

ABSTRACT

SADANA, MARAT. Representation of the Roma Minority in the Italian TV News. (Under the direction of Dr. Jamse Kiwanuka-Tondo)

Most of the scholarship about the Roma minority representation uses written media articles as their data. This study focused on the video portrayal of this minority in Italian television. It is not a secret that Roma is the most marginalized group in Italy, and the understanding of this country's media representation may, if not help to solve but bring awareness of the existing problems. The differences and similarities of this portrayal across three TV channels were studied by using the method of visual content analysis. Even though the portrayal was as expected mostly negative, some findings point to the limitations and stimulate further research.

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Representation of the Roma Minority in the Italian TV News

by
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DEDICATION

To the dearest ones, my parents – Khania and Guyyar.

BIOGRAPHY

Ethnically of a Tatar minority, Marat Sadana, was born in Moscow then in the USSR. He studied sociology at Moscow State Pedagogical University, anthropology at the University of Eastern Finland in Joensuu, researched issues of the Dissolution of Yugoslavia at the University of Maribor in Slovenia. However, by the will of fate he became a TV journalist. He began his career in Moscow in 2013, working at major TV channels, starting from an entry-level news writing position and rising up the ranks to become a news presenter and a talk show host. Then he moved to the U.S. in August of 2017 to pursue his Ph.D., but still, continued to work for major international news channels and agencies.

Already in the US, he has conducted multiple interviews with Dr. Anthony Fauci, covered Black Lives Matter protests, been a frontline reporter during the 2020 elections and pandemic, made reports from the Capitol Hill on the 6th of January. He was among the first ones to film military deployment in Washington D.C. on that historical day. He feels comfortable working in the chaos of breaking news. And on top of that, he was writing his doctoral dissertation and fulfilling his duties as a teaching assistant at North Carolina State University, teaching Public Speaking and Environmental Ethics.

His love for the television news coverage and a will to contribute to the scholarship made him write this dissertation.

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Representation of the Roma Minority in the Italian TV News

CHAPTER I

According to official statistics of Amnesty International (2013), between 10 to 12 million Roma were living in the countries of the Council of Europe, and approximately 70 percent of them living in Central and Eastern Europe. As for the Roma Americans, according to Webley (2010), there were around 1 million living in the US, in the UK and Northern Ireland the total population of Roma was estimated between 200,000 to 300,000 in 2010 (Ryder, 2011). The word “Roma” is a broader term for the whole Roma population whereas “Sinti” stands for the Roma living in Central Europe, however, the author used the term Roma when addressing the Italian community of this ethnic minority. According to the article written in *IlSole24Ore* by Aragona (2015), there are approximately 170,000 people of Roma origin living in Italy, which is 0.23% of the Italian population. The highest concentration of Roma is found in Lazio (Rome), Lombardy (Milan), and Campania (Naples). Some of them live in houses, apartments, and even have Italian citizenship, whereas others live in camps near the metropolitan areas.

Nobody knows what forced the Roma to emigrate from Northern India into Europe. However, scholars such as Kendrick and Puxon (1972), Gropper (1975), and Crowe (1996) point out that their migration began in the 11th century. Once they arrived in Europe, the Roma made a “vivid impression on medieval society” (Kendrick & Puxon, 1972, p. 49). Medieval chronicles wrote with a certain level of abhorrence about the Roma. For example, one monk from the German city of Lübeck refers to their ugly faces, which he calls ugly and black like those of Tartars. Another medieval document cited by Yoors and Hancock (2004) says, that “The men are very dark and their hair crisp; the women the ugliest and swarthiest ever seen” (p. 44). Association of blackness is very deep-seated. For example, one old Yiddish proverb from Russia

says, “the same sun makes the linen white and the Gypsy black” (Thesleff, 1899, p.14). By the 1500s, the Roma had spread all around Europe. Not only the blackness of the Roma skin plays an important role in their marginalization. The churches of the western world rejected the Roma when they wanted to be converted to Christianity. Another contribution to their further marginalization happened because of artisanship. The Roma artisans began to compete with the European ones, and the guild masters would not tolerate this. These confinements resulted in the Roma resorting to petty crime or sorcery (Kendrick & Puxon, 1972). Sociopolitical changes in Eastern Europe in the late 1800s did not end the plight of the Roma, the largest minority in the region (Fraser, 1995). The Roma continued to be excluded from social and economic life and it exacerbated their marginalization. For example, they were labeled as frivolous occupants, unproductive, and parasites who rely on the majority to live (Fraser, 1995). Later, Nazi Germany launched the Roma Holocaust, because “The Gypsy plague” could pollute their Aryan blood and attempted to exterminate the Roma people like the Jews (Margalit, 2000). Even though the Roma minority have lived side by side with the Europeans for more than one thousand years, nothing has changed in their living situation. However, what has changed is the way of our understanding of xenophobia, racial hatred, marginalization not only of the Roma but any minority in general.

The Roma ethnic minority, of which 170,000 are Italian citizens, experiences disadvantages in comparison with the other Italian populations. These disadvantages occur in multiple areas of social life: education, leisure, labor, etc. Due to the differences in physical and cultural features, it is hard for the members of a minority to have access to higher positions in the job market or get a better education, which consequently prevents them from integrating. Further integration of Roma is not possible without solving the problems of their access to education and health care. For example, the European Parliament in 2008 stated that the Roma presented high

rates of illiteracy and poor school attendance of children. Fewer than 10% of Roma children went to school at all, and almost all adults were completely illiterate (*The Guardian*, 2014). That resulted in their negative contribution to the economy and society. According to the analysis of the 2011 census from the UK Office for National Statistics, of the 58,000 people who identified themselves as being of Roma ethnicity, 60% had no formal qualifications whatsoever. Another problem that Roma's face is the lack of access to healthcare, or non-awareness of it. In 2006 the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) published a report indicating that access to health care for Roma was very poor (Open Society Institute, 2006). Regarding Roma, often their uncertain legal status and/or the absence of citizenship excludes them from all sorts of state-subsidized social benefits, including health care. On top of that, the ERRC (2006) indicates that lack of information about the availability of healthcare is a serious issue for Roma migrants. This exclusion triggers violence or any other unlawful activities and pushes the Roma further from integration.

It is not a secret that the Roma minority is the most discriminated population in Europe. Even though they lived side by side with other Europeans for more than a thousand years, the Roma had an arguably integrated place in society until the emergence of industrialization. When the era of industrialization began in the 20th century, much of Roma's livelihood and trade was changed to services (rather than production) such as basket-weaving, masonry, or music and performing arts and were considered as attractive but not proper trades (Tom, 2011). Extreme poverty, stigmatization, and fear were part of an explicitly hierarchical value system that ideologically did not accept them (Kende, 2006). This was hardened into a continuous cycle of exclusion by which the Roma have kept their distinct identity at the same time being politically and ethnically denied of it (Kende, 2006). At a larger scope, the goal of most governments is to

provide equality for the Roma. However, scholars state that adaptation and integration stand as absolute conditions, which the Roma have to fulfill to rightfully enjoy the benefits of European society (Tileagă, 2006). The question, thus, is how to help the Roma integrate with the European society.

Media plays a significant role in covering the issues related to ethnic minorities as it throws oil on the bonfire of hatred and xenophobia. This particular study examines the portrayal of the Roma in the Italian television news. Most of the available literature about the Roma focuses on the print media although there are a few mentions of several talk shows. The significance of this study was the contribution to the literature on the representation of Roma, the Roma in the diaspora, visual content analysis methodology, and broadcast journalism as a field.

Rationale. Why is it important to study Roma?

Research indicates that news media around the world appear to represent the Roma in ways that foster distorted opinions and promote racist views (Erjavec, 2001; Csepeli & Simon, 2004; Imre, 2006; Deaton, 2013). Literature on prejudice emphasizes the status of Roma as a vulnerable group, but little attention has been paid to the role of news in shaping prejudice towards Roma. Although prior content analysis research centered primarily on immigrants and ethnic minorities in general, there remains anecdotal evidence of Roma news portrayals. Their portrayals have been analyzed largely in a qualitative manner, which provides useful insights, but does not allow broader trends to be identified.

To date, only a handful of studies have comprehensively scrutinized TV news portrayals of Roma. Moreover, most studies on media portrayals of the Roma group commonly make use of textual or critical discourse analysis. This research aimed to contribute to the academic

discussion on the roots of anti-Roma discrimination by undertaking an in-depth study of TV news covering Roma. The purpose was to offer evidence that allows for a more critical appraisal of the portrayal of Roma in the news in different ways beyond films and newspapers as TV news remains a primary outlet for people to learn about current affairs, even in times of internet and social media (Newman, Fletcher, Kalogeropoulos, Levy, & Nielsen, 2018).

The systematic ignoring of minorities in the media can determine their visibility and invisibility. We can see them on television, and they can be shown on the TV news, however, the problem is how they are visually portrayed. This study took on the challenge to widen the analytic spotlight from a focus on Roma portrayals on films and newspapers dealing mainly with textual content on captions, category labels, and linguistic descriptions to Roma portrayals on television news using visual content analysis. This involves watching with an objective and critical eye, looking beyond what is portrayed, and searching for deeper meanings and messages to which media audiences are exposed.

A drawback of much of the existing research about the Roma is that ideological differences tend to rely more heavily on ideological orientations introduced by non-Roma people. In addition, studies often do not go beyond mapping media content and do not reveal new insights into the media's position. In reality, for example, citing headlines or documenting frequency counts of words occurring in headlines, the primary events are merely reconstructed. In other instances, to examine social trends, media content is taken as a primary source, but not the workings of the media as such. Qualitative research focusing on social representation and the role of debate in a more comprehensive manner, however, seems inadequate.

Furthermore, research in Italy is often dependent on institutional support (such as the public broadcaster Rai or the local authorities), which can, in turn, affect the conclusions drawn when the actors supporting the research often tend to be one of the key elements of the research results. The available research is adequate in number, considering these shortcomings, to get an understanding of the key topics and issues in media news, and to see that these topics have remained negative (or have blended out more positive topics) and have been approached too superficially by the media overall. On the other hand, the media has adopted an agenda aimed at combating racial discrimination in recent years. Mainstream media, and particularly news, however, have done so more with a focus on political controversy and attitudes of sympathy, paternalism, and alarm, which increase the perception of difference rather than question it.

Historically, ethnic minorities have been underrepresented in social science studies, and this pattern continues today, despite small improvements in recent years (Chakravartty et al., 2018). Participant recruitment for “hard-to-reach” groups in research studies can be challenging, contributing to the under-representation of minorities in studies. “Hard-to-reach” groups are defined as groups who are “socioeconomically disadvantaged and socially excluded and are least likely to be represented in research studies (Bonevski et al., 2014, p. 2). Unfortunately, there is a relative lack of information about methodological difficulties associated with researching these populations. This is worrisome since the absence of ethnic and racial diversity of participants in the research hinders the ability to generalize findings and thus the results may not truly identify the best available interventions or solutions. In addition, studies without sufficient minority participation may miss relevant findings that are unique to that group. Researchers commonly face difficulties in accessing, recruiting, and retaining study participants from the Roma people necessitated in qualitative research due to their outsider status, insular existence, and history of

prejudice. In light of this, this research seeks to break the trend by conducting a visual content analysis to gain authentic firsthand information about the experiences of Roma people when they are being filmed by the television news crews.

Research goal and research questions

This research sought to explore how Roma representations have formed and reshaped the articulation of neoliberal forms of government aimed at delineating and constituting post-communist forms of welfare, and how these have contributed to new or revived forms of minority portrayals, especially in television. This approach involves an overview of how activation occurs in the field, how it has been expressed, how strategies and ideas linked to this notion function in everyday practice, and what impact they have on how others view Roma.

Since data is limited to a few countries, future research should strive to highlight similarities and discrepancies between different cases and different countries and to provide more generalizable findings based on a comparative sample. In particular, as Donatella Della Porta et al. (2020) suggested in the recent book *Discursive Turns and Critical Junctures*, future research should be aimed at understanding how Romaphobia (and other types of discrimination) becomes a discursive opportunity for right-wing populist movements and under which conditions.

This dissertation research addressed the gaps in theory and empirical research mentioned above and contributed to the understanding of the problematic portrayal and treatment of Roma in the European (Italian) space, particularly in television news. The research aimed at expanding knowledge and awareness that can assist in the fight against global discrimination and marginalization of ethnic minorities. Thus, this study addressed the following questions:

- How is the Roma minority population portrayed in the Italian TV news?
- How did the portrayal of the Roma minority in Italian TV news change during 2015-2020?
- Is there any difference in portrayals of the Roma minority population among Rai, LaC, and La7 TV channels?
- Is there a relationship between the time of showing slum-like houses and untidy surroundings in the reports about the Roma minority and the total time of these reports?

The next pages of the research are organized as follows: First, a literature review is provided, which includes the theories used as a basis for the foundation of the research. Specifically, theories that talk about representation and identity are used, and literature regarding who the Roma are is reviewed. This leads to two primary hypotheses, followed by the method, data analysis, and discussion section. Theoretical as well as practical implications are discussed as well at the end of the research paper.

Roma, Gypsy, Tsigane or Zingari?

Some understandings, descriptions, and numerous social representations surrounding who the Roma exists in literature and discourses (Magazzini & Piemontese 2019). 'Pikeys' is usually used in England. The more common European "tsygane" derives from the Greek "atsinganoi" (with its German variant of "Zigeuner," the Hungarian "Cigany," the French "tsigane," or the Roman "țigan"), a derivation from the name of a heretical sect to which the "Gypsies" may have been likened. However, "tsygane" and its linguistic variants have far stronger derogatory meanings, particularly in Eastern Europe, than the English word "Gypsy", which some even

think is Romantic (Schneeweis, 2009). The term Roma generally applies to individuals who call and describe themselves as Roma, Gypsies, Travelers, Manouches, and Sinti, as well as other terms, while the term Gypsy evolved from the erroneous assumption that they came from Egypt; the term Roma is similarly misdirecting to the extent that it indicates Romanian roots (Uzunova, 2010). Scholars record various popular labels such as Rom, Romany, Gypsy, and Traveller (Schneeweis, 2009). Roma includes individuals that belong to both nomadic and non-nomadic groups, who are diverse in language, religion, nationality, history, and culture, but are understood to share a common ethnicity. As an endonym, Roma acts as an umbrella term that houses, among others, a large number of groups and subgroups, including Sinti, Manouche, Lovari, Traveller, Gitano, and Ashkali. The term Roma has gained more currency over the years particularly in the international press and the European Union. The use is common, although a male plural noun derived from the noun Rom is linguistically Roma, denoting a married Roma male (Hancock, 2002). It was not until the summer of 2001 that the Library of Congress formally amended the ultimately pejorative and historically inaccurate subject word from Gypsies to Romans, after many years of lobbying campaigns by librarians, advocates, and political constituencies (Crosetto, 2008). In continental Europe, Roma people are no longer officially described as Gypsies as the word has become associated with racial abuse (Zeman et al., 2003). To avoid this common terminology misconception, the author used the term Roma when addressing the ethnic group in Italy that this research is particularly focused on.

Context of the research

The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) conducted a study on the Italian situation in 2008 and published a document known as the *Rome Charter* in response to the observed rise in the spread among politicians and the media of discrimination

towards immigrants and Roma. The document called on Italy to take resolute action to avoid the urge to stigmatize and stereotype people because of their ethnic heritage. The study urged the country to step up its efforts to effectively avoid and prosecute hate speech and racism in the media to exclude any tendency to stigmatize, stereotype, or distinguish individuals based on ethnicity, color, national origin, or to use racial propaganda for political purposes, and to take steps to redress the negative portrayal of Roma in the mass media (ERCOMER, 2002).

The *Rome Charter* is the result of an agreement between the National Council of the Association of Journalists, the Italian National Press Federation, UNAR (National Office Against Racial Discrimination), and the High Commission of the United Nations, which indicates that the publishing of information related to racial discrimination should be done with extreme caution. The goal is to use acceptable language that represents national and international law to offer readers and viewers the greatest commitment to the facts concerning all events covered by the media, avoiding the use of incorrect words. Another goal is to prevent the distribution of incomplete, inaccurate, or misleading information; attention must be paid to the potential negative impact of superficial or unprofessional conduct on those affected by news coverage.

Eastern Europe's Communist regimes tried to assimilate the Roma into the larger population after WWII. Although there may be variations in how Soviet bloc nations viewed their national minorities, ethnic identity and culture were denied to the Roma (Taylor, 2014). Eastern European nations blamed the plight of the Roma on the former pre-Communist governments during this period. The then rulers promoted policies that sought to further encourage assimilation through forced and voluntary settlement; the prohibition of any form of nomadism; so-called improved housing in separate settlements; educational programs; urban workforce entry; and collective farms.

Poland was one of the nations that took serious steps in the 1960s to compel the Roma to settle, but it would take another twenty years for the measures to be completely enforced (Crowe, 1996). The film *Gypsies* (no date), produced by the Warsaw Documentary Film Studio, established in 1949, is an ethnographic documentary that seems to have been shot in the early 1960s based on internal facts. The film portrays, in a Romantic way reminiscent of the *Nanook of the North* by Robert Flaherty, the nomadic way of Roma life in Poland that would soon vanish. Roma melodies are set to haunting scenes of horse-drawn wagons, the communal campsite, and the family. Interestingly, several other recent documentaries have used footage from the film, possibly to add credibility to their work.

For the Roma, contemporary activism takes place on a large scale through films that contradict conventional stereotypes and through music, including rap and dance that counter racism (Imre, 2003). Roma has also started to use mainstream media outlets, such as print news and social media, a weapon that has traditionally been used against them as a way to resist distorted media portrayals (Mago, 2016; Plaut, 2012). Activists have started to draw attention to issues that have shied away from the mass media and are increasing the total amount of Roma cited and highlighted in mainstream publications.

In several respects, 21st-century racism is a new form of exclusion that differs from the ethnic and social exclusions that have characterized Europe in recent decades and centuries (OHCHR, 2003). Roma continues to be the targets of assimilation, state coercion, discrimination, and racial violence. They have been subjected to a variety of regulatory surveillance systems developed by different modern institutions. Racializing surveillance as Browne sees it is “a technology of social control where surveillance practices, policies, and performances concern the prediction of norms about race and ‘power to define what is in or out of place’” (Browne, 2015

p. 16). Roma has experienced an ambivalent relationship with the development of a European identity and a European citizenship model. States of the European Union are developing a landscape to create a topology that makes it difficult and inconvenient for some groups of restricted subjects to travel (Bancroft, 2005).

Roma pride campaigns and recognition by governments

Two campaigns to express a new image of Roma in the public domain have been conducted in recent years (Bancroft, 2005). First, in its third year, Barvalipe is a Roma Pride summer school organized by the Roma and sponsored by the Open Society Foundations. It aims at bringing the experience to young Roma and enables them to choose to serve as role models, elected leaders, and civic activists capable of fighting for themselves and their communities in the future. Secondly, the nascent transnational Roma Pride movement has evolved, witnessing events (including demonstrations and talks) in 16 states since its inception in 2011 and 2013. Roma Pride was founded by the European Grassroots Anti-Racist Movement, an anti-racist NGO, which brings together Roma and non-Roma activists in Europe to raise awareness of Roma issues. Both can be seen as attempts to question prevailing ascriptions of Roma identity, while protests by Roma Pride are more evident manifestations of unity and represent attempts in various European states to lift Roma's political consciousness.

With the fall of the Communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and the establishment of the European Union, the Roma still constitute one of the lowest socio-economic communities in the countries in which they live today, having gained some civil and cultural rights in the process. The formation of the European Union allowed them to move to the Member States and to seek asylum and a better way of life (Crosetto, 2008). The 2005-2015

Decade of Roma Inclusion was proclaimed by member countries, seen as the first time in history that European governments acknowledged the Roma as a distinct minority living with common problems everywhere in Europe. The proclamation aimed at putting together states, NGOs, and representatives of the association.

In Europe, Roma portrayals mimic those in North America, displaying stereotypical caricatures widely known by the general public (Tremlett, 2013) where the average European's idea of the Roma is limited by what they read in the press or see on the television that is prejudiced and biased (Covert, 2016; Lane, Spencer & Jones, 2014). If not depicted in a discriminatory or marginalizing way, the Roma lifestyle is used by actors and models as a way to showcase a Romanticized, carefree life.

The "blame-the-victim" strategy by Poynting and Briskman (2020) provides the perfect instrument for the dramatization of the typical populist "us" versus "them" dichotomy, necessary to exclude populism (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007). In reality, the psychological construction of the self is relational (Göl, 2005), and so is the social construction of the "us" that follows. If the meaning of self depends on a dialectical opposition to another identity (Wodak, 2011), dehumanizing and scapegoating of a minority makes a minority the perfect instrument for populists to create an idealized image of a virtuous and hard-working people, framed in opposition to the pervert others (Abts & Rummens, 2007).

In this case, the Roma are reified, neglecting subjectivity and heterogeneity, and dehumanized, openly portraying them as 'animals' lacking human characteristics and naturally inclined to criminal activity, and are thus portrayed as not only unable to adapt to living in civil society, but also as 'actual' threat to citizens (Stangor & Crandall, 2000). For recognition theorists such as

Honneth (1995), identity is formed because of the relations of people with other people. Since identity is formed in this way, feelings of self-worth, self-respect, and self-esteem are only possible if the group is regarded positively for who it is. Taylor (1995) further claimed there are two irreconcilable but interconnected “politics of recognition”: politics of dignity and politics of difference.

