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## Housing Discrimination, Social Isolation or Exclusion among Gypsies in Romania

Simina Moldovan  
*Walden University*

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# Walden University

College of Health Sciences and Public Policy

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Simina Moldovan

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## Review Committee

Dr. Morris Bidjerano, Committee Chairperson,  
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Gary Kelsey, Committee Member,  
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Marcel Kitissou, University Reviewer,  
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Chief Academic Officer and Provost  
Sue Subocz, Ph.D.

Walden University  
2022

Abstract

Housing Discrimination, Social Isolation or Exclusion among Gypsies in Romania

by

Simina Moldovan

MBA, Babes-Bolyai University, 2005

BA, Babes-Bolyai University, 2003

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

August 2022

## Abstract

Housing discrimination against Gypsies is a problem that has received little attention in the research literature. The purpose of this ethnographic case study was to explore and document the extent to which Gypsies in one location in Romania experience housing discrimination because of local policies and if any cultural factors are influencing the way Gypsies are perceived or treated by the local government and police. The conceptual framework for this study was based on the narrative policy framework and self-categorization theory in the context of a diverse cultural environment and a developing democracy. The study was guided by three research questions that focused on the cultural factors that prevent the integration of Gypsies, the perception of Gypsies held by the city hall and police, and the extent to which Gypsies face discrimination there. Data collection involved interviews with 10 Gypsies and 10 representatives of the local administration or local police. The data analysis employed thematic coding, assisted by NVivo qualitative analysis software. Analysis indicated no discrimination against Gypsies based on housing policies, their overall culture, ethnicity, or economic status. However, some factors emerged as potential causes of discrimination leading to consequences like difficulties with social integration, exclusion and poverty. Such factors included: Gypsies' antisocial behavior, child marriage, scarce community resources, perception of favoritism if granted special treatment, low level of education, and lack of professional qualifications. The study's findings have potential implications for positive social change by guiding policies and local authorities in eliminating housing discrimination and improving the integration of Gypsies into communities.

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## Dedication

To my ancestors, my parents, my husband, my brother, and all neglected and abused children of the world. Blessings and happiness to all.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to give my special regards to my loving husband Ian and my little dog Gypsy who bore with me through every single moment of this dissertation process. I wish to show my gratitude to my dissertation chair Dr. Morris D. Bidjerano and to members of the committee, including Dr. Gary A. Kelsey, who patiently guided me through the endeavors of writing this dissertation, completing the research study, and ultimately walking the graduation stage as a doctor of philosophy. I wish to thank all the people whose assistance was a milestone in completing this program and to the U.S. Army as an organization that stays loyal to its service members.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Gypsies have a reputation for moving from one place to another, using their wits and ingenuity for survival. Media and officials often call them the *Roma population*, but the word *Gypsies* is more authentic. In addition, Gypsy is preferable because the term *Roma* can be confused with *Romanian*, which is a citizen of Romania (Cingolani, 2016). Gypsies are an ethnicity without a national identity. Now scattered across many countries, Gypsies migrated from Northern India about 1,500 years ago and lived mainly in Europe (Harmon, 2012). Their traditions have been subject to cultural controversies throughout history, and as many other cultures have modernized over the years, the Gypsies have retained many traditions. The stigmatization of Gypsies in Europe, especially Romania (Engebrigtsen, 2011; Nicolae & Slavik, 2003; Parry et al., 2007), relate to ethical issues regarding their social life; civil rights are among the concerns of public authorities. Society has recognized them as ethnic minorities, and Gypsies have been subject to extreme prejudice and discrimination and have been the targets of more publicly accepted hostility and aggression than any other group (Rowe & Goodman, 2014). Minority groups in society are often vulnerable to discrimination and segregation, and I conducted this study to identify any discriminatory housing trends among the Gypsy population in Romania.

Identifying the factors influencing Gypsies' interactions with other ethnic groups was considered as a potential solution to some of their housing and social integration problems. Gypsies' culture and housing issues have intrigued some scholars, but little research has been conducted on housing discrimination against them. Convery and

O'Brien (2012) pointed out the relationship between the people and places to grow a sense of place and identity about family. From a different point of view, Stedman (2003) saw the relationship between the people and place as an incoherent concept that reflects the continuation of nomadism and traveling. In the past, newspapers in Romania identified Gypsies as thieves and beggars and publicly presented them in negative extremes: "mysterious figures with psychic powers" or "thieving dirty criminals" (Rowe & Goodman, 2014, p. 27). Gypsies' culture and heritage go with them to their housing, and their cultural practices often conflict with restrictions on housing areas (Convery & O'Brien, 2012), leading to high-profile evictions (Rowe & Goodman, 2014). Housing policies in Romania are new to the research literature. This study reveals important insights into how to integrate the housing of Gypsies under universal human rights.

This chapter provides an overview of Romania's administrative and governmental structure and background on housing policies for Gypsies. I outline the problem and the research questions. A description of the nature of the study follows, along with an introduction to the conceptual framework and the assumptions used, the limitations of the research and results, the significance of the study, and definitions of key concepts.

### **Background**

Following decades of socialist influence in the Eastern Bloc, the transition to democracy brought much confusion to many Eastern European countries. According to Hintea et al. (2002), this confusion was due to realities normally unacceptable to a nation of Western administration. During this transition, a poor economic situation, corruption, and considerable administrative hardship created challenges within the new European

requirements. Romania survived the Revolution of 1989, only to find itself with a gridlocked administrative system that had to adopt a democratic constitution and introduce many reforms, including enforcement of human rights and protection of minorities (Hintea et al., 2002). The government had a lot to learn, starting with the shared goals and allocation of resources vital to public authorities' success (Gazley & Brudney, 2007).

Amid the social events and history, communities have developed their sense of categorization, and it is interesting to reveal how minorities—in this case, Gypsies—have found and defined their identity. Self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) is a good way to determine how members of this group perceive themselves and others and their rapport to their image in society. As previous researchers have established, the need to improve communities while preserving their cultures is a condition for the success of local governments and requires them to provide solid interdependability between different traditions and ethnic backgrounds (Alexander & Nank, 2009; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007; Salamon & Anheier, 1998). Identifying the sociocultural norms of an ethnic group and their social adaptability is necessary to understand how public policies can protect their interests and civil rights (Danaee & Rostamy, 2007).

Nicolae and Slavik (2003) took a proper perspective on the impact social stigma can have on minorities, Gypsies in Romania in particular. The researchers addressed the sensitive matter of the attitudes and actions of politicians in Romania. Some Romanian politicians have expressed ignorance and disregard for marginalized groups like Gypsies, and members of the government have abandoned even public dignity with public



statements such as, “Our Gypsies are stupid,” or “They manage to irritate the entire society” (Nicolae & Slavik, 2003, p. 1). Instead of marginalizing them, administration has refused to accept responsibility for managing the Gypsies’ integration and social acceptance. In the past, the Romanian government avoided direct corrective action to Gypsies’ marginalization due to socioeconomic limitations. Many Gypsies have avoided admitting their origins to escape socioeconomic hardship and stereotyping when dealing with their integration. But due to poverty and stereotypes, Gypsies have limited access to medical care, education, and housing (Nicolae & Slavik, 2003). Many of them live in areas with scarce resources, such as small villages with no running water, and poor living conditions, which reduces their quality of life.

Romania is still transitioning to higher standards of democracy, struggling with remnants of a communist regime of political terror, and contending with significant economic problems (Gazley & Brudney, 2007). On top of all these socioeconomic issues, the stigmatization of Gypsies has remained unresolved. The population associates Gypsies’ background with delinquency and crime, which has reduced the esteem of the entire country around the world. Starting with local interpersonal conflicts, the media have amplified Gypsies’ exposure to social polemics and brought discomfort and stress to their communities, including their housing matters. According to Nicolae and Slavik (2003), Gypsies are an antisocial ethnic group who bring social dysfunction and aggression. In the light of this point of view, a democratic society must make an immediate intervention to preserve human rights and promote the acceptance of other cultures and ethnic backgrounds.

## **Problem Statement**

Previous studies have failed to fully clarify the causes of discriminatory housing policies against Gypsies, referring to Gypsies as preferring a wandering lifestyle or being associated with crime and threat to order (Garner, 2019; Nuseibeh, 2020) but also to reveal in-depth how housing policies affect Gypsies' living conditions instead of supporting their social integration. Academic research lacks the type of studies focused on finding clear causes of housing discrimination of Gypsies that could help better integrate Gypsies and diminish the consequences of this type of discrimination that leads to more segregation. A tough century of communism has left a deep imprint on Romania's society. After 30 years following a revolution that led to a democratic constitution and opened the gates to Western culture, Romania still faces publicly accepted prejudice and discrimination against ethnic and cultural minorities like Gypsies. Across Europe, housing policies that could protect Gypsies against discrimination are far from being widely accepted and implemented (Belak et al., 2018; Cingolani, 2016; Lancione, 2018; Sayan, 2019; Watson & Downe, 2017).

In this ethnographic case study, I sought to explore the extent to which Gypsies experience housing discrimination in Romania. Due to their ethnic and cultural background, Gypsies face social discomfort, and laws support their unethical evacuation from camps and houses (Taylor, 2013). Despite new housing policy requirements for alignment with European and international democratic standards of ethics and social equity (Rutland et al., 2010), local authorities have maintained regulations that limit housing for Gypsies due to misapprehension of their culture. The rationale for

understanding Gypsies' culture and heritage and incorporating them into Romanian and world populations' social norms is that this results in less prejudice and hostility toward Gypsies, especially in regard to housing. Achieving this reform effectively will require a long process and specific norms being implemented in administrative and governmental affairs.

### **Statement of Purpose**

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of housing discrimination against Gypsies based on acceptance levels of their culture and heritage; I studied both the causes and consequences of this type of discrimination. I sought to research what Gypsy cultural factors could lead to their housing discrimination and how they experience the consequences of this type of discrimination. Based on previous research, cultural factors lead to their housing discrimination, which reinforces their uniqueness of culture, perpetuating a cycle. Gypsies' identification with their ethnicity accentuates the manifestation of their cultural factors that lead to more segregation. This qualitative research paradigm involved an ethnographic case study of public policy discriminating factors on the housing of Gypsies in Romania. This could lead to policy and other changes to prevent discrimination. In the academic community and in past research, clear definitions of contemporary Gypsies as an ethnic group or culture account for the scope of discrimination against them in their camps or other housing. For example, Rowe and Goodman (2014) started characterized Gypsies as "a stinking filthy race of people inbred with criminality" (p. 32), and others see Gypsies as "clairvoyants" (Munnings, 2015). These authors gave examples of causes for housing discrimination as

Gypsies were victims of social stereotyping, and due to practicing some spiritual rituals as part of their culture, they were marginalized and excluded from their civil rights.

According to Dan and Dan (2003), factors like overcrowding and indecent living conditions are common for poor populations, including in Romania, where 6.2% of the country's population has less than 4 square meters of living space per person. The worst conditions are those of the Gypsy minority group, who live "at the edge of the human condition" (Dan & Dan, 2003, p. 5), and almost half of whom built their homes without a legal permit to the land, risking eviction or demolition. These facts have long-term repercussions for the Gypsy population and can lead to long-lasting hardship and discrimination.

### **Research Questions**

To understand how Gypsies experience housing discrimination, the following research questions guided this study:

RQ1: To what extent do Gypsies from Apahida, Cluj experience discrimination because of public housing policies?

RQ2: What cultural factors prevent Gypsies from being adequately integrated into the local communities in the city of Apahida, Cluj County, Romania?

RQ3: How are Gypsies perceived by the city government and police in Apahida, Cluj?

In Table 1, I present a few sample interview questions related to the research questions and simple observations that correspond to them.

**Table 1***Sample Interview Questions as Related to Research Questions*

Research questions	Example interview questions	Example observation during interview
1. To what extent do Gypsies from Apahida, Cluj experience discrimination because of public housing policies?	To what extent do you believe that Gypsies from Apahida, Cluj are discriminated against in local public policies on housing?	Interviewee's emotional expressions, tone of voice, gestures.
	What specific actions have been taken by the local authorities regarding the housing of Gypsies?	Description of the Gypsies' homes where the interviews are conducted, structure, floor, decorations, setting, etc.
2. What cultural factors prevent Gypsies from being adequately integrated into the local communities in Apahida, Cluj, Romania?	What is your understanding of the Gypsies current culture and their traditions?	Interviewee's attire, physiognomy, and elements of specific tradition within the environment.
	What are some important cultural aspects that should be considered to bring equity and equal opportunity within the community?	Domestic activities, social and family settings, rapport to children, elders, spouse, or others.
3. How are Gypsies perceived by the city government and police in Apahida, Cluj?	What are the attitudes of city hall and police representatives toward Gypsies in your city?	Reactions, gestures, intonations, positive or negative attitude or resentment
	Describe the relationships, as you see them, between the local authorities and the Gypsy community.	

*Note.* From the interview questions included in Appendix C.

### **Conceptual Framework**

The conceptual framework of this research has its foundation in Jones and McBeth's (2010) narrative policy framework (NPF) and Turner et al.'s (1987) self-

categorization theory, which emphasizes the importance of cultural factor specific traits of ethnic groups. Weible and Sabatier (2018) described the NPF in *Theories of the Policy Process*, and Shanahan et al. developed their views of this theory in research from 2014 to 2017. Jones and McBeth (2010) started the work that led to this framework with a few publications in 1999. The researchers called it *NPF* in 2010 and made clear reference to it being fundamental to human existence as a primary but complex means of communication and cognition. Human rights are critical to a society's positive development while overcoming oppression and leading to the emancipation of humanity. Access to equal rights, expression, and civil rights has been shaped by how the population's voice is carried and presented to others, especially in a formal way in public policy.

A policy process is important for bringing results to the target population and must gravitate around how narratives impact outcomes. Policy debates are polemics based on narratives and can be either formal or informal, from the floor of Parliament to mass media, Twitter, and blogs. The NPF is the actual understanding of the power and role of narratives as the determining factor of the policy process. Starting at the individual microlevel and focusing on establishing the story's setting, characters, plot, and moral, the NPF develops to the mesolevel. The framework can reach the macro level where grand narratives are deployed. Shanahan et al. (2017) discussed the NPF and how it incorporates effective strategies for shaping public opinion. The authors referred to previous research of how actors and policy marketers behave and convey policy narratives (Crow & Lawlor, 2016) or influence the financial aspects of campaigns and

policy subsystems (Gray & Jones, 2016). Weible and Sabatier (2018) provided input on how to create winning coalitions for the policy process (Shanahan et al., 2013) and how the perception of the messenger determines whether the audience believes their story. Individuals carry their belief systems with them, and at the macro level, they develop in cultural norms and institutions, pursuing progress through specific expressions and manifestations of their rights.

Self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) describes how different perceptions can develop in different groups. The appurtenances of each person in a group and their identification with that group are based on the appearance of stimuli and identity-relevant cues that trigger the group identity. Group identification gives each individual an increased susceptibility to the stereotypes related to that group, which could represent threats or discrimination or possibly a boost in performance and social perception in specific situations (Armenta, 2010). Studies of the neural representation of self and significant others in response to cultural primes (Ng et al., 2010) have emphasized aspects of self-categorization theory. Regarding self-categorization, everyone can have multiple group inclusiveness concerning the intergroup context and how they feel about it.

The emotional perception of others influences relationships and negotiations (McCann, 2010; Pietroni et al., 2008). Good theoretical starting points for this research included emotional communication and unpredictability, and their influences on intergroup interactions; the causes of interpersonal conflicts (Sinaceur et al., 2013); and the awareness that self-categorization brings regarding the different ways people perceive

themselves and others, which can lead to discriminations (Armenta, 2010; Reynolds et al., 2010). The dynamics of intergroup relations add detail to the secondary emotions attributed to within-group members and the primary emotions attributed to out-group members, which leads to seeing others as less human and ultimately to prejudice and discrimination against those with significant cultural differences (Eyssel & Ribas, 2012). Using strategic narratives in a fair democratic context brings a turbulent cultural environment. This conceptual framework is important for building a healthy, sustainable, and just community to develop fair public policies, including eliminating housing discrimination against Gypsies.

