

Roma versus Gypsy. Do politically correct terms  
trigger more minority-friendly reactions?

by Raluca Toma

Submitted to  
Central European University  
Department of Political Science

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Masters of Arts

Supervisor: Gábor Tóka

Budapest, Hungary

2019

## **Abstract**

In the past few decades, Roma rights advocates in many countries have promoted the use of “Roma” over “Gypsy”, arguing the latter has been imposed on them and bears negative associations. International organizations and institutions have by and large adopted “Roma”, and their counterparts in some countries followed suit. This is a largely elite-driven change, and we know little about how members of the majority population react to such a change and why. Understanding reactions can both inform expectations regarding the impact of campaigns for “politically correct” language, and contribute to understanding how social norms change.

Drawing from the literature on prejudice, attitude and normative change, as well as the literature on public opinion and communication, this study asks when labels matter, to whom and with what effect. It formulates a series of expectations regarding the interplay between contextual and individual-level factors in shaping reactions. Hypotheses regarding the role of prejudice, motivation to control prejudice and awareness are tested using data from an experiment embedded in a 2015-16 national survey in Romania.

The findings indicate that attitudes toward the group influence how people respond to different labels, with “Roma” eliciting less minority-friendly responses than “Gypsy”. In terms of theory development, I argue that the balance of different forces may depend on contextual attributes. Consistent with this, in the Romanian survey people with different levels of motivation to control prejudice and awareness do not respond differently to the labels, suggesting that if there is a norm against prejudice in Romania, it is not well connected to these wording issues, given its limited visibility and politicization.

# Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
Roma in Europe and Romania: a brief history .....	2
Roma versus Gypsy.....	3
Do words matter?.....	4
A study into how words matter and among whom .....	5
<b>1. Chapter 1. Theoretical framework</b> .....	<b>7</b>
1.1. An empirical puzzle: are words important?.....	7
1.2. The stakes of introducing new language .....	8
1.3. Macro-level factors that influence reactions.....	13
1.4. Micro-level factors .....	21
<b>2. Chapter 2. The Romanian context and its implications</b> .....	<b>28</b>
2.1. Roma versus Gypsy in Romania .....	28
2.2. Anti-Roma prejudice in Romania .....	31
2.3. Norms against prejudice .....	39
2.4. Awareness of the Roma/Gypsy issue .....	45
<b>3. Chapter 3. A Roma/Gypsy experiment</b> .....	<b>49</b>
3.1. Experiment description.....	50
3.2. Variables .....	53
3.3. Results .....	55
3.4. Discussion.....	72
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>73</b>
<b>Appendix A. Post-1989 milestones in the “Roma” / “Gypsy” debate</b> .....	<b>79</b>
<b>Appendix B. Survey and variable information</b> .....	<b>80</b>
<b>Appendix C. Supplementary tables</b> .....	<b>82</b>
<b>References</b> .....	<b>87</b>

## List of tables

Table 1. Correlation matrix of stereotype-related questions .....	36
Table 2. Correlation matrix of rights-related questions .....	37
Table 3. Effect of wording on willingness to award equal rights to Roma.....	58
Table 4. Effect of wording on liking/disliking the Roma more than others.....	58
Table 5. Effect of wording and other predictors on willingness to award equal rights to Roma .....	58
Table 6. Effect of wording and other predictors on liking/disliking the Roma.....	59
Table 7. Interaction effect of Roma wording and social distance, on Roma rights.....	61
Table 8. Interaction effect of Roma wording and social distance, on Roma like/dislike .....	62
Table 9. Interaction effect of Roma wording and MCP, on Roma rights .....	65
Table 10. Interaction effect of Roma wording and MCP, on Roma like/dislike.....	66
Table 11. Interaction effect of Roma wording and political knowledge, on Roma rights .....	69
Table 12. Three-way interaction effect of Roma wording, social distance and political knowledge, on Roma rights .....	70
Table 13. Three-way interaction effect of Roma wording, MCP and political knowledge, on Roma rights.....	71
Table 14. Descriptive statistics for the key variables.....	81
Table 15. Descriptive statistics for the demographic variables .....	81

## Introduction

Words do not just give a name to things to ease communication; they can also express an attitude towards the named. These attitudes, in turn, may not be considered equally appropriate in a given context. Throughout human history disadvantaged groups have often received names that they resent – or at least names that they repudiate when they are able to make their case for equality and respect. Battles over what words are appropriate then become an important symbolic ground where one can observe how public opinion changes. An important motivation for these battles comes from the conviction that certain words simply hurt the members of a group. However, if words are fought over because they express attitudes, then it is hard not to suspect that the words commonly used to denote a group or phenomenon do not merely reflect, but also shape attitudes toward it. Yet we know rather little about the impact of the labels used to denote a group of people on the attitudes of towards them. In this thesis I make a small contribution to the topic by showing that theoretically, the effects of word choices can be predictably varied across contexts and individuals. I then use an empirical study to test some hypotheses and consider what future studies may want to examine in addition or instead.

My study is focused on the situation and treatment of Roma people in Europe. While there may be limits to how this can be generalized to, say, debates about what to call sexual minorities, this context has political and cultural importance of its own. Therefore, I start thesis with a brief introduction to the particulars of this context.

## **Roma in Europe and Romania: a brief history**

The ancestors of the Roma peoples of Europe originated from present-day India and arrived in South-Eastern Europe around the 14th century (Council of Europe, 2008d; Marsh, 2013). From there, some continued to migrate westwards. Initially accepted or tolerated in Central and Western Europe, they faced ever-stricter restrictions over time, which then gave way to policies of forced relocation, assimilation and even extermination (Council of Europe, 2008a, 2008b, 2008g, 2008i). Matters came to a head during the Holocaust, when it is estimated that a quarter of a million Roma died in mass executions, ghettos or labor camps (Council of Europe, 2008e). In the decades following World War Two, the Roma continued to face discrimination: for instance, in Sweden and Norway Roma children were taken away and Roma women forcibly sterilized well into the 1970s (Berglund, 2015; Mansel, 2013). Roma aid programs have mitigated the continued disadvantage they face only to a modest degree (Brüggemann & Friedman, 2017; Jovanovic, 2015; Sándor et al., 2017), and the group still face widespread prejudice and discrimination (Pew Research Center, 2014; Csepeli & Simon, 2004; Kott, 2014, p. 67; Powell, 2018).

In Romania, the Roma were enslaved for around five centuries (Council of Europe, 2008h). After emancipation in the 1850s, no policies to assist them were in place, so some migrated west, others practiced various trades and settled in communities, often on the outskirts of towns, and some opted for a traveler lifestyle. In 1942 the Romanian authorities deported tens of them to Transnistria, where they lacked proper food and shelter and many died due to starvation, cold and disease before they were put to work in state farms and workshops. Some ended up in internment camps. The survivors were allowed to return to Romania in 1946, but the abuses committed against them received very little attention. It was only after 2003 that the state officially recognized that the Holocaust also targeted the Roma (Council of Europe, 2008c).

Under communism, the government did not recognize them as a minority officially, but put in place “integration” policies, which included, but were not limited to “sedentarization” – although other groups also faced forced relocation (Council of Europe, 2008f). It is unclear how many Roma remain in Romania. In the 2011 census over 620,000 were recorded (cca. 3% of the population), but by some estimates there may be more than double that number (Kearney, 2017). It is undisputed though that they remain a socio-economically very disadvantaged group.

## **Roma versus Gypsy**

It is against this backdrop of historic persecution that in the past few decades Roma activists have fought for the repudiation of “Gypsy” and its replacement with “Roma”. They argued that “Gypsy” is an offensive term imposed on the Roma from the outside and associated with a history of oppression. To be sure, it is a name others chose for the Roma. Though the origins of the English word “Gypsy” are not certain, many believe it arose because Western Europeans confused the Roma for Egyptians (Challa, 2013; Europe, 2008d; Kearney, 2017; Marsh, 2013). The term “țigani” in Romanian and related variants in the region may come from the old Greek “athingani” – meaning untouchable – or from the Turkish “cighan” – meaning poor (Council of Europe, 2008d). Activists have also argued that minority groups should be called according to the name they themselves prefer, and indeed many Roma call themselves “Rom” – which means “man” – although some prefer other labels (even “Gypsies”). These arguments have been persuasive with international bodies like the Council of Europe and the European Union, which now prefer the term “Roma”. Their influence, combined with the efforts of Roma organizations, has led to “Roma” becoming more widely used at least in formal contexts – like state communications – in places like Romania, even while “Gypsy” continues to be used in informal contexts.

## **Do words matter?**

The crux of the case for “Roma” is that labels matter – mainly because they matter to the people who are labelled. Yet a secondary consideration that is often implicit and, sometimes, explicit in campaigns for changing the way we talk about a certain group is the idea that words also matter because they send a message to everyone else – that the words we use and hear others use will influence other speech and non-speech acts, and, ultimately, over the longer run, influence attitudes themselves. The hope is, in short, that imposing a term like “Roma” will be part of a process of imposition of a norm against prejudiced, discriminatory behavior, which at first may be observed only to avoid social costs but, ultimately, may be internalized. Yet there is also the possibility that some will react negatively to labels like “Roma” – perhaps particularly people who hold negative attitudes towards the group or see this label as the “pet project” of groups they have no allegiance to.

Previous work inquiring whether different labels for minority groups elicit different reactions has produced mixed results, likely in part due to the diversity of the groups and contexts addressed in these studies. Some studies have found that different labels for ethnic groups or sexual minorities sometimes elicit more or less positive reactions towards the group – but in some cases it is the more “politically correct” label that triggers more negativity (Crawford, Brandt, Inbar, & Mallinas, 2016; Donakowski & Esses, 1996; Smith, Murib, Motta, Callaghan, & Theys, 2017; Zilber & Niven, 1995). As we will see in chapter 1, this might be because some studies were taking place early in the “life cycle” of the affirmation of the new term (e.g. “African American” in the 1990s).

Regardless of how the majority population reacts, minority activists and their allies may want to pursue what they see as a legitimate goal of affirming the appropriate name for the group.



But gaining a better understanding of how people react to different labels for a minority group – and how this varies depending on context and individual features – can inform practitioners regarding the strategies that are likely to yield the best outcomes. And understanding how people think about such issues may also provide insight into how people react in the midst of changes in what is considered appropriate, i.e. in the midst of a normative shift.

### **A study into how words matter and among whom**

The present paper inquires into the link between the label used for a group and the attitudes expressed towards the group in a context where the norm is shifting. What makes Romania a particularly interesting context to examine is not just that it has a sizeable Roma minority that is seriously disadvantaged, but also the fact that in the past thirty years, despite widespread prejudice against the group, Romania has gone from a place where “Gypsy” was the default term used by the state to a place where institutions use “Roma” only – but this has been largely a top-down process. In this context, I examine the question of whether “Roma” and “Gypsy” elicit different reactions – and if so, to what effect, and among whom.

In the first chapter, I discuss the stakes of the debate over “Roma” or “Gypsy” and similar debates and some of the contextual and individual-level factors that, based on previous work, are likely to influence how people react to variations in the wording used for minority groups. I hone in on one’s level of prejudice towards the group, one’s motivation to avoid being prejudiced and awareness as key individual-level moderators.

In the second chapter, I present the Romanian context and formulate a set of hypotheses, based on how the contextual features are likely to interact with individual-level factors to produce

particular reactions. I also describe how key concepts like prejudice, motivation to control prejudice and awareness are operationalized in this study.

In the third chapter, I analyze the results of a survey-embedded experiment conducted in Romania and examine whether “Roma” and “Gypsy” elicited different reactions, and what individual-level features moderated the impact of the wording.

I conclude the paper by discussing the key points that can be taken away from this research and avenues for further study.

# 1. Chapter 1. Theoretical framework

## 1.1. An empirical puzzle: are words important?

In the past few decades, the use of the word “Gypsy” has declined in favor of “Roma” in some countries and among certain actors with the power to set the tone for what is appropriate. “Gypsy” has gradually fallen out of use by European Union (EU) institutions, the Council of Europe (CoE), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and other bodies, which now predominantly use “Roma” – or sometimes “Roma and Travelers” or a larger list of denominators (Consiliul Național pentru Combaterea Discriminării, 2008, pp. 12-16; Council of Europe, 2012, p. 3). For example, EU documents use “Roma” to refer to “diverse groups, including Roma, Gypsies, Travellers, Manouches, Ashkali, Sinti and Boyash” (European Commission). The CoE uses mostly “Roma” and sometimes “Roma and Travelers”. And as I will explain in Chapter 2, the combined influence of international standards and domestic pressure from Roma organizations has shifted practices in places like Romania.

This gradual replacement is seen by many as a result of the increased influence of Roma advocates and recognition of the need to make amends for the historic abuse that the people grouped under this term suffered (Marushiakova & Popov, 2018; Mădroane, 2012, p. 4). For example, the CoE cites pressure from international Roma organizations as a decisive factor in scrapping the term “Gypsy” altogether in 2005, after it had used “Roma” and “Gypsy” in tandem for almost 10 years. Roma organizations, the CoE glossary writes, “find [Gypsy] to be an alien term, linked with negative, paternalistic stereotypes which still pursue them in Europe” (Council of Europe, 2012, p. 8). The case for using Roma has relied on the fact that many Roma (representatives) – especially in Central and Eastern Europe – consider “Gypsy” to be a disparaging term, tarnished by its association with a history of slavery, persecution and

discrimination. Consequently, adopting the term “Roma” has been justified with the idea that minorities should be called by the name they prefer, which in turn has been legitimated by an appeal to the principle of self-determination (Council of Europe, 1998).

## **1.2. The stakes of introducing new language**

The Roma/Gypsy issue has some parallels with the evolution of language about other groups, such as black people in the United States. The switch away from “Negro” seems to be a similar story. For a relatively short time from around the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, after the Reconstruction period that followed the Civil War, “Negro” was used by many people (Smith, 1992, pp. 497-498). It gradually fell out of use starting in the 1960s, being replaced by “black” – and, to a lesser degree, “Afro-American”. “Black” endures to this day, alongside “African-American”, the latter of which gained in popularity after the 1990s (Cohn, 2010) but is not necessarily preferred by everyone, as some people do not identify with African roots (Jones, 2014).

As activists were making the case against “Negro”, they made arguments that are familiar to those following similar debates today: the word “Negro” was imposed on the people it described (Bennett, 1967), and it had negative associations with subservience and oppression (including the other n-word) (Bell, 2013, pp. 27-28; Smith, 1992, p. 499). “Black” and “Afro-American”, however, could be seen as symbols of a new age of black pride and power (Bell, 2013, pp. 29-30; Lynch, 2018; Smith, 1992, pp. 502-503). Changing the label was a way of defining oneself and one’s community and asserting the need for respect and recognition on one’s own terms (Jones, 2014). Less often said in so many words but still present in the mind of at least some activists was the idea that language might also change how the majority acts and thinks, as “language tends to prestructure thinking and acting” (Bennett, 1967). Because

different language may evoke different associations, the thinking went, it was also relevant to consider what concepts language might evoke among white people – hence some were concerned that “black” might actually have a negative connotation (Smith, 1992). The problem of racism would not be solved immediately but, “the very act and fact of changing the designation” might “cause the individual to be redesignated, to be reconsidered” (Bennett, 1967).

Two broad implications, then, one more explicit than the other, underlie the idea of promoting a different way of speaking about a historically disadvantaged group. The first is that it is good to use a term like “Roma” if the subjects of speech themselves consider it more respectful to be addressed as such. In this case, in the absence of information about what regular Roma think, one defers to their representatives and calls them “Roma”, as a form of recognition and respect. Whatever non-Roma may think about this switch, it can be seen as worthwhile for this reason alone. This paper therefore takes the position that using “Roma” can be considered the option least likely to cause offense to members of the group.

The second, less obvious, implication is that it is good to promote the use of a term like “Roma” because affirming this new linguistic norm may, in the medium and long term, lead to a greater entrenchment of an anti-prejudice norm: that people may 1) act more respectfully because it is asked of them; and 2) ultimately internalize the importance of treating the group with as much respect as they would like to receive themselves. I do not mean to say that every institution or person that adopts “Roma” over “Gypsy” consciously commits to furthering the fight against prejudice and discrimination. However, those who deliberately – rather than mimetically – adopt the term “Roma” because they believe “Gypsy” to be offensive or accept that the Roma find it to be offensive are recognizing that the speech act of using the old term may itself be

(perceived as) discriminatory. In this sense they are making a gesture of recognition rather than trading one neutral word for another (like trading arugula for rocket).

Additionally, whether explicitly or implicitly, many initiatives to either make a word unacceptable or to reclaim a previously offensive term have relied on the power of language to send a signal about what is normative. People observe others for signals of what is both common and appropriate (Mackie & Queller, 2000, p. 138; Paluck, 2009b, p. 598), and certain behaviors and attitudes can be revised in time as a result of a change in perceptions about what others do and approve of (Miller, Monin, & Prentice, 2000; Paluck, Shepherd, & Aronow, 2016; Stangor, Sechrist, & Jost, 2001, pp. 103-107). The language that one uses, could, then influence others' perceptions about what is appropriate and change behavior. In the long run, a norm that was at first obeyed may become internalized (Mendelberg, 2001, p. 18). If using "Roma" sends a message, then, the underlying logic of using the more "politically correct" term goes, the message is that Roma are worthy of respect – and the implicit hope is that in the medium and long term, this may cause spillover effects not just in how others talk about the Roma too, but ultimately, in their attitudes.

Yet if complaints about "political correctness" are anything to go by, promoting the use of a particular word is not guaranteed to result in a friendlier response from everyone (Hawkins, Yudkin, Juan-Torres, & Dixon, 2018, p. 12). According to previous research testing the impact of different labels for groups like foreigners, immigrants or ethnic or sexual minorities, effects differ according to the subject of the label, the characteristics of the person whose reaction is being studied and contextual factors (Asbrock, Lemmer, Becker, Koller, & Wagner, 2014). Studies that focus on attitudes to refugees and immigrants have sometimes found different reactions from participants, depending on how the groups are labelled (Kotzur, Forsbach, &

Wagner, 2017; Lee & Nerghes, 2018). Yet not all of them employ logically equivalent labels (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984). For example, “economic migrant” and “refugee” do not actually refer to functionally equivalent concepts, whereas “illegal immigrant” and “undocumented immigrant” do, and so do “Roma” and “Gypsy”. Some studies find no difference when the labels are equivalent (Merolla, Ramakrishnan, & Haynes, 2013) or when concepts that are normally distinct have been conflated through public discourse (Janky, 2019). Other studies, on attitudes towards gay people and same-sex marriage, suggest that otherwise equivalent labels may trigger slightly different reactions (Flores, 2015; McCabe & Heerwig, 2011), possibly by pushing or not pushing levers like authoritarianism (Rios, 2013; Smith et al., 2017) – but the evidence is somewhat mixed (Crawford et al., 2016).

Previous work on the effect of logically equivalent labels for ethnic minorities has suggested that sometimes “politically correct” terms may trigger more negative reactions – at least initially. Donakowski and Esses (1996) found that in Canada, newer, more “politically correct” labels elicited less favorable expressions of attitudes towards descendants of the native Canadian population. In this context, newer terms – such as Native Canadians and First Nations People – triggered less friendly reactions than the terms Aboriginal Peoples or Native Peoples, possibly because they caused the majority population to perceive a threat to national and cultural unity (p. 89). Two decades ago, Zilber and Niven (1995) found that white people felt more positively about candidates who talked about having a “black agenda” than those who had an “African American agenda”, an effect that was stronger among liberals (pp. 662-664), and they also suggested that liberals perhaps felt more threatened or “othered” in the more politically correct scenario. Conversely, a much more recent study on different reactions to the terms “black” and “African American” indicated that the former label may elicit less positive

feelings due to being associated with a lower socio-economic status than the latter label (Hall, Phillips, & Townsend, 2015).

