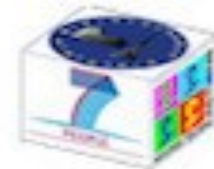European/International Joint PhD
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SAPIENZA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

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Media narratives and the anthropological approach: Film mediated Gypsies, majority representation and identity in construction as baseline for action research

Neutrality in research?

➢ Aim of science – to UNDERSTAND REALITY!

➢ Testing theoretical models or using theory to understand phenomena? When we understand a phenomena: „supposed" progress? how can change?

➢ More than focus on the myth of generalisation, it's important to care about predictability of phenomena (Tajfel).

➢ The question is:

  ➢how much we explicit what we think emerged through our results?

  ➢Do we roll back into the society?

  ➢do we trigger this or that kind of changes?

➢ We communicate, even when we do not communicate.

➢ The value of NEUTRALITY. Science and its object - the reality - in this case, become two distinct entity.

Neutrality in research?

➢ BUT science is made by humans, members of the same reality.

➢ This belonging influences questioning, methodology, the chosen interpretative frames, the scientific and societal reception and importance.

➢ The object of research and the perspective of the researcher exist in their unity, gain sense in their interrelation

➢ The „scientific quality" is when we explicit our perspective

➢ SCIENTIFICALLY HONESTY. We make clear the coordinates of the object and the scientific perspective, explicit the relationship

➢ Possibility to QUESTION it.

➢ We do not point to the object screening us behind the mask of neutrality with an omnipotent objectivity.

Why to study Gypsies?

PAST:

➢ Exclusion, deportation, extermination;

➢ Gypsy Holocaust 220.000 - 1.5 millions victims

TODAY:

➢Biggest minority in EU (12 million)

➢Icreasing racism and discrimination (FXB Center, FRA, Human Rights Watch, ERRC)

➢ Long-term and structural unemployment. Investments.

Danger that Gypsies can be evolved in an ethno- or under-class, perpetuating marginality. This process can also lead to conflicts with Majority. (European Union website)

Social phenomena: intergroup relations…

Majority ←————————————→ Minority

Complex issue - necessity of a multilateral, interdisciplinary research

- Who they are? (1. antropological view)

- How Majority view and communicate about the minority? (2. study on movie communication, 3. majority representations)

- Which societal processes associated with which constructed meanings maintain and permit this intergroup phenomena? (results interpreted in their relatedness to the social context)

- How this process shapes the minority members and how they deal with it? (4. study on identity)

- Results can be used for possible interventions; can arise communication and form negotiation (5. Participative action research)

1. Who Gypsies are?

✓ `*European social construction in the theatre of History´* **(Piasere)**

When Roma arrive…

- 🌀 South-Eastern Europe (near 1300): feudalism – roma were researched as contributors or requested goods. Slavery till the XX. Century.

- 🌀 Western Europe (near 1400): first capitalistic system: not able to integrate groups with high mobility in these mechanisms of submissiveness (including other groups!!!). Vicious circle: expulsions banishments, deportations, manhunt – transfrontier culture, atomization strategy, culture of relatives for the organisation

✓ Gypsies - social groups with different languages, cultures, histories, belonging nations (with own national histories)*

- 🌀 South-Eastern Europe 60-70% of gypsy population; sedentaire life-style, Roma groups

- 🌀 Western Europe 15-20% France and Spain, low density on the rest, nomadic lifestyle, other groups

*(Piasere L. 1989, 1999; 2003, 2004; Williams, P. 2003, Prònai, Cs. 2000)

2. films and film titles

Method:

Films about Gypsies - ONGs; Articles; Internet

919 films – 1895 - 2003; 35 nations

Explorative studies -

Study 1. Longitudinal study:

Macro-analysis of the films (nation X year)

Study 2. Content-analysis:

Titles as frames and *collusive proposals*

Problems:
➢No data about general film-making/distribution.
➢Catalogue in genres, not in thematic
➢Only one shot about gypsies can be significant (population not exhaustive)
Only hypothetical conclusions about the data

Hypothesis:
Importance of a social object – communication as dealing with it
• We shall find social phenomena in the background of the increase of gypsy films
• We shall find film languages able to fit in the gypsy meaning

A movie does not depict the society, but contrarily, shows what a society considers as – even if only a possible - image of itself; does not reproduce the reality, but the manner of dealing with it.'' (Casetti, 1998:141).
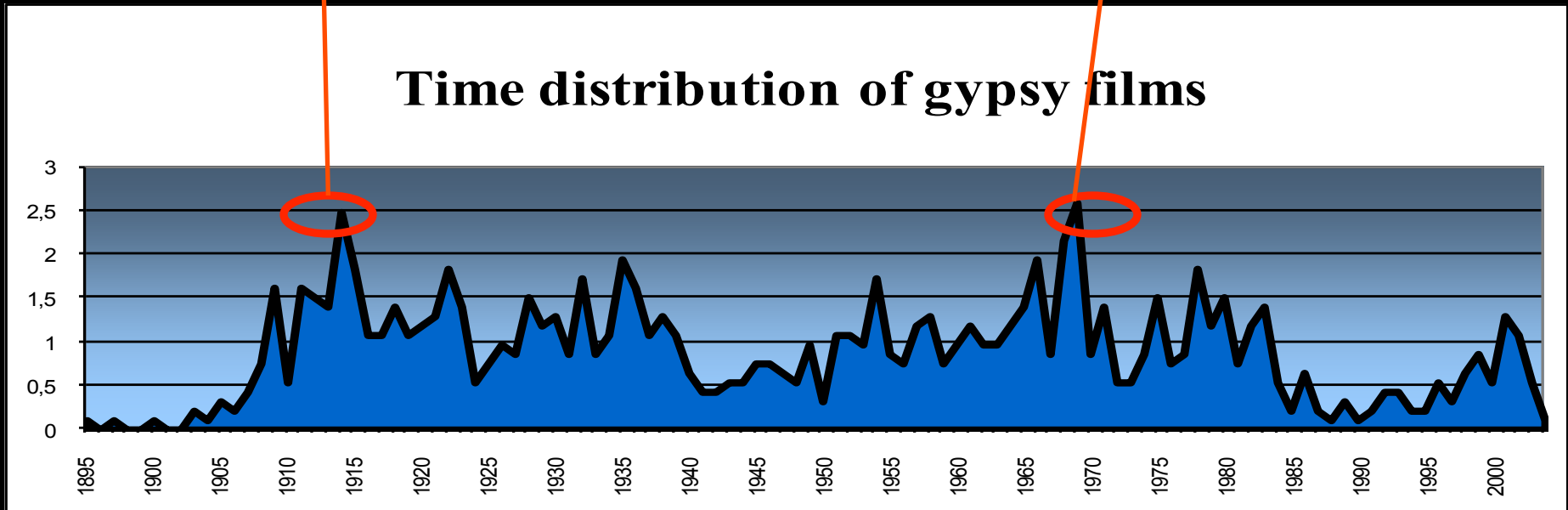
2. films and film titles

Macro-analysis of films dealing with the gypsy image

Two peaks in the production:

1913 – 1915 (US)   -   1968 – 1969 (France)

Time distribution of gypsy films

Why in these two periods film industry communicates more about Gypsies?

Social context? - Film language?

