

**Is the Anti-Gypsy Sentiment Fueled by  
Sensationalism? A Content Analysis of the Portrayal  
of Romanian Roma Immigrants in Italy and France in  
the International Media Coverage after EU Accession**

By

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## Author`s Declaration

I, the undersigned NICOLETA CALIN, hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

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## ABSTRACT

By means of this Master thesis, it shall be elaborated how international online newspapers portray Roma people in their news coverage in order to find out whether sensationalism constitutes a factor that fuels anti-Gypsy sentiments. In detail, the analysis shall be conducted on the grounds of a qualitative content analysis of online news articles from the international media with a particular focus on Romanian Roma immigration to Italy in 2007 and France in 2010. These countries, in this framing time, have the highest rates of Roma Immigrants, the highest unfavorable views towards Roma in Europe and large international media coverage on this topic. It is argued that Roma are often negatively sensationalized in the media and in conformity with deeply rooted stereotypes and prejudices according to which they are seen as `the pariahs` and `the strangers` of society. A headline, an image, or a number can constitute a positive or negative experience in the mindset of people depending on the way it is framed. As long as the mentality of the society is negatively influenced by sensationalistic news content, the process of Roma inclusion in Europe is impeded.

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## Introduction

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 2007, Romania landed on the first page of international newspapers with the headline: *Italian woman's murder prompts expulsion threat to Romania* (Hooper J., 2007). Romulus Nicolae Mailat, a 24- years- old Romanian of the Roma community, killed Giovanna Reggiani. The Guardian wrote that “The man accused of murdering Ms. Reggiani was one among hundreds of thousands of Romanians who have poured into Italy since 2002 after visa restrictions were lifted in anticipation of their country's entry this year into the European Union” (Hooper J., 2007). On the 20<sup>th</sup> of August 2010, Romania once more receives international coverage with the headline: *France sends Roma Gypsies back to Romania*. According to BBC “Dozens of Roma (Gypsies) have arrived back in Romania after being repatriated by France [...] because the government said traveller’s camps were sources of illegal trafficking and exploitation of children for begging, of prostitution and crime” (Frazer C., 2010)

Criminals, beggars, thieves, prostitutes or drug addicted are only some of the adjectives that media have used to describe Roma people across the European continent. The media is one of the most influential powers in democratic societies, and this power comes with huge responsibility when discussing ethnic relations (Council of Europe, 2012). The sensationalist coverage of Roma topics promotes anti-Gypsy sentiments towards Roma by fueling stereotypes that they live outside the law or are responsible for their own exclusion, because they have supposedly, chosen to be different (Barth 1996 in Bancroft A., 2005). The terminology of anti-Gypsy sentiment will be used throughout the thesis and not anti-Roma sentiment, as this formula reflects the portrayal of “Gypsy” in the public imaginary. The anti-Gypsy sentiment is “indicating

the specific expression of biases, prejudices and stereotypes that motivate the everyday behaviour of many members of majority groups towards the members of Roma,” (Council of Europe, 2012, p. 39). What are those specific expressions of stereotypes and prejudices and what type of behavior or and attitudes motivate within the majority groups, will be revealed throughout the thesis.

### *Background*

Accordingly, the thesis will focus on the fall of 2007 in Italy and the summer of 2010 in France where most of the Roma people from Romania immigrated. Italy and France are the Western European countries with the highest rate of Roma immigrants from Romania. (Cahn Cl. and Guild E., 2008). As estimated by Cahn and Guild (2008) in their research, Romanian Roma migrants in Italy count between 60.000 and 80.000 persons, 0,23% of the Italian population while in France, Romanian Roma migrants account for 0,64% of the total population (Cahn Cl. and Guild E., 2008,38).

What follow afterward? These countries began to fear the “massive influx of Romanian Roma workers in their labor markets” (Gil S., 2014) and thus they decided to demolish the Roma settlements, to expel the Roma people and to fingerprinting them without just causes. These measures are considered to be part of what is called anti-Gypsyism, an official term that was recognized by the EU in 2015 (AntiGypsism.EU, 2015). However, the loose definition of said term- “complex social phenomena which manifest itself through violence, hate speech, exploitation and discrimination” (Valeriu Nicolae, 2006) and the broad understandings of it leave room for misrepresentation and misinterpretation, especially when it comes to media representation of the Roma. Therefore, the measures were strongly criticized by human rights organization, experts, and the European institutions, which attracted international media coverage



and thus instilled more fear in society's mindset when framing the stories about Roma minority in these troubled times (Martin Olivera, 2015 in Gil S., 2015). Nona Mayer (2015) observes the way how media uses prejudices to portray Roma people in newspapers, and she concludes that as a result, they are perceived by society as being 'different' and part of 'a special community' (Nonna Mayer, 2015 in Gil S., 2015).

On top of this, a report released by the European Roma and Travellers Forum in 2015, identified Roma people in Italy as 'nomads' despite only 3% of the Roma people in Italy having a nomadic lifestyle (ERTF, 2015). Nando Sigona, a scholar with expertise on Roma issues and migration, stated that in this case portraying the Roma as nomads would only fuel the anti-Gypsy sentiments within the population and strengthen the prejudice that Roma are stateless with different rights than that of other people (Nando Sigona in Mallardo Alfredo). The situation is similar in France where stereotypes towards "Roma's supposed delinquency, illicit means of acquiring revenue, foreign origin, lack of hygiene and non-respect of society" (ERRC, 2005, p.14) are promoted by political figures and the media. In line with that, a survey conducted by Pew Research Center in 2014, underlines that when it comes to unfavourable views of Roma widespread in Europe, Italy and France are the leading countries in this sense (see Annex 1).

More profoundly, analyzing the attitudes and sentiments of the majority in Europe towards the Roma, Muslims, and Jews, it has been deducted that anti-Gypsy sentiments are detrimental in most of the countries but highly relevant in Italy and France, 85%, respectively 66 % ( see Annex 2). Various Roma NGOs believe that the media is "playing an important role in exacerbating and perpetuating the widespread racism against Roma" (ERRC, 2005, 37) by displaying multitude of articles in which the Roma people are mostly associated with "the most violent and sensational crimes" (ERRC, 2005, 38)

**In this case, the research question of this thesis is: how do online international newspapers, focused on Italy in 2007 and France in 2010, fuel the anti-Gypsy sentiments in their news coverage when using sensationalistic features?**

To answer this question, it is essential to analyze the manner in which Roma people are reported on international newspapers, considering Van Dijk's (2000) thoughts on the role and power of the media in influencing public opinion. The media is constituting "the main source of people's knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies, both of other elites and of ordinary people" (Van Dijk, 2000, p.36). Similarly, Berkowics highlights the fact that the media has enormous power and stress the urgency to analyze this aspect:" How people react to the messages they read, hear or see, depends considerably on their interpretation of the messages, the idea they bring to the communication and the thoughts that are activated by it. It is therefore advisable to study media effects in a way that gives explicit attention to these matters" (Berkowis, 1984, in Price V. and Tewksbury D., 1997, p.184).

So far, research on the way how Roma are portrayed in international newspapers has been limited. Erjavec et al., (2000) and Disiderio (2012) are some of the researchers that have focused on how media portrays Roma people. However, Erjavec's research was dedicated to media representation in Slovenia (Erjavec et al. 2000), and Disiderio (2012) analysed an article from the British Tabloid The SUN, related to Roma people from the UK.

Consequently, this thesis's scope is first to cover the existing gap in this field by providing a theoretical and practical understanding of the relationship between sensationalism and anti-Gypsy sentiments in Europe. Second, as sensationalism refers mostly to how the news stories are framed in order to influence and attract the audience, the thesis seeks to provide relevant insights on understanding the role of the media and the attitudes created towards Roma

people from Europe. Additionally, analysing the way how the content of the news stories is framed when it comes to Roma people, will offer understanding into how to better use this tool in the process of combating the anti-Gypsy sentiments.

### *Structure of the thesis*

To present a general understanding on the issue, the first chapter will provide theoretical explanations on the history, meaning and features of sensationalism laying the groundwork for the thesis analytical content. Then, various theories on how anti-Gypsy sentiments have evolved and how the media uses these feelings in a sensationalistic manner to meet their purposes will be discussed. Here, one particular theory according to which, Roma people are portrayed by media as a threat to the social, economic and cultural order of society has been selected for in-depth study. This theory will reveal the extent to which Roma people are negatively perceived in society.

The second chapter will focus on describing the methodology that has been chosen to answer the main research question. A qualitative content analysis of online news articles from the international media with a particular focus on Romanian Roma immigration to Italy in 2007 and France in 2010 has been conducted. Proceeding, an analytical scheme has been developed to assess the articles in the third chapter of the thesis. Finally, in the concluding part, the overall findings and limitations will be presented.

## **Chapter 1 - Theories and Concepts of Sensationalism in Relation to anti-Gypsy Sentiments**

This chapter will attempt to provide answers to questions such as what is meant by sensationalism, and how is it connected to the spreading of anti-Gypsy sentiments? The chapter consists of two extensive sections, each one containing subsections and sub-subsections. The first part is a theoretical explanation of the concept of sensationalism and offers a synopsis of its history. It is vital to understand when and how sensationalism evolved to better understand the purpose of it and what it implies. Furthermore, this section provides various definitions of the concept of sensationalism so as to give an overview of different scholar's perspectives on the concept. Additionally, this section discusses the features of sensationalism such as arousing content, tabloid packaging and vivid storytelling which will be used later on in the analysis (except for tabloid packaging as it is not applicable to this case). The presented features, especially arousing content and vivid storytelling are considered very relevant when it comes to defining what is weighted as sensationalism in the content of a news story. Along with that, another three references will be presented as indicators of sensationalism: attentiveness, the tone of headlines and images- all of which will be used in the analytical part as well. The features and references of sensationalism add value to this study by strengthening the relevance of the analytical part to better differentiate between what is and what is not sensational news story.

The second part of this chapter contains theoretical information on how newspapers discuss ethnic stories in particularly Roma-related issues and how are these contributing to spreading anti-Gypsy sentiments. Considering various theoretical explanations on how anti-Gypsy sentiments evolved and how the media uses these sentiments in a sensationalistic manner,

one particular theory is selected for application in the analytical part. This theory according to which the Roma people are portrayed by media as a threat to the social, economic and cultural order of society, is considered to be the most suitable as it involves all the social stereotypes that Roma people are associated with, such as `aggressive, dangerous, thieves, criminals, dirty, lazy, with different skin colour, values and culture`.

### **1.1. Sensationalism in the Media**

Sensationalism can be traced back to before the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Stephens M, 2007). As stated by various scholars, sensationalism occurred already in the era of the penny press when crime reporting became the core of the news, something “different than politics and editorials” (Sloan W.D. and Parcell L.M, 2002, p.191). It started with the first penny newspaper in the US in 1883, The New York Sun which opened the floor for sensational news reporting focused on crime, violence, emotion, sex (Stephens M. 2007). It continued throughout other similar newspapers of W. R. Hearst and J. Pulitzer resulting in a different journalism considered to be more sensational with more aggressive, grisly and peculiar stories. The objective for many of these newspapers was to gain the attention of a broader audience. Thus in the process of making newspapers more attractive by lowering prices, promoting more stories on crimes, drama and with different illustrations, the concept of “yellow journalism” developed. This new term associated with sensationalism derives from the name of a popular cartoon character known as the “Yellow Kid” (Stephens M, 2007) over whom Hearst and Pulitzer were fighting for ownership rights in order to attract wider audiences. According to Sachsman and Bulla (2014), “yellow journalism is a flabby, imprecise term, at once provocative yet vague and empty [...]

with excess and exaggeration in news reporting” (David Sachsman and Bulla D.W., 2014, p.606). Based on these definitions, the term as such has a negative connotation as it suggests that it started the competition for ratings between newspapers and that exaggerated reporting implies that journalists will write anything no matter if biased or false to attract their desired audience.

