In a civilized country, not one administered by friends of Gypsies, terrorists and criminals, the Gypsies would be eliminated/removed immediately from the soil of the mother land”, “born for infringement of the law: criminals at a young age” “20 "little niggers" have been stopped at the border: Germany verboten!”, “what's worse is that after stealing and killing, they are kept alive and warm with tax payer's money- that is all the honest people-living in peaceful jails until spring when they once again will start sunbathing and steal!”, “what will they do, after each naive palm has been read, all unlocked bicycles stolen and all prisons polluted? the Gypsy has appeared immediately and

"Popa has found a "firelusc and a number of "Gypsies immobilizes his "sex", "to follow is the trial, the delays and the negotiations for payment (well known for this ethnicity)”, “only 450 gypsy from Bucharest wished to have a job”, “they were hitting with their fists, then they threw rocks at each other”, “despite 1646 job positions: Job markets for Roma, almost without Roma”, “thieves of Bouillon, iron and preserved fruits”, “through false promises, Romanian gypsys lured disabled people from Bucharest and other cities and bring them to France and Spain where they force them to beg in inhumane conditions through violence and threats”, Some were sold and some were eaten”, “from a few farms from Doli, they have stolen a few sheep, goats, one pig, tractor batteries and also 30 000 RON”, “after wounding a police with a sword [...] He has been accused of lending money with high interest rates and then blackmailing these people by confiscating their jewelry, cars and other goods”, “Regardless of King Ciocaba’s interventions the Dambovita mafia is to be decapitated,”

"before the authorities arrive, the Gypsies throw the stolen trees in their carriages and drive away", “fallen trees stolen by Gypsies”, “the shady business of Brahasesti mayor”, “some people have become victims to their violence and theft”, “Gypsies have devastated the trains, they have broken windows and doors"
A History of Roma in the Public Sphere:

*The social construction of Roma in press and history textbooks after Ceausescu*

Victor Emanuel Chiorean

Abstract

This study addresses the post-revolutionary history of Roma in the Romanian public sphere by examining the social construction of this minority in press and history textbooks. The objective is to illuminate synchronic and diachronic structural patterns in public texts debating Roma in order to offer a deeper understanding of the Romanian xenophobia assuming that affect the status quo of Roma. Public texts represent fruitful channels of communication through which selective social realities par excellence, stocks of knowledge and typifications are proclaimed by different societal actors. The press possess a critical function whilst history textbooks a manipulative function advocating normative historical realities par excellence. The modi operandi utilized are quantitative, qualitative content- and critical discourse analysis, which are applied in the monitoring of approximately 6000 newspapers, 197 articles (1991-2012) and 6 textbooks (2008-2014). The results indicate that the media history of Roma resembled police investigations rather than conventional journalism. Manifest and latent stereotypifications have synchronically and diachronically formed uncritical and demonizing stocks of knowledge, whose societal truths sustained the othering of Roma in press and were depicted as a force behind the destruction of [“our”] national self-image. History textbooks have offered an inexistent stock of historical knowledge omitting, e.g. the slavery and deportations of Roma but highlighting ethnocentric perspectives, patriotism and other minorities.

Keywords

Roma, Gypsies, Romania Libera, media history, stereotypification, othering, social construction, realities par excellence, history textbooks, historical metanarrative, minorities.

*The background quotes present on the cover page are passages cited in the 197 articles utilized later in this paper. These articles are attached in Appendix A.*
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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background

“On every social index, from income to life expectancy, from illiteracy to health, from criminality to child welfare, the Romanies do worse than any other European group. They are not just poor, but also persecuted. In some countries even allegations of forced sterilization persist, amid official denials.”¹

Before presenting the objectives of this paper it is relevant to address some aspects that characterize the sociopolitical situation of Eastern European Roma in general, especially the case of Romania. This section functions as a point of departure for this research and discusses key issues identified by the international community and scholars in relation to the status quo of Roma, such as discrimination, the minority’s socioeconomic status and its position in the interethnich relations in post-communist Europe.

Estimates indicate that 10-12 million Roma exist in Europe today but this number is indeed a rough estimate.² Different national censuses provide numbers that differ greatly from measurements conducted by organizations such as Council of Europe (CoE). For example, the 2011 Romanian census stated that 621573 people identified themselves as Roma³ whilst the CoE approximated the Roma population in Romania to 1.85 million. If the latter are accepted, Romanian Roma represent the largest Roma community in Europe and the largest ethnic minority in Romania.⁴

The educational attainment of Roma in Eastern Europe has developed into a structural problem after 1989. According to a study surveying Roma youth in Romania 1994, 0.7 % entered tertiary education, 3.9 % of the youngsters enrolled in the second cycle, 33.7 % entered primary school and 22 % were ranked as illiterate.⁵ Twelve years later the situation had not improved. The Open Society Foundation reported that only 1 % entered tertiary education and 0.7 % graduated, 9.6 % of the Roma youngsters terminated the second cycle and only 31.7 % terminated primary education.⁶ Counterproductive linguistic policies, high dropout rates from school activities, the dismantling of communist welfare benefits, costly school material and poor transportation possibilities in combination with segregated schools are some of the factors explaining the troublesome educational attainment among Roma for the last two decades.⁷

⁷Open Society Institute, Monitoring education for Roma, pp. 165,166, 167.
Unemployment rates among Eastern European Roma have increased dramatically since 1989 based on the collapse of many factories, agricultural enterprises and corporations that during communism offered Roma unskilled positions. By 1993 74.2 % of the Romanian Roma were ranked as unskilled as they lacked experience in modern or traditional trades; by 1996 the unemployment rate of Roma in Slovakia and Bulgaria was 76 % and 70 % respectively and in rural areas unemployment was almost ubiquitous. It was in the light of these socioeconomic events, extreme poverty and political transition as some established a living in begging and prostitution whereas others became entrepreneurs involved in trade and sales, automobile services or street vending whilst some engaged in illegal activities. Two decades later the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights surveyed nearly 90 000 Roma households in Romania and suggested that almost 90 % lived below national poverty levels.

Throughout the 1990s violent hate crimes and pogroms have been launched against Roma in Eastern Europe, a problem that affected the relationship with the majoritarian populations negatively. In the Czech Republic alone, 20 attacks were registered each month in year 1996 with a total of 1250 attacks during the period 1990-1997. The attacks occurred usually in rural areas and involved coordinated violence against Roma families and the destruction of Roma villages. These occurred in the entire region, but their frequency may have been higher in Romania, Hungary and the Czech Republic. One of the most debated attacks has occurred in the Romanian village Hadareni in 1993, where up to 1000 ethnic Romanian and Hungarian villagers cooperated and surrounded, attacked and burnt Roma households, killing four Roma and expelling the rest, as a result of the stabbing of one ethnic Romanian.

Today, the European Court of Human Rights judges cases involving attacks on Roma villages and destruction of property, deaths in medico-social institutions, forced evictions from land habituated by Roma, publications allegedly insulting Roma, racially biased police investigations, segregation in schools and unfair treatment in courts. European police are currently involved in evictions of Roma camps in the outskirts of European cities and, ever since the accession of Romania and Bulgaria, Roma immigration and begging within the EU has become a debated topic.

Although strong evidence suggests that low educational attainment and employment rates, poor health, devastating housing conditions and poverty are exacerbated by xenophobic attitudes and policies toward Roma, the Romanian Minister of Labor Family Social Protection and Elders announced during her 2015 official conference in Stockholm that there exists no discrimination against Roma in Romania. The background above raises crucial questions about the causes of these socioeconomic

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8Barany, Zoltan. The East European gypsies, p. 173.
10Barany, Zoltan. The East European gypsies, p. 176–177.
12Barany, Zoltan. The East European gypsies, p. 196.
challenges and the ways in which the public debate in Romania has approached and discussed these issues and the relationship with this minority. It is the discrimination of Roma in Romania and their current socioeconomic status in the EU that motivates the research fields of the present paper, which attempts to investigate whether these problems are aggravated and affected by the social construction of Roma in the Romanian public sphere. Based on the points of departure presented in this background, the introduction below addresses the reasons behind this research paper after which I will continue to present some of the previous research vis-à-vis the two investigations of this paper. To follow is section 1.5 that outlines the general objectives and the research questions of this thesis. Ultimately section 1.6 addresses methodological aspects related to definitions, sources, demarcations, limitations, source criticism and the modi operandi utilized in this research.

1.2 Introduction

This paper intends to address the ways in which Roma and their socioeconomic status have been discussed, depicted and socially constructed in the Romanian public sphere after Ceausescu. Below I intend to explain what has motivated the choices of this paper.

To start with, examining modern historical public texts is significant because these function as channels of communication through which the social construction of reality occurs. Public texts debating Roma have not been ubiquitous in their character and can therefore be regarded as selective descriptions of reality. These may resemble discriminatory attitudes, generate further xenophobia and typification or addresses the situation critically and differently. Thus public texts may become “paramount realities absorbed and apprehended by the common man as a reality par excellence” becoming incomplete but legitimate accumulation of truths whereby alternative discourses are omitted. Secondly, researching public texts in which Roma appear also provides historical evidence about the societal actors and organizations that have produced texts that “permit the definers to do their defining.” Given that societal actors have different visions, functions and agendas it becomes appropriate to identify which texts have been hostile toward Roma and which have provided a different picture vis-à-vis the reality ‘par excellence’ ascribed to this minority in public and how the public debate has shifted during Romania’s transition to democracy.

Thirdly, as presented later, both academic research and studies conducted by the civil society have addressed the role of media in the stereotypification of minorities arguing that media has the power to set the public agenda, shape xenophobic realities but also to function as a key architect of public opinion, especially with regard to the construction of national identities and dominant social groups that, consciously or unconsciously, are responsible for the othering of minorities through linguistic output. The impact of newspapers as an architect of public opinion and thereby the social construction of Roma, is therefore a vital phenomenon to monitor and deconstruct.

Ultimately, history textbooks can be regarded as authoritative and normative public texts aiming to represent historical realities par excellence. These are relevant to explore

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in order to address the ways in which major events in Romanian Roma history are acknowledged and incorporated in the historical metanarrative of Romania and the extent to which history education is and has been used as a democratic platform for the inclusion of Roma. As discussed later, the Romanian state has moved toward democracy and tolerance branding itself as a minority-friendly nation, not least in the educational sector by adopting new curricula and democratic reforms. As a result, it becomes extremely relevant to address the composition of the historical metanarrative as presented in schools in order to comprehend how history education has been utilized as a nexus for democratic values. Consequently, this paper revolves around public texts found in press and history textbooks that may be considered as platforms where the social construction of Roma has occurred for the last two decades.

1.3 Previous research on the stereotypification and othering of Roma

Given the socioeconomic challenges of Romanian Roma it is significant to explore textual-structural elements and fluctuations in media in order to understand how the public debate has positioned itself vis-à-vis these issues and how the Roma-Romanian relationship has been publically assembled. Romanian studies regarding the appearance of Roma in post Ceausescu media are a scarcity in a field requiring further research. Finding scholar media history research especially about the social roles, contexts, voice and individuality of Roma in post Ceausescu media has represented a challenge as the few that do exist usually originate from the civil society rather than the academia and also because these tend to comprise periodical studies. As discussed later, existing studies indicate that the representation of Roma has occurred through a social construction molded for the public in a negative manner. The lack of academic research in this field has been compensated with official reports and studies conducted by the civil society.

1.3.1 The portrayal of Roma in post Ceausescu media

One of the few relevant investigations relevant for the portrayal of Roma has been published in the Political Sphere, a magazine established by the Civic Society Foundation. Written by Gabriela Creţu as an independent researcher in 2014, the article addresses the relationship between images of Roma as perceived by ethnic Romanians and the ways these images are represented in press until 2006. Creţu’s article has identified a few significant characteristics in the appearance of Roma in post Ceausescu media, such as the black chronicle that reported crime and violence committed by Roma, a romantic stream consisting of reports commenting on incorrect information and a realist approach where the perspectives of ethnic Romanians were considered. Even though this study provides useful results, it did not disclose the methods and material used.

Another investigation addressing the appearance of Roma in press has been conducted by the satirical-political magazine Catavencu Academy with data collected by the

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19 Creţu, "Roma Minority In Romania", p. 117–118.
21 Academica Catavencu.
monitoring agency Active Watch and CRISS, an eminent Roma NGO. Articles from five daily newspapers published in year 2000 were monitored for 7 months in order to identify conflictual and non-conflictual reporting in positive or negative contexts, the overall nature of the articles i.e. political, economic and social etc., the tone of the journalistic style and the frequency of the stereotypes ascribed to Roma. The results indicate that 57 % of all 343 articles monitored involved conflictual reporting, almost 50 % of all articles were of economic or criminal nature, 71 % were written with a negative tone and 11 of the 14 stereotypes identified were classified as negative. The study suggests that during these seven months, Romanian press tended to offer a negative depiction of Roma, often discussing them in terms of criminality.

Despite their limitations, both investigations emphasize the crucial role played by newspapers in the construction of a negative representation of Roma in post Ceauşescu media. This does not only motivate further research regarding the stereotypification and othering of Roma in press during a continuous period of time but also raises questions about the social roles Roma have been assigned, the legality of contexts in which they have been assigned and the extent to which Roma are given space to answer serious accusations in public.

1.3.2 Stereotypification of minorities in media

Below I address the role of media in the stereotypification process of minorities arguing that media in general withholds the power to shape discriminatory and xenophobic attitudes and realities. In the 1960s Professor of journalism Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw developed the agenda setting theory arguing that elements emphasized by the media become significant for the public. The Chapel Hill Study revealed a "strong relationship between the emphasis placed on different campaign issued by the media [...] and the judgement of voters as to the salience and importance of various campaign topics." The second level agenda setting theory proceeded a step further and argued that media not only set the agenda in our heads but also dictated "how to think about them."

This of course implies that attitudes and opinions toward Roma may originate directly from the agenda presented by media, implying that the post Ceauşescu media has had a significant impact on its readers vis-à-vis the perception of the country’s largest minority.

Moreover, an extensive report released by Geneva Center for Security Policy argues that media is in fact a contributive force enforcing xenophobic stereotyping against immigrants, Muslims and Roma. One of the significant aspects addressed is the ethnicization or racialization of crime, i.e. the frequency of news reports depicting Roma, Muslims and immigrants merely in the light of welfare abuse, crime and
threats. In general it emphasizes the powerful role played by media vis-á-vis the creation and reproduction of ethnic stereotyping, warning about the artificial reality media may create as a result of the journalists’ personal prejudices, the selling impetus imposed by the editorial staff and the lack of direct references to the individuals discussed. Proceeding from the power of media in agenda setting, its participation in stereotypification of minorities and knowing that the appearance of Roma in post Ceausescu media has been at times problematic, it becomes important not only to deconstruct the synchronic and diachronic stereotypification associated with Roma but also to address the ways in which the public picture of Roma has been shaped since 1991. The section below discusses the concept of othering, i.e. more latent phenomena related to belonging, national identity and social exclusion.

1.3.3 The process of othering in media

The process of othering involves actions through which a social group defines into existence another group by ascribing it attributes which differentiate the others from the self. Examples of othering can occur especially in relation to ethnicity, gender, culture and nationhood. According to Professor of sociology Michael Schwalbe, the literature in general indicates that research in the field of othering can be divided in at least three categories. Firstly, oppressive othering addresses groups which are defined as morally and/or intellectually inferior through various taxonomical classifications and negative differentiations. Secondly, research discusses the unrealistic and mythical impersonations of the self. Ultimately, defensive othering addresses the role of subordinate groups which intend to refute such depictions. Relevant for the present paper is of course the appearance of othering in media and how this process has been affected Roma in press since 1991. In a doctoral dissertation, media researcher Ylva Brune addressed discourses in which refugees have been Othered in Swedish media. It comprises three investigations presenting various thematic presentations of immigrants during the last decades of the Cold War. The first study identified three major themes which concluded that refugees have been depicted as a security threat for Sweden at the same time as their voice and necessities have been excluded from the discourse, that deportations were accompanied by fixed social roles and that ethnicity was only mentioned if the criminal had foreign background. Furthermore, Brune’s second investigation addressed racial violence and stated that stories studies tended to normalize violent attacks against immigrants. Ultimately, Brune’s third investigation addressed the social construction of immigrant men, women, girls and boys arguing that the discourses are characterized by heavy generalizations and stereotypes. Brune’s results are significant as they indicate that

29Flückiger, Xenophobia, Media Stereotyping, and Their Role in Global Insecurity, p. 3.
30Ibid. Xenophobia, Media Stereotyping, and Their Role in Global Insecurity, p. 4.
34Ibid.
35Ylva, “Nyheter från gränsen. Tre studier i journalistik och ”invandrare”, flyktingar och rasistiskt väld”, (Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, Department of Journalism, Media and Communication, 2004), p. 76.
36Brune, ”Nyheter från gränsen”, p. 77.
37Ibid: 77.
media is in fact an key architect of power relations, especially with regard to dichotomous identity formations among dominant social groups that, consciously or unconsciously, are engaged in the othering and defining of subordinate groups.

1.4 Previous research on minorities in historical metanarratives

As no previous academic research has been identified with regard to the role of Roma history in the historical metanarrative of Romania, I will approach the subject from a broader perspective. Similar issues experienced by minorities in general will be discussed, the role of historical consciousness in history education and how the ethnocentrism inherited from the Ceausescu era came to collide publically as history education was reformed along Western values and standards.

1.4.1 From ethnocentric ceausism to democratic tolerance

The Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe has involved not only the establishment of terror as a medium of power but also the settlement of a totalitarian propaganda apparatus affecting probably every corner of its satellite states. During this time Western societies experienced a continuation of democratic progress that together with various social movements, scientific and intellectual currents kept in check the national sentiment. It would not be wrong to claim that after 1945, nationalism embarked on a different journey in Eastern Europe where it was replaced, almost in its entirety, by the Party narrative propaganda whilst in the West the nationalist sentiment found itself in competition with various contemporary ideas and developed in different ways. The fall of the Berlin Wall did not only signify the beginning of a new democratic era in European history but also the rise of ethnocentrism and ultranationalism and thereby intense debates about the revival of nationalism and historical figures. After a long period of Marxist falsification, historical metanarratives, history textbooks and educational systems were suddenly confronted by sensitive transformations such as the content of historical metanarratives in history textbooks and the reformation of history education in accordance with European standards. In multicultural Romania, these questions were highly significant and part of a broader debate related to national identity, history, historical consciousness and nationhood in general.