Politics of dignity is where individuals pretend to be blind to the distinctions between cultures (Taylor, 1992). This type oppresses different identities. Von Sonnenfels (2003) defines dignity as the esteem of the honesty of a citizen. He points to the fact that in several countries, disrespect is caused by a questionable tradition in which disrespect is specifically correlated with someone’s birth, a lifestyle, a career, or an act that someone commits deliberately, inadvertently, or with a legal penalty. In this sense, Von Sonnenfels (2003) discusses the Roma as a category that is considered as not deserving respect and dignity in many countries at all.

On the other hand, politics of difference aims to accept differences between cultures. The politics of difference have triggered, rather than created substantive change, fissures between "real" Italians and all others in the society. There are blatant differences between "real" Italians and the Roma. Their religions vary, their clothes vary, and their lifestyles vary. Maybe most important, however, is the gap in self-identification and the formation of identity. Although most "real" Italians may present themselves for what they think they are, Italian, immigrant, worker, executive, etc. However, when it comes to the Roma their identification is granted, this identification they may or may not agree with. They are being pushed to focus at least in part on their differences because Italian culture as a whole refuses to let them forget how different they are (Thomas, 2009).

European reception of Roma

Roma have never been accepted favorably anywhere (Schiff, 2018; Di Giovanni, 2014; Deaton, 2013; McGarry, 2012). Shortly after they arrived in the West, officials began drafting legislation, which carried consequences for the immigrants including among others monetary fines; forced registration; deportation; imprisonment; and execution (Bardi, 2006). In any event, the unquestioned presumption that the Roma were a danger to public safety was ground enough to persecute them. The Interior Ministry of Italy announced the need to purge the national territory of Roma caravans as early as 1926, which was a danger to public safety and hygiene because of their peculiar lifestyle (Boursier, 1996). In modern times, French law banned them from camping and subjected them to police surveillance, but like regular citizens, they were taxed and recruited for military service. The French Prime Minister Manuel Valls in 2013 announced that Roma "can't integrate" effectively into French society and has described Roma as "foreigners" (Perring, 2016). Moreover, extremist groups in several European countries exploit anti-Roma and the media sometimes contribute to this dangerous trend (Perring, 2016).

In addition, local governments have responded to their housing needs with solutions that confine them in camps or with other formulas based on the assumption that Roma is resistant" to a sedentary lifestyle and should therefore be regarded as humanity" in perennial displacement conditions (Rahola, 2007). This explains the prominent position of the 'nomad theory' in many European countries' national laws whose key issue has been the Roma physical presence in their territories and the search for places to locate them where the public image of their cities is not damaged. It is expected that Roma will conform and fail to do so and it will lead to continued marginalization and repression, but the option is viewed as theirs. Any problems they face are specifically marked as their fault by the portrayal of Roma as unadaptable.

In the 20th century, the communist countries of Eastern Europe imposed settlement schemes to put an end to Roma migration. The Roma believe they are unfairly targeted, especially when they are regularly watched and pushed out of their homes (Lane, Spencer & Jones, 2014; Thomas, 2009). Because of their ethnicity, they are targeted and made to feel as though they are complicit in some way simply by their existence. An example of Roma's cultural resistance is the refusal of police officials to encourage them to effectively develop themselves professionally or physically and the continuing fear-mongering disseminated by mainstream media (Covert, 2016).

Why the Italian government acts as it does may be clarified by the theory of territoriality. Territoriality is a human strategy used to affect, influence, or regulate resources and people; therefore, territory needs to be classified and communicated (Sack, 1986). Territory must be enforced by border policing, land laws, and other forms of implementing the laws and regulations within the territory. By trying to document and thus mark the Roma, the Italian government is imposing its right to regulate those within its territory. Because they are not seen as legitimate members of society, no territory is classified as for the Roma. This is one challenge that they must face: territory must express boundaries. In Italy, for those who belong within the country, the boundaries of citizenship are communicated through documentation. To protect their economy, the Italian state feels that the Roma are an infestation, something to be gotten rid of. It is hard to decipher what, specifically, the state thinks it must cover. There can be claims that the state feels the need to preserve both its culture and its space (Bhopal et al., 2008). The Roma are fighting against documentation because it will mark them blatantly as different and, in the future, they could be vulnerable to legal issues such as expulsion or incarceration (Thomas, 2009).

Moreover, tens of thousands of Roma live in squalid shantytowns on the outskirts of major Italian cities. In 1991, a political party named Lega Nord was founded to influence the government in ousting the Roma (Di Giovanni, 2014). For many Italians, a census of the Roma population is long overdue. It is difficult to find someone with something good to say about the Roma in Rome's most famous market, Porta Portese. The city government of Rome has struggled to fix the increasingly crowded shantytowns. They were the targets of neighborhood demonstrations and violent attacks until the late 1980s and early 1990s. The first municipal responses aimed less at protecting the Roma than at placating an electorate concerned about the decreasing property value of residential areas near the camps and the perception of increasing violence. The apparent solution was to physically eliminate the source of the issue by removing the Roma settlements and pushing their residents to move to other suburbs until tensions escalated and fresh evictions were required. So started the 're-normalization imposed on the Roma as it became more difficult to permanently settle them in most of the region (Marinaro, 2009). The Czech Roma also faces discrimination, both by municipal authorities and by private property owners, in housing. Under Communism, where Roma was allocated old cramped blocks of flats with inadequate services, housing segregation was rife, and this continues. While rules for housing allocation are ethnically neutral, they are implemented in a manner that discriminates against Roma. (Bancroft, 2005). Roma is more and more ghettoized. The EU Open Society Institute noted that several discriminatory policies are enforced by local authorities, ranging from arbitrary rental conditions disqualifying Roma applicants to segregating many of them into substandard social housing (Open Society Accession Monitoring Program, 2001). Local authorities are allocating Roma housing to the poorest, with no funds left for maintenance or upgrades. Housing found unfit for human housing is deemed adequate for Roma residents. Czech

authorities of most of the cities and towns, in general, try to encourage the Roma to move out from the metropolitan areas.

By 2008, Rome's city government boasted that 15,000 Roma had been evicted from their homes since 2001, 6,000 of them only in the previous year. For 20 years, many of the encampments had existed and a whole generation had grown up there. In addition, some of the camps demolished were established at considerable public expenditure. The fact that both spontaneous settlements and officially recognized camps were targeted suggests that the sole objective was to banish the Roma from residential areas. The demolitions were all followed by the pattern consistently condemned by human rights organizations and established organizations (Amnesty International, 2009; ERRRC/OSJI, 2009). Roma receives no warning from hundreds of police officers with dogs and bulldozers coming typically at dawn. Within a couple of hours, their homes and personal belongings are reduced to wreckage.

One issue has come to the fore of all forms of violence committed against Roma women worldwide. In countries such as Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, studies have shown conclusively that Roma women have been forcefully sterilized (McGarry, 2012; Lloyd & McCluskey, 2008; Csepeli & Simon, 2004). Many Roma were killed during the Holocaust (Hancock, 2004). While 95% of the Czech Roma population alone was killed during that period, many Roma women also were forcefully sterilized as a way of controlling the Roma population (Thomas, 2006). In Eastern Europe, the practice became widespread in the 1970s, a period when women were frequently sterilized without permission during cesarean sections. Some women were pushed into the process by offers of money or threats of cutting off their government benefits or taking away their children (Open Society, 2011). Some sources note that this practice persisted into the 1990s (Kushi, 2016), while others recognize sterilizations as recent as 2002

(Albert, 2011). No end to these sterilization activities has been verified and little to no transparency has been expressed (Albert, 2011). Sterilizations are minimized by members of the Czech Republic as "procedural deficiencies," although other countries do not consider the degree to which these procedures have taken place, sometimes in tens or hundreds of thousands of cases (Albert, 2011; Thomas, 2004). However, some transparency has recently taken place, and attempts to bring restitution have failed.

Furthermore, with new definitions of racism emerging in the media, the elite members may portray themselves as non-racist or anti-racist, when the issue to be faced was the 'reactions of the people' and not more nuanced ones. The media reproduced these definitions including theories of 'tolerance thresholds' in that after a certain number is reached, intolerance against immigrants is unavoidable. Built on popular protests, the media brought about legitimized policy interventions, as a response to the will of the people (ERCOMER, 2002). Seemingly, the profound animosity between the Roma and non-Roma has not wound down much at all.

Challenge for acculturation

Over the years, the Roma have grown to mistrust the assimilation process (Kelleher et al, 2011; Smith & Ruston, 2013). They are wary of outsiders and outsiders mistrust them. While they were less often forced to defend themselves from a hostile society against persecution, a certain amount of distrust and intolerance continued (Toninato, 2009). This has traditionally proved to be the only healthy way to live (Thomas, 2009). Pride in their culture prevents many Roma from being assimilated into the wider world. On the other hand, the policy of the Italian government towards immigrants tends towards the belief that the earlier an immigrant is

assimilated, the better it is for the country (EERC, 2007). Thus, it is not hard to understand the dispute between the proud Roma people and the prejudiced government.

Barry (2001) suggests that for those trying to assimilate, the creation of relationships is among the most critical. In schools and the wider social context, the prevalence of bullying directed towards Roma poses a barrier to the development of these critical relationships. It is understood that the incidence of bullying increases the negative effects associated with the assimilation or acculturation process, thus raising the likelihood of negative personal and social results for those on the receiving end of this bullying. Such negative effects include social mobility limitations, lack of access to social services, and reduced overall health (Forester et al., 2013; Mesinger et al., 2012; Paradies, 2006; Oppedal, Roysamb & Sam, 2004).

Research also reveals that American Roma communities suffer resistance in their traditional professions and residences (Covert, 2015). For example, Roma has turned away from renting reception venues in an episode of *My Big Fat American Gypsy Wedding* (MBFAGW) until the owners discovered the nationality of their prospective customers. Roma was told that the rental room is unexpectedly full or that they have made errors in the calendar of the venue. At times, the Roma are also told that they have already booked promised spaces or that their calls are simply never returned. Media portrayals remain generally silent on the maltreatment they face from police, school administrators, and employers, despite the racism Roma encounter (Covert, 2016). While their situation is far more evident than for those in the US, Roma people in Europe face a similar fate. When their children attempt to assimilate into schools, European Roma frequently face opposition from educators and mainstream parents (Levinson, 2007) and are constantly released from places of residence as they pursue a permanent space in which to

settle (Petrova, 2003). Mainstream individuals reject Roma's attempts to assimilate, forcing them back into the separate lifestyles they have retained.

The systematic political construction of the 'Roma crisis' (*emergenza nomadi*) in Italy has provided the rationale for announcing the need for them to be confined in state-created camps where their usual rights and freedoms are suspended to protect the population from the danger they allegedly pose (Armillei, 2014). Their lives are held hostage to their political position in the process of becoming the only space in which the Italian government would allow the impoverished Roma to legally live, the approved 'nomad camp.' Roma are gradually being pushed into the 'state of exception' by legislation (Agamben, 2005) where they can live bare lives at the hands of police and administrator decisions.

As modern-day *homo sacer*, those who deny or are not entitled to live in approved camps are sentenced to everlasting flight through an aggressive abandonment by the legal system, exposing them to extreme physical vulnerability. Agamben (1998) claims that in modern societies, the ancient character of *homo sacer*, a murderer whose punishment was community banishment by the deprivation of all political and citizenship rights, who could be killed without his death being considered murder, sometimes reappears. This person who is stripped of his political identity to become nothing, but biological or bare/naked life is most clearly expressed in Nazi Germany's Jewish status but is also replicated in contemporary people, such as refugees, who are deprived of the rights and protection conferred by citizenship. *Homo sacer's* destiny is to live on the run continuously as they have no legal status to shield them from abuse or death. Their expulsion from many countries, their lack of political rights, and their responsibility to remain constantly on the move to avoid legally sanctioned violence against them reduced them to bear life criminalized: *homo sacer*. The fact that the Roma live in illegal settlements because

they cannot afford or are discriminated against in mainstream housing, is the single characteristic shared by all Roma targeted in recent government policies. However, this condition is enough for the authorities to label them as nomads, suggesting that a cultural preference determines their spatial outsider status (Marinaro, 2003; Sigona, 2005; Bravi and Sigona, 2006). The key tool by which the depoliticization of the Roma happens is this artificial categorization. Thus, the authorized camp is the preferred contemporary instrument of power for containing the danger to Italian society that the Roma are perceived to pose. The official camp turns those who are outside it into *homo sacer*.

Police surveillance contributes to that fear of one's identity. In 1984, regional Italian laws marked the beginning of the creation of camps to accommodate Roma. As Marinaro (2009) says, these camps were not to segregate Roma; on the contrary, the real intention was to help the minority to integrate. However, this has never happened because funds were not enough to do so. The camps were created most of the time in isolated locations and were often under police surveillance (Marinaro, 2003; Sigona, 2005). Roma is exposed to systematic surveillance from the police, which, consequently, is limiting their freedom. On the other hand, it allows residents of the state-built villages to enjoy "safer and more stable living conditions" (Marinaro, 2009, p. 283). However, interviewed Roma frequently report their negative attitudes toward the police (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). According to them, the police are not able – or do not care – to ensure their safety (Gabor, 2015).

About a half of the Roma population in Italy are Italian citizens, whereas another half, primarily coming from the Balkans, Romania, and Bulgaria, - is not (Basso, Di Noia & Perocco, 2016). Italian scholar and a primary school teacher Monica Gabrielli interviewed a Roma girl about her experience of going to school for the first time then at the age of 10. The little girl

shares a story of her life mentioning that she had difficulties catching up with other students, but that she had been taken care of by teachers and her peers. When she grew a little older, her stepfather decided that she had to stay home and quit school; she instead ran away. She gives an interesting response to the scholar: "Ho vissuto otto anni in questo istituto e ora non mi sento più la ragazza rom che ero"¹ (Gabrielli, 2013, p. 180). Then a little later, she continues: "voglio vivere una vita normale come ogni ragazza italiana"². However, this girl's position is unique and stands out from the standpoints of other Roma girls, she would say that they are on the contrary "super proud of being Roma" (Gabrieli, 2013, p. 183). Gabrielli points out that even though members of the Roma community express their willingness to be acknowledged as any other Italian citizens, they want to keep their Roma identity and pass it to their children and bring them up in a way that "they are not ashamed of being Roma" (Gabrielli, 2013, p. 202). From the interviews, conducted by Gabrielli, and her study as a whole it is seen that, even though there is still prejudice toward Roma from non-Roma people, they do not want to leave "their country, Italy" (Gabrielli, 2013, p. 214).

In addition to surveillance and the struggle of finding identity, Padovan (2003) points out that biopolitics is now commonly used to promote the criminalization and segregation of disadvantaged communities whose existence is considered to endanger other members of the population's wealth or health. The aim is to provide risk management. The collection of relevant data, such as photos and fingerprints, allows the state to decide who can be integrated into the community, and who must be neutralized or segregated. Because they may perform deviant acts, it is better to act preventively and put any such individuals in a situation where they will not be

¹ Trans. from Italian by the author: "Eight years I lived in this institutions and now I don't feel myself that I am that Roma girl that I used to be".

² Trans. from Italian by the author: "I want to live a normal life as any Italian girl would live".

able to do so (Padovan, 2003). Therefore, by enacting control over the bodies of those who have been scientifically identified as a possible threat, the social order is secured.

Petrova (2013) believes that many myths are surrounding Roma acculturation. Many want to integrate but are often forced out by the discrimination of mainstream society and the reluctance of the Roma to fully leave their community. Many Roma can't secure jobs outside their conventional forms of making money and are opposed as they want to live in permanent homes because of prejudice (Apelseth, 2013). A study by Croucher (2013) identifies that those who feel threatened by immigrant groups among Western Europeans are less likely to assume that immigrants want to assimilate, thereby increasing their overall resistance to the involvement of immigrants and acculturative strategies. Rojas, Nvas, Sayans-Jimenez, and Cuadrado (2014) indicated that many with less prejudice are more open to immigrants in their public and private lives who want integration. Among immigrant communities, those with less hostility to the majority in their private lives are open to public assimilation and integration. Many who encounter greater discrimination are more likely to choose to integrate socially only enough to fulfill their needs, whereas they prefer to remain separate privately.

The condition of Roma's lives can be related in a significant manner to how the media has been used against them. In addition to the racism and bigotry the American Roma experience through derogatory media portrayals primarily through erroneous reality TV programs and in stereotypical positions on network television shows and movies, they are often put in the unusual position of being recognizable to mainstream society (Covert, 2015). Proof that media portrayals have traditionally been used in North America towards Roma as a way of creating resentment against them, disclosing their whereabouts, and disseminating racist ideas about their existence is

widespread. These portrayals culminated in Roma being traditionally ostracized and unwelcome in settled towns.

The apprehension that Roma has experienced from generation to generation is proof of the opposition they have faced and the bigotry they have experienced (Covert, 2016). The effect of rampant adverse media portrayal is particularly negative because it can discourage minorities from using their ethnic identity as a shield against the harmful effects of discrimination (Crocker & Major, 1989). Studies indicate that those with a clear identification with their ethnic identity are less likely to be adversely influenced by the racism they face and are more likely to be able to buffer the adverse effects of media influences (Rivandanevra, Ward & Gordon, 2007).

Similarly, Roma has encountered a wide spectrum of prejudice in Europe as well. Through the interference of the media, this prejudice, while not exclusively the product of media coverage, was intensified and thus had a direct effect on the lives of the Roma. The media has been used as a propaganda weapon against the Roma, as a pretext for bigotry, as a platform for racism, and has refused to act as an advocate for oppressed Roma (Covert, 2016). Through a xenophobic depiction of this ethnic group, the media tends to reproduce racist stereotypes and prejudices, often offering an ethnocentric perspective. Negative media portrayals have resulted in a rise in both prejudice and bigotry and, consequently, in opposition to Roma assimilation efforts in whole or in part.

Media portrayals in Europe are among the most influential sources of prejudice (Covert, 2016). Anti-Roma stereotypes continue to be circulated and perpetuated by the media. Mainstream media increases the extent to which dominant groups are exposed to prejudice towards minority groups; they also increase the number of stereotypical portrayals minority

groups are exposed to. The media has an important role to play in combating biases, but when it comes to Roma, several journals and broadcast media have not lived up to their duty. With overwhelming biased reporting and cheap sensationalism, news portrayals of the Roma in Europe have led to xenophobic news stories (Manzo & Bailey, 2005). This ties in with journalism studies that stress the unpredictable nature of news, which is highly vulnerable to rapidly evolving and fading media hypes. This relative absence of news representation and absence of a linear pattern means that Roma remains highly oppressed in the host community, unlike other outgroups (Garretson, 2015). Relating this to Clark's typology of minority news portrayals (Fitzgerald, 2010), it seems that the non-recognition process still needs to be passed by Roma.

Erjavec (2001) also explores how Roma media depictions are used to normalize and situate prejudice against Roma as "rational." She describes a media story in which a Roma family was physically prevented from moving to a village because in the past local villagers had expressed unpleasant experiences with Roma and instead of being called out for their racist acts. Local media supported their cause and refused to mention that the Roma family owned the house legally. Instead, reporters stressed how one Roma family could lead to an assault by others. The Roma family could not survive in the home they bought, leaving them without accommodation. Research on minority portrayals in entertainment media overwhelmingly acknowledges that negative minority portrayals affect the majority group's negative views towards the minority group (McGarry, 2014). These portrayals also impact the treatment of the majority group towards the minority group, affect the desire of minority groups to communicate with the majority group, and affect the ability of the minority group to manage social spaces effectively

(Leavitt et al., 2015; Esses, Medianu & Lawson, 2013; Schlueter & Davidov, 2013; Schemer, 2012; Fryberg et al., 2008; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000).

Most of the negative media coverage that affects the mindset of the average European is a direct product of government participation. The supposed correlation between the Roma and crime is frequently repeated in hate speeches by the government (Council of Europe, 2012). Policymakers deem Roma to be beggars (Ceneda, 2002). Government officials release statements or participate in broadcasts that promote fear or discrimination towards Roma or do nothing to limit those who indulge in such behaviors. It is not unusual for government officials to comment negatively on Roma (Lane, Spencer & Jones, 2014), even going so far as to suggest "a dead gypsy is the only good gypsy" (Ceneda, 2002).

Just as in North America, there is little power for Roma people to fight these derogatory images. Although stories are frequently published in Europe, Roma is seldom consulted about their views or take up important issues about their life (Plaut, 2012). For instance, Roma is viewed as a passive object in a great power chess game rather than active subjects in Europe. The fact that much of the bullying and prejudice faced by Roma is a direct product of media coverage is emphasized by a qualitative analysis of Roma children in the UK. Roma does not accept or appreciate this within traditional cultures because they are not conscious of how they have been represented, primarily because of their distinctive lifestyles (Ureche & Franks, 2007). To effectively combat negative media portrayals, Roma can lack educational or social capital. Roma immigrants, such as those in Canada, have the additional language barrier to discourage them from reacting in a socially constructive way to discriminatory messages (Covert, 2016). In its unwillingness to highlight the inhumane treatment of Roma people in Europe, the silence of the

media has significantly affected their ability to obtain the necessities they need to live (Covert, 2016).