In his book, *The History of News*, Stephens (2007) maintains that sensationalism is targeting a new type of audience, the one who has to be attracted by the news. For instance, George Taber, former business editor at *The Times Magazine*, noted in 2005 that “Sensationalism sells, and more people are more interested in the latest crime than they are in the development of a new form of energy” (Wharton University, 2013) which implies that those news stories which are catchy and more crime-focused will attract a broader audience. Stephens further explains that “sensationalism is unavoidable in the news, because we humans are weird, probably for reasons of natural selection, to alert to sensations, particularly those involving sex and violence” (Stephens M, 2007, p.113). Nevertheless, Stephens remarks that while journalists are displaying these aggressive and astonishing stories “not only do they paint a grotesque face on the world, but they deprive their audience of the opportunity to examine subtler occurrences with larger consequences” (Stephens M, 2007, p.113).

### **1.1.1. What is sensationalism?**

Before the rise of the penny press, the term “sensationalism” was defined as a “perception by means of the senses” (Johnson`s Dictionary of 1755 in Grabe et al. 2001, p.637). Interestingly, at this point, the term was not associated with negative connotations. In time, however, it became increasingly negative in its use. In 1987, the Random House Dictionary defined sensationalism as

an “intention to produce a startling or thrilling impression or to excite and please vulgar tastes” (The Random House Dictionary, 1987 in Grabe et al., 2001, p.637).

Seemingly, these dictionary definitions, along with other various scholar definitions such as “sensationalism stimulates unwholesome emotional responses” (Mott, 1982, p. 442 in Grabe et al., 2001) or “sensational news appeals to our basic needs and instincts” (Davis and McLeod 2003, in Wang 2012, p. 712) are very much linking sensationalism with the human sensory system (Grabe et al., 2001, 637).

Moreover, sensationalism has long been associated with tabloids as regards to the specific way of reporting within newspapers. Several scholars consider that tabloids “describe the desirable infiltration into the news media of the everyday concerns of non-elite readers” (Rowe, 2011, p.452). Thus, the concept of a tabloid is associated with “the deterioration of serious news gathering, reporting, and analysis” (Fiske, 1992; Hartley, 1996; Lumby, 1999 in Rowe, 2011, p. 452).

Hence, the term of sensationalism was considered an inclination to tabloids news topics that are “displacing socially significant stories [...] overpowering substantive information” (Bek, 2004; Grabe et al., 2001; Wang and Cohen, 2009 in Wang, 2012, p.712). Nevertheless, as many scholars agree upon, the reason for tabloids relying on sensationalism is to attract a broad as possible audience and subsequently increase the sales and market value (Wang, 2012).

Sparks and Tulloch (2000) believe that tabloids have two features that should be taken into consideration when defined: their topics are comprised of scandals and entertainment, and they do not cover news on politics, economics, and society. What sensationalism brings to the table is the appeal to drama and flashy images that easily attracts a larger audience. Based on these perspectives the sensationalism and tabloids terms appear to be interrelated. However,

according to Knight (1989), there is a fine line between these two concepts. For him “sensational story content consists of sex, scandals, crime or corruption” (Knight, 1989 in Wang, 2012, p.714).

### **1.1.2. Features of sensationalism**

Numerous studies of sensationalism have identified three main categories which fit under sensationalism: “arousing content”, “tabloid packaging” and “vivid storytelling” (Grabe et al., 2003 in Hendricks et al., 2006, p.3).

#### **1.1.2.1. Arousing content**

Traditionally, sensationalism refers to story content focusing mostly on “crime, violence, natural disaster, accidents and fires” (Adams, 1978 in Hendricks P., 2006, p.2). The content of these stories points out the surveillance aspect found in the first dimension of sensationalism namely, arousing content. According to various scholars, arousing content is used as an extension of dramatic content which suggests” subjects matter dealing with crime, violence, natural disasters and accidents” (Hendricks Vettehen, d`Haenens, and Kleemans, 2009 in Trisha T.C. Lin et al., 2014, p.6). Furthermore, the same authors consider that there is a second variation of arousing content, namely the dramatic picture. This variation points to the use of images with dangerous messages such as violence, wars, disasters, death, and physical trauma (Slattery and Hakanen, 1994, Hendricks et al. 2005 in Trisha T.C. Lin et al., 2014, p. 6).

#### **1.1.2.2. Tabloid packaging**

Apart from the content itself, the form used to deliver the message can fascinate an audience and provoke arousal (Grabe et al., 2003). In this context, message form refers to the



usage of the tabloid packaging dimension in the television and broadcasting industry. Therefore, this aspect will not be evaluated as the focus of this thesis is on newspapers and not the television forum.

### **1.1.2.3. Vivid Storytelling**

The third key way in which sensationalism can be analysed is by vivid storytelling. In the words of Hendriks (2012), this category is used to shorten the distance between audience's real world and the remote news context" (Hendriks et al. 2012 in TrishaT.C. Lin et al., 2014 p 6) by involving "ordinary people to personalize and dramatize news" (Wang, 2012, p 3). Examples of such vivid storytelling are "the insertion of brief comments by layperson on an issue in news stories (in order to exemplify the public opinion concerning the issue) and the insertion of a report on an individual case history (in order to illuminate a social problem)" (Hendriks et al, 2006, p.3). Basically, according to the scholars, vivid storytelling assumes that ordinary people are selected and used in the news reports to personalize and sensationalize the stories.

### **1.1.3. Sensationalism in newspapers. Framing the story**

As previously mentioned, many scholars have associated sensationalism with tabloids and newspapers. The concept as such describes the way journalists develop and distribute news to fascinate their audience and draw into the story (regardless of whether the information is true or not).

In the words of Richardson (2006), the creation of news is a "a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories" (Richardson, 2006, p. 77) which implies that in order to achieve

high ratings and sales, news topics and content have to comply with the demands and tastes of society. Thus, the author concludes that the truthfulness of a story dwindles away and the news is increasingly becoming a product of the market system (Richardson, 2006). Many scholars in this sense underlined the fact that the audience will always buy newspapers that advertise its pre-conceived beliefs and attitudes (Desiderio, 2012, in Richardson, 2006). Duca (2009) suggests that this is very biased. Hence, in order to avoid it, the author notes that it is vital for journalists to understand "the impact that sensational and inaccurate information can have on promoting misconceived public perceptions" (Duca et al., 2009, p. 164).

The technique according to which sensational stories are created to attract an audience regardless of they are true or not, is called framing (Duca et al., 2009). Framing is the same method that McCombs (2014), referred to, in 1972 as the agenda-setting theory and later on in 1974, Goffman (1974) renamed it as the framing theory.

The difference between the two is that the agenda setting theory from 1972 referred to the fact that the media can set the agenda in such a way that they can influence the audience on what to think. In contrast, the 1974 framing theory refuted this argument and sustained that media should „frame" the stories to tell the audience how to think about an issue instead of what to think.

Answering the question of why agenda setting or framing theory occurs, scholars argue that "at the psychological level, every individual has a need for orientation." (McCombs et al., 2014, p.783). This scientifically proven statement highlights the power of media to manipulate its readers by selecting what they should read and implying what they should think (McCombs et al., 2014).

The manner in which news reports are presented has a considerable importance as some scholars argue that this aspect affects how the audience perceives the news (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007, p. 11). Relatedly, Robert M. Entman mentions some details of how a communicated text exerts its power and define framing as the selection of "some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Salient in this sense refers to "making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful or memorable to audience" and "categories, scripts or stereotypes connote mentally stored clusters of an idea that guide individuals in processing of information" (Graber 1988 in Entman, 1993 p. 53). Apparently, media can "both set, and change policy agendas through mobilization of the public and its opinion" (Duca, 2009, p. 163) and the sensational issues characterized by complexity and drama are those that the media takes for granted (Walgrave et al. 2007).

Goffman (1974) explains that frameworks are tools used by individuals to interpret the real facts and events occurring in the world. Further, he clarifies that people understand the facts and events by using references that media relies on when reporting on said facts and events. Scholars claim that attentiveness (Downs, 1972), tones of the headlines (Duca, 2009, Van Dijk, 2000) and images (Newton, 1998) are references that are taken into consideration when journalists frame a new story. However, when used with intent to increase sales and market values, these references can become accurate indicators of sensationalism (Wang, 2012)

#### 1.1.3.1. Attentiveness

"Attentiveness" or attention is a key factor of sensationalism that influences attitudes and behaviors (Downs, 1972). Downs work on the *'issue-attention cycle'* gives insights into "how long public attentions is likely to remain sufficiently focused on any given issue to generate enough political pressure to cause effective change" (Downs, 1972, p.38). According to him, "a problem must be dramatic and exciting to maintain public interest" (Downs, 1972, p.42). Along with that, the author suggests that such attention is reserved only for issues like "poverty, racism, poor public transportation, low-quality education, crime, drug addiction and unemployment, among other" (Downs, 1972, p.42). These problems are more likely to go through the issue-attention cycle if complying with three following characteristics: "the number of persons that suffer from the problem should be large absolutely but small relatively (less than 15% of the entire population); the suffering caused by the problem are generated by social arrangements that provide significant benefits to a majority or a powerful minority of the population, and lastly the problem has no intrinsically exciting qualities" (Downs, 1972, p.42). This means that public interest can decrease regardless topic if the media stops its intensive reporting of the issue. As many scholars agree on, gaining the attention of the audience on the news and retaining it means a broader audience which will increase the sales and the market value (Wang, 2012, Downs, 1972, Richardson, 2007).

#### 1.1.3.2. Tone of the headlines

Duca (2009) discovered that the tone of a news article, starting with the headlines is the most crucial part of story framing. In his study, he specifies the two most common tones used to attract audiences namely *the dramatic and highly sensational content* one and that of shock, *which leading to fear and anger* with the audience. As Van Dijk (2000) argues, headlines are the

most likely to be memorized, and therefore a negative and/or positive headline can easily generate negative and/or positive attitudes with the reader. Ultimately, sensational headlines are constituents that attract and stir up powerful emotions such as fear, shock, and anger (Duca, 2009, Goffman, 1974, Van Dijk, 2000).

Along the same line, Goffman (1974) argues that the role of the media in framing theory is not only to influence the audience's way of thinking but also about instilling fear, thus forcing individuals to think in a certain way.

#### 1.1.3.3. Images

In addition to headlines, images incorporated in news content, are easily memorized by the audience (Newton, 1998, Knoblock et al., 2003). Newton (1998, p.9) called images a "seeing-is-believing phenomenon," a description that highlights the immense power of an image attached to a story. Firstly it draws the audience in to read the news by capturing its attention and afterward manipulating it (Gibson, 1991 in Knoblock, 2003). In the words of Newton, this can be explained based on a psychological statement according to which "human tendency is to believe what we see even though we know better" (Newton, 1998, p 9).

There are numerous investigations on the effects of the images in newspapers, whether they are better memorized, better at attracting readers or better at influencing the perceptions. The investigation of Zillman, Knobloch, and Yu from 2001 is particularly worth mentioning as they identify two image variations when manipulating or influencing perceptions. On one side, images are *threatening or agonistic* when used as "iconic depictions that signals threats to human welfare, especially when they extend to self, and that show other's acute suffering of harm and the grievous aftermath of destructive happenings" (Zillman et al., 2001, in Knoblock 2003, p.4 ). On

the other hand, images are *innocuous*, referring here to those lacking the victimization aspect. The authors note that incorporation of threatening images attracted more attention from the readers and doubled the rate of article reading while innocuous images kept it at a moderate rate (Knoblock et al., 2003, p. 5).