### **Nature of the Study**

Researchers that previously studied Gypsies used mainly qualitative methods, such as ethnography (Cingolani, 2016; Convery & O'Brian, 2012; Donders, 2016; Lancione, 2018). Cultural and social studies are closely related to the demographics, observing and directly approaching the participants within their environment. According to the Ethnographic Research Center (2020), ethnography entails a researcher's presence within the racial environment of the participants for at least 6 months and involves face-to-face interviews and participant observations. I conducted a qualitative study, an ethnographic case study on a group of Gypsies over the age of 18 from a city in northwestern Romania's region called Transylvania. I interviewed and observed 10 Gypsies and 10 representatives of the local government and the city's police department as part of a study of housing discrimination against Gypsies. My heritage and social background that I established during my 26 years living in that area provided me access



to previously assimilated knowledge and experience about Gypsies and their settlements. An ethnographic case study was most appropriate as I conducted face-to-face interviews and participant observation within their homes and cultural environment.

The participants included approximately 10 Gypsies belonging to the Apahida community, Cluj County who I interviewed, and I observed their behavior during the interviews on their experiences with local government and police and with public policies on housing. The local government officials were interviewed regarding their perspectives on Gypsies' experiences of housing discrimination and cultural factors preventing a proper housing integration of Gypsies and their perspectives on how Gypsies are seen as an ethnic group. The interviews, along with eventual artifacts discovered during interviews, provided the data for the research.

Participants were recruited through a direct approach in the local community, by letters and postcards, distribution and display of flyers, posters, and brochures, and by phone calls and emails. The interviews and simple observations were audio-recorded and transcribed. All transcripts and data were stored and managed through the NVivo qualitative data analysis software. For transcripts of the observations, I used observation protocols.

### **Definition of Key Terms**

*Dehumanization*: Depriving a person of human qualities and viewing them as less human (Cervi & Tejedor, 2020; Kende et al., 2021).

*Democracy*: A form of government in which the whole population is substantially involved in decision making, electing representatives (Boese, 2019; Cervi & Tejedor, 2020).

*Discrimination*: Prejudicial treatment of people of different categories (Esses, 2021; Salter et al., 2018; Smith & Ruston, 2013).

*Gypsies*: Members of the Roma people (Cervi & Tejedor, 2020; Condon et al. 2019; Silva, 2020).

*Infra-humanization*: The tendency of individuals to perceive people from a given group as less human (Banton et al., 2020; Sovacool & Del Rio, 2022).

*Minorities*: Groups of people differentiated from the social majority; for example, members of an ethnic group make up a small percentage of the population (Banton et al., 2020).

*Prejudice*: Preconceived, a biased opinion that leads to discrimination (Banton et al., 2020; Condon et al., 2019; Esses, 2021).

*Racism*: Discrimination against an individual by race, based on the belief that one race is superior to others (Finnell, 2018; Salter et al., 2018; Sayan, P., 2019).

*Stereotyping*: Using oversimplified images (stereotypes) that treat a person a certain way because another person from the group is that way (Rosenblum & Travis, 2012).

### **Assumptions**

Starting with a philosophical perspective and considerations of how it could drive the qualitative research, I learned from the literature review that Gypsy culture has long

maintained the same trends and confronted similar societal issues. Gypsies have been known for migrating from place to place for survival and maintaining their traditions and habits, but for their resistance to change and their lack of adaptability to new social standards. Philosophical assumptions, starting from the ontology of the subject, lead to epistemological, axiological, and then methodological assumptions so a researcher can derive actual practical assumptions for the research. In the case of the Gypsies, there are multiple perceptions of their culture, depending on whether the person analyzing it is of Gypsy ethnicity, an outsider, whether they belong to a country where human rights are not well developed, like Nigeria, one still in transition to democracy and better standards of life and civil rights, like Bulgaria or Romania, or one that already has well-developed laws, policies, and regulations to protect human rights, like the United States. By doing this, I built the epistemological assumption that cultural diversity, intergroup dynamics, standards of life, and ways of transmitting knowledge to groups in the population are the big factors in the way people perceive Gypsies and in whether they treat them with respect and make an effort to develop antidiscriminatory laws and policies.

Previous researchers have discussed the culture of this ethnic group in societies where they face various forms of discrimination. I have not identified any research leading to creating policies strong enough to protect them from prejudice. I have not seen any impact on them as a group that has made them want to evolve to a better quality of life through their efforts and perseverance to align with the rest of society. However, in this research, I allowed the participants to voice their own opinions, describe how they perceive reality, and communicate this to help others understand them more deeply. Not

only the Gypsies but the local authorities gave their opinions on the policies and any discrimination against this group. This is where I derived the axiological assumption that this research adds value to society, and as the researcher, I was the key instrument of this. As the researcher, I had some biases and encountered limitations while conducting this study, but I still developed some practical assumptions and reasoning. This study needed a specific qualitative methodology, and for that, I used interviews, observations, archival documents, and artifacts.

Methodological assumptions are necessary for developing interview instructions specific to housing discrimination and the cultural factors influencing Gypsies' social integration. This study required two main practical assumptions, which led to the research hypotheses. The literature on Gypsies in Romania played an important role in the formation of these assumptions:

- There is consistent, not merely case-specific, housing discrimination against Gypsies in Romania
- The Gypsies, local officials, and police representatives were available for interviews. While most Gypsies speak Romanian, some have limited vocabulary and speak mostly the Gypsy language; however, a translator was not necessary.

The first assumption developed an argument that consistent housing discrimination against Gypsies in Romania is a reality; the discrimination is not case specific. This assumption identifies a population and the setting. The second assumption was that the necessary participants were to be available, and they were available. This included Gypsies, police representatives, and local officials.

I assumed it would be easy to gain access to people for research. There was a concern that there would have been potential language difficulties in dealing with Gypsies who did not speak Romanian. Nonetheless, all Gypsies were able to speak Romanian language fluently. These considerations were essential in planning the study, such as ensuring a translator was available in case was needed. The first assumption justified the need for the research, and the second anticipated what the research setting was to be like.

### **Scope and Delimitations**

The scope of this study and the associated research questions involved Gypsies' cultural factors and housing discrimination against them. The focus of the study was on identifying the specific cultural factors that interfere with the acceptance of Gypsies as an ethnic group into housing areas and their experiences of eviction or restriction to housing in certain areas. Previous studies have given examples of the eviction and marginalization of Gypsies. Still, they have not discussed ways to integrate them and stop this discrimination socially. The trend of only pointing out the negative aspects of their lifestyle has failed to produce practical results. However, studying cultural factors and analyzing their experiences of discrimination have revealed some important facts that could be incorporated into new public policies to help integrate Gypsies in line with human rights standards.

Previous researchers have described how Gypsy cultural practices “only [isolate] Gypsies from a majority” and cause them to be seen as “the other” (Tremlett, 2013, pp. 1706–08). Smith and Ruston (2013) reported explicit findings on the general population's

and the Gypsy population's awareness of discriminatory practices and the resultant effective exclusion and increased social isolation of Gypsies. Qualitative interviews and observations appeared appropriate for exploring and identifying specific cultural trends and factors in housing discrimination against Gypsies.

### **Limitations**

Limitations are factors that can impede a study by diminishing its scope. Yin (2013) referred to them as factors beyond a researcher's control. Limitations can include geographical location, sample size, and data availability. This research's limitations depended on the fieldwork during the qualitative data gathering, which could have encountered unpredictable problems and might have required the redirecting of the study. The physical presence of the researcher at the research site could have caused nervousness, inhibition, adversity, or other changed behavior or attitudes in the participants. However, a reasonable accommodation within their environment and enough time for the research prevented these problems. All Gypsy participants spoke Romanian, and it was easy for me as a native Romanian to communicate with them in Romanian. The Gypsy language, however, would have impeded my accurate interpretation of their intents, beliefs, and attitudes. In that case, I would have used a local translator. Apart from logistical limitations, there were methodological limitations. The ethnographic research design has had both advantages and disadvantages, and there were difficulties in generalizing the findings.

### **Significance of the Study**

In this study, I found some informational gaps in the literature on the Romanian government and nongovernmental organizations' plans for integrating Gypsies and their culture into democratic coexistence with the local population. Violations of human rights are a serious problem. This research could significantly contribute through the data I collected that could be used to find solutions to ethnic concerns and conflicts regarding Gypsies in Romania. New public policies regarding social equity in housing should increase awareness of human rights and respect for other ethnicities. This would help local authorities develop effective buy-in strategies for other stakeholders to support the integration process of the Gypsies.

The impact of housing policies for Gypsies extends to their access to education, jobs, professional development, and health services (Dar et al., 2013). A positive change in housing policies will create further opportunities for the Romanian government to improve its systems to support democratic principles.

### **Summary**

In this chapter, I provided a brief introduction and background of the Gypsy culture, including information on discrimination patterns and the need to study housing discrimination against Gypsies in Romania. The purpose of this study was to produce data that may lead leaders and policymakers to a better understanding of this discrimination based on acceptance of Gypsies' culture and heritage. Chapter 2 provides a thorough review of the current literature on the topic and more details on the background and methodological approach.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### **Introduction**

In this literature review, I identify, analyze, and synthesize the literature on Gypsy culture, self-categorization, and NPF, and I provide background information on the socioeconomic and governmental development of democracy in Romania after the fall of communism in 1989. Gypsies in Romania face extreme poverty and lack of equal opportunities for social integration and access to housing. In this chapter, I review the literature on the conceptual framework and the methods I used in this research and their applicability to an ethnographic study of housing discrimination among Gypsies in Romania. The literature relevant to this study includes four areas: (a) legislation from the Romanian government and public policy makers; (b) previous research on discrimination and democracy; (c) articles and books on the culture of Gypsy communities; and (d) literature on self-categorization theory and NPF.

I present a general account of Gypsies' social status across Europe, starting with Dar et al.'s (2013) review of studies on how Gypsies are treated in different places, leading to perceptions of them and their experiences in Romania. Knowing the health status of the Gypsy traveler community in the United Kingdom is important for understanding how members of this community are treated. Despite government commitments to reducing inequalities, differences still exist, such as in healthcare access (Dar et al., 2013). In some parts of Europe, services to Gypsies has improved, but concerns about discrimination remain; housing issues for Gypsies are affected by discrimination. In addition, Lloyd and McCluskey (2008) reported on tensions between



Gypsies and their nation states. Gypsies' identities are strongly focused on their ethnicity, but they tend to overlook their nationality.

The European Union plays an important role in discrimination against minority groups such as the Gypsies. The social adaptations of the Gypsies influence how they fit into communities (Greenfield & Smith, 2010). Different methodologies have been used to study discrimination against Gypsies in different places, and local planning authorities influence housing policies and housing discrimination against different groups. The household growth rate in the Gypsy community is an important consideration, along with their specific culture anchored into their self-categorization mentality and managed through the NPF's capabilities.

### **Literature Search Strategy**

In this literature review, I draw on a wide range of print and online resources. I used Walden University's library journal, e-book, and thesis and dissertation search engines to generate initial results. Public policy and administration and psychology were the main research homepages. The subject-specific databases used were Political Science Complete, Public Administration Abstracts, SAGE Journals, SocINDEX with full text, Taylor and Francis Online, Project Muse, PsycINFO, and PsycARTICLES. The multidisciplinary databases and multidatabase search tools used included Thoreau Multi-Database Search, ProQuest Central, Academic Search Complete, and Google Scholar. Two databases for dissertations were used: ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global and Dissertations and Theses at Walden University. Some of the search terms used were *public policy, housing, discrimination or racism or prejudice, democracy, Gypsies or*

*Roma people, Romania, minority, and social integration*, sometimes with other Boolean operators. These terms were searched for separately or in combination with two others: *ethnography* and *narrative policy framework*. Google Scholar was an effective tool for identifying gaps in the literature and other research sources.

Sources were verified as academic, peer-reviewed, and written by subject-matter experts through references and other publications. Related studies and continuations of main-idea research were searched as a follow up to the first-identified authors and their publications, starting with keywords like *racism, discrimination, prejudice, Gypsies, Roma, minorities, emotional intelligence, prejudice, stereotyping, infra-humanization, dehumanization, in-group, and out-group*. Walden University library offered a wide variety of scholarly articles that could include important works for this research. Other search terms included *public policy, local administration, Romanian government, Eastern bloc, democracy, Western culture, capitalism, and socialism*.

### **Research Approaches on Housing Discrimination of Gypsies**

Donders's study (2016) has references on how Gypsies are protected by international human rights laws but are still exposed to discrimination. In many countries, housing discrimination policies against Gypsies, especially in the European Union, are a major concern. Several different qualitative studies have been conducted in attempts to understand the experiences of Gypsies concerning housing discrimination and to explore the influence of different housing policies. The Gypsies, also known as Roma, have a wandering lifestyle. Blasco (2016) provided insight into discrimination against the Gypsies and their lifestyle in Madrid, Spain. Blasco's research showed that educational

segregation practices build on factors that have existed for a long time, such as isolation in housing policy. Silver and Danielowski (2019) asserted that extreme discrimination occurs against Gypsies. According to Silver and Danielowski (2019), reducing residential segregation would require the development of effective social housing policy.

The culture of the Gypsies involving a wandering lifestyle can be suppressed by housing policies that make it difficult for them to settle. Researchers have expressed concern about the social inclusion of minorities such as the Gypsies. Social exclusion and discrimination of the Gypsies has been identified in different areas, such as housing, employment, health, and education. The health of Gypsy people has been defined as poor due to their segregation (Belak et al., 2018).

Discrimination of minorities such as the Gypsies negatively challenges their social integration. In an ethnographic study on housing policies and politics of identity among Gypsies and non-Gypsies in Turin, Italy, Cingolani (2016) showed that both share common social conditions. Cingolani (2016) showed a great difference in the housing conditions of the Gypsies in Italy and those who are not Gypsies. Housing policies that contribute to housing discrimination of Gypsies make them highly likely to live in informal settlements. Ethnographic fieldwork is essential to understanding their experiences concerning their housing conditions. The housing problem among the Gypsies is considered a key problem in the national strategy for inclusion of Gypsies in Turin (Cingolani, 2016). Different arguments have been presented in the research regarding the housing challenges Gypsies face.

Poverty and social stereotypes negatively affect Gypsies, including limited access to education, health care, and housing. The European Union has clear regulations and guidelines that protect minority groups from different forms of discrimination. However, despite such protections, Gypsies continue to face discrimination in many European countries (Garner, 2019). Discriminatory housing policies make it challenging for Gypsies to maintain legal residences and experience positive living conditions. Discriminatory housing policies lead to frequent evictions for Gypsies (Watson & Downe, 2017). Research has shown that forced evictions of Gypsies represents a major concern for this population. There is a long history of segregation of Gypsies by different governments in Europe. Discrimination against Gypsies is sometimes referred to as Antiziganism. Different countries have housing discrimination policies that make it challenging for the Gypsies. Stereotypes in different European cities affect the perception of people on the Gypsies. Stereotypes such as the assumption that the Gypsies are thieves contribute to their discrimination (Kende et al, 2021).

### **Gypsies in Different Countries**

Housing policies set restrictions in many countries and lead to forced eviction for Gypsies. Such restrictions include laws against trespassing. In the United Kingdom, existing policies designate official Gypsy sites, facilitating segregation and housing discrimination. Watson and Downe (2017) showed that Gypsies face discrimination in different parts of Europe, especially child-bearing women. The Gypsies experience discrimination because of their culture, ethnicity, housing, and economic status. This

phenomenon has led to a need to understand what factors of Gypsy culture contribute to increasing housing discrimination against them.

Nuseibeh (2020) showed that discrimination against Gypsies exists in Jerusalem. According to the author, there are limits to the social services available to the Domari Gypsies in Jerusalem (Nuseibeh, 2020). This includes challenges in accessing social services like housing and education. Nuseibeh (2020) showed there are high levels of isolation among Gypsies, which contributes to their disempowerment. Gypsies are marginalized and restricted from access to living conditions that others experience.

Alves (2017) questioned whether deliberate ethnic housing segregation targets the Gypsy population in Portugal. Housing discrimination against Gypsies is a widespread problem across Europe. Donders (2016) showed that provisions of international human rights laws protect the lifestyle of Gypsies, which involves living in caravans. In the UK, there have been changes to the terms of social inclusion among Gypsies because of the country's ongoing exit from the European Union (Lane & Smith, 2019). Different countries in the European Union have similar housing policies, and Gypsies face discrimination and challenges in social inclusion.

Lancione (2018) provided information about the housing issues Gypsies experience in Romania and showed the link between political factors and Gypsies' social situation. Various initiatives by the European Union address discrimination and racism targeting Gypsies, but challenges remain. Policy reforms are essential in positive change (Sayan, 2019). According to Garner (2019), the media and the government play a role in the racialization of Gypsies. Garner (2019) shows that the racialization of Gypsy-

travelers in England involves different stereotypes, such as their association with crime and their association with threat to order.