It is this link between the language used and the attitudes expressed towards the subject of the language that this paper is concerned with. My research question is, broadly: **when is language more than language, and with what effect, among whom? More specifically, I am interested in how circumstances and individual features of the people involved may determine whether they have more or less positive reactions to the “target” group depending on the language that is used to designate it.**

In this study, then, the label used for the group is an intervening variable, which may or may not have an effect on the attitudes expressed regarding the target of the label (the Roma). Whether it does, and what direction this effect has, will likely depend on the nature and strength of the relevant attitudes (e.g. prejudice against the Roma), and whether or not there is a strong association between the language used and particular norms or attitudes (e.g. suppressing the manifestations of anti-Roma prejudice), which may also be a function of how aware of language- and rights-related debates people are. But individual behavior does not take place in a vacuum. It is dependent on the context in which it happens. Individual-level predispositions interact with the characteristics of the context, such as what are the predominant ways of talking about the Roma and whether the societal norm is more likely to be perceived to be a negative attitude rather than a neutral attitude towards minorities, whether the language debate is politicized or who are the agents of change that the new language is associated with.



### **1.3. Macro-level factors that influence reactions**

Different reactions to the same words as stimuli can arise out of attributes of the context or the actors who provide the stimuli – let me call these macro-level factors, as they may not vary across the individuals whose differential responses we may want to understand. They may also be due to attributes of the individuals responding – I will call these micro-level factors – or due to interactions between macro- and micro-level factors.

#### **What language and attitude regarding the group is dominant**

One of the most important contextual factors that is likely to influence how people react to new language about a minority is where one is in the lifecycle of this change: is the new word prevalent and embraced by almost everyone or is the old word still the default?

As the terms “Black” and “African American” have become the most commonly used (alongside the more broadly encompassing category of persons of color), it would be difficult for a white person to use any other word to refer to black people without risking being misunderstood or incurring social costs (judgment, punishment). In the American context, the use of certain terms is now both more effective – more likely to get oneself understood – and more acceptable, because those terms are associated with an anti-prejudice norm, rather than with prejudice and oppression (Bell, 2013; Jones, 2014; Smith, 1992). In that particular context, then, one’s use of language and reactions to hearing different terms is likely to be conditional on what people perceive to be used and approved of by others.

## **Conditional behaviors**

What sets a conditional behavior apart from other behaviors is the fact that it is (more) susceptible to change depending on a change in perceptions about what others do (or think) (Bicchieri, 2017, pp. 9-10), and word choice is an excellent candidate for a highly conditional behavior. In other words, it is possible that how people react to “Roma” or “Gypsy” is highly conditional on their perceptions of what others do or believe – especially people in their reference group, i.e. the group of people whose opinions and actions matter more to them because they are part of it or would like to be part of it (Mackie & Queller, 2000, p. 135). The beliefs about others that can influence behavior can be factual beliefs (empirical beliefs), if the belief is about what others do, or normative – if it is about what others endorse or approve of (Bicchieri, 2017, p. 11), and it may be relevant to keep this distinction in mind as we discuss the Roma versus Gypsy issue, because part of the question is whether people are neutral or “indifferent” to using one or the other in normative terms – i.e. if language is just language, and people will change if everyone else changes – or whether the language is attached to some additional beliefs about what is right or about the subject of the language itself.

## **Descriptive norms**

Norms are often defined as beliefs about what people do or should do. According to Paluck (2009b, p. 596), norms are a “special category of beliefs – beliefs that are perceived to be socially shared regarding prevalent or prescribed behaviors”. Norms provide “a standard from which people do not want to deviate” (Schultz, Tabanico, & Rendón, 2008, p. 430). Often, this is because it is efficient to observe what others do and mimic it. This represents the “informational” or “functional” influence of norms, which provide cues about “reality” and the behavior that is most adaptive, i.e. most likely to help us reach the results we want (Goldstein,

Cialdini, & Griskevicius, 2008, p. 473). But norms can also exert an influence mediated by the desire for social reward or avoidance of social punishment (Mackie & Queller, 2000, p. 139).

Typically, people distinguish between descriptive norms, which are beliefs about what people act like, and prescriptive or injunctive norms, which are beliefs about what people should act like – or what people think people should act like (Mendelberg, 2001, p. 18; Paluck, 2009b, p. 596). While some would call both “social norms”, I am taking a page from Bicchieri’s (2017) book, and when I speak about “social norms” I am referring only to injunctive or prescriptive norms. Most writers agree that descriptive norms refer to people’s perceptions of the prevalence of certain behaviors (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991). However, others argue that a more precise definition is needed, so as to avoid confusion between behaviors like customs and behaviors like conventions or fashions (Bicchieri, 2017, p. 18). A behavior may be common without being conditional: having coffee in the morning, for example, is not the same as wearing wide-legged pants (the latter is much more susceptible to what others are doing). A descriptive norm, then, may be best described as “a pattern of behavior such that individuals prefer to conform to it on condition that they believe that most people in their reference network conform to it (empirical expectation)” (Bicchieri, 2017, p. 19).

If reactions to “Roma” versus “Gypsy” are driven mostly by perceptions of a descriptive norm, the largest obstacle to spreading the former would be the popularity of the latter. In that case, if we are in a context where the new word is already entrenched, people’s reactions should differ little, if at all, depending on the language used for the minority, and the language used should not influence attitudes expressed towards the group itself. This does not necessarily mean that entrenching a new word is easy, but still in specific situations, it may be easier for

people to accept a naming change if it is just a linguistic norm, unattached to other value or attitudinal considerations.

### **Social norms**

By contrast to descriptive norms, injunctive or social norms also relate to one's beliefs about what others think, rather than just what they do (although certainly descriptive and injunctive norms coexist). Here, it is important what is "commonly approved or disapproved within the culture" or one's reference group (Reno, Cialdini & Kallgreen, 1993, Schultz et al., 2007, p. 430). This is what I will call "social norms", following Bicchieri (2017), according to whom they are "a rule of behavior such that individuals prefer to conform to it on condition that they believe that (a) most people in their reference network conform to it (empirical expectation), and (b) that most people in their reference network believe they ought to conform to it (normative expectation)" (Bicchieri, 2017, p. 35).

With regard to the Roma/Gypsy issue, depending on the context, one of these words may or may not evoke not just perceptions about what language is commonly used but also perceptions about what kind of behavior towards the Roma is appropriate. To put it differently, in some contexts, the word "Gypsy" or Roma may have strong normative associations. For example, the word "Gypsy" may be associated with a history of majority dominance over the minority and even with state-endorsed discrimination against the group. The word "Roma", by contrast, may be associated with a (perhaps) new anti-prejudice norm, an emerging status quo, where the group is demanding and earning recognition and respect. This seems to be a strong possibility in contexts like Eastern and Central Europe, where "Roma" is becoming a more commonly used word, partly due to campaigning by Roma activists.

In other contexts, however, the Roma-Gypsy distinction may be meaningless, or the two words may simply refer to two distinct groups, without one of the words being associated with a prejudice norm and the other with an anti-prejudice norm. For instance, in the United Kingdom, “Gypsies” is a term commonly used by state institutions – including the Equality and Human Rights Commission – as well as advocacy organizations and media outlets (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2016; Friends Families and Travellers, 2019). Often people speak of several distinct groups that have shared experiences and challenges, such as “Gypsies and Travelers” (“Blurred history of Gypsy terms,” 2005), and some make a distinction between Gypsies and Roma - with the latter referring to Roma from Eastern and Central Europe and the former to autochthonous groups (Richardson, 2019).<sup>1</sup>

If, indeed, at the context level, the new or old language for the minority is associated with a prejudice or anti-prejudice norm, the dominant attitude toward the group delimits the likely reaction. Is the average person likely to believe that being perceived as discriminatory toward the group is bad or that it is common and approved of? If there is an established anti-prejudice norm, that is to say if people believe that others disapprove of prejudiced behavior, and if the old word is successfully framed as a way of acting prejudiced, then to the extent that people are susceptible to what others approve of, they will be less likely to resist the change.

### **Prominence of explicit discussions about language use**

In a context where discussions about how to behave towards and talk about minorities is higher on the political and media agenda, people are more likely to have had exposure to arguments in favor or against the old and new ways of referring to a group. Which way they lean on the

---

<sup>1</sup> Search results for “Gypsy” on the BBC website: <https://bbc.in/2X4peQf> and for Roma: <https://bbc.in/2HO5BW8>.

issue will then depend on their pre-existing attitudes. But in a context where there is virtually no discussion about such issues, or such discussion only occurs within rarefied circles, most people are likely to have never had exposure to any arguments in favor of changing the way to talk about a group. Therefore, a widespread preference in favor of the status quo occurs irrespectively of individual predispositions. Following accessibility bias theories (Iyengar, 1990), the overall amount of information on the issue defines the extent to which people can link their predispositions with the norms about language use (Jerit, Barabas, & Bolsen, 2006; Zaller, 1992, 1996). The tone of the information flow on language use determines whose predispositions may be activated or not (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Hopmann, Vliegenthart, De Vreese, & Albæk, 2010; Jerit et al., 2006; Lau & Redlawsk, 2006; Zaller, 1992, 1996).

### **Partisan and ideological divides**

The context provides distinct opportunities for the reception of the language change depending on the existence of divides on the Roma issue – or adjacent issues of treatment of disadvantaged groups, race, ethnicity, national identity. How deep they are and what shape they take, i.e. if they are cutting across or cutting along other cleavages in society determines their chances to be mobilised to link language use to fights over the treatment of disadvantaged minorities.

When a clear pattern of use and support for the “new” label is associated with a particular party and a particular attitudinal/ideological divide, then its supporters will be more likely to react positively to it, while its opponents will do the opposite (Zaller 1992). This is the case of some highly contentious partisan issues where wording is associated with a partisan line or is a marker of partisan/ideological positions (Janky, 2019; Kotzur et al., 2017; Merolla et al., 2013). The divergence in reactions is more likely to be guided by partisan lines if these divides

are strongly politically mobilized and they follow deeper societal cleavages related to attitudes towards the target group (here the Roma) and/or similar groups (Smith, 1987; Winter, 2006).

A high degree of politicization of the language issue may render it more visible and make the connection with pre-existing attitudinal divides more obvious. That may increase availability of information for more citizens, reaching even the less aware or the less concerned with Roma or “political correctness” issues. Reactions to the language used for the group may follow partisan lines if a particular party or side of the political spectrum is more likely to be associated with minority-friendly policies. Conversely, if the anti-“political correctness” mantle is taken up by a visible party that has a damaging reputation, that may make people who are motivated to avoid being prejudiced or perceived as prejudiced to steer clear of being associated with such positions (Blinder, Ford, & Ivarsflaten, 2013). If positions on the language issue and minority issues in general cut across partisan divides or are simply not very high on the political agenda, partisanship is unlikely to influence how people react to different labels.

### **Sources of change**

Who is standing for or against “Roma” or “Gypsy” is also a relevant factor, as people’s openness to a particular idea is also influenced by the perceived closeness and credibility of a particular source. Whether people come to accept a new label for a group as a result of observing a change in others or as a result of being persuaded, in both cases the closeness and credibility of the source of the message are likely to influence its effectiveness (Chaiken, 1980; Petty & Cacioppo, 1984, 1986). Yet, source credibility matters only if it can be spontaneously associated with a message (Schulman & Worrall, 1970).

People are more willing to accept an opinion or at least engage with an argument if it comes from a close source (Mackie & Queller, 2000; Schmitt-Beck, 2003, 2004), whereas if it comes from a less close an argument may not make a difference at all, regardless of its strength (Mackie & Queller, 2000, pp. 147-148, p. 150). Similarly, one of the key “delivery systems” for information about norms is social interaction with the members of a group, such as one’s coworkers or family (Paluck, 2009b, p. 598). For this reason, changes in perceptions about norms are more successful when they refer to the perceptions of a group one is a member of or a group one aspires to be aligned with (Haslam et al., 1996; Stangor et al., 2001, pp. 493-494; Wittenbrink & Henly, 1996). Thus, the strength of the message effect is likely to be moderated by perceived similarity between the source or the reference group and oneself or strength of identification with the source or reference group, provided that that particular social identity is salient – i.e. relevant to a particular situation (Goldstein et al., 2008, p. 475).

A “reference” group or network is a meaningful group of which we are a member or wish to be a member (Mackie & Queller, 2000, p. 135). We therefore refer to what we know about the group when we are making certain decisions (Bicchieri, 2017, p. 14), using the group as a “gauge for the appropriateness of [our] responses” and adjust behavior to get aligned with the reference group (Mackie & Queller, 2000, p. 138). In some cases, the most salient group may be very specific to the situation one is in (Goldstein et al., 2008).

In addition to peers, people may be swayed by information from or about other sources, too – e.g. the media or state institutions (Paluck, 2009a, p. 575; Tankard & Paluck, 2016, p. 193, 2017). Like in the case of peers as sources, media coverage or institutional communications may or may not shift personal views, but they may also influence people by changing empirical or normative expectations, i.e. by providing (persuasive) information about what norms are



prevalent or are on the rise (Tankard and Paluck, 2017, pp. 1-2). For instance, Tankard and Paluck (2017) found that Supreme Court decisions regarding gay marriage influence people's perception of norms, even when they do not immediately change personal attitudes in this regard. In the case of the Roma/Gypsy issue, one obvious vehicle through which media and state institutions communicate about what is appropriate is through their choice of words when communicating about the Roma.

An important consideration when it comes to institutional agents of change is whether they are perceived as credible and/or trustworthy by the public (Tankard and Paluck, 2016, 193). Following the same logic as at the macro level, patterns of perceptions and reactions are likely to differ depending on individual perceptions of the credibility and motivation of the actors associated with the drive for change (Lupia & McCubbins, 1998; McLeod, Kosicki, & Pan, 1996). For instance, it matters if actors are thought to have a "vested interest" or be biased in their perception, such as Roma organizations or state agencies tasked with combatting discrimination.

#### **1.4. Micro-level factors**

As pointed out above, not only message characteristics, message context and the attributes of the messenger, but also the traits of the message recipients may be responsible for differential responses to the same stimuli.

##### **Direction and intensity of related attitudes and beliefs**

Calling the Roma "Roma" and not "Gypsy" has often been framed as a morally necessary act, a gesture of recognition and respect toward the group, by discarding a label associated with a painful past and allowing the group to choose the way it is addressed. As a result, different

people may react differently to the language used about a minority group depending on the intensity and the valence (positive or negative) of their attitudes towards the group itself, as well as their beliefs about what is “moral” and what is considered moral by society. The stronger these predispositions are and the better mobilized by these linguistic cues (“Roma” or “Gypsy”), the more likely we are to see disparate responses from people who differ in this regard.

### **Attitudes towards the Roma**

If people are not entirely indifferent to what word between “Roma” and “Gypsy” people use, in other words if this language is not just language but if it is also a cue associated with a certain stance regarding the Roma or how one should relate to them, then one of the individual-level features that is most likely to influence reactions to “politically correct” language is the extent to which a person is prejudiced against the Roma.

In the “Bible” of prejudice studies, Gordon Allport provided what remains one of the most widely cited definitions of prejudice: “an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization,” which “may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group” (Allport, 1979, p. 9). As many people have done subsequently, Allport saw prejudice as having three dimensions: a) a cognitive one (stereotypes); b) an affective component (antipathy); and c) a behavioral element, that can range from nasty jokes or insults up to discrimination or physical violence.

The point of commonality of most prejudice definitions seems to be antipathy rather than the cognitive or behavioral element (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007, p. 6). Sniderman and colleagues, citing a variety of other authors, identify dislike or disdain as the crux of most

definitions of prejudice (Sniderman, Petersen, Slothuus, & Stubager, 2014, p. 120). Dovidio and colleagues also recognize that negative affect and/or antipathy continues to be the dominant conceptualization of prejudice (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Esses, 2010, p. 6). Indeed, people appear to organize and reorganize their beliefs to fit with and to justify affective reactions – something Allport himself dwelled on, observing that people are capable of simultaneously holding contradictory beliefs about the same group or of accepting some members of the group as “exceptions,” without updating their stereotypes once they encounter counter-attitudinal evidence (Allport, 1979, p. 195). Behavior, for its part, is typically understood to be more a consequence of prejudice rather than an antecedent, although behavioral change may also, in time lead to a change in attitudes (Paluck et al., 2016). None of this means that stereotypes and behavior (or declared behavioral intent) are less important aspects of prejudice or that measuring these is unhelpful in diagnosing prejudice; it simply means that it is virtually impossible to conceive of prejudice without the central, affective component. For the purposes of this study, I am therefore defining anti-Roma prejudice as a negative and condescending attitude towards the group – or members thereof, by virtue of their group membership – which manifests in an embrace of negative stereotypes, and a readiness to exclude or discriminate against them. This definition is broadly similar to Sniderman and Hagendoorn’s (2007, p. 45) definition of prejudice as a “readiness to belittle [the group], to dislike them, to shun them, to be contemptuous of them, and to feel hostility towards them”.

### **Beliefs about what is normative**

It is not just attitudes towards the Roma that may shape how people react to “politically correct” language, but also beliefs about what is right and about what society approves or disapproves of. If, indeed, a word is not just a word in the Roma versus Gypsy case, then it is likely that in a context where the choice of word has been framed as related to the fight for recognition and

equality, reactions to the language used may also be influenced by how motivated one is to avoid acting in a prejudiced manner toward the Roma.

People motivated to control (their) prejudice are understood to have a goal of acting in a non-prejudiced manner (Blinder, Ford, & Ivarsflaten, 2013, p. 844), either to avoid the disapproving judgment of others or to avoid seeing oneself as prejudiced. This is both theoretically and empirically distinct from being prejudice-free (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; Ivarsflaten, Blinder, & Ford, 2010; Plant & Devine, 1998). Prejudice refers to negative attitudes about individuals and can manifest both consciously and unconsciously, while motivation refers to a want or a need that puts a “brake” on the conscious expression of prejudice (Blinder et al., 2013, p. 844). The mechanism behind motivation to control prejudice (MCP) is thought to be based on a dual-process logic, in which the same people may have automatic “prejudiced” reactions – as in implicit association tests –, but given the opportunity and in the presence of the right motivation, they can control their responses to a greater extent (Dunton & Fazio, 1997, p. 317; Fazio et al., 1995, pp. 1025-1026), bringing their behavior more in line with their higher-level objectives (Blinder et al., 2013, p. 844).

Studies in the United States and Western Europe indicate that motivation to control prejudice can be both external and internal (Ivarsflaten et al., 2010; Plant & Devine, 1998; Plant & Devine, 2009). Usually, external motivation is captured through people’s agreement to statements like “It is important for me that other people think I am not prejudiced”. External motivation is driven by the perception of a social norm against prejudice and the desire to comply with them (Fazio et al., 1995, p. 1025). As such, its existence will be conditional upon normative expectations – i.e. the perceived existence of a norm condemning prejudice. Internal motivation is driven by an internalized personal standard (Dunton and Fazio, 1997, p. 318). An

example of an item seeking to gauge exactly that would be: “I aim to be non-prejudiced due to my own convictions”. People with high external motivation but low internal motivation seem more interested in concealing their prejudice, while those with high internal motivation appear motivated to rid themselves of prejudice as a sort of moral imperative (Plant and Devine, 2009, p. 641, p. 648, pp. 650-651). Acting in a way that does not conform to this standard causes the latter feelings of guilt (Plant and Devine, 1998, p. 823), while the former are more likely to feel threat (Plant and Devine, 1998, p. 823, 825). It is people high in external motivation to control prejudice but not so high in internal motivation whose responses appear most susceptible to the circumstances in which prejudice is tested for, expressing greater prejudice in situations where the costs seem lower (Plant and Devine, 1998, p. 825).

If either “Roma” or “Gypsy” evoke thoughts regarding the importance of being non prejudiced, then people with high internal motivation to control prejudice may react differently to language regarding the Roma than their low-motivation peers to remain consistent with their aspirations of being non-prejudiced. Similarly, if “Roma” or “Gypsy” act as cues regarding what is socially desirable, then people with a high external motivation to control prejudice may react differently than people low on such motivation, to stay in line with what is expected of them. In either case, different reactions from high- and low-motivation people may be an indicator that people are not indifferent to word choice and that the choice of language is not neutral at all.