## **1.2. Anti-Gypsyism in Newspapers**

Van Dijk (2000) observes that when it comes to the content of news coverage on ethnic minorities and immigrants, certain events are being highlighted and advertised such as: "new (illegal) immigrants are arriving, political response to policies about (new) immigration; reception problems (housing, etc.); social problems (employment, welfare, etc.); response of the population (resentment, etc.); cultural characterisation: how are they different?; complications and negative characterization: how are they deviant?; focus on threats: violence, crime, drugs, prostitution; political response: policies to stop immigration, expulsion and so on; integration conflicts" (VanDijk, 2000, p 38). These topics might look neutral at first glance, however in the case of minorities and immigrants the negative way of framing, completely changes the way these groups are perceived by the majority of society. Additionally, Van Dijk (2000) mentioned that there are other topics that are intentionally left out by the media regarding ethnic immigrants such as "contribution of immigrant workers to the society, everyday life of minority communities or events about manifestation of racism towards minorities" (Van Dijk, 2000, p.38). In this case, one can observe that news coverage on the Roma immigration issue focuses on the negative aspect, ignoring the reason behind Roma immigration, which is disturbing considering the social economic status of the Roma group. According to a World Bank report from 2015, in Eastern Europe, "71% or more of Roma households live in deep poverty" (World Bank, 2015).

### 1.2.1. `Socially constructed set of categories` towards Roma

Besides favouring the more convenient topics, journalists also make use of the “socially constructed set of categories” (Richardson, 2006). In the case of Roma minority, they rely on anti-Gypsy sentiments that are already widespread in society “to comply with the demands and tastes of the society” (Richardson, 2006, p 77) and thus to increase their sales and the market value.

Bancroft (2005) mentions two scholars’ relevant perspectives to explain the anti-Gypsy sentiment established in society’s understanding of the Roma people. One explanation relies on Barth (1969) view according to which Gypsies are considered the so-called pariahs of Europe, “a minority which carries out certain functional tasks, within a larger society” (Barth 1996 in Bancroft, 2005, 106). Accordingly, Roma are the ones “who operate internal borders maintenance and actively differentiate themselves from the gadje” (Barth 1996 in Bancroft, 2005, 97).

The second explanation on anti-Gypsy sentiment is given by Marlene Sway (1975). She relies on Simmel’s concept of `Stranger` to do so. The concept refers to that group who does not have a land and “it is easily made into a scapegoat for the problems of the majority group [...] It is a parasite who is taking from the community and not giving to it“ (Simmel, 1950 in Bancroft 2005, 166). Furthermore, the author highlights the present and modern aspect in which the Stranger concept is applied, and she maintains that Roma people are currently portrayed as constituting a problem for social, economic and cultural order. Supporting this idea, Erjavec, K., Hrvatin S. And B., Kelbl (2000) outline that, media portrays `Roma as a threat to the social, economic and cultural order`. As regard to Roma being a threat to the social order, the author

confirms that media frequently portrays Roma people as “aggressive and dangerous [...] (by nature) thieves and criminals”. As regards to the economic order, Roma represent a threat because “they are idle, and lazy and they live on social assistance” (Erjavec, K., Hrvatin S. B., Kelbl, 2000, p.7) and lastly Roma represents a threat to the cultural order because “they differ from the majority population by their look (skin colour), they have a different culture, values, and habits, they are inadapted, and their natality is too high” (Erjavec, K., Hrvatin S. B., Kelbl, 2000, p.7).

Many scholars refer to these as “socially constructed set of categories” (Richardson 2006) or social stereotypes (Ashmore Del Boca, 1981; Hamilton and Troler, 1986 in Domke, McCoy and Torres, 1999, p. 572) which agreed by many scholars, from a psychological perspective, racial stereotypes are “mentally available for most individuals; they are present in long-term memory from which they can be retrieved and used in applicable context” (Aldrich, Sullivan and Borgida, 1989; Higgin and King, 1981 in Domke, McCoy and Torres, 1999, p. 572). However, it is not just stereotypes that influence people’s attitude, but also the way these stereotypes are used by journalists when framing the news stories about Roma people.

### **1.2.2. Anti-Gypsy sentiments**

The anti-Gypsy sentiment is “indicating the specific expression of biases, prejudices, and stereotypes that motivate the everyday behaviour of many members of majority groups towards the members of Roma,” (Council of Europe, 2012, p. 39) and is deeply rooted in Europe. I used the term “Gypsy” and not “Roma” as people are afraid of those portrayed in the public imaginary as “Gypsy.” A report from 2008 released by the European Commission revealed that “24% of the Europeans would feel uncomfortable with having a Roma neighbour”, showing that negative



attitudes towards Roma people in Europe are more widespread than for any other ethnic group (Eurobarometer, 2008, p.10), (see Annex 2). Another survey from 2009 by the Fundamental Rights Agency confirms that when asked about their experiences of discrimination in everyday life the Roma responded that they had been discriminated; “at least once in previous twelve months and 81% of them who indicated they were victims of assault, threats or serious harassment, considered that their victimization was racially motivated” (FRA, 2009).

European countries such as Belgium, the Czech Republic, Latvia, Portugal, Slovenia, Switzerland, Slovakia, Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, Lithuania, Moldova, Romania, Hungary, Spain, Italy, Greece, and France are mentioned in the report released by the European Council, as the ones in which officials, political parties, and media are stigmatizing the rhetoric against Roma (Council of Europe 2012, p.41). According to a survey of Pew Research Center, Italy and France are the countries in which the anti-Gypsy sentiments are more prevalent (see Annex 1).

For instance, in Italy in 2007, people believed that “Roma believe theft to be virtually legitimate and not immoral; Roma believe not working is legitimate because the women have to do so by prostituting themselves; Roma have no scruples about kidnapping children or having children for the purpose of begging” (Council of Europe 2012, 42-43). Furthermore, exploring the anti-Gypsy sentiments within the country, the Italian Senate Commission on Human Rights conducted a survey in 2011 that revealed preconceived attitudes and perceptions of the Italian population towards Roma. According to this survey, “84% of the participants presumed that the majority of Roma people adopt nomadic lifestyles; another 92% thought that petty theft and shoplifting are an integral part of the Roma culture, while 82% of the participants believed that those communities have deliberately chosen to live in camp sites at the edge of ‘our cities’” (Senate of the Italian Republic, 2011 in Mallardo A.).

Another example is found in France 2010, where “prejudicial generalizations “about the Roma from Romania as a collective group were made by the French public officials and media so as to expel them. Mostly, they were referring to Roma as a “threat against public securing” (Council of Europe 2012, p 42).

In both cases, the Romanian Government’s response to the Italian and French Government in 2007, and 2010 fuelled anti-Gypsy sentiments against the Romanian Roma people by stating that “Romania’s image abroad was harmed by Roma beggars on every street corner” (Council of Europe, p 43). In a similar tone, Adrian Cioroianu, the Foreign Affairs Minister considered “to buy a piece of land in the Egyptian desert to send there all the people who tarnish the country’s image” (Council of Europe, 2012, p 44).

## **Chapter 2 - Methodology**

In order to answer the research question on how online international newspapers, focused on Italy in 2007 and France in 2010, are fueling anti-Gypsy sentiments in their news coverage when using sensationalistic features, this following chapter will provide a description and definition of the method chosen to conduct the analysis. Also, the chapter presents a justification of why the selected method is the most suitable to answer the question. Therefore, the first section of this chapter will be focused on describing the research design and data sources while the second section describes the analytical scheme applied to conduct the analysis.

### ***2.1. Research Design and Data Sources***

The research question will be answered through qualitative research. The method is based on content analysis of randomly selected online articles from the international media with a particular focus on Romanian Roma immigration to Italy in 2007 and to France in 2010.

According to Prasad (2008), content analysis refers to “any procedure for assessing the relative extent to which specified references, attitudes or themes permeate in a given message or document” (Prasad, 2008, p.174). Weber (1985) defines it as “a research methodology that utilizes a set of procedures to make valid inferences about the sender(s) of the message, the message itself or the audience” (Weber 1985 in Prasad, 2008, p.174). Based on these definitions, one can understand content analysis as a way of drawing valid and objective conclusions about the message. In his study, Prasad (2008) highlights a couple of arguments that are relevant to justify why the choice of method in this thesis.

Firstly, related to the material that content analysis can be applied to, it is argued that it mostly consists of “letters, diaries, newspaper content, short stories, messaged of Radio, Television, documents, text or any symbols” (Prasad, 2008, p.175). Secondly, related to the applicability of the content analysis method, he argues that “it is widely used in social science and mass communication research [...] and its most important applications has been to study social phenomenon such as prejudice, discrimination or changing cultural symbol in the communication content” (Prasad, 2008, p.177). Thus, the content analysis method is relevant for the analysis of the 53 online newspapers and in responding to the research question.

The articles were chosen randomly based on desk research using google.com as a search engine. The search involved the use of Google tabs *Web* and *News* and the search parameters were put in quotes: *Roma people in Italy in 2007, Roma immigrants in Italy in 2007, Immigrants in Italy in 2007, Roma crimes in Italy in 2007, Giovanna Reggiani death in Italy, Roma repatriation program in France in 2010, Roma crimes in France 2010, Roma Immigrants in France 2010, Immigrants in France 2010, Gypsy crimes in France in 2010.*

## **2.2. Data Analysis**

An analytical scheme was created to analyse in detail the randomly selected online news articles. Out of 53 articles, 29 articles focus on Romanian Roma immigrants in Italy in 2007 and the other 25 articles are about Romanian Roma Immigrants in France in 2010. The sample reflects the limited length of this master thesis and time limitation. There is certainly room to include a larger number of articles for analysis, which could potentially be considered as a follow-up.

As shown by the analytical scheme (see Annex 3, and Annex 5), the selected articles are analysed according to the tone of the headlines, images, and content. The headlines of the articles and the date were the decisive factors in the selection process. In order to prove the hypothesis of the thesis (sensationalism fuels anti-Gypsy sentiments across Europe), each dimension is measured in conformity with the proposed theoretical framework from chapter one.

### **2.2.1. Tone of the headline**

When measuring the tone of the headline, the theory of Duca (2009) will be considered, according to which, there are two common tones used by journalists to attract their audience: the dramatic and highly sensational and the one of shock, instilling fear and anger within the audience. In this context, both tones are considered part of sensationalism and will, therefore, constitute one category of dramatic tone that is threatening and is instilling fear. Along with that, a neutral category is taken into consideration when it comes to the tone of headlines to avoid bias. Consequently, the articles will be analysed as to whether they have headlines with a neutral or a dramatic and threatening tone. For a better understanding on how Roma could constitute a threat to society, the theory of Erjavec k, Hrvatin S. and Kelbl B (2000) will be used (see section 1.2.1). These authors follow up on Simmel's concept; the Stranger and claim that Roma are portrayed as a threat to the social, economic and cultural orders of the society (Erjavec, et.al.2000). In this analysis, the three orders will better define the aspect in which Roma are mostly negatively perceived. According to Erjavec (2000), Roma as a *social threat* are portrayed as criminals, thieves aggressive and dangerous; as an *economic threat*, they are described as being lazy and not contributing to the society, and as a *cultural threat* they are portrayed as having different skin color, different culture, and values. Therefore, the three orders will represent the subcategories of the dramatic tone of the headline category.

### 2.2.2. Images

Zillman, Knoblock, and Yu study (Knoblock, 2013) on images has an important impact on analyzing how images can play an important role when framing the news story about Roma people. The two image variation that they identified: threatening and innocuous (see section 1.1.4.3.) will constitute the categories under which the 53 articles will be analyzed. A no image category will be created to avoid bias. As related to the category of threatening images, the same strategy as for the threatening tone of the headlines will be used. Again the three orders of Erjavec, Hrvatin S. and Kelbl B. (2000) theory will be utilized as a subcategory of the threatening images category so as to differentiate between the aspects in which Roma are negatively perceived.