2. films and film titles

Macro-analysis of films dealing with the gypsy image
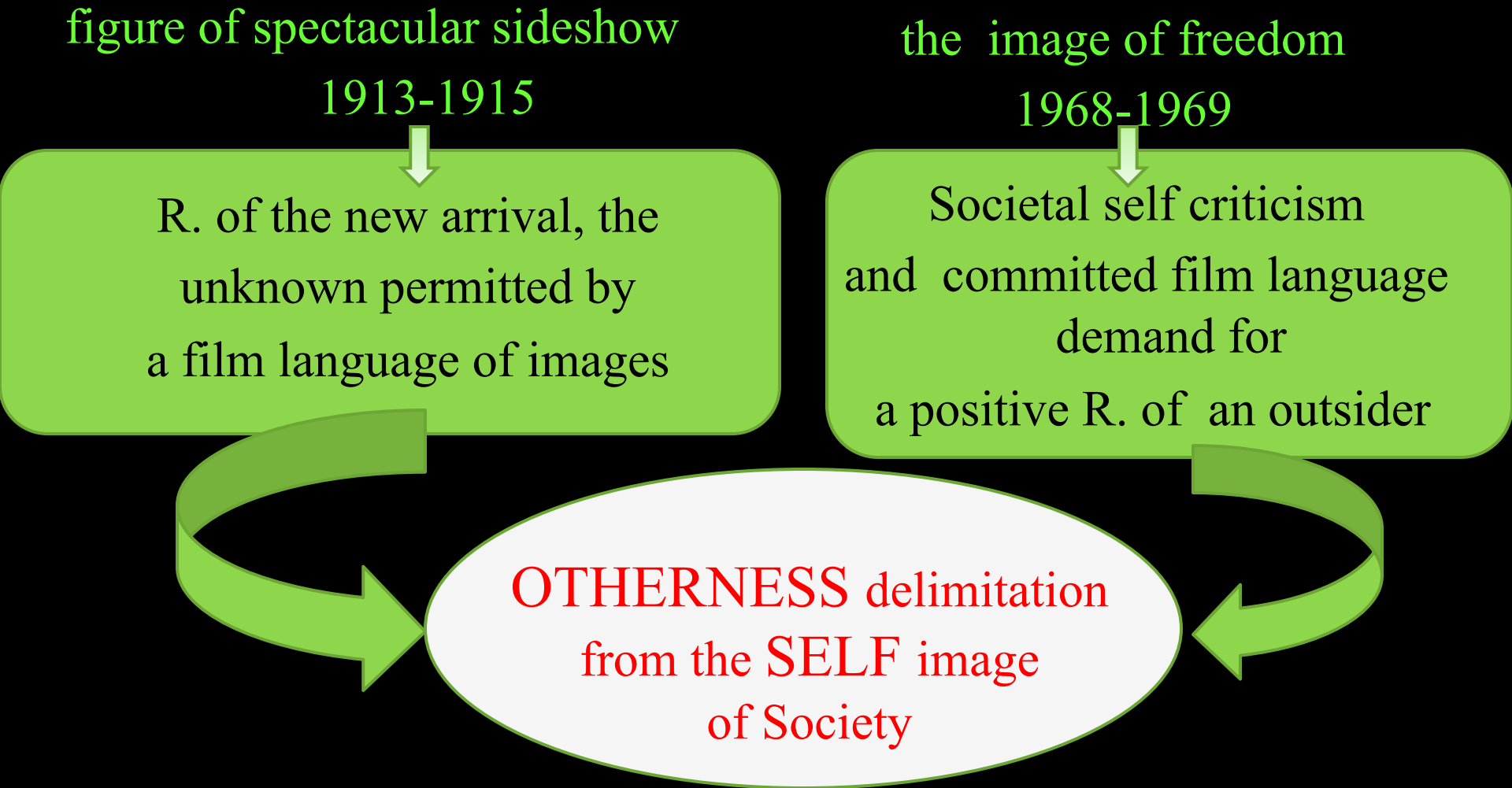
figure of spectacular sideshow
1913-1915

R. of the new arrival, the
unknown permitted by
a film language of images

the image of freedom
1968-1969

Societal self criticism
and committed film language
demand for
a positive R. of an outsider

OTHERNESS delimitation
from the SELF image
of Society

Content-analysis of film titles: hypothetical conclusions

Gypsy SR on the film titles

Mean for the members of Majority to construct identity (self and the other)

Artistic creativity

Freedom

Wondering

Sensual love

Passion
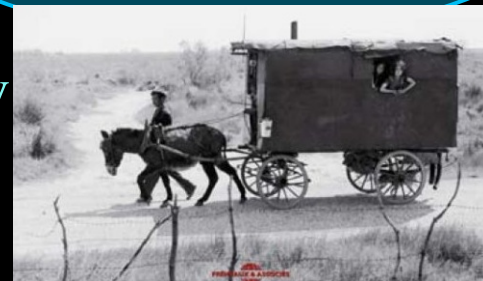Themata: reason/emotion

Travel
Anchoring to time/space:
Economic, social level

Hot nature

Instability

No goals

Innate temperament

Thief

Wildness

3. SR of Gypsies: the research

Sample:

400 Italians

210 Hungarians

Instrument (with prof. De Rosa):

- Mental map of groups
- Associative network
- Conceptual net

→ Social Representation

- Exposure to films
- Recall of gypsy films
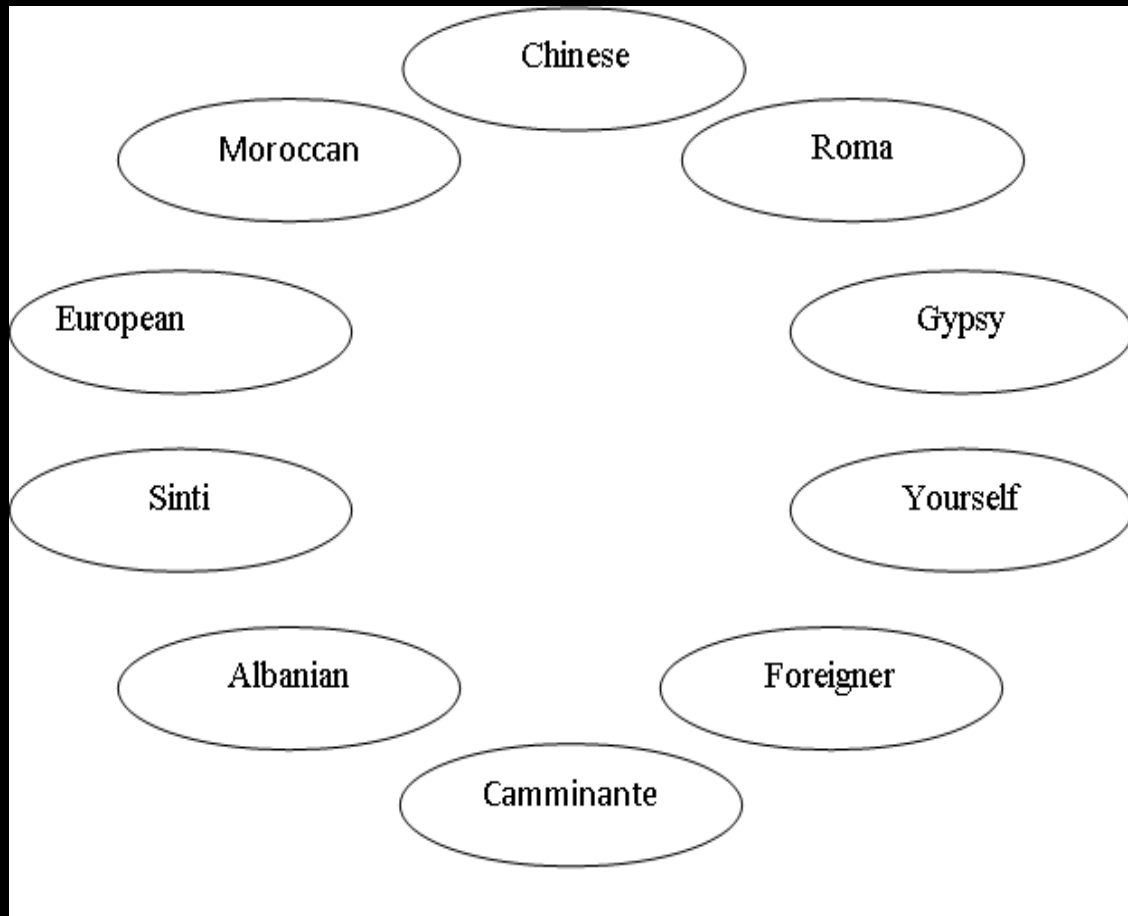- Gypsy film character