In comparison to the development of nationalism in other countries during communism, Romania is a special case because nationalism did not cease to function as a contributive force after 1945. At first Moscow revised the historical metanarrative of Romania in accordance with Marxist propaganda and Russian history was “placed in a wholly benevolent light.”38 During the 1960s the Romanian Communist Party appeared to differentiate itself from Moscow. This was visible when Romania did not contribute in the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia 1967 followed by Ceausescu’s visits to the USA, UK, Spain, Japan and France and various trade agreements with states outside the Warsaw Pact. The Romanian Workers Party changed its name to the Romanian Communist Party (RCP), in a period when Romanian communism “redefined itself as the leading patriotic and nationalist force”39, advocating “the legacy of cultural

39 Gallagher, Romania after Ceausescu, p. 54.
The historical revisionism of the 1960s involved denunciations of references to the Russian Revolution and the proletariat, replacing Marxist references with socialism, patriotism and nationalism.40

Following the election of Ceaușescu as the front figure of RCP, the derussification of Romania continued through the dictator’s personal cult that portrayed him as “the practical reincarnation of all ancestral bravery and wisdom from the Dacian kings onwards to Romania’s feudal princes and the more recent fighters for national independence […]”42 The historical revisionism of the RCP affected national minorities not only through the elimination of imposed Soviet minority policies, but also through Article 2 in the 1965 Constitution that defined minorities as tolerated citizens, or “resident nationalities.”43 In short, it may be said that from 1960s onwards, the historical metanarrative of Romania has through the nationalization of national historical figures moved toward patriotism and ethnocentrism, offering little or no room for the country’s minorities.

Naturally after 1989 a strong national sentiment and ethnocentrism was still omnipresent in the historical metanarrative presented in schools and this would come to collide with Romania’s journey toward Europe and the educational reform initiated in early 1990s. In October 1998, in the city of Poiana Brasov, a seminar entitled “History textbooks: a spring of knowledge or a generator of stereotypes?” took place, which addressed the content of the new history textbooks expected to come.44 Through a document issued by Project on Ethnic Relations, the seminar proposed to Sorin Mitu, by then Professor at Cluj University, to attend the seminar and to manage a team of historians that would write an alternative history textbook based on the seminar’s agenda and the new curricula.45 The agenda of this seminar addressed the nature of the historical metanarrative and textbooks and the extent to which the history taught in schools was one with a mobilizing patriotic character with the capability to “generate national loyalty” or a history of European character addressing aspects such as political institutions and minorities.46

In October 1999 this alternative history textbook was the main topic at Marius Tuca Show, a popular late-night talk show followed by millions of viewers. Among the guests was the Ministry of Education represented by Doru Dumitrescu, two of the main actors behind the alternative textbook, Sorin Mitu and his colleague Lucia Copoeru and also Cristian Tudor Popescu, a journalist and writer. For more than two hours Mitu, Copoeru and the government were accused of writing non-patriotic sentences and were held responsible for the “relaxation of national instinct”47 as more emphasis was put on minorities and less on voivodes, rulers and kings - a phenomenon explained by Popescu as an agenda imposed by the West. Even though Popescu and Mitu agreed that the historical heroism, patriotism and national loyalty must not be removed from the historical

40Gallagher, Romania after Ceaușescu, p. 55.
41Gallagher, Romania after Ceaușescu, p. 57.
42Gallagher, Romania after Ceaușescu, p. 58.
43Gallagher, Romania after Ceaușescu, p. 57.
45Ibid.
47Despre manualele alternative de istorie pentru clasa a XII-a, [online video], 21:00-21:30, 1999, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x1kXtKL3MAQ, accessed 2/5 2016.
metanarrative in textbooks, Tuca and Popescu strongly criticized the theory proposed in the textbook regarding the invention and construction of the modern Romanian nation state. It has been argued that the Romanian people have always existed in Romania speaking the same language and thereby implying that the romantic theory of state construction was incorrect and unrelated to history as a scientific research field. This outraging public debate continued and touched upon new elements that were entering the historical metanarrative of Romania. The prior nationalist and ethnocentric metanarrative in which the national figures of Romania together with the prototypical metanarrative revolving around four elements - origins, continuity, unity, and independence - was progressively challenged by Western cultural, political and historiographical currents, such as the representation of minorities in history textbooks. This was especially noticeable during Tuca Show when Popescu and Tuca strongly criticized Mitu and Copoeru for favoring the Hungarian figure, Ladislaus I, to a greater extent than Romanian, Vlad the Impaler (Dracula), by allocating the former more words than the latter. As exemplified above, the transformation of the historical metanarrative of Romania after Ceausescu was publically discussed in terms of fear, harm, loss of patriotism, destruction of national identity and degradation.

It is true that the historical metanarrative of Romania, and as a matter of fact that of many other Eastern European states, was exposed to political change on the one hand but also an increasing nationalism and ethnocentrism on the other. Such political changes have been imposed by different organizations and bodies in form of formal requirements, recommendations and expectations intertwined with loans and demands of membership in international forums such as the World Bank, the EU or the CoE. As part of broader educational and curricular reforms in Romania, the CoE has been one of the key architects behind the metamorphosis of the historical metanarrative. For example, recommendation 1283 adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly in January 1996 stressed in article 14 that historical awareness, critical thinking, cultural diversity are vital skills and that local history, that of women and minorities should be a priority. During 1990s Romania was among the first to embark upon large-scale educational reform through substantial curricular changes, minority language reforms, access to private textbook publishers and thereby the appearance of competing textbooks. When viewing the development of national history curricula one can draw the conclusion that the curricular changes have moved toward a history education that was politically directed away from ethnocentrism toward democratic values and a metanarrative expected to embrace and represent the entire population, including women, minorities, cultural trends and so on. These political developments may easily give the impression that the nationalists and those actors opposing such values and currents have been losing ground and that the historical metanarrative of today is indeed tolerant toward minorities. Despite ideological differences after 1991, the Romanian state and education has clearly moved toward

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48 Despre manualele alternative de istorie pentru clasa a XII-a, [online video], 32:45-33:10, 1999, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x1kXiKL3MAQ, accessed 2/5 2016.

49 Despre manualele alternative de istorie pentru clasa a XII-a, [online video], 34:00-37:30, 1999, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x1kXiKL3MAQ, accessed 2/5 2016.

50 Despre manualele alternative de istorie pentru clasa a XII-a, [online video], 43:00-45.00, 1999, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x1kXiKL3MAQ, accessed 2/5 2016.

51 History and the learning of history in Europe, Recommendation 1283:1996, Parliamentary assembly, Council of Europe.

democracy and EU standards where the rights of Romanian minorities such as Roma, Hungarians, Germans, Serbs and many others are officially supported and promoted. The Romanian state has ratified a wide range of treaties with the UN, the EU and the CoE and has embarked upon programs to improve the education of Roma children in schools. A good example is Romania’s role \(^{53}\) in Decade for Roma inclusion, an ambitious multinational project aimed at Roma inclusion between 2005-2015 founded by the World Bank, CoE, UN and many others.

As the Romanian state has implemented substantial educational reforms, participated in a wide variety of projects and has joined organizations advocating tolerant and inclusive values vis-à-vis minorities, Romania has branded itself as a minority-friendly country. The governmental efforts toward a tolerant democratic state raise questions about the extent to which the history of the country’s largest minority is acknowledged in schools and how textbooks are used as a platform for democratic values. It is therefore highly topical to address the historical metanarrative as it actually appears in history textbooks in order to address its general construction and the attention allocated to Roma history.

1.4.2 Minorities in historical educative metanarratives

As the UN suggests that 10-20 % of the world’s population may be classified as minorities\(^{54}\), significant questions arise vis-à-vis the production, maintenance and reproduction of national historical metanarratives, historical consciousness and the extent to which history education is to be constructed in a democratic inclusive manner.

The inclusion of minorities in historical metanarratives represents a problem and a silent research area in general. In an article published in Journal Paedagogica Historica, doctor in social history and education, Kevin Meyers claims that research in this field is negligible in quantity as it is limited to “narrative descriptions of policy changes that are organized around concepts of assimilation, cultural pluralism or integration.”\(^{55}\) This is seen by Meyers as a problem as no or few relevant conceptual tools are developed that could explain the difficult challenges and “the significance of race or the experiences of minority communities in post-war Europe.”\(^{56}\)

One good example of the role of minorities in metanarratives consists of the visibility making of certain historical facts that for centuries have been excluded from American history in schools. Howard Zinn, Boston University historian, discussed in a recorded lecture, The legacy of Columbus 1492-1992, that the atrocities committed by Columbus are to be acknowledged and incorporated in the American historical metanarrative where Columbus has traditionally been presented as a hero without recognizing other facts:

“[…] so the problem is omission and the problem is emphasis. It’s possible to mention all things, to mention all of them, mention all the facts but to mention them in such an order […] as to give Columbus’ seamanship at least as important a place in history as his killings and his

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\(^{56}\) Myers, “Immigrants and ethnic minorities”, p. 806.
 enslavement. […] I suppose you could write a book biography of Hitler and only talk about the remarkable achievements in Germany, you know. He solved the unemployment problem, he erected the autobahns […] and I suppose we can concentrate on those and just mention in an offhand way oh yes -by-the-way. […] So the problem is, you know, as always with history […] a matter of omission or emphasis. And the omission and the emphasis are not accidental […]. What is emphasized and what is omitted represents the values of the historian, of the recorder or the person who is telling about these facts […]”57

These remarks are relevant for the history of Roma, which have settled in Romania as yearly as 1385 and have been enslaved by the church, the state and private actors until the emancipation of the 19th century.58 Together with the deportations to Transnistria, Ceausescu’s ultranationalist minority approach and the socioeconomic Roma crisis after 1989, the history of Roma represents a natural and problematic chapter in the historical metanarrative of the multicultural hybrid of Romania where national heroes such as Stephen the Great may be discussed not only in terms of heroism but also in terms of slavery and oppression. It is therefore highly topical to examine the features of the historical discourse, how Roma history is acknowledged and included in history textbooks, how national figures involved in the slavery and oppression of Roma are depicted.

Ultimately, it must be mentioned that with the exception of public debates and governmental reports discussing various educational reforms such as alternative textbooks, whereby one briefly focuses on Roma culture, there exists no academic research, as far as I am aware, addressing the acknowledgement and inclusion of Roma history in the historical metanarrative of Romania.

1.4.3 Historical consciousness

Historical consciousness underlines the symbiotic relationship between the interpretations of the past, the present and the future. Lund historian Klas Göran Karlsson defines the term as “the mental process through which the contemporary human being orientates himself through time, in the light of historical knowledge and in the expectation of a specific future development.”59 This statement implies that the past is not the most central element in an individual’s historical consciousness as the past, the present and the future are systematically and constantly affecting each other and thereby continuously changing the perceptions of the past.

In “Teaching the Inconceivable”, researcher Ylva Wibeus addresses the role of the Holocaust in Swedish history education. Proceeding from Bernard Jensen’s sociocultural processes, Wibeus summarizes that these two processes are intertwined and shaped as a result of the differences ascribed to us and them. According to Wibeus, history education cannot reject historical consciousness as an identity and as an encounter with the unknown as history education is expected to engage in widening the knowledge about the identities and cultures of the self and of the other.60 As a consequence, Wibeus argues that when teaching the Holocaust it is significant to discuss exonyms,

60Wibaeus, Ylva, “To teach the inconceivable. A study of the Holocaust as a field of knowledge when taught and learnt in upper and upper secondary school” (Stockholm: Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Education, 2010), pp. 72-75.
autonyms and pejorative terms in order to demonstrate how they affect our view of the other or the unknown and that one cannot discuss the other without discussing oneself.

Historical consciousness as a sociocultural learning process and as an architect of values and principles are processes that encourage humans to activate the historical consciousness i.e. the symbiotic relationship between the past, the present and the future in order to understand how we can and should coexist with one another by “working with the small’ history of the self and the big historical discourses and by emphasizing the relationship between them. It is through these mental processes that history education and teachers may combat xenophobic values, prejudice and stereotypes or any other form of unwanted morals. In short, the beneficial functions of historical consciousness applied in history education and textbooks illuminate the fact that historical metanarratives are not and cannot be set in stone. They are continuous reinterpretations of historical facts that change constantly depending on the expectations and values of the present and future.

1.5 Objectives and research questions

The aforementioned arguments and previous research have highlighted the role of public texts as key architects of public opinion and their function vis-à-vis the social construction of Roma, their stereotypification and othering in the Romanian public sphere. Academic research about the appearance of Roma in post Ceausescu media is a scarce resource in a field requiring further research and the same can be said about the role of Roma history in the historical metanarrative of Romania. I believe that investigating the historical representation of Roma in media and the role of Roma history in textbooks are relevant aspects for the understanding of the current situation of Roma because it offers insights of the extent to which media and the public debate have approached such socioeconomic issues, discrimination and political challenges and how history in schools has been written in relation to Roma slavery and oppression.

The general objective of this paper is to explore textual-structural elements and fluctuations in public texts debating Roma in order to develop a deeper understanding of how these have assembled the relationship between Roma and the majoritarian population and the ways in which Roma have appeared publically. The point of departure for this objective is that an evaluation of public texts improves our understanding of xenophobic attitudes internalized in the Romanian language and the ways through which societal actors, consciously or unconsciously, have affected the socioeconomic status quo of Roma.

The intention is to make a contribution in the fields of media history, minority studies, social construction, Roma history and history education. The research gap addressed in this paper helps to gain a greater understanding of how Romanian media has contributed to the stereotypification and othering of Roma 1991-2012 and how

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61 Ibid.
62 Ibid.
approved current history textbooks evaluates the historical relationship with the largest minority in the country.

The present paper comprises two areas of study approached through two investigations. The first addresses the depiction of Roma in daily press, the contexts and social roles they have appeared in, the ways in which their voice and individuality have been represented and how Roma have been stereotyped and othered. Following research questions are to be answered:

A1. In which contexts and social roles have Roma communities been presented?
A2. To what extent is the voice and individuality of Roma represented?
A3. How are the processes of stereotypification and othering of Roma molded synchronically and diachronically?

The second investigation addresses the ways in which the history of Romanian Roma is acknowledged and included in history textbooks aimed for Romanian compulsory schools and the main features of the historical metanarrative as presented for students. Following research questions are to be answered:

B1. How are major events in Romanian Roma history acknowledged and included in the historical metanarrative of history textbooks used in compulsory schooling?
B2: What characterizes the historical metanarrative presented in textbooks?

1.6 Methodology

1.6.1 Definitions

1.6.1.1 Roma or Gypsies?

According to the contemporary Romanian Explanatory Dictionary, the noun gypsiness (Rou: tiganie) refers to unacceptable behavior or a geographical area inhabited by Roma. The term is synonymous to lexical items with negative connotations such as scandal, chaos and disorder whilst its etymology traditionally signifies “a Gypsy’s character, involving the dirt, the stealing, the stabbing and the swearing.” The Romanian exonym Gypsy contains semantic meanings such as hooded crows, idioms such as drowning like a Gypsy at shore* referring to a person’s inability to succeed and adjectives such as *gypsy-like (Rou: tiganesc) referring to filthiness and disgust.

The ways in which governments and international organizations have referred to Roma have varied greatly but since the Strasbourg Declaration, the term Roma has been officially adopted by the CoE. Henceforth pejorative terms are avoided in this paper, meaning that the term a Rom (sing.) and Roma (pl.) are systematically applied with reference to this section, attempting to refer to members of Roma communities.

64Ibid.
1.6.1.2 The public sphere

It is also relevant to define one term present in this paper’s title, namely the public sphere. In this context it rests on Habermas’ definition that according to Fraser was viewed as an assembly of people debating “[…] matters of public concern or common interest.”67 In “The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere”, Habermas discusses the dual functional character of the public sphere suggesting, on the one hand, a manipulative category based on state-institutional principles and a critical-monitoring category maintaining a balance of power, on the other.68 Habermas’ thoughts about the duality of the functions of public opinion in the public sphere, criticism and manipulation, have too motivated the selection of press and history education as parallel areas of study in this paper as they have different functions in democratic societies.

1.6.1.3 The process of stereotypification

What characterizes the process of stereotypification? How is such a complex phenomenon to be measured reliably? From which academic angle must it be approached? The ordinary lexical definition regards stereotyping as the standardization of a cognitive representation which is uncritical, oversimplified and prejudiced.69 Stereotypical generalizations may often be illogical assumptions i.e. feelings, thoughts, behaviors and expectations vis-à-vis other social groups and thus it is relevant to approach the subject from a social psychological perspective as it addresses how human behavior is affected by the cognitive and emotional existence of other persons. “Advanced Social Psychology: The State of Science” is valuable for the understanding, defining and applying the process of stereotypification in this research as it is an extensive textbook for graduate students written by prominent scholars in various fields and edited by Baumeister and Finkel.

Bodenhausen and Richeson conduct research focusing on, among other things, the cognitive dynamics of stereotyping, intergroup relations and manifestations of racism in human behavior. Stereotypes are viewed as positive or negative generalized beliefs of group features ascribed to groups only as a result of their membership in a specific social group.70 Another characteristic of stereotypes is their presence in clausal theories, i.e. relating the characteristics of a particular social group to one another by establishing clausal chains revealing implicit assumptions of “the group’s inherent essence.”71 Stereotypes are often an intrinsic part of psychological essentialism that relates genetic determinism with the implications of group characteristics as “innate and

67 Fraser, Nancy, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy.” Social text 25/26 (1990), p. 58.
71 Ibid: 345.
In accordance to Bodenhausen’s and Richeson’s arguments presented here, the constitution of the stereotypification consists four criteria, which are utilized in their initial form later in this research as variables in research question A3. They provide a reliable and convenient method of quantifying stereotypification in the upcoming qualitative content analysis:

- The cognitive standardization of uncritical simplistic representation of reality
- Generalization of group characteristics
- The inheritance, innateness and immutability of these group characteristics together with standardized uncritical interpretation
- Application of these to all members of a specific group

1.6.1.4 The process of othering

The term othering has been researched greatly for the last decades, not least in gender and postcolonial studies. It involves dimensions such as superiority of power and dichotomous identity formation among dominant social groups in the sociocultural linguistic output (e.g. idioms, morphology, coinage, adjectives, exonyms, irony etc.) that affects, shapes and commands the perception of subordinate groups with regard to race, ethnicity, religion, gender etc. The term may be defined as a process “where by a dominant group defines into existence an inferior group […] entailing the invention of categories and of ideas about what marks people as belonging to these categories” and revolves around the dichotomous exclusion of subordinate groups through reduction, differentiation and demarcation.