### 2.2.3. Content

In line with the research question, the content aspect is strongly correlated with the features of sensationalism which is found in the study of authors like Grabe et al., 2003 and Hendricks et al, 2006. Throughout the first chapter of the thesis, several relevant features of sensationalism are mentioned such as arousing/dramatic content (see section 1.1.3.1), vivid storytelling (see section 1.1.3.3) and attentiveness/attention (see section 1.1.4.1). The articles will therefore, be analysed as to whether they are *sensational or non-sensational* taking into consideration the three features of sensationalism: *arousing/dramatic content*, described by the authors as content focused mostly on “crime, violence, natural disaster, accidents and fires” (Adams, 1978 in Hendricks et al, 2006, p.2). Second, by vivid *storytelling*, a category used to shorten the distance between an audience’s real world and the remote news context” (Hendriks et

al., 2012 in Trisha T.C. Lin et al. 2014, p. 6) by involving “ordinary people to personalise and dramatize news” (Wang, 2012, p. 3) and third, *attentiveness* which involves the compliance of the articles content with three characteristics (see section 1.1.4.1). In order to define if an article is attractive in a sensational manner, these characteristics will be taken into consideration. Any article not encompassed by any of the three subcategories of the sensational category is considered non-sensational.

After analyzing each of the selected news articles according to the analytical scheme, the thesis will conclude whether the articles are sensational or not and to what extent they are negatively focused on social, economic or cultural aspect.

## Chapter 3 - Content Analysis and Findings

The following online newspapers have been identified as reporting about the Romanian Roma immigrants in Italy in 2007 and France in 2010: Dailymail.co.uk; Nytimes.com; Spiegel.de/international/Europe; Theguardian.com; NewZealandherald.co; Worldpoliticsreview.com; Abc.net; Irishtimes.com; Washingtonpost.com; LosAngelestimes.com; Economist.com; Express.co.uk; Italy.org; Telegraph.co.uk; BBC.co.uk; Italychronicles.com; DW.com; Independent.co.uk; TheSydneyMorningHerald.com; EveningStandard.co.uk; Expactica.news.com; TheGlobeandMail.com; UKReuters.com; Balkaninsight.com; FinancialTimes.com.

Looking at the names of these online newspapers is evident that they have a global scope. Europe, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and the United States are some of the continents and countries of the newspapers represented by the above listed, illustrating the broad coverage this topic received in the international media.

### **3.1. Analysis of news articles on Romanian Roma immigrants in Italy in 2007**

Of the selected news articles on the Romanian Roma immigrants in Italy 2007, 28 articles were chosen based on their headline and date. Accordingly, the search involved the use of Google tabs namely *Web* and *News*, and the search parameters were put in quotes: *Roma people in Italy in 2007, Roma immigrants in Italy in 2007, Immigrants in Italy in 2007, Roma crimes in Italy in 2007, Giovanna Reggiani death in Italy*. After analyzing the articles according to the chosen analytical scheme, the following observations have been made:



Regarding, the headlines tone, shown in Figure1, none of the 28 articles analyzed was considered as having a neutral tone, but rather a dramatic tone instilling fear and a sense of threat. According to the theoretical consideration from the first chapter, the tone of the headline is one of the crucial references used by journalists to frame a news story. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the tone of dramatic and threatening which Duca (2009) identified (see section 1.1.3.2), one can argue that the headlines tone reporting on the Romanian Roma immigrants in Italy 2007 has a sensational character which attracts readers and generates powerful emotions such as fear, shock, and anger (Duca, 2009; Gofman, 1974, Van Dijk, 2000).

Furthermore, relying on the theory (see section 1.2.1) according to which Roma are portrayed as a threat to the social, economic, and cultural order in society, the analysis shows that even in the headline Roma people are being portrayed even as a threat to the social order (see Figure 1).

In 25 articles of the 28 articles analysed, Roma people were associated with metaphors such as `savage murder`, `brutal attack`, `threat`, `collective expulsions`, `criminality`, `disharmony`, `tension`, `deportation`, `fear`, `robbery`, `racial strains`, `racism`, `gypsy expulsion`, `brutal sex attack`, `scandal` (see Annex 3), which reinforces the stereotypes according to which Roma are “aggressive and dangerous, thieves, and criminals” (Erjavec et al, 2000). Based on that analogy, according to many scholars, portraying Roma as a threat to the social order of the society using these metaphors constitutes sensationalism (Grabe, 2001; Wang, 2012).

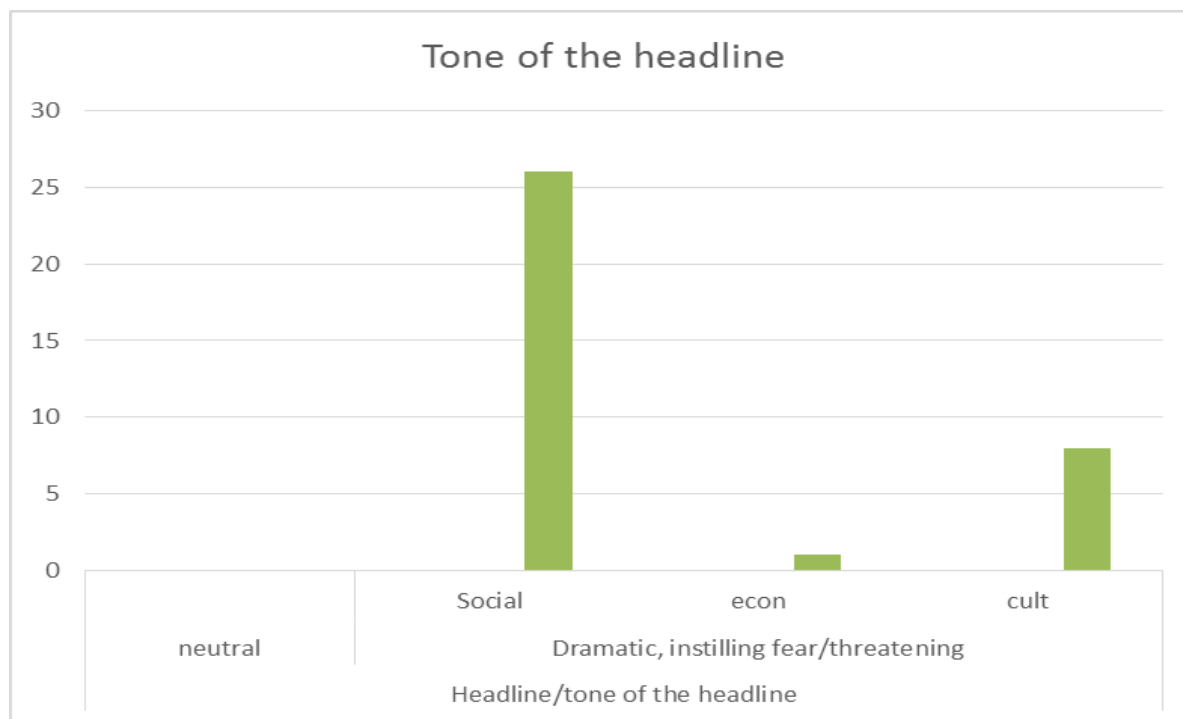


Figure 1 Tone of the headlines in news articles on Romanian Roma Immigrants in Italy 2007; Source: Author's compilation based on research data

Concerning images as a reference used to frame a news story; only 14 of the 28 articles had attached images. Of these 14 images, as shown in Figure 2, 5 images were innocuous (in this case neutral), and the remaining 9 were images that portrayed Roma as a threat to the social (see Annex 4.1; 4.2; 4.4; 4.6; 4.7; 4.8), economic (see Annex 4.3; 4.5), and cultural (see Annex 4.2; 4.5) order of society. The images accompanying the articles primarily show Italian police arresting Roma people (see Annex 4.1; 4.6; 4.7) and dismantling Roma camps (see Annex 4.8). Thus, the images instigate fear and shock to the audience. Furthermore, images are showing Roma people in crowds having different skin color, and appearing as dirty, poor, and angry (see Annex 4.2; 4.3). There is also an image with the description “many of Italy's Romanian immigrants are Roma gypsies” (see Annex 4.5). This image portrays two women with three children, dressed up colorfully enforcing the stereotypes that Roma people have different culture,

habits, and values. Finally, a picture of Nicolae Mailat, the Roma protagonist of the crime scene (see Annex 4.4), is presented in many articles instilling fear and reinforcing the stereotypes of Roma as being criminals. As with the tone of headlines, the analysis of the 28 articles revealed that images are also an indicator indicating that most of the time Roma people are presented as a threat to the social order (see Figure 2). Moreover, the images are sensational as they consist of showing “*crime, violence, drama*” (Knight, 1989, in Wang 2012, p714).

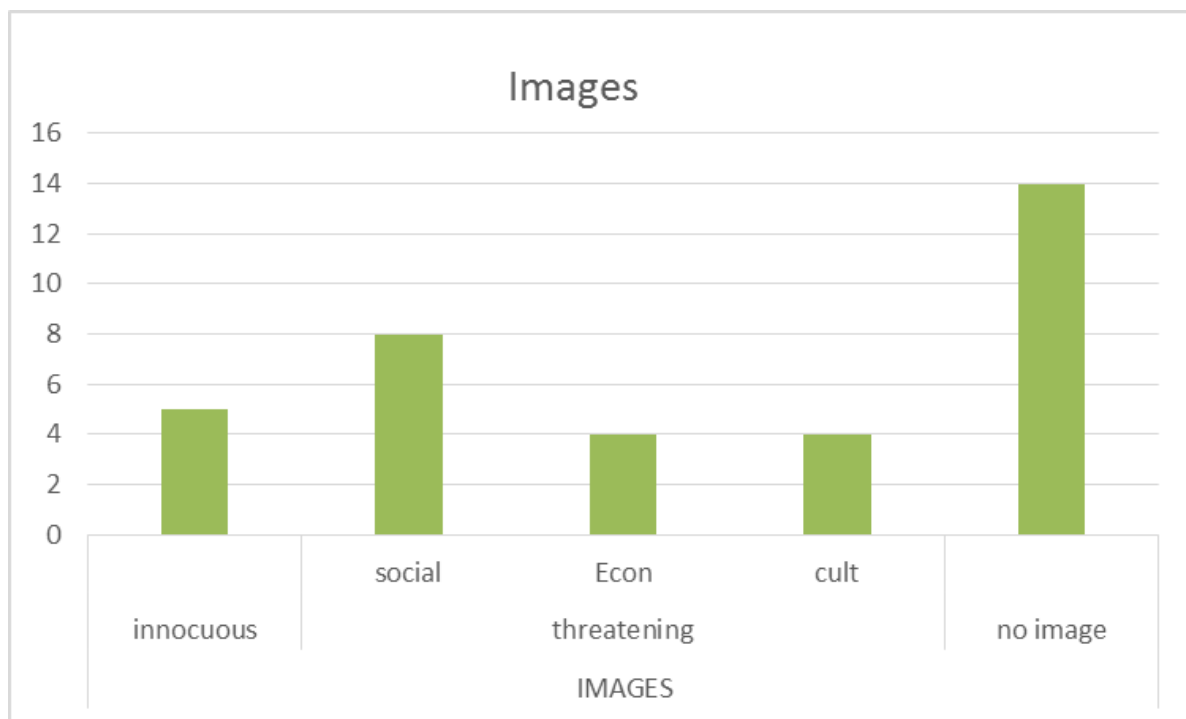


Figure 2 Images attached to news articles on Romanian Roma Immigrants in Italy 2007; Source: Author’s compilation based on research data

The content of the 28 analysed articles proved to be sensational, shown in Figure 3. Each of the randomly selected articles appeared to have dramatic content. Out of this sample, 17 articles include vivid storytelling and 21 contain elements of attentiveness. As previously mentioned, the dramatic content is quite obvious as it is also observed in the tone of the headlines and images.