Berry (1997) suggests a fourfold acculturation model, defining that one of four types of acculturation can be followed or transferred into a linear model by immigrants and minorities. Among the four modes, assimilation, accommodation, marginalization, and alienation, the author argues that the most likely to yield positive mental health and social results is two of the four modes, assimilation, and integration. Despite this prediction, due to the complex obstacles posed by mainstream society, many immigrants and minorities are unable to pursue these prescribed paths of acculturation by choice or social stratification. Because of ongoing experiences with prejudice, they can take the social capital to adopt their chosen acculturation method or lack the motivation to do so (Williams & Berry, 1991). Berry (1997) and others show that the acculturation process may last for many generations and therefore the negative effects of participating in the acculturation process are experienced intergenerationally.

Economic, social, and mental health impacts of media representation of Roma

In recent decades, Roma has emerged as a key humanitarian concern often described as the Roma problem (Schneeweis, 2009). The Roma have always been regarded as a social problem unworthy of state aid because they will never fit in. They are blamed for all of the ills of European society whether they are economic crises and increasing unemployment, growing immigration, problematic border security and foreign policy struggles, crime, political turmoil and sluggish democratization processes, skewed distribution of international assistance, or even radical outbursts of violence. *The Guardian* claimed in October 2012 that the airing of the highly successful United Kingdom's *My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding* (MBFGW) allegedly led to a major

rise in physical and sexual attacks, racist-motivated animosity, and intimidation targeted at Roma people in European schools (Plunket, 2012). A rise in Roma withdrawals from public schools and reported emotional harm to Roma children were the results of these racially motivated behaviors. These discriminatory acts aimed at Roma pushed against the progress they have made towards effective assimilation in the United Kingdom.

Moreover, epidemiological studies of the health status of Roma show poorer health and a higher risk of premature death relative to socioeconomic status (Parry et al., 2007; Peters et al., 2009; Van Cleemput et al, 2007). There are complex causes for these health disparities, but they include the stress associated with prejudice and discrimination (MacLachlan, 2006). The acceptance of health services, including preventive services, is low amid high health requirements (Cemlyn, Greenfields, Burnett, Matthews, & Whitwell, 2009).

Among Roma, immunization rates are low (Dar, Gobin, Hogarth, Lane, & Ramsay, 2013), with one research recording the risk of measles as 100 times higher than those of the general population (Maduma-Butshe & McCarthy, 2012). Factors influencing the acceptance of immunization programs in the general population have been thoroughly studied (Forster et al., 2013). However, despite the higher risk of communicable disease outbreaks, far less is known about what affects uptake in Roma cultures (Dar et al., 2013; Newton & Smith, 2017). The potential for internalization of prejudice is among the most negative consequences of daily experiences with prejudice and discrimination (Manzo & Bailey, 2005). The person may come to internalize these attitudes when regularly subjected to adverse attitudes towards one's group, adverse treatment due to group membership, and negative portrayals of one's group in mass media. This internalization results in substantial damage to one's identity and a decline in one's ability to cope. The internalization of detrimental assumptions by dominant groups has the

potential to have a major effect on self-image (Jones et al., 2004; Parham et al., 2000). Mastro (2015) suggests that media attitudes to and portrayals of minorities may have a profound effect on the self-concept of a person. Studies show that stereotypical images not only influence social attitudes but can also affect the individual by affecting self-stereotyping, damaging self-esteem, disrupting coping habits, and increasing depression (Fryberg et al., 2008, Leavitt et al. 2015). Bad psychological processing has also been correlated with negative social representations (Fryberg, 2002). Rivandanevra, Ward, and Gordon (2007) conclude that lower social self-esteem has been correlated with regular television viewing among Latino youth. Research also shows that Roma, who are increasingly immune to their assimilation attempts, have shortened life spans (Jones, 2014). The author further states that Roma is twice as likely as those in the dominant group to experience depression and three times as likely to experience anxiety.

A case raised by Ureche and Franks (2007) includes the complaints of a young girl when faced with returning to school about stomach issues, weight loss, and feeling tired. She notes that at school, she sometimes feels frightened and lonely. She is symptomatic of depression and/or anxiety and there is a clear correlation between these symptoms and the abuse she has experienced at school. She knows that boys have been trailing her to the toilet, calling her names and asking her to go back from where she came from. The opposition of many in the dominant community to her presence in a major social organization, school, has resulted in substantial negative effects being encountered. The implications on her psychological well-being are shown by the subsequent signs and resistance to returning to school.

European Roma is twice as likely as anyone in the dominant culture to experience depression and three times as likely to experience anxiety. According to Zabara (2014), an increase in suicides was found in 2013 among Britain's Roma. Suicides are three times the

normal population among the Roma and are found to be most prevalent among Roma men aged 25-29 while in Sweden, Roma suicide rates are found to be seven times the national average among men and six times the overall average. Research by Civil Rights Defenders has partly related this to the effect of shielding their identities from the media and making them feel less than others (Covert, 2016). Roma report depression or anxiety and are struggling to deal with them in the ghettos where they work and live (Ceneda, 2002; Zabara, 2014). Some Roma have a history of personal or family trauma that the nations in which they live remain unaware and unaddressed (Strauss, 2012). A large number of Roma in the United Kingdom who were found seeking assistance with their mental health problems sought assistance because of trauma-related to their social positions, including war, the Holocaust, bullying, racism, and rape (Roma Support Group, 2012). Many Roma believe, because of their experiences, they should resolve any issues that occur individually or within their culture. Failure to do so may cause more stress because they can view this inability as a failure to manage their lives, putting them in a vulnerable position (Van Cleemput et al, 2007). The ability to navigate the dispute between the acceptance or rejection of their presence by the dominant society and the desire of many Roma to travel within their communities contributes significantly to Roma depression, stress, and "nerves" (Doherty, 2013).

Heaslip (2015) recognizes that the social status of the Roma is a direct consequence of their social care, which enables them to self-segregate as a means of security. This limits the ability of Roma to choose assimilation if they wish and limits their ability to choose freely from the various acculturation models. There is a shortage of evidence on the degree to which this trauma has affected Roma because many Roma lack sufficient access to mental health services

(Ceneda, 2002). Research by Rechel et al. (2009) found that there is an overall poorer status of Roma in Eastern Europe due to poverty, low education, and lack of access to adequate services.

Furthermore, Heaslip (2015) acknowledges that, compounded by their representation in the mass media, the social status of Roma puts them in a vulnerable context and prevents them from obtaining sufficient services that can have life-long implications. Bindel (2011) notes that many women are victims of domestic abuse within the Roma community, a frequent occurrence in Roma societies across Europe. Furthermore, due to the shortage of safe water and adequate access to health care, Roma women face a large number of miscarriages and SIDS-related deaths. They undergo evictions regularly, and among these women, illiteracy is overwhelmingly large. As they do not play into the spoiled and outlandish story told by the media, all these considerations are ignored.

Choosing options for the Roma families to be identified legally is a choice between living a settled or moving life. These ideas may arise outside the group to some degree, especially through laws such as those already discussed, but they are also internalized. Roma who are no longer traveling can see themselves as Gypsy (Toth, 2005). Others can continue taking an ethnic view of their identity, but when they prefer a settled life, they find themselves being 'invisible' to each other. In addition to losing their sense of community, Roma who no longer travel together lose the contact of cooking from the ground or gathering around a community fire (Heaslip, 2015). Roma who prefer settled life also find that they are isolated from their support structures and the accommodation offered by local authorities is not appropriate for housing and unsanitary housing (Yin-Har & Ridge, 2011). When they can find employment, they are often underpaid or exploited (Jones, 2014). The government's intervention, rather than their own will, causes them to choose how to live and communicate with mainstream society (Covert, 2016).

The act of coming out as Roma is a significant point in their lives (Beaudoin, 2014). Not only is the strength of their identity with the Roma identity significant, but also their relationship with those outside their group. Many Roma feel that they should be able to control when and to whom they come out concerning this identity and believe that stereotypical portrayals in shows such as *My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding* have taken this control to some degree (Covert, 2016; Poppelwell, 2012). Such shows have negatively enhanced their exposure or led others to feel obligated to accept themselves as a way of combating negative portrayals (Covert, 2015).

Covert (2015) reveals that at some stage in their lives, many Roma have lied about their ethnic identity and maintain this deception throughout their lives, further proof that Roma is often reluctant to own and identify themselves for fear of repercussions. Some identify themselves as individuals who need to remain silent about their identity. At constant risk of damage, they see themselves as hidden and as a minority. Most Roma would not expose their ethnic identity, they would mention only their citizenship without explicitly referring to their Roma origin. As commonly illustrated in the literature, this behavior of a minority (keeping silent about one's origins as soon as one is integrated within society at large) is not unique to Roma (Kligman, 2001).

Finally, many Roma identify themselves as people who must live in a duality of life, in two worlds. Covert (2015) explores the experience of double consciousness faced by Roma in North America at length. The burden of this double consciousness is the product of Roma's resistance to assimilation. When Roma tries to balance two worlds and effectively fulfill their chosen method of acculturation, Roma feels that stress, still trying to be accepted within and outside their culture. Research has shown that facing pressure from several directions can have a profound effect on one's personality, self-esteem, self-concept, and core values about the

community of the person in a continuous state of double consciousness (Lyubansky & Eidelson, 2005). At some point in their lives, of the 15 women interviewed by the authors, at least 10 described an experience of double consciousness as they tried to negotiate their identity as Roma and their participation in mainstream society. The effect of assimilative resistance by the mainstream can arguably be said to be the stress and eventual effects of this state of double consciousness. Marginalization of Roma makes them fear their identity even if one has already been integrated. Mirescu (2011) says that even for an integrated member of the Roma minority it is hard to avoid the questions if they live in a caravan if they know how to read and write. The politicization of Roma's identity is a process of making Roma. As Simonovits and Kezdi (2013) argue, self-identification as Roma is significantly influenced by economic position.

What is Representation?

The key theoretical concept of this study was the notion of representation. Representation refers to how a certain community is understood both by itself and by others (McGarry, 2014). Only along with the representation of others can the representation of oneself exist. Social representations are not merely views or attitudes, but ingenious concepts or branches of knowledge used for the exploration and organization of reality (Bigazzi, 2009). These social representations are multifaceted and may also be inherently contradictory. These representations have two primary purposes: offering a guide for people to orientate themselves in the social sector and giving them a reading instrument for the community they belong to (Di Giovanni, 2014).

The new concept of social representation, introduced by Moscovici in 2000, sets focus on phenomena that are subject to debate, strong emotions, conflicts, and ideological struggles, and

changes the collective thinking in society (Hoijer, 2011). For media and communication studies, the theory is applicable in many ways in that it defines several communicative mechanisms that explain how ideas are transmitted, how social thinking is naturalized by the media, and how collective cognition is created (Hoijer, 2011). In addition, social representations are integrated into communicative practices, such as dialogues, discussions, media discourses, and scientific discourses (Marková 2003). While no community holds an uncontested picture of itself and its identity, Roma communities have practically little to no influence as to how they are viewed in the public arena. In general, Roma representations originated from and are sustained by non-Roma actors including foreign organizations, national governments, and the majority population (McGarry, 2014). One might argue that the term Roma is all-encompassing, and Gypsy is pejorative (Bigazzi, 2009), however, some strongly identify with the word Gypsy and would not allow themselves to be informed that this is inappropriate within or outside the Roma community. Others may argue that its history is not reflected by the Roma.

One scholar can set out what refers to each word and another scholar can lay out meanings that reverse what was then produced. Disagreement also occurs concerning when or whether these Roma identities should be exposed, particularly in media portrayals. Nevertheless, the dominant representation of Roma today remains undeniable - the Roma are Europe's quintessential minority in many respects (van Baar, 2011; Goldston, 2002) who are misrepresented in most of their history (Bancroft, 2005).

Roma representations are generally of two types: societal and politico-legal (McGarry, 2014). Societal representations maintain the symbolic and physical limits between Roma and the majority and maintain a relationship based on power, discrimination, and exclusion. In an interrelated way, social representation (as content) and communication fields (as networks and

modes of mediation of this content) contribute to the complexities of reality construction (Bigazzi, 2009). The same author argues that social representations of Roma run the gamut of negative and positive images but are predominantly unfavorable and are built and maintained by the majority of non-Roma communities. These representations help to reinforce the notion that the Roma are different and do not suit various political contexts at national and transnational levels. This does not mean, however, that Roma voices are absent - there is a long tradition of Roma self-representation as political actors, but Roma activists have recently become much more vocal and have questioned hetero-dominant representations. In Italy, for instance, the image of Roma as 'nomads' fuels the idea that they should live in camps, physically separated from Italian society, reinforcing the idea that they are not Italians and do not belong to Italy (Sigona, 2005).

On the other hand, political representations of Roma are elaborated by international organizations, national governments, NGOs, and have some input from the Roma elite, and have strong repercussions for policy making, including those advocating their inclusion (McGarry, 2011). Recent research has explored the effect of Roma construction as a transnational or European minority on integration efforts in the national political context (Vermeersch, 2012). It is only possible to understand the presentation of Roma as a European minority as the result of more developed political processes initiated by the elite of Roma in the 1970s, which founded Roma as a transnational nation (McGarry, 2010).

Roma representations are mostly merely reactions to the assumptions of other people of the concept of 'otherness' (Gheorghe, 2013). Societies build their social representation of Roma, filling it with stereotypes fed by bigotry and the overt desire for extermination. Roma becomes the reflection of the social self, occurs as a criterion for distinctiveness, and only changes in the

living of the social self. Roma groups have become more noticeable than ever before, but they have been identified as a problem - a problem for the majority who have to endure such unsavory elements in their midst (Fosztó & Anastasoiaie, 2001).

While the precise sense of social representation depends on everyday situations and the history of the social context, this encompasses both the historical component of minority interaction (assimilation, incorporation, exclusion, extermination policies) and the historical developments that lead to the ongoing changes in the creation of majority identity (Bigazzi, 2009). The majority of Roma are created, maintained, and consumed by multiple representations, including nomads, refugees, subclass, weak, backward, parasitic, marginal, anachronistic, dishonest, lazy, criminal, deviant, musical, work-shy, beggars, threatening, victims, and dangerous (Schiff, 2018; Gateneo-Gabel, 2009; Schneeweis, 2009). Roma is represented not only as different and in need of special treatment, which multiculturalist policies should be able to accommodate, but also as agents of disorder or bearers of an undefined threat to national identity (Stewart, 2012). Furthermore, Roma is represented in a way that implies homogeneity and they lack influence over their depictions. Tremlett (2013) explains how problematic all of these approaches to Roma representations are “whether noble savage or bogeyman, whether celebrations or denigrations, these Gypsy representations base their point of view on the same pivot - Gypsies as distinct from the majority society” (p. 1708). These all serve one purpose, regardless of the vantage point of Roma representation, to other “Roma” from the mainstream, establishing an additional obstacle for their ties with the non-Roma.

To challenge negative perceptions, Roma has sought to influence how they represent themselves publicly and internally, to raise political awareness, and promote unity (Uzunova, 2010). Because of their poor political positioning in local, national, and transnational contexts,

the political representation of the Roma is especially important, but also because it illustrates the gap between the disputed questions of who they are and the creation of policy initiatives to tackle the situation. The Roma seeks to present the international community with a united front that helps to formulate political and legal interventions (van Baar, 2011). By understanding what has happened to the Roma in Italy, the situation of other minorities will likely be clearer and measures can be taken towards a more peaceful existence.

What is identity?

Identity, as a social construct, bridges the gap between the inside and the outside, between the private and public realms (Hall, 2006). The author explains the increasing complexity of the modern world and the understanding that the subject's inner core was not autonomous and self-sufficient but was formed concerning 'significant others' who mediated the values, meanings, and symbols of the worlds inhabited by the subject. The author further argues that in the temporal changes of an empirical process, identity is built. Identity, thus, sutures the subject into the structure. For the symbolic interactionists, identity is formed in the interaction between self and society. Identity is not an item or an object in our hand and even though it is unique, it cannot be lost, discovered, or granted to another (Eros, 2001). The subject still has the essence of the real me, but this is formed and modified in an ongoing dialogue with the outside cultural worlds and the identities they offer (Hall, 2006). It stabilizes both subjects and the cultural worlds they inhabit, making them both more predictable. However, these are exactly what is now said to be shifting. The subject, having a unified and stable identity previously, is becoming fragmented; composed not of a single identity, but several identities, sometimes contradictory or unresolved. Identity becomes a 'moveable feast': constantly created and

transformed concerning how we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems around us, and it is defined historically, not biologically (Green, 2010).

Similarly, Bauman (2007) identified two distinct approaches in tackling the issue of European Roma, which are used to construct group identity - imposed and created identity. The first, imposed identity, focuses on disparities and suggests a 'marginalist viewpoint that ultimately contributes, both socio-politically and legally, to differentiated treatment of these groups. However, the second, created identity recognizes a group's ability to compose its perception of identity. The Roma have had their identity created by others in Italy. Although they may describe themselves as Roma, a man or woman, a craft worker, a metalsmith, etc., they are defined as a group of outsiders, troublemakers, and lawless criminals by Italian society (Marklein, 2005). For many Europeans, the Roma make the perfect "other" who live among societies, but in an unusual situation that threatens the culture, lifestyle, and economy. Terms such as "zingari," of doubtful etymology (Asséo et al. 2017), appear in various expressions hostile to the Roma in the Italian language. It is popular to say, for instance, that they are Roma to accuse someone of being impolite or disloyal. To suggest that someone is of Roma minority is a way of saying that he/she is dirty or poorly dressed in many Italian dialects. The Roma are looked upon as "neighborly aliens" (Baumann, 2004), morally distant yet physically close.

The Social Identity Theory by Tajfel and Turner (1985) argues that we place ourselves and others into categories, equate our groups with other groups, and establish a favorable bias against the category to which we belong. This theory describes both how stereotypes provide a way of interpreting information and by categorizing individuals to give order to reality (and thus, oversimplifying and generalizing), as well as the tendency of applying pejorative stereotypes to outgroups and positive ones to in-groups (Tajfel, 1981). By a process of social categorization, we

determine the social group people belong to: 'us' or 'them' (the in-group or out-group). This is accompanied by social identification in which a group's identity is embraced and our behavior is modified accordingly and social comparison in which our groups are compared with others.

Furthermore, the colonial experience can also be applied to Roma's struggles. The postcolonial perspective encompasses challenges to modern forms of colonialism, where oppression comes less from brute force and more from the types of extreme economic inequities and media campaigns that provide people with 'choices' around them (Teasley, Sanchez-Blanco & Depalma, 2012). A certain group is placed in an oppressed position and another group in one of dominance and "this relationship becomes part of the mentality of the oppressed to the extent that they are only able to perceive themselves as they are portrayed or understood to be by the oppressing group" (Belton, 2005, p. 138). Charnon-Deutsch (2002) also stressed that internal colonization parallels (inter)cultural colonization in the process of constructing Roma differences as illness and abnormality.

On the one hand, with the constructed differences, the Westerner, who is considered the powerful, the rational, liberal, reasonable, capable of maintaining true values without natural suspicion, mature, normal, self, and, on the other hand, the Oriental, the Indian, the Native, the Westerner's opposite and backward versions, are born under the concept of Orientalism (Shands, 2008). Therefore, the other is irrational, depraved, childlike, different, an object and thus disempowered, non-white, distanced from the place of self even though the physical distance is small (Schneeweis, 2009). The result was to silence the other into a non-human state that, by determining the history, past, practices, and values of the other, the civilized Westerner must either rule or come to the rescue.

Categorization also plays a key component in Roma media portrayals, which also impact their ability to define themselves to mainstream society and solidify their identity formation. Categorization lays the groundwork for the imputation of stereotypes as the individual is recognized as part of a group and the actions one would expect from that collective, reinforced by media discourses (Richardson 2006; Vanderbeck 2003). For instance, the Roma are never personalized with names but are reified freely, after problem or issue is the second most used expression. This dynamic of reification (Giorgi & Vitale 2017), which puts aside and ignores the individual's complexity and subjectivity, makes, on the one hand, a general attribution of characteristics to the generalized category of them, neglecting potential differences and heterogeneity (cultural, linguistic, behavioral). In this case, the Roma are reified, neglecting subjectivity and heterogeneity, as well as dehumanized, openly depicting them as animals, lacking human qualities and inherently inclined to illegal activity, and thus portrayed not only as being unable to adjust to life in civil society but also as a real threat to citizens (van Baar, 2011; Uzunova, 2010). Positive efforts to fight prejudice and encourage cultural diversity in the media are found, in particular, among local and more marginally national NGOs and radio stations. The Italian Federation of Journalists has drawn up recommendations for reporting on ethnic issues and several journalists specialized in the area have more than average knowledge (Schneeweis, 2009). The overall image is one in which more prospects still have to be developed for change.

The creation of representative organizations such as the International Roma Union (IRU) (1971) attempted to unite Roma across national boundaries and the ideological divide between Eastern and Western Europe, and through prototypical national-building measures such as the creation of a flag, to encourage unity (Covert, 2016). As international NGOs such as Human Rights Watch started raising awareness of the Roma problem in the 1990s and calling for more

attention to their needs from international organizations such as the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), the EU, and the Council of Europe, Roma activists saw an opportunity for a new audience that would be more open to their allegations. The voice of Roma was expressed here through representational mechanisms that tried to present to the international political community the needs of Roma communities. Thus, Roma has gradually come to be seen as a transnational issue. Inclusion policies have not been met with success. However, with an increasing awareness of the numerous and inter-related problems facing Roma, and the gradual awakening of their social consciousness, they have become more prominent on the political stage. In Europe, the sense that the last appropriate form of racism is racism toward Roma pervades (Bell, 2015). While guidelines were established on how to represent Roma in the mainstream media for journalists and others, they are loosely adhered to (Covert, 2016).