→ Communication

3. SR of Gypsies
Mental map of groups: method

- Relations (max.10)
- Valence (+/-)
- Intensity (1-7)
- Familarity with the social categories (1-7)

Data elaboration:

- EVOC (analysis of similitude):
- co-occurencies of relations; maximal tree based on graph theory
- Excel (valency, intensity)

Mental map of groups: results

Italian sample

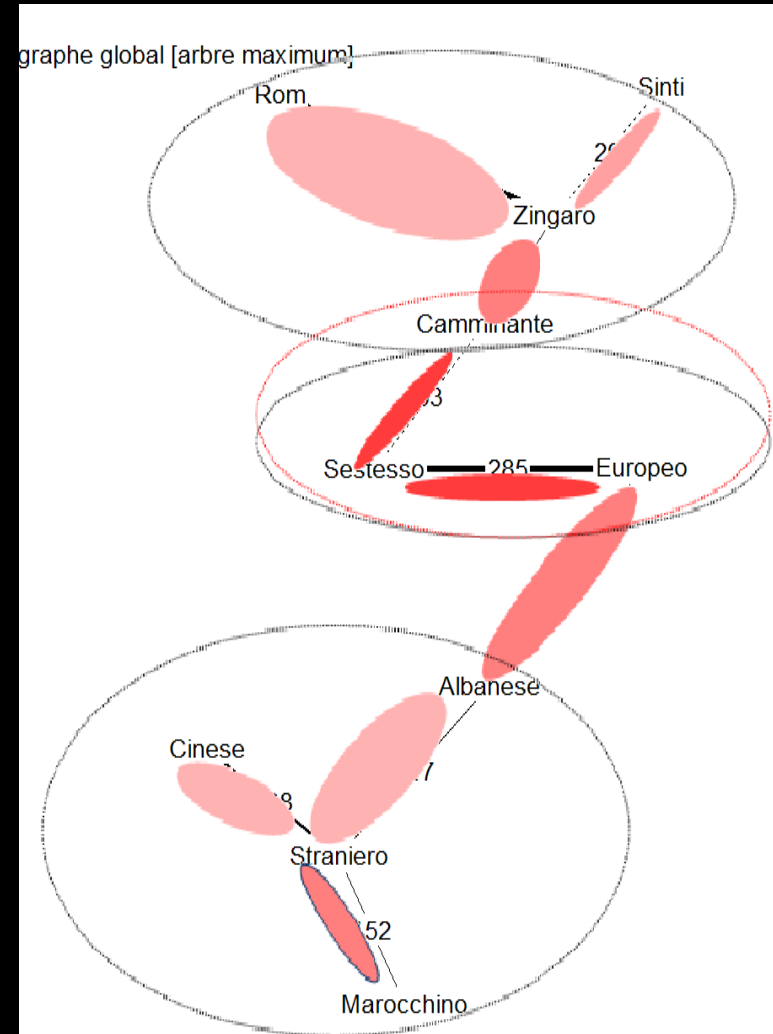Best known: Self

Most relations: European - Self

3 entity:

➢ Identity

➢ Social otherness - Foreigner

➢ Personal otherness - Gypsy

Differences among subpopulations:

- Women - distance Gypsy entity
- Left political attitude- approach foreigner

Correlations:

- Political attitude, familiarity (self, gypsy, foreigner), Gypsy attitude
- N. of relations, familiarity with specific groups, Gypsy attitude

graphe global [arbre maximum]

Rom. Sinti 2

Zingaro

Camminante

3

Sestesso —— 285 —— Europeo

Albanese

Cinese 7

8

Straniero

52

Marocchino

3. SR of Gypsies
Mental map of groups: results

Hungarian sample

- Best known: European

  - Foreigner, American, Self, Romani, Cinese, Romanian, Gpysy, Beás: Quest of appreciation?

- Most relation: Romani - Gypsy

- 3 entities: Foreign– European– Gypsy

  - Anchoring the Self: low claim: relational

  - Gypsy outsider

- No difference among subpopulations

- Correlations: Hungarian attitude – familiarity with categories
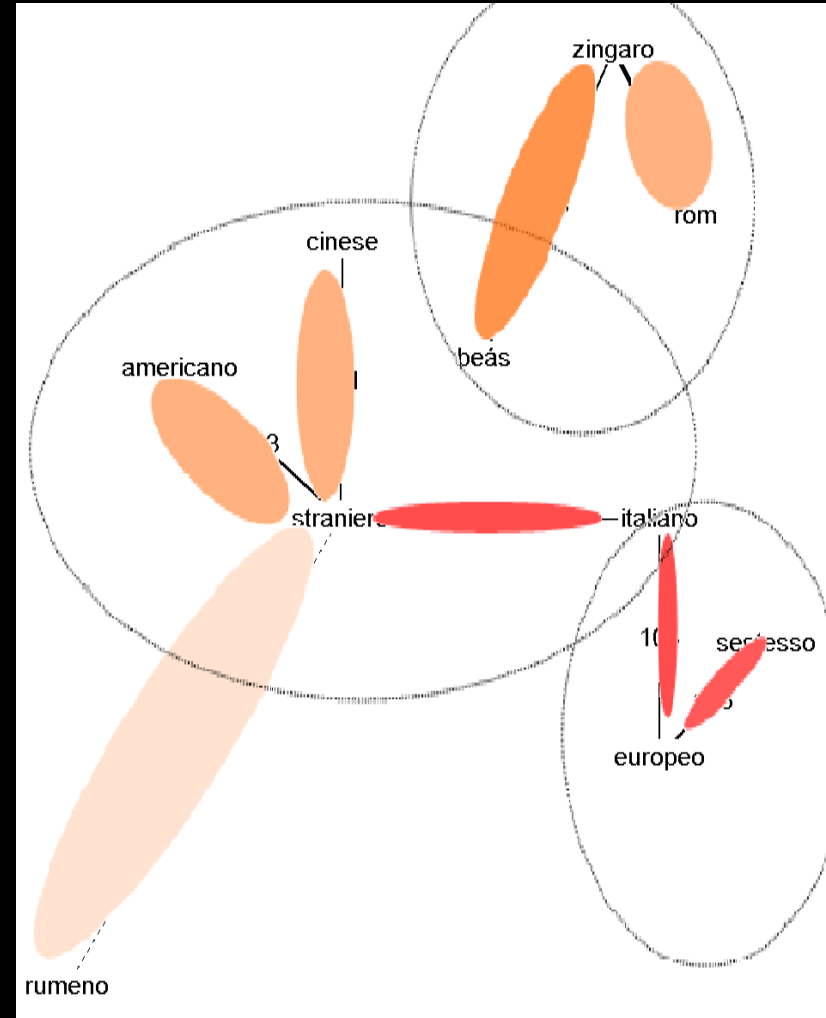
3. SR of Gypsies

Associative network: method

Projective technique (de Rosa, 2002)

- Associations to a Stimulus word
  - Italian sample: *Gypsy*;
  - Hungarian sample: *Rumanian, European, Hungarian, Gypsy*
- Valency of associations: polarity-, neutrality index (attitude)
- Order: evocation, importance
- Relations among the associations

Data elaboration: Spad-T – factor-analysis, factors: mutually exclusive association sets, then the program projects on the factors the saturation of the independent variables

3. SR of Gypsies
Associative network: results

The central core of
The Gypsy R.