Whether and how this individual-level factor makes a difference in reactions to Roma/Gypsy will also depend on contextual factors. If the environment is high-prejudice and the modus operandi is the old way of talking about the group, then it is unlikely that people will be very externally motivated to control prejudice – except perhaps if they happen to have a reference group that is different from the rest. But if the environment is one in which it is considered

unacceptable to exhibit overt prejudice and in which people take a great deal of care in how they talk about minorities, then the likelihood that external MCP plays a role in how people react is higher.

## **Awareness**

In conjunction with features of the information environment, people's level of awareness of the existence of a push for political correctness may influence reactions to "politically correct" language in two ways: first, if the social norm is clear, it may directly influence how positively or negatively they react; second, it may enhance the effect of other relevant attitudes and beliefs on one's reactions to politically correct language, when the norm is still unclear or actively disputed.

In this study awareness refers to political knowledge or sophistication (Luskin, 1990; Zaller, 1992). While there are differences between political sophistication, political expertise and (factual) knowledge about politics, when I say that someone has higher political knowledge I refer to people's awareness of politics and possession of factual knowledge as well as their ability to understand the political environment, their options and form preferences that are closer to their true values and higher-level priorities (Jacoby, 2006; Luskin, 2003, p. 239). Someone who has more political knowledge is therefore more "in tune" with what is being discussed by the elites and somewhat better at connecting their own value system with more minute issues questions they encounter, although less knowledgeable citizens may form preferences and make decisions that approximate those of informed citizens up to a point (Lau & Redlawsk, 2001; Lupia, 1994).

If the language used for the Roma is the subject of a relatively established norm – or associated with a particular established norm, such as a norm of behaving in an unprejudiced way – then higher knowledge people may behave react more strongly to variations in the language used than lower knowledge people, and they may react in a way that suggests conformity to the norm. The mechanism that makes this possible is the fact that political experts are more likely to perceive and adopt certain principles because they are more exposed to information about what is “respectable” coming from elites and authorities (McCloskey & Zaller, 1984, p. 262). As a result, they often express more tolerance (Marcus, Sullivan, Theiss-Morse, & Wood, 1995; Popescu, Toka, & Chilin) and are more steadfast in tolerance even in the face of counter-arguments, as they are more steadfast in all attitudes and preferences they have acquired (Marcus et al., 1995, pp. 143-144; Zaller, 1992).

If, however, the language used is not associated with any established norm or if it is associated with a contested norm, then higher knowledge may cause people to diverge in their reactions according to their other attitudes, even more so than lower knowledge people diverge. High knowledge is more closely associated to embracing a democratic or pro-minority norm if the norm is clear and uncontested, whereas if the norm is disputed, people will diverge according to their own inner compass (McCloskey & Zaller, 1984, pp. 238-242).

I have so far discussed some of the reasons why reactions to labels such as “Roma” and “Gypsy” may differ according to contextual factors and the features of the individuals receiving the message. In the next chapter, I present the Romanian context and its implications for how micro-level features may influence reactions given the theoretically relevant macro characteristics.

## **2. Chapter 2. The Romanian context and its implications**

Thirty years ago, “Gypsy” was both the official and the colloquial name by which the Romanian state and its majority population referred to members of the Roma community. Today, following the campaigning efforts of Roma activists and the influence exerted by international bodies, “Roma” is the designation employed by the Romanian state and Roma organizations. Yet usage of the term “Gypsy” continues among Romanians in less formal settings. Romania appears to be in the middle of a change in terms of what is widely practiced and what is considered appropriate. This switch from the old-fashioned term to the new term has been largely a top-down evolution, which makes it an interesting test case. This case can illustrate who reacts how in a society in the midst of change – and thus can tell us something more general about how people might react to attempts to establish “politically correct” language or to other attempts at changing perceptions and practices regarding minorities.

### **2.1. Roma versus Gypsy in Romania**

In Romania, most Roma organizations and some major Roma public figures have supported the use of “Roma” over “Gypsy” since the 1990s (ROMANI CRISS, 2010b). Their domestic influence seems to have been boosted by international pressure - exerted through the recommendations issued by international bodies like the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the practice of EU institutions. Whereas documents from the early 1990s indicate that Romanian state officials were reluctant to use anything other than “Gypsy”, what has occurred since then is a gradual entrenchment of “Roma” in official state usage, to the point where multiple legislative proposals to make “Gypsy” the official label have been rejected on legal and normative grounds by Romanian state institutions in the past 10 years (for a timeline with major milestones in this debate, see Appendix A). However, some public figures have continued to



oppose the “imposition” of this term, and it is unclear how many people have shifted over to the new, “politically correct” language, and how many resent its adoption.

Romanian Roma organizations rejecting the “Gypsy” label have made their case in several ways. They have argued that the label “Gypsy” was imposed on the group, as it does not exist in their language (W-M, 2010), and that it is inextricably linked with negative preconceptions and Roma enslavement. They cite the possible root of “tigan” in the Greek “athinganos” (untouchable) and the use of “atigan” or “tigan” in the Middle Ages as a label for enslaved people, rather than people of a particular ethnicity (Romani CRISS, 2010a; Europe). They also point to proverbs and expressions giving negative meaning to the word “Gypsy”, e.g. “to drown like a Gypsy on the shore” – which refers to failing at a task on the last stretch.<sup>2</sup> According to Roma organizations, as early as 1919, Roma representatives were asking that the majority population stop using the “derisive” term “Gypsy” (Duminică, 2017). As for “Roma”, activists point out it exists in the Romani language and that, far from being a foreign import, it was recorded as early as the 14th century and appeared in a Romanian dictionary in 1939 (Romani CRISS, 2010c; Duminică, 2017). Finally, Roma organizations have argued that it is the right of minorities to be acknowledged under the name they prefer, a right derived from the right to self-determination – an argument later acknowledged by the state too (Ministerul de Afaceri Externe al României, 2000).

Those who oppose the use of “Roma” argue that it is a new term, promoted by various activist bodies (Ministerul de Afaceri Externe al României, 1995). They have also argued because it

---

<sup>2</sup> According to a Roma activist and sociologist, this expression has a particularly gruesome origin. According to Gelu Duminică, Roma slaves that attempted to escape would have their legs tied with a rope and be thrown into a river. As they tried to swim to the shore, someone on a boat in the middle of the water would pull the rope and pull the Roma away from the shore. Ultimately the victim would drown on or near the shore (Duminică, 2018).

sounds similar to “Romanian” it helps conflate the concept of “Roma” and “Romanian” (Ministerul de Afaceri Externe al României, 1995). Finally, some have argued that the term is used in other languages, like French, and employed by international bodies (this part of the argument, used more often in the 1990s, no longer works as well today) (Ministerul de Afaceri Externe al României, 1995). All of these arguments were once made by officials representing the Romanian state - most notably in 1995, when the Ministry of Foreign Affairs attempted to propose that state representatives use “Gypsy” rather than “Roma”, a proposal that met with domestic and international backlash from Roma allies (see timeline for details). Over the years, however, seemingly in large part due to accumulating international recommendations and practice privileging “Roma”, its usage in official contexts was gradually established, precedent-by-precedent. By 2008, bodies like the Legislative Council, the cabinet of the Prime Minister and the National Council for Combating Discrimination were echoing the argument that minorities should be called whatever they wish to call themselves and stating that the desire to delimit Romanians from the Roma has a discriminatory flavor.

Today, it seems difficult to envision an initiative to establish “Gypsy” as the official denomination succeeding. Yet most of this progress has been achieved via Roma activism and international pressure, and aside from the occasional spurts of debate over this issue, there has been little public discussion about why one should call this minority “Roma” and, hence, little opportunity to bring the public on board. We do not know how regular Romanians feel about the issue - be they Roma or Romanian ethnics – but available data suggests that “Gypsy” is the default option for most Romanians. Analyses of online comments on Romanian news websites indicate that, on the one hand, the use of “Gypsy” is more prevalent (Marincea & Chilin, 2016, pp. 49-50) and, on the other hand, some people feel quite strongly that “Gypsy” is the appropriate word. Common arguments are similar to those used by the Romanian state in the

past: the term is not offensive and it has always been used, whereas “Roma” is an import that serves to confuse Roma for Romanians (Peltonen, 2010, pp. 63-64, 81-83). The fact that some politicians periodically attempt to reintroduce this topic on the agenda suggests that they believe (electoral) support can be garnered by tapping into resentment over the attempted establishment of a new linguistic norm. Are such people a disgruntled but tiny minority, and if so, do they react badly to the word because of their own prejudices against the Roma? Or could opposition to this term have a broader base in society and perhaps also be driven by perceptions that “Roma” is a word no one really uses outside of very formal settings? Or might it be that most people simply do not care one way or another? In the following sections, I discuss how this context might interact with individual-level factors to produce different reactions to “Roma” or “Gypsy”, while also introducing the operationalization of key concepts in this study.

## **2.2. Anti-Roma prejudice in Romania**

In the past few decades, researchers in the West have observed a decreasing willingness of people to express blatantly negative attitudes towards minorities, a phenomenon that has been seen as a consequence of the rise of a norm of racial equality (Mendelberg, 2001), which has made it socially costly to be seen as prejudiced. That is not the case in Romania: many Romanian people still express very negative attitudes towards the Roma – as well as other minorities –, and endorse their exclusion and discrimination. Negative attitudes and blatantly discriminatory expressions can be observed both among regular people, in contexts like surveys, and among elites, in their public statements. This suggests that in Romanian society, prejudice is prevalent and the anti-prejudice norm is weak – if it exists at all.

Romanians express rather negative attitudes towards the Roma across different surveys and different years. Only Gay people are more disliked (Lup and Chilin, 2017, p. 8), and whereas

declared prejudice towards other groups, like other ethnic minorities, has somewhat softened over the past decades for which survey data is available, anti-Roma attitudes seem to be more resilient (Lup and Chilin, 2017, p. 13). For example, the share of people who say they would not want a Roma neighbor has varied somewhat across the years and across different surveys, but it typically oscillates between 40 and 50% in the surveys conducted between 1999 and 2014. In a 2016 survey – which is the source of the data analyzed in chapter 3 – 29% of respondents said they would not want a Roma neighbor (more details about the survey in Appendix B). Negative stereotypes about the Roma are widely embraced: in the above-mentioned national survey, 62% of respondents agreed that Roma people break the law more often than others, and 53% said they tended to agree that Roma people do not work as hard as others. Furthermore, a significant share of people supports various discriminatory or exclusionary policies, at least declaratively. For example, in the same survey, 81% of participants agreed that establishments should be able to deny service to the Roma and 30% agreed that Romanian towns should be able to decide if Roma people can live there.

Not only do regular people feel comfortable expressing anti-Roma prejudice, but so do public figures, without suffering serious career hits. For instance, while in office former President Traian Basescu called a reporter “stinking Gypsy”, and said that Roma “live out of what they steal”. He also exhorted Romanian women to raise more children like Roma women do, even if Romanian women have careers (Aramă, 2013; “Basescu chided for 'gypsy' remark,” 2007). Basescu was fined by the National Council for Combating Discrimination but otherwise suffered little damage; he was re-elected as president two years later. Other examples include former Prime Minister Victor Ponta accusing the Roma of “benefits tourism”, something that allegedly “specific to the Roma community”. He added, “if we talk about regular Romanians ... it's normal emigration within the EU” (“Romanian PM: Benefit tourism is 'Roma problem',”

2013). On another occasion, a Romanian foreign minister said it would be good to relocate the Roma to Egypt (Alexe & Zhelev, 2010).

The apparent degree of comfort with which Romanians express negative attitudes about the Roma and the fact that prominent politicians have incurred few costs for anti-Roma discourse suggests that such attitudes are widespread and the anti-prejudice norm is weak (if it exists at all). This has several important implications for the present study. The first implication is that, in such a high-prejudice context, one's own attitudes towards the group are likely to have a stronger bearing on how one positions oneself regarding a political correctness issue than in a context where people have low prejudice across the board. I discuss this possibility in the next section. The second implication, which I return to later in the chapter, is that considerations about what is "acceptable" behavior towards the Roma or discourse about the Roma may be less relevant in such a context than they would be if the anti-prejudice norm was more entrenched.

### **Possible implications of a high-prejudice context**

When it comes to reactions to politically correct or incorrect language, being high-prejudice may lead people in one of two directions. The first possibility is that the higher the prejudice a respondent has, the more Roma-friendly they may appear when exposed to "Gypsy" as opposed to "Roma". The second is that the higher the prejudice, the more Roma-friendly will one's expressed attitudes be, when exposed to "Roma" and not "Gypsy".

On the one hand, if the "Roma" condition elicits significantly less minority-friendly responses from high-prejudice people, but not from low-prejudice individuals, this could be interpreted as evidence that the word is disliked by these respondents, more so than by low-prejudice

individuals. The appearance of “Gypsy” could be, in other words, a nice surprise that triggers less hostile reactions than the Roma wording. And reacting “badly” to the Roma word if you are more prejudiced but not if you are less prejudiced may be an indication that people have somewhat strong personal beliefs about the right way to talk about the Roma – beliefs which are tied up with their attitudes about the group itself.

On the other hand, “Roma” may elicit more minority-friendly responses than “Gypsy” among high-prejudice individuals, if “Roma” gives people a cue to be more diplomatic, while “Gypsy” subtly communicates a license to speak more frankly. Yet that would require high-prejudice individuals suppressing their views to some degree when exposed to “Roma” – which would indicate that the word acts as a cue regarding a norm against expressing prejudice (even a weak one). As discussed above, it is not clear whether an anti-prejudice norm exists in this context, or if it does, how strong it is – but a reaction in this direction may be interpreted as evidence of its existence and its association with “politically correct” language.

Because it appears likely that prejudice influences how people react to “Roma” or “Gypsy” but difficult to anticipate in what direction, I propose two hypotheses regarding this relationship:

*Hypothesis 1a: The more prejudice a person exhibits, the stronger will be the positive effect of exposure to “Gypsy”, compared to “Roma”.*

*Hypothesis 1b: The more prejudice a person a person exhibits, the stronger will be the positive effect of exposure to “Roma”, compared to “Gypsy”.*

## Operationalization of prejudice

In this context, to operationalize prejudice, I am not going to use measures that try to capture subtler manifestations like symbolic or modern racism (McConahay, 1986; Sears & Henry, 2003). Instead, I first use social distance and then run robustness checks with additional measures: negative stereotypes and the willingness to deny the Roma rights and support discriminatory policies. I do not claim these measurements are wholly interchangeable – and indeed as I explain below, items that one might expect to be very closely related are not necessarily so – but merely argue that they are facets of the same broader phenomenon. Each captures a dimension of prejudice and is at the same time influenced by slightly different factors. For example, support for equal rights is influenced by political knowledge, while other measures are not (Popescu et al.) – most likely because people with higher political knowledge tend to know more about what is a right and why it is important. For this reason, given that the 2016 national survey I employ for my analysis in Chapter 3 included multiple useful questions, I test my expectations using more than one (details about the survey are in Appendix B).

The first measure I employ is a question about the willingness to accept a Roma person as a neighbor. Even in contexts where people are believed to be growing increasingly unwilling to admit to holding blatantly discriminatory views, social distance is still used as a proxy measure for negative predispositions (Mendelberg, 2001, pp 115-116) alone or alone or in combination with other measures, like stereotypes items (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007, pp 56-59).

Stereotype questions are obvious candidates for capturing the cognitive aspect of prejudice, provided that one is not exceedingly concerned about people avoiding frank answers due to social desirability – something that will always be a concern with prejudice studies, but in the Romanian context, does not appear to be a big problem, based on previous survey data.

Having said that, it is worth mentioning that in this particular survey, one finds a significant lack of consistency of responses even with regard to conceptually closely related items. It is partly for this reason that instead of creating one index of prejudice or one index of discrimination composed of several different items, I clustered them together in ways that seemed more appropriate given the theory and the patterns in the data. For instance, there are three Roma stereotype items in the survey, which theoretically fit together, but are not well captured by any single factor.<sup>3</sup> Table 1 below also illustrates that they are not very closely related. For this reason, when constructing the stereotype index, I retained the first two items, which are conceptually and statistically more closely related: they both relate to specific grievances that people air about the Roma and not other groups.

*Table 1. Correlation matrix of stereotype-related questions*

	<b>Roma break more often</b>	<b>people the law do not work as hard as others</b>	<b>Roma people always defend each other</b>
Roma people break the law more often	1	0.235*	0.106*
Roma people do not work as hard as others	0.235*	1	0.134*
Roma people always defend each other	0.106*	0.134*	1

\*  $p < .05$

Items that inquire about people’s views on restricting rights for certain groups or subjecting them to policies of control address the more “behavioral” dimension of prejudice – insofar as

<sup>3</sup> An exploratory factor analysis with a Varimax rotation and a maximum of 25 iterations indicated that there is no latent factor that captures their shared variance better than any single component variable would. Specifically, no factor had an initial Eigenvalue over 1 (detailed findings provided in the appendix).



they inform us about what the respondents might accept (if not actively seek). I conducted a factor analysis of several items that all refer to denying the Roma human rights, and failed to find even one factor that would capture a significant proportion of the shared variance of the variables.<sup>4</sup>

That respondents may not give consistent answers from one rights-related question to another suggests that not all rights are actually perceived as such. Indeed, as Table 2 shows, there is a weak relationship between how people responded to a general question about awarding the Roma equal rights and how they responded to more specific questions. In particular, denying Roma service in a bar or a restaurant may not be perceived as a restriction of a civil right.

*Table 2. Correlation matrix of rights-related questions*

	<b>OK for localities to ban Roma</b>	<b>OK for state to control Roma reproduction</b>	<b>OK for establishments to deny Roma service</b>	<b>Roma people deserve equal rights</b>
OK for localities to ban Roma	1	0.216*	-0.131*	-0.176*
OK for state to control Roma reproduction	0.216*	1	-0.152*	-0.241*
OK for establishments to deny Roma service	-0.131*	-0.152*	1	0.182*
Roma people deserve equal rights	-0.176*	-0.241*	0.182*	1

\*  $p < .05$

<sup>4</sup> The rotated factor solution for the analysis conducted with a Varimax rotation with a maximum of 25 iterations and no cut-off according to Eigenvalues – all of the initial factors being under 1 anyway – produced a three factor solution, wherein the first factor accounted for cca 54% of the shared variance, and the second accounted for a further 30%. A more detailed output is provided in the appendix, under the sub-section “Factor analyses”.

However, this apparent inconsistency between responses on different rights does not mean that these rights-related items are not meaningful as operationalizations of anti-Roma attitudes. Indeed, there is some corroborating evidence that it is lack of awareness about rights *combined with* antipathy toward the Roma that motivates at least some of these responses, while stereotypes are used as rationalizations for denying the Roma “unearned” privileges. Some of this evidence comes from an online panel survey conducted in Romania in March 2017 (more information about the panel can be found in Appendix B). The online panel is not nationally representative, but responses with regard to Roma-related attitudes do not appear to stray from the national average. For example, when asked whether they agree with the Roma having the right to protest, both in the national survey and in this online panel, respondents were split (50% were in favor in the survey and 51% in the online panel).

In this panel, respondents who said they would not award the Roma the right to protest gave reasons that suggested antipathy and preconceptions, and not just a misunderstanding of human rights, might be at play. Participants to this self-administered survey were first asked whether they would award the Roma the right to protest. In open ended responses, the participants were then requested to explain why they would deny the Roma this right. Over 400 people chimed in (cca. 8.3% of participants), and four major patterns emerged from their responses. About 40% of those who chose to explain why they would deny Roma the right to protest cited negative stereotypes about the Roma, chief among them being the fact that they engage in unlawful or anti-social behavior, that they are not trustworthy or honest, that they do not like to work and do not wish to adapt to society and that they are uneducated. A quarter of participants also said that the Roma have nothing to protest about, because they already have enough rights or too many rights and privileges, and these responses suggest that people sometimes interpret rights-related questions as questions about whether a protest would be

justified rather than as questions about a basic right, whose legitimacy is not debatable. Yet other responses betrayed a misunderstanding of rights, as well as hostility to the Roma, with around 13% of respondents saying that rights should be earned by working, contributing to society and to the state budget, something that the Roma do not do (according to them). And 7% of respondents said that the Roma should not be allowed to protest or should not have rights because they are not Romanian, they do not belong in the country or because minorities should not have the same rights.

