between non-Roma employers and Roma employees was "the start" (line 24). The rest of the intervention work, including proof of qualifications, responsibility at work, personal development, followed. The role of reformed Roma people in the improvement of Romas, did not appear in conversations.

While, in the policy documents, the burden of inclusion, and by implication the blame for failure, was explicitly given to elite Romas, in conversations, the default assumption was that the responsibility for both problems – discrimination in access to jobs and long term employment – belonged to non-Romas, who either had to "put a good word in" (line 26-27) on behalf of Roma people, or counsel them on how to behave at work. As result, in conversations, the future of Roma employment depended in large measure on the amount (or

the quality) of non-Roma counselling work, which could also be blamed for any future Roma disadvantage concerning the job market.

Minor frame 5: A Change of Mentalities.

The last frame found in policy documents and also used in conversations included an additional change which did not exclusively target the Roma minority. Policymakers and speakers adopting a change of mentalities frame claimed that Roma inclusion or integration depended, in part, on individual and group mentalities of both Romas and non-Romas. Compared to all other frames, within this frame there was an argument for the importance of non-Roma mentality changes. In the extract that follows the conversation was about interactions between Roma and non-Roma people in schools and universities. Alin recounts how his initial fears about integrating and socializing with Romanians were not realized, as Romanians were slowly changing their mentalities concerning Romas.

Extract 12: "The mentalities began to slowly, slowly change" (Group 24)

```
Alin      I started out with a disadvantage, clearly I feared
          that uh being by myself I will have big problems
          integrating (.) in a- whatever (.) in (.)
          socializing easily with Romanians. (.) However
          things were not like that. (.) Maybe because people
          started being more open, I think, I don't know (.)
          the mentalities began to slowly, slowly change (.)
          compared to the first years after uh- (0.5)
          Actually, compared to the years following the mid-
          nineties. (0.5) I don't know (.) uh, in university
          (.) I really didn't encounter, uh, I didn't
```

```
12              encounter problems like- I mean from colleagues, and
13              I didn't feel it.
14  Dani        Well I suppose you felt these things usually when
15              you entered new communities, but I sup- suppose that
16              as people got to (0.5) know you and saw your
17              mentality
18              [they no, no longer had problems
19  Alin        [Yes, what is clear, what is clear is the feeling I
20              had, the feeling that bothered me every time when I
21              came in contact with new people, with new
22              communities it was always this shame that eh I was
23              of a Roma ethnicity, all the time I saw myself
24              somewhat lower compared to the others, uh-
25  Dani        And did you feel like you have to fight more?
26  Alin        And I felt, yes that I had to fight more to, you
27              know integrate: uh
28  Camelia     To be accepted.
```

1. *The problem.*

There were a series of interconnected problems presented in Extract 12, but the main two seem to be: (1) a lack of Roma integration into Romanian society and (2) the prejudicial mentality of the majority population. Alin's fear of non-integration was explained to be due to a disadvantaged start (line 1), an apparent non-Roma stereotypical expectations about Romas (lines 15-18), and a personal shame about the Roma ethnicity, felt during interactions with new people (lines 19-24).

Although, the text suggests that some measure of trouble did occur during Roma and non-Roma interactions, *big problems* (line 2) were avoided. Employing a rhetorical move

involving both caution and reluctance, the explanation for the unrealized fears of integration and socialization (lines 3-4) were attributed to Romanian mentalities that began to *slowly, slowly change* (line 7). With the use of comparisons, Alin's present day experiences were portrayed as being slightly less discriminatory than the years *following the mid-nineties,* (lines 9-10). The period cited by Alin coincides with the first publications of academic and policy documents about Roma rights, and measures for integration.

In an interesting move, Dani explained the problems that Romas may routinely face when leaving a segregated community and entering a "new" non-Roma community in terms of non-Roma reactions to an individual's mentality and possibly behaviour, and not in terms of anti-Roma discrimination or prejudice. Indirectly, non-Romas were depicted as reasonable people, able to treat people based on personal merit, rather than ethnicity. Nonetheless, the initial problems that Romas may face in their interactions with non-Romas, suggest the presence of an overall common-sense negative expectation regarding Romas. A Roma ethnicity was accompanied by a feeling of *shame* (line 22), and a self-perception of being *somewhat lower* (line 24) compared to others. On the one hand, non-Romas expected Alin, as a Roma, to conform to a certain, stereotypical way of being. On the other hand, Alin suggests feeling a threat of conforming to the stereotypes about his ethnic group (cf. Steele & Aronson, 1995).

2. The solution and ambivalence.

In a broad sense, according to Alin's argument, the solution to the problem of Roma integration is for the non-Roma people to continue the process of attitude change towards Romas. There were however two angles to this solution, pointing to ambivalence between placing the blame for the marginalization of Roma people on the members of the out-group or in-group. Alin tries to propose a middle ground solution. Although non-Romas had to continue to change their mentalities towards Romas, and become more open to diversity, non-Roma change depended, at least in part, on individual Romas offering a contradicting

example to the expected stereotypes, and fighting stedily for integration and acceptace by the members of the majority population.

3. Similarities and differences.

The similarity between the frame used in policy documents and conversations lies in the use of an argument for a non-Roma mentality change for the inclusion or integration of Roma people in Romania.

The difference was that while in policy documents the mentality change was required of both Roma and non-Roma individuals, in conversations the changed mentality was reserved for non-Romas only.

6.2.2.3. Novel frames found in conversational settings.

Five additional frames were only found in conversational settings. Based on the frequency and comprehensiveness concerning the ways in which discrepancies between Roma and non-Roma people were described, frames were divided into two major and three minor frames. The major conversational frames were: (1) Anti-Roma Discrimination Frame and (2) Success of the Meek Frame. The minor conversational frames were: (3) Lack of Quality Education Frame, (4) Motivating Roma Children Frame, and (5) Roma Advantage Frame.

Major conversational frame 1: Anti-Roma Discrimination.

Although discrimination was discussed by both academic texts and policy documents, the framing of disparity in terms of anti-Roma discrimination was only found in conversations. Within this frame discrepancies between Roma and non-Roma people involved anti-Roma attitudes and behaviours. Examples of derogatory name-calling and insults were given, followed by a depiction of the thoughts and feelings experimented by the narrating sufferer. Also, the speaker reflected upon the possible motivations of the perpetrators of discrimination.

This frame was used exclusively for reporting troubles (cf. Morris, White, & Iltis, 1994) concerning negative treatment of Roma people due to their ethnicity. The main purpose of the frame was to provide a platform where a Roma narrator could share some personal experiences of discrimination. These experiences did not however arise spontaneously, but as it is generally expected (cf. De Fina, 2009), they were produced in order to address the interlocutors' expectations and/or questions.

Each time this frame was used in conversations, one Roma or non-Roma person had prepared a question for Roma participants, asking them to share their experience from school, work, health care institutions, play grounds, church, etc. The answers were either framed as overcoming systemic inequality (a frame discussed in a prior section), or as anti-Roma discrimination. The difference between the two frames resided in the fact that within the later frame there were no solutions offered, while in the former, a heroic attitude and behaviour were displayed as the required and admired response to systemic problems, including cases of discrimination.

The exchange presented in Extract 13 took place during the same conversation as the one presented in the extract above. Although, within the frame of a change of mentalities, Alin spoke about non-Romas slowly changing their attitudes towards Romas, and claimed that he did not have problems with University colleagues, in the extract that follows, discrimination experiences in high-school abounded.

Extract 13: I remember (.) uh (.) experiences like discrimination (Group 24)

```
Marius    Um (.) would you mind sharing with me how you saw-
          How you see your experiences from secondary school
          and high school and maybe give me a few examples.
```

Alin (4) Uh, I don't know (.) I have encountered some (0.5) uh problems (.) more, more likely in secondary school (.) classes five-eight I remember (.) uh (.) experiences like discrimination, this where even the professor uh that later I ended up admiring- ((*smiley voice, laughter*)). Yes, I know, it's interesting, and who, I can say, helped me very much in, in (.) my desire to study. (.) Uh (1) I know that there were moments when maybe I didn't do things like I should have, I mean in, in school. (1.3) A few times he, he, he called, called me uh: he would say "Gypsy, you are good for nothing" uh and things like this. (0.5) Now, I don't know the reason for which he said this, Maybe it was only to motivate me (.) or ah only because that's how he felt, (.) however I remember that when he used such words (.) such insults I felt very, very discouraged. (.) This is just one of the experiences but I had many such experiences with classmates. Many times they even, they called me Gypsy (.) uh-

Dani What did you feel (.) when you were called that?

Alin (0.5) I don't know. I felt (0.5) I felt I know that I felt very, very [discouraged and I felt-

Dani [Why? Why were you ashamed? (.) uh were you ashamed? (.)

[or you were not ashamed?

Alin [I don't know. (.) I lived under the impression that Gypsies are uh: (0.5) or Romas, (.) as they are now called (.), uh are the scum of society. (.) Uh, that they are no good. (.) Even if I tried to do (0.6) everything like I should have done it ((*smiley voice*)). The moment when I encountered uh, uh expressions like this, I would really (.) deflate, to put it like this, and uh I felt so (.) discouraged, lonely maybe. Oftentimes, (.) uh that nobody cares for me (.) you know?

Marius Uhm

Alin Those who tried to use such expressions (.) did only to hurt me (.) you know

Marius Uhm

Alin uh and I felt this thing (.) fully.

Marius Mm

1. *The problem.*

Marius' starter question about school experiences was typical of the kinds of questions prompting a narrative about ethnic based troubles. Although, Marius did not mention ethnicity in his question, and did not indicate that the question was pointed specifically at the Roma people present in the group, there was a tacit understanding between participants that he was, in fact, fishing for a discriminatory story to include in his research report.

After an awkward four second silence (cf. Poland & Pederson, 1998), Alin, one of two Roma interactants present, took his cue and began to recount some discriminatory experiences. Through examples of reported speech (cf. Buttny & Williamns, 2000), which blended into Alin's own views, being a Roma was described as a trigger for discrimination. The examples offered centred on name calling and frequent (*Many times*, line 22) insults by non-Roma classmates and, on rare occasions (*A few times*, line 14) by a professor, whose assessment of Alin was presented as the professor's reported speech (lines 14-16). The Professor's insult was two-fold. Firstly, the derogatory name *Gypsy* set Alin apart as "Other". Secondly the extremely formulated (cf. Pomeranz, 1989) negative evaluation placed Alin outside of moral boundaries (cf. Tileaga, 2007).

Classmates' voices were also reported. In the quotes offered, the detailed content of the original speech was not emphasized, as the performative goal was to relate the expression of the original speech. For example, the classmates' were quoted as participating in the name-calling activities, although in their case the label *Gypsy* was presented as a blanket evidence for a variety of experiences of discrimination. Being called a *Gypsy*, translated into being treated as a member of a dehumanized group (cf. Harris, 2006) that is lesser than (all) others; *the scum of society* (line 32). Also, although the English translation of the word "tigan" as "Gypsy" is not necessarily derogatory, the Romanian word "tigan" is. Consequently, the word "tigan" (Gypsy) was used to point to the lower status of the members included into the category (cf. Leudar & Nekvapil, 2000).