Furthermore, vital for this investigation is to establish a definition that can measure the process of othering in a systematic and reliable manner that can be easily reproduced by other researchers. This has been done by adopting Ylva Brune’s classification in her research about the othering of immigrants and Muslims in Swedish media. In a public enquiry, Brune summarizes the foundations of othering by identifying four aspects. These are adopted in their initial form and used as variables in the qualitative content analysis in A3:

- A text is simply constructed along a dichotomy between ‘we’ and ‘them’
- The relationship between ‘we’ and ‘them’ appears as a wide range of differences, dichotomies or a conflict
- The characteristics and actions ascribed to ‘them’ by ‘us’ are alien and unwanted in our self- perceived image and represent a threat towards ‘our’ identity
- The ‘other’ are distinguished and compared to ‘our’ normative perception of the self

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72Ibid: 345.
75Den dagliga dosen, SOU 2006:21, p. 91.
1.1.6.5 Social roles

Research question A1 intends to address the social roles ascribed to Roma in press, but what exactly is a social role? Agreeing upon a straightforward definition is indeed a difficult task as researchers conducting social role analysis offer different definitions that define social roles at different depths. In this paper however, a simplistic approach is to be adopted that regards social roles in terms of behavioral regularities and repeated interactions between individuals in a social group that are aimed at other social groups whereby behavioral regularities may consist of e.g. functions, positions or expected behaviors, e.g. thieves, murderers or rapists. It is important to note that the social roles addressed later must not be seen as static phenomena set in stone but rather inductive dynamic categorizations based on the definition above.

1.6.2 Sources, demarcations and limitations

As Romania residents the largest Roma population in Europe and as the contemporary debate discusses the situation of Romanian Roma settlements and beggars in European cities, the focus of attention in this paper is entirely on Romanian Roma in the Romanian public sphere from a modern historical perspective. Henceforth, all references made to Roma will refer to Romanian Roma.

The first two years after the execution of Ceausescu have represented a period of political unrest and as this paper is interested in an open and democratic public sphere, departing from 8th December 1991, the day when the Romanian constitution was adopted appears to be a plausible starting point. The intention is to capture synchronic and diachronic events such as the accession to the CoE (1993), NATO (2004), the EU (2007) and thereby to encompass as much of the present time as possible.

1.6.2.1 Roma in RL

The first investigation engages in public texts originating in print press. The initial intention has been to proceed from the most common newspapers i.e. Adevarul, Cotidianul, Evenimentul Zilei, Jurnalul National, Libertatea, Romania Libera and Gandul. This method was abandoned because collecting data from one individual newspaper would not only represent a more realistic data management but would also offer a more systematic validity as Romanian newspapers have undergone dramatic changes during the 1990s and onwards, which have affected them in different ways. At the same time, such a demarcation is problematic because newspapers have different political affiliations and traditions and could offer a more dynamic picture. Such a limitation has to do with the extent to which the results may be considered as representative. The exclusion of other competitive newspapers and other forms of media, e.g. audio, print, video means that the results might not offer a holistic picture and should therefore be viewed as an area requiring further research.

Given the time and space limitations, Romania Libera (RL), a popular daily newspaper, has been randomly selected. The research period for the first investigation starts on 8th December 1991 and terminates on 8th December 2012. Collecting data until

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77 Free Romania, personal translation.
2012 not only comprises sources after Romania’s first years as a member of the EU but also represents the year up until these have been archived at the National Library.\(^78\)

During 1991-2012 RL has released roughly 8000 newspaper editions but during the months of June and July RL publications have been time and again irregular. Thus the months of June and July have been excluded in their entirety, likewise the month of September 1993 and the entire year of 1999 that have been absent from the archives. None of the special magazines are included in this research. The actual number of newspapers investigated is approximately 6000. Each newspaper has been paged through in order to find articles about Roma.

Monitoring approximately 6000 newspapers between December 1991 and December 2012 in search for texts debating Roma required controlled conditions that guaranteed a reliable and valid selection of articles. All articles have been selected manually based on any of the three criteria below:

- The article’s headline directly or indirectly refers to Roma
- The article’s byline directly or indirectly refers to Roma
- The article’s main plot discusses a situation involving Roma

It was observed that some years were characterized by a low frequency of articles debating Roma whilst others by an abundance. In order to gather a constant number of articles providing consistent data each year, a random sample of 11 articles each year has been selected. In cases where less than 11 articles/year were found, all the articles have been automatically used. In circumstances where many more articles have been found for each year, 11 articles were selected randomly from the entire population of articles collected. After paging through approximately 6000 newspapers a pool of articles based on the criteria above was created from which the articles could be selected. The amount of articles randomly selected and analyzed in this investigation is 197, i.e. 9.85 articles each year. These are attached in Appendix A.

Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that the random selection of articles represents a problematic methodological aspect. Newspapers in general include a variety of genres such as editorials, columns and opinion pieces, news and feature articles, meaning that each follows different criteria and may therefore depict Roma in different ways as a result of the journalistic expectations and standards of each genre. However, this has not been a controlled variable from the start as the intention has been to collect as much material as possible without any preconditions. Even though the categorization of the material in different genres has occurred after the data collection, the material cannot be said to monitor each of the aforementioned genres in depth since the genres have been not been controlled from the very start. As a result, the fact that I initially attached similar importance to all genres should be viewed as a limitation of this investigation as it does not offer a maximized usage of each specific genre.

Ultimately, it is also important to remember the context of the material, i.e. a post-communist transition democracy that adapted to novel forms of governing, dogmas and norms. The same is true about the editorial staff and RL as an organization that has undergone significant changes from the first days as an independent newspaper to its modern form of today. This means that the internal development of the ethical code of

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\(^{78}\) Biblioteca Nationala, Bucharest.
journalism, staff training programs, internal quarrels and conflicts, hierarchies and change of leadership are factors that have affected the publications and not investigating these represents a limitation.

Romania Libera was founded after the declaration of independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1877 and became an independent daily until a fusion with another newspaper in 1889. During the Great War, RL was published unsystematically and ceased to exist until 1943 when it appeared illegally until the overthrow of the Nazi-allied government of Antonescu. RL was reintroduced by the Union of Patriots, an affiliation of the future Communist Party and after the communist takeover until 1989 it was published legally as RL, Daily Newspaper of the National Council of the Democratic Front and Socialist Union. After the Revolution RL declared itself as a conservative daily independent and during the 1990s the newspaper witnessed an organizational democratization in accordance to European standards. It was purchased by the German Funke Mediengruppe, a.k.a. WAZ-Mediagroup in 2000. RL reported to have sold around 1.5 million copies yearly after the Revolution, by 2006 sold it 135 000 copies daily and by 2009 approximately 45 000 copies daily.

On the one hand, the fact that RL has been existing and controlled by the state during the Cold War must be kept in mind as the newspaper’s organization must have witnessed imposed constrictions, structures that might have been inherited from the communist era affecting the sources’ traditio i.e. what has been handed down. On the other hand, the newspaper’s existence during the communist era also represents an advantage with regard to its professionalism developed for a longer period of time. The descriptive nature and the historical context of RL are important because the newspaper, despite its long existence, was after 1991 positioned in an open competitive media market where the economic incentive and the introduction of new media became more significant for the content reported. Even though this paper is interested in the de facto portrayal of Roma in press, it should be recalled that the context of these sources have been greatly affected by the democratic transition.

1.6.2.2 Roma history in compulsory textbooks

The second investigation is based on history textbooks published during the period 2008-2014 and prescribed by official curricula. Six history textbooks aimed for compulsory school grade 4 to 10 (excluding grade 8) have been randomly selected and thereby excluding other textbooks and those used in the second cycle. These textbooks were purchased online but those for grade eight were not available. Significant for this investigation is only the history of Romanian Roma in Romanian principalities and territories, stretching from their settlement in the middle of the 14th century until present times. This demarcation has a practical function since historical topics that are not of

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80 Ibid.
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
any relevance for Roma history, e.g. the period before Roma migrated to Romania or chapters addressing e.g. American history can be omitted in their entirety.

Another limitation of this investigation is that it does not encompass classroom observations that would offer a broader comprehension of what is actually taught and which values are conveyed. This has to do with the fact that specific permissions are required. Another limitation has to do with the exclusion of coexisting textbooks. Even though six textbooks are utilized, it is important to remember that many have been excluded and despite the fact that these are rather similar with regard to content, some differences may exist. Ultimately, this investigation does not consider the history curricula applied since 1995 because this research only engages in the de facto historical metanarrative as presented in textbooks rather than the intentions prescribed in policy documents.

As sources these textbooks inherit a prescriptive-normative character proceeding from democratically established curricula and have been written by historians and approved by the Ministry of Education and Research. These have been published since 2008, namely after more than a decade of curricular and educational reform, participation in PISA and other educational measures taken in cooperation with the EU, CoE and the World Bank.84 As modern curricula advocate the representation of minorities in history textbooks, one can expect these sources to address not only the history of Roma but also that of other minorities in Romania. From this point of view these sources may be claimed to have a credible evidential value as their authorship has been professionally assessed. Of course, this does not signify that these represent ‘the truth’ but they do function as a valid source when investigating the role of Roma history in the contemporary historical metanarrative.

1.6.3 Methods

1.6.3.1 Roma in RL

In this investigation the method used is content analysis (CA). CA enables the examination of consistent textual information through the identification of structures, properties, frequent categories and offers as well the possibility to study underlying themes. CA can operationalize large amount of text and to gather reliable and replicable quantifications of phenomena that characterize public newspaper texts. According to Elo and Kyngnäs, CA is not only “a systematic and objective means of describing and quantifying phenomena”85 but also a technique that can “distil words into fewer content related categories.”86 CA as a method enables the construction of

86Ibid: 108.
Roma-related concepts or categories that can “identify critical processes concerned with meanings, intentions, consequences and context.”

The selection between quantitative or qualitative CA as a method has been problematic because much of the method-related literature reviewed has argued either for or against one of the two types of CA. Quantitative CA is known for its capability to measure and encompass the manifest content of texts, i.e. “the visible, countable components of the message” whilst qualitative CA, is usually known as the examination of the latent content i.e. the underlying themes or “the meaning that lie beyond the manifest content.” Consequently, in order to benefit from both methods and to address the implicit and the explicit content, this investigation uses both quantitative and qualitative CA assuming that these can complement each other and offer a broader understanding and interpretation of the material. Quantitative CA is characterized by standardized and structured observations preceding from hypothetical schemes codes built in advance that quantify the messages or the communication content in the material used. This method has been applied in the first two research questions. In order to guarantee reliability and validity, a standardized scheme code has been constructed that proceeds from the first two research questions and the previous research presented above. A scheme code attached in Appendix B has been constructed based on following variables and has been applied to all 197 RL articles:

- Genre of article
- The legality of contexts in which Roma appear
- Social roles ascribed to Roma
- Presentation of Roma as individuals or as a collective group
- Representation of Roma voice

Research question A1 addressing the contexts and social roles in which Roma are presented in press is operationalized through measurements obtained through variable 1) and 2) in the scheme code. By measuring social roles and contexts, the synchronic and diachronic social construction of Roma in one of Romania’s major daily newspapers may be encompassed through a transparent and standardized quantification of positive and negative descriptions and depictions.

Even though context may be defined in various ways, context here is to be measured either as legal or illegal i.e. whether the contextual setting of a specific article has been illuminating legal or illegal action. Legality of actions proceeds from the criminal code that prevailed at the time of publication. The quantification of social roles has not occurred in accordance to a type-token distinction. For example, if Roma are depicted numerous times as murderers in one article, the phenomenon is calculated as one occurrence only. As non-literal language such as irony and metaphors expressing content was common, a type token distinction would have a negative impact on this

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89 Ibid: 1.
investigation’s test–retest reliability as non-literal language may be interpreted and perceived differently. The definition of social roles from section 1.6.1.5 is utilized here.

Research question A2 addressing how the voice and individuality of Roma have been represented in press is answered through variables 3) and 4) in the scheme code. The voice category intends to understand whether articles debating Roma are written by or include the voice of Roma individuals/experts or whether they are mainly written by others on their behalf without any direct or indirect quotations from Roma whatsoever. For example, if an article does not include the voice of any Roma individual/expert at all, it is classified as belonging to the category, “non-Roma individual/expert” whilst if it includes the voice of Roma individuals/experts in any forms, e.g. the direct or indirect quotations or references, or if it is entirely written by a Rom it is categorized as belonging to “Roma individual/expert”. Individuality is measured through the identification of articles where only one Roma or one Roma family are the subject of the text. In cases where Roma are referred to as a collective group such as e.g. Gypsies or Gypsy Clans, the articles are measured as belonging to the category “Roma as presented as a collective group.”

The representation of Roma voices in press is anything but a straight foreword occurrence. As mentioned before, Roma communities in general are affected by illiteracy and low educational attainment. In combination with segregation and other socioeconomic challenges, Roma have been increasingly communicating through supranational organizations and NGOs, meaning that Roma may be regarded as a non-traditional audience of mainstream media including the RL. Ultimately, the genre of each article is also measured in order to find possible patterns with regard to Genre I (news articles), Genre II (editorials, columns, opinions pieces) and Genre III (feature articles). These genres rest upon definitions presented by the BBC’s service offering GCSE learning resources.

Compared to the quantitative CA, the qualitative CA does contain different features and below I attempt to describe in detail how it has been utilized research question A3 examining how the processes of stereotypification and othering of Roma are molded synchronically and diachronically. The first step has been to construct a theoretical foundation in which existing theory and previous research may function as a “conceptual basis.” The research of Brune, Baumeister and Finkel regarding the processes of othering and stereotypification respectively offered clear and structured categorizations that may be incorporated in the scheme code. The second step has been to develop a sampling plan divided into four periods of time: 1991-1995, 1996-2000, 2001-2005 and 2006-2012. The sampling plan for this qualitative CA has been constructed by a random selection of two articles for each of the four periods, one article in relation to stereotypification and one for othering, proceeding from the 197 articles collected. The third step has been to develop a coding manual, attached in Appendix C, which together with its coding units create a scheme code that guarantees not only a clear standardized working method but also enables third party researchers to reproduce the results.  

93Rose, Spinkes & Canhoto, Management research, p. 4.
94Ibid.
The scheme code may be structured in advance or unconstrained.\textsuperscript{95} In this case, the decision has been taken to proceed from a structured scheme code according to the theoretical conceptualizations of the processes othering and stereotyping as presented in section 1.6.1.3 and 1.6.1.4. The coding units, i.e. the linguistic units of text that are to be measured consist of individual words, clauses, phrases, sentences and in some cases short paragraphs. To keep in mind is that the choice of proceeding from a structured scheme encompassing nothing else than the processes othering and stereotyping, has its limitations because many other important aspects and conceptualizations such as gender, xenophobia, dehumanization, scapegoating etc. are automatically excluded. The final step has been the coding process, where broader and more general categories and concepts have been constructed based on the coding units. Coding has implied the operationalization of the scheme code and has occurred by creating sub-categories, generic categories and main categories\textsuperscript{96} based on the coding units and on the variables that are now used in interrogative form. For example, if “violence committed by Roma” is discussed, the generic category deduced can be “hazards” whilst the main category may be interpreted as “failure of institutions.” The final results of this qualitative CA are “the meanings of the categories that are described through subcategories”\textsuperscript{97} and doing so it encompasses the latent content of the sources. The coding and its results will be presented in form of explained tables presenting the generic categories and main categories proceeding from eight articles randomly selected, two for each of the four periods.

1.6.3.2 Roma history in compulsory textbooks

The method used in this investigation is required to address and transcend power relations in the structure of normative discourses that dominate the production and maintenance of the historical metanarrative as presented in approved history textbooks. According to sociologist Daniel Törnqvist, critical discourse analysis (CDA) aims to understand the borders, conventions and power relations that regulate what is regarded as acceptable truths\textsuperscript{98} and examines the patterns and structures in the de facto manifest content of a text\textsuperscript{99}, which through linguistic features and perception of reality appear as natural hegemonies.\textsuperscript{100} From this angle the truths, patterns, power relations of established historical metanarratives as conveyed in history textbooks are deconstructed in order to address how key events in the history of Romanian Roma are included and how the general metanarrative is featured. Consequently, the method applied in research question B1 is a CDA model based on\textsuperscript{101} Törnqvist’s dissertation “Speaking of drugs: Drug debate in the Swedish press 1970-1999” and follows a structure as presented in Figure 1 below.

According to Noman Fairclough, CDA is applied interdisciplinarily and is utilized conventionally in a three-dimensional form, namely the linguistic characteristics of a

\textsuperscript{95}Elo & Kyngäs, “The qualitative content analysis process”, p. 107–108.
\textsuperscript{96}Elo & Kyngäs, “The qualitative content analysis process”, p. 111.
\textsuperscript{97}Elo & Kyngäs, “The qualitative content analysis process”, p. 112.
\textsuperscript{98}Törnqvist, Daniel, “När man talar om knark: drogdiskussion i svensk dagspress 1970-1999” (Umeå: Umeå University, Department of Sociology, 2009), p. 33.
\textsuperscript{99}Törnqvist, ”När man talar om knark”, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{100}Törnqvist, “När man talar om knark”, p. 38.
\textsuperscript{101}Törnqvist, ”När man talar om knark”, pp. 39–41
text, discursive practices e.g. production and consumption of the text and its social practice.\textsuperscript{102} Normatively, a traditional three dimensional CDA approaches a discourse by addressing its micro-, meso- and macro levels of practice. The macro level of practice however would require a careful intertextual approach that would investigate the development of history textbooks and how these have been formed and developed based on various curricula which would require access to old curricula, textbooks and interviews with the authors. Based on time and space limitations, this investigation is operationalized through a simpler version of CDA that is two-dimensional as it addresses the discourse’s construction and representation of events, phenomenon and actors and the use of language.

The CDA applied here does not investigate all discourses present in the textbooks. As mentioned above, irrelevant historical periods are omitted meaning that only the discourse of the historical metanarrative with relevance for the history of Romanian Roma is addressed. In practice this study is investigates some parts of the metanarrative’s discourse vis-à-vis the history of Romanian Roma. This CDA also addresses the content omitted in places where the history of Roma could have been illuminated. The omitted content proceeds from official factsheets compiled by the Karl Franzens Universität Graz on behalf of the CoE and the Decade for Roma Inclusion\textsuperscript{103} The figure below constitutes the fundament on which the CDA is to rely upon. It should be remembered that a complete CDA is a rather complex phenomena.

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Analysis of a discourse’s construction and representation of events, phenomenon and actors} \\
\hline
\textbf{a. Identification of major themes and their legitimacy: which major themes have been identified?} \\
\hline
\textbf{b. Identifying discursive components: which are the main components of the existing discourse?} \\
\hline
\textbf{c. Concretization of the perspective conveyed, values and explanations: which perspectives, values and explanations are given?} \\
\hline
\textbf{d. Addressing the omitted content and their legitimacy.} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Analysis of language use} \\
\hline
\textbf{e. Identification and surveying parts of speech (nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs) that describe main actors: How are main actors presented linguistically?} \\
\hline
\textbf{f. Acknowledge which phenomena are legitimized through understanding the consensus conveyed. Which phenomena are legitimized through consensus?} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\caption{CDA framework}
\end{figure}

\textbf{1.7 Thesis outline}

Chapter 2 below is to present the findings of two investigations. It is divided in two main sections in which each investigation’s research questions are answered. Each main section terminates with a concluding analysis. Chapter III is to present a concluding discussion and a general summary of this paper.