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Who are Roma?

Roma is an ethnic group from Northern India (Hancock, 2010; Herakova, 2009, Marsh, 2008; Oprea, 2004; Hancock, 2000). Most scholars agree on the timing of their exodus around the 10th century, but not on the reason behind it. One theory is that a royal order from the Persian king, Bahram Gur Gur, resulted in their departure. Noticing the low morale among his subjects, he sent word to his father-in-law, the ruler of India, to send 10,000 musicians to his territory to entertain his people. They were the predecessors of modern-day Roma musicians (Fraser, 1995; Liegeois, 1986).

A more popular legitimacy-gaining theory explains that Roma are descendants of Indian troops and their camp followers who traveled farther and farther west into Persia, now Iran, due to their extensive military efforts during the 10th century (Hancock, 2010). Unable to find their way back to India, some settled in the region, while a large number migrated to Armenia (Hancock, 2006). It is generally agreed that in repeated migrations, Roma left India and that by the 11th century they were in Persia, by the beginning of the 14th century in southeastern Europe, and by the 15th century in Western Europe. By the second half of the 20th century, they had spread to every continent. Despite the uncertainty about the reason for the exodus, scholars were able to trace Roma's origins back to India (Lauritzen, 2018). In the 18th century, the first evidence of this came when a Hungarian student studying at a Dutch university heard three Indian students speaking in their native language and recognized that several words were the same as those spoken by the Roma working in Hungary on his family estate (Hancock, 2010). Subsequently, by examining the adoption of vocabulary from other languages into Roma, the

Roma language, linguistic scholars were able not only to trace their origins but also their diaspora. Their Indian origins have been strengthened in recent years as medical scholars have found Roma to be more closely related to Indians genetically than their European neighbors (Iouta & Schurr, 2004).

The exotic stereotype of the nomadic Roma has often disguised the reality that although this point is controversial, less and less may have remained truly migratory. The term 'nomads' was used to refer to the whole spectrum of Roma groups and has served as an absolute definition of their cultural features. Roma has been a victim of labeling, identified as 'essentially nomadic' and 'culturally rootless' (Sidoti, 2011). However, Roma's nomadic culture was largely insular. At least seasonally, all nomadic Roma migrate along patterned routes that ignore national boundaries. They often pursue this nomadic way of life, as it were, through a chain of kin or tribal ties. Roma's supposed ability to wander was forcefully encouraged by exile or deportation. Only 80 years after their first appearance in Western Europe in the 15th century, they fell under the penalty of banishment (Liégeois, 2007). However, through their systemic exile or travel abroad, in one guise or another, they continued to reappear back in the countries they had fled. Every unsettled confederation living among settled peoples appears to be a convenient scapegoat. Therefore, it is with the Roma, who have been suspected of many evils by the local community daily as a prelude to later official and legal persecution (Uzunova, 2010). There has been a consistent contradiction in their interactions with the authorities in the host country. Official decrees were mostly meant to settle or assimilate them, but local authorities routinely denied the bare hospitality of a campsite to them.

Roma have traditionally pursued occupations that allowed them to maintain an itinerant life on the edges of settled society (Bigazzi, 2009). The men were traders of cattle, trainers and

exhibitors of poultry, tinkers (metalworkers and repairers of utensils), and musicians; the women told fortunes, sold potions, begged, and served as entertainers (Thomas, 2006). Many farmers looked to Roma livestock dealers for guidance on herd health and husbandry before the advent of veterinary medicine. Although European Roma-related negative press exists in abundance, popular songs glorifying the Heart of a Gypsy (Annett, 2017) or Pinterest boards devoted to wandering souls quotes balance the small number of media portrayals aimed at Roma in the U.S. In the Turkish Ottoman Empire, the Roma people were skilled musicians, and it is said that they were very well paid for feasts and ceremonies, and they “fared considerably better in the Ottoman Empire than in other regions” (Barany, 2001, p. 84). In this area, they retained the monopoly of learning to play very difficult instruments, such as the German psaltery, the violin, and the Panpipes. Therefore, they kept this fortune from father to son within the party that handed it down. The progress of the world of Gadje (non-Roma) is represented by modern Roma life. Travel is by caravans of vehicles, trucks, and trailers, and the selling of used cars and trailers has given way to livestock trading. Although the tinker has been made redundant by mass production of stainless-steel pots and pans, some urban Roma have found employment as car mechanics and auto body technicians. Some Roma are still itinerant. However, many have embraced practicing their trades or are employed as unskilled wage earners such as animal trainers and handlers, concession owners, fortune-tellers, or traveling circuses and theme park workers (Achim, 1998). Roma has a patriarchal family structure (Weyrauch 2001; Saller, 1997). In Roma families today, the principle still prevails and possibly dates back to the original Indian tribes, from which Roma males and females descend today. In Roma families, the patriarchal systems in which the man receives considerably deeper respect than other members of the family are much stronger than in majority society families in Europe (Liégeois 1994). Traditionally,

men in Roma families are the patriarchal authority that governs the family's life (Kozubík, 2015). There are many ways of viewing masculinity hegemony; but in general, it is embedded in social structures and affects family roles, passing on the main authority to the men in the family. The idea of male hegemony is based on the concept of hegemony by Antonio Gramsci (1971), a renowned Marxist Italian politician, who dealt with ways of forming social formations and changes based on attempts to retain the power and authority of social continuity. Hegemony involves the process of persuasion and shaping of societies based on the reinterpretation of fact, typically carried out by manipulating the dominant communication networks and social institutions (Hall et al., 2016). The man was responsible for the behavior and acts of the family in society in the customs of the Roma; the man was both the carrier and the defender of the dignity of the family. The man was also responsible for building or strengthening the honor and prestige of his family within the Roma community. In particular, the man was responsible for ensuring that the actions of members of the family (particularly women) did not dishonor the family (Steparova, 2005). Such shows of male superiority indicate that men are responsible for maintaining and meeting the external expectations of the social reference group. It is very important for Roma men that their wives respect them.

In Roma communities, high unemployment prevails, so anyone who can find any kind of job is considered lucky. In the household, both women and men may work, and household chores are less likely to be differentiated as "male or female" work (Kozubik, 2015). Thus, one of the social customs supporting the authority of the individual, i.e., which of the breadwinner, fades in younger Roma families (Davidová et al., 2008; Kajanová & Dvořáčková 2013). Today, Roma women ring-money into the home, contrary to their original roles. Men normally talk about searching for a job, but the woman often comes up with a solution. Men are often "non-

functional" in disadvantaged areas and make minimal contributions to family income; in fact, they often exhibit pathologies such as addictions, gambling, infidelity, or domestic abuse (Mrhalek et al, 2015). Groes-Green (2009) reported clear correlations in relevant social structures between the justification of violence against women, social marginalization of men, and dominant socio-historical oppression in relevant social structures. One reason for failure to address the issue of domestic violence among the Roma is cultural stereotypes; even social and health care workers may assume that domestic violence is a common and traditional part of the typical coexistence of the Roma family (Djurovic et al. 2014). The intense marginalization of the Roma population (Sedlakova, 2014) may be another potential explanation. For the Roma, this means seriously reducing social promotion opportunities and complete engagement in the majority of society. Another feature that may explain why Roma women do not leave violent and abusive husbands is that within the context of the majority society they are poorly educated with little or incorrect knowledge about ways to improve their current family situation (Clark 2009).

Roma has two kinds of "leaders:" bare and pure or shaturia (Weyrauch, 2001). Bare, the first of the elders in their families, are administrative chiefs. In each vista (clan) or kumpania (unity of Roma living and traveling together), a baro supervises daily community member interactions, in particular economic ones. He is also the interface of his Kumpania with non-Roma officials, such as police and social workers. Pure are the spiritual leaders. They are old, well-respected heads of big families and clans of the Roma. They control the interpretation of the Roma law called Romaya and adjudicate under it. The positions of administrative and spiritual leadership are not exclusive. An elder baro with a reputation for knowledge of Roma law may also act as a pure and serve as a krisnitori, a Roma judge. Kris was the strongest of Roma social regulation institutions, connoting both the body of customary law and the principles of justice, as

well as the ritual and composition of the band's tribunal (Leeson, 2013). The all-embracing principles of loyalty, continuity, and reciprocity within the recognized political unit were basic to the Roma code. Excommunication from the community was the ultimate negative punishment of the Kris tribunal, which dealt with all conflicts and violations of the code. However, a sentence of ostracism may prohibit the person from participating in certain activities of the band and punish him with menial tasks. Rehabilitation was granted by the elders in some instances and accompanied by a reconciliation feast. Today, the Roma continue to struggle with their culture's contradictions. They happen to be Europe's largest minority group, estimated at 10-12 million (Mineo, 2015). Accurate demographic data is not available, and official and unofficial estimates differ considerably for each country. Relevant data is sparse, partially due to the population's reluctance to identify themselves as Roma for official purposes (Uzunova, 2010).

Politically, the identity of the Roma is related to how the majority perceive them including society, governments, international organizations, the media as well as research. Since the mid-1990s, Roma has been a political project envisioned and sustained by non-Roma, such as civil society and civil society, national and foreign advocates, as well as the Roma elite, which has played a key role in raising the political agenda of Roma in the European Union (EU) and its Member States (McGarry, 2014). The Roma identity, it can be argued, is relatively poor today. They constitute an extremely diverse minority and do not make up a homogeneous ethnic group. Instead, the Roma are a continuum of related subgroups with complex, flexible, and multilevel identities.

Media portrayal of Roma

Media discourse on the Roma played an important role in creating hatred for the Roma and the media usually showed no interest in the positive aspects of Roma life (Brearley, 2001). Italian media discourse both represents Italy's anti-Roma feeling and contributes to it. Several scholars have researched the media portrayal of Roma in Canada (Catalano 2014), Italy (Catalano 2011), the United States (Hancock 2010), and the United Kingdom (Goodman and Rowe 2014; Richardson 2014) and have reported a wide disparity between the depiction of the media and the reality of Roma life. In turn, this feeds fear and paranoia and exacerbates community conflict that leads to limits on freedom and increased levels of social monitoring and control (Richardson 2014). Studies of online discussion forums have shown a degree of discrimination that would not usually be tolerated by minority groups but is commonplace when Roma people are addressed (Goodman and Rowe 2014, Orru, 2014). Moreover, Erjavec et al. (2000) found that when the Roma are portrayed in the media, they seldom appear as individuals and instead appear as members of Roma.

Crime discourse has historically been a field in Italy where anti-Roma sentiment has been generated, reproduced, and promoted (Catalano 2014). Orru (2014) found that crime reporting appears to be strongly ethnicized, and crime reports appear to be classified into Roma and non-Roma in countries where Roma are present (Brearley 2001). Catalano (2011) found that 42 percent of news stories about the Roma were crime-related from three Italian news outlets during 2009. Also, in comparison with the reporting in Italian newspapers of three other minority groups, the Roma did the worst, with far more of their discourse listed as 'denaturalization' or 'derogation' than any other group. Police and the media are alleged to conspire to blame a crime

on Roma in many CEE countries because they have no evidence as to who committed it (Bancroft, 2005).

In Italy, the recent development or continuation of policies against the Roma, and worsening human rights situations, can be traced back to high-profile crimes that have taken place there. For example, the 2007 killing of an Italian woman and other crimes reportedly committed in 2008 contributed to the eventual criminalization by Roma suspects (Armillei, 2014; Costi, 2010). This confirms the findings of Vitale and Claps (2010) that in the last decade, Italian hostility towards Roma has increased, partly because of how crimes are ethnicized and how they are committed. The Roma were misrepresented as having a cultural trait or an “inclination to violence” (Brazzabeni, Cunha & Fotta, 2016, p. 135). There is no mention of the fact that government policy has placed the Roma in a precarious situation where their fundamental cores - survival, livelihood, and dignity - are pushed into a position where survival is on top of the list (Costi, 2010).

In many media across Europe, anti-Roma stereotypes continue to be circulated and perpetuated. In the United States and Europe, similar trends appear in different media portrayals. These include themes of “otherness”, alienation, immigration, and secrecy in their own homes. Even in present times, Roma is represented as filthy, conniving, mysterious, otherworldly, exoticized and Romanticized, violent, dangerous and something to be feared. The truth of the matter is these erroneous representations and stereotypes are far removed from Roma’s day-to-day living which revolves on a strict moral code emphasizing “honor,” “good fortune,” and “shame” (Matras, 2015, p. 85). Although Roma's screen portrayals were not adequate for accurate portrayal, there is limited knowledge of their impact. Television is the medium of Roma portrayal known for the most significant effect on their lives (Covert, 2016). In recent years,

Roma portrayals on television have increased in popularity in both Europe and the United States. Like in newspapers and movies, these portrayals fail to adequately convey the many challenges faced by Roma in their daily lives and instead, promote either a Romanticized view of the Roma or an image that incites fear or distrust. Negative ideas about Roma become legitimate through this representation, as they are carried out on prime-time television. While Roma are largely without a voice on how their portrayals are presented, viewers think these portrayals are realistic (Kabachnick, 2009). To understand the impact that these portrayals have on deeply held prejudices, one needs only to observe statements made by those outside the Roma community.

Common trends found across media are almost if not all negative. Esses, Medianu, and Lawson (2013) find that dehumanizing and promoting false ideas are typical portrayals of immigrants in the media. Mastro (2015) acknowledges that media portrayals also can influence public policy related to immigrant groups and have the potential to intensify social tensions between immigrant groups and mainstream society. Erroneous ideas spread by negative media portrayals include common themes of the potential of immigrants to disrupt society, their ability to spread infectious diseases.

There are several common portrayals of Roma by the media. First, Roma is the exotic other (Thomas, 2006). The Roma are vilified more often than not. Roma reports are focused on prejudiced words, encouraging bigotry and discrimination (Lane, Spencer & Jones, 2007). Compared to other minority groups, Tereskinas (2002) addresses the degree to which newspapers represent Roma in a negative light – they are the least socially integrated, criminal, and exotic group, they deserve the worst depictions. The ethnicity of Roma is often stressed in the police reports reported in the newspaper, *Lietuvos rytas*. Ethnocentrism is strongly practiced as opposed to the concepts of multiculturalism and diversity which have become strong points of

reference in understanding media portrayals in the 1990s (Schiff, 2018), hence, making Roma the scapegoat for social ills. Without a detailed description of the context behind the story, Roma is more common in newspapers and other local media than international ones in the short news category.

Second, the Roma are looked upon as an ethnic group of criminals carrying a hereditary disease - criminality. They have the genetic propensity to commit crimes and are therefore untrustworthy. In *MBFGW (My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding)*, for instance, the Roma play out as members who routinely have run-ins with the law, encourage underage marriage and place little value on education. Their presence was described as a threat to public security, a legal term that is commonly used for unusual cases where the state's peace and survival are perceived to be at stake (Council of Europe, 2012). An article in *Police Magazine* even reported that each Roma group has its criminal specialization and that stealing for them is as natural as eating and sleeping (Hall, 2001). Newspapers portray Roma as dangerous people and immigrants who should be feared for what might potentially accompany them (Okely, 2014; Deaton, 2013). They have become the perfect scapegoat (Kocze, 2018; Loveland & Popescu, 2016) for new uncertainties with centuries of demonization. Authors of several shows indicate that crime is an "ingrained" aspect of their DNA; they have no choice in the matter for it is almost in their blood, and thus, one should not keep them responsible for their actions (Covert, 2016; Kabachnik, 2009). The rising crime rate is always seen as the work of a single group – the Roma. Third, Roma people are usually depicted as a threat to the dominant culture. They are regarded as both symbolic (i.e., adhering to distinct norms and values) and realistic (i.e., concerning crime and economic pressure) threats (Jacobs, 2020). Working as mystics, fortune tellers, and psychics, they could not make a living but instead drain the host country (Mahoney, 2012). They have also been

considered predators with their Romantic and exotic images portrayed immodestly in their dress (Poppelwell, 2012) in reality shows (Pusca, 2014). In addition, they are looked down upon as carriers of diseases because of their nomadic way of life (Armitage and Nellums, 2020). Similar narratives have been broadcast across Europe by several media outlets blaming Roma, particularly those recently returning from other countries, for spreading COVID-19 (Matache & Bhabha, 2020). One of the worst examples is the Romanian media. In Tandarei, a small Roman town, a shamelessly coarse racist narrative has spread across the region, leveraging the relatively large number of reported cases and deaths to sow fear and hatred. The media does not seem to have inquired whether, and if so why, young Roma are over-represented among the dead without underlying conditions. A national newspaper misinformed the public and risked Roma's lives by suggesting that Roma individuals are resistant to the virus, a dangerous concept rooted in the racist presumption of inborn Roma genetic susceptibility to disease, using another similar baseless approach. A racist, hateful, and life-threatening anti-Roma propaganda campaign has been raging in local and national newspapers. In addition, Morris (2000) cites this notice published in a local newspaper about Roma in her article on Roma Travelers and the media: *KEEP THIS SCUM OUT (And it IS time to hound 'em, Chief Constable)*. They call themselves tinkers, itinerants, and new-age travelers. We call them parasites. The scum of the earth who live off the backs of others. They contribute nothing but trouble. They set up filthy, disease-ridden camps on roadsides and in parks and offend every decent citizen. They are the “disease within the body of an otherwise ‘healthy’ society” (Imre, 2003, p. 18).

Moreover, the Roma have ascribed a less-than-human status. Many have compared them to animals, saying they are cannibals, carrion eaters, and parasites (Hancock, 2010). Grellman, who published the first linguistic evidence regarding the Indian origins of the Roma, claimed that

they were cannibals and equated members of the ethnic minority to vermin. Subsequent works by Tetzner and Knox also ascribed a less-than-human status to the Roma, referring to them as excrement and refuse (Deaton, 2013).

Furthermore, the Roma are also spoken about as representations of Islam. A study commissioned by the Italian Ministry of Social affairs stressed that the common image of the Islamic world was that of an enemy that could overcome problems by the use of force and warfare, hence, violence was a constituent element of Islam (Soravia, 2000) similarly with the Roma. The study described media portrayals of Islam as incompatible, anti-feminist, authoritarian, and reactionary. The author has also criticized the use of references to ethnicity or citizenship in headlines that publish information about delinquency. Immigration reports were also related to anti-illegal immigrants and in particular, to the Lega Nord anti-Islamic mobilization. While the stance of the party was viewed unfavorably by most media, rather than specifically opposed by the Lega Nord, by correcting their arguments with more detailed background details. For example, reporters preferred a less straightforward method, using irony or reporting others' reproaches (e.g., by church officials) to condemn campaign organizers, who in turn, were accused of generalizing based on single or sometimes dubious events.

In a 20-year study of minority portrayals on television, Mastro and Greenberg (2000) address how negative portrayals of minorities in the media can dramatically increase retained perceptions and act as the primary informant of relatively unknown groups. Mastro and Atwell Seate (2012) consider the role of the media in determining group standards, validating group identities and memberships, and generating assumptions about individual groups. Television shows establish patterns of thinking and treatment that are frequently erroneous against minorities. Schlueter and Davidov (2013) claim that immigrants' negative media portrayals not

only increase adverse outgroup views but also make outgroups overestimate the size of minority groups and increase the group expectation of immigrants that the outgroup poses a challenge to their ability to navigate the community effectively.

Another area that is noteworthy in the portrayals of Roma in the media is the news-making-related mechanisms being employed - media and politics, the problem of reliable information, and quotation/source use. Nearly all empirical studies on the Italian media (particularly press) coverage on immigration and racism published in 1995-2000 identified the recurrence of some general content characteristics related to news-making routines. The media is heavily reliant on the use of political and institutional outlets in reporting on immigrants. The media further helps in spreading anti-Roma feelings using xenophobic terminology and inadequate speech with descriptions full of stereotypes (Di Giovanni, 2018). This gives rise to an emphasis on the political-institutional dimension, even though events only have a regular impact on local social relations.

In the collection and classification of issues, media and politics work closely together (such as identifying the number of immigrants present) and often create social alarm and agreement together and media more frequently justify than denounce official responses to the immigration crisis. Most of the media are focused on covering 'emergencies' political and social, which leads to distorted representations. The emphasis on the routine genres of political and crime news indicates a certain degree of sensationalism (although not in all media) and leads to stereotypical perceptions of immigrants as marginal and deviant, without any attention to immigrants' daily lives.

In headlines focusing on negative aspects of immigration, such as reports on refugees, housing issues, violence, and problematic ethnic ties, sensationalism, and distortion of reality are most commonly seen. There is little background reporting and analysis into the less obvious (more optimistic and non-stereotypical) facets of immigration or the root causes of social exclusion, animosity, and unique types of racism. The most commonly used denominations for immigrants still emphasize their exclusion, even after 10 years of coverage on the immigration issue. The seemingly neutral *extracomunitari* (also known as the 'extra') and clandestine (illegal immigrants) describe immigrants by what they are not (not EC and not legal) and in most news contexts develop highly negative connotations. The empirical studies each report one or more of these general news features and their effect on the picture of migrants, the racism debate, and the choice of immigration-related themes in reporting.

