

**The Media Discourse on Roma –
Subtle Discrimination towards Ethnic Minorities?**

The Representation of the Roma in National Newspapers and the Power of Language

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Abstract:

By means of this Bachelor thesis it shall be elaborated how Roma ethnic minorities are represented in national newspaper discourses in order to find out whether subtle discrimination practices are present in the recent news coverage. The thesis is intended to discuss recent scholarly arguments concerning the ‘symbolic nature’ of news articles when reporting about Roma in order to extend the research with a particular focus on qualitative newspapers presenting the Roma vis-à-vis tabloid newspapers and by examining national patterns of representation.

In detail it will be analyzed *to what extent the media, in particular national newspapers in Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain, play a role in reproducing ethnic prejudices and stereotypes (as expressed in metaphors, slogans, emotions, neologisms, and so forth) towards the Roma in the time frame of 2012 until 2014*. The analysis shall be conducted on the grounds of a Critical Discourse Analysis, carried out by means of national newspaper articles among the chosen countries.

I argue that the overall image about Roma consists of a complexity of social constructions, by which the power of language plays an important part, however maintaining a rather one-sided and homogeneous portrayal of Roma due to often inconsistent news coverage and sensationalistic formulations.

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I. Introduction

In recent years, the discourse on the Roma ethnic minority has gained extensive publicity in newspapers, especially since the increased influx of Roma people due to the 2004 and 2007 EU-Enlargement¹ (Ram, 2010:197-8; Woodcock, 2007). In the following analysis the aim is to find out *to what extent the media, in particular national newspapers in Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain, play a role in reproducing ethnic prejudices and stereotypes (as expressed in metaphors, slogans, emotions, neologisms, and so forth) towards the Roma² in the time frame of 2012 until 2014*. News reports on ethnic affairs are ‘discursive’ and often subtle and symbolic in nature (Van Dijk, 2000) and can have an important influence on the public opinion, hence the role and the powers of the media are of particular interest. What will be argued in the following is that the public perception of ethnic groups, for instance Roma, is dependent on social constructions and ‘subjective’ representations of specific historical periods, cultural contexts and recent events. In other words, this thesis is based on the premise that the media as fourth estate play a particularly powerful role in recreating and reinforcing stereotyped images about ethnic minorities, which will be critically analyzed in the following analysis using the example of media representations of the Roma ethnic minority.

Many empirical studies have demonstrated that the ubiquitous nature of media (of the majority population) plays an important role in articulating knowledge, meanings and attitudes as well as in communicating ethnic opinions and stereotypes (d’Haenens & De Lange, 2001; Hartmann & Husband, 1974; Maneri & Ter Wal, 2005; Prins, 2002; Schneeweis, 2012; Sedláková, 2006; Van Dijk, 1989, 2012). In fact, Hartman and Husband found that people often refer to media in expressing or defending ethnic opinions (see also d’Haenens & De Lange, 2001:850; Hartmann & Husband, 1974; Van Dijk, 1989). On the other hand, the media as such are influenced by society and societal beliefs for which they [the media] might be used to maintain such shared beliefs. In turn, images reproducing minorities, the ‘others’, might be used for this purpose. Hereby it is of particular interest to unveil to what extent this is done.

The practices of subtle discrimination stand in contrast to what is known as blatant or direct discrimination. However, the former is assumed to be the practice of recent times (Van Dijk, 2000) which is prevalent in the media amongst others. Yet there are differences in expressing ethnic affairs for instance when comparing different genres of journalism. In the context of various climactic events it is of particular scholarly interest to analyze expressions and possible hidden sentiments in national newspapers. There might be extreme and obvious expressions that help to uncover ethnocentric purposes but also subtle and less obvious values appear in the more moderate rhetoric’s. The purpose of this thesis is to highlight the peculiar, nationally situated expressions, assumptions and representations of the Roma as reported in national newspapers (Shi-Xu, 2005) specifically among the United Kingdom, Germany and the Netherlands. By comparing national tabloid and quality newspaper articles reporting about particular events and topics concerning the Roma, the aim is to unveil the diversity of national ways of reporting stereotypes. In this respect, the national framework and particular historical legacies that may differ across the Member States have to be considered in order to better understand the discourse on the Roma and the corresponding media portrayal. As an example, the UK is home to one of the largest Roma populations in Western Europe (P. Brown, Martin, & Scullion, 2013) which implies the necessity to analyze the

representation in this country. Also Germany has particularly high numbers of Roma populations and a historical burden, in relation to the mass murders of Roma during the Holocaust. The Netherlands, in comparison, has lower Roma populations and is known for its liberal attitude when it comes to ethnic minorities, which implies an interesting point for comparing the media representation to German and British ones.

One major problem we are still facing in today's societies is a strong aversion in terms of xenophobic and negative public attitudes towards Roma (Erjavec, Hrvatin, & Kelbl, 2000; Schneeweis, 2012). Numerous national and European studies confirm this (Amnesty International, 2014; Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes, 2014; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2012)³. One of the reasons for the wide dissemination of 'antiziganistic' attitudes and prejudices can be seen within the subtle use of stereotypical and biased representations of Roma in culture, media and the public discourse, still unabated and often without the needed awareness of its discriminatory content (End, 2012:11). Similar observations have also been articulated in other fields of research about media representations of asylum seekers in Dutch regional newspapers (see also d'Haenens & De Lange, 2001; Van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983).

Van Dijk has conducted extensive analyses on the roles and strategies of newspapers/media in reporting and (re)producing prejudices and stereotypes when it comes to ethnic minorities. He argues that a kind of underlying racism in the news presentation, "a sort of ethnic hegemony, [...] often tactically accepted by most members of the dominant majority group" (Van Dijk, 2000:34) has emerged. News reports seem to be far removed from the 'old' pattern of racism using open discrimination and violent expressions, they rather appear 'normal' or 'commonsensical'. Besides common agreements of both social scientists and EU policy-makers, that minorities must be protected from acts of discrimination, public figures and the media yet increasingly use subtle rhetoric such as negative images or systematic figures, words and slogans (Muijsers, 1998 in d'Haenens & De Lange, 2001). Van Dijk, accordingly, observes that newspapers often convey opinions 'between the lines' (Van Dijk, 2000:39-40) due to social and moral taboos that intrinsically prevent open discrimination. "Yet, they may be just as effective to marginalize and exclude minorities", Van Dijk concludes (2000:34).

The way in which subtle expressions appear in newspapers on ethnic affairs is of substantial interest, in particular in the context of increased influx of immigrants and refugees and a rising right-wing populism among Europe (Wodak, Khosravinik, & Mral, 2013). For example, ethnocentric voices have become more prominent claiming that Roma in particular are immigrating to Europe's Western countries longing for social benefits while at the same time leaving their children out of school, living like 'vagabonds' on the streets and having no intention to integrate or adopt Western culture (anti-Roma ideology elaborated in Prins, 2002). Such monoculturalist critics, often expressed via the mass media, report the feared influence of foreign (inferior) cultures by representing them as disintegrative forces and threats to national identity and prosperity (Gilroy, 2012; Ossewaarde, 2014). Gilroy argues in this respect, that the theme of white victimage has become a prominent counterpoint to the fears related to foreign or unknown cultures of the stereotyped 'others' (Gilroy, 2012; c.f. Overington, 1977).

Given what is known from different scholarly articles regarding the role of the media in representations about ethnic minorities, asylum seekers, refugees, religious groups (e.g. the image of

Muslims in Western media) by authors including Ossewaarde, Van Dijk, d'Haennens and de Lange, End, Richardson and Gilroy, the coverage on the role of Roma and their depiction in Western newspapers has not been covered extensively. Desiderio (2012) and Erjavec et al. (2000) have, in fact, conducted research on the media discourse on Roma, however the former with a rather limited analysis of only one article from the British tabloid 'The Sun' and the latter with a focus on media representations in Slovenia.

Accordingly, this thesis aims to highlight the recent context, national events and topics reported about in Western national newspapers in the last two years (2012 until 2014) in order to show whether or not the approach by for instance van Dijk is still suitable to recent situations. As such, this research tries to contribute to the literature on conveyed communication about marginalized groups and particularly to add a cross-country analysis on the thin research of press discourse about the Roma. Besides common expectations, it appears that the 'new(s) racism' is not only limited to ordinary people, or the street, but is also practiced by the elites (Van Dijk, 1993) and is also prevalent in quality newspapers. Therefore the sub-questions, mentioned below, have been imposed in order to highlight and detect subtle ways of stereotyping among qualitative rhetoric's. The newspapers being analyzed in this thesis constitute the largest and most popular newspapers in each country with a respectively large readership. The intentio is to examine the peculiarities of stereotyping and the diversity of reporting when comparing different newspaper articles however reporting about the same event or topic.

Based on the above mentioned findings, regarding the (subtle) discrimination practices in the media, it is important to identify the complexity of such ways of presentation, since they can accentuate social prejudices and latent stereotypic sentiments among the population. In order to find adequate answers to the main research questions, the following sub-questions have been elaborated, beginning with a rather general analysis regarding the portraying of Roma and further by emphasizing the differences of representation among the two genres of newspapers. The exact research questions have been stated as follows:

- *Which kind of images of the Roma are represented in the analyzed newspaper articles?*
- *How do tabloid newspapers represent Roma and how do quality newspapers represent them in comparison?*

And finally to come up with possible and diverging patterns per country the third sub-questions has been argued:

- *Which different national ways in representation about the Roma can be distinguished in the comparative analysis?*

The aim of the analysis and the sub-questions is to identify the subtlety in newspaper articles as well as the national variations in stereotyping, if existing, by looking at national ways of reporting in two different types of newspapers. Instead of looking solely at one branch of newspapers or one European country, vis-à-vis previous studies, this research has a more comparative character. The analysis is consequently based on a system of indicators deriving from the theoretical characteristics of discourse analyses (see chapter II). In general the focus is on the depiction of Roma in national print media (tabloid and quality newspapers) by looking at (1) the thematic context into which journalists frame them, (2) the sources of information in the articles of scrutiny and as a last step (3) specific formulations, the words being used, the rhetoric's and so forth. Although scholars have discerned the discourse on the Roma, that is predominant in several European nations, there are national variations of this same discourse, and these are reflected in

the different national newspapers. In this thesis, these variations are conceived as the rhetorical - newspaper channeled - expressions of the distinctive national identities when reporting about the Roma. In total, 159 articles (Appendix 1) have been selected from six national newspapers, namely, *The Guardian*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Trouw* (as examples of qualitative newspapers) and *The Daily Mirror*, *Bild* and *De Telegraaf* (representing the branch of tabloid newspapers). In regard to the shared responsibility of all EU Member States to protect ethnic minorities this thesis will outline and evaluate the practical relevance of the last sub-question towards the European political level by considering the content of the Council Resolution (2013/C 378/01) on 'Effective Roma integration measures in the Member States' in order to connect the outcome of the research to a more general European context.

In order to study the given issue, the theoretical framework, dealt with in chapter two, will provide a scientific dialogue on the concepts of media discourse and discrimination practices within, seeking to give insight and a general understanding. In addition the relation between the media or newspaper discourse in the context of the stigmatization of Roma will be pointed out. The third chapter reveals the construct of the research methods and indicates the studied features within the analyzed newspaper articles. The fourth part will present the analytical findings by means of newspaper articles and their contents in order to answer the posed sub-questions. The concluding fifth chapter will illustrate the overall findings and evaluate those with regard to the impact of stereotyping of ethnic minorities and what this reveals of European democratic societies and its political framework in a more general extent.

II. Theories and Concepts of the Roma Media Discourse

Roma have been an integral part in Europe's society for more than a thousand years, yet they are still facing high levels of discrimination, prejudices and intolerance. Especially the role of media discrimination plays a crucial part when analyzing the occurrence of stereotypes and prejudices. Due to moral taboos and a general code of conduct against discrimination it is most often not the case that Roma are being discriminated against in a direct way, however results of national surveys show that Roma are the least favored minority group in European countries (Amnesty International, 2014; Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes, 2014; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2012). What needs to be found out accordingly, is which factors are contributing to this situation and such negative attitudes. It is believed that the media coverage of Roma people is such a determining factor where subtle prejudices, one-sided narratives and stereotypes are being constructed – yet in an indirect and subtle way (Van Dijk, 2000). Therefore we have to ascertain to what extent this is the case and even more strikingly how it is possible to detect subtle discrimination by looking at the central role of language. The following findings on discourse in the media and stereotyping of ethnic minorities create an assessment of different viewpoints from a scientific perspective. Primarily, the chapter introduces the stigmatization of Roma, followed by the concept of stereotyping and spreading prejudices in media discourses. Ensuing, the chapter provides an overview of the most relevant findings in order to come up with a suitable answer of how to detect subtlety in comparison to blatant discrimination practices as well as the diversity in stereotyping in national newspapers.

2.1 Stigmatization of the Roma

The Roma have historically faced extreme levels of persecution, violence and social, economic as well as political isolation in Europe. Being for instance the victims of mass-killings during the Second World War (Kapralski, 1997:279), the Roma up to today are being discriminated against⁴ and stigmatization and hostility against them can be found in both Eastern and Central Europe (Erjavec et al., 2000:11) among all social classes and ages. Contrary examples of positive media coverage and pro-Roma movements are of course present and appear mostly in qualitative newspapers (being elaborated in more detail in chapter IV). They have to and will be taken into consideration as well in order to highlight the multi-layered patterns of Roma representations.

In times of a contemporary global society challenged on the one side by immigration, integration problems, rising populism, interethnic conflicts and human rights talks on the other side, the Roma find themselves between the previously mentioned tensions. As Adina Schneeweis puts it: “The ‘Gypsies’ are caught between different competing stereotypes”. Images that commonly appear about Roma are based on understandings of their ‘Gypsiness’ such as “poor, dirty, unhealthy, genetically inclined to commit crime, irresponsible, promiscuous and, above all, the racially inferior and unwanted other” (Schneeweis, 2012:675). On the other hand, Roma are constructed to be bohemian, romantic nomads, artists and singers. Both stereotypes are widespread in the media, according to Csepeli and Simon (2004). However, these stereotypes and attitudes fail to resemble the actual and recent characteristics of the Roma population,

which are much more heterogeneous and complex. In fact most of the Roma work hard to earn their living and do not live like vagabonds, only 20% live in unsettled communities (Dosta!, 2010). It must be noted that most of the members of the majority population do not know Roma personally, yet they have a very specific image about them. Those Roma who are well integrated often have to hide their ethnic and cultural background to prevent discrimination.

Eventually, there are immense differences between the in-group and out-group categorizations, as Csepeli and Simon (2004) concluded. The term 'Roma' is commonly used by intellectuals, journalists, scholars and politicians which is regarded to be politically correct at present, yet there are as well national variances of what is meant by the category 'Roma' which makes the comprehension of the label 'Roma' as such already complicated (Csepeli & Simon, 2004). Using this general term does not imply that the group, which shares comparable ethnic and historical origins by descending from India and mostly living unsettled due to steady persecution, is comprised of homogeneity nor can it be seen as a single nation (Schneeweis, 2012). These assumptions must be kept in mind throughout the paper in order not to drift into a one-sided or biased analysis of the representation of Roma.

2.2 The role of media discourse

The power of discourse in the media is its critical part in "contributing to a fabric of knowledge that shapes the concept of Roma and interethnic interactions" (Schneeweis, 2012:676). Comparable to what Prins calls the *ideology of superiority* (Prins, 2002), Schneeweis argues that the exposure of stereotypes is part of a larger hierarchical social structure in which discourses play a major role. Therefore, sentiments and understandings associated with Roma are deployed and fixed into 'truths' by the dominant majority (Schneeweis, 2012:676). This creation of superiority and "immutable meanings and beliefs about one ethnic group" (Schneeweis, 2012:676) has made discrimination and the historic genocide possible, according to her.