Chapter 2. Results of investigation

Chapter II is divided in two main sections, one for each investigation. Section 2.1 contains three subsections, one devoted for each of the research questions A1, A2 and A3. Section 2.1 terminates with an analysis based on these. Section 2.2 addresses results regarding research question B1 and B2 and contains six subsections in which each of the six history textbooks are addressed separately.

2.1 The demonization of Roma in post Ceausescu professional press

2.1.1 Journalism or police investigations?

Legality of contexts

Table 1 below addresses the legality of contexts in which Roma have been depicted in press 1991-2012. The period 1991-1995 has been featured by a lower rate of articles debating Roma in general. A large majority of the articles monitored, 31 of 37, belonged to Genre I (news articles) and 29 articles have depicted Roma in illegal contexts. The following period witnessed no changes when discussing the depiction of Roma in illegal contexts as 42 of 53 articles referred to Roma as law infringing citizens. It also witnessed a significant rise in the amount of Genre II (feature articles), even though news articles still remained the most common genre.

During the first half of the last decade, the amount of feature articles continued to rise, to the expense of news articles that represented less than half of the 54 articles monitored, even though the amount of articles depicting Roma in illegal contexts remained high, 43 of 53. Ultimately, the period 2006-2012 witnessed a decline in the amount of articles that depicted Roma in illegal contexts even though more than half, 28 of 53, still did so. This period was also featured by, for the first time, a significant rise of Genre II (editorials, columns and opinions pieces), 36 of 53, and thereby a significant decrease of news articles and feature articles. In general, Table 1 indicates that 197 articles were monitored during the period 1991-2012. Roma appeared in illegal contexts in 72.1 % of all articles studied, information conveyed mostly in Genre I (news articles) 48.3 %, Genre II (editorials, columns, and opinion pieces) 22.8 % and least in Genre III (feature articles) 28.9 %.

Table 1. Appearance of Roma in RL with regard to legality of contexts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Frequency of articles</th>
<th>Illegal context</th>
<th>Legal context</th>
<th>Genre I</th>
<th>Genre II</th>
<th>Genre III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991-1995</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-2000</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2005</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Social roles ascribed to Roma

Table 1 above indicates that more than seven of ten articles have discussed Roma communities in terms of illegal contexts and criminality, but it is interesting to investigate what type of social roles have accompanied these illegal contexts. The tables below indicate that the 197 articles investigated during the period 1991-2012 have ascribed some 33 social roles to Roma of which 9 may be regarded as neutral or positive, i.e. musicians, politicians, art collectors, educators, magicians/witches, police officers, gypsy kings/queens and discriminated individuals. Some of these may have negative connotations and their categorization as neutral/positive may be questioned. Nevertheless, as none of these social roles cause illegitimate financial or physical damage toward other people or environments, these social roles have been inductively categorized as neutral/positive.

The majority of the social roles identified that may be regarded as negative portrayed Roma publically as murderers, child abusers, possessors of arms, offenders of public order, members of mafia leagues/clans, menace, hypocrites, swindlers and tax evaders, thieves, abusers/maltreatment, destroyers of property, illegal settlers/migrants, prisoners, littering, rapists/sex abusers, smugglers, beggars, child abusers, traffickers of children, illegal adoptions, prostitutes/pimps, kidnappers and willingly unemployed. Moreover, with regard to the number of occurrences of social roles, the material showed a clear inclination of negative social roles ascribed to Roma. In the 197 articles monitored, 379 different occurrences of social roles were registered of which only 27 or 7 % belonged to the aforementioned positive/neutral social roles whilst 352, 93 % may be classified as negative social roles. Table 2 shows that during the first half of the 1990s, 78 occurrences of various social roles ascribed to Roma were identified. Only five occurrences, or 6.5 %, consisted of positive/neutral social roles and these depicted Roma as politicians, musicians, art collectors and Gipsy king/queens. The most common social roles ascribed to Roma have been thieves, abusers/maltreatment, destroyers of private property, possessors of arms, offenders of public order and murderers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2006-2012</th>
<th>Total no.</th>
<th>% of 197</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>72.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Furthermore, Table 3 below indicates that during the second half of the 1990s, 105 occurrences of various social roles ascribed to Roma have been identified of which 9 may be regarded as positive/neutral, i.e. educators, politicians, magicians/witches, Gypsy king/queens. 96 occurrences, or 91%, consisted of negative social roles of which the most common were offenders of public order, abusers/maltreatment, illegal settlers/migrants, thieves, possessors of arms and hypocrites/swindlers/tax evaders.
Moreover, Table 4 below indicates that during the period 2001-2005 the most common social roles ascribed to Roma have been thieves, members of mafia leagues/clans, prisoners, abusers/maltreatment and possessors of arms whilst the frequency of positive/neutral social roles remained almost unchanged in comparison to the previous period. A total of 110 occurrences of various social roles have been identified of which 7, or 6.4%, may be regarded of positive/neutral and 103, or 93.6% as negative.
Ultimately, Table 5 shows that during the period 2006-2012 a new positive/neutral social role occurred, namely Roma as discriminated group that occurred 14 times. The total number of occurrences of positive/neutral social roles increased to 20, or 23%. It can also be concluded that these years witnessed a trivial shift of focus as their situation as beggars, illegal settlers and discriminated minority became increasingly discussed in RL press and this involved a minor decline in social roles that previously resembled police records. In general, 66 occurrences, or 77% of the most common social roles ascribed to Roma has been illegal settlers/migrants, thieves, abusers/maltreatment and beggars. Even though the inductive categorization of social roles into positive, neutral and negative frameworks may be a matter of subjective interpretation, the totality of the social roles ascribed to Roma throughout the entire research period indicates that RL and its journalists published articles in which Roma have been thoroughly depicted as grotesque hazards toward the Romanian society. Based on this, the Romanian public has been claimed systematically to be exposed to serious and systematic threats, as Roma have been reported to murder, abuse children, possess arms, steal, litter, threat, rape, evade, abuse people, destroy private property, smuggle, offend the public order, in a manner and fashion which resembles police investigations rather than professional journalism.
Table 5. Occurrences of social ascribed to Roma in RL press 2006-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Role</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illegal settlers/migrants</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discriminated individuals</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thieves</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abusers/maltreatment</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beggars</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Littering</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessors of arms</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murderers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisoners</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypocrites/swindlers/tax evaders</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitutes/traffickers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapists/sex abusers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educators</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offenders of public order</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police officers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypsy kings/queens</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2 A speechless Gypsy monolith of criminals

Roma voice

Furthermore, this research paper has also been interested in investigating the extent to which Roma have been offered a chance to answer such serious public accusations. Table 6 indicates that during the period 1991-2012, the 197 articles investigated have been characterized by the exclusion of Roma voice as only 31 articles, or 15.7%, have been written by or included the voice of Roma individuals or experts whilst 166 articles, or 84.3%, were written by non Roma ethnics/experts. During the first half of the 1990s, a time when news articles were the most frequent genre, only 3 articles included direct, indirect references to the voice of or were written entirely by a Roma expert/individual. The next two periods, 1996-2000 and 2001-2007 witnessed the rise of Genre III (feature articles) but the amount of articles including the voice of or written by a Roma individual/expert only increased with a few. Ultimately, the period 2006-2012 was featured by a significant rise of Genre II (editorials, columns and opinion pieces) and also by an increase of articles written by or representing the voice of Roma individuals/experts, 14 of 53.
Individuality of Roma

Table 7 below reports that during the period 1991-2012, a large majority of the 197 articles monitored, 89.8 %, referred to Roma as a homogenous collective group and only 10.2 % published stories where the individual and/or his family rather than the group was central. It may therefore be concluded that in 9 of 10 articles Roma appeared as large monolithic groups or chunks and in 1 of 10 the individuality of Roma was present. This trend remained rather stable throughout the entire period regardless the genres that dominated.

Table 7. Frequency of articles reporting Roma as individuals or as a collective group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Frequency of articles</th>
<th>Roma as a collective group</th>
<th>Roma as an individual/family</th>
<th>Genre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991-1995</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-2000</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2005</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-2012</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no.</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% of 197

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of articles</th>
<th>Roma as a collective group</th>
<th>Roma as an individual/family</th>
<th>Genre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>89.8</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.3 Who is to blame: hazardous Gypsies or inefficient state authorities?

Below I attempt to present the qualitative CA results chronologically vis-á-vis research question A3. Each period contains one article debating stereotypification and one addressing the othering of Roma, based on the manual attached in Appendix C.

Stereotypification 1991-1995

The feature article entitled “The war on pickpockets”, published in February 1993 rests upon information from the police. Initially, a police officer claimed that pickpockets were easier to handle before the Revolution as decree 153 gave the police the mandate to approach and arrest anyone on the streets. However, this was no longer possible as the thieves must be arrested whilst committing a crime, leading to a continuous hunt of “Gypsy children that are instructed to steal from a very young age.” Moreover, citizens claimed that that the Gypsies did as they please, expressing the need for increased police attendance. When asked to provide the police with information about the pickpockets, local saleswomen were afraid for the consequences but some employees revealed that “Gypsies cooperate in groups of eight surrounding the victim.”

With regard to the stereotypification process, the title “The war on pickpockets” reoccurs as dependent and subordinate clauses on several occasions inferring to a war on Roma children that have been synonymous and equated with pickpockets. These initial linguistic units may be seen as uncritical representations of a reality discussing the poverty and vulnerability of Roma street children and thereby child poverty. The uncritical representation consisted of a humanitarian disaster in which up to 0.25 million institutionalized children captive in dilapidated institutions, barracks and lodges mobilized the international community’s emergency assistances, relief actions and supplies after the Revolution. Proceeding from the recurrent linguistic unit “war on pickpockets” and other similar formulations equated with an institutional war on, or a fight or a battle against Roma [street] children said to pickpocket, various formulations such as “a continuous pursuit”, “we have uninterrupted foot patrols searching”, “if we through some extraordinary efforts would be successful in catching all of them, after two weeks the phenomenon would return to its normal quota” -have been converted into the main category “legitimate hunts of Roma children.” Secondly, a few generalizing group features about Roma have been identified, e.g. tumultuous, riotous, lawless, uncontrollable and hazardous. These have been converted into a main category describing Roma in terms of civil disobedience. This main category rests upon linguistics units such as “Gypsies do as they please”, “before the revolution we could control them better, decree 153 existed… we could simply ask them questions

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104 The war on pickpockets, Romania Libera 11/2 1993.
105 Ibid.
106 Ibid.
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
109 Ibid.
110 Ibid.
111 Ibid.
why they are walking around and not working… This can’t be done anymore”\textsuperscript{112}, “the police must show that they are not afraid of them”\textsuperscript{113} and so on.

Moreover, this qualitative CA indicates that at least one main category of features have been applied to the entire group, i.e. physical punishment. This was not only visible through police officer’s formulations that called upon punishment and penalty of Roma but also quoting citizens arguing “let them cut their right hand off at the age of 10, let’s see if they’ll still play fools”\textsuperscript{114} and thereby underlying the low toleration of Roma children’s poverty, survival and discrimination. Ultimately, this qualitative CA has encircled a few group features interpreted as inherited and unchangeable among Roma. Some of these are communicated through indirect or direct assumptions in form of linguistic units such as “never disappearing”\textsuperscript{115}, “continuous perpetuation”\textsuperscript{116}, “uninterrupted foot patrols searching”\textsuperscript{117} or “Gypsy children are instructed to steal from a very young age.”\textsuperscript{118} These conveyed latent messages that depicted stereotypes such as theft and crime as unchangeable and inherited intergenerational continuities and phenomena transmitted consciously between members of Roma communities. It may be concluded that theft and crime among Roma have been conveyed as inherited and unchangeable group features that together with the generalization of ‘Gypsies’ as civil disobedient citizens constitute the need for harsh measures through physical punishment as part of legitimate institutional hunts of Roma children.

\textbf{Table 8. Stereotypification 1991-1995: A feature article from February 1993}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>“The war on Pickpockets”</th>
<th>Examples of initial linguistic units</th>
<th>Main categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Which kind of simplistic uncritical representation of reality is represented?</td>
<td>“The war on pickpockets”</td>
<td>Legitimate hunts of Roma children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which group features are generalized?</td>
<td>“Gypsy thieves do as they please”</td>
<td>Civil disobedience</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which features are applied to the entire group?</td>
<td>“Let them cut their right hand off at the age of 10, let’s see if they still play fools”</td>
<td>Physical punishment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which group features are inherited and unchangeable</td>
<td>“Gypsy children are instructed to steal from a very young age”</td>
<td>Theft and crime</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{112}\textsuperscript{ibid.}
\textsuperscript{113}\textsuperscript{ibid.}
\textsuperscript{114}\textsuperscript{ibid.}
\textsuperscript{115}\textsuperscript{ibid.}
\textsuperscript{116}\textsuperscript{ibid.}
\textsuperscript{117}\textsuperscript{ibid.}
\textsuperscript{118}\textsuperscript{ibid.}
The news article “What Paris has not seen before. Shell games on Champs Elysees” published in 1994 and written by E. Chirita described the large presence of Romanian ‘Gypsies’ in France, whose shell games are said to consciously defraud the French population and to destroy the image of Romania abroad.

This qualitative CA has encircled a wide range of implied dichotomies between we and them, i.e. the Romanians and the Roma, through systematic exonyms in plural forms and initial linguistic units such as “the Gypsies”\textsuperscript{119}, “the colored appeal at the hearts and pockets of the bypassing traveler”\textsuperscript{120}, “the show on the streets given by the Gypsies”\textsuperscript{121}, “the charlatans”\textsuperscript{122}, “inborn prestidigitators”\textsuperscript{123}, “the Black and White”\textsuperscript{124} has even penetrated the City of Light”\textsuperscript{125} etc. Consequently, the main latent categories and dichotomies deduced is that the Roma were implied to be unwanted hypocrites belonging to a darker race. The darker skin color of the Roma was not only stated directly through words such as “the colored”\textsuperscript{126}, but also through the metaphor referring to Paris, the City of Light or the La Ville Lumière, being penetrated by the shell game Black and White, a game systematically and socially equated to Roma.

Secondly, the main latent conflict and category that affects the relationship between Roma and Romanians in a negative manner is the destruction of our national image. Through dependent clauses such as “you will have the unpleasant surprise to see how the image of Romania is created”\textsuperscript{127}, “heavily injuring the dignity of the Romanian people”\textsuperscript{128}, “who said we have not become part of Europe”\textsuperscript{129} and many more, Roma were said to be responsible for the construction of an undesirable nation branding and reputation of Romania as a new European state in search for a novel identity. In Paris, the socioeconomic difficulties and actions of the Roma, their hypocrisy and darker skin color suddenly become visible for the European public and thereby becoming a serious obstacle for the construction of a new national image of post-revolutionary Romania.

Moreover, a wide range of features have been ascribed by Romanians to Roma, all being unwanted in the Romanian cultural narrative. Initial linguistic units such as “the Gypsies create havoc wherever they go”\textsuperscript{130}, “the Gypsies either say to be refugees from Romania, or asylum seekers from Bosnia, they tailor their message to suit the audience”\textsuperscript{131}, “inborn prestidigitators”\textsuperscript{132}, “naive French falling in the trap of the

\textsuperscript{120}ibid.
\textsuperscript{121}ibid.
\textsuperscript{122}ibid.
\textsuperscript{123}ibid.
\textsuperscript{124}ibid.
\textsuperscript{125}ibid.
\textsuperscript{126}ibid.
\textsuperscript{127}ibid.
\textsuperscript{128}ibid.
\textsuperscript{129}ibid.
\textsuperscript{130}ibid.
\textsuperscript{131}ibid.
\textsuperscript{132}ibid.
\textsuperscript{133}ibid.
\textsuperscript{134}ibid.


and many more, create the picture of dishonest and untrustworthy people. These have been interpreted into a main category whose latent message conveys hazards. Ultimately, in relation to variable IV, no direct comparisons were identified between Roma and Romanians. Briefly, it can be said that Roma were othered as unwanted hypocrites belonging to a different race that through their presence in France destroy our national image and represent an everyday hazard.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Examples of initial linguistic units</th>
<th>Main</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Which dichotomies between “we” and “them” are implied by the text?</td>
<td>“the Gypsies”, “the colored appeal at the hearts and pockets of the bypassing traveler”,</td>
<td>The hypocrisy of a darker race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which conflicts and differences affect our relationship between “we” and “them”?</td>
<td>“you will have the unpleasant surprise to see how the image of Romania is created”, “heavily injuring the dignity of the Romanian people”,</td>
<td>Destruction of “our” national image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which features are ascribed by “us” on “them” are unwanted and represent a cultural threat?</td>
<td>“[…]they tailor their message to suit the audience”, “inborn prestigiditators”, “naive French falling in the trap of the charlatans”</td>
<td>Hazards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which comparisons are made between “them” and the ideal “us”?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stereotypification 1996-2000

The feature article “A clan of Gypsies terrorizes the peaceful population since 15 years” published in 1999 and written by D. Hangan discussed a few property disputes between two clans of Gypsies and how their crimes affected the local population. The terror experienced by the “peaceful” villagers consisted in fact of altercations between two Roma families which could not agree upon the ownership of two properties constructed without “any building permit whatsoever.” As the property owner, Regina Rezmvies, was acquitted from prison she realized that one property had been lost by her cohabitee as a result of a poker bid and was later confiscated by the authorities. The second had been sold to another Roma family, creating further quarrels related to the judicial ownership of the property.

One simplistic representation of reality occurred as the author omitted to address the roots of these disagreements, namely the failure of Romanian institutions i.e. judiciary, police and city council, that failed to monitor and approve the construction

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133Ibid.
134Hangan, D. “A clan of Gypsies terrorizes the peaceful population since 15 years”, Romania Libera 15/3 1999.
135Ibid.
of properties and settle further quarrels and crimes. The article highlighted a transition state with dysfunctional institutions where citizens must act authorities, but did not address this in a critical manner leaving the audience with a systematic scapegoating of Roma communities. Another uncritical representation of reality occurred as Roma have been depicted as a wealthy group even though other formulations in the text claim the opposite. For example, Regina is said to have “earned hundreds of thousands DM in Serbia profiting from the Civil War, through rather unorthodox ways”\textsuperscript{136} but later she is said to be “unable to paythe fine, she is locked sex months at Targosor.”\textsuperscript{137} Another example refers to the second wealthy Roma family that was “caught stealing wood from the communal forest.”\textsuperscript{138} Consequently, poverty among Roma has been a latent message that has been represented simplistically and uncritically.