Italian sample

- Deviance
- Freedom
- Journey
- Victims of their own culture

Hungarian sample

- Deviance;
- Minority;
- Societal problems;
- Acknowledgement of cultural values;
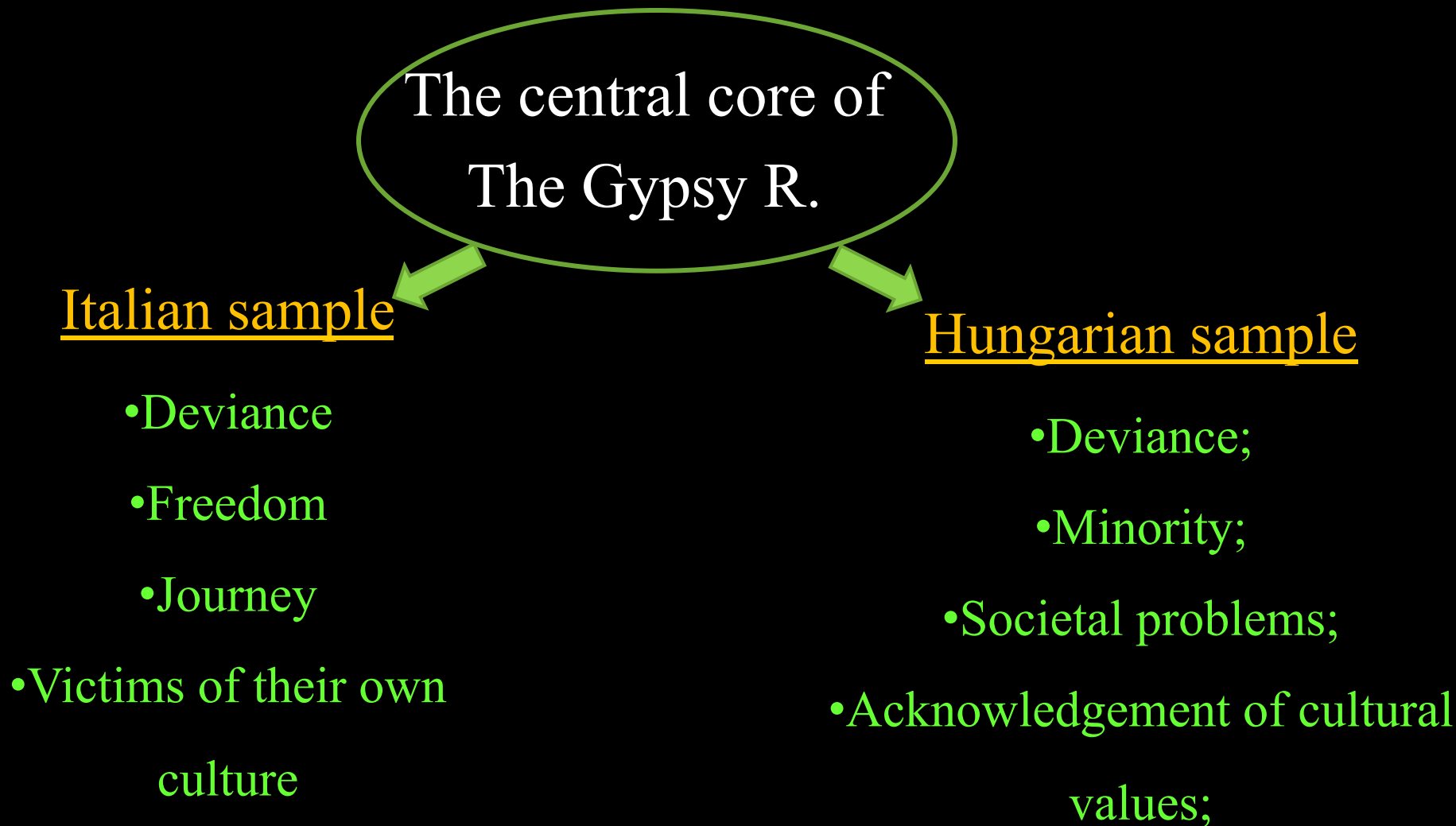
3. SR of Gypsies - Associative network: factors

Italian sample – Gypsy stimulus		
Stereotype	FREEDOM	OTHERNESS
Attitude	Politically correct	Negative
Evaluation	Descriptive	Abstract (through the absence of aspected)
Indipendent variables	Young, Left political orientation, positive attitude towards Gypsy, high degree, women	Older, right political orientation, negative attitude towards Gypsy, low degree, men

The stratification of the sample by the independent variables reflects a <u>polemic social representation</u> of Gypsy

3. SR of Gypsies - Associative network: factors

Hungarian sample – Gypsy stimulus		
Activity	Gypsy, as subject of action	Gypsy, as object of societal actions
Prejudice	Blatant	Hidden
Image	Subjective	Objective

The indipendent variables does not co-occur in the modalities of the factors.

3. SR of Gypsies - Associative network: factors

European

Core of the R.	Differences- factors
•Formal unity; •Natural and cultural unity; •Heterogeneity;	Unity (diffferences/devouring)
	Community (approaching/distancing)
	Identification (given - idealised)
	Orientation (cultural past – general present)

Rumanian

Core of the R.	Differences- factors
•Neutral description; •Relation; •Inferiority;	Intergroup r. (neutral - conflictual)
	Status (equal/ subordination)
	Evaluation (descriptive – negative)
	Image (social problems – stereotype)

Hungarian

Core of the R.	Differences- factors
•Identification; •Unified/divided •Objectification;	Evaluation (neutral – negative)
	Objectification (internal – external)

For each stimulus word the independent variables do not co-occur in the modalities of the factors

3. SR of Gypsies - Discussion:
Self-definition and the mental map of groups

The mental map of social relational system

3 groups: self-definition, Foreigner, Gypsy; relational differences in the two samples

Italian sample

- ➢ First; to define the position of the Self (Egocentric process: European self), just here upon and in function of this to define the Others and the relationship between them
- ➢ The Foreigner = social Otherness
- ➢ The gypsy = Personal Otherness (personal trait –l ack of everyday contact?)

Hungarian sample

- ➢ First is to define others and map the relation among them, just here upon, the arrangement of the Self in the obtained mental map (Relational self-definition: social uncertainty, importance attributed to others, searching for homogeneity, demand of self-definition in contradistinction to others)
- ➢ Low level of European identification
- ➢ Gypsy as outsider

3. SR of Gypsies - Discussion: content of Gypsy SR

Italian sample

- Polemic representations;

Reason: the historical development of Italian identity.

- 2 sub processes:
  - ✓ Searching for homogeneity: the gypsy as a stranger
  - ✓ Societal self-critics: the gypsy, as the symbol of freedom

Hungarian sample

- Hegemonic representation
  - ✓ Lack of societal self-critics. The critics for societal discontent only against given stratums (es.: politics, gypsies). The passive experiencing of social life. Scapegoating.
  - ✓ Gypsies social role: to be a scapegoat. Individual differences:
    - o The degree of prejudice (blatant or hidden);
    - o The acknowledgement of prejudice at a societal level;
    - o The acknowledgement of those elements, through which the group try to re-evaluate the own social identity (music, language, traditions)

3. SR of Gypsies - Discussion: Ideologies and reality interpretations behind

Italian sample

- All embracing coherent representational fields linked to political belongings
  - ✓ Self-definition, the definition of others, the social representation of gypsy, the exposure of general film communication, the type of films

Hungarian sample

- No coherency: not only in relation to political belongings or other independent variables, but neither among different representations. Pl.:
  - ✓ Against out-groups: Gypsy/Rumanian prejudice
  - ✓ European identification/ openness to otherness
  - ✓ Nationalism/ negative representations of out-groups

4. Identity: Research

AIM:

To explore the identity chances and coping strategies of those people to which majority relates as gypsies.