In this frame, the details of discrimination were not the main focus of the narrative. Instead, the emotional effects reported by the injured party as reactions to discrimination were the focal point of the recollections. In Alin's case, there were reported feelings of extreme discouragement (lines 20, 26, 38), loneliness (line 38), and hurt (lines 41-44), with shame (lines 27-29), being a possible, although not an endorsed, contender of appropriate

feelings to ethnic based insults. The emotions reported were not necessarily meant to describe Alin's general emotional state, but rather to inform about the emotional states he gets into as a reaction to the negative actions of classmates and professors (cf. Edwards, 2000).

There were a few conceivable (*maybe*, line 17), although ultimately unknowable (*Now, I don't know the reason…* lines 16-17) causes for anti-Roma discrimination. In some cases perpetrators may have discriminated because of their unjustified, but forgivable, thoughts or feelings; in other cases, their unjustified behaviours were built on bad intentions, and thus, not as easily excused. For example, classmates were imagined to have had an unjustified, but planned intention to cause harm (lines 33-42). No excuse was made for them. Alin, however, was more charitable towards the professor, who despite expectations (*Yes, I know, it's interesting*, lines 9-10) turned out to be worthy of admiration (line 8) and helpful (line 9). In one scenario, the professor was imagined to have tried an unconventional and inefficient motivational strategy (lines 17-18). In another, the teacher was seen as having voiced an honest, although false opinion of Alin as a good-for-nothing *Gypsy*, or other similarly biased view (lines 15-16).

2. *The solution and concealment*

When participants described their experiences of discrimination by drawing upon this frame, there were no solutions suggested for the problem. Thus the frame, although adopted in 15 out of the 28 groups, was also fragmented (cf. Verloo, 2007). Although, in Romania there were anti-discrimination laws in place at the time of the interview (Iordache, 2004) – of which at least Marius as a University social work student would have been aware of - these laws were concealed from the conversations, and discriminatory acts were not labelled as illegal by any participant. Moreover, when people drew upon this frame there were no suggestions made for the encouragement of tolerant views by non-Roma people, which, at the

time of the interview, was one of the policy measures widely discussed in Marius' Social Work Department, and which was part of the his end of year examinations.

Major frame 2: Success of the Meek.

This frame was only used in talk about parenting advice based on expected Christian behaviour. This behaviour was treated as a prerequisite for possible Roma inclusion, seen as a way of taking measures to avoid the stereotypical negative evaluations received non-Romas.

In extract 14, Ioan talked with a Roma preacher, as part of a project designed to collect Roma success stories. Ioan, a non-Roma interviewer introduced a question about Rudi's advice for his children's success.

Extract 14: "…a Gypsy is a Gypsy" (Group 7)

```
Ioan    What advice do you give them [your children]
        so they can make it in life?
Rudi    (0.5)
Ioan    When you talk to them and want to give them
        some good advice? What do you say so that they
        can make it in life?
Rudi    Well, like any parent, for them to (1) have a
        good Christian behaviour in front of people,
        so that no- nowhere- Anyway we can say that
        the world is- Now we are in a democracy, but
        often it happens that they say "'well we are
        not going to talk with them, cos a Gypsy is a
        Gypsy' and that is why uh at all times we have
        to remind them about their behaviour and about
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```
15              meeting all kinds of people because there are-
16              I have said that 'there are two kinds of
17              people, even if there are many nations, but
18              there are good people and bad people, and you
19              need to keep away from bad people, because
20              people might blame you and say: 'It wasn't me,
21              it was that Gypsy!', and then if you are
22              blameless, someone might intervene and help
23              you and say 'That's not true sir! This one was
24              over there, sitting there meekly'"
25  Ioan        Yes, yes, that's very good.
26
```

1. *The problem and concealment.*

The problem concerned typical social reactions of non-Romas *vis-à-vis* a perceived Roma identity. Rudi was managing a parental discourse in a context of us *versus* them. Firstly, there was a difference between Roma and non-Roma people. Roma parents were part of a recently democratic society, but it was often a discriminating society (lines 9-12). According to Rudi's narrative, being perceived as being a member of a derogatory category "Gypsy" (cf. Leudar & Nekvapil, 2000) was enough to bring about public shunning. Non-Roma others were presented as simplistically juxtaposing Gypsy behaviour with Gypsy identity.

Secondly, there was a tacit understanding that there was a difference between a generic "*any parent*" (line 7), and a more narrowed down category of Christian Roma Parents. While, concealing from the conversations the moral values and behaviours of Roma non-Christians, Rudi argued that his advice was specifically that of a Christian parent. Also,

good behaviour was defined in religious terms and presented in absolutistic and "musturbatory" terms (Ellis, 1991) of how children "must" or "*need to*" (line 17) act.

2. *The solution and ambivalence.*

The solution given for the problem of inaccurate non-Roma perceptions of Roma people was to constantly remind Roma children (*at all times*, lines 12-13) that the blamed Roma identity/behaviour could be changed if children remembered to act Christianly. This argument suggests ambivalence towards typical Roma behaviour. On the one hand, stereotypes about Roma people were blamed for anti-Roma attitudes. On the other hand, there is a vague implication that general stereotypes about Roma may have been caused by the deserved reputations of non-Christian Roma. Consequently, the responsibility and the burden for changing non-Roma attitudes and behaviours toward Romas, was placed on the shoulders of Christian Roma parents and children.

Within this frame, a Roma child was placed in opposition with non-Roma good or bad others, belonging to non-Roma nations (lines 15, 16), who will apparently watch and judge Roma people. Through the reported speech of non-Romas, Rudi depicted a scenario where "bad" non-Roma people might apportion the blame for their bad behaviour on the innocently by-standing Roma child ("*people might blame you and say: 'It wasn't me, it was that Gypsy!*'", line 17-19). In this scenario the allusion was that a "Gypsy" identity was likely to attract blame due to commonly believed negative Roma stereotypes. Building on an if-maybe verbal structure, Rudi claimed that *if* the hypothetical child was *blameless* (line 19) and sat *meekly* (line 21) - by implication, markers of good Christian behaviour - someone *might* come to their rescue in front of an imagined (non-Roma) male judge ("*That's not true sir!*", line 20). Discrimination had a chance of being avoided, but failure was still conceivable.

The initial question was about the advice that Rudi can offer his children in order to assure their success in life ("*so that they can make it in life*" lines 1-2, 5-6). However, Rudi

focused his choice of presented parental advice to behaviour that might help Roma children avoid social missteps in a discriminatory society. In his reported speech as a parent the Christian demeanour of meekness was treated as an essential first step in avoiding (uncaused) trouble. The implied, although not elaborated on, argument was that Roma children can make it in life if they are (constantly) advised by their parents on how to avoid the usual Roma predicament.

Within this frame, there was also an understanding that (stereo)typical Christian Romas were better equipped to *make it in life*, compared to the non-Christian Roma. This represented a common theme used by Christian Roma parents when talking about, or answering questions relating to, the future success or accomplishment of children. Another example is provided in extract 15.

Extract 15: We advise them to stay meekly in the house of God (Group 9)

```
Ioan      What advice do you give your children so that they
          can make it in life?
Rupi      (0.5)
Ioan      I mean the three children,
Rupi      (0.7)
Ioan      as a father
Rupi      I have given them advice and I want to give them uh,
          uh (0.3) for them to come to church and grow up in
          the house of God. We have, I repeat, ninety children
          and for many of these children, when they are all in
          church, it is perturbing, (.) but if we sit and
          think that in a few years, (.) our children grow up
          in church, know God, and when they reach the age of
```

```
14              maturity they receive the Lord Jesus in their hearts
15              and just like that when they are sixteen, (0.2) or
16              eighteen or twenty or twenty-five (.) we don't have
17              to collect them from the streets, or from jails or
18              bars.
19  Ioan        Yes
20  Rupi        We advise them to stay meekly in the house of God
21              and love the Lord Jesus.
```

1. The problem.

The implied problem was that Roma children might not *make it* (line 2) in life. Rupi used the frame of success of the meek to divide the future of (Roma) children into two opposing outcomes: the positive future of the meek Christian or the negative future of the burdensome guttersnipe. With an interesting change in footing from *I* (lines 7, 8) to *we* (lines 8, 10, 15, 18), Rupi expanded the number of advice conferrers from one father (himself), to the entire Roma church congregation, who was made responsible for the church attendance a large number of church going children (*ninety children*, lines 8, 9). His claim was that if the grown-ups attending the segregated Roma church consider making allowances for child-produced perturbations (lines 10, 11), the investment will pay off *in a few years* (line 11). Nonetheless, similar to Extract 14, the end result was explained in terms of what can be avoided rather than what can be achieved.

Rupi argued that *if* children "*grow up in church*" (line 11), "*know God*" (line 12) and "*receive the Lord Jesus*" (line 13), *when* they grow up they will avoid falling into one of the three inescapable problematic consequences of the non-converted Roma, which were also three of the common stereotypes about Romanian Roma (Popoviciu, Birle, Popoviciu, &

Bara, 2012). These were: homelessness ("*the streets*", line 15), repeated criminal behaviour ("*jails*", line 16) and drunkenness ("*bars*", line 16).

2. The solution.

According to Rupi, the solution lied with parents (and possibly other members of the church) who could either tolerate noisy children in church or end up having to bring the un-repented adult children back to the (Christian) community (*collect them*, line 15). Given the two solution choices, the better alternative consisted of overlooking the commotion made by children during the serious business of church services , and advise "*them to stay meekly in the house of God and love the Lord Jesus*" (lines 18, 19). Thus, religion was presented both as a safe haven, and as a means of overcoming long-lasting stereotypes.

3. Concealment.

In this frame, the kinds of things that the love of Jesus and meekness could help accomplish in terms of making it in life were concealed from the conversation. Also, although imagined dialogue and reported speech were at times presented in the hypothetical voices of parents or non-Romas, the voices of children were at all times left silent.

The focus of the frame was on ways to avoid the negative consequences associated with being seen as a Roma. Although, in the case of a Christian Roma, the stereotypes about Roma behaviour were presented as false, they were, nonetheless viewed as typical of non-Christian Roma.

Minor frame 1: Lack of Quality Education.

In addition to the dominant frames of anti-Roma discrimination and success of the meek, in five groups the attention was shifted from the problem of justified or unjustified anti-Roma social perceptions and behaviours, towards the systemic problem of a discrepancy in the quality of education received by Roma compared to non-Roma people.

Extract 16 is taken from the opening minutes of a power-point presentation, when the speaker, Sandu, began by describing the organization in which he worked as a Roma

educational expert. As the reader might recall, during the two day workshop, four of the participants did not speak Romanian, but were fluent in English, and Sandu's presentation was in English.