Scientific research by van Dijk (2000) highlights specific features of the strategies media uses to report in particular when it comes to ethnic minorities. It is generally assumed that prejudices and stereotypes are features or the outcome of a system of ethnic or "racial" dominance by a dominant (European, "white") group, categorizing non-European groups, for instance ethnic minorities, immigrants and refugees (Van Dijk, 2000, 2012). As additionally justified by recent research (see also Elias & Scotson, 1994; Thornton, 2014), discrimination is a function of power differentials between the established in-group and the newcomers of the out-group. Richardson argues that often a strategy of positive self-presentation in contrast to negative other-presentation is established, what he calls 'the ideological square' (Richardson, 2007). Certainly, ethnic minorities are not bluntly discriminated against or explicitly presented as inferior others but there seems to be an underlying preference of perceiving and representing the world by particularly depicting *their* bad actions versus *our* good ones (Richardson, 2007; Van Dijk, 2000) portrayed through the eyes of the majority population. Together with exclusionary mechanisms from social resources (e.g. housing, employment, health care, education and respect) and constant streams of gossip (Scotson & Elias, 1965:18) the stigmatization is justified by means of self-preservation and the defense of the in-groups own culture, identity⁵ and social model (Hampshire, 2013:23; Overington, 1977; Uzunova, 2010:301).

It is noticeable that media discourses have a remarkable influence in constructing social images and linguistic choices, in this respect, must not be seen as accidental, but informed and meaningful (Fairclough, 2003; Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011). Language in general, and in this case journalistic language, reveals such power differentials between individuals, groups and classes and the social hierarchies structuring societies. Journalistic discourse in this respect is exemplary in order to observe the interactional nature of language. It must be clear that this journalistic discourse is not necessarily imposed upon society, but is rather the outcome of a steady interaction between the journalist and the audience. In other words, “journalism and society are bound by a two-way relationship in which society influences journalism and vice versa” (Desiderio, 2012). Van Dijk, thus, argues that “there exists a body of generally shared beliefs on which such discriminatory actions are based, and which provides the tacit legitimation of the power exercised by the dominant in-group” (Van Dijk, 1989:202).

In order to distinguish properly between the different concepts of such shared beliefs, Quasthoff's (1989) definitions of ‘stereotypes’, ‘prejudices’ and ‘attitudes’ will be taken into account. Whereas ‘stereotype’ is defined as “the verbal expression of a certain type of belief” and as an emotional overgeneralization, preconception or cliché. ‘Prejudice’ is by contrast a more mental condition characterized by negative feelings mostly toward ethnic groups perceived as outsiders (Quasthoff, 1989:182-184) often caused by irrational feelings of fear and dislike. The concept of ‘attitude’ is described as “a mental and neutral state of readiness [...] exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations to which it is related” (Quasthoff, 1989:183)

Concerning the relations between the concepts of stereotyping etc. and the media there are particular groups, also called ‘symbolic elites’ such as politicians, journalists, scholars, writers and so forth, who articulate knowledge and ideologies that have an increased influence on the reproduction of attitudes towards ethnic groups in a society (Van Dijk, 2012:17). It becomes obvious that the media elites play an important role in the reproduction of prejudices and stereotypes in the public sphere since they constitute the main source of information on ethnic issues by publishing and reporting particular arguments. Hence, by producing news, a journalist determines what to publish from opinions of the social world. As an example, van Dijk notes that minority groups are given only very little opportunity if any to express their ideas and reflections and the news coverage in most cases focuses on sensational conflicts and conspicuous incidents (Van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). News reports do not sufficiently inform about the everyday-life of the Roma minority group and seldom highlight their difficulties, unless they start to pose a conflict that might threaten or affect the majority population (Erjavec et al., 2000:7; Van Dijk, 2000). In this respect, the process of transformation and reproduction of news establishes a power relationship per se (Desiderio, 2012). From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective the use of language is intrinsically powerful, “it gains power by the use powerful people make of it” (Blackledge, 2005:5), making a discourse analysis justifiable.

It must be noted, however, that there is not only popular racism in the media, instead there are certainly anti-discriminatory voices for which the same arguments hold when it comes to spreading attitudes and knowledge. Van Dijk, however, argues that those antiracist elites among various domains of society (media amongst others) “have much less influence and are themselves often problematized and marginalized (Van Dijk, 1989; 2012:17). In this research, it will be analyzed how often positive media

coverage about Roma is undertaken and how they are presented. Despite the aspect of media coverage, there are obviously pro-Roma campaigns and organizations (e.g. the European Travellers Forum ‘ERTF’, Dosta! campaign or the Committee of Experts on Roma and Travellers ‘MG-S_ROM’ as well as several regional or national projects raising awareness on the discrimination towards Roma and emphasizing ways to enhance the overall social situation).

The relationship between influential public persons, society as such and the media, between the journalist and the reader must be regarded within the context of today’s capitalist society. When speaking about the system of market needs to which the journalist must adhere, it becomes obvious that in the context of media discourse, the news is a product and the audience is its consumer. In order to reach high volumes of sales, news have to meet the needs and the tastes of society. According to Richardson, “looking solely at ‘news reporting’” – one of several genres of text within newspaper discourse – “is the end-product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories” (Richardson, 2007:77). Hence, it is crucial to understand news to a great extent as a market product, which moderates the relationship between journalist and reader to a mere act of production and consumption. News, in this way, diminishes its decisive role of truth-telling to become a farther product of the market system (Richardson, 2007:79). Taking newspaper revenues to a further step, we can also say, the readership of newspapers is itself a market product. The audience is consumer in the way that it buys a newspaper, and at the same time the audience is in itself a product for the newspaper which sells them in turn to advertisers (Richardson, 2007). For instance, the average readership of quality newspapers – being part of the elite or the upper middle class, sharing certain attitudes and beliefs mostly conservative and with an exclusive idea of society – tend to buy those newspapers that promote their ideas of society (Desiderio, 2012; Richardson, 2007). Consequently, ethnic affairs and the way they are being dealt with in newspapers plays an important determining factor which again shows the twofold relationship between society and journalism. Such systematic structures of how newspapers discuss ethnic issues will be elaborated in more detail in the upcoming section.

2.2.1 Thematic contexts of reporting

The assessment of discourse on ethnic minorities stands in dependence with the context in which it takes place. Although the press discusses a large number of topics, news coverage about immigrants and ethnic minorities is often restricted to specific events according to Van Dijk (2000). Examples of events being reported about most frequently are for instance (Van Dijk, 2000:38):

- Reception problems (e.g. housing)
- Social problems (e.g. employment, welfare etc.)
- Response of the population (e.g. resentment, fear etc.)
- Cultural characterization: how are they different?
- Focus on threats: violence, crime, drugs
- Integration conflicts
- Political responses to new policies on ethnic minorities

Even if these topics are generally ‘neutral’ such as housing, employment or cultural features they soon tend to become framed in a negative way. The use of specific topics play an important factor when analyzing newspaper articles, since they clarify the messages and attitudes the newspapers want to share with the public. In comparison, other topics that are also part of ethnic affairs, arise much less in the news, for instance every-day life, contribution of ethnic minorities to the economy, discrimination and racism against them et cetera⁶. Topics express the most important information of the context and content of an article, for example the headline being used plays an important role. Prominent headlines, as Van Dijk argues, are best memorized by readers. Thus a negative headline about a specific event/context leads to negative consequences on the recipient’s mindsets (Van Dijk, 2000:38). Additionally the words being used in a headline are carefully selected, which will be elaborated more detailed in the next section.

2.2.2 Meanings ‘between the lines’

Besides the contextual relevance, the specific formulation plays an important role. As mentioned earlier, ‘new(s) racism’ uses negative words (e.g. ‘illegal’, ‘threatening’, ‘problems’) and rather avoids blunt or explicitly racist labels. Whereas traditional content analysis focuses only on the wording, the modern Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) goes beyond the study of isolated words (which will be done first in this thesis) and further looks on the meaning of sentences. According to the constructivist view every sentence that is uttered strikes layers of meaning that may have a serious effect on the social-symbolic world in which we live (Prins, 2002). News about ethnic affairs comprise often implied or presupposed meanings and are not explicitly stated, yet they have an effect on the readership. The use of the word ‘Roma’ or ‘Gypsy’ for instance stereotypically refers to a certain image that is embedded in the opinions of society about a certain group. Those prejudices may be the result of subtle discriminatory practices in reporting. By looking for these specific words, also named lexicalizations (Van Dijk, 2000), it is possible to analyze whether or not subtle discrimination is prevalent in the press.

Further it is important to look at the way journalists represent ethnic events, for instance on what facts the report is based, known as the coherence of news. However, it must be noted, that the notion of such facts may be biased and therefore affect coherence. For example, the way in which one newspaper portrays the Roma and their contribution to the economy, their [the newspaper’s journalists] discourse seems coherent for them, but perhaps not for others. Another condition of coherence is based on the ‘functional relations’ between the meanings of sentences themselves instead of the facts (Van Dijk, 2000:40). The news in general is established in a top-down style, beginning with the general summary and subsequent specification of details. Albeit, Van Dijk argues “the level of description and amount of detail on each level will depend not only on contextual relevance, but also on whether or not this will contribute to (de)emphasizing our good practices and their bad one[s]” (Van Dijk, 2000:41). In other words, the coverage on ethnic issues sometimes leaves out some details that could affect the image of ‘us’ the majority population. Again the pattern of contrasting self-presentation and other-presentation becomes obvious.

An example of such a semantic construction of opposites is the use of ‘disclaimers’ which in particular present types of underlying sentiments about the in-group and the out-group. Examples are the

following types: ‘We have nothing against foreigners, but...’ (Apparent Denial); ‘There are also nice Roma...but on the whole...’ (Apparent Concession); ‘Of course it is sad for...that...but...’ (Apparent Empathy) or ‘I have nothing against them...but my clients...’ (Transfer) (Van Dijk, 2000:41).

2.2.3 Formulations, words and rhetoric’s

In order to understand the significance of media discourse it is not only necessary to analyze the meaning of sentences. “These various forms or formulation patterns of discourse may themselves emphasize or de-emphasize meanings” (Van Dijk, 2000:41). As indicated in the section of contextual relevance, the headline of a newspaper article does not only inform about the context and the content of the article, it also comprises specific words. Further it has been elaborated that negative topics about ethnic minorities appear particularly in (big) headlines and on front pages (Lubbers, Scheepers, & Vergeer, 2000; Van Dijk, 2000), whereas other news about ethnic minorities appear in less prominent sections. In this respect, the way in which headlines are constructed (the wording and the sentiment they spread) is of particular importance and interest when it comes to media discourse analysis.

2.3 Conclusion

The media discourse contains various levels and features playing a role in the presentation and expression of (negative) sentiments about ethnic minorities, based on the findings of the above mentioned scholars (Fowler, 2013; Lubbers et al., 2000; Prins, 2002; Schneeweis, 2012; Van Dijk, 1993, 2000, 2012). Journalistic discourse in particular has been analyzed from several angles with different emphases in which the role of language and the juxtaposition of social images play a major role (Desiderio, 2012; Fowler, 1991, 2013; Richardson, 2007; Van Dijk, 2000). The connoted meaning of power differentials between the established in-group and the out-group, as argued by Thornton (2014), and the use of racist practices (Van Dijk, 2000) create sentiments, attitudes, beliefs and sometimes deeply rooted prejudices. It is however through language that people describe and argue about things, hence the social constructions of stereotypes, prejudices and attitudes towards the Roma are mainly constructed via language. “Language is not something ephemeral, but has a material relevance” (Desiderio, 2012:4), thus the relations between power and language are in this respect central to the conduct of analysis.

The following chapter will elaborate in more detail the methods that will be used to analyze newspaper articles and to detect discriminatory practices. Therefore, the displayed findings will be used as indicators for the use of comparative newspaper analysis and the discourse analysis as a consequence thereof, to evaluate and contrast the types of media representation of Roma in both tabloid and quality newspapers.

III. Methodological Approach – The Complexity of Media Representations

In order to establish an adequate form of discourse analysis, first it has to be defined how such an analysis can be approached and which criteria will be used to conduct the research. Therefore, the first section will introduce the research design, mentioning all relevant key points and a justification why this research design is most suitable to analyze the main concept of stereotyping and representation in the media. The focus hereby lies on the units of analysis (words) chosen for this research in the context of the units of observation which are the newspaper articles as a whole that are to be compared. Further, the ways in which the empirical dataset of original newspaper articles was derived is explained. The pre-selection process and the final selection process of the newspaper articles will be clarified and justified, by keeping previous scholarly research in mind vis-à-vis the new research conducted in this thesis. In a final step, the main tool of qualitative analysis – the analysis of newspaper discourse - will be introduced and the process of its precise application will be explained. It is intended to create a conclusive method of analysis that reflects upon the main idea to find an appropriate answer to the imposed research questions.

3.1 Research Design

The research questions will be answered by conducting a qualitative research. The method employed to de-construct and analyze journalistic texts in order to better understand the relations of power and social inequalities established by language (Wodak, 1989) is based on Critical Discourse Analysis. As a further step the research design can be framed as a comparative case study for there are two cases (tabloid and qualitative newspaper articles) which will be compared due to their representation of the Roma. The method that was chosen is most suitable for analyzing case studies as well as verbal or written varieties within the chosen data set. The analytical part of the thesis is based on a qualitative content and discourse analysis which is implemented in order to answer the research question. In other words, the research is going to be descriptive.

The theoretical considerations that will follow only concentrate on the role of the written press media - in particular daily newspapers - although the influence of magazines, television or the radio play an important part as well in the creation of public attitudes towards ethnic minorities. The branch ‘written press media’ consists of various types of newspapers, such as tabloids with different sociopolitical orientations, ideologies and different ways of reporting on ethnic affairs than of the elite press. The news articles are considered to be reflections of images present in the national media and society and therefore create an appropriate base to obtain insight about the used types of representation of ethnic minorities, here Roma. Since the focus of the analysis is amongst others on the question of how social inequalities and subtle discrimination are created, reported and justified by the use of language in the media Wodak and Meyer argue: “CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized and so on, by language use (or in discourse)” (Wodak & Meyer, 2002:10) which makes a comparative newspaper analysis with elements of CDA justifiable. Several criteria of discourse analysis will be adopted, for they have been selected from the theoretical arguments in chapter II. In particular, the thematic categories of newspaper contents elaborated by Van Dijk (2000:38), the use of language, rhetorics

and formulations as well as the juxtaposition of images will be analyzed, inspired by research from Wodak and Meyer (2002), Richardson (2007) and the works of Fowler (1991, 2013) and Fairclough (2003; Fairclough et al., 2011).

The decision to conduct a comparative case study, namely the comparison of national tabloid and quality newspapers reporting about a particular event or topic, is based on comparable longitudinal case studies about representations of ethnic minorities in the media by Lubbers, Scheepers and Wester (Lubbers, Scheepers, & Wester, 1998), d'Haennens and de Lange (d'Haenens & De Lange, 2001) and Van Dijk (2013a). Rather than focusing on ethnic minorities in general, this research highlights the case of Roma media representation and in particular emphasizes to compare different newspaper genres, which will be adding to the scholarly landscape of ethnic affairs and media representation, in order to find out whether or not stereotyping is prevalent in recent national newspapers, with an emphasis on the elite discourse and diverging national patterns. The way in which this will be done asks for further explanation to be located in the next sections.

3.2 Data Collection Method

The focus is on the portrayal of Roma in two national newspapers per country having respectively high numbers of circulation where one represents the media branch of tabloid newspapers and another quality newspaper for making a comparison possible. The choice of analyzing national newspapers from three Western European Member States was made in order to establish a cross-country analysis to see how national media represent the Roma differently. Germany has a long historical burden of discrimination and racism towards Roma (the word holocaust is known as 'porajmos' in Romany language). Also the situation in Great Britain shows problematic conditions of integration and social circumstances. Contrary, the Netherlands have a rather different situation concerning the Roma, since the numbers of Roma populations are respectively low compared to the other two countries of comparison.