SAMPLE

112 persons: Those whom are considered Gypsies from Majority members. – (Kemény, Kertesi, Havas, 1995) indirect chain sampling method - Stratification on gender and social class; 67Male/45 Female; Age heterogenity (X=32,15; sd. 12,15)

4. Identity: : Method

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PARAMETERS:

Age, Gender, N. of siblings, N. of children, Educational level;Occupation

IDENTIFICATIONS:

Multiple choice: Gypsy, Hungarian, Rom, Minority (the chosen are how much important for him/herself?)

Content – association network (de Rosa, 2002)Stimula: *To be a gypsy, To be a Hungarian*

- Coping at a group level
  - Cognitive alternatives: leggittimacy, stability of the society, societal activity (13 item)
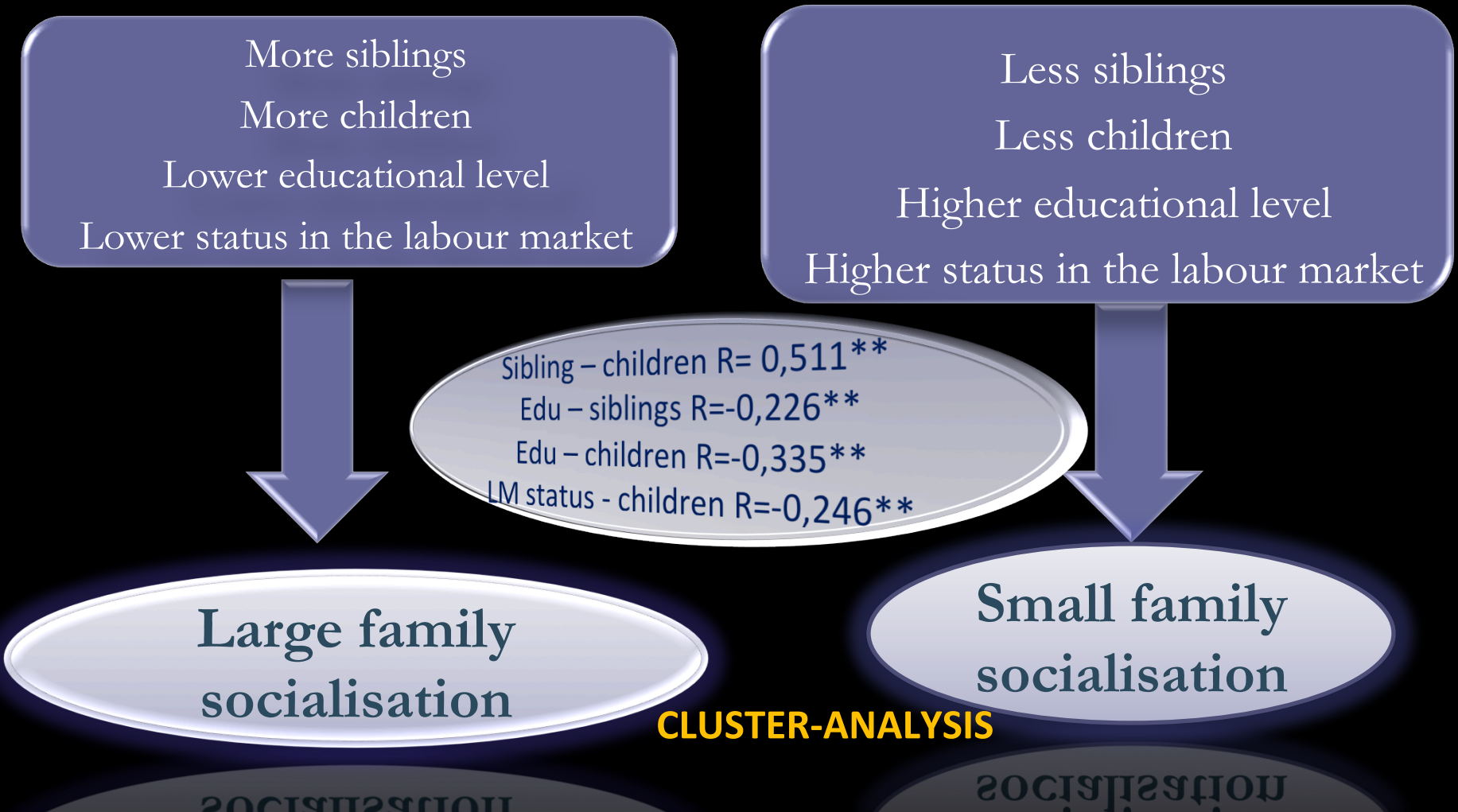 - Perceived and desired Society Representation (2 item) – homogenity – heterogenity

- Coping at an interpersonal level (Breakwell) (22 item):

  Passing , Compliance , Negativism, Isolation. + Transition (state)
  (Bokrétás, Bigazzi, Péley, 2007)
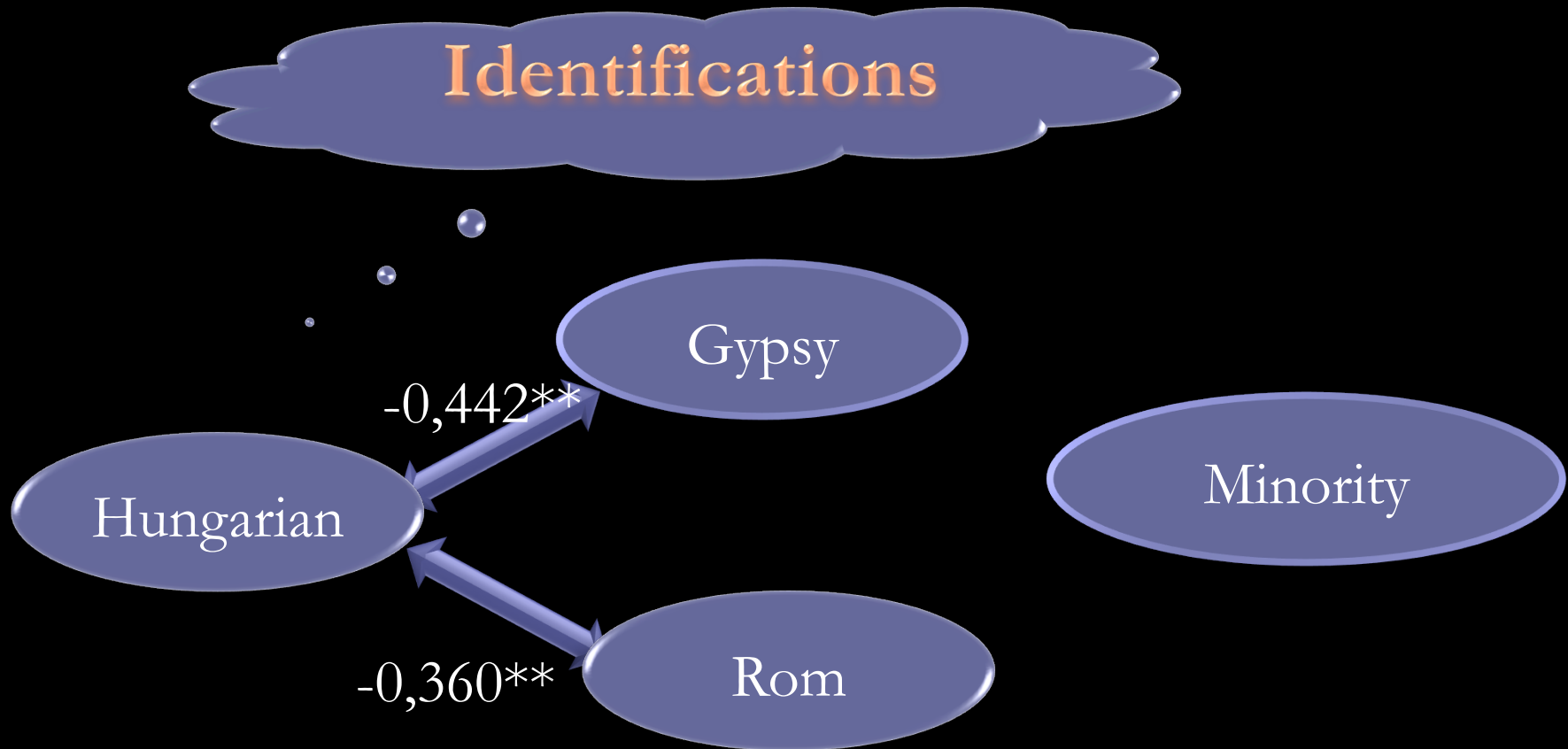
- Coping at an intrapsychic level (Lazarus, Folkman- 51 items)