Second, a few generalized group features ascribed to Roma have been identified and which through linguistic units such as “the never ending fights and drunkenness”\textsuperscript{139}, “poker, a usual fact among Gypsy families”\textsuperscript{140}, “permanent clients at the penitentiaries”\textsuperscript{141}, “only three Gypsies have ended up in jail”\textsuperscript{142}, “they killed his wife and daughter”\textsuperscript{143}, “they harassed and stabbed”\textsuperscript{144} gave the latent message of Roma being a public hazard. Moreover, crime and criminal behavior among Roma are main categories that are systematically applied to the entire group and are depicted as group features that are unchangeable. Linguistic units such as “the Gypsies are permanent clients at the penitentiaries as a result of trafficking with gold and money”\textsuperscript{145}, “is considered as a problem area of the county […] especially if we remember that here, out of 5000 inhabitants, 2200 are Gypsies”\textsuperscript{146}, “they receive weekly fines for various crimes”\textsuperscript{147} and “the chief of police declares that high criminality in the commune occurs as a result of the high number of Gypsies creating problems”\textsuperscript{148}, establish a latent correlation between criminality and a criminal monolithic Roma community systematically breaking the law.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10. Stereotypification 1996-2000: A feature article from March 1999</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Variable</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which kind of simplistic uncritical representation of which group features are generalized?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{136}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{137}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{138}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{139}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{140}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{141}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{142}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{143}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{144}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{145}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{146}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{147}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{148}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{149}Ibid.
Which features are applied to the entire group?

“the chief of police declares that high criminality in the commune occurs as a result of the high number of Gypsies creating problems”

Which group features are inherited and unchangeable

“is considered as a problem area of the county […] especially if we remember that here, out of 5000 inhabitants, 2200 are Gypsies”, “the Gypsies are permanent clients at the penitentiaries as a result of trafficking with gold and money”

Othering 1996-2000

The news article “The bell has rung at Tanganu” from 1997, written by D. Mihailescu and F. Biolan legitimized a communal pogrom against Roma in the village of Tanganu, Ilfov county. As some Roma had stolen goods and cattle from Romanian yards at several occasions, 650 Romanian villagers decided to act on their own by ringing the church bell and calling upon communal revenge in order to expel the 20 Gypsy families and to burn their households and properties, a pogrom during which the Special Forces arrived. Firstly, a few dichotomies between we and them are implied by the text, not least through explicit exonyms in plural forms. Linguistic units such as “the war between the majoritarian Romanians and the Gypsies”149, “the Romanians […] have aimed their collective fury against the families of two Gypsies”150, “the people have ‘disturbed’ a bit the houses belonging to two Gypsies promising to expel all 20 Gypsy families from the village”151 and many more, all referred to a conflictual situation and an explicit dichotomy between unwanted Roma and Romanian residents, which expressed the need of a village empty of Roma. Consequently, the latent content of such linguistic units implied the legitimate expulsion of and revenge against unwanted Gypsies.

Secondly, the latent conflict affecting the relationship between we and them proceeded from formulations such as “meanwhile the Gypsies have caused many headaches to the city council of Cernica”152, “many Gypsies, have passed through prisons, being used to live by breaking the law and stealing since many years goods and cattle from Romanian yards […] causing for the last five years six murders and innumerable attempts of murder.”153 As people committed thefts of food and violence, the implicit conflict has its actual origins in poverty, inexistent welfare, ineffective police units and judiciary that together imply that the pogrom and conflict between Roma and Romanian originate in the failure of Romanian institutions.

149Mihailescu, D. & F. Biolan, “The bell has rung at Tanganu”, Romania Libera 20/1 1997.
150Ibid.
151Ibid.
152Ibid.
153Ibid.
Third, crime and civil disobedience have been communicated as unwanted features among us ascribed to and caused by Roma. Through formulations such as “used to live by breaking the law”\textsuperscript{154}, systematic theft of goods and cattle, “caused many headaches”\textsuperscript{155}, “have passed through prisons once or several times”\textsuperscript{156}, Roma have been othered as a monolith of criminals and their criminal behavior has been regarded as the root of the rural pogrom, a conclusion that resembles Brune’s findings on the ethnicization of crime in Swedish media but also those of the GCSP Policy Brief No. 21 discussed in section 1.3.2 and 1.3.3. Briefly, it can be argued that the latent unwanted features ascribed to Roma, i.e. crime and civil disobedience, led to the legitimization of pogroms and expulsion of unwanted Roma residents, a conflict that in reality bottomed in the failure of Romanian institutions. No comparisons between “us” and “them” have been identified.

### Table 11. Othering 1996-2000: A news article from January 1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Examples of initial linguistic units</th>
<th>Main categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Which dichotomies between “we” and “them” are implied by the text?</td>
<td>“the war between the majoritarian Romanians and the Gypsies”, “the Romanians […] have aimed their collective fury against the families of two Gypsies”</td>
<td>Legitimate expulsion of and revenge against unwanted Gypsies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which conflicts and differences affect our relationship between “we” and “them”?</td>
<td>“many Gypsies, have passed through prisons, being used to live by breaking the law, and stealing since many years goods and cattle from Romanian yards”</td>
<td>Failure of Romanian institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which features are ascribed by “us” on “them” are unwanted and represent a</td>
<td>“used to live by breaking the law”</td>
<td>Crime and civil disobedience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which comparisons are made between “them” and the ideal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stereotypification 2001-2005**

The feature article “Born for breaking the law. Criminals at a young age”, published in 2005 by a journalist with the initials CD discussed various thefts committed by Roma children in detail, how they were born for such crimes and the drawbacks of the existing legislation, which did not enable the authorities to punish minors. Poverty among Roma communities and children is the reality that has been represented utterly simplistic and uncritical as the author failed to problematize why eight year old

\textsuperscript{154}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{155}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{156}Ibid.
children commit minor crimes, steal food and why the authorities fail to battle the problem. The following linguistic unit is the direct quotation of an attorney “there was a case that amazed us: the minors jumped into a moving transport of livestock crossing the Iloai Bridge, then they threw the sheep out of the truck on the road and then brought the cattle home. Some were sold, some were eaten.” 157 Together with a humoristic tone in subtitles such as “the flying sheep” 158, the article has been scapegoating nine year old Roma that try to provide food for their families rather than discussing the origins of their actions. Moreover, in comparison to previous years, such crimes have become less ethnicized as less explicit ways of expressions were used to refer to Roma, even though this article clearly implied that these children were Roma. More pluralistic and less ethnicized units appear, i.e. “a feared gang” 159, “bandits” 160, “minors” 161, “criminals” 162, “Rroma” 163, “children” 164, at the same time as the start of the article makes it clear that the village is “populated by a majority of Rroma” 165 that the Roma thieves “live in the tiganie.” 166

Secondly, at least one group feature has been generalized through the systematic application of second person plural pronouns and through linguistic units such as “they specialize themselves in different criminal branches” 167, “they break into cars and apartments, steal radios” 168, “they are feared” 169, “they terrorize” 170, “they start stealing at the age of 8-9, so by the time they are 14, they are already experienced” 171, “they can’t get a record, can’t be arrested, neither can they be placed in youth centers because there are no empty spots” 172 etcetera. This alarming tone is accompanied by latent associations that depict a picture of uncontrollable youth hazards that constitute a great danger for the Romanian public.

Furthermore, in comparison to previous years, there are no direct generalized group features but as crime and criminal behavior proceed from and are systematically equated to Roma, they both become implicitly generalized features as they are ascribed to Roma thoroughly. Nevertheless, crime and criminal behavior are group features communicated as inherited and difficult to change among Roma communities, especially through verbs such as “born for breaking the law” or clauses arguing that Roma “start stealing at the age of 8-9” and become “experienced” by the time Roma reach adolescence. This leaves the reader with an impression of inheritance and innateness of crime.

158 Ibid.
159 Ibid.
160 Ibid.
161 Ibid.
162 Ibid.
163 Ibid.
164 Ibid.
165 Ibid.
166 Ibid.
167 Ibid.
168 Ibid.
169 Ibid.
170 Ibid.
171 Ibid.
172 Ibid.
Table 12. Stereotypification 2001-2005: A feature article from February 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Examples of initial linguistic units</th>
<th>Main categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Which kind of simplistic uncritical representation of reality is represented?</td>
<td>“[…]they threw the sheep out of the truck on the road and then brought the cattle home. Some were sold, some were eaten”</td>
<td>Poverty among Roma communities and children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which group features are generalized?</td>
<td>“they specialize themselves in different criminal branches”</td>
<td>Uncontrollable youth hazards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which features are applied to the entire group?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>crime and criminal behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which group features are inherited and unchangeable</td>
<td>“Born for breaking the law”</td>
<td>crime and criminal behavior</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Othering 2001-2005**

The article “Handcuffs for the fugitives” written by A. Balan and C. Vilau was published in 2001 and discussed the arrests of a group of Roma by the Special Forces, which were accompanied by the authors and journalists of this article. A few raids are described in detail with a rather demonizing tone toward Roma.

The main dichotomies implied consist of *them* described through pejorative exonyms as public hazards. The *other* are explicitly dichotomized through linguistic units such as “the Gypsy children peeping from underneath the filthy beds,”176 “nest of Roma”177 and “all of them Rroma”.178 Likewise previous articles, the *other* is implicitly othered as a great public hazard not only through the dramatic and brutal presence of the Special Forces but also through formulations such as “genuine communities of thieves”179 and “graduates from”180 the high security prison Jilava.

Secondly, proceeding from Roma as a great public hazard, the main conflict affecting the relationship between *us* and *them* is theft. Through expressions such as “the ones taught to steal for a living”,181 “thefts of cattle and wood”182 and “the thieves used to steal rather than work”,183 the Roma are said to terrorize the peaceful Romanian communities by stealing wood and cattle in a conflict that, despite its legal unimportance and social nature, was set through the dramatic and brutal intervention of the Special Forces.

177Ibid.
178Ibid.
179Ibid.
180Ibid.
181Ibid.
182Ibid.
Thirdly, a wide range of unwanted features ascribed to Roma have been identified. Through expressions such as “dirty”\(^{184}\), “living in a pigsty”\(^{185}\), “Gypsy children underneath filthy beds”\(^{186}\) and “the heavy smell lacking soap and water”\(^{187}\), Roma and their homes are systematically described as and associated with disgust. The process of othering is also molded through depictions of Roma lazy and dangerous. Throughout the entire article, formulations such as “the thieves used to steal rather than work”\(^{188}\), “lazy and dangerous”\(^{189}\) and “used to survive through stealing”\(^{190}\) portray an implicit message in which Roma consciously and actively choose criminality rather than labor. Ultimately, these messages convey a dichotomous picture of dishonest, disgusting, lazy and dangerous Roma versus the honest ideal majority needing protection: “The worst is that after stealing and murdering they are kept alive and warm with the tax payers’ money (that is all the honest people) [...] until they once again stretch their bones in the sun and their hands for stealing.”\(^{191}\) The article’s implicit theme consists of a continuous comparison between the dishonest other and the honest self.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Handcuffs for the fugitives”</th>
<th>Examples of initial linguistic units</th>
<th>Main categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Variable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which dichotomies between “we” and “them” are implied by the text? Which conflicts and differences affect our relationship between “we” and “them”? Which features are ascribed by “us” on “them” are unwanted and represent a cultural threat?</td>
<td>“genuine communities of thieves” “thefts of cattle and wood” “Gypsy children underneath filthy beds” “the thieves used to steal rather than work”</td>
<td>Great public hazard Theft Lazy, dangerous, disgusting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which comparisons are made between “them” and the ideal “us”?</td>
<td>“the tax payers’ money (that is all the honest people)”</td>
<td>The dishonest other and the honest self</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{184}\)Ibid.  
\(^{185}\)Ibid.  
\(^{186}\)Ibid.  
\(^{187}\)Ibid.  
\(^{188}\)Ibid.  
\(^{189}\)Ibid.  
\(^{190}\)Ibid.  
\(^{191}\)Ibid.
The article “We are the ancestors of Rome” written by D. Flamand in 2007 is one of the many responses to the Mailat murder\(^{192}\) in Italy. Flamand discusses the uncivilized nature of Roma people and how they are to change the national picture of Romania into one of a violent, primitive, barbarous people. The simplistic and uncritical representation of reality has to do with the Mailat murder, which was mentioned with one sentence: “terrible images, the expulsions of Romanians from Rome, more are to come.”\(^{193}\) As seen in the section 1.1, the socioeconomic challenges faced by Roma can be viewed as main cause of various clashes and problems, but this is avoided in its entirety. The migration of Roma to the West has also been approached uncritically as it was depicted as a Roma phenomenon only rather than illuminating that millions of Romanians and in fact other Eastern Europeans have migrated: “they [the Roma] migrate in masses and remain segregated.”\(^{194}\) Moreover, features such as nonconformism are generalized systematically to the entire Roma community through linguistic units such as “The Gypsies are all a bunch of outcasts that adopt the most gypsy stereotypical and caricatured ways of living […] ignoring the most fundamental hygienic rules with no contact with the locals”\(^{195}\) and “without ever having the perspective to assure their children any genuine integration in the Italian society.”\(^{196}\)

Furthermore, crime and charlatanry are two features implicitly applied systematically to the entire group, e.g. one linguistic unit states “what will they wish to do after all suburban iron has been recycled, all naive palms read and after they steal all unlocked bicycles and pollute all prisons?”\(^{197}\) This formulation does not only imply that the other i.e. all Roma simply steal and recycle iron but also that they all are criminals uninterested in any other pursuit of development. As this statement is a rhetorical question, one can expect that crime and charlatanry among Roma are unchangeable permanent group features. Briefly, this CA shows that crime and charlatanry are depicted as unchangeable group features applied to the entire group and that Roma are ascribed stereotypes through generalizations approved by a serious newspaper in Romania 2007.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“We are the ancestors of Rome”</td>
<td>Examples of initial linguistic units</td>
<td>Main categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which kind of simplistic uncritical representation of reality is represented?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>The Mailat murder &amp; migration of Roma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{192}\)The Mailat murder: Romulus Mailat is a Romanian Roma that was imprisoned for life for rape and murder in Italy. The case resulted with outrageous debates in Italy and Romania and, during the Berlusconi government, with controversial legislation vis-à-vis Romanian Roma immigrants.

\(^{193}\)Ibid.

\(^{194}\)Ibid.

\(^{195}\)Ibid.

\(^{196}\)Ibid.

\(^{197}\)Ibid.
Which group features are generalized? | “The Gypsies are all a bunch of outcasts that adopt the most gypsy stereotypical and caricatured ways of living […] ignoring the most fundamental hygienic rules with no contact with the locals” | Nonconformism

Which features are applied to the entire group? | states “what will they wish to do after all suburban iron has been recycled, all naive palms read and after they steal all unlocked bicycles and pollute all prisons?” | Crime and charlatanry

Which group features are inherited and unchangeable | Rhetorical question above | Crime and charlatanry

**Othering 2006-2012**

The news article “Romanian beggars have frightened London” written by F. Dragan in 2012 discusses the destruction of the “image of our country”\(^1\), the ways in which Roma beggars commit crimes in London and the ways in which the Romanian government engaged in international police cooperation. Begging per se is the main dichotomy between *us* and the *other* as it is implied systematically in the article. Begging has been described as a hideous and uncivilized act that is a natural component of Roma communities. Even though pejorative exonyms are absent, the dichotomy between *us* and *them* is still marked through indirect clauses that inform the audience that the beggars are in fact Roma and thereby establishing a symbiosis between Roma and begging: “the British press reports that 18 Romanian citizens, mostly Roma, which have been repatriated.”\(^2\)

Secondly, the main conflict affecting the relationship between the *other* and *us* consists of, once again, the national image of Romania. With an alarming tone the article is initiated with “the image of our country in Britain is once more affected […]”\(^3\) and later mentioning the bilateral police cooperation that intends to reduce Romanian [read Roma] crime in London. Moreover, unwanted features ascribed to the *other* consisted mostly Roma being dirty and disgusting, and thereby continuing the praxis from

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\(^1\)Dragan, F., “Romanian beggars have frightened London”, Romania Libera 18/5 2012.

\(^2\)Ibid.

\(^3\)Ibid.
previous years. Time and again the environment of Roma beggar camps is described uncritically, establishing implicit associations with dirt and disgust e.g. “they were living on tatter beds, with suitcases, beer cans and disposal bags spread on the lawn of prestigious corporations and hotels.”201 No direct or indirect comparisons were made between them and us. In short, Roma have been othered implicitly as dirty disgusting beggars, which systematically destroy the image of Romania in London.

Table 15. Othering 2006-2012: A news article from May 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Examples of initial linguistic units</th>
<th>Main categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Which dichotomies between “we” and “them” are implied by the text?</td>
<td>“the British press reports that 18 Romanian citizens, mostly Roma, which have been repatriated”</td>
<td>Begging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which conflicts and differences affect our relationship between</td>
<td>“the image of our country in Britain is once more affected […]”</td>
<td>National image of Romania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which features are ascribed by “us” on “them” are unwanted and represent a cultural threat?</td>
<td>“they were living on tatter beds, with suitcases, beer cans and disposal bags spread on the lawn of prestigious corporations and hotels”</td>
<td>Dirty and disgusting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which comparisons are made between “them” and the</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.4 Concluding analysis

This investigation has proceeded from articles, originating from the newspaper Romania Libera, during the period 1991-2012. The selection of this material has proceeded from previous research which has illuminated the crucial role of media history in the stereotypification and othering of minorities and its role as an architect of public opinion possessing a critical-monitoring function. This investigation was divided in three research questions. The first addressed the contexts and social roles in which Roma have been presented in press by applying quantitative content analysis. The results indicated that in 72.1% of the material monitored, Roma have been presented in illegal contexts. The newspaper Romania Libera has thereby molded a social construction which resembled police investigations rather than professional journalism. The presentation of Roma in illegal contexts had, through news and feature articles, increased systemically and continuously during the period 1991-2005 and

201Ibid.
decreased somewhat during the period 2006-2012 by 26.3 simultaneously as Genre III (editorials, columns and opinion pieces) tripled.