The six selected national newspapers are reputable dailies and their high numbers of circulation in each national context suggest their prominence, legitimacy, and authority (Martin & Copeland, 2003; Schneeweis, 2012). Although scholars have discerned the discourse on the Roma that is predominant in several European nations, there are national variations of this same discourse, and these are reflected in the different national newspapers. The choice of analyzing tabloid newspaper articles in comparison to quality newspaper articles derives from the research objective to highlight the subtlety in discrimination and on the other hand to reveal peculiar nationally situated expressions of the Roma as reported in national newspapers. Tabloid newspapers are generally assumed to use more blatant and taboo-breaking rhetorical expressions compared to quality newspapers, where discrimination is more complex and more difficult to identify.

Consequently 159 articles have been selected from online platforms of the respective newspapers that can be retrieved from the official homepages of the newspapers (see Appendix 1). Press discourses concerning the Roma were sought out in each newspaper (mentioned below) and exposed in their temporary or semi-frequent occurrence around several key events or topics of discussion between 2012 and 2014. The respective newspapers from which the articles have been retrieved are the following,

Süddeutsche Zeitung, *The Guardian* and *Trouw* (as examples of qualitative newspapers) and *Bild*, *The Daily Mirror* and *De Telegraaf* (representing the branch of tabloid newspapers).

In order to detect patterns of stereotyping and diverging ways of representations as well as not to exceed the research frame of this thesis, particular events and topics of reporting are being demarcated based on the theoretical indicators derived from the theoretical concepts of the previous chapter. The analysis hence focuses on the ways that events and their participants are being represented and whether structures of the text do convey generally positive or negative opinions and sentiments. The data set of 159 newspaper articles in total have been pre-selected by using the following key-terms: 'Roma', 'Sinti', 'Gypsy', 'Zigeuner'. After that the articles have been divided into categories of thematic contexts, inspired by Van Dijk's work (2000) (see Appendix 2.1) to make a later comparison of media representation possible. These topics were not purposely chosen to be articles of scrutiny but are in line with Van Dijk's (2000:38) contexts of reporting and they were in general the topics most present in the media coverage about the issue of Roma. However, the exact wording, as being used by Van Dijk, has been changed into a more neutral wording in order to prevent bias. For example, the categories 'social problems' or 'reception problems' have been re-named into 'social issues' and 'reception issues' to stay neutral and detect all newspaper articles appropriately. The general topics of news representation are (1) cultural characterizations and habits of Roma; (2) focus on threats (e.g. violence, crime, drugs, and imprisonment); (3) social issues (e.g. welfare, employment); (4) reception issues (e.g. housing); (5) integration of Roma and (6) reports about discrimination (7) acknowledgements and establishments of monuments and (8) other topics (e.g. sports, art, music etc.). An important factor hereby is to what extent the selected newspapers report about the different topics, how often articles appear about the topics and how the Roma are depicted in the articles of scrutiny. It is expected that not all newspapers do publish the same amount of articles about each topic, based on the experience from the pre-selection procedure, which is an important observation to be taken into consideration.

It is of high interest and importance to observe how the reports are structured and what they reveal about the facts and details about the situation of Roma. Do newspaper articles elucidate or do they spread prejudices? Are the opinions raised by national journalists or are also Roma journalists covering about the events? Hence, the collection of newspaper articles will in particular focus on reported events, where also editorials, opinion articles, book reviews or documental reports have been selected. The type of data, the national newspaper articles, are qualitative original data and show direct reporting (focus on the wording) and attitudes towards the Roma. This is most appropriate in order to answer the research question to what extent subtle prejudices and stereotypes about the Roma ethnic minority are being reported in quality newspapers in Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain from 2012 until 2014?

3.3 Data Analysis

The analysis of this paper uses analytical characteristics retrieved from previously conducted research including van Dijk (2000) and Erjavec, Hrvatin and Kelbl (2000), Fairclough (2003) or Desiderio (2012) who have concluded that media portrayal of ethnic minorities plays an influential role where often prejudices and stereotypes are spread or uphold. However, their focus was mostly on tabloid newspapers

and apparently in some cases almost 15 years have passed since then, except the recent study by Desiderio. The purpose in this thesis, thus, is to expound the semantic relation which is set up in news discourses concerning the representation of Roma people linked to recent contexts and events.

Starting with reading the press articles (see Appendix 1) in order to identify statements about the Roma, the analysis compares the national newspaper texts to each other, in an attempt to identify the common story – the “parallels and the common genealogies that unite [...] apparently disparate occasions of discourse” (Spurr, 1993:3-4). As Richardson notes “text cannot be viewed or studied in isolation since texts are not produced or consumed in isolation: all texts exist, and therefore must be understood, in relation to other texts” (Richardson, 2007:100).

Therefore it is important to see the news article in a whole context and in comparison to other articles about the same topic while looking at all aspects of the representation of Roma as such. An analytical scheme has been worked out which shows the steps of the conducted discourse analysis (Appendix 4). Of the 159 pre-selected articles 58 newspaper articles (Appendix 3) have been selected for the detailed analysis, according to the analytical scheme. Hereby, ten articles per newspaper have been chosen for scrutiny (except 8 articles of Trouw that had not published more articles in the time frame of 2012 – 2014). This choice is based on the sometimes similar articles of one newspaper referring to one event, which would be repetitive if analyzed. Another aspect is the frame of the bachelor thesis as such, which would go beyond the framework of this thesis, therefore a more detailed analysis of less articles has been chosen instead of a more general analysis of many articles.

The detailed application of the analytical scheme will function as follows: By first categorizing the articles to their context or topic dealing with (see Appendix 2.2), the focus, secondly, is on the headline. What does the headline reveal? To which context is it linked? Which words are being used? What is the general message/opinion which derives from the headline? By giving examples it is possible to categorize the headline as rather positive, neutral or negative.

In order to detect the ‘meanings between the lines’ it will be examined whether or not lexicalizations such as ‘Gypsy’ or ‘Zigeuner’ are used instead of referring to Roma. Very often Romanians are being equated with Roma, if this is the case it also shows a sort of generalization, which might establish distorted pictures of Roma and even re-enforce prejudices.

The perspective from which the article has been written is another point to be analyzed. Does the report, hence, make a distinction between the actions of Roma in contrast to the majority population? For instance, is there a foregrounding of the ‘out-groups’ negative characteristics and actions and an understating of their positive attributes and social activities (Richardson, 2007; Van Dijk, 2000)? The juxtaposition of strikingly contrasting images could be understood as a subtle way of making the Roma look different from us, hence it must be figured out by means of which features the image of the Roma is being constructed in the articles of analysis.

Minorities have already less access to the process of newsmaking, they do not control the sources of discourses that are the basis of daily newsmaking, as argued by Van Dijk (2000). For instance press conferences, briefings, information brochures, press releases, interviews, documentations and so forth are often conducted by the dominant (mostly European, ‘white’) majority of journalists. And since media provide ‘first facts’ it is crucial to ask who provides information sources on which the reports are based?

Here, we might encounter a problem, due to the fact that it is not always possible to indicate where the information comes from in a retrospective way. However, it might be helpful to at least take a look at which facts or data the report is based on. Here, the intertextuality also plays a role, meaning in its most obvious sense the “presence of actual elements of other texts within a text – quotations” (Fairclough, 2003:39). However, external elements might also be incorporated in news texts in a less obvious way. For instance, if we think of reported speech “it is possible not only to quote what has been said or written elsewhere, it is possible to summarize it” (Fairclough, 2003:39). Reported speech is applied to reinforce an opinion, to delineate a point of view as true, to justify that the stories being presented in the news represent reality and what really happens. Thus, the relevance of reported speech “does not lie in what it reports, nor even in whether what is reported is true or not, but in how it is constructed and in what it signifies” (Desiderio, 2012:6). By already making little amendments in the wording of reported speech (direct as well as indirect speech) the message of the article changes in response to that. Desiderio (2012) demonstrates that by using reported speech the journalist who directly or indirectly quotes a statement has the ability to change the words being said. Hence, we do not exactly know whether what is reported is precisely the description of reality, it can either correspond to reality or be distorted by anger, anxiety or xenophobic attitudes. As a consequence, the stories, arguments and words used in a newspaper article might be turned into something true and unquestionable, which makes stereotyping possible.

By comparing the ways in which newspapers report about specific events, we might get an appropriate insight of how reported texts and voices are re-contextualized in relation to other newspaper articles reporting about the same issue. A further aspect is to critically observe whether the journalists use universalizations, categorizations, assumptions or presuppositions. As Fairclough argues, the news discourse about ethnic minorities often uses hegemony as attempted universalization of particulars which entails a reduction of dialogicality (Fairclough, 2003). When other voices and the attribution to them of quotations, a form of intertextuality is given, then the most dialogical option is achieved – inclusion – which must be the idealistic way of reporting, by taking different viewpoints into consideration.

The final category of specific formulations of each article has been divided into the category of wording or formulations and the use of disclaimers. Regarding the former, research by Fowler has shown it is a common practice in media coverage on ethnic affairs by for instance mitigating the “negative actions of in-groups or ‘our’ organizations” (Fowler, 1991, 2013). Thus, the exact wording will be scrutinized. Also it must be recognized whether hyperboles (“dozens of Roma”), exaggerations, categorizations (“these Roma are Germany’s most unscrupulous thieves” see Appendix 1.65), the choice of verbs and adjectives as well as the appearance of metaphors (“waves of Roma coming”) have been used in the news reports for they are often chosen to put more emphasis on negative consequences (also referred to as ‘melodramatic pattern’(Erjavec et al., 2000:19; Sedláková, 2006) by which situations of ethnic issues are dramatized and moral panics are being created. Hartley has named this phenomenon the ‘myth of marginality’ (J.Hartley, 1984 in Sedláková, 2006)).

3.4 Conclusion

Having de-constructed and analyzed the formulations and language of the respective newspaper discourses, a comparative analysis will be conducted in order to find answers to the sub-questions. Hence, after each newspaper article has been analyzed according to the analytical scheme, it is possible to conclude whether the respective article is rather stereotyping or not (see further Appendix 4). For instance, if a newspaper article comprises a headline of sensational and dramatizing formulations, without using factual statements but rather assumptions and therefore constitutes to a rather negative representation of Roma, then the article can be considered to be stereotyping. Of course, the analysis and the classifications will not always occur in such a consistent way, for which it is necessary to take precise examples of newspaper sections into consideration.

In general it is important to find out whether there are different representations within tabloid newspapers compared to quality newspapers. But also it has to be examined what differences and peculiarities exist when comparing the analyzed articles per country. These steps are crucial in order to detect possible stereotyping and ethnic prejudices in the news coverage, for it can be best achieved by conducting a final comparative analysis. Therefore, the actual research – the newspaper discourse analysis – aims to not only find answers to the stated sub-questions, but also tries to impose a dialogue with other scholars in the field of media analysis. For example, whether or not Richardson's 'juxtaposition of contrasting images' (2007) or a reduction of dialogicality, as argued by Fairclough (2003, 2013) is observable due to the use of for instance generalizations.

The issues highlighted in this thesis are complex and the opinions and representations diverse. It is not the aim of this research to make definitive and general statements about the situation and views of all Roma, the attempt is rather to give an overview of the status quo of media representation. This research is rather exploratory in the sense that it provides contextualized understandings of key issues and features of the media representation of Roma in the three Member States. Accordingly, this thesis offers grounded insights that are of wider relevance for developing a deeper understanding of the role of media discourse regarding deep rooted myths and attitudes towards Roma living across the EU.

IV. Newspaper Discourse on the Roma Ethnic Minority

In this chapter the actual discourse analysis will be carried out by first looking at the general portraying of Roma, secondly the ways of representations among tabloid newspapers vis-à-vis qualitative newspapers are covered, in order to answer the second sub-question. And, thirdly, the cross-country analysis is dealt with by means of comparing the diverging patterns of national news coverage about the Roma. In each section, examples and excerpts from the analyzed articles will be presented since the representations as such are complex and diverse in comparison to each other. Further, this chapter aims to develop insights in the reality of media representation of the ethnic minority in order to relate the empirical findings to what other scholars, introduced in chapter II, have noted and which aspects and observations are new or different to previous research. The overall argument of this chapter is that the media discourse on the Roma ethnic minority lacks a complete image and representation which is in fact constituted of features such as dramatization, one-sided narrations and if critical, in case of some qualitative articles, still framing the Roma as the victims of the majority population, leaving hardly no space to positive news coverage. In other words, the Roma find themselves between certain stereotypes, being presented in the following sections. What will be argued is that despite the fact that the qualitative discourse presents heterogeneous, diverse and critical insights about the lives of Roma, the role of the Roma within society still appears to be distant and different.

4.1 The general image about the Roma

The average media representation of the Roma minority group, among all newspapers, can be described in terms of problems and difficulties either being presented to be caused by Roma (directly or indirectly) or dealing with high levels of exclusion, persecution or discrimination against them. The difference between these two ways of representation is substantial, however they already reveal the problematic situation Roma people are facing across the EU. Almost all newspaper, however, report also about discrimination against Roma, some promoting anti-discriminatory practices and contributing to a more complex image. Nevertheless, for the most part Roma are represented as the distant other, the victims of exclusion, segregation and persecution (which is certainly true to some extent), yet stories about Roma living normal lives, with decent jobs and success are hardly ever been found in national newspapers. Hence, the chance to develop an overall positive image about Roma is often displaced by sensational climactic events and negative stories, by which stereotypes and prejudices are reinforced instead of being refuted. It can be argued, in this respect, that the concept of a ‘melodramatic pattern’ elaborated by Erjavec (2000:19) and Sedlakova (2006) is applicable and still present in the current media coverage, however with differences per newspaper genre.

In order to shed light on the different and complex aspects of media representation about the Roma, the following qualitative analysis is going to examine the difference between the news discourses in tabloid vs. qualitative newspapers and further reacts to national contexts and ways of reporting.

4.2 Comparison of Roma representation in tabloid vs. quality newspapers

The images derived from the analyzed newspapers have first to be understood with regard to their general thematic context, being the first point of the analysis. Due to the fact, that most of the articles address more than one topic or category, which made the classification to one single category difficult, two rather broad categories had to be subdivided. In particular, the category “focus on threats” was subdivided into either “crimes/threats by Roma” or “crimes/threats towards Roma”. As well as the category “reports about discrimination”, being subdivided into “discrimination against Roma” or “anti-discrimination”. Making both distinctions was necessary in order to examine the content of the articles in more detail, for to report either the Roma committing crimes or them [Roma] being the victims of crimes makes a salient contrast.

By looking at the graph on thematic contexts in the analyzed newspaper articles (Appendix 2.2) it is shown that the British *Daily Mirror* devotes 56% of its total amount of 23 articles on articles dealing with crimes committed by Roma. Also the German *Bild Zeitung* reported respectively much on crimes perpetrated by Roma (23% of the total amount of 61 articles on Roma). In contrast, articles about crimes committed against Roma only found very little coverage (0 articles in the British and Dutch tabloid newspapers, only one article in the German *Bild*). The British *Guardian* in this respect, reported five articles dealing with crimes committed by Roma (14% of total amount of 35 articles), but also four articles about crimes committed against Roma (11%), which emphasizes the more complex and heterogeneous way of news representation in the British qualitative newspaper compared to its tabloid counterpart. Regarding the category of discrimination matters against Roma the news coverage is rather complex and differs among each newspaper. The *Guardian*, *Bild* and *Süddeutsche* reported extensively about discrimination against Roma, which rises awareness of their situation and social exclusion. Also the Dutch newspapers both reported respectively much about discrimination issues. In relation to the high frequency of articles dealing with crimes causes by Roma, the *Daily Mirror* reported considerably less about this thematic context of discrimination.