Other than that, the story content is mostly about the murder of a woman, and thus the content is focusing on describing the crime scene and the consequences that follow afterwards: racist attacks, expulsion, and fingerprints databases. Based on this, the content can be said to be sensational, considering the theoretical explanation given in chapter one (see section 1.1.3.1).

30% of the articles include vivid storytelling and involve ordinary people in the story to increase its credibility and personalise it so that the audience feels closer to the topic. A hotel worker: *“Because you hear so many bad things, people are just afraid”* (Fischer I. 2007); the president of Rome Residents Association: *“These are not immigrants who came here to live, but criminal types”* (Daily Mail, 2007), the president of the Association of Roma and Romanian Political Refugees in Italy: *“The situation for Romanians is very tense. Some are afraid to go out on the streets or to work”* (Barry C., 2007), and other ordinary people, Roma: *“It's very dangerous for us here, People want to kill us”* (Daily Mail, 2007) and Italian: *“I've no objection to them being here as such. But if they don't have regular work and a steady income, if they have to rob and murder to stay alive, it would be better if they went home”* (Popham P., 2007) were just some of the people whose statements rely on words such as *criminals, fear, robbery, danger* which serves to dramatize the stories and implies a strong sentiment against Roma and Romanians who should *‘go home’*. Additionally, “in order to illuminate the problem” (Hendriks et al, 2006, p.3), Nicolae Mailat's case history is incorporated in all the articles from the sample proposed which appears to be generally exaggerated: *“Nicolae MAILAT- a 24-year-old Romanian youth was arrested Tuesday and stands accused of being Reggiani's assailant, which he denies. Her assault prompted an emergency decree Wednesday to facilitate expulsions of EU citizens considered a security threat”* (DW, 2007).

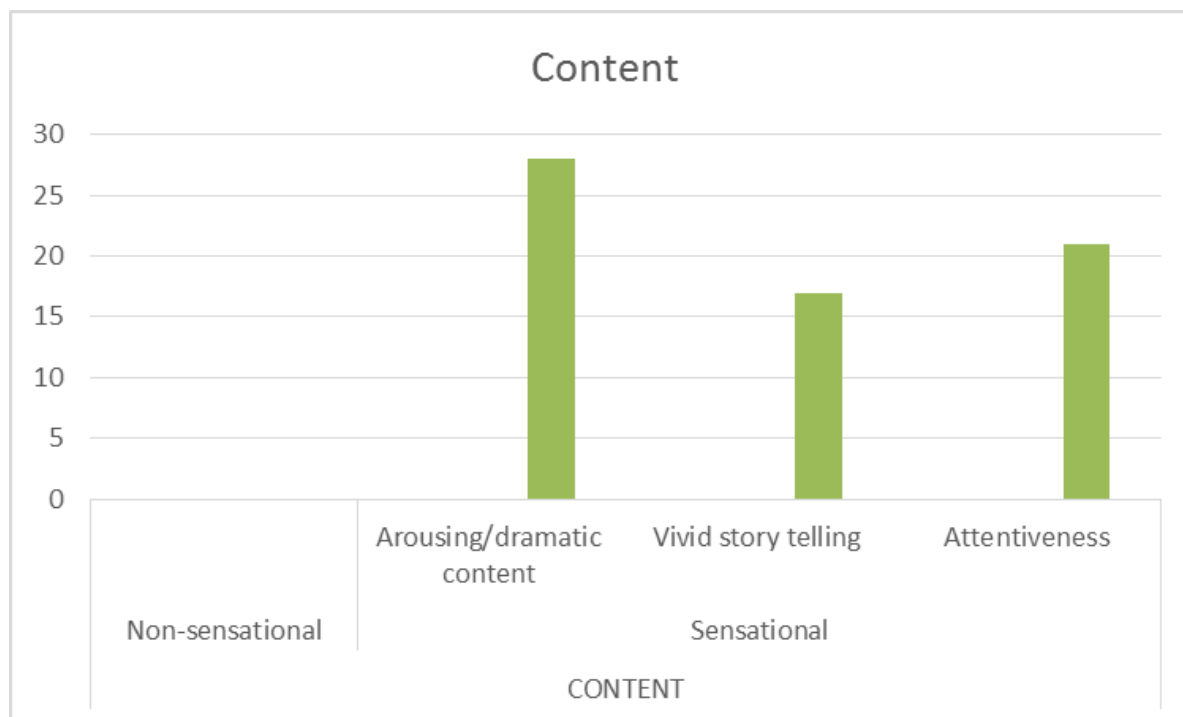


Figure 3 Content of news articles on Romanian Roma Immigrants in Italy 2007; Source: Author's compilation based on research data

Some characteristics of the concept of attentiveness are found in the content of the analysed news articles as Figure 3 shows, 21 of the 28 articles present some form of sensational indicators that according to the theoretical explanation in section 1.1.4.1., aim to attract and to retain the audience's attention. One of the condition according to which a story will attract attention is to focus on the number of persons suffering in the story. The analysis revealed that Romanian immigrants, the people who are suffering in this case, are *"more than 550,000 Romanians, or 15% of the immigrant population"* (Moore M. and Waterfield B., 2007). Nevertheless, the focus of the thesis is on the Romanian Roma immigrants and not Romanian only, but there is no statistical information related to Roma immigrants as such. Although the reason behind this given in Italy is that *"not everybody chooses to differentiate between ordinary Romanians and the*

*Roma community*” (Agnew P. 2007) this, nevertheless, exacerbates the problem by suggesting that there is no knowledge regarding this minority among society.

Another one of the 28 articles pointed out that *“more than 75 per cent of all crime in the capital is now carried out by Romanians since they were allowed to travel freely at the start of this year. They have been responsible for 76 murders, more than 300 rapes, and 2,000 robberies, according to police statistics. Nearly 400 Romanians have been charged with kidnappings, mostly involving prostitution, and 6,000 with receiving stolen goods”* (Daily Mail, 2007). Every article analysed in the sample has incorporated such statistical data about Romanians, or Roma. Once again, considering the fact that most Roma people were the ones who were expelled, *“Romanians, especially Gypsies, are targeted for deportation [...] 30 people have been rounded up and ordered deported, all of them thought to be Romanians and many of Roma, or Gypsy, background”* (Wilkinson T., 2007), the hypothesis, in this case, is that the audience tends to associate all the crimes with Roma people. These news excerpts illustrate how media fuels anti-Gypsy sentiments by outlining all such statistical numbers.

The articles also adhere to the two other conditions of attentiveness as they consistently emphasize that the situation in Italy was better before the arrival of the Romanian Roma *“before January 2007 Rome was the safest big city in the world”* (Moore M., 2007). Here it is implied that if the Roma minority were expelled, it would benefit the Italian majority. Last but not least, the condition according to which the problem has no intrinsically exciting qualities is also applicable on the assumption that people`s interest in this regard would not increase if media does not report on the issue. Therefore, one can argue that the articles are attractive in a sensational manner due to all three conditions of attentiveness being applicable (see section1.1.4.1).

### **3.2. Analysis of news articles on Romanian Roma immigrants in France in 2010**

As regards to the situation of Romanian Roma immigrants in France 2010, 25 articles were randomly selected based on their headline and date. The search process involved the use of Google tabs *Web* and *News*, and the search parameters were put in quotes: *Roma repatriation program in France in 2010*, *Roma crimes in France 2010*, *Roma Immigrants in France 2010*, *Immigrants in France 2010*, *Gypsy crimes in France in 2010*.

As with Italy (see Figure 4) none of the 25 news articles were neutral in tone but instead can be considered dramatic and threatening and thus sensational. In France, the Romanian Roma immigrants were primarily perceived as a threat to the social order *`Illegal Roma`*; *`Roma deportations`*; *`War Against the Roma`*; *`Roma in Crime Crackdown`*; *`Roma immigrants`*; *`The Closure Of 300 Gypsy Camps`*; *`Gypsies back to Romania`*; *`gypsy deportation`* all of which highlight the extent to which Roma are unwanted in France, strengthening the social stereotypes according to which Roma are seen as the *`the pariah`* and the *`strangers`* of society (see section 1.2.1.).

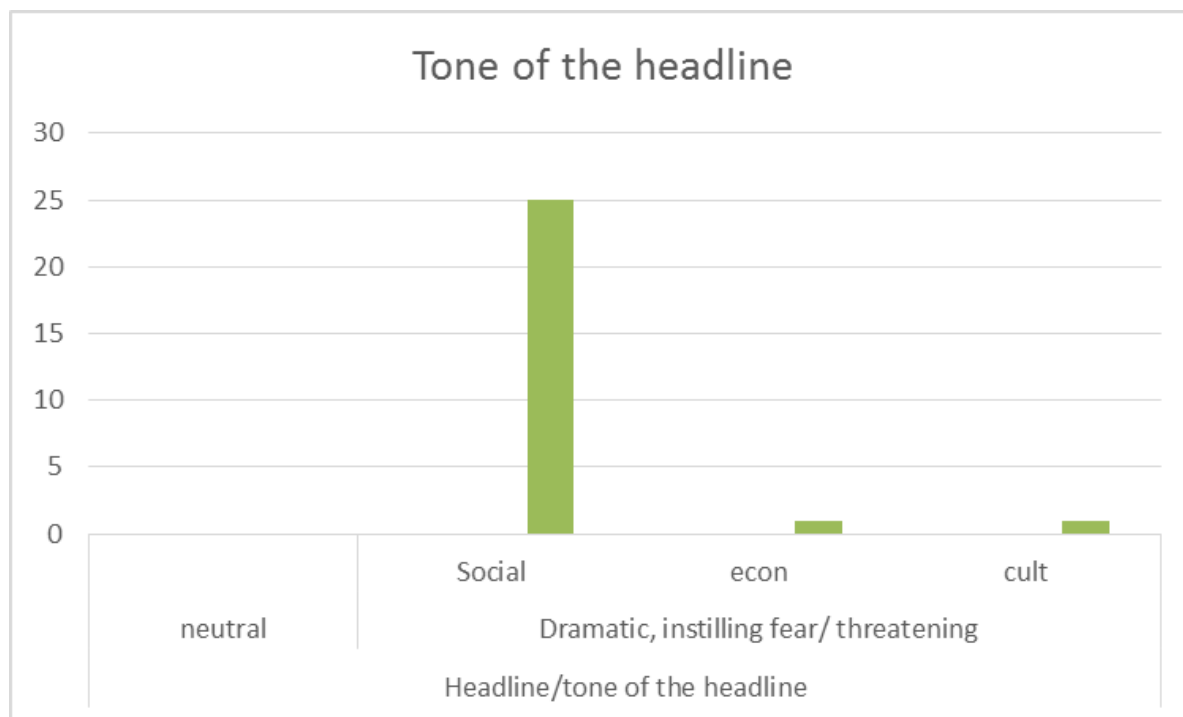


Figure 4 Tone of the headlines of articles on Romanian Roma Immigrants in France 2010; Source: Author's compilation based on research data

Of the 25 news articles analyzed, 19 had attached images (see Annex 5). As shown in Figure 5, 5 of these 19 articles used innocuous images (neutral) and the remaining 14 attached threatening images portraying Roma as a threat to the social (see Annex 6.4; 6.5; 6.6; 6.8; 6.9), economic (see Annex 6.1; 6.3; 6.5; 6.7; 6.9) and cultural (see Annex 6.2; 6.3; 6.6; 6.7; 6.9; 6.10) order. The images attached mostly depicted Roma people from France being deported back to Romania (see Annex 6.2; 6.5; 6.8); French police evacuating and dismantling Roma camps and/or caravans (see Annex 6.4; 6.6; 6.7) and images showing the pejorative conditions of Roma people living in camps (see Annex 6.1; 6.9; 6.10) or streets (see Annex 6.3). As in the case of Italy, there are some relevant images described, including 'A Roma girl in the camp' (see Annex 6.1); 'France's Roma' (see Annex 6.2); 'A Roma encampment' (see Annex 6.9) that portrays Roma using stereotypes and prejudices: having different skin color, dressing differently, practicing a different culture and having different values and ways of living which is considered to be a cultural threat.