Extract 16: What (.) if the (1) answer might be in the quality of the education (Group 5)

Sandu Uh, we are working in fourteen countries, and I'm providing you with this (.) graph to see- The data is collected by the UNDP ((*United Nations Development Programme*)) and (.) it's uh in blue, and you have the (1.5) uhh figures for two (0.5) thousand uhh eleven, (1) uhh (2) no, it's a uhh Romanian Roma and this is uhh, uhh comparison data (1) between uhh (1.5) uhh Romanian Roma, and this is uhh (1) uhh a regional survey. Yeah! (2) So, here probably we can see (1) that participation is varied from country to another (2) and in some cases we have (0.5) uhh quite a big discrepancy between uhh Roma and non-Roma. (1.5) In some cases like in this country, in Hungary, (0.5) the differences (.) not that big. (4) Why I'm showing you this graph? Because (3) participation is important. Yeah? (0.5) And uh I will talk (.) a little bit later about the policies to what Roma Education, and you will see that from the very uhh, uh a specific pilot till national policies for Roma education, participation is there, and how to make (.) uhh Roma children, uhh to be involved in schools (.) at the (1) uhh, uh,

(.) full capacity of the, the system and towards one hundred percent (1) uhh of the population cohort. (2) However, (0.5) here we have also a share of the Roma who completed at least uhh lower (.) secondary education, (.) eight grades. (2) But if I will continue with these graphs you will see that after these crucial points (.) it doesn't matter if the participation is 90% (1.5) or (.) 20% or (.) in the case of Albania (0.5) uhh less than 25%, (2) graduated in eight grades (1). The (.) school career, (.) and the (0.5) job career of these people, (.) more or less (0.5) is the same. And the other question is why? (2) If they parti- participated in a (.) bigger uhh, uh, (1) uh percentage in different countries, (.) if they have (1) uhh more or less a promise of participation, why at the end we have (2) the same (.) social (.) economic (0.5) uh pattern? (2) And what (.) if the (1) answer might be in the quality of the education that they receive? (1) For instance, in Czech Republic, even Slovakia, (1) majority of the (1) Roma, (.) they are finishing eight grades and they are not able to continue further (0.5) by default, because the majority of the, the Roma people in Slovakia, they are placed in a (0.5) special school.

1. *The transfer of academic research into conversations.*

In extract 16, the voice of research was introduced in order to show in an objective and factual way that there was a discrepancy between Roma and non-Roma people in two areas: school participation and employment prospects. This discrepancy was not just a problem for Romanian Romas, but also for Romas across national boundaries, an important argument in the context of a multi-national workshop. Concerning the first type of discrepancy, in school participation, countries differed. In some, it was *not that big* (lines 14, 15), although still arguably problematic, while in others the discrepancy between the number of Roma and non-Roma children enrolled in school was *quite big* (line 12).

According to Sandu's argument, school participation was not the major problem. Specific projects (line 19) and national policies were working on ways to insure that as many Roma children as possible will be enrolled and engaged (*involved*, line 22) in schools. Interestingly, although the ideal was presented as being the full participation of Roma children in schools (*one hundred percent*, lines 23-24), it was implied that the educational system might not be prepared for that level of success. According to Sandu, governments were aiming for the *full capacity* of the educational system (line 23), instead of adopting a no-child-left-out model.

Roma school participation as a problem was on its way of being successfully solved with the help of programs and policies. The major problem lied elsewhere. When looking specifically at Romas who reached, and then possibly passed the *crucial* point (line 29) of eight grades, Sandu presented graphs that showed that any additional year spent in school did not make a difference in employment prospects. National data demonstrated that countries where 90% of Romas graduated at least eight grades and countries where only 20-25% did so had similar percentiles of Roma employment.

2. *The problem.*

Within this frame, the major problem was not described in terms of discrepancies between Roma and non-Roma people. Instead it was the sameness within the Roma group concerning the acquired school based knowledge (line 33) and employment that was problematic. Regardless of the number of school years officially check-marked by governments or social projects, Roma people were socially and economically ending up in the same research generated percentile. In contrast to the frame of overcoming systemic inequalities, where individually determined Romas could always find ways of successfully graduating, in this frame, Roma educational knowledge gains, career prospects, and economic wellbeing, pessimistically hinged on systemic and political oversights. The future of Roma people was homogeneous across national borders. Differences within the Roma group were seen only with regard to school participation – which ultimately made no difference in outcomes, whereas differences between Roma and non-Roma people were seen in both participation and employment.

In this frame, the lack of variety in Roma employment outcomes was caused by the lack of quality education received by Roma people. Sandu was maintaining that Roma children were usually placed in segregated (*special*, line 47) schools, which could have been the result of two circumstances. Firstly, there was the possibility of a geographical segregation of large number of Roma people into predominantly Roma areas, leading to the existence of lesser-quality schools with a majority of Roma students, Secondly, there was the possibility that, due to a common stereotype about Roma children lesser intellectual abilities, during school placement schemes, the majority could have been inadvertently placed into special needs schools - which only offered classes up to eight grades. Although Sandu, could have implied both occurrences, the examples offered seem to suggest the second (*they are not able to continue further by default*, line 45).

3. *The solutions.*

Within the frame of lack of quality education, the solutions offered were focused mostly on resolving policy oversights, such as a stricter implementation of the law against school or classroom segregation of Roma children, and, to a lesser extent, the continued improvement of school participation.

Minor frame 2: Motivating Roma Children.

In the minor frame of motivating Roma children, systemic solutions were presented as an adequate but unreliable answer to the problem of Roma school participation. Instead, motivational help, given on an individual basis, was proposed as a better alternative for continued school participation.

The interaction presented below, began a few seconds after Corina's intervention in Extract 1. Right after Corina's turn, a participant noted that in Corina's narrative of overcoming systemic injustices a significant role was played by her motivational parents. It was suggested that without the encouragement of parents, Roma children would not be able to appreciate the importance of formal education, and would drop out of school. At that point in the discussion, Andreea, a Romanian language teacher, took the floor and shifted the attention away from the influence of school-oriented parents, to the importance of motivational teachers.

Extract 17: Motivate the child, and the child will go to school (Group 4)

```
Andreea   It is not always (1) the case that the parents are
          sufficiently
Nelu      Motivational
Andreea   Motivational to- (0.5) Motivational uh (0.5) to- (.)
          uh be aware (.) regarding how important it is for
          the child to go to school. And I (.) have been
          working with (.) Roma children since 2000, (.) so I
          have (.) some experience, and I also started with
```

children, (0.5) to work with children, not with (.) adults, not with communities in general (hh) and I realized that a ten year old child of ten, (.) of Roma ethnicity (.) if (.) he is (.) motivated enough to go to school, (.) he goes to school whether the parent encourages him or not.

Corina That is so!

Andreea And the parent doesn't say- (0.5) Very few Roma parents that I've met, (.) cos I work in education, (.) very few Roma parents that I've met said (.) "go (.) to school!" (0.5) Most [say] "if the child wants to go, (.) he goes, if not, (.) [he doesn't go!"

Adrian [Doesn't go.

[((*overlapping comments*))

Andreea If I succeeded (0.5) in my capacity as a teacher, (.) I speak for myself, (.) to motivate the child to come to school, he never missed a day! (1) And there are many cases of children that have been asked, put in different situations to choose, "You go to school or (0.5) you go (.) to dig (.) the garden?" (.) Or "You go to work for the day." And there were children who said "I prefer to go to (0.5) learn rather than work for the day and do what mother and father do." (0.5) And these are the young people that maybe we see here today (.) yes? (.) Or they are the young people who are in high school or the

young people who ended up in university. (hh) Not necessarily because they had parents behind their backs, (0.5) but simply (.) they were, they were put in the situation to choose (.) and those children were sufficiently motivated by someone (.) to go to school. Children who were motivated by someone; (.) and here (.) I strongly agree with Corina that they must find the support (.) from someone

Corina Uhm.

Andreea From institutions? Maybe. (.) But unfortunately, institutions rarely go (.) uh to the Roma child to motivate him. But on the other hand, if teachers would be (0.5) sufficiently trained (.) and sufficiently (.) human (.) to work with a child (0.5) without making a difference (.) cos he has one ethnicity or he has another ethnicity, but simply to work with them like she should be working. Uh if that teacher sees that the child has (.) potential, to encourage him to go further, (.) to motivate the child, and the child will go to school.

1. *The problems and concealment.*

In Extract 17, three interrelated problems were suggested, all grounded in Andreea's first-hand experience as a teacher. The first problem - which was also the major problem - was Roma school participation. Within this frame, there was a tacit understanding that school participation was the only thing standing between Roma people and ulterior educational success; a success which was possibly shared by the young Roma people present at the

meeting *(these are the young people that maybe we see here today*, lines 32, 33). Problems which in other frames were presented as insurmountable such as the lack of quality education, or the absence of school institutions in the vicinity of some Roma communities, were concealed from the conversation.

The second problem, which was also the cause of the former problem, was an apparent motivational deficiency in Roma children, and Roma parents, concerning school participation. Andreea indicated that there were two types of Roma children, the motivated and the unmotivated. When a (male) child exhibited the motivation to pursue a formal education, potentially problematic issues, such as a young age (line 11), indifferent-towards-school parents (lines 13-21), or even discouraging parents offering tempting money-earning opportunities (lines 27-29) were presented as conquerable.

The third problem was a lack of institutional help (*unfortunately, institutions rarely go uh to the Roma child*…, lines 44-45). Although, institutional *support* (line 44) was seen as an option (*Maybe,* line 44), it was criticized for rarely focusing on the root problem: the child's motivation. It is possible that Andreea was aware of other types of institutional help, but her goal, at the time, was to present problems and solutions relating to motivational issues, which inevitably led to the concealment of other possible solutions.

2. Solutions, ambivalence and concealment.

In one of the few examples of talk that included the imagined voices of children, the best solution to the problem of school participation was a motivated child. Motivation, however, ran two ways: the child that preferred to learn rather than work was also the child who desired to become different than their parents (lines 29-32). If in the frame of overcoming systemic difficulties, the future education of a child depended on leaving behind a Roma community, within the frame of motivating Roma children, learning included leaving behind parental norms and values. Nonetheless, both frames include ambivalence towards of Roma ways, which at times were best abandoned.

According to Andreea, Roma children had a straightforward choice to make between their parents - who may not have *their backs* (line 37) when it came to schooling - and school participation. However, the child that picked school over parental example and guidance, did so only because someone else had their back. Offering her personal example as a motivational teacher who managed to achieve the boast-worthy result of daily school participation (*he never missed a day!*, line 25), Andreea suggested that outside help was imperative (*they must find the suppor*t, lines 41-42). Since institutional support was considered unreliable, the solution left was motivational teachers. Some, supposedly like Andreea herself, could mentor Roma children simply because they were *sufficiently human* (line 48), others could help if they were *sufficiently trained* (line 47).

When teaching a multi-ethnic class, Andreea had two pieces of contradictory advice. The first piece of advice was that there should be no difference made between children based on their ethnicity. However, in her discourse, Andreea, restricted the need for school motivation for Roma children only. Apparently, non-Romas had no such problems. One implication of describing a problem as ethnic related is singling out a group for special attention. If Roma children need a special type of intervention, then it is hard to see how teachers could ignore their students' ethnicity when trying to help. Also, the teacher training that Andreea suggested was presumably needed specifically to teach non-Roma teachers ways in which to interact with a group of children that was either in some ways different, or had different problems.

The second piece of advice was that teachers should encourage (Roma) children who have educational potential to continue their education. The problem with this advice is that it conceals the needs and desires of non-achieving Roma children during the requested business of motivating Roma children. Lastly, in this frame, the options and prospects of Roma children, including the full-of-potential-school-graduating-Roma, were also concealed.