Some anti-discrimination reports among quality newspapers in Germany and the UK contributed positively to a more complex picture about the Roma, by reporting about various actors of pro-Roma campaigns. Such articles included voices of representatives of Roma communities into news reports, shedding more light on the diverse difficulties Roma are facing (see Appendix 3.12, 3.13) and criticizing actions by government officials or Roma reports, being conducted by the national government, criticizing the focus of these reports. In more detail, one specific article (“The real story of Britain’s Roma: excluded, ignored and neglected” (see Appendix 3.13) contributed substantially to a positive and more multi-faceted image towards Roma. By referring to Roma as the “continent’s most persecuted ethnic minority”, who are facing increased “rhetoric [‘s] of hostility”, who have been “ostracized”, the author tries to show its readers the other side of the coin. By directly quoting a spokesperson of a British Roma Support Group, who criticizes the aforementioned report on integration stating “the strategy is a pathetic document. It contains no funding or even targets. The UK is now one of the most recalcitrant [countries] in pursuing the spirit and the practice of exploring how Roma communities are integrated into European Member States”. This article is exemplary for the not always negative news representation about Roma, using striking headlines not to stigmatize the Roma, but to raise concern and increase reflection on the issues amongst its readership.

In relation to observations from d'Haennens en de Lange stating that the issues on the “media agenda can determine the public agenda, and influence how the public thinks and acts through the way in which it is presented” (d'Haenens & De Lange, 2001:850), it could be concluded that especially such news reports might contribute to a more reflective attitude among the public in terms of Roma discrimination and integration.

Nonetheless, it must be argued that exactly this way of representation contributes to a sort of ‘re-stigmatization’ of the Roma by pushing them into the role of the victim of the majority population. Exemplary for this pattern are articles by both German newspapers concerning the topics of the establishment of monuments for Roma Holocaust victims, or public debates about the renaming of stereotyped everyday objects such as the German ‘Zigeunersoße’ or ‘Zigeunersteak’. These kind of debates are somehow typical for German discourses, discussing debates not even being raised by Roma themselves and especially those topics hit the headlines, instead of covering more problematic conditions of Roma living in Western European countries or even positive reports of those Roma, who have decent jobs, work hard and contribute to the national economy. In this context, the theoretical concept of Richardson’s ‘ideological square’ (2007) becomes apparent. One could argue that the important facts –which are often left out of the newspaper discourse – the reasons why Roma face hostility and discrimination, often standing in correlation to incoherent national integration policies and strategies (not covering the urgency of resolving Roma discrimination and persecution) – would imply to admit such shortcomings. In order to perpetuate the good image of the majority population vs. the negative other-presentation, such concessions have been left out in most cases. Such ways of representation of Roma as victims of discrimination, makes subtle discrimination visible in particular, leaving the whole picture of the Roma ethnic minority incomplete.

Comparing the two different types of newspaper articles it must be noted that tabloid newspaper articles are on average much shorter than reports from qualitative newspapers. The former often use more sensational and dramatizing rhetoric (‘melodramatic pattern’) and often miss specific details and facts, preferring subjective statements by people rather than referring their statements to statistical reports and studies (‘lack of intertextuality’ (Fairclough, 2003)). In this respect, Roma often appear in a passive manner, things are being decided or done, for or against them, they are seldom quoted directly which re-enforces the passive representation. Unless they become actors of negative actions such as crime, human trafficking, illegal entry or stay, violence or strange cultural habits, in such cases they are presented as the directly involved and active actors. Regarding the tabloid news coverage it can be verified that Richardson’s ‘ideological square’ of positive self-presentation versus the negative other-presentation is applied in the ways of representation. Authors of qualitative newspaper articles often report in a more critical way and reflect upon the overall political and social responsibilities, establishing a more multi-faceted image of Roma (see Appendix 3.18; 3.19; 3.31). By highlighting particular facts and stories about the Roma, the author of an article has the power to contribute to the image of the Roma, either (s)he reinforces negative attitudes or criticizes and reflect about the various forms of discrimination, replacing assumptions and exaggerations as often used in tabloid newspaper articles (e.g. “the thieves appeared to be Roma” see Appendix 1.73). Referring to Wodak’s (1989) argumentation that the ways in which language and texts are being structured establish relations of power and social inequalities, it can be

verified that there is a pattern of reinforcing attitudes by medial portraying and strategic use of journalistic language.

Using assumptions instead of clear and consistent facts, as additionally justified by Desiderio (2012), can clearly be stated to be a feature of tabloid news coverage, especially when the content is related to crimes by Roma (see Appendix 3.1; 3.4-3.7; 3.17; 3.20; 3.23; 3.24; 3.25; 3.33; 3.46; 3.56). Taking examples of the category 'Threats/Crimes by or against Roma', cases of pickpocketing networks in reference to Roma appear regularly, however they are being outlined in different manners. The *Daily Mirror* stated in an article (Appendix No.3.4) "Child pocketing networks were becoming increasingly common as Roma communities travel across Europe" which fosters the creation of the generalizing attitude that Roma are increasingly engaged in crimes. Especially, the choice of words is exemplary in this respect. By stating "Roma communities travel across Europe", the Roma are clearly and unequivocally connected with rising crimes, assuming that all travelling Roma are actively involved in criminal conspiracy. In this respect, the subject "Roma communities" is used to generalize, by which a subtle sentiment of criminality resonates. In contrast, *the Guardian* also reported about the stereotyping connection of crimes to Roma, yet in a different way by antagonizing "[that]empirically there is little to substantiate the perception that Roma cause crimes" referring to a study concluding that there is no statistical link between Roma and crimes (Appendix No.3.13).

The way of reporting in an assuming and generalizing way was also observable among articles dealing with the topic of reception issues. Interestingly, only the British and the German tabloid newspapers reported about such thematic issues (21% in *the Daily Mirror*; 13% in *Bild*). One article from *the Daily Mirror* is exemplary for the depiction of Roma concerning reception issues. The striking headline of "Farmer uses his tractor to barricade travelers in after they refused to leave the land" (Appendix 3.1) already gives a negative impression that travelers have been living on the private ground of a farmer. Also the chosen formulations such as "travelers refuse to leave" and the verb "barricade" constitutes a negative impression by just reading the headline. In fact, what is highlighted in the article at a later point, the Roma had not been on the land for more than three hours, but were immediately blocked by the farmer and his staff. The perspective of writing is clearly from the side of the farmer and the local population, the Roma are being referred to the ones who did not want to leave, who in turn "ruin the land". In other words, the Roma's bad action (occupation of private land) is presented vis-à-vis the good faith of the farmer (trying to act according to law by "peacefully dispersing" the Roma using his tractor to barricade them as a sign they were not welcome there). Even the police was involved in this case and was directly stated, presenting the actions of the farmers as legally right and turning the action into something unquestionable. Other examples of reports about poor living situations of Roma (see Appendix 3.61; 3.64; 3.72) have been structured similarly, giving the impression that all Roma live in unclean and neglected housing.

The tabloid newspapers *Daily Mirror* and *Bild* both reported the most about crimes committed by Roma often in connection to stealing, networks of pickpocketing or human trafficking. One example of a climactic event that gained the most publicity in the analyzed time frame is the case about a blond girl (Maria or 'Blond Angel') found in a Roma camp in Greece, who had been sold by her biological mother (a Bulgarian Roma), which caused extensive upheaval in the British and German media fostering the formation of attitudes that many Roma are involved in child trafficking or in selling their own children.

Almost all newspapers being analyzed reported about this case, yet in different manners. In particular, 30% among *Daily Mirror* articles, 17% of *the Guardian*, 16% of *Bild* articles and 5% among *Süddeutsche* were dealing with the case of Maria, which was predominant in October and November 2013. Both Dutch newspapers did not cover the case. Surprisingly, the case of ‘Maria’ was afterwards linked to the missing girl Madeleine McCann, where assumptions appeared, that Roma could have a direct connection to the kidnapping. Especially in this case, striking headlines among tabloid have been used such as: “Greek girl Maria ‘bought as an investment by her jailed foster parents” (Appendix 3.7) or in the German *Bild Zeitung* “Der ‘blonde Engel’: Sollte Maria mit 12 verheiratet werden?” (Appendix 23) and “Spekulationen nach dem Fall der blonden Maria: Wurde Maddie von Roma entführt?” (Appendix 3.24). In contrast, *the Guardian* reported in various ways about the case of Maria. Two articles (Appendix 3.37; 3.38) also covered the story as such, using headlines like “Childless couple arrested in Greece for ‘buying’ Roma baby” and “Maria case exposes extent of child trafficking in crisis-hit Greece”. Yet, one article (Appendix 3.39) was structured in a more critical perspective by reporting that many Roma, also across Britain, fear a so called “witch hunt” due to the case of “Maria” in Greece, raising awareness and warning not to generalize all Roma to be part of child trafficking affairs.

A similar case of child trafficking affairs arose attention in Ireland just immediately after the case of ‘Maria’ got public. It dealt with an Irish blond girl that had been removed from her Roma family for she looked not like her family members “Second blonde girl seized from gypsy family in Ireland ‘looks nothing like siblings and speaks much better English” (Appendix: 3.8). Judges as well as the police did not believe her parents who even provided her birth certificate et cetera. It turned out later that the Irish girl was in fact their biological daughter, after being examined “painstakingly” (as being described by the *Daily Mirror*). The choice of words in this respect illustrates the way of presenting the story by stating the Roma of being accused of abducting and trafficking their children vs. the police and the medical staff working “painstakingly” and in “good faith”, visualizing the juxtaposition of images contributing to the positive self-presentation of the Irish officials. Whereas the British tabloid newspaper kept on covering the removal from the girl’s family, *the Guardian* further reported critically about this incident by publishing the article “Call for Irish ombudsman to investigate the family removal” (Appendix 3.16) dealing with the question of how a girl could be easily removed from her biological parents due to the fact that she looked different to the other siblings of the family.

By looking particularly on the headlines and their wording it can be argued that news presented as scandalous and sensational gain more public attention and are therefore also written in this way, which verifies Richardson’s theoretical statement from chapter two, arguing that news must be seen as market product, being “the end-product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories” (Richardson, 2007:77).

However, this is not the whole image. The levels of discrimination Roma are facing in Western EU Member States has been covered extensively by qualitative newspapers, also referring to problems of social issues (e.g. insufficient health care provided to Roma, higher numbers of imprisonments of Roma (Appendix 3.18)). Often the branch of qualitative newspapers tries to investigate and elucidate the various forms of discrimination, also denouncing such circumstances, yet they often refer to the same stereotypes as tabloid newspapers, meaning that Roma often live in poor living and social conditions. Still there are

positive examples, such as the article “The media should call it slavery, not 'Traveller slavery’” (Appendix 1.57), reflecting upon the issues of medial ethnic marginalization by stating “almost all of my experience of Britain's most marginalised ethnic minorities had come from the media. And that's my problem with the verdicts: they have already fuelled a storm of headlines, copy and images that link Gypsies and Travellers – yet again – to crime and brutality. A lot of the reports were sensationalist, highly racialised and will inevitably leave a stain. It's "Traveller slavery," that is the story – not "slavery". Such a way of critical reflection upon the impacts of media reports and their role in ethnic marginalization shows the extent to which the media have the capacity to make changes in attitudes and sentiments about ethnic minorities what has also been argued by Van Dijk (2000) of what he calls the ‘symbolic nature’ of news discourse.

All in all, it is hard to find a generally applicable answer to the question of differences between the representations of Roma by tabloid newspapers compared to qualitative newspapers. Tabloid newspapers, as assumed, use more blatant and stereotyped forms of representation, by increasingly using hyperboles, metaphors, exaggerations, making use of the rhetorical ‘ideological square’ (‘our good actions vs. their bad actions’) as well as referring to less empirical references as their qualitative counterparts do. In contrast, the qualitative newspaper focus on a more heterogeneous news representation of the Roma, however they often keep a sort of ‘re-stigmatization’, by presenting Roma in terms of being victims of the actions of the majority population.

The following section will take a closer look at the nationally situated illustrations of Roma, by additionally focusing on the diversity of national and cultural mind-sets towards ethnic minorities, here Roma.

4.3 Cross-country comparison

One of the first observations from the pre-selection process showed already, that the Dutch newspapers reported substantially less about Roma issues, than the German and the British did. Therefore, it seems logical to examine the overall Roma populations in each Member State, which could explain why there would be more newspaper coverage in one country than in another. The assumption here is that if there are many Roma residents in a country, there would be more stories and coverage about them. Yet there is a lack of accountable national quantitative data in relation to the Roma resident in the three selected countries and population estimates range widely. As Brown, Dwyer and Scullion (Philip Brown, Martin, & Scullion, 2014) argue, the attempt to estimate or count the population size of a highly mobile and transnational ethnic group can be controversial. According to statistical output derived from the webpage of the European Council dealing with Roma issues⁷ (providing data from 14.09.2010) estimates range from 150.000 to 300.000 with an average estimate of 225.000 Roma residing in the UK, which makes 0,37% of the population. Recent results of a study by the University of Salford, however, estimated the indigenous population of Roma to be in between 200.000 – 300.000, combined with the numbers of migrant Roma population, the figure is around 400.000 – 500.000 living in the UK (P. Brown et al., 2013). German estimates vary from 70.000 to 140.000 with an average estimate of 105.000 Roma living in Germany, which is 0,13% of the overall population in Germany. The number in the Netherlands range from 32.000 to 48.000 with an average estimate of 40.000 Roma residents, making up 0,24% of the total Dutch

population. The total numbers of Roma living in the Netherlands is substantially lower compared to Germany and the UK, however, in regard to the total population, they make up a larger percentage than in Germany. Thus, the answer of why Dutch newspapers cover Roma issues much less, cannot be answered by only focusing on population estimates. In relation to Eastern European countries, the aforementioned numbers are comparatively low. The average percentages of Roma populations among Central and Eastern European countries such as Romania (8,32%), Bulgaria (10,33%), Hungary (7,05%), Serbia (8,18%), the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (9,59%) or the Slovak Republic (9,17%) are considerably higher. In these countries Roma face even higher levels of discrimination and hostility, so that we have to take the different cultural or national mindsets towards ethnic minorities into consideration.

Although some Roma have lived in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands for a number of years, the population has increased significantly in the wake of the EU accession of certain Central and Eastern European countries in 2004 and 2007 (P Brown, Dwyer, & Scullion, 2013). What followed were increased concerns among European societies about ‘invasions’ of Romanians and Bulgarians etc. streaming into Western European countries, which is also observable in some of the newspaper articles (see e.g. Appendix 1.93). In this respect it was observable that sometimes Romanians were being equated with Roma. Taking into consideration, that the overall negative image of the Roma, being unreliable, having strange cultural myths and habits and trying to benefit from Western welfare systems, the ‘fear of the Roma’ was being legitimized into a general negative attitude towards all migrants from Romania, in which the media coverage had an important impact.

In regard to the German context three cases gained high publicity. First, the amendment of paragraph of the ‘freedom of movement’ (‘Freizügigkeitsgesetz’) was extended in January 2013, causing striking headlines in *Bild*, using metaphorical language such as “fears of Roma invasions”/”Droht Deutschland eine Roma Welle?” (Appendix 3.27). Second, in the wake of a rather recent issue concerning another amendment, in this in case in German asylum law, declaring Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia as safe countries of origins, harsh criticism emerged blaming the new regulation among others for the exclusion of the Roma minority from applying for asylum in Germany (see further Appendix 3.30). In the context of this event the discourse on Roma heated-up again in the media as well as in the public sphere, showing the impact of news making on public attitudes. Thirdly, German newspapers, in particular *Bild*, reported extensively about holocaust commemoration and the establishment of monuments for Roma victims during the Nazi regime (although it is not subject of the analysis as such, it must be noted here that the acknowledgement of the atrocities towards the Roma comes 70 years past the holocaust and the end of WWII, which shows again, yet from another perspective, that the Roma still face more obstacles in order to gain attention).

On the one hand the newspaper coverage in Germany often stands in context of its historical burden, on the other hand newspaper articles among the tabloid *Bild* are to some extent discriminating and racialized and often linked to cultural differences of Roma. One very controversial example that occurred in the German tabloid *Bild* was the case of a man cutting his ex-girlfriends face that in general had nothing to do with Roma. Just in the end of the article, the newspaper referred to a certain habit to be common among Roma communities to cut the women’s face (‘Hurenschnitt’) as a punishment for adultery. Such a

case of categorizing a crime with Roma cultural habits is immensely contributing to the image, that all Roma women might fear such punishment, which in fact is not true (Dosta!, 2010).