According to Oner and Şimşek (2017), in Turkey and other parts of the world, the Gypsy people are among the first groups to face discrimination and exclusion from projects related to housing policies. Thus, Gypsies' experiences with housing discrimination is not limited to one country; it is a concern across Europe. Discriminatory policies limit Gypsies in terms of housing conditions. Breazu and Machin (2018) analyzed how the Romanian press cover evictions and deportations of Gypsies from France. This coverage demonstrates trends in housing discrimination against Gypsies. Breazu and Machin (2018) criticized the French government's policy concerning the Gypsies.

Webb (2019) referred to the Gypsies in Britain as an invisible minority while comparing them to White people. Costachie (2017) provided insight into the experiences of Gypsies living in Spain and showed that social acceptance is a major factor of concern there. There is a great similarity among Gypsies' social experiences in different European countries, and all are characterized by discrimination, including restrictive housing policies. From all these previous qualitative research studies arises the need for a new ethnographic case study of housing discrimination of Gypsies based on fundamentals of a conceptual framework that includes two perspectives: cultural identification with a racial group and the NPF that emphasizes the social context setting conditions and influence of administrative and governmental power. For this aspect, the NPF (Jones & McBeth, 2010) is best used to follow trends and effects in societal behavior, based on not only

cultural facts but also how authorities and leaders influence and drive group chances. From an individual level and a microlevel reflecting specific cultures to the macro level as a society, public policies and political management by local governments strongly impact the dynamic of groups and intergroup relationships.

### **Conceptual Framework**

#### **Narrative Policy Framework**

The NPF is an important theory for showing how narratives are used in policy making. Shanahan et al. (2011) asserted that narratives are the lifeblood of politics, which emphasizes the application of the NPF. The assumption is that the approach used in rendering a story is essential in determining policy success and even political longevity. The narrative that exists in the public domain can shape perceptions regarding specific policy issues. According to NPF, the way a story is rendered is crucial to the policy making process, which makes it a theory of the policy process (Jones & McBeth, 2010). In this ethnographic case study, NPF provided a guideline of how other people, media, public administration, and local government, among others, can influence the development of public policies, including those related to housing discrimination of Gypsies. Interviewing local police, local government, and representatives of the local council provides information about their perspectives, actions, attitudes, and social influence on housing discrimination experienced by Gypsies in the area.

The theory can be used to raise questions regarding whether narratives play an essential role in the policy process. Researchers have concluded that narratives influence the policy process. The NPF emphasizes the need to understand the power and influence

of policy narratives (Jones & Radaelli, 2015). This is important in ensuring that the narratives are rendered well. In the policy process, debating is important to understand different points of view. Debates use narratives. The media, interest groups, and even individual citizens rely on narratives to understand policy issues. The NPF theory assumes that to understand the policy process there is a need to understand the underlying narratives.

The NPF theory emphasizes that narratives affect policy development, implementation, and evaluation (Gray & Jones, 2016). For example, narratives shape public perceptions, the kind of narratives that the mass media pushes. The theoretical approach by Jones and McBeth (2014) showed that narratives or stories have characters, a plot, and a moral (Jones et al., 2014). Policy narrative strategies are used in advocacy and increasing interest in an issue (Weible et al., 2011). The media has developed a powerful influence in the policy process because of its power in shaping narratives. Public opinion is a crucial factor of consideration in the policy process. The narratives shape the public opinion the people are exposed to. Examining media effects on public opinion and opinion leaders in the community involves the NPF (O'Bryan et al., 2014). The NPF approach can be used to measure how narratives are used in influencing the policy-making process. Narratives can be used to reinforce support for a policy issue or to oppose policy issues.

The concepts of persuasion and propaganda come up in the discussion on the application of the NPF (Smith, 2018). The NPF theory is used not only in policy analysis but in research. From the NPF approach, individuals are influenced by narratives and



influence others through narratives. Narratives influence to change the point of view of an individual about a given policy. The NPF theory is a relatively new framework since it was developed in 2010. However, the theory has become increasingly important in understanding how stories shape public opinions (Weible & Schlager, 2014). There are different reasons why a narrative could be compelling to certain people and not to others.

The credibility of the source is one important consideration. Narratives can lead to the conformation of biases or changing of points of view. Stories contribute to the exploitation of the emotions of individuals. Simple stories from a source people trust are very compelling compared to complex stories from sources that are not trusted (Peterson & Jones, 2016). In politics and the policy process, there can be a focus on appealing to people's beliefs rather than facts. People can easily relate to narratives that align with their beliefs. Different kinds of policy theories explain factors that influence the policy process.

The NPF approach effectively explains how the cognitive biases of individuals are exploited. The moral of a story describes the action to be taken once one relates to a narrative (Jones et al., 2014). Studying the Narrative Policy Framework leads to differentiating effective and ineffective narrators. Based on the assertions of the theory by Jones and McBeth (2014), effective narrators use the beliefs of the target audience to influence cognitive biases.

Effective connection of different stories leads to creating a grand narrative that greatly influences the audience. In the policy making process, the media has become powerful because it is a platform to pass stories. The context influences the success of

narratives; for example, there are situations where the audience could be more receptive than others. Persuasion of individuals to change their thoughts on a given issue requires proper justification of why it is necessary. The NPF theory has a positivist approach. Critics may therefore argue that there is a need to have post-positivist approaches. This chapter provides a comprehensive understanding of the NPF theory and its application specifically in the policy process.

### **Self-Categorization Theory**

The self-categorization theory was developed from Tajfel's social identity theory in 1978. It is important to understand the psychology of individuals and groups and how they interact. The theory explains the concepts of individuality and group behavior and how the two are related to how individuals define and perceive themselves. Therefore, it is essential for understanding group formation and how individuals feel about themselves and their groups (Page et al., 2015). The self-categorization theory was developed as a conceptual extension of the social identity theory (Hogg, 2016) by John Turner. In other words, the theory focuses on understanding the processes by which individuals form cognitive representations of themselves and how they perceive the social groups they are part of. In this study, this theory helps with the understanding of how Gypsies are identifying themselves with their racial group and how much practicing of their cultural factors contribute to their experiences of discrimination. The more they would identify themselves with the racial group of Gypsies, the more they will practice their specific culture. The study revealed how much and what cultural factors would contribute to the housing discrimination of Gypsies in Romania.

One assumption of the self-categorization theory is that people place themselves and others into social groupings based on salient attributes (Stevens et al., 2017). This is an important topic in the study of the formation of groups. Social identity theory took the view that people develop individualized identities by relying on the traits that make them unique. However, the theory also claims that people have multiple social identities and that social groupings influence these.

Categorizing oneself as part of a group involves what the theory calls “depersonalization,” which involves a shift from “I” to “we.” This is because people feel a sense of belonging to social groups. There is a difference between identifying as a larger group member and a unique individual. Leonardelli and Toh (2015) asserted that people’s categories for social groupings are intergroup, in-group, and out-group. Depersonalization occurs due to conceptions of fit that make individuals develop a sense of belonging to a given group.

The self-categorization theory emphasizes why people engage in social categorization: reducing uncertainty and understanding their place in a given social setting (Hogg, Abrams, & Brewer, 2017). The social experiences of individuals directly influence their self-categorization (Lieberman, Woodward, & Kinzler, 2017). This is because it influences how individuals perceive themselves and others.

The issue of self-perception is central to the theory of self-categorization. Categorization into social groups involves focusing on similarities. This means that there are different ways people can define themselves as belonging to different groups. For example, an individual could define himself as a youth rather than just as an individual or

identify with an ethnic group. Self-categorization influences individuals' attitudes toward themselves and others (Bal et al., 2015). The theory of self-categorization asserts that different levels of self-categorization can be adopted according to people's imagination.

Self-categorization theory and social identity theory explains how people form social identities. According to Hogg (2014), social changes play an important role in whether individuals feel certain about their identities. These two theories are important for understanding social inequality and prejudice in societies (Simon, 2014). The self-categorization theory describes the factors that push members of a given social group to act biased toward outsiders but better toward group members (Treppe & Loy, 2017). This shows that the theory is important to discussions of the concepts of prejudice and privilege.

The level of commitment to a social group influences the collective self—for example, in the sense of belonging to a group. The theory of interest is of great importance to public policy administration and the study of group dynamics. Concepts such as self-perception and self-esteem are important to discussing how individuals perceive themselves and their membership in different groups.

## **Literature Review**

### **Romanian Government and Administrative Structure**

Romania's regional and local administration has changed over time, centralizing the administration from 76 counties in 1918 to 39 at the time of the Revolution in 1989 to 42 counties today, including the capital of Bucharest. Since 1998, Romania has had eight officially recognized development regions, lacking administrative legislation. In a

departure from the country's culture and traditions, a random administrative model borrowed from the Soviet Union was forcefully imposed during direct Soviet influence over Romania between World War II and 1989. During the presence of the Red Army on Romanian territory, administrative legislation was developed that established the “judet” (County) at a higher level of authority and the “orasul” (city) and “comuna” (suburb or village) at subordinate levels.

**Figure 1**

*Romanian Regional Administration by Counties*



*Note.* Sageata, 2013

This administrative fragmentation has impaired the country's ability to implement public policies and regional development, mostly due to a lack of economic growth and poor local governmental resource allocation. In 1998, a regional development project concluded with the cooperation of all the counties and the construction of eight regions of growth for the country. The homogeneity and demographic potential were essential to

healthy resource allocation, but the suburbs and undeveloped rural areas were both causes of unemployment and poverty (Sageata, 2013).

The Romanian Revolution of 1989 set the stage for a transition to democracy after the country spent five decades in the Soviet bloc (Sageata, 2013). In 1991, Romania adopted a new constitution that proclaimed democracy and a market economy, opening the door to new standards for human rights and developing the judicial, political, and executive systems (U.S. Department of State, 2016).

Cluj is a local administrative center in Romania. Discrimination against Gypsies in the development of housing policies is a matter of serious concern. Due to their nomadic lifestyle, Gypsies have poor access to the housing offered by local authorities, making ethnic segregation a reality. Discrimination against Gypsies has led to their eviction from the camps they make. In the community, some people become homeless for various reasons, such as debt and poverty. Traveler communities and nomads, including some of the Gypsies, keep moving continually, and that is why they may be categorized as homeless.

To understand how public policies develop in democratic Romania, it is first important to understand the governmental structure and its mandates. According to the Official Monitor (1993) and the CIVVIC (2012), the general structure of the Romanian Government includes the President and a Prime Minister that have a Governmental Executive Bureau and Ministries. The following echelons have the Government Specialty Departments and the General Secretary of the Government that govern the Department of Public Administration.

The new constitution established the existence of a president elected by popular vote in free elections for no more than two terms of 5 years each. The president elects a prime minister appoints the rest of the government and each department's ministers. The constitution provides for a two-chamber parliament formed by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate as the law-making authority. The Constitutional Court has a set of lower courts, the Supreme Court. At the county level, an elected county council structures the governance and public administration along with a local council and mayor for each town or village. Each county has a prefect representing the central government, who directs public services from the central authorities to local ones and acts as a reviewer and authority against violations of the law and constitution; any such violations are managed in administrative courts. Local councils distribute allocated resources that control provincial budgets and spending (U.S. Department of State, 2016).

For the past three decades, Romania has not only faced internal turmoil in its transition to democracy but has struggled to meet the higher human rights standards set by the European Union. Strengthening and adjusting its political and administrative organization were the main conditions for its admission to the EU. But even after considerable efforts, the Romanian administrative system remains one of the weakest points of the reform, showing very little progress. Legal changes and developments in public administration are still far from needed for strong integration into the EU. One good step has been establishing regional elections and the functional autonomy of local authorities. However, managerial logic is still missing from the public administration process, and it lacks initiative, research, composition, management, and the evaluation of

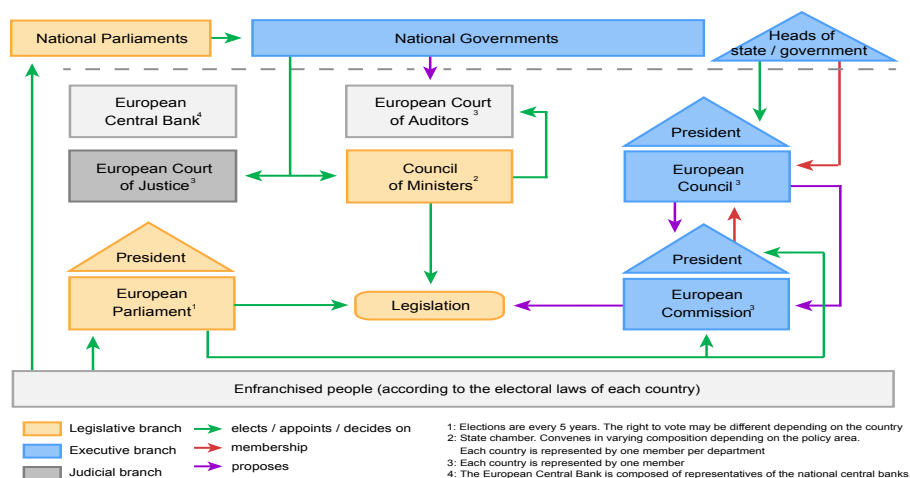
new projects and completed objectives. In addition, a continual battle with corruption has brought further problems to the public administration, threatening human rights and democratic liberties (Hintea et al., 2002).

Several studies of Gypsies and Traveler communities have shown them as vulnerable groups. There are diverse topics related to this vulnerability, and housing is one. The possibility of discrimination against Gypsies in several European cities has been studied. This case focuses on Cluj. Discrimination against minorities affects their well-being and even their health. Housing is an important indicator of standards of living.

The seriousness of this situation has led to laws and policies focused on safeguarding the target population. The traditional background of the Gypsies is central to their identity. Due to their nomadic culture, they often live in temporary accommodations, for example, caravans. Another issue is their settling in illegal sites, leading to conflict with others—the levels of risk difference between the lifestyles of different peoples. Nomadic lifestyles involve higher risk than others. Lifestyles directly influence health, and Gypsies are exposed to numerous unique health risks. In the UK, some policies seek to intervene in Traveler communities' well-being and help Gypsies.

Following great efforts at European integration, in January 2007, Romania became a member of the EU. This impacted the national administrative structure, as a directive from the European Union Council was implemented, and the council worked in direct collaboration with the state ministries (Scrigroup Int., 2017).



**Figure 2***Institutions of the European Union*

*Note.* Political System of the European Union (Wikimedia Commons, 2020)

Once accepted in the EU, countries adopt new legislation and public policies, including social and human rights reforms. Romania has had difficulty adopting reforms for integrating minorities, mainly the Gypsies. Recent EU proposals on Gypsy inclusion strategies and anti-poverty projects have revealed severe discrepancies and deprivations in the Romanian Gypsy community, particularly in housing conditions (Vincze & Rat, 2013). The proposals, in this case, involved a greater push for social inclusion, strategies were offered to aid in the integration of traveler communities. The proposals by the EU called upon members states to increase job access to Gypsies, which requires better access to transportation and housing.

### **Social Equity Through Democracy**

Around the globe, society has been facing problems in achieving positive environmental, economic, and social changes, and many countries are still trying to

maintain decent levels of democracy and human rights. Opinions on defining democracy through positive social change have been researched previously (Conca, 2012; Greider, 2011; Wainwright, 2012). Its social aspects have led to a theory of democracy based on socioeconomic analysis social transformation. The critical part of this perspective is that oppression needs to be stopped for humanity to be emancipated to a better status through collaboration and social transformation related to a few criteria. Different kinds of arguments have been made about the process of democratization. Various factors have been proposed to account for the poor quality of young democracies, such as ethnic fragmentation, weak political institutions, and civil society. Democracy requires equality and inclusion, which are difficult to achieve. Democratization involves the development of a more democratic system. This is the transition from non-democratic to democratic systems. A crucial part of democracy is respect for human rights. Discrimination leads to violations of human rights. Environmental and situational variables influence how democratization takes place in a country.