The CA quantification of the social roles ascribed to Roma has intended to complement the results about the legality of the contexts reported. The inductive categorization of social roles into negative and neutral/positive occurred after the data has been collected and processed. Based on the definition of social roles presented in 1.6, each social role ascribed to Roma in each article has been registered as one occurrence. 379 occurrences of various social roles have been recorded in which only 27 (7%) can be viewed as positive/neutral social roles i.e. roles that did not cause any financial or physical damage toward other people and environments. During the 1990s, Roma were presented mostly as thieves, abusers/maltreatment, murderers, destroyers of private property, possessors of arms, offenders of public order and hypocrites/swindlers/tax evaders, as 92% of all social roles may be perceived as negative. During the 2000s, Roma appeared mostly as mafia leagues/clans, prisoners, abusers/maltreatment, thieves, illegal settlers/migrants and possessors of arms. In general the negative social roles ascribed to Roma decreased slightly to 86%, especially during the period 2006-2012 when the negative roles ascribed to Roma was 30%, i.e. a decrease of more than 60% compared to 1990s.

Moreover, A2 has intended to measure the extent to which Roma voice and individuality were represented. During the entire research period, 84.3% of all articles excluded the voice of Roma since they were authored by a non-Roma individual/expert and did not include the voice of Roma whatsoever. The representation of Roma voice grew, from 3 articles of 37 during the period 1991-1995, to 14 articles of 53 during the period 2006-2012. The extent to which the individuality of Roma was represented in RL 1991-2012 has been extremely low as 89.9% of all articles referred to Roma as a collective group rather than an individual or a family, a phenomenon that has been static throughout the entire research period. These quantitative CA suggest that the post-revolutionary media history of Roma has been one molded in the light of police investigations and criminal activities committed by Roma, which systematically appear in illegal contexts, hazardous and unwanted social roles and in articles in which Roma themselves are not permitted to express their own voice and where their individuality is almost entirely absent. These four phenomena (legality of contexts, hazardous social roles, absence Roma individuality and voice) have been relatively persistent phenomena during the entire research period, even though the debate became more dynamic after 2006.

During the period 2006-2012, especially after the murder of Romulus Mailat, Roma as a minority has been discussed more and more in legal contexts and in newer social roles (see e.g. Roma as a discriminated minority and beggars) at the same time as Roma voice has been increasingly represented and as Genre III (editorials, columns and opinion pieces) has tripled. It would not be an exaggeration to argue that the Mailat case in 2007 catalyzed a certain polarization of the public debate about Roma as newer actors e.g. Roma NGOs approached debates from discriminatory perspectives at the same time as the othering and stereotypification of Roma continued and sometimes aggravates (see We are the ancestors of Rome).

Consequently these results indicate a much more aggressive and demonizing public media debate about Roma compared to the results suggested by Catavencu and Cretu.
This longitudinal investigation has had the capability to examine xenophobic journalistic styles and the habitualization of demonizing typifications during the period 1991-2012. Likewise the findings of the Geneva Center Security report and those of Brune, this present study indicates that the implicit and explicit ethnicization of crime in which the Roma have been habitually and systematically typified in the light of abuse, crime and threats may have had, based on the agenda setting theory, tremendous implications how the Romanian perception of Roma. The habitualization of crime ethnicization was accompanied by hazardous social roles ascribed to Roma and a continuous lack of Roma individuality and voice, shaping a fragmentary, simplistic and demonizing social construction of Roma, leaving the consumers of one of Romania’s leading newspapers with anxiety, fear and alienation vis-à-vis the country’s largest ethnic minority.

Furthermore, the qualitative CA intended to complement the quantitative CA. The results discussing the stereotypification in four articles indicate that Romanian journalists stereotype Roma in numerous ways. Firstly, throughout the entire research period, criminal behavior has been a group feature presented as inherited by and unchangeable in Roma communities. Secondly, physical punishment (1991-1995) and criminality (1996-2012) have been features applied to the entire group of Romanian Roma. Thirdly, journalists have generalized at least three group features among Roma, i.e. disobedience (1991-1995), nonconformity (2006-2012) and hazardous (1996-2005). Fourth, the results also indicate that the journalists have presented following realities simplistically and uncritically: hunts of Roma children (1991-1995), failure of Romanian institutions (1996-2000), poverty of Roma (2001-2005) and the migration of Roma and the Mailat murder (2006-2012). Consequently, the habitualization of crime ethnicization has constructed an accumulation of information which has been utilized by different actors to sculpture and typify a xenophobic public picture of Roma, adding insult to injury, based on generalizations about the inheritance and unchangeable features ascribed and applied to Roma as a group through the exclusion of critical thinking about important issues such as poverty and failure of Romanian institutions.

Ultimately, the othering of Roma in RL press has also been a common phenomenon. The main conflicts that have affected the relationship between “us” and “them” have to do with destruction of “our” national image (1991-1995, 2006-2012), failure of Romanian institutions (1996-2000) and theft (2001-2005). “They” have been ascribed unwanted features representing a cultural threat, such as hazardous (1991-1995), civil disobedient (1996-2000), lazy, dangerous and disgusting (2001-2005) and dirty (2006-2012). These results improve the understanding about the accumulation of knowledge about Roma in media, which established typified societal truths about unwanted features ascribed by the majority to the minority and about the main conflicts between these groups. Roma were depicted systematically as an obstacle for the national image of Romania in Europe. Yet it remained unclear how the national image was destroyed and disturbed by the Roma, hypothetically speaking it is the fear of being associated with unwanted features ascribed to Roma. Another conflict as presented by the qualitative CA was the failure of Romanian institutions, something which was also presented uncritically and simplistically. Times and again, institutional failure has been mentioned shortly at the same time as the core of the conflict has often become associated with the Roma.
Various manifest and latent stereotypifications of Roma have been constructed and then utilized in the othering of the same group. The synchronic and diachronic social construction of Roma has been tailored through generalizations of features (nonconformism, disobedience and threats), applications of various features to the entire Roma population (physical punishment, law infringement) and an uncritical and simplistic representation of reality regarding the failure of Romanian institutions. As indicated above, manifest phenomena such as the presence of illegal contexts, hazardous social roles and absence of Roma voice and individuality together with the aforementioned latent stereotypifications of Roma have over time constructed selective and limited stocks of knowledge in which the Roma have been continuously and consequently ascribed typifications along a continuum on which Roma have been demonized. Such a selective and limited stock of knowledge has been rather static for almost two decades. The premises of the socially constructed stock of knowledge has been utilized in the othering of Roma communities by perceiving these premises as societal truths and later arguing that these realities par excellence represent a decadence and a danger toward “our” [read national] image.
2.2. Concealing the history of Roma

This investigation contains six subsections where the results are presented, in accordance to the CDA manual attached in Appendix D applied in one history textbook for grade four, five, six, seven, nine and ten.

2.2.1 Grade four

Construction of discourse

A. Identification of major themes and their legitimacy

The first textbook written by Băluțoiu and Radu discuss national heroes, figures, events, fortifications, palaces and cities. The greatness individual actors i.e. various [war] lords that ruled or were central for various Romanian principalities between 1386 and 1750, is a recurrent theme transcending historical events described in the text as the greatness of these actors is explained as decisive for “Romanian” independence from foreign rule and transition from feudalism to territorial unity. The decisive greatness of six individual heroes together shape a historical agency-oriented narrative that attempts to describe and explain key events. The foundation of Moldavia is intertwined with the dismounting of lord Dragoș “which came from Maramureș to free the Romanian from the Tatars”\textsuperscript{202}, a legend “offering explanations of true historical events.”\textsuperscript{203} Another actor receiving a head title is Mircea I of Wallachia (1386–1418), whose reign is said to have signified political and cultural prosperity as he is glorified through formulations such as “during his reign the country flourished, it was powerful and respected abroad”\textsuperscript{204}, “the power of Wallachia during Mircea I was visible through the presence of Romanian sultans”\textsuperscript{205} and as he is depicted as a cultural figure and the founder of Cozia monastery, a notorious monument.\textsuperscript{206} Moreover, the same historical agency is utilized to describe the decisive greatness of Vlad the Impaler (1456–1462). He is depicted merely in the light of a patriotic glorifying spirit as he is said to have “defended the country threatened by the Ottomans”\textsuperscript{207}, a righteous lord and a strong military leader responsible for the victory of the Night Attack of Târgoviste, a man of his time and a “great patriot defending his country against Ottoman threats punishing those living as parasites and those conspiring with the Turks.”\textsuperscript{208} Ștefan III of Moldavia (1457–1504) is another actor whose greatness is depicted as decisive for the historical metanarrative of Romania as he is said to have brought about a cultural prosperity through the construction of a wide range of monasteries, such as Putna.\textsuperscript{209} Ultimately, Michael the Brave, the lord that unified the three Romanian principalities for the first time 1599 is also merely described in terms of decisive greatness:

\textsuperscript{203}Ibid: 32.
\textsuperscript{204}Băluțoiu & Radu, Iстorie, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{205}Ibid: 34.
\textsuperscript{206}Ibid: 34.
\textsuperscript{207}Băluțoiu & Radu, Iстorie, p.36.
\textsuperscript{208}Ibid: 36.
\textsuperscript{209}Băluțoiu & Radu, Iстorie, p 38.
Michael’s personality became eminent on the entire European continent. Italian newspapers mentioned his actions. The artists were painting him. Long time after his death, books were still being published in Europe that depicted the unbelievable actions of the great lord Michael the Brave. 210

B. Identification of discursive components

The main discursive components of this textbook rest upon a continuous storytelling between two fictional characters: a grandfather and a curious grandson. After offering a presentation about neighboring countries, their traditions and key actors in ancient history, the authors discuss events from ancient Rome to 1916 proceeding from the decisive greatness of following individual actors such as Charlemagne, Dragoș, Mircea I of Wallachia, Vlad the Impaler, Ștefan III of Moldavia, Michael the Brave, Constantin Brancoveanu, Napoleon, Avram Iancu, Ion Cuza, Carol I, Queen Maria and Ecaterina Teodoroiu. 211 As these are explained following discursive subcomponents appear in the textbook: transition from feudalism, territorial expansion, military victories, protection from foreign rule, structure of principalities, historical monuments, the Phanariote regime, 1848 revolutions, unification of 1859 and the introduction of monarchy. Except for these components the textbooks also discusses various travelers e.g. Columbus and Polo and various Romanian cities and fortifications.

C. Concretization of values and perspectives conveyed

As the decisive greatness of individual actors rather than structures are central for the presented historical metanarrative, the main perspective conveyed is that these actors become emphasized at the expense of social conditions, the life of the individual and other key developments. These individuals are described in the light of a patriotic spirit as they are the depicted as cause and effect for the principalities and their political and cultural prosperity.

D. Omitted content

Of course not all history can be included in a textbook. However, with regard to the history of Romanian Roma, Romania’s largest minority, historians agree upon the introduction of Roma slavery in the principalities Wallachia and Moldavia, from the second half of the 14th century until the abolitionist movement in the second half of the 19th century, conditions “comparable only to the enslavement of the Afro-American population” as Roma slavery was a “common practice” conducted by Romanian lords, monasteries and private individuals which possessed “unlimited rights over their slaves” whose families could be sold, bought and traded. 212 For example, the above mentioned Cozia monastery appears in a historical record from 1388 as the glorified Mircea I of Wallachia donated it 300 families of Roma slaves. 213 For approximately 500 years Romanian lords, monasteries and private persons institutionalized the slavery with Roma families, whose profits have been utilized for paying debts and tribute to the Ottomans, wedding presents, cattle, and clothing

210 Băluțoiu & Radu, Istorie, p 40.
211 The actors discussed before 1350 are not addressed here.
213 Ibid.
exchange and so on.\textsuperscript{214} The introduction of slavery, its legislation and institutionalization, the economic benefits, social, gender and cultural aspects of Roma enslavement, their role in the principalities’ political development and the causes and effects of the abolitionist movement are only a few aspects that are crucial for the history of Roma in Romania. None of these facts are mentioned. Pupils do not receive any information that slavery of Roma existed and was maintained by glorified lords and the Orthodox Church for approximately 500 years.

	extit{Language use}

\textbf{A. The linguistic presentation of the discourse and its main actors}

Glorifying nouns, adjectives and other types of formulaic language are used to describe the greatness of the aforementioned individual actors. For example, Mircea I of Wallachia is described as a good manager loving culture, a notorious military leader, a great lord, protector of the Romanians, and “the hand of a stormy terrifying fighter that comes, comes and crushes everything.”\textsuperscript{215} Ștefan III of Moldavia appears as a defensive wall, greater than the proud Sun, proud protector, wise and a great lord.\textsuperscript{216} Vlad Țepeș is depicted as a man of his time, a great lord not crueler than other lords such as the king of France or the Turkish Sultan, a righteous man punishing the lazy and the thieves, great protector against the Ottomans and a brave military leader that was not a vampire.\textsuperscript{217}

\textbf{B. Acknowledgment of phenomena legitimized and conveyed through consensus}

The progressive rise of Romanian culture, nationhood and national identity is a phenomenon which is thoroughly legitimized through consensus. There are few locations that proceed from social aspects or events that highlight negative historical developments as the discourse engages systematically in various, for the nation, positive events. From this perspective, the un-problematized historical metanarrative is ascribed a systematic state of serenity rather than explaining various conflicts and interests from an individual, minority, social or democratic point of view.

\textbf{2.2.2 Grade five}

History textbooks used in grade 5 do not provide any relevant information for the period 1385–1989 as they include following themes: prehistorical studies, antiquity, ancient near east and cultural heritage, Ancient Greece, Hellenic culture, Dacia, Thracia, the Roman Empire and Republic, post Roman state formations, Romanian ethnogenesis, the Arabic and Slavic cultures and medieval society in general.

\textbf{2.2.3 Grade six}

\textit{Construction of discourse}

\textsuperscript{214}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{215}Băluțoiu & Radu, \textit{Istorie}, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{216}Băluțoiu & Radu, \textit{Istorie}, pp. 38–39.
\textsuperscript{217}Băluțoiu & Radu, \textit{Istorie}, p. 36.
A. Identification of major themes and their legitimacy

With regard to the medieval period, the structures and functions of the political principalities and their foundation is a recurrent theme. With regard to the early modern period, the metanarrative is addressed largely from a political-military perspective proceeding from an agency-oriented narrative where various lords, battles and victories are explained\(^{218}\), even though the authors briefly mention the development of the renaissance and enlightenment in Romania from a cultural perspective. Moreover, the crucial role of the Orthodox Church is yet another theme identified as it is thoroughly explained in terms of construction, organization, reorganization, relationship with the lords and the beneficial role of the church as a cultural center.\(^{219}\) During the age of enlightenment, the main theme of the metanarrative is the influence of Phanariote dominance.\(^{220}\)

B. Identification of discursive components

The textbook has a euro-global inclination divided in three parts: the medieval world, the start of modern period and the modern period. Following aspects are discussed: economy in medieval societies, the societies around the feudal castles, Christianity, the Great Schism, crusades, power of church, Christian diversity, Mongol expansion, feudal state formation and centralization, art, gender, life of children, Romania, Germany, France, Italy, England, the Ottoman Empire. The start of the modern period is surrounded by western expansion, pre-Columbian civilizations, cultural aspects of the renaissance, the religious reforms, absolute monarchies in Europe, balance of power and Romanian principalities. Part III, modern “époque”, consists of discourse engaging France, England, USA, Russia, Austria, Romanian principalities, travelers, nationalism, unifications, science and scientific innovations, ideas, constitutions and revolutions. In this euro-global metanarrative, the authors give little attention to Romania, approximately 21 pages of the textbook’s 190. It terminates at the turn of the 20th century.

C. Concretization of values and perspectives conveyed

In this 800 yearlong euro-global metanarrative, the Romanian principalities receive some attention through the illumination of historical agency-oriented stories where political and military events dominate the discourse. The main perspective conveyed is that the history intermediated enables almost no space at all for social developments such as minorities, individuals, human suffering and so on.

D. Omitted content

See subsection 2.2.1. D.

Language use

A. The linguistic presentation of the discourse and its main actors


The language becomes rather formal containing less glorifying adjectives, nouns and idiomatic language. For example, Ștefan III of Moldavia is described as a lord of Moldova that consolidated the country’s prestige and founder of significant monasteries.\textsuperscript{221} The Orthodox Church is an actor systematically portrayed in benevolent light, e.g. a cultural center and that many lords have protected the church and from this charity the entire orthodoxy has profited.\textsuperscript{222}

B. Acknowledgment of phenomena legitimized and conveyed through consensus

Some of the following phenomena are conveyed thoroughly: luxury, resistance against foreign rule, independence, cultural enrichment, proudness, and protection of ecclesiastic culture, churches and monasteries as architectural wonders, Romanian independence and territorial unity.

2.2.4 Grade seven

Construction of discourse

A. Identification of major themes and their legitimacy

Romania during the 1800s is discussed merely in terms of political development. The major theme identified is the balance of power in the region through discussions about the influences of Russia, the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires on the Romanian principalities, the rights of its people (not including Roma), the Organic Regulations, and Vladimirescu’s revolutionary movement.\textsuperscript{223} The revolutions of 1848 are discussed separately and here the Romanian revolutions receive some space. It is the unification and oppression of the Romanian people and peasantry which is the central theme in this presentation, as the metanarrative discusses revolutionary actors, their agenda and timeline of 1848 events.\textsuperscript{224} Moreover, when discussing the interwar period the major theme characterizing the discourse is the political and economic landscape of Romania, in which political parties, the crown, regional diplomatic relations and cultural personalities are discussed. The end of communism in Romanian is mentioned toward the end in form of two sentences in which Ceausescu’s downfall and the democratization are addressed.

B. Identification of discursive components

The textbook of Oane and Ochescu does not include the period 1385–1720. It consists of a euro-global character but compared to the textbook in grade six, the Romanian metanarrative is fully integrated in the big European story. It starts by presenting political institutions from the middle of the 1700s, moving to the scientific, agrarian and industrial revolutions with emphasis on Ruhr and France. Later, it presents the political transition from absolutism to liberalism, nationhood, nation states, the unification of Italy, Germany and Romania. The textbooks then presents scientific, urban, literary and

\textsuperscript{221}Burlec, Lazăr & Teodorescu, \textit{Istorie}, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{222}Burlec, Lazăr & Teodorescu, \textit{Istorie}, p. 104.
\textsuperscript{224}Oane & Ochescu, \textit{Istorie}, pp. 36–38.
artistic developments at the end of the 1800s, continuing with the Great War and its consequences, interwar democracy and totalitarianism and the Second World War. The book terminates with two chapters about international developments after the war e.g. military and political alliances, the Cold War and post-revolutionary Europe.

C. Concretization of values and perspectives

The metanarrative presented in this book is slightly different compared to previous years and textbooks. The “history of the Romanians”, is in this book a well-integrated, if not marginalized, component intertwined in a euro-global perspective that highlights political and military history and rarely, cultural and social aspects.