With regard to the newspaper coverage among both Dutch newspapers it is even harder to formulate an appropriately fitting answer to the third sub-question of this thesis. Nevertheless, the influence of the amount of Roma populations is not significant when trying to find a link to the extent of news coverage. In this respect, one could argue either that Roma populations in the Netherlands pose the smallest population size compared to the two other countries, or that a more liberal mind-set towards ethnic minorities is present in this country, or that the news coverage about Roma is not seen as that important, to be highlighted more frequently. What can be observed, anyway, is that often the newspaper articles were dealing with situations of Roma in other EU countries, such as France or Germany.

4.4 Concluding remarks

Detecting discrimination, stereotyping and prejudices is far from easy, especially when we want to find out whether there is subtle discrimination for which we must be careful to argue generalizing. The case study done in this thesis has proven that Van Dijk's arguments (Van Dijk, 1989, 2000, 2013b) are still suitable to the recent situation, yet to a more extent it is applicable on the news coverage among tabloid newspapers.

Given what is known about the ways of media portrayals of Roma as well as the effects and theories about the media, it is remarkable that the system of media representation of the analyzed articles shows a potential causal factor in contributing to a fragmentary and one-sided or homogeneous picture of the Roma. Referring to the first sub-question on the general portrayal of Roma, it was observable that the overall news coverage is oftentimes inconsistent, (highly) selective and sensational. The Roma are in the least cases mentioned in news coverage that is positive or benign. The news report, hence, contribute to social of Roma that is being termed in connection to problems, difficulties and an overall negative impression, by either depicting the Roma as active or passive actors. In this respect, the observation is to the most extent congruent with the theoretical arguments by the presented scholars of chapter II, including (Fairclough, 2003, 2013; Fowler, 2013; Lubbers et al., 2000; Maneri & Ter Wal, 2005; Martin & Copeland, 2003; Overington, 1977; Prins, 2002; Richardson, 2007; Sedláková, 2006; Thornton, 2014; Tileaga, 2006; Van Dijk, 1991, 2000, 2012, 2013a).

Regarding the second section, trying to answer sub-question two it could be concluded that the coverage among tabloid newspapers is often inconsistent in terms of lacking facts and empirical references. What can be verified is that the assumption of tabloid newspapers using more blatant, racialized and stereotyped forms of representation appears to be correct. The role of qualitative newspapers, in comparison, is rather complex and cannot be answered by using a general answer. Often the qualitative discourse aimed to contribute a more multi-faceted image towards Roma by reflecting other perspectives of Roma issues. But also qualitative newspapers, who try to elucidate more on issues about discrimination, social exclusion and persecution, often dismiss the choice of answering the questions why this is the case and therefore leave the problem to the Roma, which I call a 're-stigmatization' by portraying them as the general victim of society.

The third sub-answer concerning national patterns of media representations of Roma reveals that the news coverage among British and German newspapers highlights issues about Roma more frequently as compared to the Dutch news coverage, which was rather less informative, since the frequency of Roma related articles was only 18 articles in total by both newspapers together in the time frame of 2012 until 2014. The differences in terms of subtle discriminatory practices by each Member State do not pose a meaningful observation, in this respect the differences of reporting per newspaper genre are certainly more expressive.

V. Conclusion

What can be derived from the newspaper analysis is that the representations of Roma are very complex which exacerbates the formulation of a general conclusion. Nonetheless, to find a general conclusion is not the aim of this paper, which already shows that the diversity of minority research and media representation cannot be summed up in a few phrases. More important is therefore the multilayered nature of images existing about the Roma, which unfortunately still today is not present in the media to the extent that it should be regarding their real situation. Taking the images derived from the selected newspaper articles, it becomes obvious that the overall images highlight a mere negative view when it comes to Roma. It must be noted in this respect that these attitudes are not spontaneous reactions of the autochthonous population, nor can they be explained by the effects of the latest economic recession as populist spokespersons often refer to (Van Dijk, 1993). Ultimately, many people of the majority population never had any form of direct contacts with the Roma minority group, nor did they experience any personal threat by them in employment, housing, or other social domains (Van Dijk, 1989:200). Yet, the coverage concerning such topics still refers to the Roma as if their presence is threatening and problematic, as being observable in those tabloid newspaper articles dealing with the respective matters.

The images which are commonly known about the Roma (the common stereotypes (Schneeweis, 2012)), are to some extent reflected by what the media represents about the Roma. However it must be noted that the attention paid to the Roma is very limited and does not show the overall complexity of Roma living in Europe. This is also remarkable when looking at the total numbers of 159 articles among the six newspapers, being published in 2012 until 2014, which shows the substantially thin coverage about Roma.

Regarding the representation of Roma in terms of thematic contexts among tabloid newspaper, they often emerge in the media associated with issues such as crime, violence, threatening behavior or strange cultural habits, which is in line with previous research conducted among tabloid newspapers (Gilroy, 2012; Overington, 1977; Uzunova, 2010; Van Dijk, 2000). Even if quality newspaper in particular try to emphasize on depicting the various forms of discrimination against the Roma, they seldom analyze the causes of the whole context of such problems, and are hardly ever explained in relation to white racism (Van Dijk, 1989). By ideally focusing more on anti-discrimination campaigns, the media has the power to shift the attention of society to a rather reflective and critical, as well as positive mind-set about Roma and also about other minorities, since they often face the same obstacles and complications. Certainly it is not the ultimate task of the journalist as such to elaborate reasons and solutions to social inequalities, yet the powerful impact of newspaper coverage on general public attitudes and ideologies must not be mitigated in this respect. In a further research, I would suggest to include the study on public attitudes, to specifically find out to which extent media representations influence the mindset of societies. However, this would leave the research frame of this thesis, still it would be advisory to include this step into further research on ethnic representations.

What derived from the discourse analysis was that the way that the Roma themselves articulate their own situation, for instance via Romani journalists or ambassadors is rather limited, which in fact makes it difficult to have their voices heard. The positive examples of (here: German newspapers reporting about increased political rights and participation of Roma, see Appendix 1) should be extended in this respect.

Evaluating the practical relevance of the overall observations of this research regarding ethnic discrimination among national newspapers to the European level it should be kept in mind that institutions of the EU and every EU country have a joint responsibility to improve the situation of the Roma minority group. In order to fulfil this agreement each member state has established a national Roma integration strategy (NRIS) or a set for integrative policy measures. The Council Recommendation (2013/C 378/01) on 'Effective Roma integration measures in the Member States' states that all EU Member States must ensure "that their national, regional and local administrative regulations are not discriminatory and do not result in segregation practices [...]". Further (under 2.4) it is said that all MS must "implement measures to combat discrimination and prejudice against Roma, sometimes referred to as anti-Gypsyism, in all areas of society. Such measures could include:

- (a) Raising awareness about the benefits of Roma integration both in Roma communities and among the general public;
- (b) Raising the general public's awareness of the diverse nature of societies, and sensitizing public opinion to the inclusion problems Roma face, including, where relevant, by addressing those aspects in public education curricula and teaching materials;
- (c) Taking effective measures to combat anti-Roma rhetoric and hate speech, and addressing racist, stereotyping or otherwise stigmatizing language or other behaviors that could constitute incitement to discrimination against Roma.

It is however recognizable that there is no specific mentioning of the role of media, which shows that the Member States do not take the role and the possible impacts of the media too seriously. It is the aim of this thesis, to emphasize that especially the media have a lot of power to make a change, to break the vicious circle of discrimination the Roma find themselves in. Certainly there is a trend towards more awareness, as the elite discourse among qualitative newspaper tries to emphasize, nevertheless the importance of media influence should be included in EU resolutions, directives and recommendations to result in a more effective disposal of stereotyping and discrimination towards European Roma.

The sometimes dramatizing and sensational representation of Roma raises the question of what those observations reveal about our general belief of democracy, does the media depict reality or is it rather a subsidiary organ of the ruling elites of our governments, increasing the formation of stereotypes and the further marginalization of Roma?'. Do the analyzed reports on Roma in a general context represent a hegemonic system of coverage, at least for relatively large parts of western society? From the analytical findings it can be argued, that there are certainly differences between tabloid and qualitative news reports, but on the whole it can be vindicated that the portrayal of Roma is selective, often one-sided and lacks critical reflections. In the wake of the recent responses to the January murders of Charlie Hebdo, up-heating the debate about Islam and Muslims in Western media, *Al Jazeera* posted an opinion article⁸ which shows similarities to the outcome of this research. Regarding the role of portraying Islam, the journalist states that it is likely that anti-Muslim sentiment and crime are, at least in part, driven by one-sided, narrow, sensationalistic, and arguably bigoted western media portrayals of Islam and Muslims." The question arises, have populist and prejudiced arguments by influential spokespersons and the media become commonsensical? I argue, that the analyzed ways of representations, despite being heterogeneous, still maintain the rather negative image, as articulated above. What was known for most parts of tabloid

newspapers can also be verified when regarding their qualitative counterparts, though in a very subtle and indirect way. Certainly, no one could reasonably suggest to leave out negative portrayals of Roma among Western media. However, it is not unreasonable to ask for increased contextualized accounts, fairer portrayals and critical considerations of the causes of discrimination and subtle stereotyping towards Roma. In particular, the elite discourse should increase Roma voices as well as news coverage that does more to generalize all Roma by categorizing them in line with deeply rooted attitudes, ideologies and prejudices.

Concluding it must be stated that stereotypes and prejudices are means to categorize the world around us, yet they don't have to be true to serve a purpose (Paul, 1998). According to the scholarly literature, the patterns of representation of the Roma as the cultural or distant 'others' implies to portray them in way that often derives from the perspective of the majority population, yet it is still an important matter to portray not only bits and pieces of them. "The problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story" (TEDTalks, 2009). Therefore I argue that the duty of our society and the media is to maintain critical and develop reflexive minds in order to question news coverage more and more. The questions that arise among the readership about why Roma are being discriminated against, or why Roma very often have to live under poor living conditions, might encourage people to retrieve information independently and to research on their own, deriving their information from different sites and different media styles and perspectives.

VI. References

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VII. Appendices

Appendix 1

Pre-selected newspaper articles (Total 159)

| Appendix No. | Newspaper | Headline | Date | URL |
|-------------------|--------------|---|------------|---|
| Appendix No. 1.1 | Daily Mirror | Armed police race to gypsy Fight Club-style bare knuckle fight 'after gunshots fired' | 10.11.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/armed-police-race-gypsy-fight-4603348 |
| Appendix No. 1.2 | Daily Mirror | Tory politician says travellers refusing eviction should be EXECUTED | 31.10.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/tory-politician-says-travellers-refusing-4543928 |
| Appendix No. 1.3 | Daily Mirror | Farmer uses his tractors to barricade travellers in after they refused to leave his land | 29.08.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/farmer-uses-tractors-barricade-travellers-4131045 |
| Appendix No. 1.4 | Daily Mirror | First picture of man found shot dead in 'murder-suicide over plans for traveller camp near idyllic country home | 13.08.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/first-picture-man-found-shot-4046365 |
| Appendix No. 1.5 | Daily Mirror | The Great Big Romanian Invasion: 5 essential lessons | 17.07.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/tv/tv-news/great-big-romanian-invasion-5-3874472 |
| Appendix No. 1.6 | Daily Mirror | Greek girl 'Maria' found in Roma gypsy camp to be raised by children's charity, court rules | 03.06.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/greek-girl-maria-found-roma-3639707 |
| Appendix No. 1.7 | Daily Mirror | VIDEO: Listen to extraordinary moment train announcer warned passengers to 'beware of gypsies and thieves' at station | 19.03.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/telford-central-passengers-warned-beware-3261285 |
| Appendix No. 1.8 | Daily Mirror | Victim who had penis cut wakes from coma to tell police about his ordeal | 18.03.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/kevin-hewitts-penis-chopped-off-3258618 |
| Appendix No. 1.9 | Daily Mirror | Mum claims Madeleine McCann kidnappers may have tried to snatch her child in Algarve weeks beforehand | 09.02.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/mum-claims-madeleine-mccann-kidnappers-3127121 |
| Appendix No. 1.10 | Daily Mirror | Six Roma gypsies arrested for allegedly running international child pickpocket network | 23.11.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/six-roma-gypsies-arrested-allegedly-2840744 |
| Appendix No. 1.11 | Daily Mirror | Madeline McCann: Police hunt three 'gypsies' seen lurking near holiday apartment | 27.10.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/madeline-mccann-police-hunt-three-2644559 |
| Appendix No. 1.12 | Daily Mirror | Is this Ben Needham? Picture of Roma man suspected of being British tot missing for 22 years | 27.10.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/ben-needham-picture-roma-man-2643982 |
| Appendix No. 1.13 | Daily Mirror | Greece girl Maria's mum on run after being told she cannot have her back despite DNA match | 26.10.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/greece-girl-marias-mum-sasha-2592009 |

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|-------------------|--------------|---|------------|---|
| Appendix No. 1.14 | Daily Mirror | Greece girl Maria's parents ARE Bulgarian Roma couple, DNA tests prove | 25.10.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/greece-girl-marias-parents-bulgarian-2534546 |
| Appendix No. 1.15 | Daily Mirror | Greece girl Maria's real mum 'is Bulgarian farm hand who was too poor to keep her' | 24.10.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/greece-girl-marias-real-mum-2487441 |
| Appendix No. 1.16 | Daily Mirror | Greece girl Maria 'bought as an investment by jailed foster parents' | 24.10.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/greece-girl-maria-bought-investment-2485445 |
| Appendix No. 1.17 | Daily Mirror | Ireland's 'Maria': DNA shows girl taken from Roma family IS their daughter | 24.10.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/irelands-maria-dna-shows-girl-2486203 |
| Appendix No. 1.18 | Daily Mirror | Second blonde girl seized from gypsy family in Ireland 'looks nothing like siblings and speaks much better English' | 23.10.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/greece-girl-maria-found-second-2481967 |
| Appendix No. 1.19 | Daily Mirror | Child taken from SECOND Roma family in Ireland returned to parents | 23.10.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/child-taken-second-roma-family-2483243 |
| Appendix No. 1.20 | Daily Mirror | French travellers camped on NHS hospital car park pledge to leave today for funeral in Europe | 23.10.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/french-travellers-newport-hospital-car-2483973 |
| Appendix No. 1.21 | Daily Mirror | Travellers block NHS car park forcing doctors and nurses to be turned away | 21.10.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/nhs-car-park-travellers-block-2476869 |
| Appendix No. 1.22 | Daily Mirror | "Go Home" immigration vans to be investigated by ad watchdog over racism claims | 09.08.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/go-home-immigration-vans-investigated-2145521 |
| Appendix No. 1.23 | Daily Mirror | Travellers accuse Katie Price of being an anti-social neighbour | 09.03.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/3am/celebrity-news/travellers-accuse-katie-price-being-1753961 |

| Appendix No. | Newspaper | Headline | Date | URL |
|-------------------|--------------|---|------------|---|
| Appendix No. 1.24 | The Guardian | Tyson fury and billy joe saunders give travellers' fanbase cause to dream | 30.11.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/sport/2014/nov/30/tyson-fury-billy-joe-saunders-boxing |
| Appendix No. 1.25 | The Guardian | Broken camp, broken lives, as vigilante attack makes itself felt on Roma | 22.06.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/22/broken-lives-vigilante-justice-roma |
| Appendix No. 1.26 | The Guardian | Roma teenager in coma after being attacked by residents of French estate | 17.06.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/17/roma-teenager-coma-attacked-residents-france |
| Appendix No. 1.27 | The Guardian | Pope Francis defends Gypsies in Vatican address | 05.06.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/05/pope-francis-defends-gypsies-vatican-address |
| Appendix No. 1.28 | The Guardian | Eight charged in child sex slavery investigation | 09.05.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/may/09/eight-arrested-in-child-sex-slavery-investigation |
| Appendix No. 1.29 | The Guardian | Too many Gypsies and Travellers end up in prison – this must be addressed | 12.03.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/mar/12/too-many-gypsies-travellers-prison-education |