Promoting these sensational images, one can claim that it will only serve to further fuel anti-Gypsy sentiments.

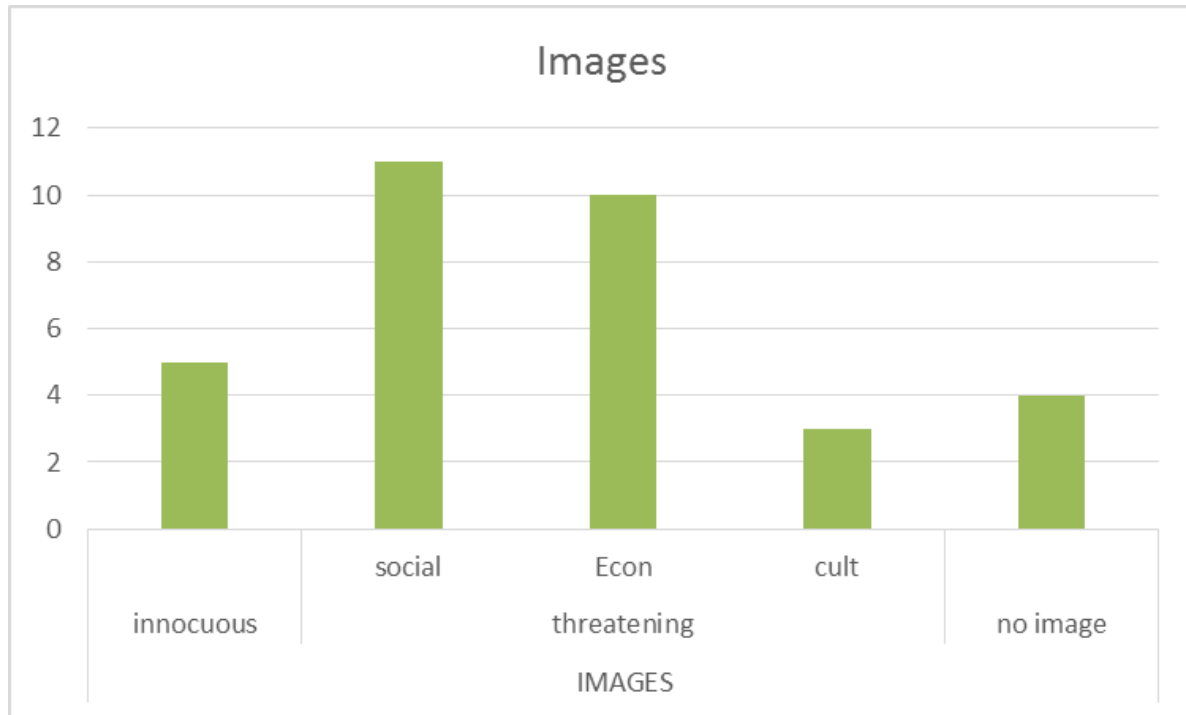


Figure 5 Images attached to news articles on the Romanian Roma Immigrants in France 2010; Source: Author's compilation based on research data

The actual article's content can also be argued as being sensational (see Figure 6). All the elements of sensationalism are used in framing the selected news articles. In Italy, the dramatic content was used to sensationalize (see Figure 3) while France, attentiveness was the element of choice by journalists to sensationalize (see Figure 6). One explanation for this contrast can be found in the nature of the events themselves. In the Italian case, a crime scene is being reported, and in the French case, other petty crimes are outlined, and real data, in this case, seem to be more relevant to attract the audience.

The analysis of the article for France revealed that when it comes to the number of persons who are suffering in the story *“there are an estimated 12.000 Roma who are recent immigrants from Central Europe”* (Frazer, 2010). More precisely *“an estimated 15,000 Roma from Bulgaria and Romania are thought to live in France”* (Cherfils, M., 2010) and even more explanatory *“France has some 400,000 Gypsies, called “traveling persons,” and is host to roughly 15,000 Gypsies from Bulgaria and Romania known here as “Roma”* (Marquand R., 2010). While the Italian case does not make clear the use of statistical data when referring to Romanian of Roma people, one can see a very different situation in France. Although they are not referring only to the Romanian Roma but also the ones from Bulgaria, it is still not considered an element that could jeopardize the main scope of this study as the reference are expected to have a general influence on all the Roma people across Europe. Similarly to the Italian case, the media ensures that the level of Roma criminality is reported in numbers *“Roma crime of climbing 140% each year in Paris since 2007”* (Phillips L., 2010) implying that the deportation of Roma people will bring benefits to France which complies with the second condition of attentiveness (see section 1.1.4.1). Consequently, relevant statistical numbers are also related to how many Roma people are deported back to their home country: *“681 Roma have been sent back to Romania since 28 July, and over 4,000 since the beginning of the year”* (Presseurop, 2010); and how many camps are demolished: *“300 illegal camps of travelers and Roma across France are dismantled”* (Jarry E. and Irish J., 2010).

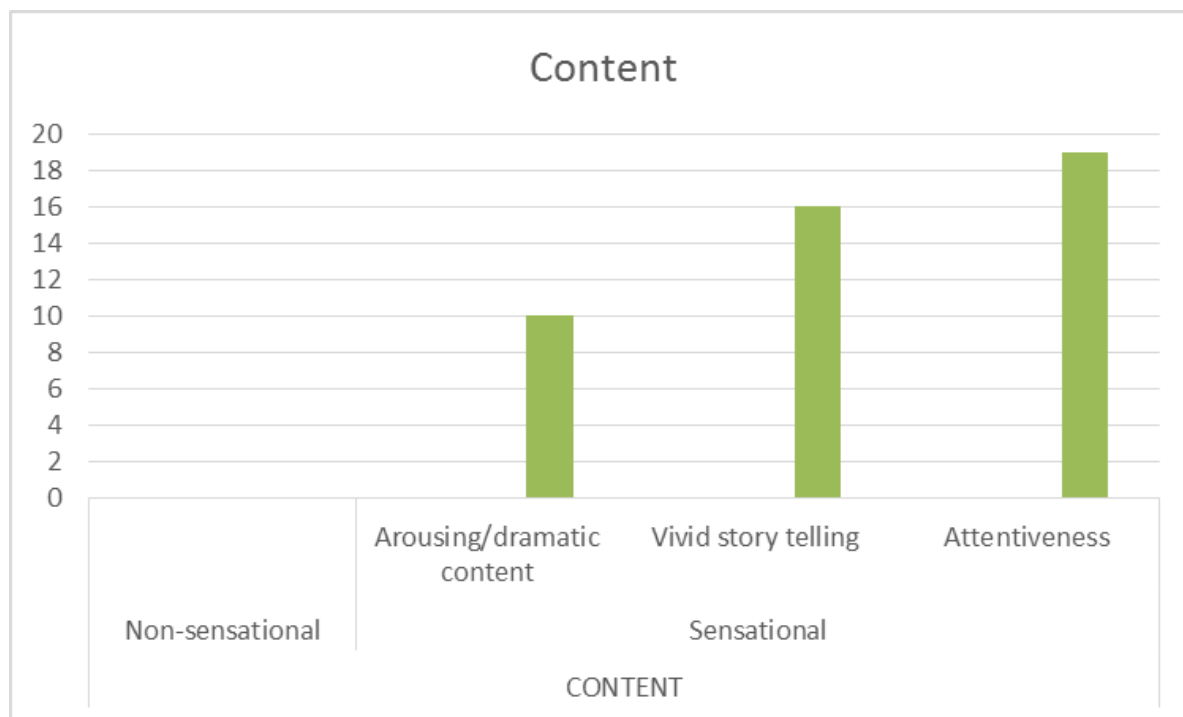


Figure 6 Content of the news articles related to Romanian Roma Immigrants in France 2010; Source: Author's compilation based on research data

In regards to vivid storytelling, statements of ordinary people include Roma `s opinion on this issue: *"we don't have any chance, no jobs, nothing"* (Fraser, 2010); *"No one wants us. There is no place for us [...] They are trying to get rid of us all"* (Davies L., 2010) and French as well: *"They've become more and more violent and more and more insolent [...] The youngest I've seen was 11 years old"* (Cherfils M., 2010); *"The Roma must return home. They are an illegal status. They are living on someone's territory, where they shouldn't be. They should go back to Romania. That is normalcy"* (PBS Newshour, 2010). These statements have been used similarly across of the 25 articles to `illuminate` and dramatize the story (see section 1.1.3.3). As this case increased the controversies on the European political scene due to the drastic measures were taken by the French State against Roma people, explanatory statements of The French Human Rights League: *"these communities were scapegoats for deficiencies of the state"* (Mercier, G.,

2010) and The Gypsy Rights Association: “*Gypsies are once more being made scapegoats*” (Telegraph, 2010), were included in some articles. This aspect is relevant for the current study as it proves the theory of ‘Stranger’ according to which Roma have always been used as ‘scapegoats’ for different political purposes (see section 1.2.1). While Sarkozy’s electoral campaign was ongoing, various leaders shared the same opinion and certified that Roma were used so as to increase his popularity “*I don't think Sarkozy is a racist, but he is using the Roma to raise his popularity*” (Florin Cioaba-Romania's self-styled ‘King of all Gypsies’ V.P., 2010).

## Conclusion

The analysis of the 53 online news articles indicates that the portrayal of Roma people in media is a complex topic that holds up the construction of a general conclusion. Nonetheless, the aim of the thesis is not to make general affirmations about Roma people but to explain the widespread of anti-Gypsy sentiments in two countries with a democratic transition by pointing out how news on Roma is framed and what the consequences of it are. The thesis character is descriptive and exploratory with the intention to provide a theoretical and practical understanding of the relationship between sensationalism and anti-Gypsy sentiments in Europe. Therefore, the analysis offers relevant insights to understand the role of the media and the attitudes created towards Roma people in Europe.

It has been depicted in the analysis of the thesis that when it comes to Roma people coverage in media, certain topics mostly based on violence, crime, drugs, prostitution are reported, and thus deeply rooted stereotypes and prejudices are enforced repetitively.

Framing the news content is a complex task for journalists especially when the goal is to attract large audiences and increase the sales and the market value (Wang, 2012). The most efficient way of achieving this goal is to sensationalize by appealing to the human emotions (Mitchell S., 2007; Stephens, 2007; Grabe, 2001; Wang, 2012; Duca, 2009, Van Dijk, 2000). To do so, there are certain aspects that must be considered by journalists when framing the news content in a sensational way: the content has to be dramatic, the headline should generate threatening emotions, images should be catchy and dramatic, and there should be witnesses' stories and statistical numbers to increase the credibility, to dramatize and to personalise the news stories. Often, to achieve the maximum efficiency and to create sensational stories, the use of excess, exaggeration, bias and even lies can become necessary in the news reporting. Moreover,

the study revealed that “a piece of information can be more noticeable, meaningful or memorable to the audience if categorization, stereotypes, and prejudices are used, which can easily guide individuals in processing the information” (Graber 1988 in Entman, 1993).

Hence, looking at how journalists implement this strategy for the situation of Romanian Roma Immigration in Italy in 2007 and in France in 2010, it can be concluded that all the features of sensationalism, in the content of the news stories, are present and thus fuels the anti-Gypsy sentiments in Europe. The result is seen in the high level of anti-Gypsy sentiments expressed in Pew Research, the research conducted by FRA and EC.