Minor Frame 3: Roma Advantage.

In the frames presented so far, academic publications, policy documents and conversations about discrepancies between Roma and non-Roma people placed Roma people in a disadvantaged position. There was however one instance where a participant talked about the advantages of being a Roma. Extract 18 begins with Gigi, Romanian ethnic, who was talking about his friendship with Adrian, a Roma ethnic, and also a former classmate.

Extract 18: We have so many advantages (Group 4)

```
Gigi      [I felt like I'm home at his place! (x) ((smiley
          voice, laughter))
Adrian    [We had lots of good time (.) and we kept in touch
          with all those that (0.5) are now abroad and=
Gigi      =Anyway I am very glad for him! I even said (.) "hey
          man, you really are thriving."
Adrian    But why? ((smiley voice))
Gigi      You have a family, you already have a child, (0.5)
          you have a job-
Maria     You have a job.
Gigi      Yes.
((background noise))
Mea       So, what do you work?
Adrian   (x) (.) at this moment, (.) now I work as a preacher.
Mea       Oh, yeah?
Adrian    Yes. (1) I don't know (.) I see, (.) I see (0.3)
          that as a young person you can (.) have success in
          Romania, too.
Gigi      That's exactly what I say
```

20 Adrian You don't necessarily have to complain "Ah, how
21 sorry I am!" and stuff like that (hh) And I'm GLAD,
22 I am happy that I'm a Gypsy cos I had- (.) cos we
23 have so many advantages ((*smiley voice*))
24 ((*some quiet laughter*))
25 Adrian I really told these Gypsies (0.5) that are younger
26 (.) "Hey, you don't know how to take advantage (.)
27 hey" (1) ((*smiley voice*))
28 ((*quiet laughter*))
29 Adrian I could peel the skin off Helpful Foundation
30 ((*loud collective* [*laughter*))
31 Adrian [they took me to the Parliament now, eh
32 ((*smiley voice*)) (1)
33 Gigi [(x)
34 Adrian [Went and shook hands with Becali! ((*A controversial*
35 *far-right politician, businessman and the owner of a*
36 *famous football team in Romania.*))
37 ((*collective laughter*))
38 Adrian I wouldn't wash [my hands] for two weeks ((*talks*
39 *through laughter*))
40 ((collective *laughter*))

1. *The problem.*

In Extract 18, the focus is placed on the positives of being a Roma, rather than ethnic related problems. Nonetheless, being a *Gypsy* (line 22) was briefly presented as problematic and as a common source of complaint. The causes of regrets about one's ethnic identity were

not offered, indicating a general, common-sense awareness about the social and economic disadvantage of most Roma people.

Extract 18 began with two friends reminiscing about the good old high-school days. Those were the days when a schoolmate's house felt like home (line 1), when good times were in abundance (line 3), and when one makes friendships that last till the present time (*we kept in touch…,* line 3). Jumping to the present tense, Gigi shifted the topic from pleasant past experiences of friendship, to present joyful feelings towards his successful (*thriving,* line 6) Roma friend. Adrian, a medical school graduate, working as a preacher in a small Roma village church, took his friends enthusiastic depiction of him with a amusement and possibly some measure of bewilderment (*But why?*, line 7). According to Gigi, the three markers of success consisted of having a family, a child and, a job (line 8). Out of the three characteristics pointing towards a thriving life, Mea and Corina, however, only picked up on the latest, suggesting that, in the case of a 23 year old male Roma, having a job may have been more astonishing, compared to having a family and *already* (line 8) a child.

Although Adrian seemed to accept his thriving status (*yes,* line 16), his perspective on the success of young Romas was different than Gigi's. In his account, it was suggested that being a *Gypsy* (line 22) was problematic and could be a common source of complaint. However, a complaining attitude was not a necessity (line 20); a different outlook of gladness (*And I'm GLAD*, line 21) and joy could also be achieved.

2. The solution and concealment.

An attitude of gladness was presented as a favourable response to being a Roma, due to the *many advantages* (line 23) extended to (young) Roma people, precisely because of a position of disadvantage. Adrian refers to some projects or programs in which he took part, that were designed to help include disadvantaged Roma youth into mainstream society: he visited the Parliament and met (in)famous people. Ironically, during such programs, one may come across, and shake hands, with people such as Becali, who was famously recorded on

multiple occasions engaging in offensive anti-Roma rants (European Roma Rights Centre, 2005).

The gist of Adrian's reasoning was that a Roma could complain about, and regret their unfavourable ethnic position, or – preferably, with gladness and joy - learn to take advantage of all the benefits offered by NGOs to those in unfavourable ethnic positions. Within this frame, the option of challenging an unfair and unequal system was concealed (cf. Schroter, 2013), or possibly indexed into self-pitying responses (*...and stuff like that,* line 21). Thus, a Roma person could make non-Roma friends, have a family, a child, work in a job for which they were overqualified, take advantage of the benefits offered as compensatory policy measures, and imagine themselves happy.

6.3. Concluding remarks

This chapter analysed the ways in which the frames found in academic publications and policy documents discussed in the previous chapters were used in group conversations in settings where policy measures for the inclusion of Romanian Roma people were implemented. The research questions that guided the analysis were: (1) How was the problem of ethnic disparity portrayed? (2) What were the conversational solutions proposed to the problem of disparity? (3) Were there any ambivalent, dilemmatic or concealed aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people? (4) Were academic publications or policy documents acknowledged within policy documents? (5) Were the views identified in academic and policy documents used in conversations? (6) Did conversationalists moved away from the elite discourses of academics and policymakers, introducing novel ways of understanding ethnic disparities?

Frame analysis showed that there were similarities and differences between the texts and conversations, and also ways in which interactants moved away from the elite discourses of academics and policymakers, introducing novel ways of talking about disparities. Analysis

also revealed that here were lingering ambivalence, dilemmas and matters concealed with regard to the solutions needed to solve the systemic issues of disparities between Roma and non-Roma. Specifically, there were four discussion points where these matters were noted, in answer to the research questions: (1) views about Roma people; (2) policy-help, professional-help, or self-help; (3) integration versus inclusion; (4) including some while excluding "Others".

Views About Roma People

This chapter has shown that a first ambivalent discussion point concerned views about Roma people. There were five ways that Roma people were portrayed: as a problem group, as a different group, as an economic asset, as active actors and as passive victims.

Romas as a problem group.

In the majority of frames discussed in this chapter, Roma people were presented as a problem group, with the non-Roma majority group portrayed as the norm group. Often, there was a moral aspiration of a society where Romas could enjoy the same rights as the majority population, and have equal access to goods and services. Academics suggested policy measures that would, in time, lead to the eradication of ethnic differences and the creation of an ethnically neutral society. In contrast, participants to intervention programs, focused on sameness only in the provision of - and access - to services, while preferring to preserve ethnic particularities.

In academic texts, Roma traits were, often, presented as inferior to those of the majority population. Ethnic particularities such as traditionalism, paternalism and conservatism were portrayed as barriers to inclusion in Romanian society. The causes of the Roma-as-a-problem-group were presented through rhetorical forms of indirectness (cf. van Dijk, 1993). Academic and policy texts, at times, implied that Roma people were inferior by

default (Governmental Stragegy, 2001; Governmental Stragegy, 2006; Jigau & Surdu, 2002; Zamfir & Zamfir, 1993). In conversations, however, the fault was more likely to be due to systemic discrimination and a deficient informal education. Roma people in general, and traditional Roma people in particular, were rarely described as problematic due to some internal deficiencies. Rather, the gradual loss of Roma traditions, and the Roma way of life was regretted. Nonetheless, a Roma ethnicity was a common source of complaint in conversations. Being a Roma was seen as an inferior way to be compared to a non-Roma standard. The causes of ethnic regrets were either an awareness of the majority members' stereotypical views, or the social and economic disadvantage of most Romas. There was only one exception where a Roma ethnicity was presented as a source of gladness and joy: the advantages of social programs that aim to redress disparities.

This chapter has also shown that across the three communities of practice, with very few academic exceptions, the Romanian educational standards were desired as a solution for problematic Romas. The consequences of Romanian educational norms were portrayed in an unfortunate-on-one-hand and unfortunate-on-the-other hand rhetorical move. Roma inclusion through education was depicted through a variety of dilemmatic (cf. Billig, et al., 1998) and ambivalent positions. For example, the intellectual development of Roma children was positively presented, while the inevitable everyday Romanianization of Romas was viewed in both a positive and a negative light.

The presentation of Romas as a problem group that could be improved through education, led to concealment (cf. Schroter, 2013) of structural problems, including segregated Roma schools, anti-Roma discrimination and prejudice in mixed ethnic schools, and the lack of qualified teachers in schools with a majority of Roma children. Alternatively, with the use of a vailed blame discourse, Roma traditions, values or identity were designated

as problematic factors leading to the perpetuation of the problems of exclusion and marginalization.

Romas as a different group.

Romas could also be portrayed as different, but not problematic. Especially in conversations, there was an argumentative appeal for policies that understand Roma culture and the needs and desires of local Roma communities. There were conversational proposals for cooperation between Roma and non-Roma people as equals, in contrast to an interactional dynamic between non-Roma helpers and Roma receivers. Similarly, in academic publications there were arguments that took into consideration the diverse, but not problematic, Roma groups. The appeal to diversity was rhetorically used to argue for policy perspectives which would take into account Roma variety, while also benefiting all Romanians.

Romas as an economic asset.

In two isolated instances, policy documents and conversations shifted the attention from Romas to non-Romas. Romanians – a word which often spoke for the whole range of ethnic groups, excluding Romas – were warned of future problems, unless Roma people were to be lifted to similar economic levels as non-Romas. Romanian solutions were framed in terms of Roma economic advancement, and Roma people were framed as an economic asset, instead of a social problem. With a discourse of pragmatism and facts, contrasts were presented between the benefits of intervention and the costs of non-action. Although in policy documents the costs of Roma exclusion were absent, in conversations alternative futures were described with the use of frightening visions about a collapsed pension system and a burdened welfare system, versus the calming promise of a prosperous economy due to tax-paying integrated Romas.

Romas as active actors or passive victims.

Roma people could be portrayed as either active actors in a process of change, or as passive victims in need of outside help. For example, in discussions about the successful assimilation of Roma people in Romanian society, Cretan and Turnock (2008) suggested an ongoing and passive process of integration of Roma people into the Romanian way of life. The process of change was attributed to the active intervention of the non-Roma people, who were also selecting the deserving Roma recipients for the desired prize of assimilation (Cretan & Turnock, 2008). In contrast, talkers discussing the merits of Roma assimilation suggested that Roma people were active actors in the process of individually based adoption of Romanian culture. In conversations, non-Romas was not given a role in the Romanianization of Romas.

A depiction of Roma as victims was present in conversations about hardships. This association between past Roma hardships and victimization was used as an explanatory discourse for present day Roma exclusion from mainstream society and formal education. For example, past injustices, such as slavery, lack of private property, and marginalization, could be brought into conversations to argue that Roma people were passive victims of circumstances. The past injustices were used to explain present disadvantage, with claims of "no choice" on the part of Romas. The victimization discourse helped portray policy based solutions for redressing disparities as the moral duty of non-Romas. However, there were also inconsistencies as, at times, the victims of circumstances received suggestions for the improvement of their way of life, depicted as "traditional-by-circumstance".