Europe's media, be it newspapers, news channels, radio broadcasts, or posted notices, serve the police by generating an atmosphere of fear that helps explain their acts around Roma. In Europe, the Roma are understandably mistrustful of the police in many cultures (Heaslip, 2015). An article by *The Guardian* identifies that it is unusual for women to call the police for assistance, even if abused since the community will view this as a betrayal, likely leading to ostracization of the individual (Bindel, 2011). Even if the police were called, few assume that the police will be of great help, as one woman interviewed in a report on Roma women's intersectional oppression acknowledges, "I gave up calling the police... when we call them, they often say, 'Let it be, Gypsy business'" (Kushi.). Roma police mistrust has many historical underpinnings (Beaudoin, 2014). A significant amount of mistrust persists even in cases where police reach out to Roma communities. A Roma female who participated in a study on Roma identities conceptualized these feelings. The reference to living in a nomad camp is an example

of what Ochs (1990) calls indirect indexing. Indirect indexicality is when a characteristic of the communicative event is indirectly evoked by indexing some other feature of the communicative event. Thus, even though many Roma in Italy are not nomadic, and that some other peoples or ethnicities may fall under this category, claiming that someone who lives in a "nomad camp" has come to index the Roma ethnicity. The indirect indexing here, as in Hill's work on Mock Spanish in 2005 is the (re)production of negatively racial stereotypes operating at a hidden level.

In the episodic framing of Roma crime events, there is no mention as to why they live in a camp (say, as a result of particular Italian Roma policies), or the structural social circumstances that have driven them to call for handouts. Moreover, how the justice system is biased towards Roma is not discussed (Catalano, 2018). Instead, the race is emphasized and related to crime, and the nature of this unfairness is not accounted for, which may allow the incidents to be more thematically framed. A known and harmful stereotyping (Hancock, 2008) is the sexualization of Roma, particularly Roma women in American films. It depicts Roma in a Romanticized light in Europe, making them a target of lore or fantasy if anything (Covert, 2016). Media presents them in a way that elicits Romantic adventures whose sole purpose is primarily to entertain Westerners (Akita, 2006; Kim, 2004; Yin, 2005). In her analysis of the famous novel and film *Memoirs of a Geisha*, Akita (2006) discovered that the ability to exoticize and sexualize the Orient is still prevalent in modern media. These portrayals are also a factor in American Roma's resistance to acknowledging their race and presence.

One scholar claims: "In a chess game of great powers, Roma have consistently been portrayed as passive objects.... rather than active subjects" (Plaut, 2012, p. 53). Newspapers frequently address the problem of Roma, but seldom consult them directly (Morris, 2000). The items that are written about them will not be seen by many travelers or cannot be read.

According to the author, they are taunted, denigrated, and laughed at behind their backs. While often unaware of what is being reported on, European Roma are more than aware that they are depicted in a negative light by the media. Qualitative research by Lane, Spencer, and Jones (2014) uncovers Roma's feelings regarding their portrayals and the way journalists perceive them.

Research undeniably supports the potential for negative media coverage of minorities and immigrants to increase racist perceptions and behavior among mainstream people, thereby increasing the bias and discrimination they are likely to experience. Bissel and Parrot (2013) establish a clear correlation between mass media and the creation of discrimination and/or racism against groups such as women and racial minorities. Journalism amplifies prejudices and ethnocentrism in the worst of its trends and advocates a racist message through the use of clichés and stereotypes or inappropriate word choices (Di Giovanni, 2014). Prejudice consists of several individual and social elements, generally identified by attitudes towards a community or particular individuals within a group (Stangor, 2009). Prejudice can look like animosity, disapproval, or firmly held negative beliefs that take on behavioral forms at the individual level. Prejudice at the community level most frequently results in bigotry, unjust and unequal treatment, and tends to be social stratification, the resistance of majority communities to the inclusion of 10 minority groups, and generally recognized discriminatory practices against immigrants or minority groups.

The experience of discrimination has been closely related to increased poverty rates (Crandall & Stangor, 2005). Satisfaction with life is diminished. Among those who encounter discrimination daily, social support and services are much scarcer. Williams (1999) acknowledges that SES hurts prejudice and inequality, raises negative health outcomes,

decreases overall social mobility, and restricts opportunities to improve one's SES. Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000) recognize that the experience of discrimination among immigrant groups is closely linked to poor psychological performance.

On the Travellers, another Roma subgroup, and the UK press regulation and racism, Morris (2000) specify that the press may claim that they merely represent standard public sentiment in producing largely negative images of them; and they may be correct. However, they condone, promote and validate racist stereotypes in reflecting it, although some may argue that combating such bigoted simplifications is part of their position. Racist invective by the press infects culture in a widespread manner; a way in which an inadvertently racist comment by one person to another cannot. They affirm existing stereotypes and build new ones, much as parents do in transferring to their children's unknown aversions.

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frequently results in bigotry, unjust and unequal treatment, and tends to be social stratification, the resistance of majority communities to the inclusion of 10 minority groups, and generally recognized discriminatory practices against immigrants or minority groups.

Theoretical framework: Framing theory

According to (Goffman, 1974), our lives are organized in a certain way because of frames, which help us to locate, perceive, identify, and label. The concept of framing has been refined and, perhaps, other scholars are still refining it. Media frames organize the world for the journalist and the audience, and frames are devices that facilitate how journalists organize enormous amounts of information and package them effectively for their audiences (Gitlin, 1980). In this section, we were reviewing the concept of framing that has relation to media scholarship.

According to Entman (1993) to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and improvement for the item described. A decade later his position toward understanding framing changed such that it entailed selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues and making connections among them to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution. They (agents) use words and images highly salient in the culture, which is to say noticeable, understandable, memorable, and emotionally charged (Entman, 2003). We can see that primarily the author focused on how people go about framing, but not upon the people who do the framing. In 1993, the process was much more important than the agents were. Instead of defining a problem, he started using select an issue. The framing was no longer residing in objective reality; it absorbed human subjectivity.

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) argue that framing helps us to see how an issue that was covered in the news reports can influence how the audience will understand this issue. Moreover, there are two constructs of framing. Scheufele (1999) says that macro constructs framing is dealing with the modes of presentation that communicators, including journalists, use to present the information to the audience in a certain way. This information has to resonate with "existing underlying schemes among the audience" (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 12). A microconstruct level of framing shows us how people use information and presentation features about certain issues as they form impressions (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). According to Entman (1993), frames have several locations. These locations include the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. All these components are significant to the process of framing, which, itself, consists of two stages. The frame-building stage refers to the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames (De Vreese, 2005). This process is happening in a continuous interaction between elites and journalists and social movements (Gans, 1979). The frame-setting process, one that has been studied most elaborately, is dealing with the interaction between media frames and the prior knowledge and predispositions of individuals (De Vreese, 2005).

Though understandably, news framing influences how we process the information, Kahneman, and Tversky (1979, 1984) stated that the difference in the presentation of the same fact can cause us (the audience) to make different decisions or opinions. Chong and Druckman (2007) partially followed the logic of Entman (1993, 2003) when they divided the term by suggesting that there were two types of framing - equivalency frames offer "different, but logically equivalent phrases," (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 115) which, cause individuals to change their preferences. Emphasis frames offer "qualitatively different yet potentially relevant

considerations" which individuals use to make judgments (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 115). In the approach of equivalency, stylistic and factual-based elements can be compared in the way that we can observe the pure influence of the frame on us. In the approach of emphasis, individuals tend to concentrate on the things that have been deliberately emphasized (Druckman, 2001). Gamson and Modeglioni (1989) say that there are five framing devices to help us to interpret: metaphors, examples, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images, that leads us to the understanding of the concept of framing as one dealing with the presentation of the issue (De Vrees, 2005). The news story has a very important characteristic and that is the news frame because it provides the journalists with a template on how to assemble the facts, story elements and quotes from one hand, and the other hand, it guides the audience toward this or that interpretation (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). The idea of a news frame is an integral part of the idea of frame, which is "a central organizing idea or a storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (De Vrees, 2005, p. 53) connecting them. A news frame can be identified if it is commonly observed in journalistic practice, and it also must be distinguishable from other frames. Also, a frame has to be recognized by others (De Vrees, 2005). Identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics are integral for a news frame. Entman (1993, p.52) elaborates on that by saying that to identify one there shall be "the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments". Needless to say, that framing serves as a generalization that encompasses more specific concepts. De Vreese (2005) defines issue-specific frames and generic frames. This particular study is focusing on the generic news frames, unlike the issues-specific frames, which can be easily compared to each other (De Vreese, 2005). For example, feature news reports would fall under the umbrella of generic framing. The concept of

framing is important to understand the problems of news coverage of the Roma minority. This research focused on the macrolevel stage of news framing that evolves through the intertwined relationship between the journalists, elites, and social movements. Its framing device (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) would be visual images. TV news coverage of Roma-related issues falls mostly into the generic news framing concept since these issues are repetitive (poverty, crime, unemployment, etc.). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) introduced five news frames that are integral to this particular study: 'human interest', 'conflict', 'attribution of responsibility', 'morality' and 'economic consequences'. This study expanded the research on generic news frames to a comparative setting between three Italian TV networks.

One example of modern newspaper articles indicated that little has changed about the existence of Roma in the mind of the public as well as the local law enforcement (Covert, 2016). A January 2016 bulletin published in Tampa Bay, Florida, warned residents to be on the lookout for Roma swindlers in the neighborhood (Lonon, 2016). During the day, they were charged with scamming residents with shoddy paving jobs or outright theft of jewelry or money. While it may very well be possible that these crimes are perpetrated by Roma, one thing is clear, the Roma minority continues to be portrayed in newspapers in a homogenized way. This group's occasional modern mentions in newsprint illustrate interference with the law, craftiness, crime, and deception. There are no alternative representations, unlike many other minority groups.

Roma is seen as a convenient way for journalists to gain a readership because of the simplicity with which they can be sensationalized or easily manipulated by mainstream fears surrounding them (Oleaque, 2014). In the eyes of society and the media, their bad reputation seems to have worsened, leading to an association of Roma with wretchedness. For some kind of derogatory remark about them, they have become an appropriate subject, always for the sake of

sensationalism. Most of the time, the Roma matter is only dealt with to further attribute it to a stigmatized description, as this is the most newsworthy and identifiable element. As Oleaque (2014) states, though it has been sensationalized, Roma's life is newsworthy. For the sake of readership and recognition, journalists who are willing to capitalize on negative Roma societal views do so. Since it works, it tends to reinforce the negative associations of mainstream culture with Roma's lives. Print media in Italy comes in many types targeted at Roma (Catalano, 2018). These include media hysteria about the Roma. They include emergency decrees issued by the government calling for the expulsion of any minority considered a threat that unfairly targets Roma. Newspapers compare Roma to animals. As people and government officials call for human power to be used to expel Roma from Italy, Molotov bombs and violence against Roma are registered.

In the UK, there is a code specifying that the ethnicity of an individual should only be stated when it is specifically related to what is being recorded (Morris, 2000). Local newspapers make life difficult for those who travel by spreading false statements about them before they reach a city, leading to a pre-existing resistance to their presence. They are most often represented as a group that is inherently bad in newspapers (Plaut, 2012). In a study of crime reports in Italy from 2008-2011, several examples of Italian fenders were found but none of these included the residence of the suspects while others identified the place where the crime was allegedly committed which would constitute relevant information. Thus, the inclusion of the residence of the offender seems to be limited to reports on Roma crime and serves the purpose of triggering their readers' value-frames (Catalano, 2018).

The reference to living in a *campo nomadi*³ is an example of what Ochs (1990) calls indirect indexing. According to the author, indirect indexing is when a characteristic of the communicative event is indirectly evoked by indexing some other feature of the event. Thus, even though many Roma in Italy are not nomadic, and that some other peoples or ethnicities may fall under this category, claiming that someone who lives in a nomad camp has come to index the Roma ethnicity. In Hill's work on Mock Spanish (2005) indirect indexing is the (re)production of negatively racial stereotypes operating at a hidden level. In the generic framing of Roma crime events, there is no mention as to why they live in a camp, or the structural social circumstances that have driven them to call for handouts. Moreover, how the justice system is biased towards Roma is not discussed (Catalano, 2018). Instead, the race is emphasized and related to crime, and the nature of this unfairness is not accounted for, which may allow the incidents to be more thematically framed.

Hypotheses

Media coverage provides readily accessible ideas about race and ethnicity to the wide population. In an attempt to add to those ideas, this research aimed at exploring the representation of Roma ethnic minorities in mainstream media in Italy, namely Italian TV news. The following hypotheses were used to analyze whether there is an unbalanced representation towards Roma ethnic minorities. *H1: Roma minority will be portrayed more unfavorably than favorably in all these three Italian TV channels so that there is no difference.* *H2: Roma minority will be portrayed less favorably in Rai TV news than in LaC and La7*

³ Nomad camps

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Content Analysis

Content analysis, as Krippendorff (2004) defines it, is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts in which they are used. Moreover, Krippendorff (1980) identified six questions that must be addressed in every content analysis. These are: 1) which data are analyzed? 2) how are they defined? 3) what is the population from which they are drawn? 4) What is the context relative to which the data are analyzed? 5) What are the boundaries of the analysis? and 6) What is the target of the inferences?

The content analysis of visual data, in this study – video - has various advantages. It is a standardized technique of conducting research, which makes it possible to process a large amount of data in a particular period (Hardwood & Garry, 2003). It also can avoid the influence of the researcher on the process of collecting data, as it often happens in a verbal interview, for example. At the same time, this method has serious drawbacks that relate to the problems of manifest and latent content, data fragmentation, and quantification (Ghale & Jacobs, 2017). Using content analysis in its usual form will not allow us to evaluate the symbolic nature of visual communication properly. As Ball and Smith (1992) mentioned, readers of *Illustrated London News* most likely were seeing a man in the picture as a promising politician, disregarding the shape and length of his mustache. However, this study was addressing the video, news reports, where we can see not only the characters but also the living conditions, we can tell whether its negative, positive portrayal, or even both. That is why, in this study, content analysis was chosen as the main method that gave us the possibility to understand the portrayal of the

Roma minority in Italian TV news. Furthermore, understanding the portrayal of that minority can bridge us with the understanding of the perception of this minority by the Italian majority population.

The plan was to collect visual data of the “prime time news” shown during 2015 – 2020 in three Italian TV news channels - Rai, LaC, La7. After Roma joined the EU at the beginning of 2007, an estimated 10,000 Roma came to Italy. Right after that Silvio Berlusconi was elected prime minister of Italy. The era of media tycoon Silvio Berlusconi has begun and it lasted from 2008 – 2011. This period is marked as the time when the national television in Italy becomes more populist and nationalistic. At some point Rai became a “brand” and “through game shows, weekly Catholic programs, music festivals, sports programs, and newscasts, Rai contributed in giving viewers a more specific sense of national identity and cultural cohesion” (Ardizzoni, 2016, p. 132). Rai has had a great influence on the rest of the Italian networks that to be afloat had to follow a new agenda (Ardizzoni, 2016). However, this research also studied news reports of La7 and LaC TV networks. La7 is a mixture of the three political inclinations, however, some of the programs, for example, *Propaganda Live*, are left-wing oriented. Regional TV network LaC, which has its headquarters in Calabria, is considered to be centered. According to the findings, the news coverage of the Roma minority has had a certain tendency in their media portrayal. Studying the TV news reports from 2015 to 2020 helped us to see how the Roma is portrayed in more or less recent times and especially tested H2, saying that the *Roma minority will be portrayed more unfavorably than favorably in Italian news*.

Sampling Frame

The words *Roma(es)*, *Roma*, *gypsy(ies)*, and *campo rom* were all sought when searching for news reports, whether in library discovery tools, catalogs, online databases, or the Internet, to

obtain wider access to titles. When looking for distinct subgroups such as the Sinti, Gitanos, Manush, and Kalderash, the major subject heading Romans combined with the group name must be used as a keyword.

The period 2015 – 2020 was analyzed using the method of purposive sampling. As of 2017, there were 431 TV channels available in Italy and a vast amount of information was presented on these networks. Due to time constraints, it is impossible to analyze each of these hundreds of TV channels. Audience ratings were used as a criterion to select the sample. In this case, the three TV channels with the highest ratings were used: Rai (36.6%), LaC (Mediaset) (33.6%), and La7 (5.5%), covering 77.5% of the total audience. (Statistica, 2020). These three TV networks provide coverage of events in different parts of Italy from Lombardy to Calabria (LaC). To obtain a purposive sample, a list for each TV network, consisting of twenty-five (25) news reports available on YouTube and each Channel's websites was compiled. The researcher downloaded all the data by numbering each unit with the identification number

By definition when “studies of particular types of publications or particular times may be of interest” (Riffe et al., 2019, p. 77), the most appropriate sampling technique is purposive sampling. Before conducting a content analysis of traditional media for this study various sampling options have been considered. However, the most reasonable sampling option turns out to be purposive. One of the most important reasons for choosing the purposive sampling was that the worth covering events related to the Roma minority happen randomly, their appearance on the TV can't be scheduled. There is no specific day or time when the channel is going to broadcast these or that particular news story. With that being said, news related to Roma may happen every day or there will be a huge time gap between them. During the data collection process, the researcher was only considering news reports from 2015-2020 and avoided talk

shows' footage. Newsreports in general do not exceed more than 3-4 minutes in length, and usually have a reporters' background narration and a certain combination of shots provided by a cameraman. Out of slightly over 30 videos about Roma from each TV network within 2015-2020, the researcher picked 25 reports from Rai, 26 from LaC and 26 from LaC that meet the criteria.

This study proposed to reveal the ways the portrayal of Roma minorities happened within the period of five years, specifically from 2015-2020. The period encompassed the duration of the first five years of the presidency of Sergio Mattarella. In total 77 news stories, 25 news stories from Rai and 26 from LaC and La7 were analyzed. Since news about Roma appears randomly, and there can be a huge time gap between the reports, using random sampling seems to be impossible. These reports were selected from each network where the main theme of the news report was Roma. The initial sample size is $25+26+26=77$ units of video footage. Within this sample, only the time frames that belong to the news related to the Roma minority will be added to the content analysis.

The researcher planned to collect data using the Internet since Stempel and Stewart (2000) warned indexing may not be consistent from site to site. To overcome this difficulty, the videos were organized and archived with a unique ID label. Since the researcher analyzed 77 videos from the TV networks, the plan is to assign an alphabetical letter to a news story with the channel ID. This label has the following information: Channel ID and Letter ID.

Table 1.*Organisation of archive*

Name of TV Channel	Channel ID	The letter assigned to a report using alphabetical order, as present in the coding sheet
Rai	R	R_A; R_V etc.
La7	L7	L7_A; L7_P etc.
LaC	LC	LC_B; LC_M etc.

Units of analysis and the reasons for these choices.*Coding Procedure and Scheme*

Coded variables were selected to reflect the frequency and prominence of the Roma minority portrayals and to characterize how they are portrayed in the news. These are the attributes that the literature suggests as primary components of image formation and stereotyping (Mastro & Greenberg, 2000). Variables were coded at the program level, at the individual character level, and for minority character representations. Programs were coded for length and genre (politics, economics, arts & culture, entertainment news, crime). At the individual character level, the coding was done for age, sex, and role prominence.

The five sets of coded variables were assessed on four points, seen as bipolar adjective scales. Most of the items in each set reflect an attribute or characteristic associated with an ethnic

stereotype. Four Physical Characteristics were examined: weight (thin-obese), hair color (blonde-black), skin color (fair skin-dark skin), and age. A set of three Behavioral Characteristics, i.e., temper (angry/calm), aggression (passive/aggressive), zeal (working/idling). Third, a set of four Appearance Characteristics was assessed: excessive makeup/no makeup, excessive accessories/no accessories, provocative attire/conservative attire, casual attire/professional attire, (dirty/clean?). Fourth, a set of two Living Characteristics was studied: houses slum-like/regular; litter on the streets/no litter on the streets; old/ new vehicles; rooms tidy/untidy; traditional decorations of the interior/regular interior. The final set of attributes dealt with two Musical Characteristics: traditional Roma music presented/non-presented, editorial background music (dramatic, uplifting, suspense). Studying all these characteristics revealed a tendency that filming crews are inclined to when they have to make a report about the Roma minority. While running the collected data through the SPSS 2.0., the researcher decided to address the results as a binary opposition, thus, the portrayals were either *positive* or *negative*. This was measured by comparing the mean of the score of each variable to the maximum available score for the variable. If the mean point of the variable is above half the value of the maximum score, it is taken as a positive portrayal. If the mean score is less than half the value of the maximum score, it is taken as a negative portrayal.

Key concepts and examples of variables that were used to measure.