All of this indicates that in the Romanian context, preconceptions about the Roma, antipathy towards them and the readiness to exclude or discriminate against them are distinct but inter-related facets of the phenomenon of prejudice – one which is remarkably widespread. Additionally, the responses to the rights questions also suggest that (many) Romanians may not wish to be prejudiced or perceived as prejudiced – as the following section shows – their definition of “being prejudiced” may be much narrower than the academic one. In other words, the norm against racism may be perceived to some degree, but it may be very weak, covering very little in the sense of what people might accept as being a manifestation of prejudice.

### **2.3. Norms against prejudice**

#### **Possible implications of a no-/weak-norm context**

The second implication of the Romanian context is that it is not clear if there is an anti-prejudice norm, or if there is, what it covers. If people do not believe there is an anti-prejudice norm at all – i.e. if they do not perceive others as disapproving of racism – then it is unlikely that politically correct language can be associated with such a norm. In such a case, one would expect that the most important factors influencing one’s reactions to politically correct

language will be one's attitudes towards the Roma and, possibly, one's own value system as regards the appropriate way to relate to minorities. In other words, what will be important is a) how one feels about the Roma; and/or b) whether one's own personal moral beliefs are that one should not be racist (how *internally* motivated one is to avoid being prejudiced). Expectations about what others think is appropriate and how motivated one is to conform to these expectations (i.e. *external* motivation) are, in such a scenario, unlikely to be strong influences on one's positioning regarding politically correct language.

In the previous chapter, I introduced the concept of motivation to control prejudice (MCP) and discussed the distinction between internal and external motivation. Whereas external motivation is conditional on certain expectations regarding what others believe, internal motivation is less dependent on such expectations. Thus, internal motivation to control prejudice, which is theorized to be a desire to avoid being prejudiced due to one's own value system, is a lever that could be triggered by exposure to politically (in)correct language even in a low-/no-norm situation. Will people with high internal motivation to control prejudice react in more Roma-friendly ways when exposed to "Roma" or will it be the opposite? The direction is likely to be the reverse of what we see with high-prejudice people – for obvious reasons – but is otherwise hard to anticipate.

As explained above, given the contextual features in Romania, it is unclear whether people perceive the existence of an anti-prejudice norm at all. One possible way to see whether it exists and whether politically correct language is in any way associated with the norm is to examine whether external motivation to control prejudice influences reactions to different language for the Roma. It is important to mention, though, that the lack of such an interaction is not

necessarily an indicator that the norm does not exist. Even if an anti-prejudice norm exists, it may be too weak to influence how people react to different labels for the Roma.

If, conversely, people do perceive the existence of an anti-prejudice norm and if they associate the word Roma with efforts to treat this group more respectfully, then exposure to Roma or Gypsy should trigger reactions that are moderated by one's degree of motivation to conform. However, the direction of this moderating effect is difficult to predict. Someone who has a high degree of external motivation may have more Roma-friendly reactions when exposed to "Roma" because the word evokes thoughts of this norm and reminds them to avoid being perceived as prejudiced. Yet it is also possible that exposure to "Gypsy" will have a similar effect: if a person with high external MCP is aware that Gypsy has some negative connotations, they may over-compensate when exposed to such language and give more minority-friendly responses than they would otherwise.

The expectations one can formulate regarding how motivation to control prejudice will influence reactions to different language used for the Roma are further complicated by the fact that MCP in Romania does not present in the way it does in other countries, as I explain in the following section.

### **Operationalization of motivation to control prejudice**

According to my analysis based on a 2016 survey, as well as to other analyses conducted on later survey data, many Romanians do express a motivation to control prejudice – but it is not clear if this motivation is internal or external.

In the 2016 survey that the analysis in Chapter 3 is based on, the survey designers included a battery of eight items aimed at capturing internal and external motivation to control prejudice that was used by Blinder and colleagues (2013). I constructed an index of motivation to control prejudice based on these questions, and overall, participants to the survey expressed relatively high scores. Across the entire weighted sample, people scored an average of 5.3 on a 1-7 scale measuring the motivation to avoid being racist or perceived as racist (std. dev. = 1.3). More than 7 in 10 said they try to act in an unprejudiced way towards the Roma because it is important to them. Somewhat fewer said they felt guilty when they had negative thoughts about the Roma (cca. 44%). A desire to avoid being seen as prejudiced was also apparent: almost three quarters of respondents said that when they speak to Roma, it is important to them that they not be seen as racist; and 68% of respondents said it was important to them that others think they are not prejudiced. Most respondents, then, expressed some degree of motivation to control prejudice.

However, contrary to what studies in other countries found, I uncovered no evidence that motivation to control prejudice is two-dimensional in Romania – a finding corroborated by other analyses (Popescu et al.). Whereas previous users of this battery and similar batteries were able to identify two dimensions to motivation to control prejudice (Blinder et al., 2013; Ivarsflaten et al., 2010), a factor analysis I conducted indicates that motivation to control prejudice is one-dimensional in Romania. All items load well on one factor only, which explains a significant proportion of the shared variance of the items. The rotated solution of a factor analysis with Varimax rotation and maximum 25 iterations indicated that all variables load well on only one factor, the only one which exceeds an Eigenvalue of 1 (Eigenvalue = 2.17; KMO = 0.802).

Despite the failure of MCP to split into two dimensions, can we take the relatively high average scores of Romanians as evidence that there is a social norm against prejudice? Not necessarily. Contrary to Ivarsflaten and colleagues (2010), I do not take high scores on the internal motivation to control prejudice scale as evidence of the existence of a social norm against racism. The reason is that this internal motivation is indistinguishable from what Bicchieri would call a (personal) normative or moral belief (Bicchieri, 2017, p. 17, 69). The internal motivation to control prejudice measurement does not allow one to distinguish *conditional* anti-prejudice behavior from *unconditional* one. With external motivation, matters are pretty clear: a person perceives a norm and wants to conform because they do not want to be perceived as racist. With internal motivation, we cannot be sure if they perceive a norm or not. Move someone who is strongly internally motivated to a new context, and they are still going to be strongly internally motivated (though perhaps their conviction will erode over time). Move someone who is externally motivated into a no-norm context, and their behavior will change.

Given these findings and knowing that MCP is understood as a brake on the expression of prejudice, are people in Romania doing it because they are more concerned with being perceived as racist or because they are more worried about being racist? On the one hand, one could treat the apparently one-dimensional MCP as evidence of the existence of normative expectations that influence behavior, without the underlying values being fully internalized. In this scenario, Romanian society is in the early phases of a process in which external motivation occurs first, as a result of social pressure, and only later is internalized (Mendelberg, 2001, p. 19; Plant & Devine, 1998, p. 827). On the other hand, one could treat the fact that MCP is one-dimensional, coupled with the breadth and intensity of prejudice routinely expressed by Romanians in surveys as evidence that if anything, MCP is for now predominantly internal.

Yet as elegant as either of these solutions might seem, there simply is not enough evidence to opt for either of them.

Because one cannot separate internal from external motivation in this Romanian context, and it is unclear what kind of motivation one is looking at here, one cannot test whether and how people with low or high external or internal motivation react to different labels for the Roma. Instead, one is compelled to use MCP as one single indicator. Nevertheless, knowing how high- and low-MCP people respond, combined with information about the reactions of high- and low-prejudice individuals, will provide some insight. If one finds that MCP moderates the effect of exposure to politically correct or incorrect language, this will be confirmatory evidence that the Roma/Gypsy issue is not a value-neutral linguistic convention. And, if prejudice does not appear moderate the friendliness of responses but MCP does, then this can be interpreted as evidence that the Roma/Gypsy issue is more likely to strongly dependent on what we observe in others.

Given the above, I formulate two distinct hypotheses regarding the influence of motivation to control prejudice on reactions to politically correct or incorrect language. The first possibility is that, particularly for high-MCP compared to low-MCP individuals, “Roma” will elicit more minority-friendly responses, because this language will remind motivated people of the norm. This is a mechanism similar to what I propose under Hypothesis 1b for people with high prejudice. In both scenarios, exposure to “Roma” has the effect of dampening the expression of minority-*unfriendly* expressions.



*Hypothesis 2a: The more motivation to control prejudice a person expresses, the stronger will be the positive effect of exposure to politically correct language (Roma), compared to politically incorrect language (Gypsy).*

The second possibility is that high-MCP people will give even more friendly responses when exposed to “Gypsy” because they wish to avoid being seen as racist or seeing themselves as racist, which can cause them to “overcompensate” (Fazio et al., 1995, p. 1025). I therefore formulate an additional hypothesis:

*Hypothesis 2b: The more motivation to control prejudice a person expresses, the stronger will be the positive effect of exposure to politically incorrect language (Gypsy), compared to politically correct language (Roma).*

## **2.4. Awareness of the Roma/Gypsy issue**

Apart from being a high-prejudice, weak-anti-prejudice-norm context, Romania is also a place where issues of political correctness or even minority-related issues are not front-and-center in political discourse. If anything, people are likely to attribute the gradual adoption of “Roma” in certain contexts to pressure for “political correctness” coming from Roma advocates and international actors, but they are unlikely to have been exposed to extensive discussions from elite sources about why “politically correct” language is good or bad.

As explained in the opening section of this chapter, the word “Roma” has gradually been adopted in formal contexts largely through the combined influence of Roma activists and international practice. “Roma” has become the default in communications from the Romanian state and other sources, but *why* exactly this is good (or bad) is not something that most people

are likely to have heard about, outside of a few isolated situations when public personalities or institutions took a stand (see timeline in Appendix A for details). Meanwhile, colloquially, many Romanians continue to use the word “Gypsy”, either to refer to members of this group or as an insult against other people (regardless of their ethnicity). For example, an analysis of reader-submitted comments on the largest sports news website in Romania found that the appearance of “Gypsy” in comments was associated with other insults and name-calling that evokes Roma-related stereotypes (Marincea & Chilin, 2016). However, when a ban on the word was introduced by the comment moderators, many readers complained that a so-called normal, “dictionary” word was being forbidden (Toma, 2017). Most people may have very little awareness of the case for using “politically correct” language, and at best they will have had exposure to the word “Roma” in more formal contexts. Only the most well informed – possibly those who particularly interested in Roma-related issues – are likely to have ever heard an explicit argument in favor of using “Roma”. Others are likely to have seen Roma used in various contexts – official state communications or speeches from politicians, news organizations, and so on – but never have heard an argument in favor of this. Finally, still others may have rarely heard the word Roma – especially if they are not particularly engaged with civil activism, political discourse or mass media. For the least engaged, Roma is likely to sound most “unusual”.

The “upside” of this relative obscurity of political correctness discussions is that they have not become politicized. The proposals to make “Gypsy” the official label for the group came from the same side of the political divide – right wing parties – but none of the Romanian parties have explicitly taken up the mantle of the fight against minority discrimination or disparagement or the fight against so-called political correctness. In other words, none of the

major parties is associated with a particularly pro- or anti-minority stance, so partisan identification is unlikely to influence how people think about or react to political correctness.

### **Possible implications of low awareness of political correctness issues**

As I wrote in Chapter 1, high knowledge is more likely to be associated with embrace of a norm if the norm is clear, whereas in situations when the norm is unclear or disputed, the more knowledge people have the more they may diverge according to their different attitudes and beliefs. With regard to the “Roma” / “Gypsy” issue in Romania, then, one can expect that high knowledge people may have had exposure to the new language than low knowledge people, and they certainly are more likely to have heard arguments in favor of “Roma” or “Gypsy” than low knowledge people. But it is not entirely clear whether they are likely to have perceived a norm that is salient in this case or simply likely to diverge according to their own value system/ideology. I therefore propose two different hypotheses regarding the role of knowledge:

*Hypothesis 3a: Political knowledge moderates the effect of exposure to politically correct language.*

*Hypothesis 3b: The more political knowledge people have, the more they diverge in their reactions to politically correct language, according to their level of prejudice or motivation to control prejudice.*

### **Operationalization of awareness**

Because no data is available regarding people’s awareness specifically about the Roma/Gypsy issue, for the analysis in Chapter 3 I am using political knowledge as a proxy. Given that high-knowledge people have more political interest and are therefore more likely to consume news,

as well as engage in discussion about politics, they may have had more exposure to the term “Roma” and heard any discussion regarding the question of what to call the Roma. To gauge political knowledge, I use an index constructed out of the responses to four factual political knowledge questions, which were included in the national survey in which the Roma/Gypsy experiment was embedded.

In this chapter, I have sketched the Romanian context as regards the Roma and discussion regarding the “Roma” / “Gypsy” issue and discussed how contextual factors may combine with individual-level features like prejudice, motivation to control prejudice and knowledge to make it possible that different people have different reactions depending on the label used for the Roma. In the following chapter, I test these expectations on data from an experiment with exposure to “Roma” or “Gypsy”.

### **3. Chapter 3. A Roma/Gypsy experiment**

In the first chapter, I argued that it is important to understand how people react to “politically correct” language because one of the underlying assumptions behind promoting less negatively loaded terms for historically mistreated groups is that this change in language might eventually contribute to a change in other types of behaviors and, ultimately, in attitudes. I also made the case, based on previous research, that we cannot take for granted a “positive” reaction to new labels on the part of the majority population and that, instead, whether people react in meaningfully different ways to different labels, and how they react, depends on the interplay between contextual and individual-level factors.

In the second chapter, I presented the Romanian case, one where society appears to be in the middle of a shift in terms of what is considered appropriate. This is a high-prejudice context, in which there seems to be a weak norm against prejudice (if there is one at all): broad swaths of the population, as well as public figures, are capable of expressing extremely negative attitudes toward the Roma and endorse highly discriminatory policies. Yet according to our data, Romanians also, by and large, do not want to act racist or be perceived as racist. Furthermore, the label “Roma” has established itself as the “default” in select contexts, such as official state communications, in part due to pressure from domestic Roma organizations and international bodies like the Council of Europe and the EU. In this particular context, it seems likely that people’s reactions to “politically correct” language may depend on their attitudes toward the group in question, but it is unclear how – if at all – the motivation to act in an unprejudiced manner may moderate reactions to such language.

In this chapter, I analyze the results of an experiment that exposed people to the words “Roma” or “Gypsy” as labels for the group. Looking at the attitudes people in different treatment

conditions expressed regarding the Roma, I test the hypotheses laid out in the second chapter in order to illuminate who may react more or less positively to different labels. While this is not a substitute for studying how people react to such changes over the long term, looking at *who* reacts *how* at a particular moment in time can give some insight into *why* people may chafe at the imposition of “politically correct” language or, conversely, embrace it.

### **3.1. Experiment description**

The experiment was deployed in a national survey conducted in 2015-2016 (details in Appendix B). The treatment consists in the use of either “Gypsy” or “Roma” in two questions that were asked one after the other in the survey. The participants were divided into two groups: the “Roma” or the “Gypsy” condition, and they were exposed to the same word in both questions. The first experimental item asks people to respond to a statement about whether the Roma deserve equal rights. The second item asked people to say whether they usually liked the Roma more or less than other people who live in Romania.

#### **Potential complicating aspects**

There are several aspects that pertain to the experiment and survey design that are worth keeping in mind as one goes through the results. First, in addition to the “Roma” / “Gypsy” variation, the first item also involved an additional (and independent) randomization step. Specifically, people were randomly treated to the same item in a manner that put either a rights-affirming or a rights-denying version forward initially. The item asked respondents to rate their closeness to two opposite views (on a 0-10 scale). In one version, people were first exposed to the rights-affirming statement that “[Roma/Gypsy] people deserve equal rights with all other people of Romania” and then to the opposite statement (“[Roma/Gypsy] people do not deserve...”). In the other version, people were first exposed to the rights-denial version and then

to the other. The effect of this treatment is not the focus of this analysis, but a binary variable designating whether the positive statement came first will be introduced as a control in the analysis (*rights-affirming version*).

Second, the “like/dislike” item is a slightly atypical version of more classical “thermometer” questions, as it requires people to report their feelings about the Roma *relative to other groups*. It employed a 0-10 Likert scale, asking people to choose 0 if they agree with the statement “Usually, [they] like [the Roma / Gypsies] less than others,” 10 they agree that usually they like them “more than others,” 5 if they like them equally or any other number in between. A potential issue with this item is that the 0-10 scale may not have a linear and additive interpretation: while maximum antipathy is clearly represented by 0, it is not clear that a value of 10 is necessarily less prejudiced than a value of 5, which would correspond with liking the Roma no more and no less than others. In fact, choosing 10 would probably qualify as what Allport called “love prejudice” (Allport, 1979, pp. 27, 48). I will take this issue in consideration as I discuss the results of the experiment.

Third, prior to exposure to these two experimental questions, respondents had answered circa 35 other questions, regarding demographic information, media consumption habits and attitudes towards various groups.<sup>5</sup> Of these, several questions were about the Roma specifically, including: 1) one experiment where one third of the sample was asked about renting an apartment to “a young Roma man”; 2) one experiment where a third of the sample was asked about seeing “Gypsies” begging; 3) a battery of stereotype items about various groups, of which items referred to the Roma (using this label); and 4) four items measuring the

---

<sup>5</sup> The number varies depending on their answers to certain questions. For instance, if they reported never reading newspapers they were not asked which one they read most frequently.

motivation to control prejudice, three of which referenced the Roma. Consequently, prior to the experimental treatment whose effects this chapter analyzes, half of the respondents had already heard the word Gypsy once, and the entire sample had heard Roma between seven and eight times (four times right before the experimental items). It is not possible to know for certain whether people registered what word was used in the questions that preceded our experiment, but the prior exposure to the word “Roma” may influence the results in two ways.

On the one hand, for those in the “Roma” condition, it is possible that the effect of having been exposed to the word several times before in the context of the same survey will weaken the impact of the experiment. This would mean that, if anything, any effects are likely to seem less strong than they might have appeared, had the experiment been performed in isolation. On the other hand, for those in the “Gypsy” condition, prior exposure to “Roma” in the context of the same survey could make the appearance of the otherwise common “Gypsy” word seem a little more surprising than usual. It is possible that here, in this experiment, one established a temporary, *situational norm* that “Roma” is the appropriate word. Norms are highly context-dependent, and people can behave very differently in different contexts, depending on what norm they associate with a particular setting (Aarts & Dijksterhuis, 2003; Minard, 1952; Stroud, Scacco, Muddiman, & Curry, 2015, p. 189). If the prior exposure to “Roma” created the perception of a situational norm which the sudden appearance of “Gypsy” then violated, exposure to “Gypsy” may have a stronger effect than we would have seen otherwise.

Unfortunately, because there is no third or “neutral” way to call the Roma, it was not possible to have a “control” group, so one can only compare the effects of exposure to “Roma” or “Gypsy” against each other. And it is unclear if the above-mentioned prior exposure to “Roma” is likely to make the gap between the two conditions seem narrower or, on the contrary, wider



than it would have seemed in different circumstances. I shall nevertheless consider the possible effect of this situation as I interpret the findings in this chapter.

Finally, it is worth emphasizing that the experimental stimulus here is quite subtle: a word variation in two questions embedded in a larger survey. It is therefore conceivable that a more powerful stimulus, such as more prolonged exposure to the same wording, would produce stronger effects.

### **3.2. Variables**

I use ordinary least squares regression models to test the hypotheses laid out in the previous chapter. The answers to the two experimental items represent the two dependent variables: *award Roma equal rights* and *like/dislike Roma*.