In academic texts, policy documents and conversations, Roma people were not only presented as passive victims of circumstances, but also as passive victims of ethnic shortcomings. The ways in which Roma people routinely responded to systemic disadvantage were viewed as ethnically based. For example, children from poor Roma communities were

considered at risk of school-drop out, while no such allusions were made of non-Roma children living in poverty. Moreover, negative behaviours such as stealing, or looting were described in ethnic terms, as typical Roma answers to social disadvantage.

Policy-Help, Professional-Help, or Self-Help

A second ambivalent discussion point concerned views about the solutions for ethnic disparities. Depending on the particular views about Roma as active actors/passive victims, solutions to disparities between Roma and non-Roma people could take three different paths: policy-help, professional-help or self-help. Within a victimization perspective, Roma education, career prospects, and economic wellbeing, was depicted as contingent on systemic and political solutions. In conversations, due to political oversights and disinterest, the responsibility for Roma integration was given to professionals. For example, there was often a default assumption was that the responsibility for Roma problems belonged to tolerant non-Roma professionals, who could either take the role of mediators on behalf of Roma people, easing their access to services, or offer counselling services, motivational help or other similar psychological help. As result, in conversations, the future of Roma economic wellbeing depended in large measure on the amount (or the quality) of non-Roma professional work, which could also be blamed for any future Roma disadvantage.

In conversations an additional responsibility for the systemic, policy based solutions was extended to a general group of tolerant non-Romas, who could support policy based solutions and also offer individual help whenever possible. In contrast, in Governmental texts, authorities claimed a major responsibility for the future social and economic wellbeing of Roma people, suggesting that long term help could be achieved primarily through policy based interventions.

Academic texts and conversations adopting a Roma-as-active-actors stance often drew upon a heroic narrative trope (cf. Campbell, 1968), where the success of Roma inclusion was dependent on Roma personal effort, meritocracy and resilience. The heroic

narratives helped covertly mask policy based help, and placed the burden of inclusion, and by implication of failure, on the shoulders of Roma people. Problems, which in frames portraying Roma people as victims of circumstances, were insurmountable such as the lack of quality education, or the absence of school institutions in the vicinity of some Roma communities, were concealed.

Heroic narratives - which were used as part of an overcoming systemic inequality frame by both academics and interactants during the implementation of policy measures - were similar in their rhetoric accomplishments. Disparities between Roma and non-Romas people were legitimized by a heroic explanation of why some people failed while others were able to succeed regardless of circumstances. The major difference between academic publications and conversational settings was the hero's final destination. In academic publications, at the end of the journey, the Roma hero was comfortably included into the Romanian intellectual middle-class. Their success became a reason of encouragement for Romas who were still on the hard road of disadvantage. In conversational settings, at the end of the hero's journey, disparities in pay and employment positions between Roma and non-Romas were not resolved.

Integration Versus Inclusion

A third ambivalent discussion point was about matters of integration versus inclusion**.** Academic publications and policy documents adopted a language of integration up to 2011. After 2012 there was a change in focus from Roma integration to Roma inclusion. The difference in the language, which corresponded to a difference in the political agenda, indexed a shift in the politically approved ideological preferences. The shift in the Romanian policy agenda and the changes in the academic and political language which followed were prompted by the publication of the European Framework for the national strategies for Roma people until 2020 (The Ministry of External Affairs, 2011). The talk about integration presupposed an ideological preference for mainstream norms and practices and an

expectation of minority groups to conform to those standards. The ideological implications of inclusion were the reconfiguration of policies in line with the diverse norms, cultures and practices.

In conversations, the language and implications of integrations continued to take central stage, including in recordings from 2015. Interactants, speaking about integration, argued in favour of Roma adoption of mainstream values, norms and practices, while displaying ambivalence about Roma people abandoning traditions which were seen as incompatible to the Romanian way of life.

Including Some and Excluding "Others"

Finally, a fourth discussion point containing ambivalent views was about the inclusion of some groups while simultaneously excluding others. In conversations, there were two arguments which moved beyond the inclusion of the general group of Romas, and toward the exclusion of "Others". Firstly, a subcategory of Romas was created to argue for the improved chances of inclusion by "Christian Romas". Academics noted the use of a religious discourse of "spiritual ties" or "brotherly bond" between Christian Roma and Christian non-Roma people. Policy documents suggested that Romas adopting "Christian values" and receiving a "Christian education" were more likely to adapt to the Romanian system of (Christian) values. Similarly, in conversations, a stereotypical view of Christian behaviour was portrayed as helpful in improving the future chances of Roma integration, or at least helpful in avoiding the problems typically caused of non-Christian Romas. Consequently, the new sub-category created helped include a few Roma people, while excluding the most. The general group of secular, or non-converted Romas, were depicted not only in terms of "social problems", but also in terms of sinfulness and deviance, placing them even further outside any moral boundary (cf. Tileaga, 2007).

Secondly, arguments for the integration of all Romas could be used to exclude people from other countries. Using a discourse of the smallest-of-two-evils, in conversations it was claimed that hiring Roma employees would be better and more practical than trying to accommodate the cultures and habits of “foreigners”. With the use of banal nationalist assumptions (cf. Billig, 1995) about the “normal” national state of affairs, multiculturalism was depicted as problematic. Fears of change in the ethnic composition of Romania led to an imagined hierarchy of disparaged outgroups (cf. Condor, 2006). In the imagined scenario, Roma people were situated partially inside and partially outside the imagined national group. The inconsistancy of the position was the simultaneous case made for the integration of Roma “Others”, while pointing to the impracticalities of integrating “Others”.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND FINAL CONCLUSIONS

The analysis presented in this thesis showed the ways in which academic, policy and everyday discourses constructed multiple views about ethnic disparities in the debates taking place in three contexts where public policies that address disparities were proposed and enacted. The general concerns of this study were to identify (1) the ways in which the problem of ethnic disparity was portrayed, (2) the solutions proposed to the problem of ethnic disparity, (3) the ambivalent, dilemmatic or concealed aspects concerning the topic of disparities between Roma and non-Roma people living in Romania, (4) whether the perspectives of Roma people were accounted for in the contexts analyses and (5) the similarities and differences between the discourses of academics, policy makers, practitioners and beneficiaries of public policies concerning disparities.

These concerns were proposed in light of the current research gap regarding the discourses of people arguing in favour of systemic policy based measures to redress ethnic disparities. Although there is a large body of social psychological literature about the explanations and consequences of opposition of systemic measures, especially affirmative action programs designed to counter ethnic or racial inequalities, research that focuses on the active preoccupation for equality and anti-racism or anti-ethnicism remains sparse. Moreover, while most research looks at the perspectives of advantaged group members, this thesis has taken into consideration the perspectives of advantaged and disadvantaged group members in interaction. This thesis adds to the social psychological work on the ambivalent attitudes expressed by advantaged group members when thinking about or discussing affirmative action programs for disadvantaged people, by looking at the ambivalence towards ethnic minorities by people promoting systemic policy measures, including affirmative action. Also, this thesis complements the emergent work that looks at the ironic effects of prejudice reduction strategies, by studying the ironic and dilemmatic effects of strategies which target

systemic based ethnic disparities. Finally, while most social psychological research focuses on a single context of study – such as mass media representations or political discourses – this thesis was concerned with the ways in which discourses can move between different domains, and the impact or acknowledgement of the elite discourses of academics and policymakers on the everyday group conversations.

In this study, four key findings emerged from the three studies conducted for this thesis: (1) subtle forms of ethnicism within an explicitly tolerant agenda; (2) private versus political matters in discussions about disparities; (3) inclusion and exclusion of Roma voices; (4) ambivalence, dilemmas and matters of concealment.

7.1. Subtle Forms of Ethnicism Within an Explicitly Tolerant Agenda

The study has revealed that while expressing views about ethnic disparity, academics, policymakers, practitioners and beneficiaries of public policies for Roma people displayed subtle forms of ethnicism. The three communities of practice where the debates about ethnic disparities analysed for this thesis took place had an explicitly tolerant agenda. The academic publications, policy documents and conversations studied had an active preoccupation for furthering public policies for redressing disparities between Roma and non-Roma people living in Romania. Therefore, if opposition to public policies for disadvantaged group is a defining feature of subtle forms of racism (Akrami, Ekehammer, & Araya, 2000; Barker, 1981; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981; McConahay, 1986; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Pettigrew & Meertens, 2001), then the active proposal and the implementation of public policies is a defining feature of a tolerant agenda.

The findings of this thesis brings an important theoretical contribution by questioning the utility of an all-encompassing account about tolerant views versus symbolic forms of racism, or more narrowly, symbolic forms of ethnicism (cf. Mullard, 1985). In line with other studies (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Billig, et al., 1988; Reeves, 1983; Taguieff, 2005; van

Dijk, 1993), this research found that a variety of opposing principles including both elements of tolerance and intolerance were present within an overall argument for tolerance, presenting a further argument against the reification of the concept of "new racism". Although no resistance to policy measures for Roma people was identified, associations between Roma ethnicity and problems in values, behaviour, identity and other problematic individual traits were routinely made by academics, policymakers, and, with less frequently, by conversationalists. The same people who showed interest in politically and legislatively furthering tolerance uncritically reproduced problematic assumptions about the Roma. Subtle forms of racism do not merely stem from opposition to public policies for disadvantaged groups (Akrami, Ekehammer, & Araya, 2000; Barker, 1981; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981; McConahay, 1986; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Pettigrew & Meertens, 2001). Active, well-intentioned, proposals and programs for social inclusion and implementation of public policies for disadvantaged groups can incorporate and recycle uncritically existing discriminatory and denigrating repertoires about Roma people, including those that associate criminal behaviour with being Roma.

Apart from a few academic exceptions (Cretan & Turnock, 2008; Zamfir & Zamfir, 1993), these associations operated mostly through forms of indirectness such as suggestions or innuendos. Through a variety of repertoires, authors and speakers ambivalently combined recognition of the need for systemic policy based solutions, with suggestions about Roma individual problems necessitating individual reforms. Roma people were at times presented either as victims of ethnic shortcomings, or as self-determining perpetrators of undesired, or even criminal behaviours. For example, within re-framings of Roma crime in policy documents, Roma children were considered at risk of school-drop out, while no such allusions were made of non-Roma children. In addition, even in frames focusing on systemic problems – such as the standard of living frame found in conversations - criminal behaviour,

such as stealing or looting, was presented in ethnic terms, as typical Roma answers to social disadvantage.

An important policy implication of this study is that the language used in the strategy documents to associate Roma with undesired behaviours, identity or values gradually changed over time, reflecting changes in the Romanian socio-political context. With the implementation of the first strategy (Guvernul Romaniei - HG 430/2001.), the Romanian Government was answering the European Commission's requirements to improve the situation of Roma people, in order to join the European Union. Subsequent strategies were also answers to the European Commision's standards for Roma inclusion in EU member states (for a review of Roma inclusion policies across EU member states see Cace et al., 2014). The language of the texts became increasingly more subtle in the display of prejudicial and stereotypical views about Roma people. Specifically, the results of the analysis showed that with each new strategy document ethnic blame was being inconspicuously couched more fully in the language of the modern racism of the post-civil rights movement in America (McConahay, 1986).