In this research, 19 variables were used to measure the characteristics of the Roma minority portrayed in these TV stations. All the variables are categorical variables, except variable time taken to show slums and total time of the report. These variables were further categorized into eight characteristics which included two stand-alone variables. The eight major groupings are Program Level, Physical Characteristics, Appearance Characteristics, Behavioral

Characteristics, Living Characteristics, Music Characteristics, Appearance Shots of the Slum-Like Houses and General Untidiness, and Total Time of Report. A Yes on any of these responses means that it was recorded/present during the report, while a No means it wasn't present. There are reasons why these variables were chosen for the data analysis. According to Yoors and Hancock (2004) the Roma minority has been seen by the majority populations in various of European countries in a very negative way based on their physical and appearance characteristics, "the men are very dark and their hair crisp; the women the ugliest and swarthiest ever seen" (p. 44). That means there is a stereotype which makes us think that the filming crews would focus on these characteristics while working on set and covering stories about Roma. Other stereotypical characteristics are behavioral, Schiff (2018), Gateneo-Gabel (2009) and Schneeweis (2009) say that existing stereotypes portray Roma as lazy and work-shy, aggressive, deviant and dangerous. Based on that, the researcher assumed that the filming crews, and especially, the cameraperson, would focus on these stereotypes while filming stories related to the Roma minority. When it comes to the Living characteristics, Appearance Shots of the Slum-Like Houses and General Untidiness of Roma, the researcher analyzed the reports based on, again, the existing stereotype that says that members of this minority are dirty, living in poor condition and lacking hygiene (Baumann, 2004). Another important characteristic that has been taken into considerations would be music, according to Thomas (2006) and Barany (2001), members of the Roma minority would be skillful street musicians that played specific, distinguishable tunes. That means, the filming crews wouldn't disregard filming this, if they would come across anyone from Roma people playing their traditional music. Also, to make the story more salient the video editors would put specific background music genres when they

would work on the montage of the stories related to Roma. The definition of the above mentioned variables would be the following:

Report Type: This variable represents the type of report that was made, which is either positive, negative or not applicable as the case may be

Appearance Time: This variable represents the duration of the appearance of the slum-like houses of the Roma camps. It was recorded in an hour/minute/second format. By the appearance of slum-like houses the researcher meant the video shots of the Roma houses in very poor conditions that are defined to be extremely unpleasant and dirty.

Total Time of Report: This variable represents the duration of the reports of the Roma Camps. The coder was recorded in an hour/minute/second format

Physical Characteristics of Roma: Since the TV news reports consist of several shots (wide, mid, close-up) of groups of people on the set, for this study, it seemed important to record some physical characteristics of the Roma people. The characteristics under study include:

Age: This measured the Age of the Roma people. This is recorded as Young(Y), Old(O), and Children(C).

Body Type: This defines the body type of the Roma minority that was recorded/present during the report. This is recorded as Normal, Obese, and Thin.

Hair Color: This defines the Hair Color of the people that were recorded during the report. This is either Blonde or Black or both.

Skin Color: This is the Skin color of the people recorded during the report. Coding is either Fair or Dark or both.

Variables about age, body, hair, skin color were taken under consideration based on the existing literature about Roma (Yoors & Hanckok, 2004). The researcher assumed that these characteristics would be paid attention to by the filming crews when collecting footage of the Roma minority.

Appearance Characteristics of the Roma minority: For this study, Appearance characteristics of the Roma people include:

Makeup: This variable answers the question “Did the Roma Minority use Makeup when recorded?”. The response is either Yes or No

Accessories: This variable answers the question “If the Roma Minority use accessories when recorded?”. The responses are Yes or No

Fashion: This defines the fashion sense of the Roma minority that was recorded. The category of response is either they are Provocative or Conservative or both

Attire: What kind of attire did they have on while the report was done. It can either be Casual or Formal or both.

These variables were considered by the researcher since these characteristics are based on the stereotypes described in the existing literature about the Roma minority and their stereotypization by the majority (Schiff, 2018; Gateneo-Gabel, 2009; Schneeweis, 2009). The

researcher assumed that the filming crews would film the members of the Roma minority based on the existing stereotypes.

Behavioral Characteristics of the Roma minority: For this study, Behavioral characteristics of the Roma people include:

Temper: This measures the temperament of the Roma minority as the report was going on. It states whether they are calm or angry or both.

Aggression: Were the minority aggressive when the report was recorded? Yes or No.

Zeal: What were the minority doing in the report? Were they staying idly or working, or both?

Same logic was applied when the researcher chose to use these variables to study the representation of the Roma minority in the Rai, LaC and La7 news reports. Filming crews would collect video shots of the Roma members who would be idle or aggressive. Again, this was taken into consideration based on the existing stereotypes described in the literature (Gateneo-Gabel, 2009).

Living Characteristics of the Roma minority: For this study, Living characteristics of the Roma people include:

Slum-like Houses: This measured if slum-like homes were recorded during the report. It can either be Yes or No

Surroundings: What is the state of the surrounding of the Roma minority recorded during the report? Is it Tidy or Untidy or Both?

While analyzing all these 77 reports the researcher noticed that most of the time the brolls consisted of shots of untidiness, slum-like houses. Roma living conditions would grasp the attention of the cameraperson whether they are from Rai, LaC or La7 TV networks. Being on the set and working on the story related to Roma, every shot has to be justified and be aligned with the filming agenda. On one hand, that, of course, contributes to the existing stereotype about the Roma minority, but on the other hand, the living conditions would be objectively poor which can be seen from the wide shots.

Music Characteristics of the Roma minority: For this study, Music characteristics of the Roma people include:

Roma Music: Was Roma Music present while the report was done

Background Music: This defines the kind of background music that was used once the newsreport was assembled and was broadcasted, usually the background music is picked by the video editor. It can be Dramatic, Uplifting, or Suspenseful. It can include the combination of either two or all of these options.

Procedures to improve reliability and validity.

The plan was to have at least two coders in this study to ensure the reliability and validity of the study. Reliability in content analysis is defined as an agreement among coders about categorizing content (Riffe et al., 2005). To indicate numerically how well the coding has been implemented, the study used random sampling for the selection of the samples for reliability testing. As Wimmer & Dominick (2003) suggests, between 10% and 25% of the aggregate sample should be included in the reliability test. For a 5% confidence level, the study

implemented a reliability test under the following sample size formula: $P=90\%$ $n=(N-1) (SE)^2 + PQ$ $n=(77-1) \times 0.009 + 0.09 \times 77(77-1) \times 0.009 + 0.09 = n=50$. So 50 test units were used for the coder reliability test.

The study implemented the Percentage of Agreement test. Since there were only two coders, the agreement test only shows the number of units that I and the other coder agreed and disagreed with. Inter-coder reliability was obtained by calculating Scott's pi for each program and character variable.

Validity refers to the confidence a scholar can have in the results showing that the articulated theoretical concepts offer a discriminating description of the field being analyzed (Riffe et al, 2005). Validity asks the question of how well a system of analysis measures the data (Riffe et al, 2005). The accuracy with which a method measures what it is intended to measure is referred to as its validity (Heale & Twycross, 2015). Content analysis is valid if the conclusions drawn from the available texts stand up to the scrutiny of the independently available evidence, new observations, competing for theories or interpretations, or the ability to inform successful actions (Krippendorff, 2004). If research has high validity, it produces results that correspond to real physical or social properties, characteristics, and variations. Thus because of the nature of the study, an external check would be more appropriate.

For this research, all the variables underwent the validity analysis with the aid of the Scott Pi statistics that is acceptable for all validity tests. After analysis, twelve variables were selected due to the p-values less than 0.05 while variables whose p-values are greater than 0.05 were taken under consideration. The variables selected, with their respective statistical values and p-values in brackets, are Age (Scott Pi = 0.550, p-value = 0.00 < 0.05), Hair Color (Scott Pi

= 0.639, p-value = 0.00 < 0.05), Skin Color (Scott Pi=0.641, p-value = 0.00), Makeup (Scott Pi=1.00, p-value=0.00<0.05), Accessories (Scott Pi = 1.00, p-value = 0.00 < 0.05), Aggression (Scott Pi = 0.922, p-value = 0.00 < 0.05), Slum-like (Scott P i= 0.466, p-value = 0.00 < 0.05), Fashion (Scott Pi = 0.979, p-value = 0.00 < 0.05), Temper (Scott Pi = 0.685, p-value = 0.00 < 0.05), Zeal (Scott Pi = 0.525, p-value = 0.00 < 0.05), Surroundings (Scott Pi = 0.387, p-value = 0.00 < 0.05) and Roma (Scott Pi = 0.099, p-value = 0.026 < 0.05). The variables that the researcher and the coder coded differently are Type of Report (Scott Pi = 0.00, p-value = 1.00 > 0.05), Body Type (Scott Pi = 0.040, p-value = 0.398 > 0.05), Attire (Scott Pi = 0.049, p-value = 0.406 > 0.05) and Background Music (Scott Pi = 0.054, p-value = 0.164 > 0.05).

The final work was submitted to a peer-review process before it was judged suitable for publication and possible influence on other work. Moreover, to increase validity I want to reach out to another colleague who is not involved in the study, to read the coding structure, data sampling protocol, and the results, and then judge whether they are reasonable or not as recommended by Downe-Wambolt (1992).

Data Analysis

The information gathered was quantitative and qualitative. All variables in the physical, living, behavioral, music, and appearances categories, since they are non-numeric, are qualitative. While the time of showing slum houses and surroundings of the Roma minority and the total time of the full report are quantitative. Frequency distribution tables were used to examine the frequency and percentage of response for each of the variables under this study. Further descriptive analysis, such as mean, standard deviation, and the maximum values were used in obtaining the portrayal status of each variable as being reported by the three television stations.

Line graphs were used to check the trends of the portrayals of characteristics under study between the years 2015 – 2020. Chi-Square (χ^2) analysis was used to check and test the significant difference in the way the Roma minority were portrayed by the three television stations for categorical data and the Analysis of variance was used for the quantitative data (i.e. the time taken to report slums and surrounding of the Roma minority). For situations in which there was a significant difference in the analysis, the researcher identified what television channels were significantly different from one another. Researcher also conducted analysis to assess the strength of the relationship between the time of showing slum houses and the surroundings of the Roma minority and the total time of the whole report.

All tests were conducted at a 0.05 level of significance. All analyses were done using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20.

CHAPTER IV

Results

The results of the study are provided in this chapter. Each of the four research questions stated in the objectives of the study was used to analyze the portrayal of the Roma minority. For each of the research questions, a summary of the findings is provided. The chapter ends with a general summary of all the research questions, coupled with their findings.

Research Question 1

The first research question was about how the Roma minority population is portrayed in the Italian TV news. To answer this question descriptive statistics were used. These include frequency distribution tables, mean, standard deviation, maximum, and graphical exploration of the data. These were analyzed for the individual TV stations. Descriptive statistics show the difference in characteristics within the variables under consideration, portraying the Roma minority population.

The percentage of characteristics of Roma shown in these three television channels is shown in Table 2.1. For convenience, abbreviations were assigned for the variables of the characteristics and their combinations. Thus, for the age of the Roma minority reported, 76.0% featured YOC, where Y stands for young, O for old, and C for the child. The combination of the first letters of the variables means that these variables are presented in the reports together, thus 4% OY, 4% YC, 4% OC, 4% C, and 2% have None. For Body types (Normal, Obese, Thin), 60.0% NOT, 8% NO, 8% NT, 4% O, 16% N and 4% NONE. Those with hair color revealed 72% BOBA (Blonde, Black), 12% BA, 8% BO, and 8% NONE. Furthermore, Table 2.1 reveals 28%, 4% D, 8% FD (Fair, Dark) and 60% NONE. Also, results show that 28% used makeup while 72% didn't use makeup. On accessories, 68% used accessories while 32% didn't. On

fashion, 16% PC (Provocative and Conservative), 60% CON (Conservative), 8% PRO (Provocative) and 16% NONE. In terms of portraying the temper of the filmed people, 28% have AC (Aggression and Calm), 56% C (Calm), 2% A (Aggression), and 8% NONE. Among all Roma, 96% showed no aggression, while 4% did. The slum-like houses and untidy surroundings have 88% of presentation in the reports, while 12% of Roma don't live in the slums. Roma music is absent in 72%, while 28% has Roma music present. Table 2.1 shows the descriptive statistics of all the variables considered in this study. The explanations for the following abbreviations can be found in Appendix A.

Table 2.

News stories from each of the five years were used for each station

Date	Rai	La7	LaC
2015	4	6	6
2016	2	2	3
2017	2	8	6
2018	8	4	8
2019	7	4	2
2020	2	2	1

Table 2.1.*Frequency Distribution of the percentage of Characteristics Categories of Group*

	Frequency	Percent
Age		
YOC	19	76.0
No One	2	8.0
OY	1	4.0
YC	1	4.0
OC	1	4.0
C	1	4.0
Hair Color		
BOBA	18	72.0
BA	3	12.0
BO	2	8.0
NONE	2	8.0
Skin Color		

Table 2.1 (continued).

	F	7	28.0
	D	1	4.0
	FD	2	8.0
	NONE	15	60.0
Make Up	NO	18	72.0
	YES	7	28.0
Accessories	NO	8	32.0
	YES	17	68.0
Fashion	PC	4	16.0
	C	15	60.0
	P	2	8.0
	NONE	4	16.0
Temper	AC	7	28.0
	C	14	56.0

Table 2.1 (continued).

	A	2	8.0
	NONE	2	8.0
Aggression	NO	24	96.0
	YES	1	4.0
Zeal	WI	10	40.0
	I	3	12.0
	W	1	4.0
	NONE	11	44.0
Slum like	NO	3	12.0
	YES	22	88.0
Surroundings	U	20	80.0
	T	2	8.0
	TU	2	8.0
	NONE	1	4.0
Roma Music	A	18	72.0
	P	7	28.0

The portrayal of the Roma minority in the Rai TV Channel was analyzed as shown in Table 2.2. The responses were tallied together with the positive and negative portrayal, with the mean score compared with the expected maximum score. The results indicate that Makeup, Accessories, Aggression, Slum, and Surroundings were shown in a way that we can say was a negative portrayal due to mean values, less than half of the maximum value assigned to each variable. As for Age, Hair Color, Skin Color, Fashion, Temper, Zeal, Roma Music we can see that the results for these characteristics indicate that Roma was positively portrayed by the filming crew. Their grand mean score of 1.9320 out of a possible value of 3 indicates that there is a good portrayal at a general overview. This may be due to higher values of some characteristics.

Table 2.2

Descriptive Statistics of Variables of Interest for the Rai TV Channels

Variable	N	Maximum	Std. Deviation	Portrayal
Age	25	6	1.968	Positive
Hair Color	25	3	.963	Positive
Skin Color	25	3	.913	Positive
Makeup	25	1	.458	Negative
Accessories	25	1	.476	Negative
Fashion	25	3	.702	Positive

Table 2.2 (continued).

Temper	25	3	.841	Positive
Aggression	25	1	.200	Negative
Zeal	25	3	1.155	Positive
Slum	25	1	.332	Negative
Surroundings	25	3	.645	Negative
Roma Music	25	2	.523	Positive
Grand Total		3	1.447	Positive

Similarly, the portrayal of the Roma minority by the LaC TV Channel filming crews was as presented in Table 2.3. The responses were tallied together with, again, the positive and negative portrayal. The results indicated that the way the filming crews collected the footage that had Makeup, Accessories, Aggression, Slum, and Surroundings was a negative general portrayal due to mean values, less than half of the maximum value assigned to each variable. Whereas the results for Age, Hair Color, Skin Color, Fashion, Temper, Zeal, Roma Music show that the portrayal bears a positive tendency. However, there is a negative portrayals at a general overview.

Table 2.3*Descriptive Statistics of Variables of Interest for the LaC TV Channel*

	N	Maximum	Std. Deviation	Portrayal
Age	26	6	1.934	Positive
Hair Color	26	3	.939	Positive
Skin Color	26	3	.993	Positive
Makeup	26	1	.368	Negative
Accessories	26	1	.504	Negative
Fashion	26	3	.909	Negative
Temper	26	3	.766	Positive
Aggression	26	1	.402	Positive
Zeal	26	3	1.065	Negative
Slum	26	1	.510	Negative
Surroundings	26	3	.852	Positive
Roma Music	26	1	.000	Positive
Grand Total		4.69	1.296	Negative

In addition, the portrayal of Roma by La7 was analyzed as presented in Table 2.4. The responses were tallied together with the positive and negative portrayal, with the mean score compared with the expected maximum score. The results indicate that the video reports that have shots of Makeup, Accessories, Aggression, Slum, Surroundings, Roma Music, bear a negative portrayal of Roma due to mean values, less than half of the maximum value assigned to each variable. Whereas Age, Hair Color, Skin Color, Fashion, Temper, Zeal were captured in a way that we can say is a positive portrayal. Their grand mean score of 1.760 out of a possible value of 4.96 indicates that there is a negative portrayal at a general overview.

Table 2.4

Descriptive Statistics of Variables of Interest for the La7 TV Channel

	N	Maximum	Std. Deviation	Portrayal
Age	26	6	1.978	Positive
Hair Color	26	3	.990	Positive
Skin Color	26	3	1.029	Positive
Makeup	26	1	.326	Negative
Accessories	26	1	.510	Negative
Fashion	26	3	1.071	Positive
Temper	26	3	.824	Positive

Table 2.4 (continued).

Aggression	26	1	.196	Negative
Zeal	26	3	1.079	Positive
Slum	26	1	.272	Negative
Surroundings	26	3	.490	Negative
Roma Music	26	2	.344	Negative
Grand Total		4.96	1.496	Negative

Summary of Research Question 1

The portrayals of the Roma minority vary across the three television channels. At the level of the individual characteristics, some characteristics occurred at negative portrayal at the three television stations. Makeup, Accessories, Aggression, Slum, Surroundings were the indicators of a negative portrayal across the three television channels while Age, Hair Color, Skin Color, Fashion, Temper, Zeal have been captured and included in the reports in a way that we can say the portrayal is positive across the three television channels. At the general overview, combining all scores of the variables, the portrayal by the La7 television channel is the most negative one, followed by the LaC channel and Rai.

Research Question 2

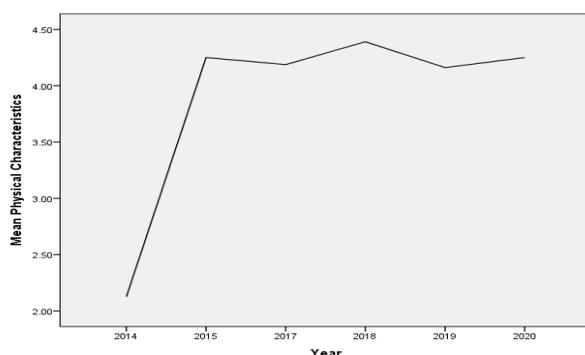
The second research question sought to find out if there was an improvement in the portrayals of the Roma in the last five years in all these three TV channels. From Figure 1 to

Figure 5 the results are presented for the Rai television channel, results from Figure 6 to Figure 10 are for LaC, and the results for La7 are included in Figure 11 to Figure 15.

The results show that the portrayal of the physical characteristics of the Roma minority by the Rai television channel has a sharp improvement from 2014 to 2015, slightly reduces from 2015 to 2017, improves a little between 2017 and 2018, reduces again in 2019, and improves by 2020 as represented in Figure 1.

Figure 1

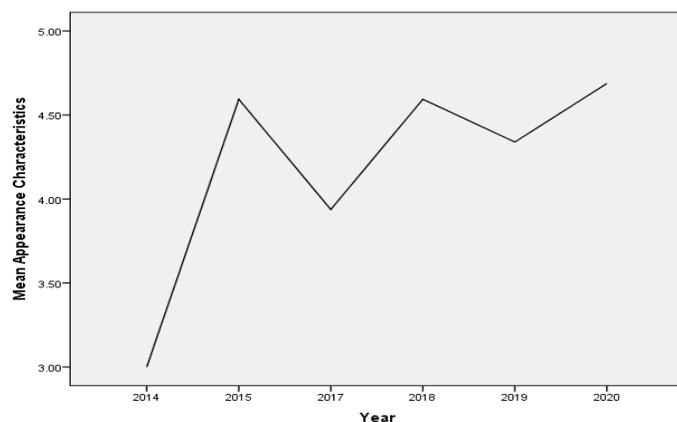
The trend of Portrayals of Physical Characteristics of Roma by Rai TV Channel



The results further indicate that the portrayal of the appearance characteristics of the Roma minority by the Rai television channel has a great improvement from 2014 to 2015, reduces from 2015 to 2017, improved between 2017 and 2018 reduces in 2019, and improves by 2020 as presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2

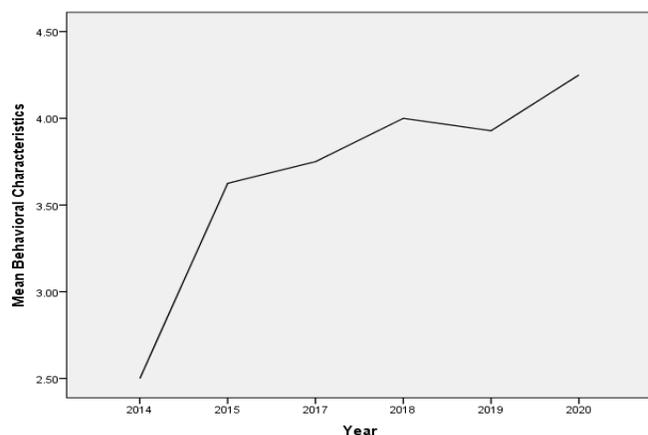
The trend of Portrayals of Appearance Characteristics of Roma by Rai TV Channel



In the case of Rai's portrayal of the behavioral characteristics of Roma, the results show a sharp improvement from 2014 to 2015, and it keeps improving until between 2018 and 2019 where the portrayal dropped but improved in the year 2020 as presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3

The trend of Portrayals of Behavioral Characteristics of Roma by Rai TV Channel

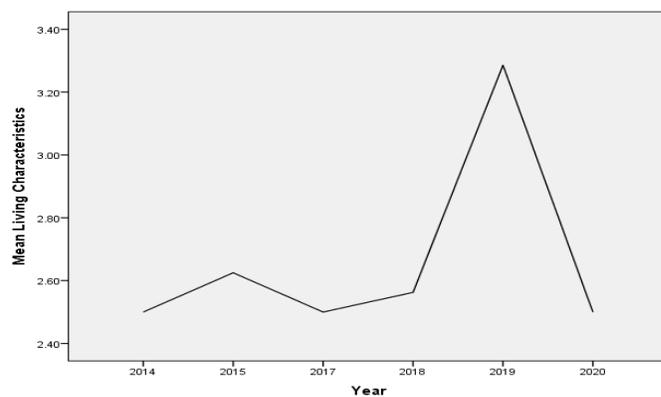


On the other hand, the results indicate that the portrayal of living characteristics of the Roma has a little improvement from 2014 to 2015, reduces from 2015 to 2017, improved

between 2017 and 2018 has a sharp improvement in 2019 before it drops again in 2020 as presented in Figure 4.