D. Omitted content

Together with other issues, slavery of Roma in Romanian principalities continued in the 1800s, a period extremely significant in the history of Romanian Roma as it signified the beginning of an emancipation movement and end of a 500-year long institutionalization of Roma slavery. To come was a well-organized emancipation movement with many references in Romanian literature, art and press and various emancipation bills of different groups of Roma that until 1860s became liberated from the Church (1847), the state (1843–1844) and from private individuals (1855–1856). This three dimensional emancipation lasted for some decades and faced serious resistance. The two Romanian principalities, Moldova and Wallachia, liberated between 250 000 and 300 000 Roma, i.e. 7.5% of the total current population. Even though Organic Regulations, the emancipation of serfs and peasants, the lack of rights among the Romanian peoples, the 1848 Revolutions and also the emancipation of American slavery are thoroughly discussed, this textbooks does not mention the emancipation of Roma slavery at all and the main actors that have been involved in the emancipation, e.g. prince Bibescu, are not given acknowledgement for their actions. The figure below is a possible example that could have been illustrated consisting of a student’s public proclamation whilst burning the slavery statues in Bucharest in September 1848 and a newspaper advertisement one year after the prohibition of Roma state slavery, followed by extremism and deportations of Roma in Transnistria during the 1940s and the intolerant policies of Ceausescu.

“The Romanian people ceases the inhumane and dishonourable practice of slavery and proclaims the freedom of Gypsies owned by private individuals. Those who have suffered the shame of having slaves are pardoned by the Romanian people, and the motherland will compensate from the treasury anyone who suffers loss as a result of this Christian act.”

Student proclamation, Bucharest September 1848.

“From the sons and heirs of Senator Nicolae Nica of Bucharest, there are 200 Gypsy families for sale. The men are excellent slaves of the court, which is to say estate slaves: goldwashers, cloggers, musicians and field hands. The sale will consist of not fewer than five slaves at a time; the price therefore will be two ducats. They will be made ready in the usual way, and with payment the buyer may be assured of the most attentive service.”

Newspaper add in Iarna, Bucharest 1849.

Figure 2. Attitudes toward the emancipation of Roma slavery 1840s

226 Ibid.
227 Ibid.
Language use

A. The linguistic presentation of the discourse and its main actors

The linguistic presentation is extremely formal and does rarely contain glorifying adjectives and nouns. Main actors are presented briefly with reference to their formal position and date of birth. For example, Bibescu lord of Wallachia 1842–1848 known for his emancipation bill regarding the slavery of the Church 1847 is presented as a lord known for his spirit of renewal.228

B. Acknowledgment of phenomena legitimized and conveyed through consensus

The metanarrative regarding the history of Romania during the 1800s acknowledges the deprivation of various religious and political rights of the Romanian people under Ottoman and the Habsburg rule. For example, Romanian speaking territories (Banat, Transylvania and Bucovina) are addressed as “provinces with a Romanian speaking majority […],” where the Romanians were lacking rights and freedoms and the orthodox religion followed by many was marginalized.229 Based on these, the unification of Romania is legitimized proceeding from the arguments of modernization and renaissance.

2.2.5 Grade nine

This textbook includes global history and periodizations that are relevant for this research period: the Romanian ethnogenesis, ancient history, medieval society in Europe, humanism, world religions and religious reforms, Western medieval states, absolutism, Western expansion, European travelers, The Thirty Years' War. Romanian history is not in focus.

2.2.6 Grade ten

This textbook includes global and international history such as: industrial revolution in Europe, 1848 in Europe, political development in USA, French revolution and republic, interwar period and ideologies, the world wars from an international perspective, Nazi Holocaust, modern challenges: terrorism and globalization, world religions and practices, the Cold War, UE and NATO. Romanian history is not in focus.

2.2.7 Concluding analysis

This investigation has addressed public texts appearing in six randomly selected history textbooks utilized currently in compulsory schools (grade 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10) in order to examine the main features of the historical metanarrative and how major events in Romanian Roma history are acknowledged and included in the historical metanarrative governed by governmental decisions and applied through curricular documents by the Ministry of Education and Research. The reasoning behind the selection of history textbooks as sources has been that these can be regarded as authoritative public texts

228Oane & Ochescu, Istorie, p. 30.
229Oane & Ochescu, Istorie, p. 30.
aiming to represent historical realities par excellence. In addition, as history textbooks proceed from state institutional principles, these sources can also be regarded as a manipulative category in what Habermas defines as the dual functional character of the public sphere, as part of history education that is utilized as a platform for democratic values.

The history of Romanian Roma in Walachia and Moldavia stretches from the middle of the 14th century until present times and it has naturally become a fundamental cornerstone in the multicultural historical hybrid of Romania. Textbooks used in grade 5, 9 and 10 have not presented content relevant for this topic. However, the selected textbooks used in grade 4, 6 and 7 have addressed relevant periodizations pertinent for the history of Romanian Roma in Romania. The results suggest that the historical metanarrative has consisted of themes such as the decisive greatness of individual lords e.g. Mircea I of Wallachia, Vlad the Impaler, Ştefan III of Moldavia, Michael the Brave, Constantin Brancoveanu (grade 4); structures, foundations and functions of Romanian principalities and the crucial role of the Orthodox Church (grade 6); and regional balance of power and the unification and oppression of Romanians (grade 7). Furthermore, the communicated historical metanarrative has conveyed perspectives which have emphasized the role of historical agency and that of various political, military and sometimes cultural events, offering little or no allocation of space for social aspects and developments such as human suffering, daily life, minorities and so on. Moreover, many of the phenomenon legitimated through consensus have been the progressive rise of Romanian culture, nationhood and national identity (grade 4); cultural progression, resistance against foreign rule, the role and protection of ecclesiastic culture and constructions such as churches and monasteries and the Romanian independence and territorial unity (grade 6); religious and political rights of Romanians under the Habsburgs and Ottomans and the political development behind the unification and revolutions of the 1800s.

In grade 4, the discourse and the main actors i.e. various lords of Wallachia and Moldavia have been presented through language containing glorifying nouns, adjectives and non-literal language. For example, Mircea I of Wallachia is described as a good manager loving culture, a notorious military leader, a great lord, a protector of the Romanians and the hand of a stormy terrifying fighter that crushes all resistance. Ştefan III of Moldavia appears as a defensive wall, greater than the proud Sun, proud protector, a wise and a great lord. In grade 6, the plain language becomes extremely formal. However, one of the actors systematically portrayed positively has been the Orthodox Church as an institution that has appeared as a cultural center protected by many of the aforementioned lords, a protection described as a “charity” from which the entire Orthodox religion has profited. The linguistic presentation in grade 7 is too rather formal and rarely contains glorifying nouns and adjectives nouns. Main actors are presented briefly with reference to their formal position and date of birth. For example, Bibescu lord of Wallachia 1842–1848 known for his 1847 emancipation bill that eliminated Church slavery is presented as a lord known for his spirit of renewal.

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230 Habermas, *The structural transformation*, p. 236.
231 Băluțoiu & Radu, *Istorie*, p. 34.
The historical metanarrative presented in these textbooks has been systematically communicated through an agency-oriented, glorifying and serene discourse accentuating political and military events and omitting all minor and major events in Romanian Roma history in its entirety e.g. the migration and settlement of Roma, the introduction, institutionalization and legislation of state, church and private slavery of Roma, its impact on Roma and the Romanian economy, human suffering and daily life, the three dimensional abolition of slavery, consequences of the enslavement of Romania’s largest ethnic minority, Roma in the age of right wing extremism and the deportations of Roma to Transnistria, the anti-Roma policies during the communist era and so on. These results support Meyers’ statement about the inexistent or few conceptual tools developed to explain “the significance of race or the experiences of minority communities in postwar Europe.”

Furthermore, the omission of these facts are comparable to the enslavement of Afro-Americans and is a matter of further research even though speculations can be made with reference to section 1.4.3. During the communist era, Romanian history was revised and remolded in a patriotic and nationalist manner emphasizing the so called ethnogenesis of the Romanian people, a historical metanarrative further ameliorated by the personal cult of dictator Ceausescu depicted for the public as “the practical reincarnation of all ancestral bravery and wisdom from the Dacian kings onwards to Romania’s feudal princes and the more recent fighters for national independence [...].” The postwar historical revisionism accentuated the legacy of ethno-cultural giants rather than Marxism, shaping an agency-oriented narrative that, to some degree, resembles the textbooks researched here.

However, the implications of such omissions can be discussed with reference to the role of historical consciousness in history education as it is valuable in the encounter with the ‘the other’ but also as a sociocultural learning process and as an architect of values and principles (see section 1.4.2.). It is in the construction of the students’ historical consciousness where exonyms, autonyms and pejorative terms of ‘the other’ can be approached in order to combat xenophobia against Roma or other types of unwelcomed values through the illumination of the symbiotic relationship between the constant reinterpretation of the past, present and “in the expectation of a specific future development.” However, the utilization and development of historical consciousness as a tool in history education cannot rest upon, by the metanarrative, unacknowledged historical realities par excellence, meaning that the inclusion and incorporation of the

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235 Myers, “Immigrants and ethnic minorities”, p. 806.
237 Gallagher, Romania after Ceausescu, p. 58.
aforementioned facts in the contemporary textbooks must be a requirement in all coexisting teaching material.

The absolute omission of the country’s largest ethnic minority and its sad history from normative public texts that are to convey historical realities par excellence gives the impression that e.g. the slavery and the suffering of Roma are uninteresting if not irrelevant phenomena to acknowledge and incorporate in the national metanarrative. Likewise the representation of Roma in post-Ceausescu media history, it can be concluded that these history textbooks, which are to act as a platform for democratic values and are to approach history critically, consist of a selective if not inexistent stock of knowledge. The absolute omission of the history of Romanian Roma does not enable the development of a historical consciousness that can prevent xenophobic structures and the distorted representation of Roma in press.

Kapitel 3. Sammanfattande analys och diskussion

Denna uppsats har undersökt hur romer framställs i den offentliga sfären genom att göra djupgående kritiska textanalyser av den sociala konstruktionen av romer och deras historia i rumänsk dagspress respektive i rumänska historieböcker från 1991 fram till idag. Analysernas fokus har legat på den sociala utsattheten, diskrimineringen och sårbarheten de rumänska romerna har utsatts för och upplevt sedan Berlinmurens fall.

Anledningen till val av detta ämne har flera orsaker. För det första kan det antas att den offentliga sfären, där ju dagspress och historieböcker ingår, tillhandahåller texter där den sociala konstruktionen av olika verkligheter är skribentens subjektiva tolkningar vad gäller det som egentligen skett. Detta innebär alltså att olika texter och vad de beskriver kan anses vara subjektiva tolkningar av olika företeelser genom exempelvis användandet av rasistiska karikatyrer eller främlingsfientliga mönster, typiseringar och sociala roller. Offentliga texter har även olika syften och funktioner, något som gör dem till utmärkta kommunikationskanaler där en utopisk verklighet, eller verkligheten par excellence, kan presenteras på ett sätt mer tillgängligt för gemene man.

Att studera sådana texter kan ge en förståelse av hur olika aktörer i det rumänska samhället har förhållit sig till de rumänska romerna ur ett modernhistoriskt perspektiv. Å ena sidan påvisar forskningen att medier i allmänhet har en avgörande roll när det kommer till att påverka folkopinionen, inte minst vad gäller att sprida olika stereotyper och att skapa en känsla av nationell samhörighet respektive en misstänksamhet gentemot minoriteter. Samtidigt förväntas medierna ha en samhällskritisk granskningsfunktion. Med dessa aspekter i åtanke har denna uppsats tittat särskilt på rumänsk dagspress, vilken utgör den största delen av studiens källmaterial. Å andra sidan representerar historieböcker som läromedel ofta normativa kommunikationskanal där en inte sällan nationalideologisk historiebeskrivning presenteras till eleverna utifrån statliga beslut med intentionen att skapa en nationell samhörighet och fungera som en plattform för demokratiska värderingar. En studie av dessa texter blir betydelsefull på grund av att den belyser ett större fenomen, nämligen det rumänska förhållandet till sig själva som nation samt hur landets historieböcker väljer att beskriva, eller inte beskriva, landets största minoritet i allmänhet, deras plats i
det rumäniska samhället samt tiggerifrågan som blivit till en politisk fråga i hela EU och därmed romernas socioekonomiska problem.

Denna uppsats har begränsat sig helt till hur rumänska romer framställs i den rumäniska offentliga sfären. Uppsatsens övergripande syfte har varit att undersöka textbaserade strukturer och förändringar i offentliga texter, vilka har beskrivit romer på olika sätt och vis. Uppsatsen syftar till att bidra till en bättre förståelse av de rumänisk-romska relationernas utveckling och sammansättning från 1991 fram till idag. Utgångspunkten har varit att dessa offentliga texter kan ha bidragit till den kritiska situation de rumäniska romerna befinner sig i idag. En granskning av sådana texter kan även leda till en bättre förståelse av den internaliserade främlingsfientligheten som kan sägas finnas i det rumäniska språket och hur vanliga individer, frivilligt eller ofrivilligt, därmed genom sitt språkbruk försvårar vardagen för landets största minoritet.


En av svårigheterna med att besvara uppsatsens forskningsfrågor har varit bristen på tidigare akademisk mediehistorisk forskning utifrån ett rumänskt-romskt perspektiv. Tidigare forskning som ändå har lokaliserats härstammar från det civila samhället, alltså en icke statlig arena på vilken människor engagerar sig utifrån gemensamma intressen. Forskning från sådana instanser behandlar ofta begränsade tidsperioder samt med ett ibland problematiskt vetenskapligt hantverk och ideologiskt utgångspunkt. Trots detta har denna forskning erbjudit en konstruktiv utgångspunkt och har påpekat dels att representationen av romer i rumänsk dagspress har varit minst sagt problematisk och dels att mer forskning bör bedrivas inom fältet. Bristen på tidigare forskning har därför kompletterats med andra relatade studier samt olika typer av utredningar som på olika sätt har behandlat mediernas roll i spridningen av stereotyper och att skapa en misstänksamhet gentemot minoriteter. Den första delundersökningens syfte har därför varit att överbygga en del av denna kunskapsfältet genom att försöka lämna ett forskningsbidrag i det mediehistoriska fältet utifrån ett minoritetsperspektiv. Målet har varit att besvara följande tre forskningsfrågor:

A1. I vilka kontexter samt sociala roller har romer presenterats?
A2. I vilken utsträckning har romernas röst och individualitet representerats i källmaterialet?
A3. Hur har stereotyper samt andrafieringen av romer formats diakront respektive synkront?
Den andra delundersökningen har utgått utifrån de rumänska romernas historia och dess inkludering i det rumänska metanarrativet. Källmaterialet har bestått av sex slumpmässigt utvalda historieböcker som har analyserats med hjälp av kritisk diskursanalys. Historieböckerna används för närvarande i den obligatoriska skolgången i Rumänien. Böckerna sträcker sig från perioden 2008–2014 och går att beställa på internet. Avgränsningen med denna delundersökning är att ett stort antal alternativa historieböcker har exkluderats. Även här är den tidigare forskningen näst intill obe fintlig och därför har uppsatsen undersökt fenomenet ur ett bredare forskningsperspektiv, nämligen minoriteters roll i nationella metanarrativ överlag, historiemedvetandets betydelse samt den rumänska kommunismens inflytande på landets nationella historiebeskrivning. Romernas historia i Rumänien startade i mitten av 1300-talet då dessa grupper flyttade till furstendömena Valakiet och Moldavien där de förslavades i nästan 500 år av den ortodoxa kyrkan, staten samt privata individer under förhållanden som kan jämföras med slaveriet i Amerika. Mitt i nationalstatens uppkomst startade frigörelsen av de cirka 300 000 romska slavarna från kyrkan, staten och privatpersoner med hjälp av en etablerad emancipationsrörelse. Därefter följde en osäker period fram till 1940-talet då romska minoriteter deporterades till Transnistrien och senare hamnade de under diktator Ceausescus patriotiska styre. Utifrån denna kunskapsklyfta har denna delundersökning haft som mål att bidra till den historiedidaktiska forskningen utifrån ett minoritetsperspektiv genom att besvara följande forskningsfrågor:

B1. På vilket sätt har stora händelser i de rumänska romernas historia bekräftats samt inkorporerats i det historiska metanarrativet i rumänska historieböcker?
B2: Vad kännetecknar det historiska metanarrativet generellt?


Särskilt latenta stereotypifieringar av romer har senare tillämpats av skribenterna för att andrafiera samma grupp, det vill säga att det har skräddarsytt en synkron och diakron social konstruktion av romer som grupp genom bland annat generaliseringar av egenskaper (olydnad, nonkonformism och farlighet), särdrag applicerade på hela gruppen (fysisk bestraffning av romer och lagöverträdelser) och ett okritiskt och onyanserat förhållningssätt till de rumänska myndigheternas misslyckanden. Det handlar alltså om synliga fenomen (närvaron av olagliga kontexter, hotande sociala roller, avsaknaden av egen röst samt individualitet) samt latenta stereotypifieringar av romer som tillsammans och över tid skapar mycket förenklade bilder av verkligheten.
där romerna kontinuerligt och konsekvent tillskrivs synliga samt dolda typifieringar och idealtyper längs en skala där de ofta demoniseras. Den skeva sociala konstruktionen tillsammans med skribentens subjektiva skildring av verkligheten har varit stringent och statisk i nästintill två årtionden. Den socialt konstruerade bilden av romer med dess premisser har begagnats i andrafieringen av den romska minoriteten genom att utgå ifrån dessa ”sanningar” och hävda att dessa individer par excellence förstör och är en dekadens för ”vår” självbild. Porträttningen av romer i den rumänska dagspressen har alltså konstruerat en demoniserande social konstruktion av romernas verklighet som har varit långt ifrån den sociopolitiska verkligheten som präglar denna minoritet. Den rumänska debatten kring romerna i det offentliga rummet har avbildat dessa systematiskt i termer av säkerhetshot och lagbrott. Man har tillskrivit denna grupp en rad olika stereotyper och har skapat diskurser för att skapa kulturella dikotomier mellan vi och dem. Utifrån dagordningsteorin skulle man mycket väl kunna anta att denna demoniserande nyhetsrapportering har haft en väsentlig effekt i Rumänien.