Fukuyama (2006) examined the direction of political modernization and how it comes to a halt. He examined the concept of human progress, focusing on the political culture of democracy. He argued that changes in political situations lead to the development of liberal democracy, which is the end of history. He discussed the notion that humanity goes through various stages of consciousness using historical examples. For instance, he draws on Karl Max and his theories of social transformation. Authors in the literature have examined Fukuyama's approach to explaining the end of history regarding political modernization. This information is applicable to the situation of

Gypsies, both in Europe and worldwide, in discussions of social democracy and fairness within communities.

In most cases, democracy reflects an environment of social justice and freedom, with viable accountability, transparency, and responsible government. It implies fair political competition, with power based among the people. Because it started through an association with Western values, democracy has leading examples in countries such as the United States, France, and Switzerland, which set the standards for living, economics, and overall constitutional development. Democracy is a complicated social process that produces tremendous cultural changes. As Colin Powell claimed in 1992, it is a hands-on learning experience through struggle that requires the people involved to be open to new ideas, including new values and principles of life, new habits, and behaviors that support democracy (Ezeanyika, 2011).

The collapse of the communist Soviet bloc and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 brought extensive changes to many nations' civil society and political systems. However, the newly liberated countries' transition to democracy was the slow and long-term impact (Ezeanyika, 2011). A Western phobia of Russian and Soviet influence had a tremendous impact on international relationships and the perception and acceptance of new democratic systems, similar to what Romania had to encounter. Support for human rights might have a different meaning in a country like Romania under Soviet influence. Democracy works only with the trust between political parties characteristic of true democracy (Wedgwood, 2014).

Starting in the 1980s, democracy has faced increasing setbacks that have brought about problematic times worldwide and disillusion in many countries whose leadership inclines towards autocracy. In the West, democracy started being associated with economic problems; elsewhere, it barely developed or maintained only a fragile status, which allowed communist countries to proclaim their system's efficiency. Statistics showed that people from countries like Russia or its influence preferred a strong economy to a higher standard of human rights. The collapse of regimes in Iraq, Egypt, and the so-called proper democracy of Turkey, has led them to decline into corruption and autocracy. In Eastern Europe and Asia, effervescent political conflicts turned into frequent boycotts, which created more confusion and led the populations to prefer a better economy to a functional democracy. Even the United States has put money ahead in politics more than ever before (*The Economist*, 2013). Under these circumstances, the Romanian government learned to manage new public policies to align itself with EU civil rights standards and adjust its economy to international markets.

Globalization has affected politics and democracy as global markets and international organizations like the European Union, the World Trade Organization, and the International Monetary Fund have gained more power and extended their influence over countries. These bodies and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have made it more difficult for democratic leadership to survive against a background of weakened financial systems leading to greater debt and instability. People have become less interested in elections as trust in their governments has declined (*The Economist*,

2013). The Romanian economy has been struggling continuously, preventing its government from developing proper policies to protect minorities like the Gypsies.

*The Economist* (2013) described the most efficient democracies as those with constitutions that focus on fighting corruption and maintaining long-term economic and social stability, which reduces discrimination against minorities and rebellion. However, this phenomenon requires ambitious reformers and collaborative globalism married with localism in a constructive way that reinforces democratic principles, mainly for countries like Romania that still have transitioning democracies.

### **Cultural Identity of Gypsies**

A collection of data based on interviews with people of the same ethnic group, describing their life stories and their community's perspectives on social relationships, could demonstrate important aspects of cultural understanding and the social integration of different cultures and subcultures. The idea of understanding the social and cultural experiences of a specific ethnic group through a narrative study (Patton, 2002) is a good starting point for this. Exploring the Gypsies from Transylvania, Romania, seems like a good step toward revealing hidden aspects of social discrimination and possibilities for improving public administration and their social integration. Gypsies' lives should fit within the local environment and socioeconomic development as part of a real democratic society.

People are different both as individuals and as groups, manifesting various attitudes, behaviors, and cognitive modalities of perceiving the world around them. They tend to view, analyze, and describe themselves and their behavior in specific ways.

Postmodernist theories bring essential relevance to narrative and ethnographic studies that use the stories of people's lives to approach their cultural environment. Angus and McLeod (2004) provided a solid philosophical perspective using a conceptualized framework to address theoretical issues in a postmodernism approach. Tedlock (2000) mentioned the importance of narrative studies that could be merged with ethnographic studies to emphasize biographies belonging to the same cultures (Patton, 2002). Gypsies have long been a controversial minority group, which is why they are vulnerable to discrimination. Protecting their human requires dealing with the discrimination they have faced in the past. Over the years, Gypsies have been pressured to adopt a modern lifestyle. Globalization has led to cultures being influenced by different cultures from other parts of the world.

Social interactions include adverse situations and divergences between organizations and communities with different backgrounds or cultures. Suppose people are misunderstood or disregarded in socio-economic considerations. In that case, areas of friction can appear, and toxic relationships among ethnic groups can develop easily, mainly in connection to minorities and their social integration. These events could inhibit creativity, barriers to progress, and a lack of innovation. A healthy social environment allows for successful partnerships between cultural groups and organizations that could be reached only through mutual understanding and acceptance.

Collaboration among communities in building networks would considerably improve the perception of respect and trust, which would support successful integration into a standard and non-discriminative social environment. Studies of effective

partnerships (Gazley & Brudney, 2007) have shown how public authority influences communities' values, traditions, and needs (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007). As a condition of success and cooperation for local governments and other communities, Salamon and Anheier (1998) offered substantial data on how trust and interdependence would affect a regional collaboration between different cultures (Alexander & Nank, 2009). Understanding a different culture can maximize a partnership's efficiency and increase constructive trust through social norms well-supported by public policies (Danaee & Rostamy, 2007).

The marginalization and stigma that Gypsies experience in Romania make them avoid discussing their origins, even when they have good socio-economic status. Many of them, even entire communities, are excluded from the educational and social environments. Those who live in villages are exposed to rough socio-economic conditions and a lack of medical treatment and other public care. The new political regime, alongside handling the socio-economic and financial difficulties of the transition to democracy, has stigmatized the Gypsies and ascribed any problems with European and world integration to them, as a burden on society and as guilty of crimes that have destroyed the prestige of the country. Media and political propaganda expose the Gypsies to civil and social divergences, creating conflicts with local administrators and the general population. According to Nicolae and Slavik (2003), Romanian public figures publicly describe Gypsies as an activist ethnic group that disrupts social functioning. As a result, the group faces prejudice and discrimination for their cultural identity.

The concepts of privilege and prejudice lead to different debates in social psychology. The discussion of these two concepts mainly involves analyzing the role of the emotions behind them. Emotions cause privilege and prejudice; for instance, feelings of solidarity lead to privilege, while caution and fear lead to prejudice. Stereotypes have a powerful influence on prejudice (Rosenblum & Travis, 2012). Stereotypes are created based on feelings toward a group of people. Emotions play a large part in the concept of privilege.

Stereotyping affects the relationship between emotional intelligence and prejudice. This is because stereotypes lead to misconceptions that contribute to failure to understand others. Emotional intelligence is related to critical thinking in this case. In both prejudice and privilege, one usually stands to gain emotionally. Feelings like envy, pride, and disgust cause people to develop prejudicial ideas and behaviors that can lead to discrimination against people they perceive as not belonging to the same group (Rosenblum & Travis, 2012). In the case of privilege, individuals perceive others to be the same as them.

Building a democratic society, preserving minority rights, and tolerating and promoting multiculturalism are essential in these situations and can have an enormous impact on individuals, communities, and the success of partnerships between different cultures in the same socio-economic environment. Probably as a defining aspect of human beings, learning about people's ancestors is relevant to understanding their cultures and interacting with them in a way that produces a positive social environment of mediation, collaboration, coordination, and communication, and a better life for



everyone, each community, and the societies they belong. Studies of genetics and linguistics (Lallanilla, 2013) have provided new information about how Gypsies originated in India, and their culture and language are like the Hindi culture and language. By analyzing genomic data from 13 communities of Gypsies in Europe, scientists concluded that the Roma people had migrated toward the Balkans within the past 900 years.

Currently, there are about twelve million Gypsies spread out around the world. They have faced cruel persecution in the past, being expelled from countries in Europe, put to death in the Middle Ages, mutilated, forbidden to use their language, and exposed to Nazi atrocities during World War II, and they remain oppressed group. Because of their great musical heritage and deeply rooted traditions, Gypsies have attracted the attention of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations that have intervened to stop children labor, human trafficking, and exploitation. But due to their isolation, many Gypsies remain uneducated and still have poor access to jobs, housing, healthcare, and social services, which leads to poverty, illness, and continued stigmatization.

Taylor (2013) referred to the Pata Gypsy community from the area of research for this study, describing how local authorities forced them to move out of their houses, forcing them to live “on top of the garbage,” as Claudia, a local Gypsy woman, put it: the local gypsies formed an isolated community in an area next to the garbage-dump on the periphery of the city (p. 2). Considerable numbers in public life face hardship and discrimination, and some mayors in Romania are were building walls around Gypsies’ communities and areas.

A qualitative study by Parry et al. (2007) of the health-related beliefs and experiences of Gypsies included 269 Gypsy participants from five locations in the United Kingdom and Ireland, using data collected through 27 interviews. The authors defined four themes relevant to their health and personal experiences. Social and cultural issues were at the top of the factors related to health and illness due to the Gypsies' traveling lifestyle and economic and housing situations. This was followed by their low health expectations, as they gave long lists of health problems that were not real concerns, as they had a poor understanding of their symptoms and limited access to health care.

The traditional beliefs of stoicism that Gypsies have are related to their acceptance of chronic illness as part of their daily life. In their opinion, showing toughness is important, mostly in men, and it leads them to neglect health problems and not complain about their health when most people would. However, one remarkable finding was how Gypsies took pride in helping each other when in need and shared responsibility for taking care of the elderly and sick among them. Fear of dying was closely related to illnesses like cancer, and Gypsies would prefer not to learn these diagnoses due to fatalism and the lack of any chance of a cure. Topics like illnesses would suddenly transform a talkative crowd of Gypsies into a silent group as they saw fatalistic matters approach and avoid it, a fact easily linked to their ignorance of health symptoms. Local administrators, however, could implement new educational and health programs to change this view in support of improving the Gypsies' way of living.

Public administration in democratic societies is a subject debated by many scientists. Kirilin (2002) studied some of the big public administration questions,

including micromanagement, motivation, and measurements to achieve democratic policies, the values rising of society, confronting collective actions, and stimulating active development and learning in the community. This public administration perspective would be a good starting point for implementing good practices from the United States in developing democratic nations like Romania. A good transition requires critiquing aspects of public bureaucracy and reviewing democratic policies on the social integration of minorities and the protection of human rights. Aspects of society relevant to this study include learning in religion, tradition, literary and mass media, professional practice, science, markets, politics, ideologies, and instruments of governments and NGOs in collective social actions to support democracy.

Discriminatory behavior, explicit measures, and racial attitudes in a democratic society were the subject of a study by McConnell and Leibold (2001). They measured people's general attitudes and prejudice toward other cultures or groups based on racial differences. The implicit association test was used to target different dimensions of judgments, using name discrimination, adjective discrimination, prejudice-consistent combination referring to white or black as desirable or undesirable, reversed name discrimination, and prejudice-inconsistent combinations of terms.

A democratic society with appropriate public administration in support of democratic principles arrives through a transition from other regimes in many countries. Romania emerged from a communist regime that had implanted its ideology in multiple generations. Staub (2006) conducted important research into reconciliation after tyrannies

that had involved mass killing in several nations, trying to understand the roots of aggression and the best practices for helping the population recover.

Romania's transition to democracy brought social and economic instability that adversely affected minorities and marginalized groups like Gypsies. The general population discriminated against them as financial problems forced people to struggle for jobs and stability. Staub (2006) pointed out that some strategies for reconciliation from Rwanda, such as thinking outside the box and recovering from the vicious circle of victimization, could be applied in cultures or countries with similar circumstances. Staub emphasized the importance of NGOs intervening with seminars and workshops for the leaders of groups and communities, and journalists focusing attention on relevant aspects of the transition to democracy and social equity. Legislation on equality and class differences came about in response to changes attributed to globalization. Social, cultural, and political changes in the history of the Gypsies have influenced how various groups in society perceive them. Approaches could include testimonials and descriptions of experiences that offer insights into communities' pain and suffering and can be used to define trauma and provide a chance for healing and building a better future and social harmony. Another aspect of the study involved identifying the importance of finding the origins of violence and conflicts, making the population more aware of traumatic events, and helping them develop empathy for others' distress. Bad leaders and ignorance contributed to difficult living conditions, violence, and conflicts.

Cultural diversity and group interactions as a means of social survival can be part of a realistic group conflict theory study. Bornstein (2003) and earlier researchers (Coser,

1956; Levine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1966) supported that different groups have incompatible goals that increase competition for limited resources. Intergroup conflicts based on territory, status, political power, or pride can even be prioritized over the need to protect one's family. Out of concern over resource depletion, pollution, and overpopulation, administrators in democratic societies are promoting collective action to consume less energy and have fewer children. Still, this success is substantially influenced by cooperation and communication between groups, which is a facilitator of peaceful interactions and identification of solutions for intergroup conflicts.

Another theoretical perspective of this study is a rational choice theory, which aims to create collective agreements instead of differentiating between individuals as decision makers and the decisions of a unitary group. The key to this theory is giving importance to competition and interactions among individuals rather than just analyzing the competitions of two different communities. Everyone could play a significant role in minimizing or expanding the conflict between two different cultures.

Do demographic changes play a role in coordinating and understanding an ethnic group or culture: their motivations and aspirations? What impact could their traditions or perceptions have on their translocation, migration, or criminal behavior? Stacey et al. (2011) studied immigration and cultural notions in the United States, as hate crimes and immigration could be a social threat and a reason for intergroup conflict through racial divergence. The demographic characteristics of a community include the differences in the composition of the population. In this case, the focus is on factors like race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and social class. Diversity in community demographics results from

groups of people with different cultural and social orientations. Educational institutions serve a wide range of people from various cultural backgrounds. In this case, the community is diverse in culture, but one certain group forms a majority, making other groups minorities and the community multicultural.

Demographic changes and the migration of ethnic groups cause hostility toward them as they interfere with the local population and integrate into the socio-economic environment. Public policies for controlling immigration through law enforcement and documentation requirements perpetuate narratives of immigrants as threats to national, economic, and cultural security and alter intergroup relationships, creating anti-immigrant sentiments that can drastically increase intolerance, mistreatment, and crime against them. The authors studied how demographic patterns influence ethnically motivated crime and racial and sexual discrimination. The study's factors included unemployment, per-capita GDP, urbanization, and political concerns.

As all conflicts and social problems arise from cultural differences or competition for limited resources, society looks for solutions to confusion and for treatments to heal victims, which could create other problems related to the prosecution of crimes (Chappell, 2010), racial profiling, law enforcement interference in these conflicts, and public discrimination. Gypsies are part of historical atrocities like the Holocaust, and stories like those in Bunyan's (2020) article are relevant to recognizing their sacrifices. Bunyan's (2020) story is about a Gypsy boy who spared his musical talent to play the violin by the Nazi forces; they liked his songs. The story follows the boy who managed to survive and witnessed how members of his ethnic group faced murder, persecution,

displacement, violence against them, sterilization, imprisonment, rape, forced hard labor, and forced medical experimentation. The Gypsy boy's music saved his life, but few know his story and the terror his ethnic group experienced. Even today, Gypsy families are fighting to bring to light past and current experiences of discrimination and marginalization (Bunyan, 2020).

### ***Attribution of Emotion and Group Affiliation***

Human lifestyles have evolved over history. Some groups still follow a nomadic lifestyle. Of course, a contemporary person would see them as mostly civilized instead of savage, but only through the lens of emotions. From linguistic analyses to pan-cultural common-ground decision-making processes, feelings contribute to the specifics of individual lives. Cacioppo and Gardner (1999) emphasized the importance of emotions for differentiating individuals from infancy to adulthood. Both inherited genes and socioenvironmental influence affect the emotions one experiences and express. Sentiments appear to provide the key to sound judgment and decisions, affecting cognition, behavior, and even political information. Emotions allow humans to identify hostile and hospitable situations and determine appropriate responses and adaptive behaviors for survival. However, positive and negative responses are closely related to one's understanding of the world and cultural experiences built on previous social interactions (Cacioppo & Gardner, 1999).