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| Appendix No. 1.30 | The Guardian | One in 20 prisoners of Gypsy, Romany or Traveller background, says HMIP | 11.03.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/mar/11/gypsies-roma-travellers-over-represented-jails-england-wales-prisons |
| Appendix No. 1.31 | The Guardian | I Met Lucky People: The Story of the Romani Gypsies by Yaron Matras – review | 23.02.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/feb/23/i-met-lucky-people-yaron-matras-review |
| Appendix No. 1.32 | The Guardian | Our Big Land – review | 21.02.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2014/feb/21/our-big-land-review-theatre |
| Appendix No. 1.33 | The Guardian | Romanians do not recognise this thief stereotype – and neither do the British | 18.02.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/feb/18/romanian-s-thief-stereotype-british-people-daily-mail-rudi-roma-romanian |
| Appendix No. 1.34 | The Guardian | A Roma reality check | 12.02.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/feb/12/roma-reality-check |
| Appendix No. 1.35 | The Guardian | Yes, Gypsies lag in education, but the reasons are complex and cultural | 22.01.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jan/22/gypsies-lagging-education-gypsies-travellers |
| Appendix No. 1.36 | The Guardian | The real story of Britain's Roma: excluded, ignored and neglected | 17.11.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/nov/17/roma-page-hall-sheffield |
| Appendix No. 1.37 | The Guardian | Childless couple arrested in Greece for 'buying' Roma baby | 25.10.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/25/childless-couple-arrested-greece-roma-baby-maria |
| Appendix No. 1.38 | The Guardian | Maria case exposes extent of child trafficking in crisis-hit Greece | 25.10.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/25/greece-child-trafficking-maria-bulgaria-roma-dna |
| Appendix No. 1.39 | The Guardian | Roma fear witch hunt after Greek case | 24.10.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/24/anti-roma-witch-hunt-fear |
| Appendix No. 1.40 | The Guardian | Call for Irish ombudsman to investigate Roma family removals | 24.10.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/24/call-irish-ombudsman-investigate-roma-family-removals |
| Appendix No. 1.42 | The Guardian | Woman in Bulgaria says girl found living with family in Greece may be hers | 24.10.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/24/woman-bulgaria-girl-family-greece-maria |
| Appendix No. 1.43 | The Guardian | An angel kidnapped by Gypsies? In the absence of all the facts, age-old libels are being replayed | 22.10.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/oct/22/angel-kidnapped-by-gypsies-libel-replayed |
| Appendix No. 1.44 | The Guardian | Court jails couple accused of abducting 'Maria' | 21.10.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/21/court-jails-roma-couple-abducting-maria |
| Appendix No. 1.45 | The Guardian | Roma families in court accused of forcing their children into life of crime | 30.09.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/30/roma-families-court-children-crime-france |
| Appendix No. 1.46 | The Guardian | European Union warns French minister over Roma comments | 25.09.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/25/france-minister-warned-roma-comments |

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| Appendix No. 1.47 | The Guardian | Under threat: the Craica Roma community of Baia Mare, Romania – in pictures | 12.09.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2013/sep/12/romania-roma-baia-mare-under-threat |
| Appendix No. 1.48 | The Guardian | No Place to Call Home by Katharine Quarmby – review | 26.08.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/aug/26/no-place-home-quarmby-review |
| Appendix No. 1.49 | The Guardian | Britain has a duty to help the most vulnerable Gypsies and Travellers | 13.08.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/13/gypsies-travellers-britain-duty |
| Appendix No. 1.50 | The Guardian | Eric Pickles accused of using Travellers as political football | 09.08.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/09/eric-pickles-travellers-political-football |
| Appendix No. 1.51 | The Guardian | The Roma's trials, past and present | 05.08.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/05/romas-trials-past-and-present |
| Appendix No. 1.52 | The Guardian | Gypsies belong here too. So why do we always expect them to 'move on'? | 04.08.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/04/gypsies-belong-here-meriden-travellers |
| Appendix No. 1.53 | The Guardian | French MP accused of saying Hitler 'didn't kill enough' Travellers | 23.07.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/23/french-mp-hitler-kill-travellers |
| Appendix No. 1.54 | The Guardian | François Hollande – so far so 'normal' when it comes to the Roma | 23.08.2012 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/aug/23/francois-hollande-normal-roma |
| Appendix No. 1.55 | The Guardian | Gypsies and Travellers look for more political clout | 25.07.2012 | http://www.theguardian.com/uk/the-northerner/2012/jul/25/discrimination-at-work-roma-gypsies-and-travellers-caravans-voting-franchise |
| Appendix No. 1.56 | The Guardian | Former Dale Farm travellers face new eviction attempt | 25.07.2012 | http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/jul/25/former-dale-farm-travellers-new-eviction-attempt |
| Appendix No. 1.57 | The Guardian | The media should call it slavery, not 'Traveller slavery' | 13.07.2012 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/jul/13/media-slavery-travellers |
| Appendix No. 1.58 | The Guardian | Europe needs a Roma working class | 26.11.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/business/2013/nov/26/europe-roma-working-class-george-soros |
| Appendix No. 1.59 | The Guardian | Poor, abused and second-class: the Roma living in fear in Hungarian village | 27.01.2012 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/27/hungary-roma-living-in-fear |

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| Appendix No. 1.60 | Bild Zeitung | Sinti-Verband protestiert gegen Diskriminierung im Tharandter WaldSachsen soll Parkplatz umbenennen! | 18.10.2014 | http://www.bild.de/regional/dresden/diskriminierung/sachsen-soll-parkplatz-umbenennen-38193970.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.61 | Bild Zeitung | Sie leben in Zelten am Berliner Ring: Die traurigen Kinder vom Rastplatz | 04.10.2014 | http://www.bild.de/bild-plus/regional/berlin/kinderarmut/die-traurigen-kinder-vom-rastplatz-38003488.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.62 | Bild Zeitung | „Kindergeld höher als ein Lehrer-Gehalt in Rumänien“ | 29.09.2014 | http://www.bild.de/bild-plus/politik/inland/heinz-buschkowsky/unser-kindergeld-ist-hoehler-als-lehrer-gehalt-in-rumaenien-37934320.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.63 | Bild Zeitung | Berlins erste Favela nach Brand geräumt - Auf dem Gelände lebten 50 bis 100 Personen, ohne Strom und Wasser | 19.09.2014 | http://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/brandstiftung/feuer-cuvry-brache-37731992.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.64 | Bild Zeitung | Roma-Haus für unbewohnbar erklärt | 16.07.2014 | http://www.bild.de/regional/ruhrgebiet/roma/romahaus-muss-geraeumt-werden-36837692.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.65 | Bild Zeitung | Sie betrügen nur alte Menschen, meist Frauen: Das sind Deutschlands gemeinste Abzocker Polizei nennt sie hemmungslos und niederträchtig | 07.07.2014 | http://www.bild.de/regional/koeln/betrug/deutschlands-gemeinste-abzocker-36703678.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.66 | Bild Zeitung | Flüchtlinge verbarrikadieren sich in der besetzter Schule | 24.06.2014 | http://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/polizei/fluechtlingsschule-wird-geraumt-36517652.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.67 | Bild Zeitung | Angriff mit Skalpell Aus Eifersucht Freundin Gesicht aufgeschlitzt? | 03.06.2014 | http://www.bild.de/regional/hannover/prozesse/mann-zerschneidet-ex-freundin-gesicht-mit-skalpell-36245628.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.68 | Bild Zeitung | Freispruch trotz Zwangsheirat: Roma-Mutter kauft Braut für ihren Sohn | 27.05.2014 | http://www.bild.de/regional/ruhrgebiet/zwangsheirat/mutter-kauft-ehefraue-ihren-sohn-36156204.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.69 | Bild Zeitung | Mein Vater, der Massenmörder Um die Verbrechen seines Vaters zu verarbeiten, erzählt er vor Schülern dessen Geschichte | 08.03.2014 | http://www.bild.de/bild-plus/regional/koeln/faschismus/mein-vater-der-massenmoerder-34979620.jsRedirectFrom=conversionToLogin.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.70 | Bild Zeitung | Neues Buch, neue Thesen Thilo Sarrazin wettert gegen die Homo-Ehe | 23.02.2014 | http://www.bild.de/bild-plus/politik/inland/thilo-sarrazin/thilo-sarrazins-interview-gegen-homo-ehe-34798714.jsRedirectFrom=conversionToLogin.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.71 | Bild Zeitung | Armutflüchtlinge EU-Kommissar verspricht mehr Geld | 07.02.2014 | http://www.bild.de/regional/ruhrgebiet/ruhrgebiet/armutsfluechtlinge-eu-kommissar-verspricht-mehr-geld-34581428.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.72 | Bild Zeitung | Verfallene Häuser, riesige Müllberge, Uringestank: Roma-Nachbarin zeigt die schlimmsten Ecken | 18.01.2014 | http://www.bild.de/politik/inland/roma/duisburger-roma-nachbarin-zeigt-schlimmste-ecken-34294118.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.73 | Bild Zeitung | In der eigenen Wohnung Rentnerin (83) überfallen, gewürgt und geknebelt! | 17.01.2014 | http://www.bild.de/regional/duesseldorf/ueberfall/rentnerin-ueberfallen-gewuert-und-geknebelt-34271682.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.74 | Bild Zeitung | Nach Befreiung aus dem Roma-CampStreit um die kleine Maria Wird der „blonde Engel“ seine echte Mutter nie wieder sehen? | 28.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/menschenhandel/streit-um-maria-33157588.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.75 | Bild Zeitung | Der „blonde Engel“ Sollte Maria mit 12 verheiratet werden? | 24.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/verschleppung/wollten-marias-eltern-sie-mit-12-als-kindsbraut-verkaufen-33105908.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.76 | Bild Zeitung | DNA-Test positivBlondes Mädchen in Irland zurück bei Roma-Familie | 23.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/roma/wie-viele-marias-gibt-es-noch-33089500.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.77 | Bild Zeitung | Maria sollte wohl für die falschen Eltern betteln gehen - Kauft sie den „blonden Engel“ für 1000 Euro? | 22.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/roma/maria-fuer-1000-euro-verkauft-betteln-tanzen-33075308.bild.html |

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| | | Camp-Leiter: Es wurden noch andere Kinder von einem bulgarischen Paar angeboten | | |
| Appendix No. 1.78 | Bild Zeitung | Das entführte Mädchen So lebte Maria bei ihren Roma-Eltern | 22.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/roma/bei-diese-roma-eltern-lebt-maria-33069040.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.79 | Bild Zeitung | Spekulationen nach dem Fall der blonden Maria: Wurde Maddie von Roma entführt? | 22.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/maddie-mccann/nach-dem-fall-maria-wurde-maddie-von-roma-entfuehrt-33083430.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.80 | Bild Zeitung | Waffen bei Marias „Eltern“ gefunden: Roma-Paar behauptet: „Adoption war ein Akt der Barmherzigkeit“ | 22.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/roma/waffen-und-drogen-arsenal-razzia-roma-lager-maria-angebliche-eltern-33074316.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.81 | Bild Zeitung | Rätsel um Maria (4) Angebliche Eltern müssen vor den Hafrichter | 21.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/verschleppung/maedchen-aus-roma-dorf-33058748.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.82 | Bild Zeitung | Wer ist das mysteriöse Mädchen (4) aus dem Roma-Camp? Das Maria-Rätsel | 20.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/verschleppung/maedchen-aus-roma-camp-maria-raetsel-33049240.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.83 | Bild Zeitung | Mädchen (4) in Griechenland aus Roma-Camp befreit, „Sie hat so lange geweint, bis sie eingeschlafen ist“ | 19.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/verschleppung/griechenland-farsala-wer-ist-das-maedchen-maria-aus-dem-roma-camp-33040688.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.84 | Bild Zeitung | 23. Filmfestival Cottbus mit Sinti und Roma im Fokus | 25.09.2013 | http://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/23--filmfestival-cottbus-mit-sinti-und-roma-32557000.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.85 | Bild Zeitung | Diskriminierende Roma-Äußerungen SPD schmeißt Korol raus | 10.09.2013 | http://www.bild.de/regional/bremen/bremen/spd-schmeisst-korol-raus-32323458.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.86 | Bild Zeitung | Wohnprojekt für Sinti und Roma bekommt Preis | 05.09.2013 | http://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/wohnprojekt-fuer-sinti-undroma-bekommt-preis-32271480.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.87 | Bild Zeitung | Sinti gehen gegen NPD-Plakat vor | 22.08.2013 | http://www.bild.de/regional/hannover/sinti-gehen-gegen-npdplakat-vor-31939042.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.88 | Bild Zeitung | ARD-Reportage über Slums in Deutschland Das miese Geschäft mit den Armutseinwanderern | 20.08.2013 | http://www.bild.de/politik/inland/migration/das-miese-geschaeft-mit-den-armutseinwanderern-31904550.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.89 | Bild Zeitung | Land bringt Staatsvertrag mit Sinti und Roma auf den Weg | 16.07.2013 | http://www.bild.de/regional/stuttgart/land-bringt-staatsvertrag-mit-sinti-und-roma-31364002.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.90 | Bild Zeitung | Rot-Grün holt Sinti und Roma in Migrations-Kommission des Landtags | 29.05.2013 | http://www.bild.de/regional/hannover/rotgruen-holt-sinti-und-roma-in-migrationskommission-30603294.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.91 | Bild Zeitung | Verdienstorden für den Roma-Vorsitzenden Strauß | 08.04.2013 | http://www.bild.de/regional/frankfurt/verdienstorden-fuer-den-romavorsitzenden-29914812.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.92 | Bild Zeitung | Die Wahrheit über Roma in Deutschland | 04.03.2013 | http://www.bild.de/politik/inland/zuwanderung/die-wahrheit-ueber-roma-in-deutschland-29354568.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.93 | Bild Zeitung | Droht Deutschland eine Roma-Welle? BILD.de macht den Fakten-Check | 27.02.2013 | http://www.bild.de/geld/wirtschaft/zuwanderung/droht-uns-eine-roma-welle-29296194.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.94 | Bild Zeitung | Sinti-und-Roma-Rat warnt vor Kriminalisierung von Armutszuwanderern | 23.02.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/aktuell/sintiundromarat-warnt-vor-kriminalisierung-29247800.bild.html |

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| Appendix No. 1.95 | Bild Zeitung | Landtagspräsident betont Gleichberechtigung von Sinti und Roma | 27.01.2013 | http://www.bild.de/regional/stuttgart/landtagspraesident-betont-gleichberechtigung-28275320.bild.html |
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| Appendix No. 1.111 | Bild Zeitung | Pflegekind von Amtsleiterin in Wander-Zirkus gesteckt Kam Jeremie in den Zirkus, weil er ein Sinti-Junge ist? | 24.11.2012 | http://www.bild.de/news/inland/zirkus/kam-jeremie-in-den-zirkus-weil-er-ein-sinti-junge-ist-27343340.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.112 | Bild Zeitung | Woher kommt der Hass auf Sinti und Roma? | 21.11.2012 | http://www.bild.de/politik/inland/menschen-bei-maischberger/streit-ueber-sinti-und-roma-27291808.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.113 | Bild Zeitung | Schutz der Sinti und Roma kommt im Norden in Landesverfassung | 07.11.2012 | http://www.bild.de/regional/hamburg/schutz-der-sinti-und-roma-kommt-im-norden-27084606.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.114 | Bild Zeitung | UN-Experten rüffeln Deutschland wegen Mängeln bei Menschenrechten | 01.11.2012 | http://www.bild.de/news/aktuell/unexperten-rueffeln-deutschland-wegen-maengeln-26989644.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.115 | Bild Zeitung | Rose warnt vor neuem Rassismus gegen Sinti und Roma | 24.10.2012 | http://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/rose-warnt-vor-neuem-rassismus-gegen-sinti-26857422.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.116 | Bild Zeitung | Katholische Kirche gibt den Roma-Kindern ein Zuhause | 14.09.2012 | http://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/katholische-kirche/roma-kinder-kriegen-ein-zuhause-26207176.bild.html |
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| Appendix No. 1.118 | Bild Zeitung | Sinti und Roma werben um Verständnis und Akzeptanz in Sachsen | 29.08.2012 | http://www.bild.de/regional/dresden/sinti-und-roma-werben-um-verstaendnis-und-25937234.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.119 | Bild Zeitung | Senat bildet Arbeitsgruppe für Roma und Sinti | 03.04.2012 | http://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/senat-bildet-arbeitsgruppe-fuer-roma-und-23472650.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 1.120 | Bild Zeitung | Nach den Randalen CDU fordert Geisterspiel für Pauli | 11.01.2012 | http://www.bild.de/sport/fussball/st-pauli/cdu-fordert-nach-randalen-geisterspiel-22022086.bild.html |