The stories examined can be considered sensational only by looking at the nature of the reported topics from both Italy (the murderer of a woman by a Roma individual) and France (riots, petty crimes, and mass expulsions of Roma individuals), (see section 1.1.3.1). Persevering with the analysis, it has been exposed that Roma people are negatively portrayed even at the headline of a news article. More specifically, in both Italy and France, the Roma people were presented as a threat to the social order of society (see Figure1, Figure 4). Stereotypes such as “aggressive and dangerous, thieves and criminals” (Erjavec et al., 2000), ‘the pariah’ and ‘the strangers’ (see section1.2.1) were reinforced through the headline. Furthermore, the images accompanying the news articles in both cases illustrate a negative view on Roma people and show once again they are portrayed as a threat to the social order. Police forces seem to be prominent in most of the images either when arresting Roma people (see Annex 4.1; 4.6; 4.7) and dismantling Roma camps (see Annex 4.8; 6.4; 6.6; 6.7) or deporting Roma people back to Romania from France (see Annex 6.2; 6.5; 6.8). Other images portraying Roma as a threat to the cultural order focusing on their different skin color and dressing, dirty, poor and angry, and having another set of culture, values ad habits, (see Annex 4.2; 4.3; 4.5; 6.1; 6.2; 6.3; 6.9; 6.10)

are used to negatively describe who the Roma are in a dramatic and sometimes exaggerated manner adding to anti-Gypsy sentiments.

Almost all of the 53 news articles have inserted statements from ordinary people Roma and non-Roma. When it comes to Roma's statements (*'we don't have any chance, no jobs, nothing'* (Fraser, 2010); *'No one wants us. There is no place for us [...] they are trying to get rid of us all'* (Davies L., 2010), there is a tendency to focus on Roma's acknowledgment and acceptance of their situation as being unwanted immigrants. Meanwhile the statements from non-Roma individuals makes use of words such as *criminals, fear, robbery, danger*, all of which are eye-catching and imply a strong sentiment that Roma people should *'go home'* (an Italian ordinary woman in Independent, 2007) because *'people are just afraid'* (hotel worker in New York Times, 2007).

Ultimately, the use of statistical data is highly visible in the content of the news articles (both for Italy and France) supporting deeply rooted stereotypes and prejudices about Roma: *'They are many of them'*, in all the articles analysed, Roma people were pictured as being almost 15% of the immigrant population both in Italy (*'550,000 Romanians', referring to Roma especially*) and France (*'400,000 Gypsies'*).

*'They are criminals, thieves, rapists, kidnappers, prostitutes'. "75% of all crime in the capital is now carried out by Romanians, 76 murders, more than 300 rapes and 2,000 robberies. Nearly 400 Romanians have been charged with kidnappings, mostly involving prostitution, and 6,000 with receiving stolen goods" (Daily Mail, 2007).* One observation made in the Italian case is that the news stories content was not differentiating between Romanian and Roma. However, the audience tends to associate all these crimes with Roma people because they were the ones who were primarily deported from the country. The same cannot be said for France, however, as

the stories were explicitly referred to Roma people when stating that “*Roma crime of climbing 140% each year in Paris since 2007*” (Phillips L., 2010). Even more sensational in this case is that many of the articles included statistical numbers on how many Roma people are deported back to their home country and how many camps are demolished.

Evaluating the overall findings, it is important to confirm that the thesis hypothesis was positive in the sense that the media through sensationalism constitutes one of other factors that fuels anti-Gypsy sentiment in Europe. However, one acknowledges that the sample is limited to just two countries (Italy and France), focusing on specific periods of time and relying on a set of sample of only 53 news articles for analysis. Nevertheless, it is relevant to point out how the news on Roma are framed and to raise awareness around this issue. As emphasized, the media has a lot of power, and it can constitute a factor of change in the life of Roma people if the sensationalistic way of framing them in news content is reduced or even better avoided.

According to the scholarly literature, framing the news content is crucial as it affects the how people perceive the message. A headline, an image, or a number can constitute a positive or negative experience in the mindset of people depending on the way it is framed. In the case of Roma ethnic minority, it is highly relevant because as seen in thesis analysed cases, Roma are often portrayed negatively and in conformity with deeply rooted stereotypes and prejudices, according to which they are seen as the pariah of society. The audience, therefore, will be influenced to think of them as such and worsens the exclusion of this minority from society. The inclusion of Roma ethnic minority constitutes a priority on the European Agenda, and many initiatives in the form of resolutions, directives, strategies, recommendations, reports, and studies have been taken to improve integration of Roma people into mainstream societies. However, as long as the mentality of the society is negatively influenced by such sensationalistic news



content, the process of inclusion is impaired. Therefore, it is highly recommended to give particular attention to the media and the way journalists are framing news stories on Roma ethnic minority.

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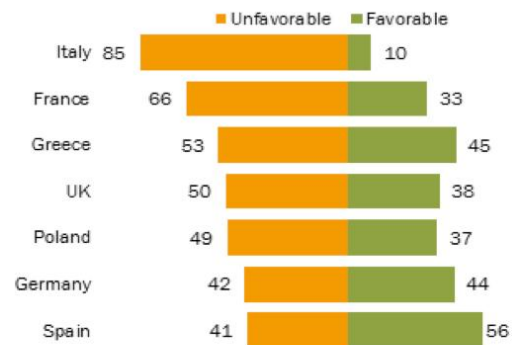
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## Annexes

### Annex 1. Unfavourable Views of Roma widespread; Source Pew Research Center

#### Unfavorable Views of Roma Widespread

% with a \_\_\_ view of Roma in their country



Note: In United Kingdom, asked as "Gypsies or Roma."

Source: Spring 2014 Global Attitudes survey. Q37b.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

### Annex 2. Anti-Roma, Anti-Muslim Sentiments, Common in several Nation; Source: Pew research Center

#### Anti-Roma, Anti-Muslim Sentiments Common in Several Nations

% unfavorable

	Roma *	Muslims	Jews
	%	%	%
Italy	85	63	24
France	66	27	10
Greece	53	53	47
UK	50	26	7
Poland	49	50	26
Germany	42	33	5
Spain	41	46	18
<b>MEDIAN</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>18</b>

\*In United Kingdom, asked as "Gypsies or Roma."

Source: Spring 2014 Global Attitudes survey. Q37a-c.

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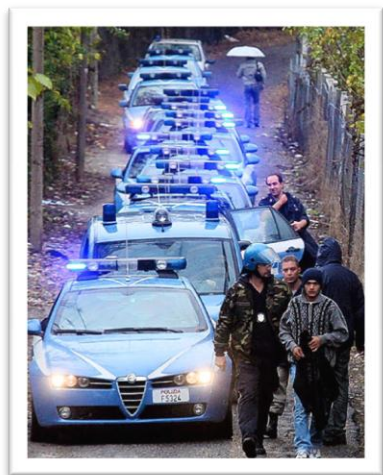
### Annex 3. Analysis of news articles on Romanian Roma Immigrants in Italy, 2007; Source: Author`s compilation based on research data

Articles	Headline/tone of the headline				IMAGES					CONTENT			
	neutral	Dramatic, instilling fear/ threatening			innocuous	threatening			no image	Non-sensational	Sensational		
		Social	econ	cult		social	Econ	cult			Arousing/ dramatic content	vivid story telling	Attractiveness
1.Savage murder brought a backlash against Italy's migrants - and laws to expel them <a href="http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-">http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-</a>		x		x		x	x	x			x	x	x
2.Brutal Attack in Rome Italy Cracks Down on Immigrant Crime Wave <a href="http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/brutal-attack-in-rome-italy-cracks-down-on-immigrant-crime-wave-a-515008.html">http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/brutal-attack-in-rome-italy-cracks-down-on-immigrant-crime-wave-a-515008.html</a> , accessed on June 2, 2017													
3.Italian woman's murder prompts expulsion threat to Romanians <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/nov/02/italy-international">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/nov/02/italy-international</a> , accessed on June 2, 2017		x				x					x	x	x
4.Italy expels migrant population after brutal murder <a href="http://m.nzherald.co.nz/world/news/article.cfm?c_id=2&amp;objectid=10473909">http://m.nzherald.co.nz/world/news/article.cfm?c_id=2&amp;objectid=10473909</a> , accessed on June 2, 2017		x				x					x	x	x
5.Romanian Premier Tries to Calm Italy After a Killing <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/08/world/europe/08italy.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/08/world/europe/08italy.html</a> , accessed on June 2, 2017		x							x		x	x	x
6.The Italian Government's Plans for Romanians: the Return of Collective Expulsions? <a href="http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/1357/the-italian-governments-plans-for-romanians-the-return-of-collective-expulsions">http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/1357/the-italian-governments-plans-for-romanians-the-return-of-collective-expulsions</a> , accessed June 2, 2017													
7.Italy expels Romanians, condemns attack <a href="http://www.abc.net.au/news/2007-11-04/italy-expels-romanians-condemns-attack/715266">http://www.abc.net.au/news/2007-11-04/italy-expels-romanians-condemns-attack/715266</a> , accessed on June 2, 2017		x		x	x						x	x	x
8.Feeing grows that Italy is too soft on Roma criminality <a href="http://www.irishtimes.com/news/feeing-grows-that-italy-is-too-soft-on-roma-criminality-1.984905">http://www.irishtimes.com/news/feeing-grows-that-italy-is-too-soft-on-roma-criminality-1.984905</a> , accessed on June 2, 2017		x		x					x		x	x	x
9.Few Foreigners Expelled in Italy Outcry <a href="http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/11/22/AR2007112201037_pf.html">http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/11/22/AR2007112201037_pf.html</a> , accessed on June 2, 2017		x		x					x		x	x	x
10.Angry about crime, Italy zeroes in on foreigners <a href="http://articles.latimes.com/2007/nov/09/world/fg-romanians">http://articles.latimes.com/2007/nov/09/world/fg-romanians</a> , accessed on June 2, 2017		x		x					x		x	x	x
11.Disharmony and tension <a href="http://www.economist.com/node/10105059">http://www.economist.com/node/10105059</a> , accessed on June 2, 2017		x							x				
12.Italy begins immigrant deportations <a href="http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/24570/Italy-begins-immigrant-deportations">http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/24570/Italy-begins-immigrant-deportations</a> , accessed June 2, 2017									x		x		
13.Fear of Being Romanian in Rome <a href="http://www.italy.org/magazine/focus/facts-stories/article/fear-being-romanian-in-rome">http://www.italy.org/magazine/focus/facts-stories/article/fear-being-romanian-in-rome</a> , accessed on July 2, 2017		x		x	x						x	x	x
14.Italy to deport 100 Romanians after robbery <a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1568167/Italy-to-deport-100-Romanians-after-robbery.html">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1568167/Italy-to-deport-100-Romanians-after-robbery.html</a> , accessed June 3, 2017		x									x	x	x
15. Migrants row strains Italy-Romania ties <a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7085956.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7085956.stm</a> , accessed June 3, 2017			x			x	x	x			x	x	x
16. Rom or Romanian? <a href="http://italychronicles.com/rom-or-romanian/">http://italychronicles.com/rom-or-romanian/</a> , accessed June 3, 2017						x						x	
17.Italy starts rounding up Romanian immigrants <a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1568168/Italy-starts-rounding-up-Romanian-immigrants.html">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1568168/Italy-starts-rounding-up-Romanian-immigrants.html</a> , accessed on June 3, 2017		x							x		x		