Cultural background permeates all aspects of a person's life, from how they perceive situations to their interpretations of actions and emotions. One thing specific to cultural differentiation is how intelligence defines a group's abilities more than those

from a different cultural background. Six of the most important domains to consider when analyzing a group are the description of their culture, the traditions that come with it, the norms and rules applied to the group, the psychological perspective on group learning and problem-solving, organizational factors, and the genetic foundation of the group (Sternberg, 2004). If intelligence is a predictor of success in life, as in the theory of successful intelligence that Sternberg (2004) debated, it will be essential to emphasize the necessity of a common ground for all cultures.

People of all nations still need meta-components to identify, define, represent, solve, and evaluate problems. Sound judgment involves the use of intelligence in any culture. People evolved through cultural adaptation, cross-cultural exposure, and understanding of others. However, as Cacioppo and Gardner (1999) discussed, the relationship between emotion and cognition and the ability to experience emotions and empathy strongly influence judgments and decisions.

On how culture influences emotions, Davies, Stankov, and Roberts (1998) studied how emotional intelligence is related to cognitive abilities and personality. They found evidence that dynamic perception ability was related to understanding others and monitoring their emotions.

On how to deal with intercultural conflicts or misunderstandings, Sinaceur, Adam, Van Kleef, and Galinsky (2013) discussed how the mediation of emotional inconsistency due to a felt lack of control could lead to concessions. They incorporated social-science theories of unpredictability and compliance into their study. They investigated how anger, happiness, and disappointment could improve concessions when



different groups engage in conflicts or competitive interactions. However, knowledge of emotions and regulating them are gained through culture-specific communication, social modeling, and personal experiences differentiated by motivational influences (MacCann, 2010).

Understanding culture is not always easy. Fan, Jackson, Yang, Tang, and Zhang (2010) tried to understand personality and individual differences by testing emotional intelligence using the four-branch model of the Mayer-Salovey-Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT). The efficiency of the test was somewhat transferable but still needs to be tested across cultures, as it lacks data, especially from non-Western cultures. Cultures are defining race identity. As Baar and Kocze (2020) mentioned in their book, Gypsies claim that their identity and culture could be mere essentialism and are still in work progress. Gypsies could be either underdetermined or overdetermined by their culture, both leading to marginalization, some defining this aspect as lack of culture or flawed culture (Baar & Kocze, 2020).

### ***Defining Culture Through Dress***

Donahue (2004) provided a perspective on the social significance of dress as part of identity for individuals and groups. The importance of clothing comes from acting as a legible symbol of a social class or category, such as gender or lineage. Beyond simple categorization, though, apparel validates a social hierarchy and economic status to both the individual or group and outsiders. Fabric, colors, and clothing styles are associated with specific empowerment, restrictions, prestige, wealth, and even obligations to the wearers.

Clothing has played a part in the social identity of gypsies (Donahue, 2004). Gypsies remain largely unchanged in their dress style from their ancient ancestors. Tesfay (2017) reported how the Gypsies in Romania express their dress code and traditions and public displays of specific behaviors. According to her, Gypsies' identities are associated with their ethnic dress, and they strongly and self-consciously relate to their clothing's symbolic role.

Starting from an anthropologist's analysis of the relationship between nature conservation and the boundaries between humans and other species, Okely (2013) described Gypsies' social behavior as segregation from others. He showed how Gypsies link cleanliness and dirt to maintaining the boundaries of their community and the rest of society. They can distinguish between something being dusty or dirty and ritual uncleanliness. The Gypsies consider their bodies a strong symbol of their ethnic and social separation when they exercise their skills, from selling carpets to practicing fortune-telling, dancing, and music.

### ***Gypsy Music***

Bohemians adored Gypsy music, especially within European culture, which took contradictory approaches to assimilate it into national traditions in various countries. Fear of and fascination with Gypsy music often reflected the resentments of a population that most of the time was intrigued by it. Longed for or despised, Gypsy music has not been ignored, a fact that raises a lot of questions about how Gypsy culture, in general, has been perceived and accepted or rejected.

For example, some countries in Europe, Spain and Hungary, used Gypsy music to build their national repertoires. However, when resistance emerged to the assimilation of Gypsy music, it was closely related to discrimination against the ethnic group, racializing not just the people but their music. When Gypsy music was promoted, the romanticism of the Gypsy life was emphasized, with topics of fantasies and ballades, vices and caprices, and a lot of dancing. When national cultural identity was defined among Hungarians, who were well-known to cohabit with the Romanian population in Transylvania, the northwestern region of Romania, specific dances like czardas and verbunkos were mainly accompanied by Gypsy musical groups. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these groups gained a reputation as skilled performers, but their records go back even to the fifteenth century. Famous musicians like Barna Mihaly and Janos Bihari were known to entertain diplomats and nobles on the violin and other instruments. Gypsy music has inspired great compositions by Johannes Brahms, Jeno Hubay, Carl Tausig, and Frederic Chopin. The exoticism of gypsy music and dancing influenced musical productions, like Bizet's *Carmen* and Johann Strauss's *Der Zigeunerbaron* (Piotrowska, 2013).

The exoticism trend of Gypsy music contributed to Oriental music due to Gypsies presume origin in "Little Egypt." However, in the eighteenth century, a German historian connected their origin to Northern India based on linguistic analysis. Eastern Europe was still associating Gypsy music with the Turkish idiom due to similarities with Turkish culture, which influenced the region and the popular "Alla Turca" style that was performed at the time.

Gypsy music, performed mainly with violins and later with clarinets and cymbals, uses melodies on the notes C, D, E-flat, F-flat, G, A-flat, B, and C, a scale that earned the famous name *Gypsy scale*. Gypsy musicians brought Oriental color to composers who needed to express masquerades or romantic stories like the Gypsy Esmeralda, which was put into many operas and ballets. The “Gypsy love” influence brought a lot of excitement to the stage, combining typical romance with exotic perversity and leading to vigorous eroticism.

Exotic dancing and singing were away Gypsy women found to express their sexuality. Miguel Cervantes wrote about them at the beginning of the seventeenth century and became famous for the story of the young Gypsy woman Preciosa in his novels. He was not the only one to describe the great beauty of Gypsy women. They were mentioned in many countries as exotic beauties of the East and fascinating attractions in the brothels of Paris and wild aristocratic parties in Russia.

Albert Thomas Sinclair saw beyond the Oriental trend of Gypsy music. He associated it with Persian, Arabic, and Hindu music because of Gypsies’ travel through other lands and how travel molded their music and culture. Sinclair’s remarks on these similarities referred to savagery and fury, but melodic contours and excessive ornamentation (Piotrowska, 2013, pp. 398–400).

### ***Travel***

Zoltan Barany (2002) discussed the politics of the ethnic mobilization of Gypsies in Eastern European countries. Besides the historical migration of Gypsies out of India, 1989 triggered a lot of political and economic change that led to more migrations of

Gypsies. As the most marginalized ethnic group in Eastern Europe for centuries, about five million Gypsies had to face the intense economic struggle of the post-communist era, which resulted in new tensions and inter-community conflicts.

Gypsies gained some political representation, but as public accommodation and cohesion were difficult to attain, it became clear that the trust and confidence of their neighboring communities still needed to be worked on. What matters the most is the shared collective activities, values, and rules between Gypsy and other communities.

Without a defined place to belong, Gypsies have not found a home where they can live without discrimination. By not accepting the local norms of their countries, they come to be outsiders and face exclusion and discrimination. They also call themselves different and have a way of life outside these norms. Other people describe them as people who do not live as ordinary people. Their differences are not just in standards and values but also in their clothing and housing. Everything mentioned so far has been used to excuse their marginalization and dehumanization (Rowe & Goodman, 2014).

### **Housing of Gypsies in Romania: Policies and Restrictions**

The liberation and emancipation of the Gypsies started in 1856, but they have coexisted with the Romanian population for the last seven hundred years. Their arrival in Europe was like the current migration of Arabian refugees. The Gypsies' situation has changed alongside new policies, like Article 95 from 1856 referring to their classification. At that time, the Gypsies were living as nomads under the administration of manufacturers, monasteries or churches, and the private sector. Gypsy slavery was abolished with this legislation (Somacu, 2016).

Gypsy emancipation continued in step with societal development during WWI and WWII and under a communist regime and made a new transition after the Romanian Revolution of 1989. The Romanian government developed a strategy for improving their living conditions and released a new name for their ethnicity, “Romi,” in 1990 (Somacu, 2016). In 1998, the National Agency for Housing was established by Legislation No. 152/1998. In 2001, Government Decision no. 430/2001 included a strategy for improving the living conditions of the Roma population, and based on Article 108 of the Romanian constitution, a new decision was issued containing three articles and referring to a pilot program to build 300 new social houses for Roma communities in eight regions of the country. The program was meant to help those without homes and in need of immediate help (Monitorul Oficial, 2008).

In 2004, the Centre on Housing Rights and Eviction (COHRE), the European Roma Center (ERRC), and Romani CRISS released a complex study focusing on racial segregation, illegal construction of housing, homeless populations, forced evacuations, discrimination in housing allowances in government budgets, obstruction to the use of terrain, property title issuing, and building without permits. The first problem they found was the absence of proper legal identity documentation among Gypsies (birth certificate, I.D., driver’s license, passport), which impaired their ability to rent or buy a house or land and request construction permits. Local authorities took action to evacuate people without legal identification from city limits. During the ERRC research work in Bucharest, it was discovered that in 2002, a few Roma families were evacuated from their illegally built homes, escorted to the outskirts of the city, and had their constructions demolished. The

same year, near Targu Lapus in northern Romania, a Roma community of about 700 living in dirt houses was denied electricity by the mayor without a specific reason. The community lacked access to running potable water and used a nearby river as their water source. Some other communities did not even have that luxury and procured their water from a hole in the ground about 12 inches deep. In 2005, CRISS/ERRC identified situations where 70 people were arrested for not building construction permits and demolished two annexed buildings.

Another incident was raising prices on houses Roma families wanted to purchase in Simleu Silvaniei. Overpopulation was identified in a case where twelve people were living in a one-room construction of clay, hay, plastic, and cardboard. In Buzau, among three new apartment buildings, no homes were given to Gypsy families for reasons such as unemployment and lack of education. A few Roma communities were located near the garbage disposal area of the cities, and the Gypsies had high rates of pulmonary infections and diseases.

The Romanian government has accepted international and European legislation as well. Articles 4, 15, 16, and 20 of the Romanian Constitution refer to the fundamental rights of all citizens without discrimination based on race, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, sex, opinion, political preference, financial status, or social origin: “Citizens are all equal in front of the law and public authorities, without privileges and discrimination” (Romanian Constitution, Article 16 (1)).

A Soros Foundation (2011) study provided the Romanian government with a sophisticated analysis of the percentage of how many Gypsies had access to legal homes

and living conditions. It showed a significant improvement in electricity access but significantly lower access to running water than the national average. A new piece of legislation in the government's strategy (Hotararea Guvernului nr. 1237/2008) developed an initiative to identify areas of severe poverty and build new social housing in support of the Roma population between 2014 and 2016.

Gypsies from Pata, Cluj, caught the attention of local authorities as well. They were scheduled to benefit from three new social real estate developments in Apahida, a nearby suburb. One project included a new three-level apartment building on land where a so-called haunted house had been sitting without tenants for centuries. A Norwegian non-profit organization purchased the land offered to help the local Roma population. The other two apartment buildings were constructed near the center of the suburb, near a supermarket and a newly developed street, respectively. All three would have easy access to public transportation, schools, and other public facilities, including running water and electricity (Ziar de Apahida, 2017).

### **Important Factors in the Social Integration of Minorities**

Discrimination not only inhibits creativity; it can stop progress and human evolution. Supporting a healthy society involves ensuring collaboration and communication among groups, developing new partnerships, and accepting multiculturalism. Great networking fundamentally requires understanding and accurately perceiving other groups, enriching trust, respect, and reciprocity. Shared goals and fair allocation of resources are critical factors in successful collaboration by public authorities (Gazley & Brudney, 2007). Having a positive influence on communities while preserving



their original cultures (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007) is a condition for the success of local governments (Salamon & Anheier, 1998) if they are to provide solid inter-dependability between different traditions and ethnicities (Alexander & Nank, 2009). Understanding other cultures lead to efficient social norms implemented and protected by appropriate public policies (Danaee & Rostamy, 2007).

Allik et al. (2010) presented a variety of personality traits within cultures and Eysenk's three factors in cultural tendencies in the way groups progress in education, economy, lifestyle, and social traits. Perceptions of self and others are relevant when interpreting positive and negative emotions of in-group or out-group individuals. In this study, these perceptions differentiate between cultures between Gypsies and other European ethnicities.

Armenta (2010) described a stereotype boost and stereotype threat effect. In his opinion, when one perceives oneself and others, similarities and differences between groups appear stereotyped and modify one's perception and interpretation of one's behavior concerning others. The self-categorization theory provides one of the main arguments supporting personal identification with the group that shares one's culture, which could trigger a boosting or a dangerous effect on performance. But according to Cohen (2009), socio-economic status, religion, and education can also have different meanings in different cultures. A good understanding of these can alleviate intergroup conflicts, as they are factors that determine one's way of life. Social and economic inequalities create gaps between the rich and the poor in society. But the measure of poverty is different in different societies; in developed countries, it does not depend only

on finances. Economic, social, political, environmental, and cultural factors have a bearing on people's living standards. Housing is an important indicator of people's living standards and may contribute to discrimination against Gypsy communities.

Members of society differ in many dimensions regarding the opportunities they are exposed to. These include gender, race, and age, and scholars have examined poverty in developed countries using several approaches—multiple dimensions of difference influence the quality of life of Gypsies in Romania. Dealing with the issue of housing leads to concerns about homelessness. For instance: Misconceptions may lead to the categorization of nomadic Traveler communities as homeless. Another form of homelessness is uselessness. This is different from lacking a roof over one's head; some homeless people live in sheds, tents, or even cars, meaning they do have shelter. Yet another category in the homeless population is precariously housed individuals, such as squatters. Homelessness develops and subjects people to harsh living conditions. Some events can make individuals more vulnerable to homelessness, but such events do not affect different individuals.

Reviewing the housing conditions of people in Romania shows that poor people face challenges in housing. In helping the homeless, it is important to understand their homelessness. Homelessness is a symptom of other underlying social problems. Homelessness is often attributed to poverty, but this poverty is caused by other factors, such as unemployment, lack of opportunities, domestic violence, that make it difficult for people to meet their basic needs. The EU has played an increasingly important role in the protection of minorities. Previous attempts have established integration policies focusing

on the Romani people. Comparing specific Gypsy communities with others in Oslo, Norway, and Romania, Engebriksen (2011) conducted an ethnographic case study describing how each group developed its cultural identification through inclusion and exclusion from their group. Perceptions of self and others, including inter-marriage, stigmatization, and persecution, were the main criterion in developing these cultures.

In 2013, Panda discussed how cultural variation in organizations and communities creates a social environment and can either boost the entities or place obstacles in front of them. From a socio-economical perspective, this study, conducted on corporations from India, identified how cultural misunderstanding and ignorance of cultural differences could lead to problems in social growth. As described by Rutland et al. (2010), Prejudice is a massive obstacle to developing social norms in new generations while they are constructing their ethical beliefs about social fairness and how law enforcement and other authorities apply justice. Intra-group and inter-group patterns, and perspectives on relations between groups, are fundamentally influenced by the perception of prejudice. They categorized people as out-group based on prejudices triggering fears of social threats to the group. The study focused on the perception of black and white people as out-group through negative characteristics and stereotyping based on racial biases.

Concerns about social interference in Romania are deeply rooted in traditions and strict cultural norms like a marriage between Romanians and Gypsies. The Antonescu government in Romania tried to colonize this ethnic group through the exploitation and deportation of Gypsies, along with Jews, disregarding ethics, human rights, and poverty. The government's perception of Gypsies as vagabonds and uninterested in hygiene or

medical care led to them assigning law enforcement to restrain Gypsies' activities to limited areas isolated from the rest of the population. The authors described a phenomenology of discrimination against the Roma population, a topic still avoided by public figures. Gypsies remain marginalized in Romania. The government requires a strong reiteration of public policies to improve the Gypsies' social integration and avoid repeating the past atrocities (Thorne, 2011).

### **Summary**

The literature review was conducted to identify, analyze, and synthesize research on Gypsy culture, Romanian socio-economic and political development, an international perspective on democracy, and the self-categorization theory and narrative policy framework. The literature review covers Romanian legislation and public policies, previous research on discrimination and forms of democracy, cultural aspects of Gypsy communities, and the theoretical framework. This review led to the identification of research gaps. Therefore, the chapter is essential to understanding housing discrimination against Gypsies in Cluj, Romania. The next step is to present the research plan used and how were the interviews conducted for data gathering and analysis. The following chapter is dedicated entirely to the research method.