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| Appendix No. 1.121 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Gericht bewahrt Roma-Familie vor Abschiebung | 28.11.2014 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/zweifel-an-asylrechtsreform-gericht-bewahrt-roma-familie-vor-abschiebung-1.2242808 |
| Appendix No. 1.122 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Zweifel über sichere Herkunftsstaaten Karlsruhe soll neues Asylrecht prüfen | 28.11.2014 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/zweifel-ueber-sichere-herkunftsstaaten-karlsruhe-soll-neues-asylrecht-pruefen-1.2243503 |
| Appendix No. 1.123 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Urteil gegen Front-National-Gründer Le Pen muss Geldstrafe wegen Roma-Beleidigung zahlen | 20.11.2014 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/urteil-gegen-front-national-gruender-le-pen-muss-geldstrafe-wegen-roma-beleidigung-zahlen-1.2230893 |
| Appendix No. 1.124 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Schrille Töne abdämpfen, Wütende beschwichtigen | 20.11.2014 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/alternative-fuer-deutschland-in-hamburg-der-ist-ja-so-nett-1.2229223-2 |
| Appendix No. 1.125 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Wissenschaftler kritisieren Zuspitzung der Sinti-und-Roma-Studie | 05.10.2014 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/diskriminierung-wissenschaftler-kritisieren-zuspitzung-der-sinti-und-roma-studie-1.2159083 |

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| Appendix No. 1.126 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Die Gewalt des Vorurteils | 04.09.2014 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/sinti-und-roma-die-gewalt-des-vorurteils-1.2114319 |
| Appendix No. 1.127 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Studie dokumentiert erhebliche Vorbehalte gegen Sinti und Roma | 03.09.2014 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/minderheiten-studie-studie-dokumentiert-erhebliche-vorbehalte-gegen-sinti-und-roma-1.2114422 |
| Appendix No. 1.128 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | NSU-Prozess in München Ermittlungen gegen "Neger" und "Zigeuner" | 30.01.2014 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/nsu-prozess-in-muenchen-ermittlungen-gegen-neger-und-zigeuner-1.1875715 |
| Appendix No. 1.129 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Roma in Osteuropa: Inseln der Dritten Welt in Europa | 30.12.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/roma-in-osteuropa-inseln-der-dritten-welt-in-europa-1.1852968 |
| Appendix No. 1.130 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Roma in Deutschland: Menschen, auf die niemand wartet | 29.12.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/panorama/roma-in-deutschland-menschen-auf-die-niemand-wartet-1.1852263 |
| Appendix No. 1.131 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Der Fall des Roma-Mädchens Maria Wenn Vorurteile neu erblühen | 06.11.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/panorama/der-fall-des-roma-maedchens-maria-wenn-vorurteile-neu-erbluehen-1.1810445 |
| Appendix No. 1.132 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Willkommen bei den Unwillkommenen | 04.10.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/roma-in-rumaenien-willkommen-bei-den-unwillkommenen-1.1781123 |
| Appendix No. 1.133 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Diskriminierung von Sinti und Roma Behörden gehen gegen NPD-Plakate vor | 19.09.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/diskriminierung-von-sinti-und-roma-behoerden-gehen-gegen-npd-plakate-vor-1.1774807 |
| Appendix No. 1.134 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Zähe Vorurteile gegen Roma Leben mit Hass und Verachtung | 10.06.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/zaehe-vorurteile-gegen-roma-leben-mit-hass-und-verachtung-1.1692474 |
| Appendix No. 1.135 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Diskriminierte Minderheit Von Roma-Slums und "Gipsy Industry" | 21.05.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/wissen/diskriminierte-minderheit-von-roma-slums-und-gipsy-industry-1.1677107 |
| Appendix No. 1.136 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | NS-Zeitzeuge Hugo Höllenreiner Das Leben von Z-3529 | 30.04.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/muenchen/ns-zeitzeuge-hugo-hoellenreiner-das-leben-die-leiden-von-z-1.1661424 |
| Appendix No. 1.137 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Musik gegen Klischees | 27.11.2012 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/roma-und-sinti-philharmoniker-musik-gegen-klischees-1.1534241 |
| Appendix No. 1.138 – No. 1.140 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Denkmal für die ermordeten Sinti und Roma wird eingeweiht (+ two similar articles) | 24.10.2012 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/jahre-nach-kriegsende-denkmal-fuer-die-ermordeten-sinti-und-roma-wird-ingeweiht-1.1504516 |
| Appendix No. 1.141 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Zentralrat der Roma und Sinti zeigt "Weltwoche" an: "Wie im Nationalsozialismus" | 11.04.2012 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/medien/zentralrat-der-roma-und-sinti-zeigt-weltwoche-an-wie-im-nationalsozialismus-1.1329509 |

| Appendix No. | Newspaper | Headline | Date | URL |
|--------------------|--------------|---|------------|---|
| Appendix No. 1.142 | De Telegraaf | Urmond wil compensatie voor sinti-zigeuners | 22.10.2014 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/tv/nieuws/binnenland/23233513/___Urmond_wil_compensatie_voor_sinti-zigeuners__.html |

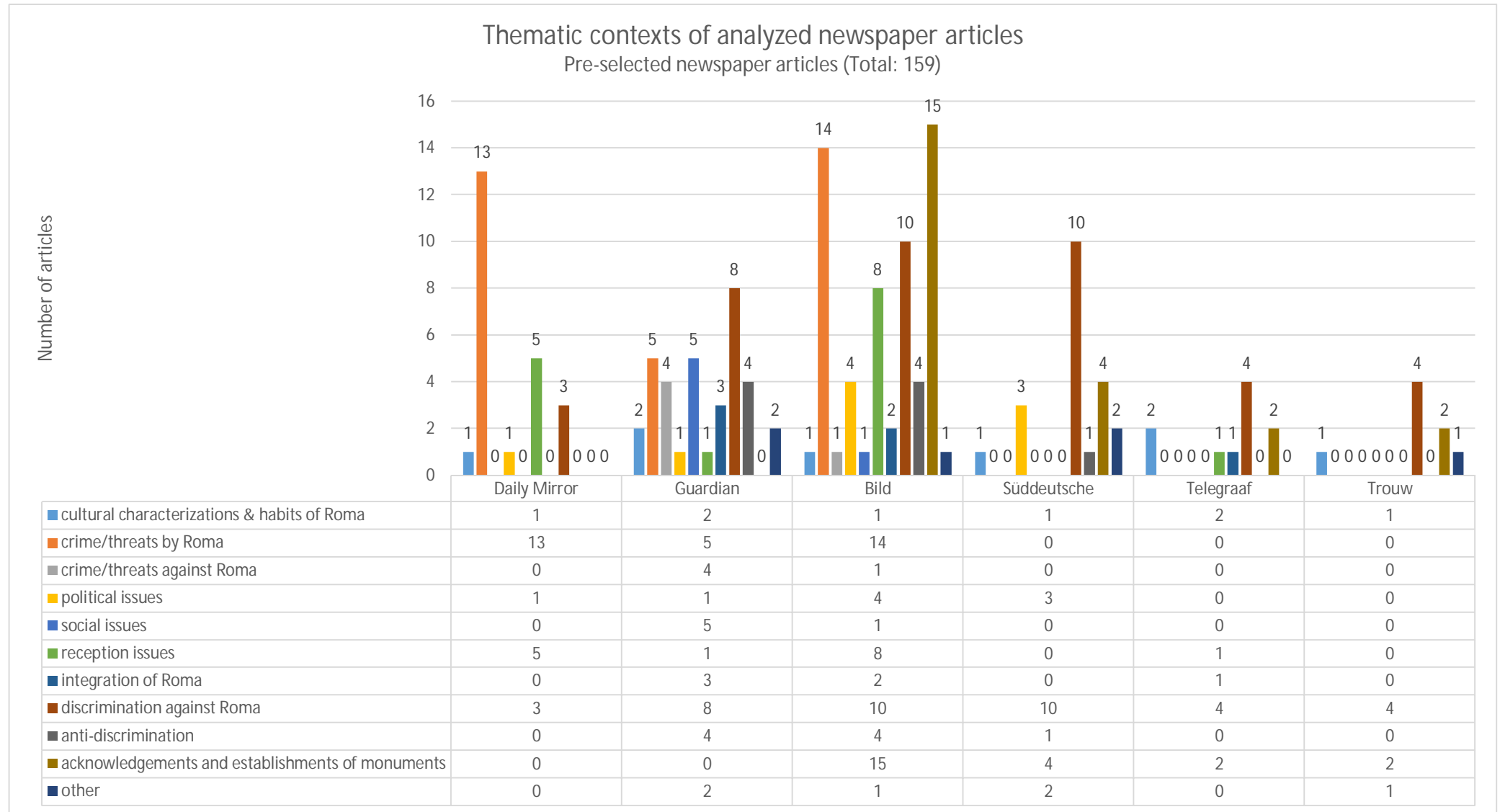
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|--------------------|--------------|---|------------|---|
| Appendix No. 1.143 | De Telegraaf | Moord op Roma en Sinti in Auschwitz herdacht | 02.08.2014 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/buitenland/22924254/___Roma_en_Sinti__herdacht_.html |
| Appendix No. 1.144 | De Telegraaf | Situatie van Roma en Sinti 'zorgelijk' | 02.12.2013 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/22105783/___Situatie_van_Roma__zorgelijk_.html |
| Appendix No. 1.145 | De Telegraaf | Wegjagen zigeuners krijgt staartje | 28.07.2014 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/buitenland/22904783/___Wegjagen_zigeuners_krijgt_staartje_.html |
| Appendix No. 1.146 | De Telegraaf | Burgemeester zet muziek in tegen zigeuners | 16.07.2014 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/buitenland/22860744/___Muziek_tegen_zigeuners_.html |
| Appendix No. 1.147 | De Telegraaf | Zigeuners op de vuist | unknown | http://www.telegraaf.nl/tv/opmerkelijk/22817404/___Zigeuners_op_de_vuist_.html |
| Appendix No. 1.148 | De Telegraaf | Roemeense zigeuners kamperen in exclusieve wijk | 25.05.2013 | www.telegraaf.nl/buitenland/21594727/___Park_Lane_zigeunerkamp_.html |
| Appendix No. 1.149 | De Telegraaf | 'Programma Frans Bauer beledigt zigeuners' | 21.11.2012 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/prive/21100920/___Programma_Frans_beledigend_.html |
| Appendix No. 1.150 | De Telegraaf | Frans Bauer terug naar zigeuner roots | 15.08.2012 | www.telegraaf.nl/prive/20956671/___Frans_terug_naar_zigeuner_roots_.html |
| Appendix No. 1.151 | De Telegraaf | Westerbork herdenkt deportatie zigeuners | 15.05.2012 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/20054174/___Westerbork_herdenkt_zigeuners_.html |

| Appendix No. | Newspaper | Headline | Date | URL |
|--------------------|-----------|---|------------|---|
| Appendix No. 1.152 | Trouw | Roma worden weer zigeunerboeven | 28.10.2013 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4324/Nieuws/article/detail/3534593/2013/10/28/Roma-worden-weer-zigeunerboeven.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 1.153 | Trouw | Niemand die haar horen wilde | 04.02.2013 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/Archief/archief/article/detail/3387994/2013/02/04/Niemand-die-haar-horen-wilde.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 1.154 | Trouw | De vele gezichten van de bohémien | 28.11.2012 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/Archief/archief/article/detail/3354811/2012/11/28/De-vele-gezichten-van-de-bohemien.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 1.155 | Trouw | Eindelijk monument voor vermoorde Sinti en Roma | 24.10.2012 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/Archief/archief/article/detail/3336372/2012/10/24/Eindelijk-monument-voor-vermoorde-Sinti-en-Roma.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 1.156 | Trouw | BN'ers koketteren met andermans wortels | 10.09.2012 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5133/Media-technologie/article/detail/3313871/2012/09/10/BN-ers-koketteren-met-andermans-wortels.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 1.157 | Trouw | Villa Felderhof, maar dan in een zigeunerkamp | 16.08.2012 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/Archief/archief/article/detail/3301848/2012/08/16/Villa-Felderhof-maar-dan-in-een-zigeunerkamp.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 1.158 | Trouw | Pestboetes, vooral voor zigeuners | 06.08.2012 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/Archief/archief/article/detail/3714102/2014/08/06/Pestboetes-vooral-voor-zigeuners.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 1.159 | Trouw | Minder rechts-extremisme in Duitsland | 04.06.2012 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4324/Nieuws/article/detail/3666813/2014/06/04/Minder-rechts-extremisme-in-Duitsland.dhtml |

Appendix 2.1: Thematic contexts based on Van Dijk's thematic categories (Van Dijk, 2000:38)

- (1) Cultural characterizations and habits of Roma
- (2) Focus on threats (e.g. violence, crime, drugs, and imprisonment)
- (3) Social issues (e.g. welfare, employment)
- (4) Reception issues (e.g. housing)
- (5) Integration of Roma
- (6) Reports about discrimination
- (7) Acknowledgements and establishments of monuments
- (8) Other topics (e.g. sports, art, music etc.).