A key independent variable designates whether people received the *Roma wording* or not. What will be of particular interest, however, is not just how people respond depending on which wording they receive, but whether these more or less positive reactions are amplified or weakened – or change directions – depending on individual-level features.

One such feature is the degree of anti-Roma prejudice one holds. As I explained in the first and second chapters, one can attempt to capture this attitude in a number of ways, and I employ several measurements here for two reasons. One is the fact that the key measurement of prejudice I rely on, a measure of social distance, appeared after the Roma/Gypsy experiment in the survey, so responses could, conceivably, be affected by this treatment (Montgomery, Nyhan, & Torres, 2018), although given the sheer number of questions in the survey, this is probably unlikely. The other reason is that different measures capture different manifestations

of prejudice, which are inter-connected but also somewhat distinct. In particular in the Romanian case, as I discussed in Chapter 2, the way people respond is not extremely consistent from one item to another, so as a robustness test, I prefer to test my prejudice-related hypotheses with additional variables, in addition to the social distance item.

The first measure of prejudice I use, then, is whether one is *comfortable with a Roma neighbor*. Additionally, I employ an index of agreement with *Roma stereotypes*. Of three Roma-related stereotype items in the survey, I only use two because the third refers to a preconception that is not Roma-exclusive, and the other two items appear more closely related when analyzed (correlation and factor analysis). I also use a variable representing *rights denial*, which indicates whether the respondent would deny the Roma the right to protest, hold public office or teach in a public school. Finally, I also test the prejudice-related hypothesis with an index measure of *discriminatory policy support*, indicating the respondent's level of support for Roma exclusion and population control. Respondents were also asked about whether bars and restaurants should be able to deny service to the Roma, but as discussed in the previous chapter, I did not include this item in the index because my analysis suggested that people interpret this item somewhat differently.

The second individual-level factor I hypothesized may moderate the effect of exposure to "Roma" or "Gypsy" is one's *motivation to control prejudice (MCP)*. Instead of having two distinct dimensions, in Romania this feature seems quite one-dimensional, and for this reason I created a single variable representing one's average score across a battery of questions measuring MCP drawn from Blinder and colleagues (2013).

I also hypothesized that awareness may work in one of two different ways: a) it may act as a moderator of people's reaction to the wording or b) it may amplify the degree to which prejudice or MCP moderate the effect of the wording – causing individuals to diverge even more if they also have high awareness. I operationalize awareness as a *political knowledge* score made up of one's responses to four factual questions.

Additionally, the models include *demographic control variables*: age, sex, locality type, educational attainment and income. More information about the variable coding and descriptive statistics is provided in Appendix B.

### **3.3. Results**

#### **Overall response to wording**

I do not necessarily expect to observe a direct overall effect of the wording, i.e. a difference in the responses of the participants as a whole according to which treatment they received in the experiment. This is because different categories of people may respond in opposite ways and because the stimulus is quite subtle. Nevertheless, I begin by testing whether the participant body as a whole responded differently depending on whether they received the “Roma” or “Gypsy” version.

The results of two initial regression models indicate that the wording may not work in the same way with regard to both questions. The choice of “Roma” or “Gypsy” seems to influence responses to the question about awarding the Roma equal rights, with people in the “Roma” condition giving more rights-negative responses than people in the “Gypsy” condition. The effect is quite small, however, at under 0.4 on an 11-point scale (table 3).

Because this reaction to the rights item does not necessarily have a straightforward interpretation, investigating potential moderators of the effect of the label used is key. Significantly more negative responses in the “Roma” condition than in the “Gypsy” condition may be due to a “backlash” effect, where some kinds of people react worse when exposed to the “politically correct” term. But it could also be due to (other) people being taken aback when exposed to “Gypsy” – a word that perhaps evokes thoughts of discrimination of the Roma, thereby causing them to give more rights-positive responses. These possibilities are investigated in the next sections, which focus on the moderators of the wording effect.

Whether people were exposed first to the wording that mentioned awarding rights in an affirmative manner (“Roma/Gypsy people deserve...”) did not influence responses in a direct way (table 3), nor did it strengthen or weaken the effect of the Roma/Gypsy treatment (see Appendix C). Nevertheless, the variable for this wording variation is maintained as a control in subsequent models where the dependent variable is awarding Roma rights.

Second, the choice of label for the Roma does not influence overall responses to the like/dislike question (table 4). As I wrote in the previous section, one cannot rule out that this is because the way the question was worded does not allow for interpreting the 0-10 scale at face value as a linear measurement, where going from 0 to 10 represents a gradual reduction of the same of sentiment (i.e. antipathy).

I also tested whether having heard the word “Gypsy” once before in the survey – in one of the previous questions – moderated the wording variation effect of this experiment in any way (regression tables shown in Appendix C). There is no significant effect, which could be due to

the fact that all respondents were repeatedly exposed to the word Roma (between seven and eight times) prior to the experiment, and the word Gypsy only appeared once prior to the experiment (for half of the sample). The lack of such an interaction effect, however, might also be taken as evidence that the wording variations simply did not register at all with the respondents – or if they did, they only did so in the moment.

The introduction of additional predictors expected to have an impact on attitudes towards the Roma does not change the statistical significance or direction of the Roma wording effect on stated support for equal rights (table 5). Nor does it change the fact that the wording has no effect on stated like/dislike for the Roma (table 6). Despite the potential peculiarity of the second question (regarding like/dislike), two of the theorized predictors of attitudes towards the Roma have similar effects on responses to both this and the rights question. Specifically, people uncomfortable with a Roma neighbor express less support for Roma rights and less liking for the Roma, while people with a higher motivation to control prejudice express more positive attitudes. Still, the very small explanatory power of the model seeking to explain like/dislike ( $R^2 = 0.049$ ), compared to the rights model (0.145), is evidence that responses to the former question may be harder to interpret. Political knowledge, by contrast, only has a statistically significant impact on support for equal rights, and it does not have an effect on responses to the other question. This is consistent with the idea that greater tolerance among the politically knowledgeable may be due to better understanding and internalization of the importance of rights.

So far, the findings suggest that people may not actually be indifferent to the word choice regarding the Roma. If true, this would mean that at least for some, the word choice does bear some associations, even if they may not be fully aware of it.

Table 3. Effect of wording on willingness to award equal rights to Roma

	<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording	-0.371 (0.16)*
Rights-affirming version	0.170 (0.16)
Constant	7.683 (0.14)***
R-squared	0.003
n	1,952

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$

Standard errors in parentheses

Table 4. Effect of wording on liking/disliking the Roma more than others

	<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording	0.097 (0.13)
Constant	3.180 (0.09)***
R-squared	0.000
n	1,951

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$

Standard errors in parentheses

Table 5. Effect of wording and other predictors on willingness to award equal rights to Roma

	<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording	-0.341 (0.20) +
Rights-affirming version	0.181 (0.20)
Comfortable with Roma neighbor	2.003 (0.25)***
Motivation to control prejudice	0.468 (0.08)***
Political knowledge	0.492 (0.09)***
Constant	2.822 (0.48)***
R-squared	0.145
n	1,801

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$

Robust standard errors in parentheses

Table 6. Effect of wording and other predictors on liking/disliking the Roma

	<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording	0.060 (0.16)
Comfortable with Roma neighbor	0.929 (0.20)***
Motivation to control prejudice	0.279 (0.06)***
Political knowledge	0.012 (0.07)
Constant	1.029
R-squared	0.049
n	1,799

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$

Robust standard errors in parentheses

## Who responds to the wording and how

### High-and low-prejudice individuals

#### Prejudice as social distance

In Chapter 2, I formulated two hypotheses regarding how people with different levels of prejudice may react to “Roma” or “Gypsy”. According to *H1a*, higher prejudice should be associated with a stronger positive effect of exposure to “Gypsy” – compared to “Roma”. According to *H1b*, higher prejudice should be associated with a stronger positive effect of “Roma”.

I tested for interactions between the wording and several measurements for prejudice and found weak evidence in favor of *H1a* and no evidence in favor of *H1b*. Table 7 and 8 display the results of regression models where I test the interaction between social distance towards the Roma and the wording received. The models also include demographics, which do not significantly change the effect of the key independent variables compared to what was described in the previous section.

When examining the responses to the first experimental item, regarding equal rights, I found that the “Roma” treatment elicits less rights-friendly reactions among those who are not comfortable with a Roma neighbor. The model is displayed in table 7, which shows that the interaction term is significant at the  $p < .10$  level. Figure 1 provides an easier way to understand the meaning of the interaction. It displays the marginal effect of the “Roma” wording, and it does so while highlighting the effect size among those who are comfortable with a Roma neighbor and those who are not. Among people who are more willing to vocally reject the Roma, the effect of the “Roma” wording, compared to the Gypsy wording, is to reduce support for equal rights by almost 1 point on an 11-point scale (a rather small difference, but a statistically significant one). By contrast, among people who did not reject Roma neighbors, there is virtually no difference according to the wording received.

Turning to the like/dislike question, as table 8 shows, there is no statistically significant interaction between social distance and the Roma wording.

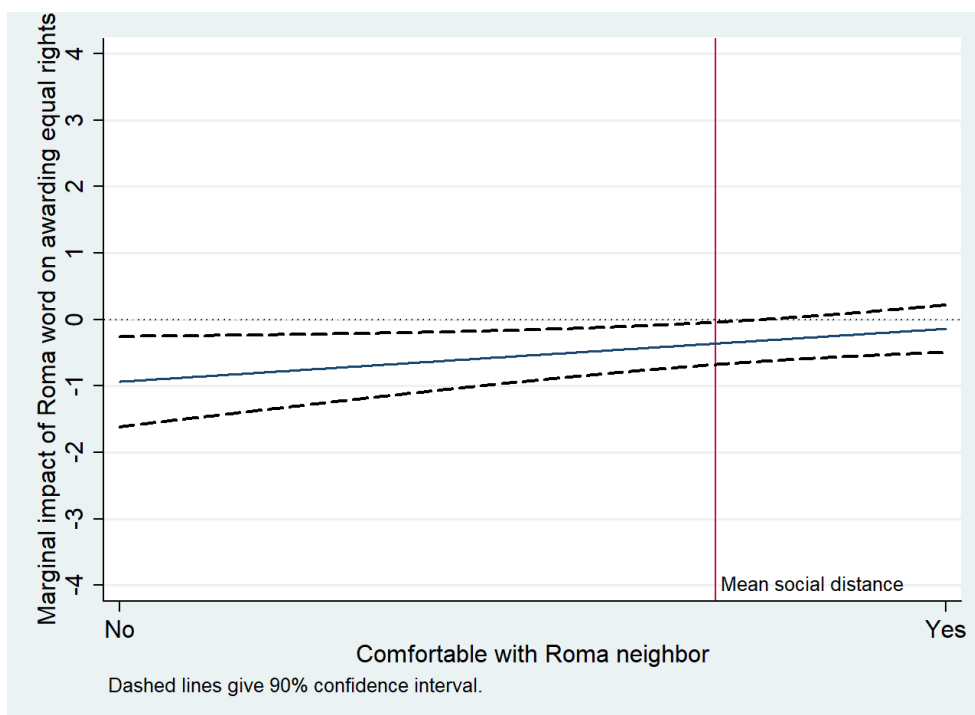


Figure 1. Marginal effect of the Roma wording, depending on social distance



Table 7. Interaction effect of Roma wording and social distance, on Roma rights

		<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording		-0.934 (0.41)*
Rights-affirming version		0.190 (0.19)
Comfortable with Roma neighbor		1.584 (0.34)***
Roma wording * Social distance interaction		0.796 (0.47) <sup>+</sup>
Motivation to control prejudice		0.469 (0.08)***
Political knowledge		0.364 (0.10)***
Sex	Female	-0.449 (0.20)*
Education	High school or professional school	0.461 (0.46)
	University education	0.785 (0.47) <sup>+</sup>
Age		0.047 (0.04)
Age squared		0.000 (0.00)
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.319 (0.27)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.239 (0.27)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.326 (0.30)
	Bucharest	-0.317 (0.28)
Income		-0.097 (0.05)
Constant		2.560 (1.09)*
R squared	0.157	
n	1,785	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; <sup>+</sup>  $p < .10$

*Robust standard errors in parentheses*

Table 8. Interaction effect of Roma wording and social distance, on Roma like/dislike

		Coef.
Roma wording		0.046 (0.25)
Comfortable with Roma neighbor		0.917 (0.21)***
Roma wording * Social distance interaction		0.038 (0.29)
Motivation to control prejudice		0.287 (0.05)***
Political knowledge		0.023 (0.07)
Sex	Female	0.075 (0.14)
Education	High school or professional school	-0.175 (0.25)
	University education	-0.005 (0.27)
Age		0.021 (0.02)
Age squared		0.000 (0.00)
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.220 (0.19)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.002 (0.22)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.389 (0.22) <sup>+</sup>
	Bucharest	0.126 (0.22)
Income		-0.034 (0.04)
Constant		0.823 (1.25)
R squared		0.0544
n		1,779

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$

Robust standard errors in parentheses

### Alternative measurements of prejudice

When the operationalization of prejudice as social distance was replaced by other measurements, I found no significant interaction with the wording participants received.

Replacing the social distance measure with a negative Roma-related stereotype index resulted in a direct effect of the variable on the dependent variables (supporting equal rights for the Roma or like/dislike of the Roma). However, there was no significant interaction between having negative preconceptions about the Roma and the wording one received. Interestingly, the explanatory power of the rights-denial model also dropped, which may be evidence that the

social distance variable is better at capturing that side of prejudice that makes people willing to discriminate against minorities. The models using the stereotype index, as well as the other alternative measurements, can be found in Appendix C.

In a further test, I also substituted the social distance item with a composite measurement of the stated willingness to deny specific rights to the Roma (right to vote, hold public office or to teach in a public school). This independent variable had a direct effect on both dependent variables, and it was almost as good a predictor of the willingness to award equal rights to the Roma as the social distance item. However, this test also resulted in a failed replication of the prejudice-Roma wording interaction effect.

Finally, I also replaced the social distance item with an index measurement of support for discriminatory policies. This index is a strong predictor of support for Roma rights and expressing like/dislike of the Roma, and in fact the rights-related model has as good an R square as the model that included social distance. However, there is no interaction between this variable and the Roma/Gypsy wording.

The evidence from the initial test, using social distance, suggested that higher prejudice people may actually react in a more minority-friendly way when they hear talk of Gypsies rather than of Roma. Seen in the context of the participants' prior exposure to the word "Roma", this result suggests that people with more negative attitudes toward the Roma may be giving slightly more rights-friendly responses in the "Gypsy" condition because they are, perhaps, unconsciously pleased to see the word "Gypsy". But before adopting this interpretation, several caveats are in order. First, this effect could also be due to high-prejudice people somehow feeling put on the spot when they hear the word "Gypsy" and giving more rights-friendly responses in order to

avoid sounding too racist. If this is the mechanism at play, one would expect to also see an interaction between motivation to control prejudice and the wording, which I turn to in the next section. Second, the fact that this prejudice-wording interaction is not confirmed when using other measurements (such as the stereotype index) also casts some doubt on the robustness of this result.

### **Individuals with high and low motivation to control their prejudice**

Hypotheses *2a* and *2b* predicted an interaction between motivation to control prejudice and the wording one is exposed to, with *2a* predicting that “Roma” exposure will elicit more minority-friendly reactions that are stronger among high-MCP people and *2b* predicting the opposite. I find no evidence in favor of either hypothesis.

People’s reactions to the wording variation does not appear to depend on their desire to avoid acting prejudiced, as tables 9 and 10 illustrate: there is no significant interaction between MCP and the treatment received. Combined with the results outlined in the previous section, this indicates that the use of the word “Roma”, as opposed to “Gypsy”, is not more effective at tapping into one’s desire to be seen as unprejudiced or see oneself in this light. The direct effect of MCP on responses to the question shows that this motivation does matter, but it is possible that asking people the probing questions in the survey and experiment already mobilized whatever motivation to control prejudice they had, and neither “Roma” nor “Gypsy” could make any additional difference. In light of this, it appears likely that a more apt interpretation for the findings in the previous section is that, if (some) high-prejudice individuals react in a friendly manner when exposed to “Gypsy” than to “Roma”, then they do that not because hearing “Gypsy” makes them feel the heat of scrutiny, but perhaps simply because they do not dislike the term the way they dislike “Roma”.

Table 9. Interaction effect of Roma wording and MCP, on Roma rights

	<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording	-0.544 (0.85)
Rights-affirming version	0.192 (0.19)
Comfortable with Roma neighbor	1.990 (0.24)***
Motivation to control prejudice (MCP)	0.455 (0.11)***
Roma wording * MCP interaction	0.034 (0.15)
Political knowledge	0.364 (0.10)***
Sex	Female
	-0.467 (0.20)*
Education	High school or professional school
	0.435 (0.46)
	University education
	0.761 (0.47)
Age	0.046 (0.04)
Age squared	0.000 (0.00)
	Town < 40,000
	-0.298 (0.27)
Locality size	Municipality < 150,000
	-0.234 (0.27)
	Municipality > 150,000
	0.336 (0.30)
	Bucharest
	-0.309 (0.28)
Income	-0.095 (0.05) <sup>+</sup>
Constant	2.398 (1.18)*
R squared	0.155
n	1,785

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$

*Robust standard errors in parentheses*

Table 10. Interaction effect of Roma wording and MCP, on Roma like/dislike

		Coef.
Roma wording		0.484 (0.65)
Comfortable with Roma neighbor		0.938 (0.20)***
Motivation to control prejudice (MCP)		0.324 (0.09)***
Roma wording * MCP interaction		-0.077 (0.12)
Political knowledge		0.021 (0.08)
Sex	Female	0.075 (0.17)
Education	High school or professional school	-0.176 (0.38)
	University education	-0.004 (0.39)
Age		0.021 (0.03)
Age squared		0.000 (0.00)
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.214 (0.21)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.009 (0.23)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.396 (0.25)
Bucharest		0.132 (0.23)
Income		-0.034 (0.06)
Constant		0.603 (1.01)
R squared	0.055	
n	1,783	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$

Robust standard errors in parentheses

### Individuals with high and low political knowledge

In Chapter 2, I outlined two ways in which people with varying levels of political knowledge may react to the “Roma” or “Gypsy” wording. The first possibility (*H3a*) I raised was that knowledge moderates the effect of exposure to “Roma”, a scenario that would be consistent with the existence of a norm that more informed people are more likely to conform with. In this particular case, if one found evidence in favor of *H3a* it would suggest that usage of “Roma” or “Gypsy” is indeed associated with certain social norms, perhaps a norm against prejudice (although the insignificant results in the previous section make this possibility seem

less likely). The second scenario I presented was that, because we are in a no-norm or contested-norm scenario, higher knowledge people will diverge even more than lower knowledge people according to their own attitudes and beliefs. In the context of this experiment, that would produce a significant three-way interaction between knowledge, the wording one received and prejudice or MCP. I do not find evidence for either of these hypotheses, as I explain below.

I first tested *H3a*, according to which one would expect a significant interaction of the wording and political knowledge. Table 11 displays the results of a regression result where the dependent variable is allowing Roma rights. The regression where the dependent variable is liking the Roma more or less is displayed in Appendix C. In both models, the interaction term is statistically insignificant.

Second, I tested *Hypothesis 3b*, according to which knowledge would moderate the effect of the wording combined with social distance or MCP. The analysis indicates that high- and low-prejudice individuals do not differ more in their reactions to the wording variation if they have high knowledge.<sup>6</sup> There is, in other words, no three-way interaction between the wording, social distance and political knowledge (table 12). Likewise, the reactions of high- and low-MCP individuals do not diverge any more when they have high knowledge than when they have low knowledge (Table 13).