### Chapter 3: Research Method

In Chapter 3, I present the study's methodology. This includes the selected research design and rationale, and I describe the participant selection, instrumentation, data collection, and analysis. The researcher's role in the study is also presented along with issues of trustworthiness and ethics.

#### **Research Design and Rationale**

A qualitative method of inquiry was chosen for this study. Specifically, I determined that an ethnographic case study was the most appropriate approach for data gathering. This method is used to effectively collect the information necessary to answer research questions; ethnographic research is suitable for studying people and cultures. An ethnographic approach involves exploring cultural phenomena by observing society from the point of view of the subjects of the study.

The main focus of the study was Gypsies and their culture as unexplored aspects related to housing discrimination. In this study I focused on a group of Gypsies over the age of 18 from Apahida, Cluj, in Romania. The goal was to understand how Gypsies experience housing discrimination to inform local public administrators about factors they should consider to improve social equity in their community. The goal was to provide policymakers and leaders with new data to make a change. The research questions guiding this study were:

RQ1: To what extent do Gypsies from Apahida, Cluj experience discrimination because of local public housing policies?

RQ2: What cultural factors prevent Gypsies from being adequately integrated into the local communities in the city of Apahida, Cluj County, Romania?

RQ3: How are Gypsies perceived by the city government and police in Apahida, Cluj?

Individual interviews were an appropriate method to gather data to identify and explore specific cultural trends and factors affecting housing discrimination against Gypsies. Through qualitative research methods, researchers can understand patterns and trends related to their study problem. Qualitative studies are not limited to affirming or negating a claim (Cozby, 2012); their results are open to interpretation by the researcher. Qualitative studies need a lot of support from literature and other research.

By contrast, quantitative methods are used to focus on numbers and statistical analyses. Samples are used to describe a whole population, and usable statistics are developed out of numerical data. In addition, mixed-methods research is conducted involving both qualitative and quantitative research.

The choice of a qualitative method was in alignment with the research questions in this study. Qualitative methods are used to understand the attitudes, perceptions, opinions, motivations, and underlying reasons for actions or phenomena. In ethnographic case studies, a researcher must deeply understand the culture of the people being studied. The choice of an ethnographic case study design aligned with the research questions and the theoretical framework. In this approach, there was no manipulation of the phenomena by the researcher. Data collection involved face-to-face interviews with open-ended questions supported by simple observation and possible artifacts.

The research design led to descriptive information on the experiences of Gypsies in Romania. Qualitative research methods involve subjective analysis of data by a researcher to make the data open to varying interpretations. The content analysis thus played an important role in showing the experiences Gypsies go through. In this case, the envisioned research methodology and design provided the best fit to this topic. The methodology was based on the research problem and objectives. Different methods and designs have different strengths and weaknesses, depending on the topic of study. An ethnographic case study was found suitable because of the purpose and scope of the research.

### **Role of the Researcher**

As the researcher, I played an important role in collecting and processing the data. I gathered information on housing discrimination against Gypsies in Apahida, Cluj County, in Romania, exploring their experiences. My role included reviewing the existing research and identifying gaps in previous studies. The research questions of this study shaped my role as a researcher. I had all the participants sign an informed consent form to participate and I obtained their permission to audio record the interviews. I assigned each participant an identification code as a pseudonym so that their anonymity and confidentiality could be maintained. All answers were recorded and transcribed verbatim. As a researcher, I avoided various kinds of biases.

For this study, the available literature greatly influenced my perception as a researcher. However, no preconceived notions making it necessary to use the collected data to conclude. This study was necessary to establish relationships with the people

under examination. Field research is the central data collection strategy associated with qualitative methodology; fieldwork is characterized by its location and conduct. After this, an investigator becomes a part of the observed group, which leads to data collection and analysis. The steps of field research are selecting a field site, establishing connections, observing, collecting data, generating working hypotheses, connecting hypotheses with theories, holding interviews, leaving the setting or field, and writing the report. Different challenges can arise in gaining access to a research site, such as failure to obtain permission or a high cost associated with accessing certain sites. It is the role of a researcher to overcome these barriers to ensure that an effective ethnographic case study is carried out.

## **Methodology**

### **Participant Selection**

Convenience sampling from the Apahida community was used to select participants. Apahida was the research site, a small suburb of Cluj. The recruitment included direct approaches in the local community by sending letters and postcards; distributing and displaying flyers, posters, and brochures; placing phone calls; and sending emails. The final selection was random. This strategy ensured that the sampled individuals were unknown to me. Previous research has described how the practices of Gypsy culture have led to their marginalization and views of them as outsiders (Tremlett, 2013). Ruston and Smith (2013) found that both general and Gypsy populations are aware of all discriminatory practices, and these practices resulted in Gypsies' effective exclusion and social isolation.



## **Instrumentation**

Interviews were used for basic data collection. With the participants' written consent, interviews were audio recorded. All transcripts and audio recordings were stored and analyzed through NVivo, a software program for qualitative analysis (Jackson & Bazeley, 2019). NVivo allows for the import and organization of qualitative data, auto coding of data, assistance in identifying themes and seeking patterns, identification of relationships across codes, creation of graphics and presentations using visualization, and exportation of the data (Paré, 2020).

### ***Interviews***

The interviews in this study were conducted using open-ended questions. This type of question improves qualitative interviews because they are used to seek information to explain concepts; closed-ended questions mostly lead to measurement (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Open-ended questions provide qualitative data in the respondents' opinions, and close-ended questions demand straight answers from fixed options, like yes or no.

Questions were used to obtain data to explore respondents' specific expressions on a given topic (Babbie, 2017). Communicating frankly with participants showed what was required, such as time and input, and led to successful interviews. There are different ways to use questions to obtain information, attitudes, and opinions. In addition to interview questions, I also asked about respondents' backgrounds, habits, or environment. I employed a similar method to obtain information on respondents' attitudes and perceptions regarding their experiences with housing and other forms of discrimination.

As Pauluzzo (2020) mentioned, cultural factors during interviews, field observations, and possible artifacts balance an eventual cultural paradox or dilemma due to ethical background information.

### **Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection**

I interviewed 10 Gypsies and observed them in their home or public environment. The interviews were focused on the participants' experiences with public policies on housing and their specific cultural factors that could contribute to their discrimination. As part of this study, I also interviewed a group of 10 representatives of the local city hall and police department to gather different perspectives about Gypsies and experiences of discrimination. I asked the government officials about cultural factors preventing proper housing integration of Gypsies and sought their perspectives on Gypsies as an ethnicity. Recruitment was directly in the local community, using letters, postcards, flyers, posters, brochures, phone calls, and emails. I wrote recruitment letters for participants. All data collection involved the informed consent of the participants.

Interviews were an important data collection method for this study. I used open-ended questions and a preliminary interview protocol with 10 questions on the topics of the three research questions (see Appendix D). I assigned a code to each participant through a numbering system (see Appendix B) and used it for all the information related to that person. During the interviews, participants expressed their opinions, experiences, and knowledge related to each question; they had 20 minutes for each question and up to 2 hours for the whole interview. The audio recording and observations of the participants during interviews maximized the information gathered from each on the topic and

culture, including gestures, facial expressions, dress, attitude, tone of voice, and any artifacts.

A researcher is the primary instrument in an ethnographic case study because the study is focused on interviews and observation. In this ethnographic case study, I conducted simple observations during interviews, generating direct and immediate research data without experimental conditions or interpretations but only as such observations occurred within the interviewee's natural environment. I observed individuals and groups in their natural environment (Cozby, 2012). The data collection did not interfere with the natural state of the individuals who were observed. Naturalistic, simple observation in the interview process occurs in social settings, making it suitable for understanding issues like discrimination in society. This approach used descriptive methods, making it primarily qualitative.

The main objective of this type of observation was to identify behaviors in natural environments. I collected data by observing the interviewee's behavior, attitude, vestments, and artifacts. In simple observation, a researcher simply observes and records data using an observation protocol (see Appendix E) that does not interfere with the participants. Ethnographic studies also provide vivid descriptions of individuals.

Interviews with participants revealed some artifacts and archived documents relevant to the research topic, such as pictures from newspapers, specific public announcement posters, and elements of tradition and culture within the Gypsy community. During the interviews, the participants brought in discussion artifacts of their clothing and cultural traditions, like songs, musical instruments, jewelry, or manufactured

tools. I observed some of the Gypsy participants in their home environments, where their culture and traditions were more fully manifested. I expected to see traditional cooking, dancing, singing, manufacturing, alchemy, fortune-telling artifacts, art crafting, rituals, or Gypsy magic tricks.

### **Data Analysis Plan**

Data analysis was mainly conducted on the data gathered from the interviews. The data analysis process allows for an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon by identifying patterns and themes related to participants' experiences (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013). I analyzed and organized participants' statements to develop and understand themes within the data for this ethnographic case study.

Ethnographic studies are important for exploring cultures. Ethnography is the scientific description of cultures. According to recent studies connected to social order, state legitimacy, morality, tradition, and national pride, it is also relevant that ethnography influences and supports policing and administration with references in sociology and cultural significance (Bacon et al., 2020).

Analysis of the interview answers was an important part of the data analysis. Different techniques can be used to analyze and structure responses, including rating scales, matrix questions, and rankings. Rating scales were used to measure the intensity of feeling on a topic. Nachmias and Nachmias (2015) explained that "the matrix question is a method for organizing a large set of rating questions that have the same response categories" (p. 137). Ranking is another format used to obtain information on the degree of importance attached to a set of attitudes or objects.

### ***Coding***

Coding played an important role in data analysis in this qualitative research. There are different types of coding used in qualitative studies. Examples of different types of coding include descriptive coding, narrative coding, NVivo coding, pattern coding, and attribute coding. Saldana (2009) provides insight on what coding is and how it is used in qualitative research. Codes are words or short phrases used to assign a portion of text or content in other forms, including visuals. A collection of codes is referred to as a category, and a collection of categories is a theme (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Coding is therefore essential in finding meaning in collected data. Coding is a systematic process that makes qualitative research researchers make sense of the collected data. This involves an arrangement of the data systematically. Coding will be an approach to data analysis. Coding systems are a significant part of the research. They are a general set of rules for categorizing observations that act as a blueprint to guide the research. Several considerations must be made in developing coding systems, depending on the nature of the research. Coding systems affect the observations and the eventual content analysis of research, and they involve the use of conceptual definitions, for example, in coding factors like aggression (Creswell, 2013). Analyzing the frequency of behaviors is a significant part of coding.

Initial coding is important in the coding process and represents an open-ended process of deriving first impression phrases (Saldana, 2009). Coming up with initial codes begins with the first impression phrases, which are further broken down for different types of coding. After generating initial codes that are the foundation of data

analysis in a given context, reflection took place. As with process coding, descriptive coding played an important role in dealing with observation by summarizing a topic rather than actions. Descriptive coding involves using a word to summarize the main topic of a passage in qualitative research. For observation, descriptive coding summarizes what was observed in a word.

Another important type of coding is In NVivo coding. This is an approach used in the coding of data from qualitative interviews. Interviews are an effective way of collecting data from participants, and the data includes different perspectives of the participants. NVivo coding uses the participants' own words in coding. This approach involves labeling of sections of data using words that are taken from the specific section of the data. For example, in the case of interviews, there are words for different sections of the transcript. The actual words the participants use are part of the coding process. This is essential in ensuring that there is retaining of the voice and perspective of the participant. NVivo coding is very helpful when there is a need to understand how the respondents in the interview use specific words while explaining specific concepts. This is essential in accurately understanding perceptions.

The process of coding and categorizing was important in making sense out of collected data. The coding process involves identifying codes and grouping related codes together to form categories—coding and categorizing of data links analytical meaning to given sections of data. Codifying is essential in the categorization of data. Saldana (2009) shows that codifying is applying and applying codes to collect qualitative data. This leads to forming of groups of codes that relate to each other. The process of coding and

categorizing data in qualitative research enables the researcher to organize data in classifications as families or groups of similar trends and ideas (Saldana, 2009). The application and reapplication of codes was a systematic process.

In coding qualitative data analysis, recoding and re-categorizing is a continuous and transforming process until complete. Saldana (2009) emphasizes that it is difficult to get coding right the first time. Therefore, recording and re-categorizing become important in ensuring that the researcher gets the codes right. Qualitative studies focus on words, unlike quantitative studies about numbers and quantification (Elo et al., 2014). Coding leads to an analysis of language to identify themes, patterns, and meanings. Recoding and re-categorizing, therefore, enhance accuracy. The first codes are based on first impressions, but further examination is needed. Recoding may re-use the first cycle before the researcher reviews data multiple times. This means there is coding and recoding, which means there is a classification of the codes and, therefore, re-categorization. The researcher can use more coding cycles using different methods while moving forward (Saldana, 2009). This means that the initial codes are relabeled, and some can be dropped. Coding qualitative data was, therefore, a step-by-step process that involved categorizing and moving one step back and re-categorizing again until the codes were well organized. In recoding, the researcher gradually used the data and gave a sense to it.

Coding leads to identifying themes, patterns, and meanings, and therefore there was a way to relate coding to a theory. The coding process begins by coding, sorting, synthesizing, and finally theorizing. Therefore, there is a link between coding and

theories. In a classification of codes, there can be subcategories within the categories. These categories are important in understanding the theoretical reality of the data. In recoding and re-categorization, some assumptions come up, which is important in theorizing. Coding can relate to different theories depending on the context. It was possible to relate coding to Narrative Policy Framework and Self-Categorization theory. The Narrative Policy Framework is an essential theory in showing how narratives are used in policymaking. The self-categorization theory, on the other hand, is a theory in psychology that was developed from the social identity theory in 1978. This is an important theory that explains individuality and group behavior. Coding related to these two theories in identifying the key concepts and constructs.

There are different considerations that researchers need to make in the coding of qualitative data. The type of coding needs to align with the type of research—the approaches used by research in coding influence efficiency. Therefore, there was a need to be very organized. Researchers also need to understand that coding is systematic and that there is a need to exercise patience because of the essentiality of recoding and re-categorizing the codes severally. Another consideration in coding was planning to deal with ambiguity. Understanding vocabulary is an important thing in the coding of qualitative data. Saldana (2009) emphasizes that researchers need to be rigorously ethical in coding. Therefore, ethical considerations were important in ensuring reliable findings from coding.

Despite having a lot of advantages in the analysis of qualitative data, there are also constraints of qualitative research coding. A possible limitation was that the researcher had a lot of influence on the findings, and therefore in case of bias or subjectivity, the quality of



findings becomes questionable (Patton, 2002). The researcher avoided bias. In situations where there was limited time, coding was challenging because there was a need to recode and re-categorize, which was time-consuming. Technology, however, played a part in reducing some of the potential limitations in coding. Coding was done manually, but also electronically, so both. Data analysis software played an important role in data analysis, including coding and categorization. Manual coding is the traditional approach that involves reading or viewing qualitative data, manually assigning the codes, and categorizing the codes. Electronic or automated coding involves using more advanced software applications (Saldana, 2016). Different factors influenced the selection of which approach to use, for example, the size of the data sets of interest. One of the best aspects of coding is auto coding. After the researcher applied codes to segments of the text, and as the work progressed, the software program used as computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software started to identify relationships between codes and recognized reoccurrence in the text as an overview in support of the researcher's work (Kaufman et al., 2020).

Coding was not only applicable for text but also for other content such as field artifacts and visual data such as photographs. Descriptive coding was important while dealing with the observation of such content. For the case of coding video material, there is the use of coding stripes for different sections of the video transcript, but it was not the case in this study as no videos were taken. The codes summarized the primary content of material regardless of the form the material was in. Building a code manager involved the organization of codes in hierarchies and networks, arranging codes by names and

descending frequency. Analytic memos were coming in place after the identification of initial codes. Analytic memos are write-ups about what one thinks they have learned in data analysis. The researcher wrote analytic memos during and after data collection. They are important in coding because they organize the researcher's thoughts. Recording thoughts is important in a well-organized data analysis process (Saldana, 2009).