Den andra delundersökningen som behandlat inkorporerandet av den rumänskromska historien i det rumänska historiska metanarrativet har erbjudit mycket intressanta resultat, framförallt från de tre historieböckerna som för närvarande används i årskurs 4, 6 och 7 och som hade haft möjlighet att inkorporera viktiga händelser ur den rumänskromska historien. Resultatena har dock visat att det historiska metanarrativet har bestått av teman dominerade av en aktörssatistik innehavande av den rumänska kulturen, den nationella identiteten, motståndet till främmande makter, skyddandet av kyrkan, dess kultur och arkitektur, den rumänska självständigheten och territoriella enighet, politiska och religiösa rättigheter bland rumäner under Habsburgarna eller Ottomanerna, den politiska utvecklingen bakom revolutionerna 1848, mellankrigstidens situation, med mera. Denna typ av etno-eurocentriska historieskrivning har uteslutit samtliga händelser i den rumänskromska historien. Istället för att avslöja att Mircea den store/gamle och hans nybyggda kloster var bland de första institutionerna som har varit involverade i slavhandeln av romer används glorifierande språkbruk för att beskriva klostrets kulturella värde. Istället för att avslöja att nämnda storrerrar har upprätthållit 500 år av slaveri, glorifieras deras militära segrar. Det absoluta försommelsen av landets största minoritet och dess historia ur normativa offentliga texter, texter som ska skildra historien såsom den faktiskt skett, kan sända signaler att slaveriet, lidande och romerna som grupp är ointressanta att ha vette om. Precis som romernas representation i den postkommunistiska mediehistorien, kan man konstatera att även dessa läromedel, som ska agera som en plattform för demokratiska värderingar och som ska förhålla sig kritiskt till det förflytta, består av ett mycket subjektiv urval av vad som ska skildras i historisk beskrivningen. Det absoluta försommelsen av den rumänskromska historien från det rumänska metanarrativet omöjliggör utvecklandet av ett historiebokmässigt företagande som kan förebygga främmandeget samarbete och motarbeta den skeva historiebokmässiga skildringen av romer, en bild som upprätthållits sedan år 1991.

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Den sociala konstruktionen i den offentliga sfären och dess texter ska, utifrån Habermas definition, egentligen uppföra sig på olika sätt eftersom mediala texter skall vara samhällskritiska medan historieböckerna kan sägas vara samhällsmanipulerande med en roll att styra historieskrivningen i en önskad direktion. Skillnaderna vad gäller funktionerna och visionerna mellan dessa två typer av offentliga texter bör därför producera olika konstruktioner och bilder av romer men denna uppsats har visat att romernas postkommunistiska mediehistoria i Rumänien istället visar på ett subjektivt tolkande av verkligheten utifrån skribentens sida som typifrerar romerna utifrån en mycket låg abstraktionsnivå medan läromedlen å sin sida i princip saknar en beskrivning av romernas historia. Slutligen går att säga att romernas postkommunistiska historia i den offentliga sfären har till stor del definierats och konstruerats av dagspressens aktörer på ett okritiskt sätt medan historienarrativet, historiebruket och historiemedvetandet inte har utnyttjats tillräckligt för att problematisera romernas socioekonomiska problem och plats i det postkommunistiska samhället.

Framtida forskningsinsatser skulle kunna undersöka andra typer av mediediskurser gentemot romer, inte minst via modernare kommunikationskanaler. Samtidigt är det så att olika europeiska finansieringssystem har på senare år gett möjligheten till romska hjälpsorganisationer att påverka den offentliga debatten och romernas levnadsstandard. Det civila samhällets insatser är något som också kan undersökas i större utsträckning. Vad gäller den romska historien är det viktigt att minnas att många fler insatser behövs för att minnas slaveriets plats i den rumänska men också den europeiska historien.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Elisabeth Elgán and company which have all helped me in different ways. I would like to thank to Maija Runcis whose supervision has improved the overall quality of this paper. A special thanks to the History Department, the English Department, Centrum för de humanistiska ämnenas didaktik, the Institution of Pedagogy and Didactics, Högskolan Dalarna and La Trobe University. To be mentioned is also the financial contribution of Folkskoleseminariets Minnesfond that has given me the opportunity to organize a costly study tour in Bucharest where all data has been collected.

I would also enjoy to express my sincere gratitude to the Council Of Europe and their invitation to and the organization of the international seminar “A Policy response toward inclusive education: introducing Roma history teaching into national curricula” where most member states have participated.

In would also like to thank Doru Dumitrescu and the National Department of Education of Romania, the National Library and the Romanian Archives. Special thanks for the interviews with vice President of the Romanian Academy, Dan Berindei, the Institute of History “Nicolae Iorga” and Dr. Viorel Achim researcher of ethnic minorities in Romania and Roma history and also Professor Ion Scurtu member of the Romanian Scientific Academy. Even though these interviews have not been utilized they have surely been of great use.
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**Articles analyzed according to the Content Analysis (CA) model**

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**History books analyzed according to the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) manual**


**Online and electronic material**

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Dexonline https://dexonline.ro/
The Economist http://www.economist.com/
The European Commission http://ec.europa.eu/index_en.htm
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Wibaeus, Ylva “To teach the inconceivable. A study of the Holocaust as a field of knowledge when taught and learnt in upper and upper secondary school” (Stockholm: Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Education, 2010).

Appendix A. List of RL articles

10-oct-12 How have Roma spent EU funds worth € 22.6 million and why they still want € 40 m.
25-sep-12 Roma from Tandarei: the head of a trafficking network in France
19-sep-12 Manuel Valls has bigger worries than Roma
05-sep-12 The Human Rights of Roma
30-aug-12 We do not have to fear to dream for big things simply because we are roma
24-aug-12 Roma will be employed easier in France
18-maj-12 Romanian beggars have frightened London
07-dec-11 Born and raised as criminals
01-sep-11 USA criticizes the expulsion of Roma in Baia Mare
23-maj-11 Amnesty: Roma are discriminated on a high level
08-apr-11 The living of Roma in Ghost Village
08-okt-10 Use the EU money and integrate your Roma
05-okt-10 European decade for roma inclusion: France and Italy
04-okt-10 Who are the French that carry out hunger strikes for Roma
21-sep-10 Romanian and French police clean up Roma criminals
16-sep-10 The Gypsies, a problem that everybody wishes to give to somebody else
14-sep-10 Paris: the roma problem
07-sep-10 the negative situation of roma
20-aug-10 A supermarket in France prohibits the entrance of Romanian Roma
09-aug-10 For Romania the Roma problem is inescapable
02-aug-10 The Lellouche effect: Roma in France sent to "work"
15-apr-10 how do you say policeman in gypsy language
23-feb-10 Mailmen are to carry pepper sprays and GPs
17-okt-08 Tense summit, EU Roma in Brussels
17-okt-08 Equal chances for Europe’s Roma
10-aug-08 Basescu dismisses fingerprinting
28-jul-08 Fingerprinting, the solution of missing children
29-maj-08 Roma and homosexuals are discriminated in Romania
27-maj-08 The ghettos of the Capital City: the bombs of Sector 5 lead to votes for Becali and Vanghelie
24-mar-08 A rest for Europe: Roma
20-mar-08 Living in Budesti
14-mar-08 The Roma from Leordeni defeated by NATO Summit
29-feb-08 The police have confiscated the arsenal of the roma from Sintesti
10-dec-07 After the Mailat incident, the Romanians fear for being confused with Roma
03-dec-07 The money intended for Roma are spent irresponsibly
16-nov-07 Racism without borders
10-nov-07 Gypsies are happier when they are something else than…Gypsies
07-nov-07 The Gypsies and the multicultural hypocrisy
07-nov-07 Europe’s bad child
07-nov-07 We are the ancestors of Rome
03-nov-07 Enough with the xenophobia!
03-nov-07 Attacks against Romanians in Italy
Roma from Haradeni have snitched on the Romanian state to the European Court of Human Rights. 

Rome and the Romanians have a quarrel because of the Roma.

Rural Criminals in Craiova.

The city council has evicted a house in a central area: 19 children saved from begging

One night in the victims’ camp from Calarasi: Times of exile

Government has adopted a new strategy of social inclusion: State institutions forced to employ Roma

EU worried about the situation of “Roma” in Romania

Female minors, primary material for prostitution at the Black Sea

Police positions for Roma ethnicns

The Roma that lived illegally have been evacuated

The son of the Gypsy leader, the victim of carelessness

The Gypsy Prince ”Cosmos” is renovating his castle in front of the eyes of the Iasi police

Despite 1646 job positions: Job markets for Roma, almost without Roma

No measures taken by the authorities: Many lodgers required to live in garbage

We never thought this would happen: Local Referendum regarding the return of some Roma families in Bolintin Valley

Iron thieves from Galati: Billions for the Gypsy leader in Ivesti

The Ursari Roma play Shukar Collective

Thieves of Bouillon, iron and preserved fruits

Major circus with Gypsy queens and lovers at the city council

Born for breaking the law. Criminals at a young age

Razzia in the capital's suburb: Members of the Gypsy clan "Boaca" in police custody

Iasi Police: Prince "Cosmos” disappears in front of the authorities

The affray between Roma, stopped by the gendarmes

The inspectors announce before verifying

"The king of the manele" payed with money stolen from the sick from Iasi

Two firewood thieves shot by rangers

Over 60 drivers licenses retained in just a few hours

Only 450 gypsies from Bucharest wished to have a job

The Caldaras Clan requires the High Court to postpone ongoing trial in Timis county

The city of Craiova surrounded and stifled by mountains of trash, misery and infections

East European Roma scare the West

Hunting the thieves: 9 gunshots for the arrest of Tantar

The stuntmen, thieves operating from speed

Horse carriage driving illegally confiscated on Colentina Bridge

Cleaning the Capital: Gypsy camp evacuated Vacaresti lake

Fight as in the movies at a carwash in the Capital

A group of dangerous criminals, burglars of trucks, monitored by Ilfov police

The Gypsies from Dragaseni wish to start own village

Roma experts proposed as employees at the city councils of Bistrita Nasaud

Wanted individuals searched by the special forces in Ilfov county

Moonshine from Maramures costs only LEI 40 000

A project for the inclusion of Roma in education

Pickpocketing thieves caught in action

In Vrancea; Wood thieves shot by ranger 18-dec-02 Roma experts employed based on their
loyalty to the Social Democrats
04-dec-02 163 Gypsies evicted by the French Police
08-nov-02 The Roma, a social or a racial problem?
07-nov-02 Razzia in Afumati, Sindrilita and Tunari
01-nov-02 Timisoara "Little Vienna": The Gypsies have decided to destroy the Old Town
01-nov-02 The Roma: a social or racial problem? Citizenship and social identity in Romania
03-okt-02 Members of the Duduianau Clan have been arrested
06-aug-02 Illegal immigration, the black sheep of the enlarged European Union
05-aug-02 The Gypsies scare the West: From 5 euros a day, palaces in rococo style
05-aug-02 Romanian children as beggars
09-mar-02 SOV visiting witch Maselarita
22-nov-01 Little Vienna sold for a fist of Deutsche Mark
20-nov-01 The Gypsies from Meteor neighborhood threatened with revolt
17-nov-01 Handcuffs for the fugitives
10-sep-01 Waldorf schools for Gypsy children
17-maj-01 Fines "sold" as on a market
11-maj-01 Clans of witches with much money and swords under the bed
10-maj-01 Gypsies adopt Romanian children
10-mar-01 Important arrests of car thieves
08-mar-01 Witches and stolen cars, electricity thieves more than 50 arrested in less than two hours
04-sep-00 Defending the minorities: refusing to employ homosexuals and Gypsies will be punished
18-maj-00 Germany gives a chance to immigrant roma children
13-maj-00 Sick children abandoned in hospitals
11-apr-00 Orphanage Phillip: One family with over 200 children
29-mar-00 Gypsy palace built without building permit
22-mar-00 A sad story: The kings' paradise
18-mar-00 The police has arrested a well-known pimp
25-feb-00 Beautiful area in the Capital has transformed into a waste land full of garbage
24-feb-00 The City Council: Tax payers' money are spent irrationally on a false welfare system
04-feb-00 Paranormal activities: a witch shows us around the labyrinth of white magic
08-jan-00 The Capital under the terror of the possessors of arms: John the Pistol shoots at the police
04-nov-99 At Hadareni tensions are rekindled
11-okt-99 Social housing under an abandoned truck
22-sep-99 Lemonade from acid
14-apr-99 Cosmos between terror and despair
02-apr-99 The Ghetto "flower river meadow"
29-mar-99 Kidnapping: luxurious burglary
15-mar-99 A clan of Gypsies terrorizes the peaceful population since 15 years
16-jan-99 The defendants in "Haradni trial" receive lower punishment
14-jan-99 Roma attack bus drivers
14-jan-99 Swans eaten by Gypsies
09-jan-99 Two underaged burglars behind bars10-dec-98 Pieces from luxurious cars: everything sold and bought
19-okt-98 Who will defend the Gypsy Mayor?
10-okt-98 Roma cut Christmas trees already
15-okt-98 Ghetto in the center of Bucharest
17-aug-98 We can't live here anymore

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08-aug-98 Gypsies must pay LEI 210/M for illegally occupied soil
07-aug-98 More than half of all underaged Gypsies are illiterate
28-mar-98 Excursion in the world of magic
28-mar-98 Professional beggars are allowed to work in (inter)national routes
26-feb-98 Our indifference from today leads to coauthors of tomorrow's crimes
28-jan-98 Fallen trees stolen by Gypsies
06-dec-97 Conference regarding Nai gold: The Gypsies accuse the Vatican
22-maj-97 Corruption of today's society
22-maj-97 The Gypsies support the implementation of human rights
05-maj-97 The Gypsies have realized they will become farmers
05-mar-97 Two Gypsy children sold for Lei 2000000
04-mar-97 The Gypsies defy legislation and court decisions
25-jan-97 The Gypsies are defending their criminal co-brothers
20-jan-97 The bell has rung at Tanganu
17-jan-97 Nowhere like here
24-dec-96 Childhood drama: Cancer patient ill-treated by parents
19-dec-96 Hucksters undisturbed by nobody
06-okt-96 Pickpocketing: Iordache's clan has failed
16-sep-96 The Gypsy Apocalypse
14-sep-96 The place where the police are asleep whilst the Gypsy clans become the local Camorra
04-sep-96 Regardless of King Cioaba's interventions, the Dambovita mafia is to be decapitated
03-sep-96 The Gypsy with copper breast
13-aug-96 Gypsies or Roma difficult case
05-aug-96 Sibiu: A transnational capital of Gypsies
10-jul-96 Split in Roma Party
09-maj-96 Terror at the orphanage nr.9 Bucharest: The gang of the grave diggers Neacsu
05-jan-96 A new political scandal takes shape: Roma Party accuses Ion Cioaba for stealing Gypsy Gold
10-jul-95 Cristofor's Mafia
26-jun-95 As they tried to cross the border to Germany: 32 Romanians have been arrested
20-maj-95 The Gypsies from Barbulesi Ialomita have exploited Avicola of Lei 100 million
20-maj-95 Modern trend: traffic with potatoes: The express train of the smugglers
29-apr-95 20 "little niggers" have been stopped at the border: Germany verboten!
28-apr-95 Murder: for an Austrian ducat and a Gypsy earring
19-apr-95 Chased away from home with bats
17-apr-95 President Iliescu announces new counties
15-apr-95 The Gypsy King Cioaba requires the government to offer working positions and housing for Gypsies
10-apr-95 Tom the American has been identified
29-dec-94 The City Council prohibits hypocrisy: In return for an authorization the Roma offered money each month
13-dec-94 Welfare: The Gypsies-owners of villas, cars and enterprize are begging food from the city council
03-dec-94 What Paris has not seen before. Shell games on Champs Elysees22-okt-94 Monks and beggars
27-maj-94 The neighbors' properties must be protected with barbed wire
24-maj-94 Big loss for Gypsies: Gypsy woman "Basarab" in prison: The city of Ploiesti is boiling: Free or not?
20-maj-94 The König-Jansson Report on behalf of the Council of Europe: what has been done and not

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06-maj-94  32 ministers will meet 11 May
05-mar-94  The Gypsies threaten with revolt. Sache: It will be worse than Haradeni
25-jan-94  The Romanian state is accused of participating in the violations of human rights
10-dec-93  criminals dressed as scavengers
04-okt-93  The Gypsies have collected 4500 bottles
02-okt-93  The Gypsies threaten the tenants with a policeman's gun
22-maj-93  The giant from Petrochioaia beats 6 Gypsies: The raped woman gets scared and runs away
27-apr-93  Tens of thousands property certificates bought by Gypsies
11-mar-93  Life in Bucharest at night
11-feb-93  The war on pickpockets
08-jan-93  The Mafia of the Pocket Thieves
04-jan-93  The Roma Buy Luxurious Art
05-jan-93  Theft and Crime in Romanian Forests
02-nov-92  Understanding, coexistence and interculturality
01-nov-92  Tomorrow starts the repatriation of illegal Romanian immigrants from Germany
14-jun-92  Windshield wipers
14-feb-92  Tulcea: Children sold before birth
17-jan-92  The musicians
Appendix B. Scheme code applied in quantitative CA

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<th>Legal context</th>
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Social roles ascribed to Roma

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### Voice of Roma

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<th>Non-Roma individual/expert</th>
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### Individuality of Roma

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Appendix C. Coding manual qualitative CA

**Stereotypification**

Variable I: the cognitive standardization of uncritical simplistic representation of reality (Which kind of reality is represented simplistically and uncritically?)
Variable II: generalization of group characteristics (Which group features are generalized?)
Variable III: application of these to all members in a specific group (Which features are applied to the entire group?)
Variable IV: the inheritance, innateness and immutability of these group characteristics (Which group features are inherited and unchangeable?)

**Othering**

Variable I: a text is simply constructed along a dichotomy between ‘we’ and ‘them’ (Which dichotomies between "we" and "them" are implied by the text?)
Variable II: the relationship between the ‘we’ and ‘them’ appears as a wide range of differences, dichotomies or a conflict (Which conflicts and differences affect our relationship between "we" and "them")
Variable III: the characteristics and actions ascribed to ‘them’ by ‘us’ are alien and unwanted in our self-perceived image and represent a threat towards ‘our’ identity (Which features ascribed by "us" on "them" are unwanted and represent a cultural threat?)
Variable IV: the ‘other’ are distinguished and compared to ‘our’ normative perception of the self (Which comparisons are made between "them" and the ideal "us"?)

**Coding units**

The linguistic units of text that will be used consist of individual words, clauses, phrases, sentences and in some cases short paragraphs

Appendix D. CDA manual

**Analysis of a discourse’s construction and representation of events phenomenon and actors**

Identification of major themes and their legitimacy
Identification of discursive components
Concretization of the perspectives, values and explanations.
Addressing the omitted content and their legitimacy.

**Analysis of language use**

The linguistic presentation of the discourse and its main actors
Acknowledgment of phenomena legitimised and conveyed through the consensus convey