Consequently, this thesis has shown that inadvertently, communities of practice with an explicit tolerant agenda can display common sense, and subtle ethnicism, when portraying the problem of ethnic disparity. Awareness of this tendency can be used to further mobilize research and political strategies on ways of combating subtle and common-sense forms of ethnicism or racism in contexts showing an active interest in furthering tolerance and parity between groups.

7.2. Private versus Political Matters

The three analytical chapters raised a number of issues concerning orientations to political and private spheres in the debates about the solutions to ethnic disparities, with implications for policymakers and social work practice with disadvantaged group members.

Firstly, when differences in education, employment, housing or health were considered, virtually all frames presented the disparity as a public matter. In conversations and texts dealing disparities between Roma and non-Roma people an overall progressive ideology to policy solutions was adopted by the three communities of practice. Employment, health, housing and educational policies for Roma people transferred what was considered before 1989 as mostly an individual matter to be solved at a private level, to a public sphere where the Romanian Government was given the responsibility to interfere. Also, with the adoption of anti-discriminatory legislation, politics moved from what was previously seen as the private relations between Roma and non-Roma people, to structural matters. This was achieved by the adoption of legal sanctions of perpetrators of anti-Roma violence and discrimination.

Secondly, in the name of addressing ethnic disparities, a great deal of political effort was devoted to the encouragement of individual Roma changes, without a similar focus on the roles of non-Roma people in perpetuating inequality. In fact, while addressing obstacles regarding access to goods and services, policies emphasized the role of Roma people in the process of integration, and later inclusion into mainstream society. In a sense, the problem of disparity was portrayed as a problem indexing an important benefit for Roma people: an incentive for personal ambition. In line with other research (Caplan & Nelson, 1973), the findings of this thesis show that person focused interpretations distracted the attention from the systemic causes of the problem of disparity, while also discrediting criticisms of the system.

Within both major frames - in terms of frequency in the data and the comprehensiveness in including the aspects of voice, problem, causality and solutions (for more information refer to Chapter 3, table 3.1) – and minor frames, there were proposals for Roma training or counselling in line with the majoritarian norms, values and expectations.

Although, counselling can be a solution for the emotionally distressed, it also signals the limits of tolerance, by creating pressure on some to change, while giving authority to others concerning the norms for this change. Nonetheless, as was shown in chapter 5, there was one incidental case in which changes to the mentality of the dominant group were treated as a relevant factor. This finding suggests a novel way in which policies can approach the problem of disparities, without blaming the victims of systemic disadvantage, but rather treat Roma people as equal partners in the fight against inequality. However, policy measures suggesting counselling or training directed at changing the attitudes, norms or values of non-Romas were virtually absent. In most contexts, the matters which were considered of political relevance in terms of policy solutions for ethnic disparities, involved changes to the culture, identity and the religious choices of Roma people.

Lastly, hegemonic ethnic roles were perpetuated. Discursively, Roma people were made part of a political agenda of individual changes, but mainstream society was neither encouraged, nor placed under any political obligation to transform in the service of ethnic equality. Academic voices criticizing a mono-cultural policy model, through a mainstreaming ethnicity frame, did not transfer into political frames or conversational frames. Paradoxically, while the problem of Roma inclusion was acknowledged by academics, policymakers, practitioners and beneficiaries of policy measures, to be a matter for public policies, some of the attribution of responsibility for inclusion was offered to Roma people, returning a political matter to the private sphere once again.

7.3. Inclusion and Exclusion of Roma Voices

The inclusion of Roma voices in the debates about ethnic disparities can be an important contribution to the process of policymaking and policy implementation. According to research on gender equality policies, frames that allow for a variety of voices have a higher chance of contributing to empowerment, especially when the voices belong to both members

of the civil society and experts (Verloo, 2007). Collaboration and consultation with different categories of people with various life experiences can allow for a sharper focus on diversity by policies that aim to redress disparities between groups of people.

The results of this thesis showed three tendencies with regard to the inclusion and exclusion of voices. Firstly, in the three communities of practice, there was an overall presence of Roma voices in the debates about ethnic disparities and policy measures for redressing ethnic disparities. For example, almost 70% of academic texts included the voices of Roma experts. Also, three out of four policy documents were co-authored by a Roma representative, and throughout the Governmental Strategies there were explicit calls for collaboration and partnerships with Roma people. In conversations, over 60% of speakers were Roma, and most conversational contexts offered on opportunity for historically excluded and also non-hegemonic voices to be heard.

The analysis showed a predominance of Roma voices in two of the contexts where policy measures for Roma people were proposed and implemented: academic publications and conversations. Academic voices, while possibly including some of the ideological and rhetorical elements offered by policy and everyday discourse, also seemed to provide an ideological and cultural framework for conversationalists, who used some of the themes found in academic publications, while also adding different and innovative ones. In line with findings from other research (van Dijk, 1993), speakers drew from a common ground of knowledge including: frames found in academic publications, fragmented information from academic research, political frames, ethnic theories, narratives of everyday experiences and ideologies.

The inclusion of Roma voices in academic publications and conversations is encouraging, especially for activists and practitioners working with disadvantaged group

members, in the sense that there are indications that issues relating to the protection of Roma rights and arguments in favour of equality in access and outcomes might not have been introduced in the political agenda, if Roma experts would not have raised them, first internationally, and then nationally (Burtea, 2012; Liegeois & Gheorghe, 1995). However, the voices of feminist experts and women were only marginally present in academic publications and conversations. In line with other research (Mendez, 2007) feminist preoccupations brought additional interests into the discussion about disparities, such as power structures and intersectionality.

Secondly, this thesis found that the voice of academic research was included only in later policy documents. Specifically, the Governmental Strategies published in 2012 and 2015, drew upon academic research, citing factual, numerical data. The quantification rhetoric, however, (cf. Potter, Wetherell, & Chitty, 1991) did not always correspond to the original research data and citing errors abounded. Also, policy texts seemed to be driven by governmental priorities, rather than academic concerns. As researchers studying Muslim women's identity and cultural pressures suggested, there may not be a political will to initiate societal changes based on academic recommendations, especially in cases where the academic research explicitly challenges policy (Wagner, et al., 2012).

Thirdly, the voices of academics (regardless of ethnicity), or the non-hegemonic voices of excluded or disadvantaged Roma people were largely absent from the frames found in policy documents. Although, explicit calls for inter-ethnic collaboration were made, it is impossible to know if any consultation with people from Roma communities, or Roma experts took place. However, if consultation took place, the policy texts made no direct reference to academic concerns – other than quoting numerical research results - and voices from the Roma civil society were missing. This result can be seen in terms of imposed silencing of minority voices on a structural level. By excluding the non-hegemonic voices of

Roma people, policy documents for redressing ethnic disparities contributed to the maintenance of hegemony. The voices that were included in the policy texts belonged to the dominant group, with what appeared to be a cosmetic inclusion of a Roma representative in the signatory party.

7.4. Dilemmas Ambivalence, and Matters of Concealment

Frame analysis has revealed dilemmas, ambivalence and concealment at work within debates about disparities between Roma and non-Roma people. Within the academic publications, policy documents and conversations there was a dilemmatic approach concerning proposals for ethnically centred policies versus proposals for ethnically neutral policies. For example, academics suggested that minority protection legislation, policy measures insuring equal access/equal outcomes between ethnic groups, or legislation recognizing additional Roma categories need to make ethnicity central to the political debate. However, alternative suggestions were made about shifting the political focus from issues of equality towards issues of ethnic diversity and the need for ethnically neutral policies.

Each political position has certain political implications. Firstly, if ethnicity was central to the Romanian political agenda of Roma inclusion, then the ethnic group in question become the holder of a problem. Within ethnicized discussions of policy measures, criticisms of cultural hegemony were possible, and proposals for the promotion of diversity and inclusion of Roma culture, norms and values within the political debates were made. Also, proposals for ethnic specific policies created an opportunity for further arguments in favour of policies for multiply-disadvantaged people, such as the unique category of Roma women. However, a depiction of Roma people as holders of specific problems, also led to Roma people being considered solvers of their own problems, thus individual encouragement to overcome systemic barriers were made.

The findings of this thesis suggest that the tendency of encouraging personal efforts in overcoming systemic problems could be prevented through associating hardships with a victimization outlook. Within arguments about Roma people as passive victims of circumstances, policy based solutions for redressing disparities were proposed as the moral duty of Governments or non-Roma people. Within this outlook of Roma-as-victims, Roma education, career prospects, and economic wellbeing, were depicted as contingent on systemic, political or professional solutions. However, defining people as victims in need of protection can also legitimize a public impression of them as inferior. As Bumiller (1987) argued, policy measures for people described as victims of circumstances, while saving the consciences of liberals, can also contribute in making discriminatory actions socially acceptable. In contrast, when Roma people were depicted as active actors, there was a tendency from academics, policymakers, practitioners and beneficiaries of policy measures to adopt a heroic narrative trope (cf. Campbell, 1968). Thus, the success of Roma inclusion was viewed as dependent on Roma personal effort and perseverance (cf. Duckworth, et al., 2007).

Secondly, if the political debates shifted towards vaguely inclusive and ethnic neutral discussions, ethnic groups were no longer depicted as having problems, but rather the issues to be solved by policy measures were transferred to the entire society. In this later sense, positive action programs for disadvantaged groups were no longer a political priority for the Romanian Government. Instead, systemic and institutional changes for the benefit of all were preferred. By ignoring ethnic specific problems and hoping for an ethnically neutral society, a process of brushing over Roma ethnic particularities was implied. Arguments for sameness also ignored matters such as the underlying majority norms and values. It was implied that sameness was to be achieved by changes in the particularities of Roma people, while non-Roma particularities could continue their role as the unchanged social norms.

Views about the particularities of Roma people were also ambivalent. For example, there were academic and political arguments that Roma traditionalism, paternalism and conservatism were barriers to inclusion in Romanian society. In conversations, however, Roma traditionality was rarely described as problematic, and the gradual loss of Roma traditions was at times regretted.

There was also a dilemmatic understanding about the role of mainstream education and Roma traditional norms and values. For example, across the three communities of practice, with very few academic exceptions, the Romanian educational standards were portrayed as the desired solution for Roma inclusion. Although, the intellectual development of Roma children was positively presented, the inevitable everyday Romanianization of Romas through education was viewed in both a positive and negative light. Arguments for changes in Roma traditional particularities through education, led to concealment of structural problems, including segregated Roma schools, anti-Roma discrimination and prejudice in mixed ethnic schools, and the lack of qualified teachers in schools with a majority of Roma children. Additionally, through a veiled blame discourse, Roma traditions, values or identity were designated as problematic factors leading to the perpetuation of the problems of exclusion and marginalization.

An alternative, although atypical position, found in conversations and academic publications, involved a depiction of Roma particularities as different, but not problematic. In conversations, this outlook gave way to appeals for policies that could understand Roma culture and the needs and desires of local Roma communities. Also, portraying Romas as different, but not as a problem, has led to conversational proposals for cooperation between Roma and non-Roma people as equals, in contrast to political suggestions of an interactional dynamic of non-Roma helpers and Roma receivers. Similarly, academic appeals to diversity

were rhetorically used to argue for policy perspectives which take into account Roma variety, and incorporate Roma ethnicity into mainstream political debates.