Saldana (2009) highlights ethical considerations in coding while describing honesty as an important value of this process. Another important consideration is avoidance of bias. The ethical considerations on other types of data analysis still applied, for example, considerations on the confidentiality and privacy of research participants. Ethical coding involved maintaining scholarly integrity and objectivity. Coding cycles are a series of methods that go on from the first coding cycle until the codes are finally categorized. The choice of coding methods was determined by the kind of data and the methodologies the researcher collected and picked using ethical manners. Coding played an important role in identifying data analysis's meanings, patterns, and themes. Coding is a systematic process, and there were important considerations essential to bringing about efficiency, for example, ensuring that the process was rigorously ethical.

### **Issues of Trustworthiness**

Trustworthiness is an important factor in qualitative research. The level of trustworthiness in a study is an indicator of the quality of findings. The selection of participants and the definition of the data interpretation process for this study enhanced its trustworthiness. The interview questions were aligned with the research questions. This consistency gives the study a high level of trustworthiness. This research used

interviews, observation, and archived documents or artifacts as data sources.

Trustworthiness involves credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). The approach to data analysis played an essential role in enhancing the credibility of the findings. A high level of objectivity was ensured to avoid bias in the data collection and analysis. Information was coded objectively for the same reason.

A study that is credible has true findings. For this study, I made an effort to ensure that the findings were accurate. Transferability describes the degree to which a study's findings are applicable to other contexts (Babbie, 2017). The transferability of findings of a qualitative study refers to generalizability. Conformability of findings, on the other hand, refers to the objectivity of the results. Dependability is an indicator of the extent to which the study can be repeated but still have consistent findings (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

All these components of trustworthiness are important. In qualitative studies, there is a high possibility of bias affecting the findings. Avoiding bias was important in improving trustworthiness. Data trustworthiness is an indicator of how useful findings from a study are. Studies that can be replicated to achieve the same results have high-quality findings that can be termed trustworthy. Triangulation is important in determining credibility in qualitative research. The four factors that are indicators of trustworthiness all go hand in hand. The trustworthiness of a qualitative study reflects the quality of the findings. The trustworthiness of the findings, in this case, is high due to the use of

triangulation in the collection of data. The study explains the social change to prevent discrimination against Gypsies.

### **Ethics and Confidentiality**

It was important to ensure that the research did not violate set ethical principles as a code of conduct (Hickman, 2010). I included protections of the rights of all participants in the study and did not use manipulation of the participants. I had only participants over the age of 18, and everyone was informed constantly of their privacy rights while using the highest standards of integrity and respect. I used codes instead of names of participants during data collection, data analyses, and interpretations to protect their privacy and rights to confidentiality. I assumed responsibility for ensuring the participants feel safe and their welfare was protected during their participation in the study. I also implemented measures to protect their identity and maintain confidentiality post-study.

An important step in maintaining high ethics and confidentiality standards was getting the university's institutional review board (IRB) approval. I respected the confidentiality and privacy of all participants and potential participants. The recruitment process involved only me as the researcher. All recordings of the participants were taken with their consent; they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time, and answering questions was voluntary, not coerced. The study followed IRB guidelines for ethical research.

I used peer review for additional validation of data collection and findings, validity, and credibility of the study. In accordance with Creswell (2007), I ensured that

all collected data, results, and interpretations are not compromised or falsified. Accuracy of transcription and data transfer during collection, analysis and interpretation was very important, so I used verbatim transcripts from audio recordings. In addition to the transcripts, I used photographs and snapshots of documents from archives to support descriptive terms for the study. This study followed all standards and guidelines from Walden University's IRB approval for the study # 10-21-20-0413690.

### **Summary**

Chapter 3 described the methodological underpinnings of the study. This includes a presentation of research methodology and design: how I collected, stored, and analyzed the data; how I protected the subjects of the study; and my role as the researcher. I provided an understanding of the process by which I addressed the study's research questions. Face-to-face interviews represented the primary collection of data for this study. I described how I used random sampling and the highest standards of ethics and confidentiality in collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data. After I identified concepts, themes, and patterns, I revealed the true significance of the study. In this chapter, I described the methodology and strategies that I used to collect and process data while providing accurate findings and interpretation. In the following chapters, four and five, I addressed the next steps of the study along with all data that I collected; I presented the analyses I conducted, all the findings and interpretations, and the significance and implications of the social change. I also provided conclusions for each chapter and the research study overall.

## Chapter 4: Results

### **Introduction**

In this ethnographic case study, I explored the discrimination that Gypsies from Apahida experience due to local housing policies. Through data analysis, I identified three themes in Gypsies' experiences: (a) the perceptions of the local authorities, city council, and police, (b) the perceptions of Gypsies living in this community, and (c) cultural factors that influence their social integration. Urban and housing development around Apahida, Cluj County, Romania is governed through accession policies to the European Union, and new public housing policies are incorporated based on EU membership standards and opportunities (Vais, 2009). The general perception of Gypsies centers on easing their integration into society as one of the most severely discriminated against groups in Europe due to their "unfavorable acculturation preferences" and anti-Gypsy tendencies in the general population (Kende et al., 2020). Cultural factors influencing social integration and discrimination involve Gypsies' perceptions of problems involving social exclusion and institutional discrimination; however, their education, employment, social support systems, freedom, security, social attitudes, and behavior play essential roles in their social integration (Karlsson et al., 2013).

In this chapter, I describe the purpose of the study and the research questions, followed by descriptions of the field research setting and the participants' demographics. I then describe the data collection and analysis processes and discuss evidence of trustworthiness and the results. I also note any situations or conditions that might have affected the participants, and I describe the characteristics of the participants, the number

I interviewed and observed, and the locations and annotations of the data collection and how I recorded it. Any unusual circumstances encountered during data collection are presented in detail. I report the structure and process of my data analysis, from coded units to categories and themes. I also present the strategies used to ensure credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability of the data. For each research question, I present the findings drawn from the data.

### **Research Questions**

Creswell (2013) described how qualitative research questions can be used to refine a study's purpose. This ethnographic case study was conducted to address several questions. Addressing a research topic from different perspectives and questions that present different settings or individuals creates a few advantages. According to Maxwell (2013), taking multiple approaches through the questions prevents generalizations and helps one recognize the cultural and background diversity of the participants without losing focus on the specifics of the research. In this study, I focused on the following research questions:

RQ1: To what extent do Gypsies from Apahida face discrimination because of public housing policies?

RQ2: What cultural factors prevent Gypsies from being adequately integrated into the local communities in Apahida?

RQ3: How are Gypsies perceived by the city government and police in Apahida?

**Interview Questions**

1. Can you describe the attitudes and approach taken by public policies on the housing of Gypsies?
2. To what extent do you believe that Gypsies from Apahida are discriminated against in local public policies on housing?
3. What specific actions have been taken by local authorities regarding the housing of Gypsies?
4. What is your understanding of the Gypsies' current culture and traditions?
5. Can you describe the process of integration of Gypsies into the local community?
6. What are some important cultural facts that should be considered to bring about equity and equal opportunity within the community?
7. In your opinion, what are the attitudes of city hall and police representatives toward Gypsies in your city?
8. Describe the relationships, as you see them, between the local authorities and the Gypsy community.
9. Tell me about your experiences with the interaction between Gypsies, city hall, and the police.

**Setting**

Every human being interacts with others in distinct ways and obtains things from their socioeconomic structure, consisting of narratives and factors affecting social behavior and reactions at the group and individual levels (Patton, 2002). For this reason, understanding the specific setting where research takes place is important. An image of



the environment provides a better understanding of the results. Creswell (2013) also pointed out the effervescence of a researcher's details during qualitative fieldwork. In the following sections, I describe various conditions that could have influenced this ethnographic case study.

## **Romania**

This research was conducted in Romania, a country in Eastern Europe. After a revolution in 1989, Romania developed a social activism movement that included members of parliament operating both as deputies, with proportional representation in parliament, and as leaders of ethnic or national minority organizations at the same time. In this way, Romania became a good territory for ethnic intermediation to help designated minority groups advance and compensate for their numeric disadvantages in legislative seats (Fittante, 2021).

The ethnic leadership representation seems not to operate inside the government. However, officials collaborate with co-ethnic officials to evaluate and support the needs of their communities. Officials also try to maintain and promote cultural heritage while exercising a dual capacity as leaders of ethnic communities and government representatives. Leaders who exercise cultural and political roles simultaneously can use surveys of citizens' opinions and devise strategies to overcome challenges in heritage preservation's legislative or judicial aspects (Fittante, 2021). The police are another contributor to the well-being and morality of society and the integration of minorities into complex social systems. Receiving or perceiving fair treatment from the police and the

courts encourages citizens to follow the rules and settlements made by the government at any level (Justice Dept. Project, 2014).

Some incidents with Gypsies involving the police have remained unreported, according to Molnar (2021). Some Gypsies do not complain to the police because of the treatment they might receive from others, even the police themselves, such as being beaten or spit upon. Following media postings, the population in Romania became hopeless about options for integrating the Gypsies. The Gypsies appeared to be raised in tents and taught to steal and beg instead of attending school and working. There is an apparent contradiction between the struggle of cultural and political leaders to develop integrated programs for Gypsies. At the same time, most of them seem happy not being included in normal social settings, living on the outskirts of the cities, marrying at the age of 12 and having more than 10 children, and showing no respect for any law in any country (Molnar, 2021).

### ***Transylvania***

Transylvania, also called Ardeal, is the largest and most famous of Romania's regions. Transylvania is complex and diverse in geography, culture, and ethnicity. Transylvania is marked by the Carpathian Mountains and is home to many churches, castles, and fortresses—most famously, Bran or Dracula Castle. The architectural design is a mixture of Romanian, German, Hungarian, and Gypsy heritages, with many historical sites, old town centers, sites of natural beauty, and cultural landmarks (Touropia, 2021). Transylvania has a well-traveled and educated population of about 7 million people of various backgrounds, including Gypsies, and a powerful nightlife, at least in Cluj-Napoca

City, but its winters can be brutally cold, though they also provide opportunities for skiing and snowboarding (Roads & Kingdom, 2021).

Some rural parts of Transylvania are focusing socioeconomic growth and development on cultural heritage. Local administrators, however, are limited in planning and resource allocation and must acquire knowledge and experience in housing development and the promotion of traditions, customs, and local history (Stefan et al., 2021). At the same time, digital modernization in the socioeconomic sphere has significant effects on the optimization of government services, communication, public administration, and cultural values (Dobrolyubova, 2021). The trend of modernization is visible in Cluj County, one of the major counties of Transylvania.

### ***Cluj County***

Administrators in Cluj County have been developing twinning activities in the hopes of integrating and providing for the 22,525 declared Roma (of the country's total of 691,106 people). To reduce the stigmatization of Gypsies, local administrators have started using the formal ethnic name *Roma* for all Gypsies who want the terminology on their new identification documents. The Gypsies have received the option to choose either *Romanian* or *Roma* as their ethnicity on drivers' licenses, identification cards, and all other official documents.

The largest Gypsy populations are Turda (2,600) and Cluj-Napoca - Pata Rat (2,000). Government representatives and the Gypsy population have been facing difficult problems: not just poor housing conditions, but low education, poor access to basic utilities like running water and electricity and to health care and social services, lack of

birth certificates and other identification documents, and high unemployment rates (European Commission, n.d.).

### ***Apahida***

Apahida is one of the settlements in Cluj where this study was conducted with local Gypsy volunteers. Apahida has a population of approximately 10,147 over an area of 106.1 square kilometers, with a median age of 36.8 years (City-facts, 2020). The population consists of 91.17% Romanians, 4.61% Hungarians, and 4.13% Gypsies (Romanian census, 2011). It is one of the communes, or small cities, that are included in the functional urban area of Cluj.

As in other localities in Cluj, administrators in Apahida are promoting environmental protection and inclusive societies. Its representatives face difficulties ending poverty, improving health and well-being, and reducing environmental degradation. Recently increased urbanization and real estate developments have made these difficulties greater, and it has become harder to mobilize resources to help those in need (Nagy et al., 2018). These problems require attention in developing public policies to support transformation and social integration. In this area, marginal urban housing can represent a specific way of life and could mean a lack of transportation and infrastructure access that are often associated with social exclusion and poverty, especially in Gypsy communities (Hognogi et al., 2021). The police are contributors to urban and rural development and social integration; local police were established as part of the international transformation process in Romania right after the revolution in 1989 (Popa, 2013).

Some initiatives for the social integration and housing placement of Gypsies have triggered incidents that captured the media's attention. For example, Apahida.ro (2015) pointed out that Gypsies from Sannicoara exacerbated anti-social behavior against some teenagers by spitting on them while using public transportation, a behavior often associated with Gypsy's are not pleased with demands placed on them. In another incident, the population of Apahida protested against a 4-million-euro initiative to move 35 families of Gypsies from Pata Rat to other locations, including Apahida, in new apartments built specifically for them by a Norwegian non-governmental organization (Cluj News, 2017). Pata Rat is on the outskirts of Cluj-Napoca City and Apahida, under the same municipal administration. In December 2010, the city administration of Cluj-Napoca decided to evacuate about 300 Gypsies from Coastei Street and transplant them to Pata Rat, near the city's landfill and a site for the disposal of industrial chemical waste (Gokcen, 2020).

### **Demographics**

The selection of the participants followed the initial idea of interviewing people of Gypsy ethnicity who were residents of the study site villages and their peripheral locations. To provide subjective opinions on the local government, I also conducted interviews with administrators and authorities of the study site, such as representatives of the local council, city hall departments, and the police. People who wanted to participate and agreed to answer the interview questions were considered for the research. All participants were adults over the age of 18. Demographics of participants are presented in

the Table 2, Table 3, Table 4, and Table 5. All participants had been residents of the study site for at least 4 years before the interview.

**Table 2**

*Participant Demographics: Gender*

	Local authorities	Gypsies	Total
Male	7	5	12
Female	3	5	8
<i>N</i>	10	10	20

**Table 3**

*Participant Demographics: Age*

	Local authorities	Gypsies	Total
30–38 years old	0	2	2
40–48 years old	5	2	7
52–64 years old	4	2	6
65–79 years old	1	4	5
<i>N</i>	10	10	20

**Table 4**

*Participant Demographics: Education*

	Local authorities	Gypsies	Total
Elementary school	–	2	2
Middle school	–	2	2
Some high school	–	1	1
High school graduate	3	3	6
Job corps graduate	–	1	1
Associate degree	–	1	1
Bachelor's degree	3	–	3
Master's degree	4	–	4
Doctorate degree	–	–	0
<i>N</i>	10	10	20

**Table 5***Participant Demographics: Profession or Primary Occupation*

	Local authorities	Gypsies	Total
Unemployed	–	3	3
Social pension	–	3	3
Semiskilled laborer	–	3	3
Security	–	1	1
Local council	3	–	3
Social or cultural services	3	–	3
Local police	3	–	3
Legal	1	–	1
<i>N</i>	10	10	20

### **Data Collection**

The data collection followed all the qualitative research guidelines, and I was the key instrument as the researcher. I started with the idea of interviewing only Gypsies and used the recommended number of 10 for a qualitative ethnographic case study (Creswell, 2013). Thinking about the perspectives of local authorities on how they contribute to the housing policies for Gypsies, I considered adding another 10 participants, representatives of city hall and the local council and police.

I did not know what to expect in the field research, so I prepared for surprises. After receiving IRB approval, I printed posters and mailed them to Apahida's City Hall, the collaborating organization and posted them in frequently visited public areas of the city. Consent forms were made available next to the posters. I identified 30 to 35 potential candidates out of those contacted by phone or WhatsApp. I delivered consent forms in person or WhatsApp before the interviews to allow the participants time to read them and decide whether they still wanted to be part of the study. The final number of

potential participants was approximately 30 from both categories. One expected event was that no participants opted to use email or mail for correspondence. An email was used only for communication with the collaborating organization.

The initial responses I received from the participants were of the following types: (a) the person wanted to be paid to take part, (b) the person was interested but was not available during the scheduled interview times, (c) the person was interested and wanted me to go to their home for the interview, (d) the person was interested and wanted to interview by phone, (e) the person was interested and wanted to meet at the public library, and (f) the person was not interested. The selection of participants and the field work were difficult due to covid-19 pandemic restrictions, but I completed the data collection while respecting social distancing requirements. I sensed social stress and agitation from many potential participants due to a socio-economic environment made difficult by the cold weather, the pandemic restrictions, and the availability of time. I began the interview process for those who wanted to provide significant information in answering the research questions.