However, setting aside the experimental treatment, if we observe the two-way interaction between motivation to control prejudice and knowledge in Table 13 we can see that the impact

---

<sup>6</sup> Here, too, to save space, I display only the results of the regressions where allowing Roma equal rights is the dependent variable, with the others displayed in Appendix C.

of MCP on one's answers to the questions is actually dependent on one's level of knowledge.<sup>7</sup> The direction of this effect is somewhat surprising, however: it is not the high-knowledge people that differ the most in their responses, according to their level of motivation to control prejudice, but rather, it is the opposite. People with low knowledge differ the most in their responses, depending on their level of MCP. On the rights question, the gap in the predicted response between people with maximum MCP and minimum MCP is 5.18, which is a very large difference, given the 11-point scale and the fact that the standard deviation of the response to that question is 3.59. Among low knowledge people, then, those who report a high motivation to control prejudice are much more likely to endorse equal rights for the Roma. Among high knowledge respondents, however, the gap between the high-MCP and low-MCP individuals is almost non-existent (0.23). In other words, high-knowledge individuals give almost the same response to this question, whether they report high or low motivation to control their prejudice. The direction of this interaction effect is the same when it comes to the Roma like/dislike question (table displayed in Appendix C).

The expectation for a "contested norm" scenario that I outlined in chapters 1 and 2 and on which I based Hypothesis 3b predicted the opposite kind of effect – that high-knowledge people will diverge according to their attitudes and beliefs more so than low-knowledge people. Are we, then, in a "contested norm" scenario? Or in a scenario where some people – perhaps those with high knowledge – perceive a norm and fall in line, whereas the rest do not and therefore act according to their own attitudes? It is not possible to draw any hard and fast conclusions regarding the perception of an anti-prejudice norm among Romanians from this study alone. However, it appears that if some people perceive such a norm, it is rather weak, and simple

---

<sup>7</sup>  $p < .05$  in the case of Roma rights as a DV, and  $p < .10$  in the case of Roma like/dislike as a DV, which is displayed in Appendix C.



exposure to “Roma” or “Gypsy” may not mobilize the norm any more than being asked probing questions about minorities already does. At this point, it appears more likely that, in the moment, people react to this language according to their feelings about the Roma, more so than according to perceptions about what others consider normative.

*Table 11. Interaction effect of Roma wording and political knowledge, on Roma rights*

		<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording		-0.646 (0.40)
Rights-affirming version		0.194 (0.20)
Comfortable with Roma neighbor		1.990 (0.24)***
Motivation to control prejudice		0.473 (0.08)***
Political knowledge		0.287 (0.14)*
Roma wording * Political knowledge		0.146 (0.17)
Sex	Female	-0.476 (0.20)**
Education	High school or professional school	0.437 (0.46)
	University education	0.763 (0.47)
Age		0.046 (0.04)
Age squared		0.000 (0.31)
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.291 (0.27)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.240 (0.27)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.342 (0.30)
	Bucharest	-0.319 (0.28)
Income		-0.097 (0.05) <sup>+</sup>
Constant		2.472 (1.13)*
R squared	0.156	
n	1,785	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$

*Robust standard errors in parentheses*

Table 12. Three-way interaction effect of Roma wording, social distance and political knowledge, on Roma rights

		Coef.
Rights-affirming version		0.180 (0.19)
Roma wording		-1.690 (0.75)*
Comfortable with Roma neighbor		1.915 (0.64)**
Roma wording * Comfortable with Roma neighbor		1.482 (0.89) <sup>+</sup>
Political knowledge		0.413 (0.22) <sup>+</sup>
Roma wording * Political knowledge		0.399 (0.33)
Comfortable with Roma neighbor * Political knowledge		-0.172 (0.27)
Roma wording * Comfortable with Roma neighbor * Political knowledge		-0.365 (0.38)
Motivation to control prejudice (MCP)		0.471 (0.08)***
Sex	Female	-0.453(0.20)*
Education	High school or professional school	0.447 (0.46)
	University education	0.765 (0.46)
Age		0.046 (0.04)
Age squared		0.000 (0.00)
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.299 (0.26)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.256 (0.27)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.303 (0.30)
	Bucharest	-0.297 (0.28)
Income		-0.092 (0.05) <sup>+</sup>
Constant		2.480 (1.16)*
R squared	0.161	
n	1,785	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; <sup>+</sup>  $p < .10$

Robust standard errors in parentheses

Table 13. Three-way interaction effect of Roma wording, MCP and political knowledge, on Roma rights

		Coef.
Rights-affirming version		0.198 (0.20)
Comfortable with Roma neighbor		1.977 (0.24)***
Roma wording		-0.898 (1.62)
Motivation to control prejudice (MCP)		0.840 (0.20)***
Roma wording * MCP		0.045 (0.29)
Political knowledge		1.405 (0.54)**
Roma wording * Political knowledge		0.131 (0.73)
MCP * Political knowledge		-0.207 (0.10)*
Roma wording * MCP * Political knowledge		0.002 (0.13)
Sex	Female	-0.496 (0.20)**
Education	High school or professional school	0.455 (0.46)
	University education	0.779 (0.47) <sup>+</sup>
Age		0.044 (0.04)
Age squared		0.000 (0.00)
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.266 (0.27)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.203 (0.27)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.357 (0.31)
	Bucharest	-0.293 (0.28)
Income		-0.093 (0.05) <sup>+</sup>
Constant		0.479 (1.58)
R squared	0.162	
n	1,785	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$

Robust standard errors in parentheses

### 3.4. Discussion

These findings lend some support to the idea that different labels do elicit different reactions: responses to one of the experimental questions did differ slightly depending on the wording people received, with “Roma” eliciting marginally less friendly answers.

This seems largely attributable to the fact that, when it came to the rights question, people who reject the Roma reacted in a more negative manner in the “Roma” condition than in the “Gypsy”. There is, thus, some evidence that attitudes toward the group make a difference to how different labels are received. By contrast, people with varying levels of motivation to control their prejudice did not appear to respond differently to the experiment, nor did people with different levels of political knowledge. Yet both of these individual-level features influenced people’s responses to the questions: both MCP and knowledge emerged as “forces of good”, associated with more Roma- and rights-friendly positions.

The role of knowledge and its relationship with the motivation to control prejudice, which I discussed in the previous section, may deserve further study, and I will discuss limitations and future avenues for research in the conclusions. For now, though, it appears that there may be a norm against prejudice that high-MCP and high-knowledge individuals respond to, but it may not be connected to the “Roma” / “Gypsy” issue in such a way that would activate the desire to project good will (or neutrality) toward the Roma any more than asking people very probing questions already does.

## Conclusion

The origin of this paper is the observation that certain countries, like Romania, are in a process of change in terms of what is considered appropriate as a way of describing the Roma, a minority that was oppressed for hundreds of years in Europe and continues to face disadvantage and discrimination today. Over the past few decades, the label “Roma” has been adopted by many Roma organizations, international organizations and institutions and even the state apparatus in countries like Romania. This has been the consequence of claims for recognition and respect by Roma organizations, many of which consider the term “Gypsy” offensive. The curiosity at the heart of this paper was: how do regular people “digest” this change, when a society is still in the thick of it, that is to say, when the matter has not yet been fully adjudicated?

The key argument for dropping “Gypsy” in favor of “Roma” has been that Roma deserve recognition under the name they prefer for themselves, and I do not question the legitimacy of this claim. Instead, in this this paper, I engaged with a secondary implication of the fight for changing the labels for various (ethnic and non-ethnic) groups: that pushing for changing the way we refer to a group can contribute to other behavioral and, ultimately, attitudinal changes – even if this happens in the long rather than short term. We know relatively little about how people in the majority outside of the target group respond to these “new” labels – outside of those very vocal critics of “political correctness”. Do people respond differently to different labels for the same group, all other things being equal? And if they do, in what way do they respond and why?

My research question was: when is language is more than language, among whom, and to what effect? I examined whether people react differently to the labels “Roma” and “Gypsy”, and who might react more or less positively depending on their attitudes and knowledge,

considering also how the role of such individual-level features depends on contextual factors. I tested a set of hypotheses regarding the role of prejudice, motivation to control prejudice and awareness using an experiment conducted in Romania – a high-prejudice, weak anti-prejudice norm context, where Roma organizations and international organizations have nevertheless kick started a process of top-down adoption of the “Roma” label.

I found some weak evidence that the label used for the Roma makes a difference to the reactions people have in the moment. Specifically, the results of my experiment indicate that attitudes toward the group in question influence how people respond to different labels. In this case, people who expressed prejudice against the Roma reacted in a more Roma-friendly manner when exposed to “Gypsy” rather than “Roma”. People with different levels of motivation to control prejudice (MCP) did not respond in different ways, which may indicate that in the Romanian context, the two label options (“Roma” and “Gypsy”) are not clearly linked to a norm in favor or against prejudice toward the Roma – at least not in the minds of most people. Roma and rights activists may find it hard to believe that there would be no associations between this language and norms regarding anti-discrimination, but it is possible for many people the connection is not as clear as it is for people who are very “plugged in” to the discussions about these issues.

A further detail of the findings also points towards the importance of awareness gaps: people with high political knowledge are equally likely to endorse equal rights for the Roma, whether they report high or low motivation to control prejudice, whereas among low knowledge respondents, there is a very sizeable gap between their answers to the same question. So, even though knowledge did not play the hypothesized role – in the sense that it did not influence reactions to the “Roma” / “Gypsy” treatment – higher knowledge does play a significant part

in that it makes people more likely to endorse equality. Both knowledge and the desire to avoid being prejudiced are features associated with more minority-friendly positions, then, but neither of these features has a significant influence on reactions to “Roma” or “Gypsy”. Instead, it is how one feels about the Roma that seems to count more. If true, this points to the weakness of anti-prejudice norms in Romania and/or the weakness of the association between using the respectful label (“Roma”) and such norms.

There are, however, some particularities of this analysis that call for further study to confirm and expand upon its findings. As discussed in chapters 1 and 2, there is an interplay between macro- and individual-level factors, and this makes it plausible that one would see different results in a country other than Romania. In particular, one would probably find different overall effects in contexts where the new label is definitively established (as “black” or “African American” are in the United States). Where this language issue is more politicized and cuts along party lines, one may find an important moderating role for partisanship, and where there are very strong anti-prejudice norms, one might find that motivation to control prejudice plays a more important part.

There are also aspects of the survey and experimental design that could be fine-tuned in future replication attempts. Ensuring that participants to the experiment are not exposed to any questions that could prime them in any way – especially questions that include the words “Roma” or “Gypsy” – would make it easier to attribute findings or non-findings to the experiment alone. Employing different items for the dependent variable, and in particular replacing the like/dislike question with one that can more readily be interpreted in an additive manner, would help clarify whether the different results under that particular item should be taken at face value. Making the stimulus stronger – for example, repeating the wording multiple

times, such as in the context of a vignette – could shed light on whether the weak results are due to the weakness of the stimulus. Furthermore, the way motivation to control prejudice behaved in this Romanian context made it impossible to separate internal motivation from motivation driven by the need to conform to others’ expectations. It may therefore be helpful to replace MCP with a measure that focuses on conformism, to try to isolate the importance of conforming to social norms.

Additional aspects, such as the message source or referent and the type of message one receives, fell outside the scope of this experiment but ought to be probed in future observational studies and experiments tackling the “Roma” / “Gypsy” question or similar issues. As I discussed in the first chapter, people are more open to changing their behavior and attitudes – be it through persuasion or via conformism – to what they perceive as prevalent and socially endorsed – if they receive information from or about individuals, groups or even institutions that they feel close to and buy into. Experimenting with different message sources and referents in future studies may provide insight that would be valuable for would-be promoters of respectful language about and due consideration for minorities. Also, the experiment I analyzed only concerned itself with the impact of variation in the labels used for a minority group, but future research could probe the language issue a little more bluntly and inquire, for example, if one were to actively attempt to persuade a person that a particular label is more appropriate, what kind of message may be more effective? Are people more open to endorsing “Roma” when one appeals to values such as equality and mutual respect with an injunctive message, or perhaps they are more open when provided information about who else endorses this language?

Finally, it may be fruitful to also inquire more directly regarding how people think about the “Roma” / “Gypsy” issue – and how they think other people think about it. It is as yet unclear



to what degree people perceive the existence of a norm against acting prejudiced, and if they do, how connected is the language issue to these notions of what is normative. Future studies could, however, clarify this by probing participants' perceptions regarding the beliefs of others – about the Roma in general but also about the “Roma” / “Gypsy” issue – as well as the participants' own beliefs.

The present findings are in line with those of some previous studies that indicated people may react negatively to the newer, more “politically correct” label (Donakowski & Esses, 1996; Zilber & Niven, 1995). It may be no coincidence that some of these studies, conducted in the West, also took place in the 1990s, when the terms under analysis – such as “First Nations people” or “African American” – were just beginning to gain currency, just as “Roma” is in Romania. Overall, though, I would argue that there is a need for more research to test the hypothesis that the label used for a group affects the reactions of non-group members, particularly given that the effects in the previous literature are mixed with regard not just to whether there is an effect of word choice – but also to who is more likely to react more negatively. In Zilber and Niven (1995), it is the “allies” who chafe at the “African American” label, whereas Rios (2013), for example, finds that it is authoritarians who are less “triggered” by talk “gay and lesbian” people than by talk of “homosexuals”, and this study finds that those with high anti-Roma prejudice react more negatively to the “Roma” than to “Gypsies”. This lack of clarity is likely due not just to the fact that such studies are uncommon but also to the fact that they tackle labels for vastly different groups and in different contexts.

The experiment I analyzed in this paper was, in a way, a snapshot in a snapshot: a picture of the instant reaction that people had, at a particular moment in the long march towards equality and self-affirmation of the Roma people. This experiment is evidently not a substitute for

studying what happens in such a process over time, but it can tell us something about how people react at a particular moment and, as such, inform one's understanding of the chances that the push to affirm "Roma" over "Gypsy" will succeed. As they stand, the findings regarding the "Roma" / "Gypsy" issue in Romania today suggest that the biggest obstacle to a more widespread adoption of the "Roma" label may be negative attitudes towards the Roma – followed perhaps by a general lack of awareness in this area as well as regarding equality and human rights in general. If the results of this experiment are confirmed, then this could imply that there will remain a "hard core" of people with strong anti-Roma prejudice that will oppose "political correctness". But the fact that people who have high political knowledge and a high motivation to control prejudice express more Roma-friendly views – regardless of the wording – suggests that there are reserves of good will that could be tapped to build more solidarity with the Roma and, possibly, even gain more support for the promotion of more respectful language.

## Appendix A. Post-1989 milestones in the “Roma” / “Gypsy” debate

Year	Event
1995	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sends a memo, recommending that representatives of the state use the term “Gypsy” rather than “Roma” (Ministerul Afacerilor Externe al României, 1995). Roma advocacy organizations opposing it are bolstered by a statement from the OSCE (W-M, 2010). The authorities appear to drop the idea, and a later memo claims that the MFA went on to “mostly” use “Roma” (Ministerul Afacerilor Externe al României, 2000).
1997	The Congress of Local and Regional Authorities within the Council of Europe (CoE) adopts resolution 44/1997, resolving to use “Roma” to refer to groups like the “Roma, Gypsies, Sinti, Manush, Gitanos...” and align itself with “usual practice within the Council of Europe and the OSCE” (Europe, 1997). This document is later cited by Roma organizations and Romanian state agencies as an important precedent.
1998	The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) of the CoE, issues General Policy Recommendation No.3, recommending that “the name used officially for the various Roma/Gypsy communities should be the name by which the community in question wishes to be known” (Council of Europe, 1998). This is also later cited by Romanian authorities.
2000	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs issues a memo recommending that the term “Roma” be given precedence over “Gypsy”. The memo mentions pressure from Roma organizations and discussions with representatives of the CoE and OSCE as factors and expresses a desire to quell an “artificial” conflict. It acknowledges the right of minorities to “self-identification” (Ministerul Afacerilor Externe al României, 2000). It is cited in as a precedent in later documents issued by various bodies, such as the National Agency for the Roma or the General Secretariat of the Government (Romani CRISS 2010).
2007-2008	<p>Members of Parliament from the far-right Greater Romania Party submit a draft bill to make “Gypsy” the official label (“Propunere legislativă privind terminologia ...,” 2008). The government opines that calling the group “Gypsy” in order to avoid confusion “gives the appearance of the intent to discriminate on ethnic grounds” (Guvernul României, 2008). The Legislative Council also opposes the bill, recalling ECRI recommendation no.3 and agreeing that the bill seeks to discriminate against the Roma (Consiliul Legislativ, 2008).</p> <p>The National Council for Combating Discrimination (CNCD) is requested to rule on whether the term “Gypsy” itself is offensive. The ensuing document includes a detailed history of CoE, OSCE and EU practice. It notes that: a) minorities have a right to decide whether they recognize themselves as members of a group, and many reject the “Gypsy” label; b) use of the term has waned among various international bodies; c) the term itself can be taken as an insult in certain contexts (Consiliul Național pentru Combaterea Discriminării, 2008).</p>
2009	A newspaper called “Jurnalul National” begins a campaign to gather signatures for a bill that would make “Gypsy” the official name, citing the danger of a Roma-Romanian confusion, as well as the imposition of the “Roma” from abroad (Mădroane, 2012). An MP from the Democratic Liberal Party says that he will take it up (Piciu, 2009).
2010-2011	<p>Then-President Traian Basescu says that calling the Roma “Roma” was a “political decision” that Romania made, one that was “a mistake”, citing the idea that Roma are being confused with Romanians (“Bănescu: Realizez că schimbarea denumirii țiganilor...,” 2010).</p> <p>The aforementioned MP introduces a bill to officially name the Roma “Gypsies. Advocacy organizations vocally oppose it, while the Romanian Academy is supportive of “Gypsy”, citing its use in other languages (W-M, 2010). The Secretariat General of the Government, the MFA, the National Council for Combating Discrimination, the National Agency for the Roma and others oppose the bill. Even the President says he would not ratify it (I.R., 2010). It is ultimately rejected (Nine, 2011; Romani CRISS 2010).</p>
2015-2016	Two independent MPs submit a bill for the enactment of “Gypsy” as the official label, but it is rejected (“Propunere legislativă privind revenirea la denumirea ...”, 2015).

## Appendix B. Survey and variable information

### National survey data

The survey was conducted in Romania in December 2015-April 2016, as part of a research project entitled “Less Hate, More Speech: An Experimental and Comparative Study in Media and Political Elites’ Ability to Nurture Civil, Tolerant, Pro-Democratic Citizens” implemented by Median Research Centre in Bucharest, Romania, in partnership with Central European University (Budapest) and the University of Bergen.<sup>8</sup> It aimed to be representative of the non-institutionalized adult (18+) population of Romania. Respondents were reached through random digit dialing and most were surveyed through computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI). In later phases, after being reached by phone, people were given the opportunity to self-administer the survey online. This was due to difficulties in reaching the target among younger respondents. Approximately 11% of the final sample took the survey online. The final dataset contains 1,961 cases, which were weighted so as to be as close as possible to the population in terms of age, sex, formal education levels and degree of urbanization of one's locality.

### Online panel data

This chapter also makes reference to data collected through an online panel in Romania in March 2017. Participants to the panel receive weekly questionnaires and answer questions on a variety of topics – from political issues to household goods. The young and more educated are over-represented in this sample. 1,635 persons responded to the wave referenced here.

### Variable information

*Award Roma equal rights.* Answers are coded on a 0-10 scale, where 0 means the respondent agrees that “[Roma/Gypsy] people do not deserve equal rights with all other people of Romania” and 10 means that the respondent agrees that Roma people do deserve equal rights (full rights endorsement).

*Like/dislike Roma.* Answers are coded on a 0-10 scale, where 0 means the respondent agrees that “Usually, [they] like [the Roma / Gypsies] less than others” and 10 means the opposite.

*Roma word.* This is a binary variable with a value of 0 if the respondent received the questions with the Gypsy wording and 1 if they received the Roma wording.

*Comfortable with Roma neighbor.* The variable has a value of 0 if the respondent is not comfortable with a Roma neighbor and 1 if they are.