7.5. Limitations of study

The studies presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 had three main limitations.

(1) The first limitation is that frame analysis does not offer any clear methodology for identifying the reasons why particular frames have emerged in the ways that they did. Although, explanatory suggestions were made by drawing upon the political and historical contexts of Romania - and where possible information was given about the actors who elaborated them – these explanations were inevitably anchored in the interpretative and subjective understandings of the author of this thesis. The influence of the subjective nature of interpretation can affect the reliability of comparison of results through a reflexive methodology.

(2) Although one of the advantages of frame analysis is that it exposes prejudices that shape academic and political discourses (Verloo, 2007), the second limitation is that the criteria for the analysis was established with the use of sentitizing questions, which were relative and subjective, rather than absolute norms for analysis. One the one hand, this approach was helpful in identifying unexpected elements of a frame. On the other hand, by granting more freedom and flexibility for interpretation, it is possible for personal blind-spots and biases to have inadvertently affected the analysis, since I also used more or less implicit frames when trying to understand other people's views and interpretations.

Although, there are arguments about the inevitability of the influence of pre-existing political values and theories on data analysis (Cain & Finch, 1981), there are ways to minimize the influence of the author's perspectives. In this thesis, my subjectivity as the author was de-emphasized by seeking out alternative frames that could contradict the major or dominant frames, or my own perspectives. Other than a moral commitment to giving voice

to “others” that are routinely silenced by dominant discourses, this approach has also reflected ongoing scepticism about overarching truth claims, and a preference for a fallibilistic research strategy (Seale, 1999).

(3) The third limitation is that the type of actors and the voices found in the analysis were limited to the selection of texts and conversations. Although, the academic publications data was exhaustive for the period of 1990-2015, the policy documents data for the period of 2001-2015, and the conversational data included the voices of diverse people living throughout Romania, inevitably not all framing possibilities were covered. It is likely that other frames and discourses exist outside of the data analysed were not taken into account because of emerging academic and policy texts and different conversational contexts.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the three studies presented in this thesis were able to identify the perspectives, inconsistencies, dilemmas, ambivalence and the matters concealed when academics, policymakers, practitioners, and beneficiaries of public policies for Roma people discussed ethnic disparity in contexts with an explicit tolerant agenda. The findings of this thesis contribute to the important conversation about the meanings of disparity and the political solutions for achieving equality between groups of people.

7.6. Concluding remarks

This thesis was interested in the variety of ways in which views about ethnic disparity were presented in contexts which actively proposed or enacted policy measures for resolving ethnic disparities. The academics, policymakers and the participants in the recorded conversations explicitly aimed to (re)produce a system of ethnic equality by producing arguments and practices that could lead to a systemic process of societal change. The overall goal of the people whose perspectives were included in this thesis was to contribute to tolerance and oppose racist and discriminatory practices. However, this thesis showed that there are ongoing ambivalence, dilemmas and concealed aspects concerning the strategies

proposed in order to target systemic based ethnic disparities. Moreover, controversies over the responsible party for binging about the desired change were not resolved. As Edelman (1988) argued, matters that evoke a consensus about causes, meanings and the rational course of action do not involve politics. It is precisely the debates about controversy that makes them political. This study has shown that questions about whether disparities originate in the inadequacy of victims or structural pathologies, or whether Roma people are a problem group or an economic asset persist and remain controversial.

In the discursive contexts studied in this thesis, where people mobilized political opinions, some of the arguments and themes used pointed to the borders within which frames were able to move. For instance, the ambivalent case of Roma-having-problems and Roma-being-problems, created a boundary in which discourses of systemic solutions or individual solutions were introduced, in some ways limiting the possibilities of framing beyond common-sense and ideological constrains, while also creating windows of opportunity for innovative ways of writing and speaking about ethnic disparities, such as a recognition of Roma culture as different, but not problematic. In other words, ambivalence, inconsistencies and dilemmas provided opportunities for the development of political solutions to ethnic disparities, which included the perspectives and voices of multiple actors, and addressed the structural character of ethnic disparities, the intersectionality between ethnicity and gender, and the cooperation of Roma and non-Roma people as equals.

The findings of this thesis have important implications for the social psychological theory of disparity, the policies for redressing disparity and the social work practice with disadvantaged group members. This thesis has contributed to the social psychological understandings of disparities by (a) focusing on the discursive practices concerning ethnic disparities, (b) including the perspectives about disparities presented in inter-ethnic interactions by both advantaged and disadvantaged group members, (c) identifying the

ambivalent, dilemmatic and concealed aspects of discourses taking place in anti-racist contexts aiming to redress disparities through systemic based solutions, and (d) providing insights into the ways in which discourses move between the domains of academia, policy and practice and how elite discourses are acknowledged in everyday group conversations between practitioners and beneficiaries of public policies.

The implications for policies aiming to redress ethnic disparities are an awareness of: (a) the political consequences of ethnically centred policies versus proposals for ethnically neutral policies, (b) the ways in which person focused interpretations of political solutions distract attention from systemic causes of disparity, (c) and the poor transfer of academic research and minority perspectives into political discourses aimed to redress systemic disparities.

The findings presented in this thesis also have three important implication for the social work practice with disadvantaged group members by suggesting ways in which practitioners can (a) frame disparities to combat subtle forms and common-sense ethnicism and further tolerance and equality between groups, (b) encourage the inclusion of feminist voices into the discussion about disparities, power structures and intersectionality, and (c) adopt conversational frames that acknowledge and encourage the cooperation of Roma and non-Roma people as equal partners in the fight against inequality.

Finally, the findings of the three studies presented in this thesis emphasize the need for further collaboration and fruitful debates between academics, policymakers, practitioners and beneficiaries of public policies for redressing ethnic disparities.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Group no.	Pseudo-name	No of children	Academic attainment	Profession	Age	Gender	Ethnicity
1	Adriana	2	4th grade	Unemployed	23	female	Roma
1	Alina	3	4th grade	Unemployed	25	female	Roma
1, 2	Ancuta	7	Illiterate	Unemployed	27	female	Roma
1, 3	Aniko	6	8th grade	Unemployed	37	female	Hungarian
1, 3	Carmen	3	10th grade	Unemployed	42	female	Roma
1	Magda	4	Illiterate	Unemployed	34	female	Roma
1, 2, 3	Cornelia	4	1st grade	Unemployed	26	female	Roma
1, 2, 3	Elena	7	2nd grade	Unemployed	46	female	Roma
2	Emi	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	28	male	Romanian
1	Felicia	4	1st grade	Unemployed	32	female	Roma
1, 2, 3	Lia	5	Illiterate	Unemployed	37	female	Roma
2	Paul	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	29	male	Romanian
1, 2	Monica	2	Illiterate	Unemployed	26	female	Roma
1, 2, 3	Bogdan	1	PhD	Educational psychologist	36	male	Romanian
1, 3	Simona	6	7th grade	Unemployed	37	female	Roma
4	Adrian	0	Undergraduate	Student – Medical Studies	23	male	Roma
4	Andreea	1	University	Romanian Language teacher	42	female	Romanian
4	Andrei	1	PhD	Psychologist	37	male	Romanian
4	Corina	0	Masters	Social Worker	34	female	Roma
4	Dana	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	22	female	Romanian
4	Dorotea	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	22	female	Romanian
4	Emi	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	28	male	Romanian

4	Flavius	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Sciences	24	male	Roma
4	Gigi	0	University – 2 years	Bartender	21	male	Romanian
4	Katalin	1	University	Mathematics professor	30	female	Hungarian
4	Marcel	2	Masters	Social Worker	31	male	Roma
4	Maria	0	Masters	Postgraduate - Social Services	24	female	Roma
4	Naomi	0	Masters	Postgraduate - Social Services	24	female	Roma
4	Nelutu	2	Masters	Social Worker	29	male	Roma
4	Tamara	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	19	female	Roma
4	Tiberiu	0	Undergraduate	Student – Art Studies	21	male	Roma
5, 6	Szilvia	1	PhD	Researcher – Sociology	36	female	Hungarian
5, 6	Sandu	2	PhD	Sociologist	39	male	Roma
5, 6	Bernadett	2	PhD	Social Worker	41	female	Hungarian
5, 6	Anita	2	PhD	Lecturer – Social Work	38	female	Hungarian
5, 6	Petru	1	PhD	Assistant Professor	39	male	Romanian
5, 6	Adrienn	1	PhD	Lecturer –Social Work	53	male	Hungarian
7	Rudi	7	5th grade	Preacher – Pentecostal church	63	male	Roma
8	Muresan	2	Professional school	Lathe Operator	60	male	Roma
9	Rupi	3	8th grade	Preacher – Pentecostal church	36	male	Roma
10	Janos	4	8th grade	Preacher – Baptist church	56	male	Roma

11	Ilie	7	8th grade	Preacher – Baptist church	51	male	Roma
12	Covaci	1	High school	Preacher – Pentecostal church	38	male	Roma
13	Stefan	3	High school	Preacher – Baptist church	65	male	Roma
14	Pavel	0	High school	Shop owner – Grocery	33	male	Roma
15	Guti	7	4th grade	Preacher – Baptist church	43	male	Roma
16	Nastase	5	7th grade	Construction work	35	male	Roma
17	Daniel	3	8th grade	Unemployed	42	male	Roma
18	Mihaita	2	High school	Security Agent	25	male	Roma
19	Imre	5	10th grade	Unemployed	45	male	Roma
20	Emeric	4	9th grade	NGO President Community Development	45	male	Roma
21	Iosif	5	8th grade	Preacher – Baptist church	47	male	Roma
22	Gabor	2	4th grade	Preacher – Pentecostal church	43	male	Roma
23	Gheorghe	4	High school	Preacher – Baptist church	46	male	Roma
7-23	Ioan	1	PhD	Social Worker	36	male	Romanian
24	Marius	0	Undergraduate	Student- Social Work	21	male	Romanian
24	Camelia	0	Masters	Farm Worker	30	female	Roma
24	Alin	0	Masters	Legal Adviser	34	male	Roma
24	Dani	0	Masters	Social Worker	34	male	Romanian
25	Ligia	0	Undergraduate	Student- Social Work	20	female	Romanian
25	Anica	0	Undergraduate	Student – Literature	19	female	Romanian
25	Andrei	0	Undergraduate	Student – Management	20	male	Romanian
25	Carmen	6	Illiterate	Unemployed	50	female	Roma

25	Angelica	4	Illiterate	Unemployed	54	female	Roma
26	Emi	2	Masters	Preacher- Baptist Church	36	male	Romanian
26	Mihai	0	Undergraduate	Student – Music	20	male	Romanian
26	Larisa	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	21	female	Romanian
26	Vasile	0	6th grade	Unemployed	43	male	Roma
26	Rozalia	0	Illiterate	Unemployed	39	female	Roma
26	Calin	5	8th grade	Unemployed	41	male	Roma
26	Dana	5	4th grade	Unemployed	40	female	Roma
27	Ramona	0	Masters	Graduate student - International Law	25	female	Roma
27	Silvia	0	Undergraduate	Student- Social Work	20	female	Romanian
27	Radu	0	Undergraduate	Student – Medicine	23	male	Roma
27	Moni	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	21	female	Romanian
27	Simida	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	20	female	Romanian
27	Cristi	0	Undergraduate	Student – Art	22	male	Roma
27	Luminita	0	Masters	Graduate student – Law	24	female	Roma
28	Ana	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	18	female	Romanian
28	Florina	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	19	female	Roma
28	Daria	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	18	female	Romanian
28	Catrina	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	19	female	Romanian
28	Laura	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	18	female	Romanian
28	Ioana	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	20	female	Romanian
28	Loredana	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	19	female	Romanian
28	Marisca	0	Undergraduate	Student – Social Work	18	female	Romanian
28	Cristi	1	PhD	Reader	38	male	Romanian

1-6, 28	Mea	1	PhD	Reader	35	female	Romanian

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

I, as the beneficiary (name, surname) ……....., of the funded programme/project (name, and ID of programme/project ....., offered by the organization (name of organization) ....., with the home address: City …....., County ……....., Street ……....., No ..... and ID no: ....., Issued by: ....., Date issued: .....

give my full consent for the organization mentioned above to process and use my personal data, including video, audio recordings, transcripts of conversations, and photographs collected as part of the programme/project for the purposes of the funded project/programme and as part of research studies, in accord with the Romanian Law no 677/2001, notification no 9088, concerning the protection of people and the processing of personal data and the free circulation of personal data and the Romanian law number 206/2004, concerning the good practice in scientific research, and technological development.