Appendix 2.2: Thematic contexts of analyzed newspaper articles



Appendix 3: Analyzed articles

| Appendix No. | Newspaper | Headline | Date | URL |
|-------------------|--------------|---|------------|---|
| Appendix No. 3.1 | Daily Mirror | Farmer uses his tractors to barricade travellers in after they refused to leave his land | 29.08.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/farmer-uses-tractors-barricade-travellers-4131045 |
| Appendix No. 3.2 | Daily Mirror | The Great Big Romanian Invasion: 5 essential lessons | 17.07.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/tv/tv-news/great-big-romanian-invasion-5-3874472 |
| Appendix No. 3.3 | Daily Mirror | VIDEO: Listen to extraordinary moment train announcer warned passengers to 'beware of gypsies and thieves' at station | 19.03.2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/telford-central-passengers-warned-beware-3261285 |
| Appendix No. 3.4 | Daily Mirror | Six Roma gypsies arrested for allegedly running international child pickpocket network | 23.11.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/six-roma-gypsies-arrested-allegedly-2840744 |
| Appendix No. 3.5 | Daily Mirror | Madeline McCann: Police hunt three 'gypsies' seen lurking near holiday apartment | 27.10.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/madeline-mccann-police-hunt-three-2644559 |
| Appendix No. 3.6 | Daily Mirror | Greece girl Maria's real mum 'is Bulgarian farm hand who was too poor to keep her' | 24.10.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/greece-girl-marias-real-mum-2487441 |
| Appendix No. 3.7 | Daily Mirror | Greece girl Maria 'bought as an investment by jailed foster parents' | 24.10.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/greece-girl-maria-bought-investment-2485445 |
| Appendix No. 3.8 | Daily Mirror | Second blonde girl seized from gypsy family in Ireland 'looks nothing like siblings and speaks much better English' | 23.10.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/greece-girl-maria-found-second-2481967 |
| Appendix No. 3.9 | Daily Mirror | Travellers block NHS car park forcing doctors and nurses to be turned away | 21.10.2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/nhs-car-park-travellers-block-2476869 |
| Appendix No. 3.10 | The Guardian | Roma teenager in coma after being attacked by residents of French estate | 17.06.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/17/roma-teenager-coma-attacked-residents-france |

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|-------------------|--------------|--|------------|---|
| Appendix No. 3.11 | The Guardian | Romanians do not recognise this thief stereotype – and neither do the British | 18.02.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/feb/18/romanians-thief-stereotype-british-people-daily-mail-rudi-roma-romanian |
| Appendix No. 3.12 | The Guardian | Yes, Gypsies lag in education, but the reasons are complex and cultural | 22.01.2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jan/22/gypsies-lagging-education-gypsies-travellers |
| Appendix No. 3.13 | The Guardian | The real story of Britain's Roma: excluded, ignored and neglected | 17.11.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/nov/17/roma-page-hall-sheffield |
| Appendix No. 3.14 | The Guardian | Maria case exposes extent of child trafficking in crisis-hit Greece | 25.10.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/25/greece-child-trafficking-maria-bulgaria-roma-dna |
| Appendix No. 3.15 | The Guardian | Roma fear witch hunt after Greek case | 24.10.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/24/anti-roma-witch-hunt-fear |
| Appendix No. 3.16 | The Guardian | Call for Irish ombudsman to investigate Roma family removals | 24.10.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/24/call-irish-ombudsman-investigate-roma-family-removals |
| Appendix No. 3.17 | The Guardian | Court jails couple accused of abducting 'Maria' | 21.10.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/21/court-jails-roma-couple-abducting-maria |
| Appendix No. 3.18 | The Guardian | Britain has a duty to help the most vulnerable Gypsies and Travellers | 13.08.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/13/gypsies-travellers-britain-duty |
| Appendix No. 3.19 | The Guardian | Gypsies belong here too. So why do we always expect them to 'move on'? | 04.08.2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/04/gypsies-belong-here-meriden-travellers |
| Appendix No. 3.20 | Bild Zeitung | Sie leben in Zelten am Berliner Ring: Die traurigen Kinder vom Rastplatz | 04.10.2014 | http://www.bild.de/bild-plus/regional/berlin/kinderarmut/die-traurigen-kinder-vom-rastplatz-38003488.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 3.21 | Bild Zeitung | Sie betrügen nur alte Menschen, meist Frauen: Das sind Deutschlands gemeinste Abzocker Polizei nennt sie hemmungslos und niederträchtig | 07.07.2014 | http://www.bild.de/regional/koeln/betrug/deutschlands-gemeinste-abzocker-36703678.bild.html |

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|-------------------|---------------------|---|------------|---|
| Appendix No. 3.22 | Bild Zeitung | Verfallene Häuser, riesige Müllberge, Uringestank: Roma-Nachbarin zeigt die schlimmsten Ecken | 18.01.2014 | http://www.bild.de/politik/inland/roma/duisburger-roma-nachbarin-zeigt-schlimmste-ecken-34294118.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 3.23 | Bild Zeitung | Der „blonde Engel“ Sollte Maria mit 12 verheiratet werden? | 24.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/verschleppung/wollten-marias-eltern-sie-mit-12-als-kindsbraut-verkaufen-33105908.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 3.24 | Bild Zeitung | Spekulationen nach dem Fall der blonden Maria: Wurde Maddie von Roma entführt? | 22.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/maddie-mccann/nach-dem-fall-maria-wurde-maddie-von-roma-entfuehrt-33083430.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 3.25 | Bild Zeitung | Waffen bei Marias „Eltern“ gefunden: Roma-Paar behauptet: „Adoption war ein Akt der Barmherzigkeit“ | 22.10.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/ausland/roma/waffen-und-drogen-arsenal-razzia-roma-lager-maria-angebliche-eltern-33074316.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 3.26 | Bild Zeitung | Die Wahrheit über Roma in Deutschland | 04.03.2013 | http://www.bild.de/politik/inland/zuwanderung/die-wahrheit-ueber-roma-in-deutschland-29354568.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 3.27 | Bild Zeitung | Droht Deutschland eine Roma-Welle? BILD.de macht den Fakten-Check | 27.02.2013 | http://www.bild.de/geld/wirtschaft/zuwanderung/droht-uns-eine-roma-welle-29296194.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 3.28 | Bild Zeitung | Sinti-und-Roma-Rat warnt vor Kriminalisierung von Armutzuwanderern | 23.02.2013 | http://www.bild.de/news/aktuell/sintiundromarat-warnt-vor-kriminalisierung-29247800.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 3.29 | Bild Zeitung | Katholische Kirche gibt den Roma-Kindern ein Zuhause | 14.09.2012 | http://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/katholische-kirche/roma-kinder-kriegen-ein-zuhause-26207176.bild.html |
| Appendix No. 3.30 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Gericht bewahrt Roma-Familie vor Abschiebung | 28.11.2014 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/zweifel-an-asylrechtsreform-gericht-bewahrt-roma-familie-vor-abschiebung-1.2242808 |
| Appendix No. 3.31 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Die Gewalt des Vorurteils | 04.09.2014 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/sinti-und-roma-die-gewalt-des-vorurteils-1.2114319 |
| Appendix No. 3.32 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Studie dokumentiert erhebliche Vorbehalte gegen Sinti und Roma | 03.09.2014 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/minderheiten-studie-studie-dokumentiert-erhebliche-vorbehalte-gegen-sinti-und-roma-1.2114422 |
| Appendix No. 3.33 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | NSU-Prozess in München Ermittlungen gegen "Neger" und "Zigeuner" | 30.01.2014 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/nsu-prozess-in-muenchen-ermittlungen-gegen-neger-und-zigeuner-1.1875715 |

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|-------------------|---------------------|---|------------|---|
| Appendix No. 3.34 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Roma in Osteuropa: Inseln der Dritten Welt in Europa | 30.12.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/roma-in-osteuropa-inseln-der-dritten-welt-in-europa-1.1852968 |
| Appendix No. 3.35 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Roma in Deutschland: Menschen, auf die niemand wartet | 29.12.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/panorama/roma-in-deutschland-menschen-auf-die-niemand-wartet-1.1852263 |
| Appendix No. 3.36 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Der Fall des Roma-Mädchens Maria Wenn Vorurteile neu erblühen | 06.11.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/panorama/der-fall-des-roma-maedchens-maria-wenn-vorurteile-neu-erbluehen-1.1810445 |
| Appendix No. 3.37 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Willkommen bei den Unwillkommenen | 04.10.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/roma-in-rumaenien-willkommen-bei-den-unwillkommenen-1.1781123 |
| Appendix No. 3.38 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Zähe Vorurteile gegen Roma Leben mit Hass und Verachtung | 10.06.2013 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/zaehe-vorurteile-gegen-roma-leben-mit-hass-und-verachtung-1.1692474 |
| Appendix No. 3.39 | Süddeutsche Zeitung | Denkmal für die ermordeten Sinti und Roma wird eingeweiht | 24.10.2012 | http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/jahre-nach-kriegsende-denkmal-fuer-die-ermordeten-sinti-und-roma-wird-ingeweiht-1.1504516 |
| Appendix No. 3.40 | De Telegraaf | Urmond wil compensatie voor sinti-zigeuners | 22.10.2014 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/tv/nieuws/binnenland/23233513/___Urmond_wil_compensatie_voor_sinti-zigeuners___html |
| Appendix No. 3.41 | De Telegraaf | Moord op Roma en Sinti in Auschwitz herdacht | 02.08.2014 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/buitenland/22924254/___Roma_en_Sinti___herdacht___html |
| Appendix No. 3.42 | De Telegraaf | Situatie van Roma en Sinti 'zorgelijk' | 02.12.2013 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/22105783/___Situatie_van_Roma_zorgelijk___html |
| Appendix No. 3.43 | De Telegraaf | Wegjagen zigeuners krijgt staartje | 28.07.2014 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/buitenland/22904783/___Wegjagen_zigeuners_krijgt_staartje___html |
| Appendix No. 3.44 | De Telegraaf | Burgemeester zet muziek in tegen zigeuners | 16.07.2014 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/buitenland/22860744/___Muziek_tegen_zigeuners___html |
| Appendix No. 3.45 | De Telegraaf | Zigeuners op de vuist | unknown | http://www.telegraaf.nl/tv/opmerkelijk/22817404/___Zigeuners_op_de_vuist___html |
| Appendix No. 3.46 | De Telegraaf | Roemeense zigeuners kamperen in exclusieve wijk | 25.05.2013 | www.telegraaf.nl/buitenland/21594727/___Park_Lane_zigeunerkamp___html |

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| Appendix No. 3.47 | De Telegraaf | 'Programma Frans Bauer beledigt zigeuners' | 21.11.2012 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/prive/21100920/___Programma_Frans_beledigt___gnd___html |
| Appendix No. 3.48 | De Telegraaf | Frans Bauer terug naar zigeuner roots | 15.08.2012 | www.telegraaf.nl/prive/20956671/___Frans_terug_naar_zigeuner_roots___html |
| Appendix No. 3.49 | De Telegraaf | Westerbork herdenkt deportatie zigeuners | 15.05.2012 | http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/20054174/___Westerbork_herdenkt_zigeuners___html |
| Appendix No. 3.50 | Trouw | Roma worden weer zigeunerboeven | 28.10.2013 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4324/Nieuws/article/detail/3534593/2013/10/28/Roma-worden-weer-zigeunerboeven.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 3.51 | Trouw | Niemand die haar horen wilde | 04.02.2013 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/Archief/archief/article/detail/3387994/2013/02/04/Niemand-die-haar-horen-wilde.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 3.52 | Trouw | De vele gezichten van de bohémien | 28.11.2012 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/Archief/archief/article/detail/3354811/2012/11/28/De-vele-gezichten-van-de-bohemien.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 3.53 | Trouw | Eindelijk monument voor vermoorde Sinti en Roma | 24.10.2012 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/Archief/archief/article/detail/3336372/2012/10/24/Eindelijk-monument-voor-vermoorde-Sinti-en-Roma.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 3.54 | Trouw | BN'ers koketteren met andermans wortels | 10.09.2012 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5133/Media-technologie/article/detail/3313871/2012/09/10/BN-ers-koketteren-met-andermans-wortels.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 3.55 | Trouw | Villa Felderhof, maar dan in een zigeunerkamp | 16.08.2012 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/Archief/archief/article/detail/3301848/2012/08/16/Villa-Felderhof-maar-dan-in-een-zigeunerkamp.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 3.56 | Trouw | Pestboetes, vooral voor zigeuners | 06.08.2012 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/Archief/archief/article/detail/3714102/2014/08/06/Pestboetes-vooral-voor-zigeuners.dhtml |
| Appendix No. 3.57 | Trouw | Minder rechts-extremisme in Duitsland | 04.06.2012 | http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4324/Nieuws/article/detail/3666813/2014/06/04/Minder-rechts-extremisme-in-Duitsland.dhtml |

Appendix 4: Analytical scheme

| Concept | Dimension | Keyword/Indicator | Classification |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---|---|
| Thematic contexts | Topics or reported events | <p>(1) cultural characterizations & habits of Roma (e.g. every-day life)</p> <p>(2) focus on threats (e.g. violence, crime, drugs, and imprisonment)</p> <p>(2.1) crimes by Roma</p> <p>(2.2) crimes against Roma</p> <p>(3) political issues (e.g. pol. representation of Roma, asylum, political parties)</p> <p>(4) social issues (e.g. welfare, employment, social exclusion, education, health care)</p> <p>(5) reception issues (e.g. housing, eviction of Roma camps)</p> <p>(6) integration of Roma (e.g. reports about integration, combining social, political and reception issues)</p> <p>(7) reports about discrimination</p> <p>(7.1) discrimination against Roma (e.g. various sorts of discrimination, negative comments about Roma by political spokespersons)</p> <p>(7.2) anti-discrimination projects (e.g. raising awareness about the extent of obstacles Roma have to live with, pro equality)</p> <p>(8) acknowledgements and establishments of monuments (especially remembrance for holocaust victims during WWII)</p> <p>(9) other (e.g. sports, theatre, books, art exhibitions)</p> | <p>positive: cultural characterizations & habits of Roma;</p> <p>anti-discrimination; acknowledgements of Roma;</p> <p>neutral: political issues; social issues; integration of Roma; establishment of monuments; other</p> <p>negative: focus on threats; political issues; social issues; reception issues; discrimination against Roma</p> |

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|--|---|
| | Headline | What does the headline reveal? To which context is it linked? Which words are being used? What is the general message/opinion which derives from the headline? → 555positive, neutral, negative? | by example |
| Meanings between the lines | Lexicalizations | e.g. Gypsy, Zigeuner instead of Roma, very often Romanians are equated with Roma | use of such lexicalization = negative |
| | Perspective of writing | Imposing which feelings and sentiments on the readership, juxtaposition of images? Our ‘good’ actions vs. their ‘bad’ actions, or neutral? (‘the ideological square’ (Richardson, 2007)) | positive, neutral, negative? |
| | Sources of information | e.g. reported speech (here again tiny amendments can change the message of the article), direct speech/quotation; focus on facts and details → Does the article comprise facts or opinions and assumptions? | facts = neutral or positive, assumptions & generalizations = negative |
| | Overall meaning of article | What meaning and attitude about the Roma remains after reading the article? | Positive, neutral, negative |
| Formulations | Wording/Formulations | e.g. hyperboles (‘dozens of Roma’); exaggerations; categorizations; the choice of verbs and adjectives; metaphors (e.g. waves of Roma coming) | If these are used = negative; if not = neutral or positive |
| | | Can disclaimers be found? ‘We have nothing against foreigners, but...’ (Apparent Denial) ‘There are also nice Roma...but on the whole...’ (Apparent Concession) ‘Of course it is sad for...that...but...’ (Apparent Empathy) ‘I have nothing against them...but my clients...’ (Transfer) (Van Dijk, 2000:41) | |

Notes

¹ During the enlargement periods in 2004 and 2007 and the accession of 10 countries from Central and Eastern Europe to the EU, the Roma became the largest ethnic minority in the European Union (Ram, 2010:197).

² The Roma are called differently in various countries. Some use tribal names (such as the Romanian Căldărăși), others adopt wider group names (for instance the British Travellers), and yet others opt for 'Roma' (or 'Rroma' in Romania), used in national and international discourse and regarded to be the politically correct term at present. 'Roma' is most often used in reaction to the commonly used 'Gypsy', with its linguistic variants of 'tsygane' (the German or Dutch 'Zigeuner' for example) (Schneeweis, 2012). Roma people (including Travellers, Gypsies, Manouches, Ashkali, Boyash and Sinti etc.) are facing the highest levels of social exclusion and often live in extremely poor conditions at the margins of society.

³ Amnesty International, 2014: <http://www.amnesty.nl/nieuwsporaal/rapport/we-ask-justice-europe-s-failure-protect-roma-racist-violence>; Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes, 2014: http://www.antidiskriminierungsstelle.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/aktuelles/Praesentation_PK_Sinti_Roma.html?nn=4193516; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 2012: <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2012/situation-roma-11-eu-member-states-survey-results-glance>

⁴ Recent studies reveal a massive aversion among the public towards Roma constituting the biggest minority group in Europe (CoE, 2014) with an estimated population of 10-12 million in Europe and approximately six million of whom live in the EU.

⁵ Discrimination is linked with the experienced threat to identity and culture (Thornton, 2014:116) "whatever the Outsiders' culture may be, if it is different from the culture of the Established, the Established feel threatened by the Outsiders' different way of life" which then leads to exclusion.

⁶ Compared to their proportional amount in the whole population, ethnic minorities often receive less attention in the news, for further insights see (Erjavec et al., 2000:159).

⁷ For further insight, see: www.coe.int/romatravellers .

⁸ For further insight, see <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2015/02/chapel-hill-shooting-western-media-bigotry-150211083909613.html>