4. Identity: Results

Socio-demographic patterns

More siblings

More children

Lower educational level

Lower status in the labour market

Less siblings

Less children

Higher educational level

Higher status in the labour market

Sibling – children R= 0,511**
Edu – siblings R=-0,226**
Edu – children R=-0,335**
LM status - children R=-0,246**

Large family socialisation

Small family socialisation
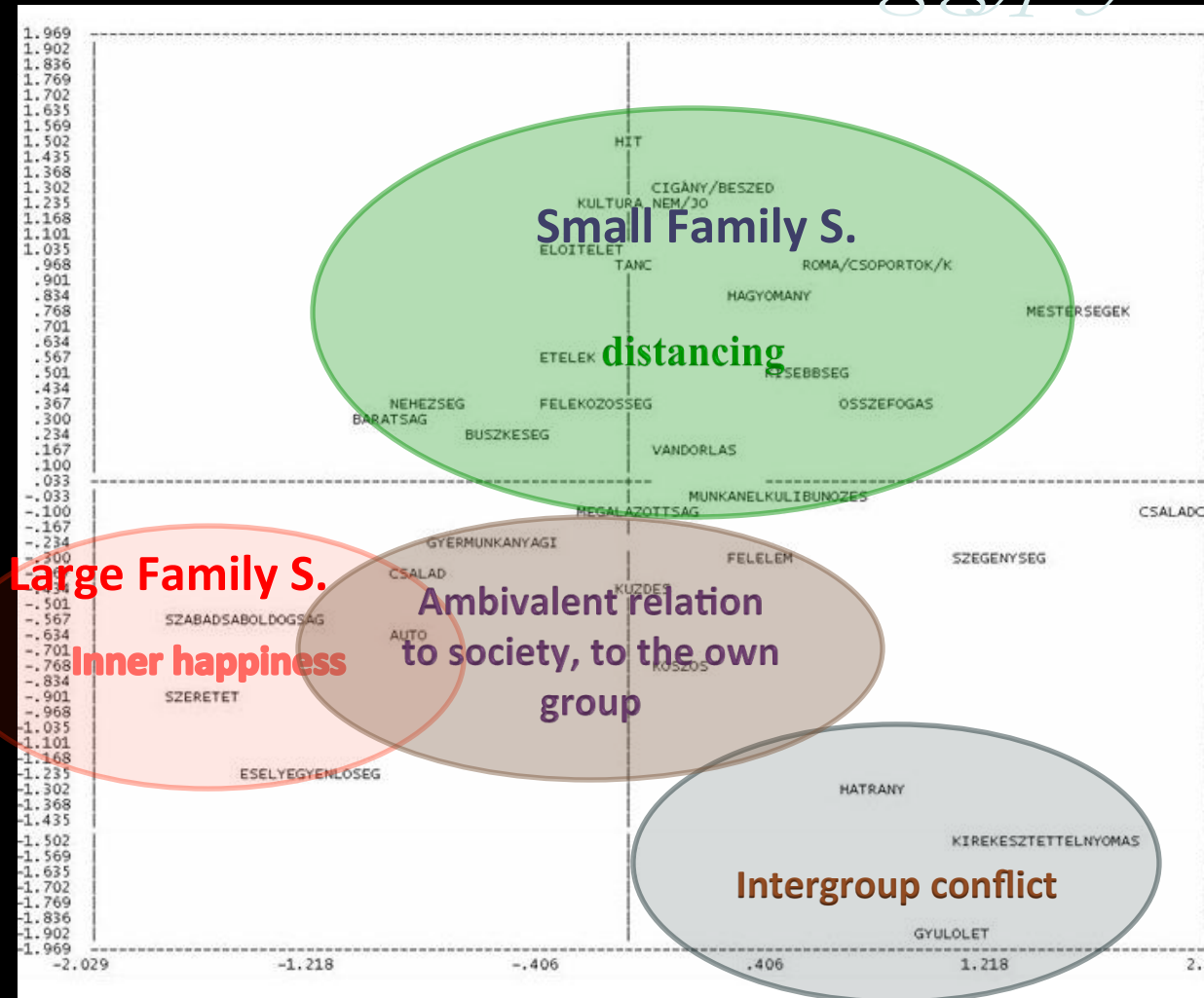
CLUSTER-ANALYSIS

4. Identity: Results

4. Identity: Results – content of *being gypsy*
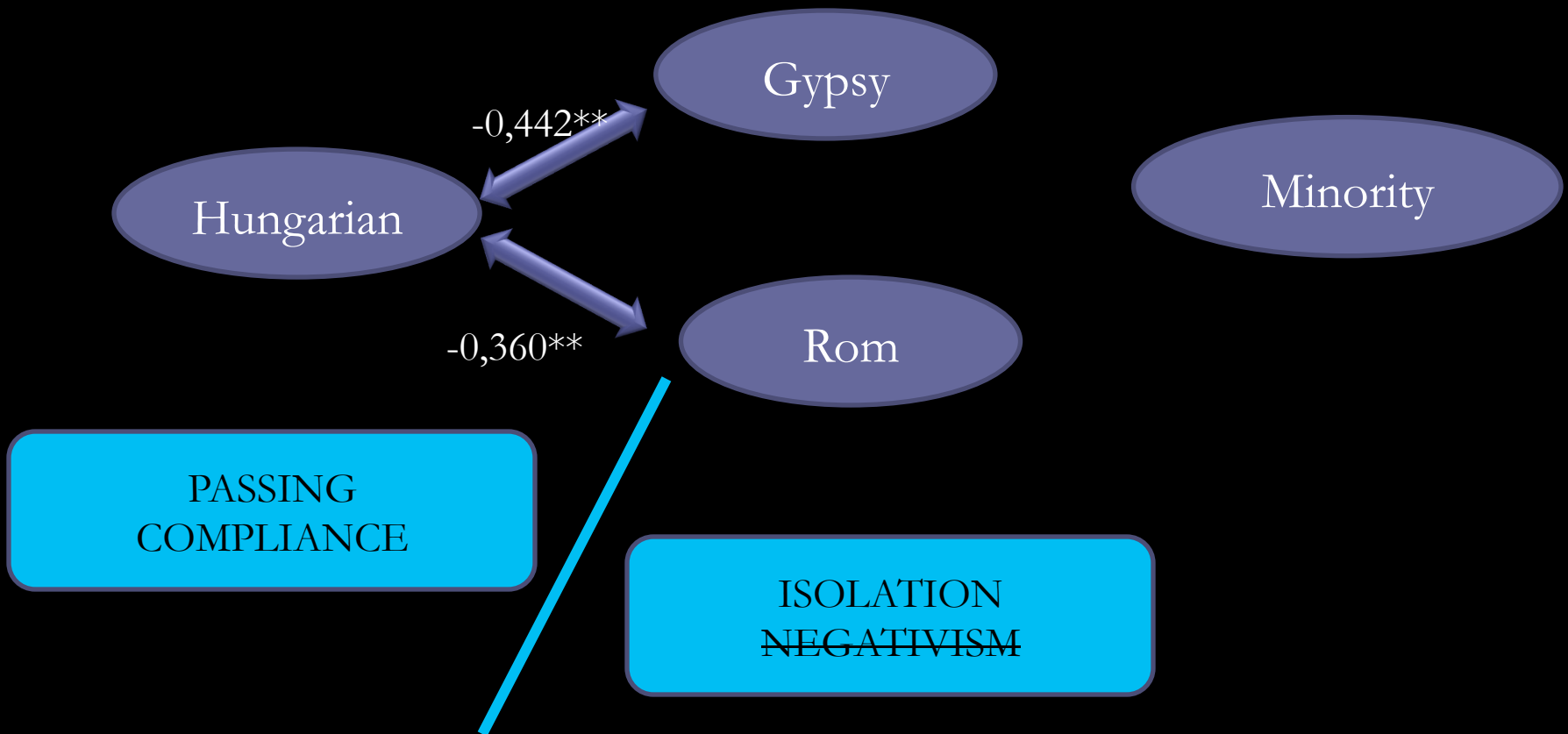
Associations

SPAD-T: factors corrisp. analysis;