Prior to signing the consent form I have been provided with (choose all that apply):

[ ] information about the programme/project
[ ] an opportunity to ask questions and discuss any aspect of the programme/project's activities
[ ] assurance that I have the right to withdraw from any activity of the programme/project at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequence on the present or future participation in other funded programmes/projects or activities
[ ] the choice to accept/decline to have the photographs of the meetings, audio or video recordings, and/or transcripts used by the organization for research purposes which may appear in academic or other publications or on the website of the organization.

Date ..... **Signature.....**

Your personal data are processed by the organization for the purpose of the implementation of the specific activities of a funded programme/project. Your data can only be disclosed to third parties only on the basis of justified ground in accord with the Romanian law 677/2001, and the Romanian law 206/2004. You have the right to access, intervene, and oppose the ways in which your data is used by the organization.

Notes

[1] In this thesis race was understood as a socially constructed perception of differences such as skin color, eye shape, hair texture or other facial features. Also ethnicity was defined as perceived variations in language, clothing, or other behaviors between groups which were attributed to culture.

[2] Howarth et al. (2013), explain that there is a difference between social change, operationalized on an interpersonal or inter-group level, where the relations between sets of individuals are studied, and societal change, where the change is examined within a broader political context, incorporating change at the level of communities, organizations, governments and international networks.

[3] In his post 1930s papers, however, Garth progressively shifted course from approvingly citing innate race differences in intelligence to confidently refuting their existence (for more on Garth's academic trajectory regarding race issues see: Richards, 1998).

[4] At the time of writing, no official data on the school participation of Roma people in Romania are available. The Ministry of Education does not collect or publish ethnic data about the children enrolled in schools. However, since 1990 numerous studies and reports on the issue have been published. Although there are slight differences between the statistical results offered by these studies, there was a general consensus concerning the educational gap between Roma and non-Roma people (Tarnovschi, 2012).

[5] Deciding whether social change is "positive" or negative" is a political issue, since changes that mean rights and freedoms for some, may be seen as a loss of privilege and status for others. In this thesis, "positive" changes are seen as changes that grant rights and freedoms to historically disadvantaged groups, and involve a critique of current social inequalities (cf. Howarth et al, 2013).

[6] These four documents were chosen for analysis for two main reasons. Firstly, they were the only documents proposed by the Romanian Government post 1989[6] which explicitly, and in some ways, exclusively, targeted Roma people. Although there were other policy documents which applied to a significant number of Roma people – for example the National Plan to Combat Poverty and Promote Social Inclusion (Romanian Government, 2001) – such documents were not chosen for analysis as they addressed a broader range of vulnerable groups (e.g. young people preparing to leave the state's protection institutions, people with disabilities, street children, etc.). Also, there were several documents excluded from this study, despite explicitly

targeting Roma people. Some examples would be the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 (European Commission, 2011), or any of the documents produced by the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015 initiative (Roma Decade, 2005); all of which included plans and reports concerning Romanian Roma. However, these documents related to Roma people from all European member states, and so were not included in the present study.

[7] The transcript word number is a close approximation of the number of spoken words. The transcript word count is higher than the actual spoken words, as it includes observations and notes such as "overlapping comments", "smiley voice", "phone ringing" etc. and the pseudonyms of the talkers.

[8] Some reactivity did occur due to the researcher's presence, consent gaining practices and the participants' awareness of audio-recording devices (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). There was recorded evidence that the participants constructed their views with an awareness of the recording devices. However, in this study, the focus was on the events as they unfolded, even if the possibility of a `more natural` (Speer & Hutchby, 2003, p. 318) event could have taken place without the presence of the researcher or her recording devices.

[9] In governmental publications the bulk of each document was structured in numbered or bullet pointed paragraphs and coding was done at the paragraph level. In the case of the information included in tables, each table row was separately coded. The total number of paragraphs and bulleted/numbered points included in the four documents was 1608. In most cases, the numbering of paragraphs coincided with the numbering of the various interventions, measures, principles, etc. However, some interventions, measures, principles, etc. had several sub-categories (e.g. intervention 1 could consist of sub-interventions 1a, 1b, 1c, etc.). In these cases, each sub-category was counted separately. For this stage of the analysis, QDA Miner qualitative data analysis software was used to facilitate the retrieval and comparison of data.

[10] Due to a large amount of conversational data, transcripts were imported into QDA Miner qualitative data analysis software. There were two main risks associated with analysis by hand. One risk was overlooking certain sequences of words or sentences which could provide additional insights in analysing the frames identified. A second risk was that of seeing phantom patterns due to illusory correlations or erroneous counts (Hamilton & Rose, 1980). As a result, all data was imported into the QDA Miner qualitative data analysis software which allows for the easy filing and retrieving of information. Although QDA Miner allows for a

variety of ways of analysing qualitative data, it this study it was used in order to (1) help speed up the process of retrieving coded instances and (2) improve rigor when counting instances of frames.

[11] At the time of the study, this process was still ongoing, with texts from the 1990-2001 being continuously posted online either on institutional websites, in academic online libraries, or by the authors themselves on their personal web pages.

[12] Some of the papers that included an evaluation of non-governmental organizational measures for Roma inclusion did not rigorously evaluate the efficiency or inefficiency of the implemented programs or policies. For example, a study from 2014 (Mirisan & Chipea, 2014) claimed to evaluate the programs initiated by an organization for disadvantaged children living in marginalized Roma communities. However, from the introduction the authors claimed to use a method of "appreciative inquiry" in order to "highlight the positive aspects" of the program. This approach led the authors to interview the staff, including the managers and senior executives of the organization about "what works best". Not surprisingly, answers abounded in appreciative self-evaluations, and the researchers concluded that the organization conducted "quality specialized interventions" and that a neo-protestant Christian organization has a positive approach "towards Roma communities 'as souls ought to be saved, as children of God, as equal members'" (p. 227). A less appreciative reader of this research, would probably remain unconvinced. Other similarly biased evaluations were also found in other evaluation reports of non-governmental programs.

[13] During the International Roma Congress, which took place in London in 1971, Roma elites proposed abandoning the common usage of exonyms as *Tigani, Tsiganes, Zigeuner, Gitanos*, and Gypsy, by arguing that these terms were derogatory. Instead *Roma*, also spelled *Rroma*, was proposed as an alternative endonym. Up until the Congress, international Roma organizations were known as "Gypsy Organizations"; "Organizatii tiganesti"; "Communauté Mondiale Gitane" or "Comité International Tsigane". A resolution was passed and the endonim *Roma* was registered by international bodies including the United Nations, UNESCO, and the Human Rights Commission. In Romania, Roma people continued to be labelled as *tigani* (Gypsy) until Article 3 of Law 33/1995 mentioned that any person belonging to a national minority has the right to freely choose how she/he is treated and how she/he desires to be ethnically named. Also, the endonim Roma was officially imposed by the European Commission in 1999, when it was concluded that the term "Gypsy" and the variants of Tsigan were considered by many Roma to be pejorative, and was abandoned as a result (Horovath & Nastasa, 1992).

[14] Action plans were numbered in the policy documents

[15] Percentage of total number of action plans in document

[16] Religion is only mentioned as in the action plans of the first two documents

[17] Religion is only mentioned in the measures plans of the first two documents

[18] An additional benefit of these documents was that they showed that the national governments included Roma people into the category of "national minorities", which was not the Romanian case prior to 1989.

[19] The text could be read in at least two ways with regard to the displayed causal relation between past and present problems. One way is to view the text as suggesting that slavery and past discrimination have deeply affected the collective memory of the majority population, who may have continued to view Roma as "lesser-than" non-Roma. In effect, the majority population actions and re-actions may have created the conditions for Roma marginalization – which in turn created other, possibly social and economic, difficulties. Another way of reading the Governmental text, is to assume that the collective memory deeply affected belonged to the Roma people, who remembering the past discriminatory actions of the majority population, may have developed a deep collective mistrust, and have thus contributed to the conditions of self-marginalization. Nonetheless, academic voices – which were absent from Strategies 1a (2001) and 1b (2006) - attributed present-day (self)marginalization to both causes: Roma mistrust of mainstream society, and mainstream discrimination against Roma (Kelso, 2013; Nicolae, 2002, Zamfir, 2013).

[20] Mainstreaming refers to a political agenda of including a Roma perspective in all areas of public policy, without necessarily having specific policies targeting Roma people exclusively (Eurostat, 2010).

[21] For some undisclosed reason, by quoting the last 10 years, rather than the 13 years since the implementation of the measures proposed by Strategy 1a (published in 2001), the authors of Strategy 3 (published in 2015), made reference only to the post-2005 measures. One possible explanation could be the often quoted political commitment of the Romanian government to the international initiative "Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015". (Popoviciu & Popoviciu, 2012).

[22] Ethnicism is defined as a cultural differentiation based on language, religion, philosophies, customs, norms and values (Mullard, 1985).

[23]Although her past behaviour was presented as undesirable, it was done so in a hedged way (cf. Lakoff, 1975). The rhetorical effect of "not really" (lines 9-9) was to help Monica avoid categorically appearing in the category of "not patient" in offering homework help. She further justified her lack of patience, by pointing to a personal lack of access to education. This was achieved with an un-hedged declaration: I did not have access to schooling, (lines 10-11), which functioned to make her admitted (and hedged) lack of patience seemed reasonable and attributable to external circumstances and not necessarily personal character.

[24] Possibly as a strategy that allowed him to appear detached, Emeric talked about the problems facing Roma people from a third person footing, referring to members of his own ethnic group as "them" (lines 14, 15, 19, 22, 26, 36, 37, 43).