Figure 4

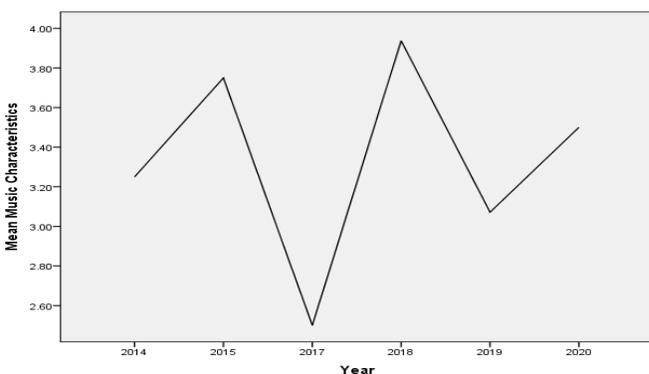
The trend of Portrayals of Living Characteristics of Roma by Rai TV Channel



Regarding the trends of usage of music in the news reports addressing the Roma issues, the results show that the character of music has an improvement from 2014 to 2015 getting positive, becomes negative sharply from 2015 to 2017, improved tremendously between 2017 and 2018 reduces in 2019, and slightly gets better by 2020 as represented in Figure 5.

Figure 5

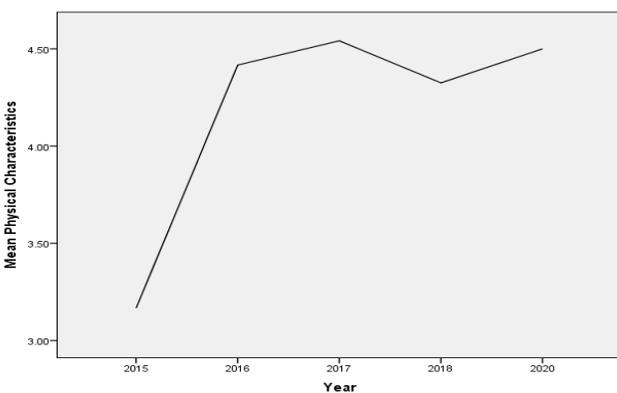
The trend of Portrayals of Music Characteristics of Roma by Rai TV Channel



The trend of the portrayal of the physical characteristics of the Roma minority by the LaC television channel was also analyzed. The results show that the portrayal has a sharp improvement from 2014 to 2017, reduces in 2018, and improves by 2020 as shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6

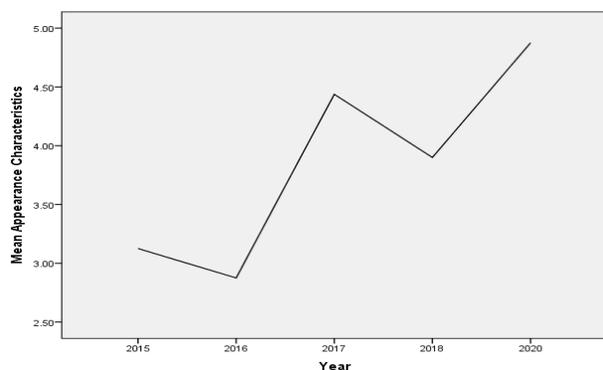
The trend of Portrayals of Physical Characteristics of Roma by LaC TV Channel



Furthermore, the trend of the portrayal of appearance characteristics of the Roma minority by LaC was analyzed. The results show that this portrayal has a reduction from 2015 to 2016, got better by 2016 to 2017, reduces between 2017 and 2018, and improves by 2020 as presented in Figure 7.

Figure 7

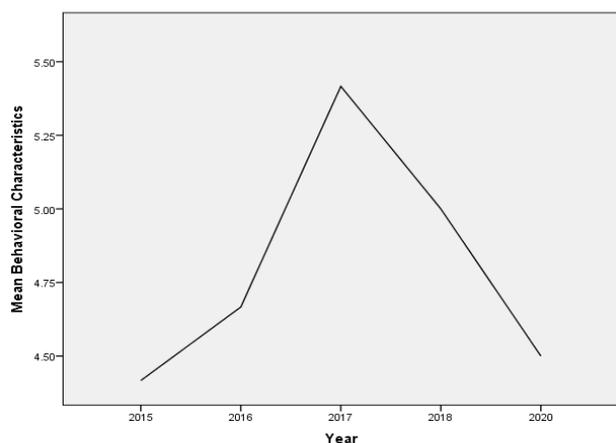
The trend of Portrayals of Appearance Characteristics of Roma by LaC TV Channel



The trends of the portrayal of the behavioral characteristics of the Roma minority by the LaC television channel are shown in Figure 8. It indicates that the portrayal has a sharp improvement from 2015 to 2017, and started reducing, even up to 2020.

Figure 8

The trend of Portrayals of Behavioral Characteristics of Roma by LaC TV Channel

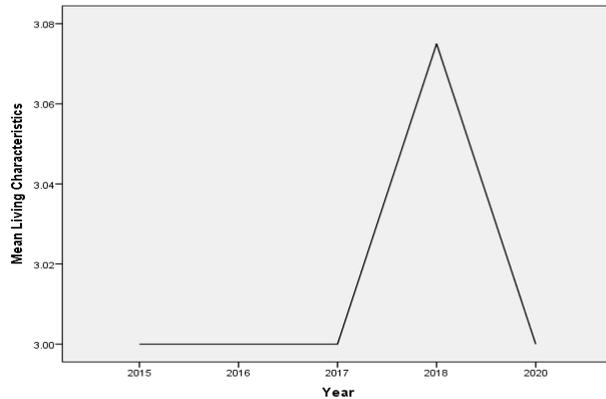


Another important trend of the portrayal of the Roma minority that has been analyzed was their living characteristics represented by LaC. It shows that the portrayal was negative and

constant(unchanged) from 2015 to 2017, then it improved between 2017 and 2018, and dropped sharply by 2020. These dynamics can be seen in Figure 9.

Figure 9

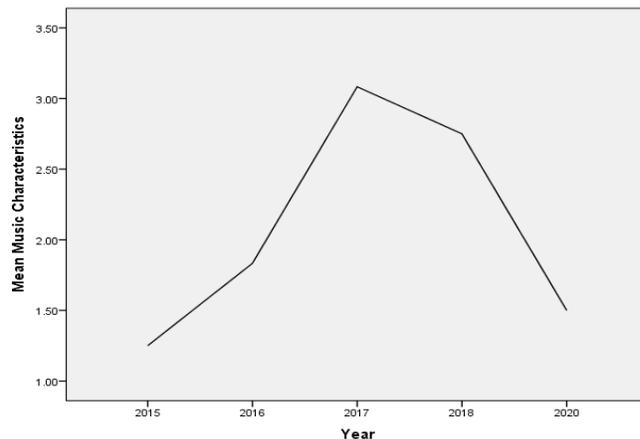
The trend of Portrayals of Living Characteristics of Roma by LaC TV Channel



Other results are also showing the trend of the Music Characteristics in the reports made by LaC. The character of music that video editors used has a stable improvement from 2015 to 2017, but then reduces from 2017 to 2018, and completely drops by 2020 as shown in Figure 10.

Figure 10

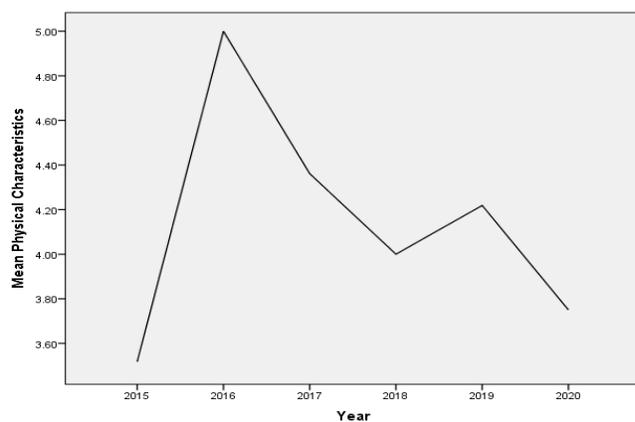
The trend of Portrayals of Music Characteristics of Roma by LaC TV Channel



This study found that the portrayal of the physical characteristics of Roma by La7 has a sharp improvement from 2015 to 2016. Then it began to reduce from 2016 to 2018, improved between 2018 and 2019, and then reduced in 2020. The trend for this is shown in Figure 11.

Figure 11

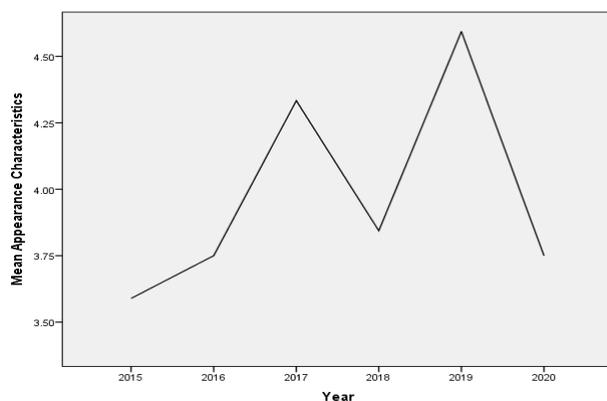
The trend of Portrayals of Physical Characteristics of Roma by La7 TV Channel



The analysis of La7 also shows that the portrayal of the appearance characteristics has an improvement from 2015 to 2017, reduces by 2018, improves between 2018 to 2019, and then reduces by 2020. These results are shown in Figure 12.

Figure 12

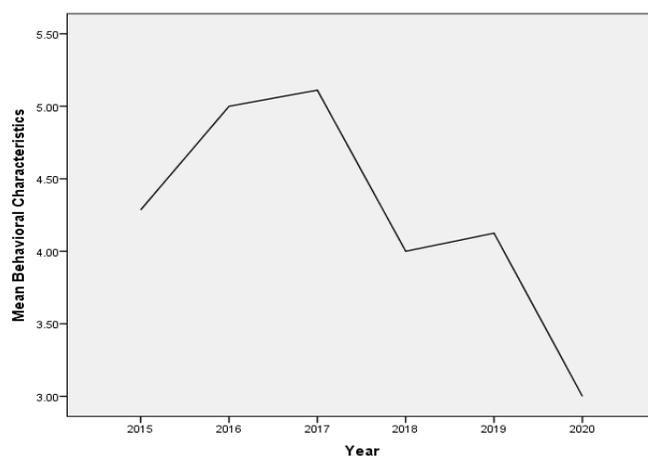
The trend of Portrayals of Appearance Characteristics of Roma by La7 TV Channel.



The behavioral characteristics of Roma by La7 have certain dynamics of portrayal that were good from 2015 to 2017, reduced from 2017 to 2018, slightly improved between 2018 and 2019, and reduced in 2020. This trend is visually shown in the line graph in Figure 13.

Figure 13

The trend of Portrayals of Behavioral Characteristics of Roma minority by La7 TV Channel

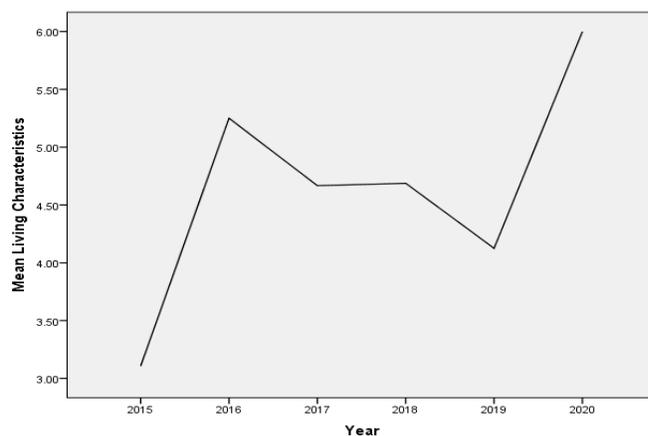


The trend of the portrayal of the living characteristics of the Roma minority by the La7 television channel has also been studied. The line graph reveals that the portrayal has a sharp

improvement from 2015 to 2016 but started reducing from 2016 to 2019 before it improved in 2020, as it is shown in Figure 14.

Figure 14

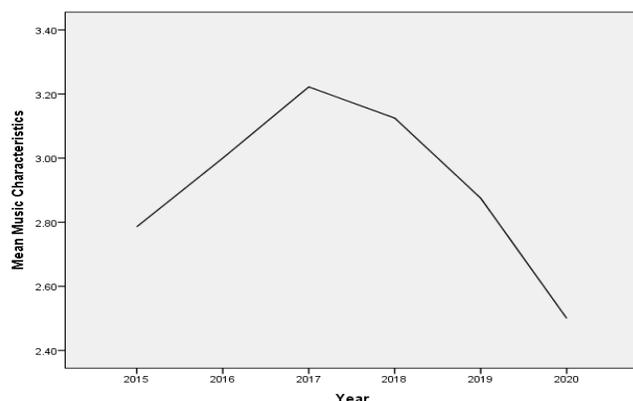
The trend of Portrayals of Physical Characteristics of Roma minority by La7 TV Channel



The trend of usage of three variables of music in the news reports about Roma was positive from 2015 to 2017, but then the editorial team of La7 began using negative music until 2020. This can be seen in Figure 15.

Figure 15

The trend of Portrayals of Music Characteristics of Roma minority by La7 TV Channel



Summary of Research Question 2

This section answered the questions on the trend of the portrayals of the three television channels in the past five years, that is 2015-2020. The portrayal was grouped under five Physical characteristics: Living, Behavioral, Music, and Appearance characteristics. The results showed that the trend varies across all these television channels. Also, there is a sharp increase (positive portrayals) in the early years, i.e., 2014-2016 for most of the characteristics across all the three channels and bad portrayals (decrease in the trend) between 2017 and 2019. Generally, the trend is of a good outlook for Rai but a bad outlook for La7.

Research Question 3

Research question three asked whether there is any difference in portrayals of the Roma minority population among Rai, LaC, and La7 TV channels. The researcher tested several hypotheses to determine the difference in portrayals of the Roma minority between the three TV channels. The first hypothesis predicted that there is no significant difference between the

portrayal of the Roma minority by the three television channels concerning the variable under consideration.

Table 2.5

Test for Significance difference in the report between the TV channels

		TV Channels			Total
		RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
Type of Report	N	24	25	20	69
	N/A	0	1	3	4
	P	1	0	3	4
Total		25	26	26	77
Pearson Chi-Square= 7.542		p-value= 0.110			

Table 2.6

Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Age between the TV channels

		TV Channels			Total
		RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
Age of Roma Minority	YOC	19	12	18	49
	No One	2	1	3	6
	OY	1	3	5	9
	YC	1	3	0	4
	OC	1	2	0	3

Table 2.6 (continued)

	C	1	0	0	1
	Y	0	2	0	2
	O	0	3	0	3
Total		25	26	26	77

Pearson Chi-Square= 22.793

p-value= 0.064

Table 2.7

Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Hair Color between the TV channels

		TV Channels			Total
		RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
Hair Color	BOB				
	A	18	19	12	49
	BA	3	4	9	16
	None	2	3	2	7
	BO	2	0	3	5
Total		25	26	26	77

Pearson Chi-Square= 8.629

p-value=0.196

Table 2.8*Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Skin Color between the TV channels*

		TV Channels			Total
		RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
	F	7	2	8	17
Skin	D	1	1	5	7
Color	None	15	3	1	19
	FD	2	20	12	34
Total		25	26	26	77
		Pearson Chi-Square = 40.943			p-value= 0.000

Table 2.9*Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Makeup between the TV channels*

		TV Channels			Total
		RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
	No	18	23	22	63
Makeup	Yes	7	3	4	14
Total		25	26	26	77
		Pearson Chi-Square= 2.528			p-value=0.283

Table 2.10*Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Accessories between the TV channels*

		TV Channels			Total
		RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
Accessories	No	8	13	11	32
	Yes	17	13	15	45
Total		25	26	26	77
Pearson Chi-Square = 1.709					p-value=0.425

Table 2.11*Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Aggression between the TV channels*

		TV Channels			Total
		RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
Aggression	No	24	25	21	70
	Yes	1	1	5	7
Total		25	26	26	77
Pearson Chi-Square= 4.884					p-value =0.087

Table 2.12*Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Slum Like Houses between the TV channels*

		TV Channels			Total
		RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
Slum Like House	No	3	2	11	16
	Yes	22	24	13	59
	Yes/No	0	0	2	2
Total		25	26	26	77
Pearson Chi-Square=		16.455		p-value = 0.002	

Table 2.13*Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Fashion between the TV channels*

		TV Channels			Total
		RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
Fashion	C	16	12	14	42
	PC	6	8	6	20
	None	1	5	3	9
	P	2	1	3	6
Total		25	26	26	77
Pearson Chi-Square=		4.619		p-value= 0.594	

Table 2.14*Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Temper between the TV channels*

	TV Channels			Total
	RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
Temper				
C	14	18	17	49
AC	7	5	4	16
None	2	3	2	7
A	2	0	3	5
Total	25	26	26	77
Pearson Chi-Square=4.446			p-value=0.617	

Table 2.15*Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Zeal between the TV channels*

	TV Channels			Total
	RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
Zeal				
WI	10	8	7	25
I	3	7	14	24
None	11	4	4	19
W	1	7	1	9
Total	25	26	26	77
Pearson Chi-Square= 21.491			p-value=0.001	

Table 2.16*Test for Significance difference in portrayal of surroundings between the TV channels*

		TV Channels			Total
		RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
surroundings	U	20	23	13	56
	TU	2	1	5	8
	None	1	2	1	4
	T	2	0	7	9
Total		25	26	26	77
Pearson Chi-Square		15.043 ^a	6		.020

Table 2.17*Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Roma Music between the TV channels*

		TV Channels			Total
		RAI TV	LAC TV	LA7 TV	
roma music	A	18	24	26	68
	P	7	2	0	9
Total		25	26	26	77
Pearson Chi-Square = 15.043		p-value = 0.020			

Table 2.18

Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Time taken to show slums and surroundings while reporting between the TV channels

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	216089.532	2	108044.766	5.254	.007
Within Groups	1521794.260	74	20564.787		
Total	1737883.792	76			

Table 2.19

PostHoc Test for Significance difference in portrayal of Time taken to show slums and surroundings while reporting between the TV channels

(I) TV Channels	(J) TV Channels	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
RAI TV	LAC TV	-36.51385	40.16895	.366	-116.5522	43.5245
	LA7 TV	88.90923*	40.16895	.030	8.8708	168.9476
LAC TV	RAI TV	36.51385	40.16895	.366	-43.5245	116.5522
	LA7 TV	125.42308*	39.77319	.002	46.1733	204.6729
LA7 TV	RAI TV	-88.90923*	40.16895	.030	-168.9476	-8.8708
	LAC TV	-125.42308*	39.77319	.002	-204.6729	-46.1733

The results from Tables 2.5 – 2.17 reveals the test for significance difference between the three T.V channels. The tables show that Skin color ($\chi^2 = 40.943$, $p = 0.000 < 0.05$), Slum-like houses ($\chi^2 = 16.455$, $p = 0.002 < 0.05$), Zeal ($\chi^2 = 21.491$, $p = 0.001 < 0.05$), Surroundings ($\chi^2 = 15.043$, $p = 0.020 < 0.05$), Roma music ($\chi^2 = 10.288$, $p = 0.006 < 0.05$), and the time it takes to show the slum-like houses and surroundings while reporting ($F(2,74) = 5.254$, $p = 0.007 < 0.05$) are significant while Age ($\chi^2 = 2.793$, $p = 0.064 > 0.05$), Hair Color ($\chi^2 = 8.629$, $p = 0.196 > 0.05$), Makeup ($\chi^2 = 2.528$, $p = 0.283 > 0.05$), Accessories ($\chi^2 = 1.709$, $p = 0.425 > 0.05$), Aggression ($\chi^2 = 4.884$, $p = 0.087 < 0.05$), Fashion ($\chi^2 = 4.619$, $p = 0.594 > 0.05$), and Temper ($\chi^2 = 4.446$, $p = 0.617 > 0.05$) are insignificant. This implies that there is significant difference in the way the three TV channels portrayed the Roma minority with respect to Skin color, slum-like houses, surroundings, and roma music while there is no difference in the way the three TV channels portrayed the Roma minority with respect to Age, Hair Color, Makeup, Accessories, Aggression, Fashion, and Temper.