4 content dimensions:

• IG conflict: disadvantage, repression, hate, discriminated

• Ambivalency: poor, dirty, fear, struggle, humiliation…

• Detachment: infos about gypsy culture…

• Inner happiness: freedom, love, family, children, friendship

4. Identity: Results

COPING - INTERPERSONAL LEVEL

4. Identity: Results

COPING – GROUP LEVEL

Large family socialisation	Small family socialisation
Legitimate, stable R. of Society	**Ilegitimate, instable R. of Society**
Social PASSIVITY	**Social ACTIVITY**
HETEROGENEOUS DESIRED SOCIETY	HOMOGENEOUS DESIRED SOCIETY
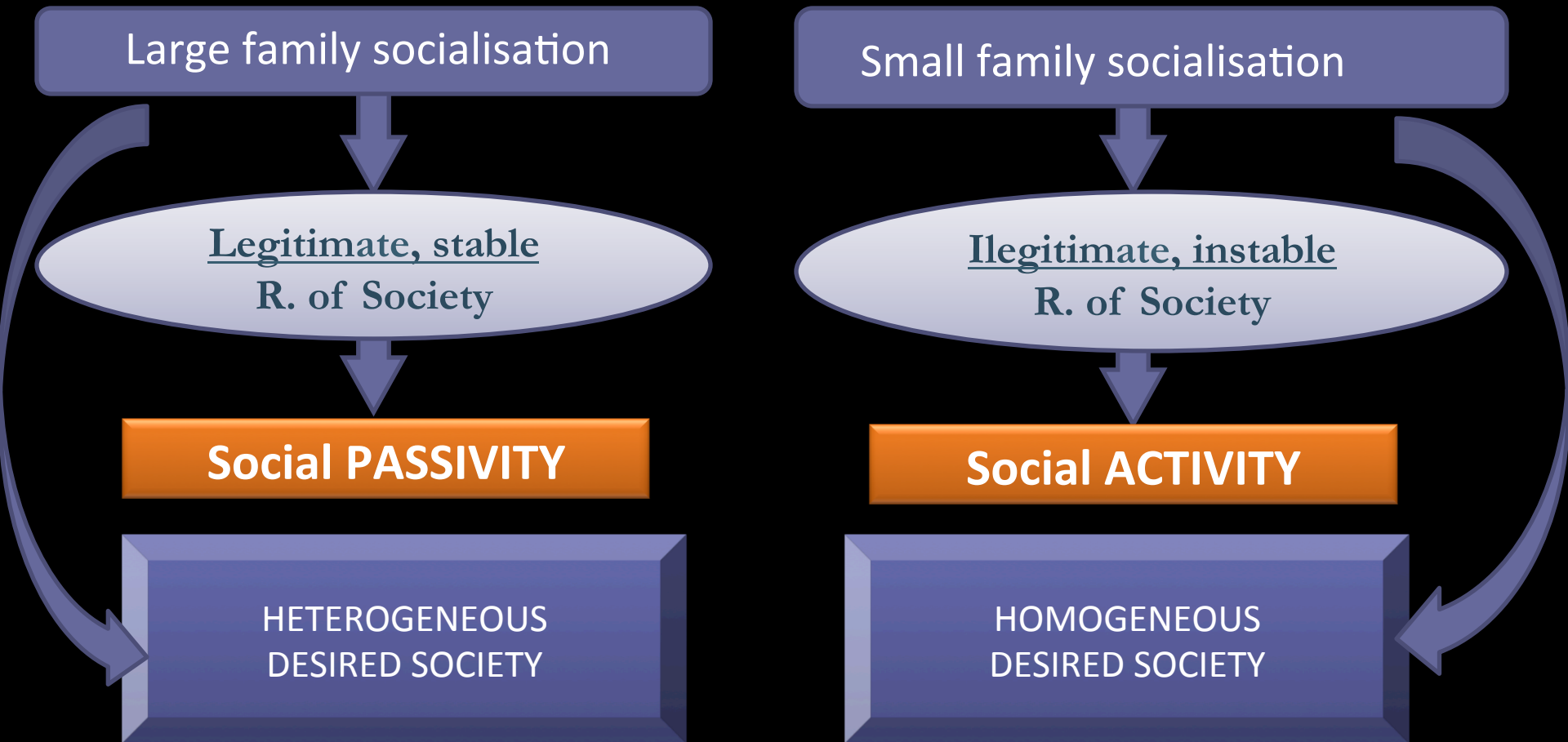
4. Identity: CONCLUSIONS

➢ The national and ethnic identifications are in an antagonistic relationship. The choice between the two possibility of identification probably depends on the visibility of stigma (interpersonal coping strategies).

➢ The social political strategy: efforts for the grown up of an active minority. Those people who get under way (higher education, higher status in the labour market)

 ➢ could grow up as an active minority,

 ➢ they have cognitive alternatives (instable and illegitimate society representation),

 BUT…

➢ in this way the pursuit of assimilation appear

➢ Nowadays Hungariy: the engagement as active minority seems to collide with the threats related to Gypsy identity.

5. Participatory Action Research…

2002 - Rome, Italy

Context:

- 12.000 Roma (mostly without residence permit) in Rome
- 19 illegal nomad camps
- Roma people from Bosnia, Serbia, Rumania, Macedonia
- Vicolo Savini – „the biggest nomad camp of Europe" –1000 people, 30 years of history (1987)
- Policy makers:
  - Council of Rome, Department of Social Policies
  - Biggest ONGs involved:
    - Caritas – health, education of health
    - ARCI – (Solidarity) educational integration
    - Opera Nomadi - events– not at all involved in activities

5. Participatory Action Research...

➢ Shishiri (magic hat) bottom-up - informal meetings, making acquaintances? (constructing trust, common aims, confronting needs) –Association of social promotion „Shishiri" 2003.
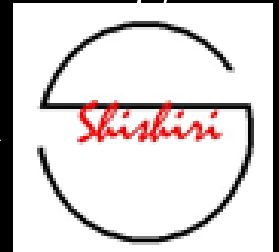
➢ Aim: „to construct a space of change in coexistence, Rom and Gadjo together, imagining a culture of nuance and fusion. In a teamwork, where everybody brings his own experiences and emotions, ideas arise. Ideas, that take into consideration limits and values of the Roma and not Roma cultures. We try to cope in this way with social problems related to the difficult coexistence, that often brings people to the incomprehension and indifference."

➢ Stakeholders: 10 Roma (from Bosnia) and 10 Gadjo (8 Italians, 1 Hungarian, 1 Polish) – in 2004 nearly 50-60 people are involved in the organisation.

5. Participatory Action Research...

Implementation:

o NO budget – NO proper place;

o An 18-month period

o everyday work on a theatre play

o („All right… as you say it");

o Meetings (once a week) with different interlocutors (policy makers, ONGs, representatives of other camps, supporters) followed by a discussion on what happened during the meeting – subjective points of view – construction of a shared view.

o Assemblies (2/month, 3-4 hours) evaluating, planning, monitoring together – based on participatory democratic conversation, negotiation of meanings, problems and how to cope with them.