*Roma stereotypes.* This is an index representing the average response to two items s: 1) “Roma people break the law more often than others”; and 2) “When they start a job, Roma people do not work as hard as others do”. The variable is scaled from 1 to 7, where 7 represents full agreement.

*Rights denial.* Survey participants were randomly assigned a question about one of three rights and about several minority groups: “Would you agree or not that these groups have the right to [protest / hold public office / teach in state schools]?”. The variable is coded 0 if the person would award the right and 1 if they would deny it to the Roma.

*Discriminatory policy support.* Index indicating the respondent’s average support for two measures, coded 1 for full disagreement and 7 for full agreement. Respondents rated the statements: 1) “It should be possible for people in Romanian towns or villages to decide if Roma people can or cannot live in those localities”; 2) “The state should take measures to stop the rise in the size of the Roma population”.

---

<sup>8</sup> Financed through the EEA Financial Mechanism 2009-2014, under the “Research in Priority Sectors” Program. Project number: 11 SEE/30.06.2014. Website: lesshate.openpolitics.ro.

*Motivation to control prejudice (MCP).* This is an index constructed from the average responses to a battery of eight statements. It is scaled from 1 to 7, where 7 means maximum motivation to control prejudice. They were administered in two mini-batteries, placed in different sections of the survey:

1. I try to act in non-prejudiced ways towards Roma people because doing so is personally important for me. (Battery 1)
2. I don't want to appear racist, not even to myself. (Battery 1)
3. I feel guilty when I have negative thoughts about Roma people. (Battery 1)
4. When talking to Roma people, it is important for me that they think I am not prejudiced. (Battery 1)
5. I aim to be non-prejudiced towards Roma people due to my own convictions. (Battery 2)
6. I get angry with myself when I have a prejudiced thought. (Battery 2)
7. In today's society, it is important not to be prejudiced. (Battery 2)
8. It is important for me that other people think I am not prejudiced. (Battery 2)

*Political knowledge score.* Index variable scaled from 0 to 4, corresponding to the number of questions respondents answered correctly. The questions referred to: 1) what percentage of the votes a party must obtain to enter Parliament; 2) how many countries are members of the EU; 3) who nominated (then) prime minister Dacian Cioloș; 4) which political party had the most members of Parliament.

*Sex.* Binary variable coded 1 for Male and 2 for Female. Question was not asked.

*Education.* Originally a six-category item, recoded into three categories: 1 for those who have a secondary school education or less (less than 9 years of schooling); 2 for those with high school or professional school education; 3 for those with higher education.

*Age.* Age in full years.

*Locality size.* Originally a 5-category variable, recoded into four: towns of under 40,000 coded as 1; municipalities under 150,000 coded as 2; municipalities smaller than the capital but over 150,000 coded as 3, and Bucharest (with over 1 million inhabitants) coded as 4.

*Income.* Natural log of the personal monthly income reported by the respondent. Missing income responses were replaced by the mean.

Table 14. Descriptive statistics for the key variables

Variable	Valid n	Mean	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
Received Roma wording	1,961	0.51	0.50	0	1
Like/dislike Roma	1,951	3.23	2.81	0	10
Award Roma equal rights	1,954	7.57	3.59	0	10
Comfortable with Roma neighbor	1,804	0.71	0.45	0	1
Motivation to control prejudice score	1,956	5.32	1.29	1	7
Political knowledge score	1,961	1.93	1.12	0	4

*Descriptives shown for weighted data*

Table 15. Descriptive statistics for the demographic variables

Variable	Valid n	Mean	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
Age	1,961	47.27	17.71	18	88
Income (natlog)	1,961	6.90	1.66	0	8.52

Variable	Valid n	Categories	Percent
Sex	1,961	Men	52.02
		Women	47.98
Locality population size	1,948	Village	44.99
		Town < 40,000	18.05
		Municipality < 150,000	11.57
		Municipality > 150,000	12.1
Education	1,957	Bucharest	13.29
		Secondary education or less (= < 9 yrs)	7.85
		High school or professional school	52.08
		Higher education (B.A. or higher)	40.07

*Descriptives shown for weighted data*

## Appendix C. Supplementary tables

Table 1. Interaction effect of label for Roma and affirmative/negative wording, on willingness to award equal rights to Roma

	Coef.
Roma wording	-0.584 (0.23)**
Rights-affirming version	-0.055 (0.23)
Roma wording * Rights affirming wording interaction	0.439 (0.32)
Constant	7.794 (0.16)***
R-squared	0.004
n	1,952

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$ ; Standard errors in parentheses

Table 2. Interaction effect of label for Roma and prior exposure to the word Gypsy, on willingness to award equal rights to Roma

	Coef.
Roma wording	-0.327 (0.20)
Prior exposure to the word Gypsy	0.059 (0.24)
Roma wording * Prior Gypsy wording exposure	-0.142 (0.34)
Constant	7.746 (0.14)***
R-squared	0.003
n	1,952

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$ ; Standard errors in parentheses

Table 3. Interaction effect of label for Roma and prior exposure to Gypsy, on like/dislike of the Roma

	Coef.
Roma wording	0.042 (0.16)
Roma wording*Rights affirming wording interaction	-0.140 (0.19)
Roma wording * Prior Gypsy wording exposure	0.154 (0.27)
Constant	3.230 (0.11)***
R-squared	0.001
n	1,951

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$ ; Standard errors in parentheses

Table 4. Interaction effect of stereotypes about the Roma and wording on willingness to award equal rights

		<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording		-0.276 (0.55)
Rights-affirming version		0.120 (0.19)
Roma stereotypes		-0.206 (0.08)**
Roma wording * Roma stereotypes interaction		-0.018 (0.10)
Motivation to control prejudice		0.635 (0.08)***
Political knowledge		0.310 (0.10) **
Sex	Female	-0.533 (0.20)**
Education	High school or professional school	0.490 (0.47)
	University education	0.763 (0.48)
Age		0.081 (0.04) <sup>+</sup>
Age squared		-0.001 (0.00) <sup>+</sup>
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.196 (0.26)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.054 (0.26)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.172 (0.29)
	Bucharest	-0.113 (0.29)
Income		-0.037 (0.06)
Constant		2.834 (1.26)**
R squared	0.105	
n	1,923	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$ ; Robust standard errors in parentheses

Table 5. Interaction effect of stereotypes about the Roma and wording, on like/dislike of the Roma

		<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording		0.162 (0.46)
Roma stereotypes		-0.177 (0.07)**
Roma wording * Roma stereotypes interaction		-0.010 (0.09)
Motivation to control prejudice		0.338 (0.06)***
Political knowledge		-0.037 (0.08)
Sex	Female	0.012 (0.16)
Education	High school or professional school	-0.067 (0.38)
	University education	0.093 (0.37)
Age		0.003 (0.03)
Age squared		0.000 (0.00)
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.114 (0.20)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.034 (0.21)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.308 (0.23)
	Bucharest	0.162 (0.22)
Income		-0.041 (0.05)
Constant		2.455 (0.98)
R squared	0.045	
n	1920	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$ ; Robust standard errors in parentheses

Table 6. Interaction effect of rights denial and Roma wording, on willingness to award equal rights

		<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording		-0.233 (0.22)
Rights-affirming version		0.123 (0.20)
Roma rights denial		-1.406 (0.32)***
Roma wording * Roma rights denial		-0.399 (0.45)
Motivation to control prejudice		0.555 (0.08)***
Political knowledge		0.249 (0.11)*
Sex	Female	-0.349 (0.21) <sup>+</sup>
Education	High school or professional school	0.345 (0.49)
	University education	0.498 (0.50)
Age		0.057 (0.15)
Age squared		-0.001 (0.00)
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.178 (0.26)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.159 (0.27)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.080 (0.79)
	Bucharest	-0.218 (0.29)
Income		-0.058 (0.06)
Constant		3.648 (0.15)**
R squared	0.136	
n	1,838	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$ ; Robust standard errors in parentheses

Table 7. Interaction effect of rights denial and Roma wording, on like/dislike of the Roma

		<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording		0.108 (0.19)
Roma rights denial		-0.656 (0.25)**
Roma wording * Roma rights denial		-0.138 (0.35)
Motivation to control prejudice		0.290 (0.06)***
Political knowledge		-0.051 (0.08)
Sex	Female	0.087 (0.17)
Education	High school or professional school	-0.043 (0.38)
	University education	0.044 (0.39)
Age		0.006 (0.03)
Age squared		0.000 (0.00)
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.145 (0.21)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.130 (0.22)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.177 (0.25)
	Bucharest	0.199 (0.23)
Income		-0.037 (0.06)
Constant		2.021 (1.02)*
R squared	0.042	
n	1835	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$ ; Robust standard errors in parentheses



Table 8. Interaction effect of discriminatory policy support and wording, on willingness to award rights

		<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording		-0.529 (0.31) <sup>+</sup>
Rights-affirming version		0.162 (0.19)
Discriminatory policy support		-0.457 (0.07)***
Roma wording * Discriminatory policy support		0.035 (0.10)
Motivation to control prejudice		0.526 (0.08)***
Political knowledge		0.270 (0.10)**
Sex	Female	-0.377 (0.19) <sup>+</sup>
Education	High school or professional school	0.289 (0.46)
	University education	0.478 (0.47)
Age		0.088 (0.04)*
Age squared		-0.001 (0.00)*
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.119 (0.25)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.087 (0.26)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.134 (0.29)
	Bucharest	-0.134 (0.29)
Income		-0.043 (0.48)
Constant		4.167 (1.13)***
R squared	0.154	
n	1906	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$ ; Robust standard errors in parentheses

Table 9. Interaction effect of discriminatory policy support and wording, on like/dislike of the Roma

		<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording		-0.066 (0.30)
Roma stereotypes		-0.129 (0.06)*
Discriminatory policy support		0.048 (0.08)
Roma wording * Discriminatory policy support		0.334 (0.06)***
Political knowledge		-0.045 (0.08)
Sex	Female	0.015 (0.16)
Education	High school or professional school	-0.145 (0.38)
	University education	-0.017 (0.39)
Age		0.004 (0.03)
Age squared		0.000 (0.00)
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.093 (0.21)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.022 (0.22)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.304 (0.24)
	Bucharest	0.241 (0.23)
Income		-0.038 (0.05)
Constant		2.124 (0.97)*
R squared	0.037	
n	1903	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$ ; Robust standard errors in parentheses

Table 10. Interaction effect of Roma wording and political knowledge on like/dislike of the Roma

		<b>Coef.</b>
Roma wording		-0.030 (0.34)
Comfortable with Roma neighbor		0.936 (0.20)***
Motivation to control prejudice		0.288 (0.06)***
Political knowledge		-0.005 (0.11)
Roma wording * Political knowledge		0.053 (0.14)
Sex	Female	0.071 (0.17)
Education	High school or professional school	-0.175 (0.38)
	University education	-0.006 (0.39)
Age		0.021 (0.03)
Age squared		0.000 (0.00)
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.218 (0.21)
	Municipality < 150,000	-0.003 (0.22)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.391 (0.25)
	Bucharest	0.122 (0.23)
Income		-0.034 (0.06)
Constant		0.872 (0.97)
R squared	0.054	
n	1,783	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$ ; Robust standard errors in parentheses

Table 11. Three-way interaction effect of wording, MCP and political knowledge on Roma like/dislike

		<b>Coef.</b>
Comfortable with Roma neighbor		0.928 (0.20)***
Roma wording		1.807 (1.39)
Motivation to control prejudice (MCP)		0.587 (0.17)**
Roma wording * MCP		-0.342 (0.25)
Political knowledge		0.758 (0.42)+
Roma wording * Political knowledge		-0.725 (0.61)
MCP * Political knowledge		-0.142 (0.08)+
Roma wording * MCP * Political knowledge		0.143 (0.11)
Sex	Female	0.075 (0.17)
Education	High school or professional school	-0.160 (0.38)
	University education	0.017 (0.39)
Age		0.020 (0.03)
Age squared		0.000 (0.00)
Locality size	Town < 40,000	-0.194 (0.21)
	Municipality < 150,000	0.015 (0.22)
	Municipality > 150,000	0.415 (0.25)
	Bucharest	0.156 (0.23)
Income		-0.033 (0.06)
Constant		-0.761 (1.26)
R squared	0.057	
n	1,783	

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; +  $p < .10$   
Robust standard errors in parentheses

## References

- Aarts, H., & Dijksterhuis, A. (2003). The silence of the library: Environment, situational norm, and social behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84(1), 18-28. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.84.1.18
- Alexe, D., & Zhelev, V. (2010, September 30). Roma in Romania and Bulgaria: despised and stigmatised. *EUobserver*. Retrieved from <https://euobserver.com/news/30927>
- Allport, G., W. (1979). *The Nature of Prejudice*. New York: Basic Books.
- Aramă, D. (2013, June 18). Traian Băsescu, declarație controversată: „Cum Dumnezeu femeia romă poate ține cinci-șase copii, iar româncea nu poate?”. *Libertatea*. Retrieved from <https://www.libertatea.ro/stiri/traian-basescu-declaratie-controversata-cum-dumnezeu-femeia-roma-poate-tine-cinci-sase-copii-iar-romanca-nu-poate-893516>
- Asbrock, F., Lemmer, G., Becker, J. C., Koller, J., & Wagner, U. (2014). “Who Are These Foreigners Anyway?” The Content of the Term Foreigner and Its Impact on Prejudice. *SAGE Open*, 4(2), 2158244014532819. doi:10.1177/2158244014532819
- Basescu chided for 'gypsy' remark. (2007, May 23). *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6684261.stm>
- Băsescu: Realizez că schimbarea denumirii țiganilor în romi a fost o greșeală politică [Basescu: I realize now changing the name of Gypsies to Roma was a political mistake]. (2010, September 10). *Antena3*. Retrieved from <https://www.antena3.ro/actualitate/basescu-realizez-ca-schimbarea-denumirii-tiganilor-in-romi-a-fost-o-greseala-politica-video-106739.html>
- Bell, Z. (2013). *African-American Nomenclature: The Label Identity Shift from "Negro" to "Black" in the 1960s*. University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles. Retrieved from <https://escholarship.org/content/qt1j12q56x/qt1j12q56x.pdf>
- Bennett, L. J. (1967). What's In a Name? Negro vs. Afro-American vs. Black, 23. Retrieved from [http://www.virginia.edu/woodson/courses/aas102%20\(spring%2001\)/articles/names/bennett.htm](http://www.virginia.edu/woodson/courses/aas102%20(spring%2001)/articles/names/bennett.htm)
- Berglund, N. (2015, June 1). State issues new apology to Romani. *News in English*. Retrieved from <https://www.newsinenglish.no/2015/06/01/state-issues-new-apology-to-romani/>
- Bicchieri, C. (2017). *Norms in the Wild: How to Diagnose, Measure, and Change Social Norms*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Blinder, S., Ford, R., & Ivarsflaten, E. (2013). The Better Angels of Our Nature: How the Antiprejudice Norm Affects Policy and Party Preferences in Great Britain and Germany. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(4), 841-857. doi:10.1111/ajps.12030
- Blurred history of Gypsy terms. (2005, March 21). *BBC*. Retrieved from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/4368791.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/4368791.stm)
- Brüggemann, C., & Friedman, E. (2017). The Decade of Roma Inclusion: Origins, Actors, and Legacies. *European Education*, 49(1), 1-9. doi:10.1080/10564934.2017.1290422
- Chaiken, S. (1980). Heuristic versus systematic information processing and the use of source versus message cues in persuasion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39(5), 752-766. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.39.5.752
- Challa, J. (2013, December 30). Why Being 'Gypped' Hurts The Roma More Than It Hurts You. Retrieved from <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/12/30/242429836/why-being-gypped-hurts-the-roma-more-than-it-hurts-you>

- Cialdini, R. B., Kallgren, C. A., & Reno, R. R. (1991). A Focus Theory of Normative Conduct: A Theoretical Refinement and Reevaluation of the Role of Norms in Human Behavior. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 24, 201-234. doi:10.1016/s0065-2601(08)60330-5
- Cohn, D. v. (2010). Race and the Census: The "Negro" Controversy. Retrieved from <https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2010/01/21/race-and-the-census-the-%E2%80%9Cnegro%E2%80%9D-controversy/>
- Consiliul Legislativ. (2008). *Aviz referitor la propunerea legislativă intitulată Lege privind terminologia folosită pentru etnia țiganilor [Position regarding the draft bill entitled Law regarding the terminology used for the Gypsy ethnic group]*. Retrieved from <https://www.senat.ro/legis/PDF/2008/08L044LG.pdf>
- Consiliul Național pentru Combaterea Discriminării. (2008). *Hotărârea Nr. 384 [Decision 384]*. Bucharest Retrieved from [http://nediscriminare.ro/uploads\\_ro/docManager/3328/384.pdf](http://nediscriminare.ro/uploads_ro/docManager/3328/384.pdf)
- Consiliul Național pentru Combaterea Discriminării. (2008). *Hotărârea Nr. 384 [Decision 384]*. Bucharest Retrieved from [http://nediscriminare.ro/uploads\\_ro/docManager/3328/384.pdf](http://nediscriminare.ro/uploads_ro/docManager/3328/384.pdf)
- Council of Europe. (1997). Resolution 44 "Towards a tolerant Europe: the contribution of Roma".
- Council of Europe. (1998). *ECRI General Policy Recommendation No. 3 on combating racism and intolerance against Roma/Gypsies*. Retrieved from <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/recommendation-no.3>
- Council of Europe. (1998). *ECRI General Policy Recommendation No. 3 on combating racism and intolerance against Roma/Gypsies*. Retrieved from <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/recommendation-no.3>
- Council of Europe. (2008a). Austro-Hungarian Empire. Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/austro-hungarian-empire-factsheets-on-romani-history/16808b19ed>
- Council of Europe. (2008b). Central Europe. Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/central-europe-factsheets-on-romani-history/16808b19c7>
- Council of Europe. (2008c). Deportations from Romania. Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/deportations-from-romania-factsheets-on-romani-history/16808b1c27>
- Council of Europe. (2008d). From India to Europe. Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/from-india-to-europe-factsheets-on-romani-history/16808b18ed>
- Council of Europe. (2008e). Holocaust. Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/holocaust-factsheets-on-romani-history/16808b1ab0>
- Council of Europe. (2008f). State Policies under Communism. Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/state-policies-under-communism-factsheets-on-romani-history/16808b1c58>
- Council of Europe. (2008g). The Great "Gypsy" Round-up in Spain. Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/the-great-gypsy-round-up-in-spain-factsheets-on-romani-history/16808b1a7d>
- Council of Europe. (2008h). Wallachia and Moldavia. Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/wallachia-and-moldavia-factsheets-on-romani-history/16808b19be>
- Council of Europe. (2008i). Western Europe. Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/western-europe-factsheets-on-romani-history/16808b19e4>