<b>18. All Criminals? Italian Police Raid Romanian Actress's Hotel Room</b> <a href="http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/trend-lines/1364/all-criminals-italian-police-raid-romanian-actress-hotel-room">http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/trend-lines/1364/all-criminals-italian-police-raid-romanian-actress-hotel-room</a> accessed June 3, 2017		x				x						x		x					
<b>19. Berlusconi tells Italy to close borders to Romanians to stop crime</b> <a href="http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-491667/Berlusconi-tells-Italy-close-borders-Romanians-stop-crime.html">http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-491667/Berlusconi-tells-Italy-close-borders-Romanians-stop-crime.html</a> , accessed on June 3, 2017		x				x						x						x	
<b>20. Italy torn by racial strains</b> <a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7858012.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7858012.stm</a> , accessed June 3, 2017		x					x	x	x			x						x	
<b>21. Italy expels Romanians, condemns attack</b> <a href="http://www.abc.net.au/news/2007-11-04/italy-expels-romanians-condemns-attack/715266">http://www.abc.net.au/news/2007-11-04/italy-expels-romanians-condemns-attack/715266</a>		x										x		x				x	
<b>22. Italy expels migrant population after brutal murder</b> , <a href="http://m.nzherald.co.nz/world/news/article.cfm?c_id=2&amp;objectid=10473909">http://m.nzherald.co.nz/world/news/article.cfm?c_id=2&amp;objectid=10473909</a> , accessed June 3, 2017		x										x		x				x	
<b>23. Murder case stirs fears of double standards on racism</b> <a href="http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/9a5011be-8cd5-11dc-b887-0000779fd2ac.html?ft_site=falcon&amp;desktop=true">http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/9a5011be-8cd5-11dc-b887-0000779fd2ac.html?ft_site=falcon&amp;desktop=true</a> , accessed on June 3, 2017		x										x		x				x	
<b>24. Italy rocked by racist claims after gypsy expulsions</b> <a href="http://www.smh.com.au/news/world/italy-rocked-by-racist-claims-after-gypsy-expulsions/2007/11/04/1194117879715.html">http://www.smh.com.au/news/world/italy-rocked-by-racist-claims-after-gypsy-expulsions/2007/11/04/1194117879715.html</a> , accessed June 3, 2017		x			x							x		x					
<b>25. Outcasts: Italy turns on its immigrants in wake of a murder</b> <a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/outcasts-italy-turns-on-its-immigrants-in-wake-of-a-murder-5328935.html">http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/outcasts-italy-turns-on-its-immigrants-in-wake-of-a-murder-5328935.html</a> , accessed on June 3, 2017		x										x		x					
<b>26. Brutal sex attack forces Italy to make laws for kicking out EU migrants</b> <a href="http://www.standard.co.uk/news/brutal-sex-attack-forces-italy-to-make-laws-for-kicking-out-eu-migrants-6619931.html">http://www.standard.co.uk/news/brutal-sex-attack-forces-italy-to-make-laws-for-kicking-out-eu-migrants-6619931.html</a> , accessed on June 3, 2017		x										x		x				x	
<b>27. Italy Expels EU Citizens; Concerns Rise About 'Vendettas'</b> <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/italy-expels-eu-citizens-concerns-rise-about-vendettas/a-2863244">http://www.dw.com/en/italy-expels-eu-citizens-concerns-rise-about-vendettas/a-2863244</a> , accessed on June 3, 2017		x					x	x	x				x					x	
<b>28. Romanian scandal exposes Italy's unease with immigration</b> , <a href="http://www.expatika.com/de/news/Romanian-scandal-exposes-italys-unease-with-immigration_110428.html">http://www.expatika.com/de/news/Romanian-scandal-exposes-italys-unease-with-immigration_110428.html</a> , accessed June 3, 2017		x										x		x		x			
Total value		0	26	1	8	5	8	4	4	14	0	27	16	21					

**Annex 4: Images attached to the news articles On Romanian Roma Immigrants in Italy 2007**



*Annex 4.1. Roma- threat to the social order; Source: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-492802/Savage-murder-brought-backlash-Italys-migrants--laws-expel-them.html>*



*Annex 4.2 Roma-threat to the social and cultural order; Source: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-492802/Savage-murder-brought-backlash-Italys-migrants--laws-expel-them.html>*



*Annex 4.3 Roma- threat to the economic order Source: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-492802/Savage-murder-brought-backlash-Italys-migrants--laws-expel-them.html>*



*Annex 4.4. Roma-threat to the social order Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1568167/Italy-to-deport-100-Romanians-after-robbery.html>*



Annex 4.5. Roma-threat to the economic and cultural order;  
Source: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7085956.stm>



Annex 4.7. Roma- Threat to social order; Source:  
<http://www.dw.com/en/italy-expels-eu-citizens-concerns-rise-about-vendettas/a-2863244>



Annex 4.6. Roma-threat to the social order; Source:  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1568168/Italy-starts-rounding-up-Romanian-immigran>



Annex 4.8. Roma-threat to social order; Source:  
(<http://www.dw.com/en/italy-expels-eu-citizens-concerns-rise-about-vendettas/a-2863244>)

## Annex 5. Analysis of the news articles on Romanian Roma Immigrants in France 2010; Source: Author`s compilation based on research data

Articles	Headline/tone of the headline				IMAGES				CONTENT				
	neutral	Dramatic, instilling fear/			innocuous	threatening			no image	Non-sensational	Sensational		
		Social	econ	cult		social	Econ	cult			Arousing/dramatic content	Vivid storytelling	Attractiveness
<b>1. Sarkozy toughens on Illegal Roma</b> <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/30/world/europe/30france.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/30/world/europe/30france.html</a> , accessed on June 4 , 2017		x				x					x		
<b>2. France sends Roma Gypsies back to Romania</b> <a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11020429">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11020429</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x				x	x				x	x	x
<b>3. Have your Roma back</b> <a href="http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2010/08/frances_expulsion_roma">http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2010/08/frances_expulsion_roma</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x		x			x					x	x
<b>4. France pushes forward Roma deportations: 'They are trying to get rid of us all'</b> <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/aug/19/france-begins-roma-deportations">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/aug/19/france-begins-roma-deportations</a> , June 4, 2017		x				x						x	x
<b>5. Driving out the Unwanted.Sarkozy's War Against the Roma</b> <a href="http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/driving-out-the-unwanted-sarkozy-s-war-against-the-roma-a-717324.html">http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/driving-out-the-unwanted-sarkozy-s-war-against-the-roma-a-717324.html</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x			x							x	x
<b>6. Anger as Sarkozy Targets Roma in Crime Crackdown,</b> <a href="http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2005818,00.html">http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2005818,00.html</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x			x								x
<b>7. France's Sarkozy cracks down on crime and immigrants</b> <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-security-idUSTRE66T3D420100730">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-security-idUSTRE66T3D420100730</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x			x							x	
<b>8.France starts expelling its Roma</b> <a href="https://www.pri.org/stories/2010-08-20/france-starts-expelling-its-roma">https://www.pri.org/stories/2010-08-20/france-starts-expelling-its-roma</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x							x			x	x
<b>9. Is Sarkozy Turning France Into A Police State?</b> <a href="http://newsjunkiepost.com/2010/07/30/is-sarkozy-turning-france-into-a-police-state/">http://newsjunkiepost.com/2010/07/30/is-sarkozy-turning-france-into-a-police-state/</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x				x						x	
<b>10. Why Sarkozy went to war on the Roma?</b> <a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/why-sarkozy-went-to-war-on-the-roma-2068112.html">http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/why-sarkozy-went-to-war-on-the-roma-2068112.html</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x				x	x				x		x
<b>11. Expulsion of Roma Raises Questions in France</b> <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/20/world/europe/20france.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/20/world/europe/20france.html</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x					x					x	x
<b>12. French authorities crack down on Gypsy crime and camps</b> <a href="http://www.digitaljournal.com/article/295328">http://www.digitaljournal.com/article/295328</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x				x		x				x	
<b>13. France to repatriate 140 more Roma</b> <a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/7955651/France-to-repatriate-140-more-Roma.html">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/7955651/France-to-repatriate-140-more-Roma.html</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x					x						x

<b>14. France Orders The Closure Of 300 Gypsy Camps,</b> <a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/7955651/France-to-repatriate-140-more-Roma.html">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/7955651/France-to-repatriate-140-more-Roma.html</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x								x		x		x	
<b>15. France sends scores of Gypsies back to Romania</b> <a href="http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-france-sends-scores-of-gypsies-back-to-romania-2010aug19-story.html">http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-france-sends-scores-of-gypsies-back-to-romania-2010aug19-story.html</a> , accessed June 4 2017		x				x						x		x	
<b>16. French Expulsion of Gypsies Leads to Tension in Europe</b> <a href="http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/social_issues-july-dec10-roma_09-27/">http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/social_issues-july-dec10-roma_09-27/</a> , accessed June 4 , 2017-06-04		x								x		x		x	
<b>17. France starts removing Roma camps</b> <a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/mobile/world-europe-10892669">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/mobile/world-europe-10892669</a> , accessed on June 4, 2017		x				x	x					x		x	
<b>18. Sarkozy targets Roma for expulsion</b> <a href="https://euobserver.com/justice/30557">https://euobserver.com/justice/30557</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x					x						x		
<b>19. France presses Gypsies to settle down</b> <a href="http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2010/0812/France-presses-Gypsies-to-settle-down">http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2010/0812/France-presses-Gypsies-to-settle-down</a> accessed June 4, 2017		x	x			x	x						x		x
<b>20. Nicolas Sarkozy to foreign-born French: Target police and lose your citizenship</b> <a href="http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2010/0802/Nicolas-Sarkozy-to-foreign-born-French-Target-police-and-lose-your-citizenship">http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2010/0802/Nicolas-Sarkozy-to-foreign-born-French-Target-police-and-lose-your-citizenship</a> , accessed June 4, 2017		x				x						x	x		x
<b>21. France's 'gypsy deportation' is becoming the EU's problem</b> <a href="http://www.brussels2berlin.com/2010/08/frances-gypsy-deportation-is-becoming.html">http://www.brussels2berlin.com/2010/08/frances-gypsy-deportation-is-becoming.html</a> , accessed June 5, 2017		x				x	x	x				x			x
<b>22. European press thrashes France on Roma</b> <a href="http://www.voxeurop.eu/en/content/article/324811-european-press-thrashes-france-roma">http://www.voxeurop.eu/en/content/article/324811-european-press-thrashes-france-roma</a> , ,accessed June 5, 2017		x				x						x			x
<b>23. EU may take legal action against France over Roma</b> <a href="http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11301307">http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11301307</a> , accessed June 5, 2017		x					x	x					x		
<b>24. Sarkozy denounces EU commissioner's Roma remarks</b> <a href="http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11332189">http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11332189</a> , accessed June 5, 2017		x				x						x			x
<b>25. France deserves to be kicked out of the EU for deporting Roma people</b> <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/sep/16/france-persecution-roma-sarkozy-brussels">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/sep/16/france-persecution-roma-sarkozy-brussels</a> , accessed June 5, 2017		x								x				x	
Total value		0	25	1	1	5	11	10	3	4	0	10	16	19	

## Annex 6. Images attached in the news articles related to Romanian Roma Immigrants in Italy, 2007



Annex 6.1. Roma-threat to the economic order; Source: <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/30/world/europe/30france.html>



Annex 6.2. Roma-threat to the cultural order; Source: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11020429>



Annex 6.3. Roma- threat to the economic and cultural order; Source: [http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2010/08/frances\\_expulsion\\_roma](http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2010/08/frances_expulsion_roma)



Annex 6.4. Roma-threat to the social order; Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/aug/19/france-begins-roma-deportations>



Annex 6.5. Roma-threat to the economic and cultural order; Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2010/aug/20/roma-france>





Annex 6.6. Roma-threat to the social and cultural order;  
Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2010/aug/20/roma-france>



Annex 6.7. Roma- threat to cultural and economic order;  
Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2010/aug/20/roma-france>



Annex 6.8. Roma-threat to social order; Source: <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-france-sends-scores-of-gypsies-back-to-romania-2010aug19-story.html>



Annex 6.9. Roma-threat to social, economic, cultural order; Source: <https://euobserver.com/justice/30557>



Annex 6.10. Roma-threat to cultural order;  
Source: <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2010/0812/France-presses-Gypsies-to-settle-down>