5. Participatory Action Research...

Implementation:

o At the beginning, internal conflicts cause cultural splits;

o Resolution through mediation by the stakeholders not involved in the conflicts;

o From two groups - ONE

o Reinforced by conflicts with, and obstructions posed by, outsiders –mostly NGOs rooted in this context – principal mediators between Roma communities and policy makers

o Involvement of new partners in the change (*Goethe Institute, Stalker, Osservatorio nomade, Ellelab, Intercultura, Fondazione Adriano Olivetti*)

5. Participatory Action Research...

Implementation:

o A video on housing problems made by stakeholders (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tx-k7F40JrI&fb_source=message)

o Organisation of the event „Remembering Samudaripen" on the 24-27 January 2004 (Sala Roberto Olivetti/ Aquario Romano/Termini Station) - coordinated by Shishiri, ON/ Osservatorio Nomade, Ellelab, Tulip House

o theatre play *„Va bene… come dici tu!"* (*All right… as you say it!*) - 20 stakeholders, in collaboration with Tonino Zangardi (Italian film director), Franco di Giacomo (Sergio Leone's director of photography).

27th of January, all policy makers, NGO representatives, theatre directors in Rome invited - 800 spectators.

5. Participatory Action Research…

Insights gained

At a personal level:

o Knowledge (representational field) is a network of concepts, changing one element will change the whole network

- o Loyola University: „*If you are so poor, why do you make so many children?*"

o Competence development – communication, informatics

o Internalized roles of assistential relationship replaced by one supporting more responsibility and consciousness of the proper way of life (from passive to active participation)

o Bridge between –a circumclosed social group and a separated majority.

o Threatened minority members need TIME to develop TRUST towards the outsiders! (necessary to maintain, easy to break!)

5. Participatory Action Research...

Insights gained:

At a Group level

o Dialogue among stakeholders, sharing knowledge

o New representations can be anchored to new identity elements (membership)

o New way of coping strategies: confrontation, negotation

o Creativity

o From cultural to inter-individual relationships

5. Participatory Action Research...

Insights gained:

Integroup (social level)

o Social change causes conflicts (to solve).

o Dialogue – negotiation of knowledge (representations) between majority and minority
  o different capacities of abstraction?
  o Different cognitive alternatives? I can conceive what I am ready to conceive (through my knowledge)…

o The more open the boundaries are between Majority and Minority, the easier it is to pass in (safety ensured by the group membership) and out (relationships, dialogues, change on both sides)

Institutional

o Power relations

o Empowerment strategies as opposed to deeply rooted assistential strategies.
  o Sustainability at different levels? (economic, long-/short-term effects)

5. Participatory Action Research...

Risks of the method:

– Stakeholders' burn-out (with lack of funds, emotional involvement in itself cannot overcome failures in the long term);

– No guarantee for economic sustainability;

– No control above the process of democratic participation - aims emerge through negotation and are not determined a priori. (strategies of Roma integration)

– Involvement of the researchers (supervision?)

5. Participatory Action Research...

Limitations of the method :

- Long-term results;

- Results can be hard to „measure";

- Applied alone does not produce standards for comparison (international comparisons);

- Both starting points and results depend on, and are rooted in, the social and political context;

- How to communicate to a broader and mainstream public?

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHANGE - SOCIAL CHANGE

REPRESENTATIONS - COMMUNICATION

➤ AIM?
To create the possibility for alternative representations to arise both for Minority and Majority members

➤WHY?
Main problem: Any institutional intervention will by necessity contrast with the hegemonic social representation (knowledge) of Roma (from both perspectives), thus arrives in an infertile soil.

✓alternative identity elements – can bear impact on the relationship with, and the content of, the OTHER

✓Being a Roma – the double identity of Minority members today needs to be reinforced, thus diminishing identity threat (weakening perceived group boundaries, reduction of ethno-politics)

➤INSTRUMENTS
Launch discourse, claim alternative conceptions:

➤In a broad scene:

➤New, positive elements of Majority identity, including different levels of identification that enable changes with and impact on other identity-related representations

➤Guarantee of publicity for intergroup cooperations which produce quality in themselves (without the gypsy marker)

➤Smaller Communities – development of intergroup relations – consensual knowledge constructed and shared in the community

Thanks for your attention!

Meta-theorethical background…

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1979, Tajfel & Turner 1978, 1986)

- Social categorisation,
- Positive and distinctive identity, (distinction among undertaken and constrained memberships);
- Society representations (perceived stability and legitimacy)
- Cognitive alternatives (Tajfel, 1979, Reicher, 2004)

Social Representation Theory (Moscovici, 1961)

- Co-construction of meanings (Jovchelovitch, 1996; Wagner, 1998)
- Communicational fields and representations (Moscovici, 1981; Markova, 2000; Wagner, 2005; de Rosa; 2002)
- Identity and representations (Duveen & Loyd, 1986; Deaux & Philogéne, 2001; Howart, 2006,2007; Jovchelovitch, 1996; Wagner & László, 2003; de Rosa, 1988…)

Researches….

SRT framework:

➢ Semantic-anthropological considerations concerning prejudice (Perez, Moscovici and Chulvi; 2007); :

➢ natura & cultura

➢ human & animal

➢ Ontologisation: a minority excluded from the category of humans (Marcu and Chryssochoou; 2005; Perez, Moscovici and Chulvi; 2007)

➢ Bioethical categorisation of Gypsies – society R. as uniform or disjointed (Moscovici & Perez, 1997)

➢ Different R. of Gypsies (deviant, victimized or an active minority) – different intergroup behaviours (Moscovici & Perez, 2009)

"… a difference which makes the difference for a persecuted minority is that the ver-dict is in before the trial has begun. Its sins or crimes are not defined as transgressions of the norm, anti-social acts, but as inherent, and therefore natural, tendencies." (Moscovici, 2011: 454)

3. SR of Gypsies

Starting point

- Importance of Majority for Gypsies
- Gypsy representation – Non-Gypsy identity

Aims:

- To explore gypsies anchoring among other social entities and the self;
- To explore the content of Gypsyness –core, different thinkings, influencing factors;
- To explore correlations between different identificational levels and out-group attitudes (in-group biases activated, ontologisation, infra-humanisation)
- To explore the anchoring of Gypsyness among concepts (ontologisation, anchoring in time, natural/social themata)
- To compare gypsy in films with gypsy representation

Hypothesis:

- Different social identities hold different representation of gypsies;
- Gypsy is considered as the most different social entity (ontologisation);
- Coherent ways of thinking
- Film - Representation

Research: Method

- Coping at a group level
  - Cognitive alternatives: leggittimacy, stability of the society, societal activity (13 item)
  - Perceived and desired Society Representation (2 item) – homogenity – heterogenity continuum

- Coping at an interpersonal level (Breakwell) (22 item):

  Passing (abandons the threatening position, and try to step over from the identity threatening group to a group with a higher prestige). Compliance (recognizes and accepts what is expected from him/her in the threatening situation.) Negativism (direct confrontation with the threatening source of his/her continuity, uniqueness, and self-esteem. There is an urge to take action against external pressure and a refuse of what the others expect.) Isolation (Minimizes the confrontation with the Majority, so the experience of rejection, pity, aggression created by the stigma). + Transition (state) (Bokrétás, Bigazzi, Péley, 2007)

- Coping at an intrapsychic level – coping questionnaire (Oláh, 1985) preliminary instruction to discriminative experiences – 51 items on: problem-centred reactions; stress control, self-punition, emotion focus, acting out, seek for support, shift of attention, resignation.

Research: Results

Large Family socialisation

Small family socialisation

Acting out,
Shift of attention,
Resignation

Seek for support,
Problem-centred reactions,
Stress control

Emotional

Cognitive