- Council of Europe. (2012). Council of Europe Descriptive Glossary of terms relating to Roma issues.
- Crawford, J. T., Brandt, M. J., Inbar, Y., & Mallinas, S. R. (2016). Right-wing authoritarianism predicts prejudice equally toward “gay men and lesbians” and “homosexuals”. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *111*(2), e31-e45. doi:10.1037/pspp0000070
- Csepeli, G., & Simon, D. (2004). Construction of Roma identity in Eastern and Central Europe: perception and self-identification. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(1), 129-150. doi:10.1080/1369183032000170204
- Delli Carpini, M. X., & Keeter, S. (1996). *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Donakowski, D. W., & Esses, V. M. (1996). Native Canadians, First Nations, or Aboriginals: The effect of labels on attitudes toward native peoples. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science / Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, *28*(2), 86-91. doi:10.1037/0008-400x.28.2.86
- Dovidio, J. F., Hewstone, M., Glick, P., & Esses, V. M. (2010). Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination: Theoretical and Empirical Overview. In J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. M. Esses (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Duminică, G. (2017, April 7). Rom sau țigan? Dilemele unei asemănări lingvistice [Roma or Gypsy? The dilemmas posed by a linguistic similarity]. *Adevărul*. Retrieved from [https://adevarul.ro/news/societate/rom-tigann-dilemele-unei-asemanari-lingvistice-1\\_58e7520a5ab6550cb80b26da/index.html#](https://adevarul.ro/news/societate/rom-tigann-dilemele-unei-asemanari-lingvistice-1_58e7520a5ab6550cb80b26da/index.html#)
- Duminică, G. (2018, March 12). Despre rasismul din „vorba românului“. Sau despre cum poți scoate pe gură prostii cu iz rasist [On the racism of Romanian sayings. Or how you can say vaguely racist stupidities]. *Adevărul*. Retrieved from [https://adevarul.ro/news/politica/desprerasismul-vorba-romanului-despre-poti-scoate-gura-prostii-cuiz-rasist-1\\_5a98e93bdf52022f752022dc/index.html](https://adevarul.ro/news/politica/desprerasismul-vorba-romanului-despre-poti-scoate-gura-prostii-cuiz-rasist-1_5a98e93bdf52022f752022dc/index.html)
- Dunton, B. C., & Fazio, R. H. (1997). An Individual Difference Measure of Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *23*(3), 316-326. doi:10.1177/0146167297233009
- Equality and Human Rights Commission. (2016). Gypsies and Travellers: research reports. Retrieved from <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/gypsies-and-travellers-simple-solutions-living-together/gypsies-and-travellers-research-reports>
- European Commission. Roma integration in EU countries. Facts and figures on EU's Roma population and integration strategies for improving the living conditions of Roma in EU countries. Retrieved from [https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combating-discrimination/roma-and-eu/roma-integration-eu-countries\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combating-discrimination/roma-and-eu/roma-integration-eu-countries_en)
- Fazio, R. H., Jackson, J. R., Dunton, B. C., & Williams, C. J. (1995). Variability in automatic activation as an unobtrusive measure of racial attitudes: A bona fide pipeline? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*(6), 1013-1027. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.69.6.1013
- Flores, A. R. (2015). Examining Variation in Surveying Attitudes on Same-Sex Marriage: A Meta-Analysis. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Volume 79*(2), 580–593. doi:10.1093/poq/nfv017
- Friends Families and Travellers (2019). About us. Retrieved from <https://www.gypsy-traveller.org/about-us/>

- Goldstein, N. J., Cialdini, R. B., & Griskevicius, V. (2008). A Room with a Viewpoint: Using Social Norms to Motivate Environmental Conservation in Hotels. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35(3), 472-482. doi:10.1086/586910
- Guvernul României. (2008). *Punct de vedere referitor la propunerea legislativă intitulată Lege privind terminologia folosită pentru etnia țiganilor [Point of view regarding the draft bill entitled Law regarding the terminology used for the Gypsy ethnic group]*. Retrieved from <https://www.senat.ro/legis/PDF/2008/08L044PV.pdf>
- Hall, E. V., Phillips, K. W., & Townsend, S. S. M. (2015). A rose by any other name? The consequences of subtyping “African-Americans” from “Blacks”. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 56, 183–190.
- Haslam, S. A., Oakes, P. J., McGarty, C., Turner, J. C., Reynolds, K. J., & Eggins, R. A. (1996). Stereotyping and social influence: The mediation of stereotype applicability and sharedness by the views of in-group and out-group members. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 35(3), 369-397. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.1996.tb01103.x
- Hawkins, S., Yudkin, D., Juan-Torres, M., & Dixon, T. (2018). Hidden Tribes: A Study of America’s Polarized Landscape. Retrieved from [https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5a70a7c3010027736a22740f/t/5bbcea6b7817f7bf7342b718/1539107467397/hidden\\_tribes\\_report-2.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5a70a7c3010027736a22740f/t/5bbcea6b7817f7bf7342b718/1539107467397/hidden_tribes_report-2.pdf)
- Hopmann, D. N., Vliegenthart, R., De Vreese, C., & Albæk, E. (2010). Effects of Election News Coverage: How Visibility and Tone Influence Party Choice. *Political Communication*, 27(4), 389-405. doi:10.1080/10584609.2010.516798
- I.R. (2010, December 14). Traian Basescu in Financial Times: Nu voi promulga niciodata legea de schimbare a denumirii de rom in tigan [Traian Basescu in the Financial Times: I will never promote the law to change the name of Roma to Gypsy]. *Hotnews*. Retrieved from <https://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-esential-8126477-traian-basescu-financial-times-nu-voi-promulga-niciodata-legea-schimbare-denumirii-rom-tigan.htm>
- Ivarsflaten, E., Blinder, S., & Ford, R. (2010). The Anti-Racism Norm in Western European Immigration Politics: Why we Need to Consider it and How to Measure it. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 20(4), 421-445. doi:10.1080/17457289.2010.511805
- Iyengar, S. (1990). The Accessibility Bias in Politics: Television News and Public Opinion. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 2(1), 1-15. doi:10.1093/ijpor/2.1.1
- Jacoby, W. G. (2006). Value Choices and American Public Opinion. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(3), 706-723. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5907.2006.00211.x
- Janky, B. (2019). Changing Connotations and the Evolution of the Effect of Wording: Labeling Asylum Seekers in a Political Campaign. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*. doi:10.1093/ijpor/edy035
- Jerit, J., Barabas, J., & Bolsen, T. (2006). Citizens, Knowledge, and the Information Environment. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 266-282.
- Jones, M. S. (2014, February 19). What's in a name? 'Mixed,' 'biracial,' 'black'. *CNN*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2014/02/19/living/biracial-black-identity-answers/index.html>
- Jovanovic, Z. (2015). Retrieved from <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/why-europe-s-roma-decade-didn-t-lead-inclusion>
- Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1984). Choices, values, and frames. *American Psychologist*, 39(4), 341-350. doi:10.1037/0003-066x.39.4.341
- Kearney, S. (2017, August 1). Who are the Roma people? *Euronews*. Retrieved from <https://www.euronews.com/2017/08/01/who-are-the-roma-people>

- Kott, M. (2014). It is in their DNA: Swedish Police, Structural Antiziganism and the Registration of Romanis. In T. Agarin (Ed.), *When Stereotype Meets Prejudice: Antiziganism in European Societies*. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag.
- Kotzur, P. F., Forsbach, N., & Wagner, U. (2017). Choose Your Words Wisely. *Social Psychology*, 48(4), 226-241. doi:10.1027/1864-9335/a000312
- Lau, R. R., & Redlawsk, D. P. (2001). Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making. *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(4), 951-971. doi:10.2307/2669334
- Lau, R. R., & Redlawsk, D. P. (2006). *How Voters Decide: Information Processing during Election Campaigns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, J.-S., & Nerghe, A. (2018). Refugee or Migrant Crisis? Labels, Perceived Agency, and Sentiment Polarity in Online Discussions. *Social Media + Society*, 4(3), 2056305118785638. doi:10.1177/2056305118785638
- Lupia, A. (1994). Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections. *The American Political Science Review*, 88(1), 63-76. doi:10.2307/2944882
- Lupia, A., & McCubbins, M. D. (1998). *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Luskin, R. C. (1990). Explaining Political Sophistication. *Political Behavior*, 12, 331-361.
- Luskin, R. C. (2003). The heavenly public: What would a Fully Informed Citizenry Be Like? In M. B. MacKuen & G. Rabinowitz (Eds.). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Lynch, H. (2018). African Americans. In *Encyclopædia Britannica*.
- Mackie, D. M., & Queller, S. (2000). The impact of group membership on persuasion: Revisiting "Who says what to whom with what effect?". In *Attitudes, behavior, and social context: The role of norms and group membership*. (pp. 135-155). Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Mădroane, I. D. (2012). Roma, Romanian, European: A Media Framed Battle over Identity. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, 5(2), 102-119.
- Mansel, T. (2013, December, 4). Roma in Sweden: A nation questions itself. *BBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25200449>
- Marcus, G., Sullivan, J., Theiss-Morse, E., & Wood, S. (1995). *With Malice toward Some: How People Make Civil Liberties Judgments*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Marincea, A., & Chilin, T. (2016). *Anti-Democratic Intolerant Discourse in Romanian Online Comments*. Working paper. Median Research Centre. Bucharest.
- Marsh, A. (2013). Gypsies, Roma, Travellers: An Animated History. Retrieved from <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/gypsies-roma-travellers-animated-history>
- Marushiakova, E., & Popov, V. (2018). Roma Labelling: Policy and Academia. *Slovenský národopis*, 4(66), 385-418. doi:10.26363/sn.2018.4.02
- McCabe, B. J., & Heerwig, J. A. (2011). Reframing the Marriage Debate: Wording, Context, and Intensity of Support for Marriage and Civil Unions\*. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 24(4), 429-449. doi:10.1093/ijpor/edr025
- McCloskey, H., & Zaller, J. (1984). *The American Ethos: Public Attitudes Toward Capitalism and Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern Racism, Ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *In Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism* (pp. 91-125). Orlando: Academic Press.

- McLeod, J. M., Kosicki, G. M., & Pan, Z. (1996). On Understanding and Misunderstanding Media Effects. In J. Curran & M. Gurevitch (Eds.), *In Mass Media and Society*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Mendelberg, T. (2001). *The Race Card. Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*: Princeton University Press.
- Merolla, J., Ramakrishnan, S. K., & Haynes, C. (2013). “Illegal,” “Undocumented,” or “Unauthorized”: Equivalency Frames, Issue Frames, and Public Opinion on Immigration. *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(3), 789-807. doi:10.1017/s1537592713002077
- Miller, D. T., Monin, B., & Prentice, D. A. (2000). Pluralistic ignorance and inconsistency between private attitudes and public behaviors. In *Attitudes, behavior, and social context: The role of norms and group membership*. (pp. 95-113). Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Minard, R. D. (1952). Race Relationships in the Pocahontas Coal Field. *Journal of Social Issues*, 8(1), 29-44. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.1952.tb01592.x
- Ministerul Afacerilor Externe al României. (1995). *Memorandum. Tema: Probleme privind denumirea unei etnii care trăiește în România [Memorandum. Subject: Problems regarding the designation of an ethnic group that lives in Romania]*. Retrieved from <http://www.romanicriss.org/Memo%20MAE%20tigani%20vs%20romi%201995.pdf>
- Ministerul Afacerilor Externe al României. (2000). *Memorandum. Tema: Termenii folosiți pentru denumirea etniei romilor/țiganilor [Memorandum. Subject: Terms used for designating the Roma/Gypsy ethnic group]*. Retrieved from <http://www.romanicriss.org/Memo%20MAE%20romi%20vs%20tigani%202000.pdf>
- Ministerul de Afaceri Externe României. (1995). *Memorandum. Tema: Probleme privind denumirea unei etnii care trăiește în România [Memorandum. Subject: Problems regarding the designation of an ethnic group that lives in Romania]*. Retrieved from <http://www.romanicriss.org/Memo%20MAE%20tigani%20vs%20romi%201995.pdf>
- Ministerul de Afaceri Externe României. (2000). *Memorandum. Tema: Termenii folosiți pentru denumirea etniei romilor/țiganilor [Memorandum. Subject: Terms used for designating the Roma/Gypsy ethnic group]*. Retrieved from <http://www.romanicriss.org/Memo%20MAE%20romi%20vs%20tigani%202000.pdf>
- Montgomery, J. M., Nyhan, B., & Torres, M. (2018). How Conditioning on Posttreatment Variables Can Ruin Your Experiment and What to Do about It. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(3), 760-775. doi:10.1111/ajps.12357
- Nine, A. (2011, February 9). Senatul nu vrea ca romii să fie țigani [The Senate does not want the Roma to be Gypsies]. *Jurnalul Național*. Retrieved from <https://jurnalul.antena3.ro/stiri/politica/senatul-nu-vrea-ca-romii-sa-fie-tigani-567773.html>
- Paluck, E. L. (2009a). Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict using the media: A field experiment in Rwanda. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(3), 574-587. doi:10.1037/a0011989
- Paluck, E. L. (2009b). What's in a norm? Sources and processes of norm change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(3), 594-600. doi:10.1037/a0014688
- Paluck, E. L., Shepherd, H., & Aronow, P. M. (2016). Changing climates of conflict: A social network experiment in 56 schools. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 113(3), 566. doi:10.1073/pnas.1514483113
- Peltonen, L. S. (2010). *Hate Speech Against the Roma in Romania : Discourse Analysis on Three Romanian Newspapers' Internet Forums*. University of Helsinki, Helsinki. Retrieved from <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe201006152029>



- Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1984). The effects of involvement on responses to argument quantity and quality: Central and peripheral routes to persuasion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46(1), 69-81. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.46.1.69
- Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1986). *Communication and Persuasion: Central and Peripheral Routes to Attitude Change*. New York: Springer Verlag.
- Pew Research Center. (2014). Chapter 4. Views of Roma, Muslims, Jews. Retrieved from <https://www.pewglobal.org/2014/05/12/chapter-4-views-of-roma-muslims-jews/>
- Piciu, D. (2009, March 18). Silviu Prigoană preia inițiativa Jurnalului Național [Silviu Prigoana takes up Jurnalul National's initiative]. *Jurnalul Național*. Retrieved from <https://jurnalul.antena3.ro/campaniile-jurnalul/tigan-in-loc-de-rom/silviu-prigoana-preia-initiativa-jurnalului-national-146429.html>
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75(3), 811-832. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.75.3.811
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (2009). The active control of prejudice: Unpacking the intentions guiding control efforts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(3), 640-652. doi:10.1037/a0012960
- Popescu, M., Toka, G., & Chilin, T. *From othering to the denial of basic rights of fellow citizens. An exploration of political intolerance in Romania*.
- Powell, R. (2018, April 25). To Europe's shame, Roma remain stigmatised outsiders – even when they live in mansions. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/to-europes-shame-roma-remain-stigmatised-outsiders-even-when-they-live-in-mansions-95468>
- Propunere legislativă privind revenirea la denumirea oficială de "țigani" a persoanelor intitulate "de etnie romă" [Draft bill regarding the return to the official name of "Gypsies" for persons called "ethnic Roma"], 803/2015, Camera Deputaților (2015).
- Propunere legislativă privind terminologia folosită pentru etnia țiganilor [Draft bill regarding the terminology used for the Gypsy ethnic group], L44/2008, Senat (2008).
- Richardson, H. (2019). 'You're a Gypsy - are you going to leave school?'. *BBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/education-47802038>
- Rios, K. (2013). Right-wing authoritarianism predicts prejudice against “homosexuals” but not “gay men and lesbians”. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49(6), 1177-1183. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2013.05.013>
- Romani CRISS (2010). Rom vs. Tigan. Retrieved from [http://romanicriss.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=51%3Arom-vs-tigan&catid=308%3AAadvocacy&Itemid=44](http://romanicriss.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=51%3Arom-vs-tigan&catid=308%3AAadvocacy&Itemid=44)
- Romani CRISS. (2010a). Noi suntem romi! [We are Roma!]. Retrieved from [http://www.romanicriss.org/ScrisoareTiganVs%20Rom\\_24%20oct%20fin\\_off.pdf](http://www.romanicriss.org/ScrisoareTiganVs%20Rom_24%20oct%20fin_off.pdf)
- Romani CRISS. (2010b). Rom vs. Tigan. Retrieved from [http://romanicriss.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=51%3Arom-vs-tigan&catid=308%3AAadvocacy&Itemid=44](http://romanicriss.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=51%3Arom-vs-tigan&catid=308%3AAadvocacy&Itemid=44)
- Romani CRISS. (2010c). Tu ce ești? Rom sau țigan? [What are you? Roma or Gypsy?]. Retrieved from <http://www.romanicriss.org/Fluturas%20informativ%20rom-tigan.pdf>
- Romanian PM: Benefit tourism is 'Roma problem'. (2013, March 20). *BBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-21842317/romanian-pm-benefit-tourism-is-roma-problem>
- Sándor, J., Kósa, Z., Boruzs, K., Boros, J., Tokaji, I., McKee, M., & Ádány, R. (2017). The decade of Roma Inclusion: did it make a difference to health and use of health care

services? *International journal of public health*, 62(7), 803-815. doi:10.1007/s00038-017-0954-9

- Schmitt-Beck, R. (2003). Mass Communication, Personal Communication and Vote Choice: The Filter Hypothesis of Media Influence in Comparative Perspective. *British Journal of Political Science*, 33(2), 233-259.
- Schmitt-Beck, R. (2004). Political Communication Effects: The Impact of Mass Media and Personal Conversations on Voting. In B. Pfetsch & F. Esser (Eds.), *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges* (pp. 293-322). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schulman, G. I., & Worrall, C. (1970). Salience Patterns, Source Credibility, and the Sleeper Effect. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 34(3), 371-382.
- Schultz, P. W., Tabanico, J., & Rendón, T. (2008). Normative beliefs as agents of influence: Basic processes and real-world applications. In W. D. Crano & R. Prislin (Eds.), (pp. 385-409): Psychology Press.
- Sears, D. O., & Henry, P. J. (2003). The origins of symbolic racism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85(2), 259-275. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.85.2.259
- Smith, B. A., Murib, Z., Motta, M., Callaghan, T. H., & Theys, M. (2017). "Gay" or "Homosexual"? The Implications of Social Category Labels for the Structure of Mass Attitudes. *American Politics Research*, 46(2), 336-372. doi:10.1177/1532673x17706560
- Smith, T. W. (1987). That Which We Call Welfare by Any Other Name Would Smell Sweeter: An Analysis of the Impact of Question Wording on Response Patterns. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 51(1), 75-83.
- Smith, T. W. (1992). Changing Racial Labels: From "Colored" to "Negro" to "Black" to "African American". *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 56(4), 496-514.
- Sniderman, P. M., & Hagendoorn, L. (2007). *When ways of life collide: Multiculturalism and its discontents in the Netherlands*. ncton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Sniderman, P. M., Petersen, M. B., Slothuus, R., & Stubager, R. (2014). *Paradoxes of Liberal Democracy. Islam, Western Europe, and the Danish Cartoon Crisis*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Stangor, C., Sechrist, G. B., & Jost, J. T. (2001). Changing Racial Beliefs by Providing Consensus Information. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27(4), 486-496. doi:10.1177/0146167201274009
- Stroud, N. J., Scacco, J. M., Muddiman, A., & Curry, A. L. (2015). Changing Deliberative Norms on News Organizations' Facebook Sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 20(2), 188-203. doi:10.1111/jcc4.12104
- Tankard, M. E., & Paluck, E. L. (2016). Norm Perception as a Vehicle for Social Change. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 10(1), 181-211. doi:10.1111/sipr.12022
- Tankard, M. E., & Paluck, E. L. (2017). The Effect of a Supreme Court Decision Regarding Gay Marriage on Social Norms and Personal Attitudes. *Psychological Science*, 28(9), 1334-1344. doi:10.1177/0956797617709594
- Toma, R. (2017). *Comment Moderation in the "Less Hate, More Speech" project. How it works*. Retrieved from <https://lesshate.openpolitics.ro/en/how-moderation-worked-in-the-less-hate-more-speech-project/>
- Winter, N. J. G. (2006). Beyond Welfare: Framing and the Racialization of White Opinion on Social Security. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 400-420. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5907.2006.00191.x

- Wittenbrink, B., & Henly, J. R. (1996). Creating Social Reality: Informational Social Influence and the Content of Stereotypic Beliefs. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 22(6), 598-610. doi:10.1177/0146167296226005
- W-M, R. (2010, December 10). Ire of the Tigan. *The Economist*. Retrieved from <https://www.economist.com/eastern-approaches/2010/12/08/ire-of-the-tigan>
- Zaller, J. (1992). *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Zaller, J. (1996). The Myth of Massive Media Impact Revived: New Support for a Discredited Idea. In D. C. Mutz, P. M. Sniderman, & R. A. Brody (Eds.), *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change* (pp. 17-78). Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Zilber, J., & Niven, D. (1995). "Black" versus "African American": Are Whites' political attitudes influenced by the choice of racial labels? *Social Science Quarterly*, 76(3), 655-664.