Using a PostHoc test called the **Least Significant Difference (LSD)** to identify the television channels that portray the Roma minority significantly differently, it is found that there is significant difference between the time used to report slums and its surroundings by LA7 and LaC ($0.02 < 0.05$), also between La7 and Rai ($p \text{ value} = 0.03 < 0.05$) Channels. This implies that La7 is significantly different in both cases.

Summary of Research Question 3

This section summarized the result obtained from assessing if there is a significant difference between the way the three channels portrayed the Roma minority concerning the variables under consideration. The results show that there is a significant difference between the portrayal of the Roma minority by the three television channels when filming Romas' Skin color,

slum-like houses, surroundings, roma music and background music. However, there is no significant difference in the portrayal of the Roma minority concerning Age, Body Types, Hair Color, Makeup, Accessories, Aggression, Fashion, Attire and Temper. A further PostHoc Test was conducted which revealed the stations that have significant differences in the portrayal of Roma. Results showed that there is significant difference between the time used to report slums and its surroundings by La7 and LaC ($0.02 < 0.05$), also between La7 and Rai ($p \text{ value} = 0.03 < 0.05$) Channels.

Research Question 4

Research question four asked if there is a relationship between the time of showing slum-like houses and surroundings of the Roma minority and the total time of the full reports. The relationship between the time slum houses and surroundings of Roma and the total time of the news reports broadcasted by the three channels were taken into consideration .

From Table 2.20, it revealed that the mean time of showing slums and surroundings by Rai channel is 118.48 with a standard deviation of 118.770 while the total time of showing the report is 202.44 with a standard deviation of 123.776. Analysis results indicate that there was a significant correlation between the time slum houses and surroundings of Roma and a total time of the report ($r = 0.804, p < .05$), as shown in Table 2.21 and implies that there is a strong positive relationship between the time of showing slum houses and surroundings of the Roma minority and the total time of the full reports by the Rai TV Channel. The positive value of the correlation coefficient indicate that as the total time of reporting increases, the time spent by the Rai TV channel in showing the slum houses and surroundings of the Roma minority increases and vice versa.

Table 2.20

Mean and standard deviation of Time of showing slum-like houses and surroundings of the Roma minority and the total time of the news reports by Rai TV Channel

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Time of showing slum houses and surroundings	118.48	118.770	25
total time of the report	202.44	123.776	25

Table 2.21

Analysis of Time of showing slum houses and surroundings of the Roma minority and the total time of the news reports by Rai TV Channel

		Time of showing slum houses and surroundings	total time of the report
	Pearson Correlation	1	.804**
Time of showing slum houses and surroundings	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	25	25

Table 2.21 (continued).

	Pearson Correlation	.804**	1
total time of the report	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	25	25

From Table 2.22, it revealed that the mean time of showing slums and surroundings by LaC is 28.692 with standard deviation of 29.294 while the total time of showing the report is 233.576 with standard deviation of 153.544. The researcher tested the relationship between the time of slum houses and the surroundings of Roma shown and the total time of the reports by LaC was shown in Table 2.23. The results indicate that the correlation between the time of slum houses and the surroundings of Roma and the total time of the report ($r = 0.008$, $p < .05$) does not exist. This implies that there is no relationship between the Time of showing slum houses and surroundings of the Roma minority and the total time of the full report by the LaC TV Channel. The total time of reporting does not determine the time spent by the LaC TV channel in showing the slum houses and surroundings of the Roma minority.

Table 2.22

The mean and standard deviation of Time of showing slum houses and surroundings of the Roma minority and the total time of the news reports by LaC TV Channel

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Time of showing slum houses and surroundings	28.6923	29.29405	26
total time of the report	233.5769	153.54483	26

Table 2.23

Analysis of Time of showing slum houses and surroundings of the Roma minority and the total time of the news reports by LaC TV Channel

		Time of showing slum houses and surroundings	total time of the report
Time of showing slum houses and surroundings	Pearson Correlation	1	.008
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.970

Table 2.23 (continued).

	N	26	26
	Pearson Correlation	.008	1
total time of the report	Sig. (2-tailed)	.970	
	N	26	26

From Table 2.24, it revealed that the mean time of showing slums and surroundings by La7 is 130.00 with standard deviation of 65.702 while the total time of showing the report is 163.00 with standard deviation of 224.815. The researcher tested the relationship between the time slum houses and surroundings of Roma that were shown and the total time of the reports by La7. Table 2.25 reveals the results which indicate the correlation between the time slum houses and surroundings of Roma and the total time of the report ($r = 0.497$, $p < .05$). This implies that there is a weak positive relationship between the Time of showing slum houses and surroundings of the Roma minority and the total time of the full report by the La7 TV Channel. As the total time of reporting increases, the time spent by the La7 channel in showing the slum houses and surroundings of the Roma minority increases and vice versa.

Table 2.24

The mean and standard deviation of Time of showing slum houses and surroundings of the Roma minority and the total time of the news reports by La7 TV Channel

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Time of showing slum houses and surroundings	130.00	65.702	26
total time of the report	163.00	224.815	26

Table 2.25

Analysis of Time of showing slum houses and surroundings of the Roma minority and the total time of the news reports by La7 TV Channel

		Time of showing slum houses and surroundings	total time of the report
Time of showing slum houses and surroundings	Pearson Correlation	1	.497**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.010
	N	26	26
total time of the report	Pearson Correlation	.497**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.010	
	N	26	26

Summary of Research Question 4

The results summarily show that the Rai TV and La7 TV channels spent most of the total time of their news reports about Roma on showing the slum-like houses and untidy surroundings. While LaC is different in this matter because no relationship existed between the total time of reporting and the time spent on showing the slum houses and untidy surroundings of the Roma minority. According to the results for Rai and La7, more than half of the total time of the reports would be the shots of the slum-like houses and untidy surroundings. Since the TV news reports, in general, comprise interviews, soundbites, close-up shots of people, etc. the amount of time given to these slum-like houses is quite big. That is obvious since the cameraman would film what surrounds him, however, one may argue that beauty is in the eye of the beholder. Nevertheless, the audience of Rai and La7 is just seeing these shots and they cause certain feelings.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

The purpose of this research was to analyze the representation of the Roma minority in the Italian TV news channels, Rai, LaC, and La7 from 2015 to 2020. This chapter includes a discussion of major findings as related to Roma, the way they are being filmed, portrayed by the filming and editorial crews of the above-mentioned TV channels. In addition, this chapter ties these findings with the literature review and the theoretical framework. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the study, areas for future research.

Research question 1.

Roma's portrayal varies across the three television channels. Some characteristics occurred at negative portrayals at the three television stations when it came to the level of the individual characteristics. Makeup, Accessories, Aggression, Slum, Surroundings were the indicators of a negative portrayal across the three television channels while Age, Hair Color, Skin Color, Fashion, Temper, Zeal have been captured and included in the reports in a way that we can say the portrayal is positive across the three television channels. Analyzing all scores of the variable, we see that the portrayal by the La7 television channel is the most negative one, followed by the LaC channel and Rai.

As it has been studied, all these three TV channels portray the Roma minority differently. However, certain tendencies indicate the similarities of their portrayal. For example, in all these 77 reports from these three TV channels, we could see that some Roma characteristics have been captured in a way that we can tell the portrayal bears a negative sign. These findings come in agreement with what Entman (1993) was saying when providing the analysis of framing. We see how certain aspects of Roma's everyday life have been made more salient contributing to a

particular interpretation, these aspects captured by the camera became noticeable, understandable, memorable, and charged emotionally (Entman, 2003). Based on the existing stereotypes about Roma, we assumed that Roma people with excessive makeup and accessories would grab the attention of the filming crews while they were working on set, whereas moderate usage of makeup and accessories would not be worth a shot. Thus, excessive makeup (only 28%) and accessories (68%) are indicating a negative portrayal and contribute to the existing prejudice toward Roma (Tremlett, 2013). The same logic was applied when the researcher decided to include the characteristic of Roma aggression, the existence of it in the report indicates that the reports bear a negative connotation, however the total time of the acts of aggression shown is just 4%. Even though, according to the Scott Pi analysis, the coding of the background music made by the researcher and another coder is slightly different, it is important to briefly talk about it. background music that we can hear in the collected reports was coded as dramatic, uplifting, or suspenseful. The results indicate that most of the time the reports included either dramatic (when we see shots of squalor) or suspense (when the story is about crime) tunes, and that tells us that the portrayal of the Roma minority in those videos was negative. As for the other characteristics that include Age, Hair Color, Skin Color, Fashion, Temper, and Zeal the portrayal is rather positive. We assumed that darker hair color, darker skin tone, provocative fashion, idling, obesity, old people would be the subjects that the filming crews would concentrate on filming, again based on the existing stereotype about Roma in the society, thus inflicting anxiety (Stangor & Crandall, 2000). The results show that this assumption is wrong on a general level. Nevertheless, getting back to the comparison of the portrayal of Roma in these three TV news channels, we can state that Roma has a different portrayal.

Research question 2

Another important question that we asked was about the change of the portrayal of Roma by these three channels within a period of five years, from 2015 to 2020. The portrayal was grouped under five Physical characteristics: Living, Behavioral, Music, and Appearance characteristics. The results showed that the trend varies across all these television channels. Also, there is a sharp increase (positive portrayals) in the early years, i.e., 2014 - 2016 for most of the characteristics across all the three channels and bad portrayals (decrease in the trend) between 2017 and 2019. Generally, the trend is of a good outlook for Rai but a bad outlook for La7. Rai's portrayal of Roma's Appearance, Physical, Behavioral characteristics has a rising tendency toward creating a better image of this marginalized minority. The assumption was that there will be a greater number of reports made by Rai where Roma people would be portrayed as aggressive, wearing provocative clothes and makeup, being unhealthy, and obese. However, the portrayal of the living conditions would be dropping steadily until 2020, which means that there are shots of slum-like houses and untidy surroundings, usage of suspense or dramatic music is also there. LaC has a bigger number of shots where we could see the Roma minority members being represented in a good way when it comes to the Physical and Appearance characteristics. However, a large number of the reports produced by this channel show Roma with a negative Behavioral characteristic, also the Musical characteristic drops alongside the Living one. La7's portrayal of these five Roma characteristics doesn't seem to be positive; these characteristics are either very unstable as we can see with the Living and Appearance ones. That means in the reports during one year we could see either good or bad living conditions and Roma people that their cameras have captured would not bear any signs that could be used for their stereotypization by the majority. Whereas, during another year the tendency changes. However,

the good portrayal of Physical, Behavioral characteristics and the usage of positive Music in the reports are dropping steadily and surely by 2020. We see one of the reasons for the occasional improvements in the portrayal of Roma lying in the political environment. From 2014 to 2016 the Italian Parliament was led by Matteo Renzi and his cabinet was democratic. The official rhetoric of the government of that time was integration (Rossi, 2016). Then the trend in the figures shown above decreased between 2017 to 2019, marking the increasing tendency toward negative portrayal. During these years Italia's new prime minister Matteo Salvini changed the country's political course to the right (Rogers, 2018). The worst outlook within this analysis bears La7. However, it is quite surprising that the figures show that the portrayal of such a right media as Rai is far from negative.

Research question 3

Another important discussion arises after analysis that was conducted to answer the question about the difference in the portrayal of the Roma minority among these three TV Channels. The results show us that there is no significant difference in the portrayal of Roma by Rai, LaC, and La7 concerning Age, Hair Color, Makeup, Accessories, Aggression, Fashion, and Temper. This proves the arguments that have been in the scholarship about Roma for decades, saying that both in Central and Eastern Europe the perception of this minority always comes through their social practices (Imre, 2006; Csepeli & Simon, 2004). This research was mainly focusing on the macroconstruct framing. Whereas microconstruct framing (Scheufele, 1999) deals with the modes of presentation that journalists use to present this or that information in a way that it resonates with "existing underlying schemes among the audience" (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 12). Even though, when it comes to Skin color, slum-like houses, surroundings, roma music and background music these three TV channels portray Roma differently, we

acknowledge that the negativity is ubiquitous in all these reports. However, again, it is important to mention that Rai has a positive portrayal in comparison with LaC and La7. Rai presents slum-like houses far less than LaC does, also background music used by Berlusconi's company bears a lesser negative connotation in comparison with the other two. This interesting finding, meaning that, though Rai being a right media, portrays Roma in a far lesser negative aspect. Thinking back about the hypothesis that this study used that Rai would portray Roma less favorably than LaC and La7 is wrong. This mostly indicates the limitations of this research. These limitations will be discussed further.

Research question 4

Finally, yet importantly, the question was addressing the relationship between the time present of video shots of the slum-like houses and the total time of the report. Results for Rai and La7 show that more than half of the total time of the reports would be the shots of the slum-like houses and untidy surroundings. Since the TV news reports, in general, comprise interviews, soundbites, close-up shots of people, etc. the amount of time given to these slum-like houses is quite big, and its 88% of the time of the whole amount of the reports produced by these three TV channels, as for the untidy surroundings the number is slightly different with 80%! The audience of Rai and La7 is just seeing these shots of untidiness and squalor that cause certain feelings among the watching audience. These all findings contribute to the existing literature studying Roma. It is important to understand that the TV news reports about Roma are being filmed by the members of the society, and that prejudice and stereotypization are already there a priori and resonate with the audience's opinion (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). This stereotypization is occasionally reinforced by mere technical needs, requirements that the TV news report has to meet before it gets published. With that being said, the filming crew collects certain shots that

video editors will combine during the montage. As Gheorghe (2013) mentioned, the representations of Roma are the reactions to the majority's assumptions of the "otherness". Thus, Roma happens to be the mirror of the social self and occurs as a criterion for a certain distinctiveness. Societies build their social representation of Roma that is being cultivated by the media, be it a newspaper, or a TV news report. Still, Roma is being identified as a problem, regardless of the occasional changes of their portrayal within years and from one TV channel to another. TV news coverage like those in the sample contributes to the construction and reinforcement of the groups' tainted identity but also it shows us that the majority group is creating their own identity and "places itself in the superior position" (Deaton, 2013, p 41.).

This study is thoroughly based on subjective data, that is videos that were filmed by a person. There is a set of other questions that immediately come to the mind of the researcher. Why would a cameraman of one of these three TV channels film this or that particular person, house, broken laundry machine, empty bottle, etc? What was he driven by when he was filming these items belonging to Roma? According to the stereotypes about Roma existing in society, he was following the mainstream mindset. However, as mentioned above there are regulations that the cameraman has to follow when working on set, these regulations are technical. The cameraman doesn't work autonomously from the reporter, moreover, he supplies the story that the reporter wants to tell with the moving images. Even though they may have discussed the plot, the cameraman collects shots of different ranges, which are close-up, mid, wide shots, etc. While filming these images he may or may not bear in mind that he is going to contribute to further stereotypization and prejudice toward the Roma minority. They may be doing it intentionally or unintentionally. That is why we cannot be certain while analyzing the data. Another limitation would be the access to a larger number of videos, some videos were deleted by these media,

some were never published and uploaded online, TV channels' archives may not be available for public use, etc. One more limitation that the researcher finds important to mention is the lack of correspondence with the actual filming crews. All in all, our findings are in agreement with those scholars who argue that "there is not much variance in media representation of Roma" (Csepeli & Simon, 2004, p. 133.).

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

It's been determined that the media covers ethnic minorities in a certain way, sometimes adding fuel to the fire of prejudice and bigotry. This research focused on the way the Roma are portrayed in Italian television, specifically in the news, and most of the time the portrayal was negative. Despite a few mentions of talk programmers, most of the extant materials and research about Roma centers on print media. Because of this research, we have added to the body of knowledge on how Roma is represented in the Italian TV news, the Roma diaspora, and visual content analysis methodology.

Research shows that media portrayals of Roma generate skewed beliefs and encourage racist views around the world in general and Italy as such, either intentionally or unintentionally. It has been shown through research that prejudgment highlights Roma's vulnerability, but little attention has been given to the TV news involvement in developing these prejudgments against Roma. Although their portrayals have been evaluated mostly on a qualitative level, some interesting tendencies have been established as a result. For example, initially one of the hypotheses stated that Rai would portray Roma less favorably than LaC and La7, however, it was not true to reality. Even though the portrayal of the Roma minority across these TV channels is similar, some characteristics have been portrayed differently.

Visual representation of the Roma minority in the TV news bears multiple aspects that future scholarship has to acknowledge. On one hand, there is that negative connotation that moving images of Roma, their living conditions convey to the majority. On the other hand, these motion images are not necessarily used by the filming crews to increase the hatred and disgust of the audience toward this particular minority. It has been mentioned above that there are rules

when it comes to filming that all people involved in the news production have to follow. A television news report about an art exhibition won't be any different from a report about an earthquake, rules would be the same, there will be wide, mid, close-up shots, etc. The same can be applied to the coverage of Roma, a cameraman doesn't film a close-up of a person with an excessive accessory to emphasize the existing stereotype about Roma that they tend to collect jewelry.

Most Roma depictions are simply reactions to outsiders' ideas about what it means to be 'different.' As a result of hatred and the overt aim to exterminate Roma, societies have constructed their societal representations of the group that the filming crews just articulate in their news reports. Roma's social self is used as a standard for differentiating oneself from others, and only changes when the social self is actively being lived out. Despite their increased visibility, Roma communities have been labeled a problem for the bulk of the population who must live with such odious characters in their midst.

As a result of media portrayals of Roma, categorization has had a significant impact on Roma's ability to define themselves in mainstream culture and to consolidate their sense of belonging. Individuals are recognized as members of a group and are expected to perform in a certain way, which is reinforced by media discourses. Categorization created the framework for stereotypes to be attributed to them. The Roma, for example, are never given names but are reified at will, with problem or issue being the second most frequently used word after their own.

Characteristics that this research was focusing on happened to touch upon certain aspects of the Roma culture. Once in the frame, these characteristics would amplify the differences between Roma itself and the rest of the Italian population. Thus, we see their traditional textile pattern, long colorful skirts, etc. Showing Roma's cultural practices, their beliefs, especially

when the report is about a crime, “makes implications that criminal activity is interwoven into Romani society” (Deaton, 2013, p.44). Analyzing these characteristics, we now know what contributes to the construct and reconstruct the spoiled identity that Roma have carried throughout their history in the Western world (Goffman, 1963; Powell, 2008).

Limitations and Further Research

This study is thoroughly based on subjective data, that is videos that were filmed by a person. There is a set of other questions that immediately come to the mind of the researcher. Why would a cameraman of one of these three TV channels film this or that particular person, house, broken laundry machine, empty bottle, etc? What was he driven by when he was filming these items belonging to Roma? According to the stereotypes about Roma existing in society, he was following the mainstream mindset. However, as mentioned above there are regulations that the cameraman has to follow when working on set, these regulations are technical. The cameraman doesn't work autonomously from the reporter, moreover, he supplies the story that the reporter wants to tell with the moving images. Even though they may have discussed the plot, the cameraman collects shots of different ranges, which are close-up, mid, wide shots, etc. While filming these images he may or may not bear in mind that he is going to contribute to further stereotypization and prejudice toward the Roma minority. They may be doing it intentionally or unintentionally. That is why we cannot be certain while analyzing the data. Another limitation would be the access to a larger number of videos, some videos were deleted by these media, some were never published and uploaded online, TV channels' archives may not be available for public use, etc. One more limitation that the researcher finds important to mention is the lack of correspondence with the actual filming crews. All in all, our findings are in agreement with those scholars who argue that “there is not much variance in media representation of Roma”

(Csepeli & Simon, 2004, p. 133.). Further research shall bear toward the study of the intentions of the filming crews when they have to make reports related to Roma. Even though visual content analysis was a perfect choice to analyze the data, in-depth interviews of the members of the filming crews would cast light on their reasons when they had to choose whom to interview, what shots to include in the report, etc. Without question, this research is a stepping stone for future researchers who will take a scholarly path of studying not only the representation of the Roma minority in the Italian TV news, but various other minorities' and groups' visual portrayal.

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APPENDIX A**List of Abbreviations**

YOC	YOUNG, OLD AND CHILDREN
OY	OLD AND YOUNG
YC	YOUNG AND CHILDREN
OC	OLD AND CHILDREN
CH	CHILDREN
NOT	NORMAL, OBESE AND THIN
NO	NORMAL AND OBESE
NT	NORMAL AND THIN
OB	OBESE
NOR	NORMAL
BOBA	BLONDE AND BLACK
BA	BLACK
BO	BLONDE
FA	FAIR
DA	DARK
PC	PROVOCATIVE AND CONSERVATIVE
CON	CONSERVATIVE
PRO	PRESERVATIVE
C	CASUAL
F	FORMAL
AC	AGGRESSIVE AND CALM

AG	AGGRESSIVE
CA	CALM
WI	WORKING AND IDLE
W	WORKING
I	IDLE
T	TIDY
TU	TIDY AND UNTIDY
U	UNTIDY
A	ABSENT
P	PRESENT
DUS	DISTURBING, UPLIFTING AND SUSPENSE
DS	DISTURBING
U	UPLIFTING
S	SUSPENSE
D	DISTURBING

APPENDIX B

Translated sentences from the Italian language

[1] Trans. From Italian by the author: “Eight years I lived in these institutions and now I don't feel myself that I am that Roma girl that I used to be”.

[2] Trans. from Italian by the author: “I want to live a normal life as any Italian girl would live”.