During the data collection and interviews, I found that the information that 10 participants from each group provided was plenty to develop ideas and inferences and satisfy saturation and redundancy requirements. I set the time and date for those who chose phone interviews, conducted the interviews, and scheduled a brief follow-up meeting to provide a small reward for their participation. Those who chose to be interviewed at their residences provided me with their home address by phone and invited me to the premises. Many of the participants came to the established public location for



the interview. Some of them were late, so I had to wait while uncertain whether they would participate. I learned that it was a trait of the local culture not to make it to scheduled times and not apologize or be held accountable.

Finally, all participants were open to collaboration and willing to provide me with the best possible understanding of the problem and help me answer the research questions. The participants were residents of Apahida, and as planned, 10 were of Gypsy ethnicity, and 10 were representatives of the local administration. Each participant had a one-on-one interview with me lasting between 15 and 90 minutes, including breaks in some cases. Following Newton and Rudestam's (2017) suggestions, all interviews were tape-recorded on a Sony device, and pictures were taken with an iPhone, only with the participant's consent.

Historical data from Apahida, documents related to land parcels for housing, national, city, and local newspapers, and other media sources were also used for data collection. These sources were used for triangulation and more clarity on the topic, the sequence of events, and the contexts of the research questions. Reviewing documents helped me confirm specific measures that local administrators took for the housing of Gypsies. The participants provided private documents. The local representatives expressed caution and ambiguity about providing references to public policies or documents verifying specific information. However, the documentation was found in public records, web postings of legislation, and media sources.

Some unusual circumstances were encountered during data collection, including the active pandemic during December 2020, the need to obtain leave from work and

permission to travel abroad, tests required before and after my departure, exemption from quarantine upon arrival, and safe conduct of the research. Another unusual circumstance was that many participants smoked during the interviews and would have felt offended if I'd asked them not to. The who asked to be interviewed at their residences were female and did not wear masks under pandemic requirements. As a researcher, I assumed responsibility for entering their homes and conducting the interviews while wearing personal protective equipment, masks, and gloves.

## **Data Analysis**

### **Overview**

After completing the interviews, I transcribed and translated the interviews and then inductively coded them after completing the interviews. Miles and Huberman (1994) recommended using descriptive codes to obtain multiple themes, but only after a few reviews of the transcripts. I started with manual coding and made a list of about twenty codes that I could group into categories that defined my themes. Coding was an important part of the research, so I continued coding with NVivo for an additional perspective and analysis of the data.

This study has three guiding research questions, which focus on cultural factors preventing the integration of Gypsies, the perception of Gypsies by the city hall and police, and the extent to which Gypsies face discrimination Apahida, so these three aspects were tied to themes derived from the codes. The initial coding provided me with a better understanding of the participants' perspectives on the topics of the research questions while helping me apply the conceptual framework of the research.

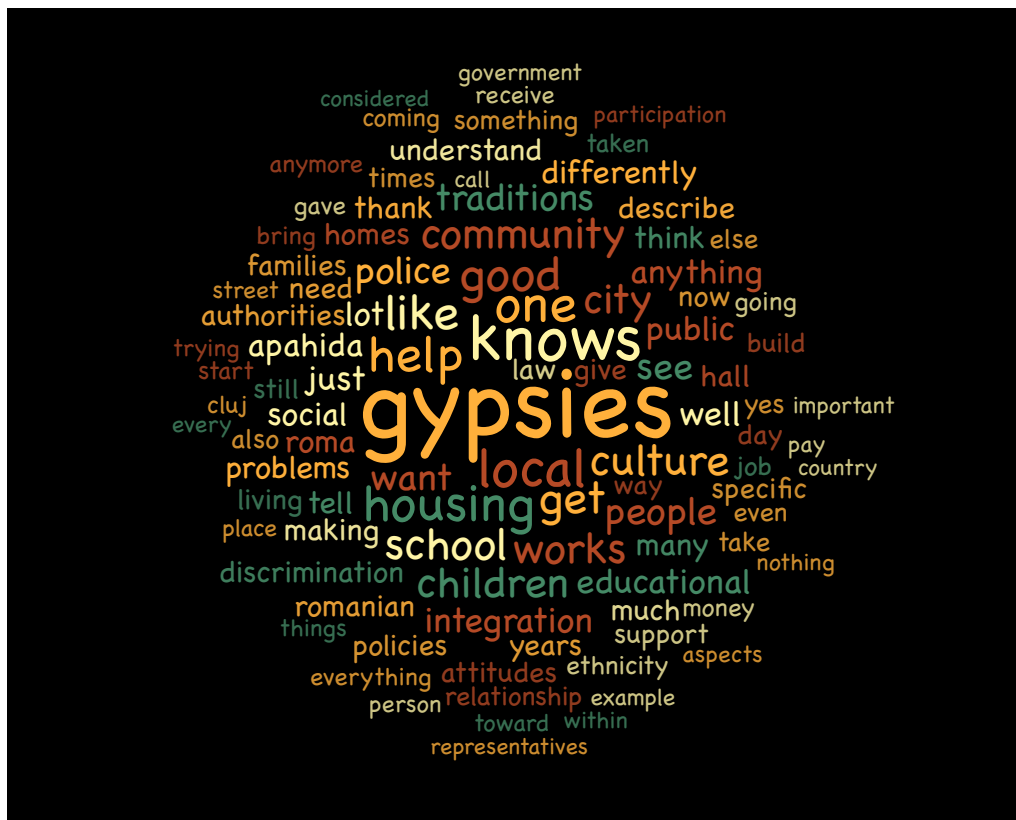
An overview of the a priori and open coding, categories, themes, and excerpt from the participants' answers to the interview questions is located in Appendix E. Participants were annotated with codes from P<sub>1</sub> for the first participant to P<sub>20</sub> for the last interviewed participant.

### ***NVivo Data***

A most-used 100 words query in NVivo from the interview data produced the word cloud in Figure 3. The word *Gypsies*, the most used, is in the center and surrounded with the next most used words, such as *culture*, *housing*, *local*, *knows*, *help*, *school*, *children*, *integration*, *good*, and *community*, showing the correlation between the themes and nodes is significant for this study.

**Figure 3**

*100 Most Used Words From the Interviews (NVivo Word Cloud)*



*Note.* NVivo Word Cloud

Following the research questions and the focus on the causes and consequences of housing discrimination against Gypsies in Apahida, I built a mind map in NVivo to picture the knowledge I had gathered by interviewing the participants and observing their traits, behavior, environments, and housing conditions and from other sources, like media and public documents. Figure 4 presents both causes and consequences, with all ramifications and a content overview.

## **Housing Conditions**

I interviewed 10 Gypsies, of whom 5 invited me to conduct the interviews at their houses, and three invited me to see their homes after completing the interviews in a public setting. I conducted the five interviews at the home locations and was also able to visit two of the others, so I visited seven homes in total from the Gypsy participants.

### ***First Gypsy House***

The first home had a worn burgundy wooden fence surrounding a 16,000 ft<sup>2</sup> property with a modest house, of about 750 ft<sup>2</sup>, with two rooms and a very small kitchen and bathroom. The house had stone walls with concrete finishing and dusty white paint. The entrance had three steps of cement and a wooden door painted to match the burgundy fence and the window frames. The roof was made of light brown ceramic tiles and held a satellite dish for the TV. A tall old pear tree stood close to the entrance in the fence. On the other side was an old wooden electric pole that looked unsafe and ready to fall. On the right side of the yard was a wooden barn to shelter chickens, grain, and garden tools and maybe to provide shade for chats during the summer. The house's interior was modest, even close to poor, judging by the old and well-used chairs, appliances, doors, dishes, floors, carpets, and small bed. The interior walls were painted in white and cream and were visibly dusty. The street and neighborhood were in a good and safe part of the community, with other similar or better houses. It was not a secluded or marginalized area, and there was easy access to public transportation, utilities, and social environments. The participant lived alone in the house.

### ***Second Gypsy House***

The second house was in much better condition. It was situated about 300 feet from the main street crossing Apahida and near a major church. Within a well-maintained iron bar fence surrounding property of about 10,000 ft<sup>2</sup>, the house was built of stone blocks and had a concrete finish on the exterior, with gray paint and white window trim. A few cracks in the wall showed the need for maintenance on one corner. The main entrance had two concrete steps and energy-saving thermal doors and windows. The house had two rooms covering a surface of about 860 ft<sup>2</sup>, including a small kitchen, a hallway, and a small bathroom. The interior was modest but clean, with some rustic furniture and dim light. The participant did not agree to let me take pictures of the interior. The roof was in good condition, made of ceramic tiles and a small metal electric pole. A fairly new vehicle was parked on the street near the yard entrance. A small blue trampoline was in the backyard. The house was in a good neighborhood, on a peaceful corner, with good access to public transportation, utilities, and social connections. The participant lived in the house with their spouse and frequently took care of their 6 toddler grandchildren.

### ***Third Gypsy House***

The third house was not in a secluded area but at the end of a street near the railroad crossing of one of the villages of Apahida. Visiting it was an interesting experience. The main street, which provided access to public transportation, was close by, within 600 feet. An old and poor carriage at the entrance with some cardboard, plastic, and wooden boxes, an old and damaged guitar, and a wooden stick. I could not

see where the horse was. A fence of thin iron bars supported by some wood pallets and a sign reading “House for sale.” The yard was full of trash and old, used materials, including bedding, window frames, pieces of plastic, plywood, iron bars, used tires, rocks, old and dirty mattresses, hanging carpets of all sizes, plastic buckets and pots, old shoes, and the rusted and broken body of a car lying in pieces on the ground.

On either side of the yard was a brick-and-mortar house, one gray and one white. The gray one, on the left, looked like it was about to fall, with one wall already collapsed and the roof leaning in on one side. It had no inhabitants. In the backyard, within another fence, there were a bunch of dirty pigs gathered at the edge for food, and behind them, another structure of some brick that looked more ruined.

The house on the right was where the participant lived with their spouse. This house had about 700 ft<sup>2</sup> of area, with two rooms and a small hallway but no bathroom or fixed kitchen space. One room had a door that was barely holding its hinges, fastened with a chain and an iron lock. The room where the family lived was dirty and cluttered, full of random items, including wrinkled clothes and carpets, dirty, rusted pots, boxes, bags, two small TVs, plastic containers, and leftover food. A chicken climbed over the bed, table, and chairs, eating fried chicken and bread on a blanket. The interior had a bad smell. It was cold, and the green walls were very dusty and dirty, with spider webs in the corners. The floor was concrete and dusty, with some mud at the entrance.

The place was at the end of a street and had open space to the left and behind it, where the terrain went uphill and was covered with grass. The area within the exterior

fence was about 12,000 ft<sup>2</sup>, and it seemed to be in a good area, just not maintained or cleaned. Like the first two, this house was owned by the Gypsy family, not rented.

#### ***Fourth Gypsy House***

The fourth house was in the best condition. However, even though the participant offered to show me the house, they wanted me to photograph only the kitchen and the garage structure, saying “Take a picture of that” and “This is the kitchen, you can take a picture of this if you want, but the rest, no pictures please.” The participant also expressed concern about not being “seen as having too much.”

A well-maintained, reddish-brown solid metal fence surrounded an average-sized house and a small yard with an asphalt alley and some grass. A separate kitchen was attached to the house, a garage was under construction, and a bicycle was parked in the middle of the alley. The house had three rooms and a bathroom over about 860 ft<sup>2</sup>, not including the kitchen and garage. The participant lived there with their spouse, adult daughter, son-in-law, and grandson: in total, four adults and a small baby. The rooms were clean and neat, with fairly new furniture and nice flooring and carpets.

Access to the main street and public transportation was close by, within 200 ft<sup>2</sup>, along with utilities. It was in a populated, central area near the city hall and other public institutions. The participant had a car parked on the street near the yard entrance. This house was also owned by the participant without any mortgage or pending payments on it.



### ***Fifth Gypsy House***

The fifth house I visited had a brown wooden fence about to fall on one side. The house looked like it had been recently built of cinder block without any finishing. It was just walls and a new roof of ceramic tiles, with an electric system installed on one wall. The house had an energy-saving thermal door and windows. The interior was a single big room, about 350 ft<sup>2</sup>. There were items cluttered all over: four old chairs, a small table holding a metal cup and some jars of preserved food, a damaged old couch, a twin-sized bed, a small refrigerator, two old armoires, and a small, rusted stove connected to a steel propane cylinder. The participant lived alone. On the right back side of the yard, there was an old house made of concrete blocks, demolished on one side and with an old wooden roof. The house was in a modest neighborhood but with easy access to public transportation, about 600 feet, and utilities within reach. The house was a joint property of the participant and a sibling living in a different place.

### ***Sixth Gypsy House***

The sixth house was in a poor to the modest neighborhood, in the curve of a dead-end street, where two other houses belonged to the sons of the participants. The street was not asphalted; it was just pressed dirt with small puddles. The house had been recently renovated and was covered with drywall and painted a brown-orange color. The front entrance had a step covered with tiles and a table with two chairs on a small terrace. The door and two small windows were of the energy-saving thermal type, and the house had two rooms, a kitchen, and a small bathroom, all covering 750 ft<sup>2</sup>. The participant lived there with their spouse, daughter, son-in-law, and a small child. The house was

clean and carefully decorated, with clean floors and carpets, simple new chairs and beds in each room, and an armoire full of glasses and porcelain figures. The interior walls were freshly painted in a light blue. Two stuffed toy donkeys lay on the floor under a small but ornate Christmas tree. The participant was very proud in showing me the house.

### ***Seventh Gypsy House***

The seventh house was on a small hill on the outskirts of Apahida. Access to the neighborhood was difficult due to mud and a lack of finished roads. Piles of gravel on the sides indicated improvements to the new settlement. There were only a few homes in this area, some of them nice and some barely starting construction.

This particular home was a small hut with four walls of concrete blocks covering about 32 ft<sup>2</sup>, cement and plywood, and a roof made of boards. The participant lived there with their spouse and two boys of preschool age. The entire parcel covered about 5,000 ft<sup>2</sup> but was not demarcated from the surrounding land. Access to public transportation was limited, as the place was about three miles from the main road. The participant did not own a vehicle, and the house had no access to utilities. Electricity was being connected to one of the neighboring houses, however.

The house had an old wooden door that was hard to keep closed as it rubbed against the bare dirt floor. A few plastic mats and small muddy carpet pieces sat in the entrance to keep dirt away from the inside area. There was a small hallway with a table, a refrigerator, some pots, a clothesline hung with wet clothes, and a small couch that acted as kitchen, laundry, and day room. The small room was clean and warmed by a small iron woodstove. The thin laminated floor was covered with a nice carpet carefully cleaned

with a small broom kept in a corner near the stove. On the right-hand side, near a small energy-saving thermal window, there was a small, extensible couch where two boys were sitting quietly, afflicted by their poor living conditions. The walls were covered with coverlets on one side and with an armoire and some cabinets on the bedside.

## **Observations**

### ***Observations on Housing***

The seven observed houses provided the data in the observation grill in Table 6, which reflects significant protests against household conditions and expectations of better living conditions. Except for one Gypsy participant, everyone expressed some discomfort with their home environment, mostly out of a desire to show a better economic status. There was one situation in which four people were living in a small room, and three in which adults frequently shared their rooms with children. All seven homes had utilities, but three had difficulty obtaining running water and constant electrical power. Only one household was in an isolated location: new development for homes on the outskirts of Apahida. One other home was somewhat isolated, as the last house on the street before pastures and hills.

**Table 6**

### *Dynamics and Factors Observed During House Visits*

Dynamics and Factors Observed	H1	H2	H3	H4	H5	H6	H7
Verbal protests against household settings	-	-	xxx	-	x	xxx	x
Discomfort with home environment	-	xx	xxx	xx	x	xx	xxx
Four or more people sharing a room for living	-	x	-	x	-	xx	xxx
Limited access to utilities	-	-	xx	-	x	-	xx
Isolated location	-	-	-	-	-	-	xx

### ***Observations on Physical and Behavioral Description of Gypsies***

The 10 Gypsy participants provided the data in the observation grill in Table 7, reflecting the participants' attitude and projection of emotions during the interview and interaction with the researcher. I derived five different dynamics and factors observed that are annotated with three "xxx" for an elevated presence, two "xx" for a moderate presence, one "x" for a low manifestation of dynamic or factor observed, and a line "-" for a total absence or minimal presence. I have also tried to briefly describe the observed Gypsies participants' physical look and expressed behavior during interviews and interaction with the researcher. Only 5 out of the 10 Gypsy participants preferred to be photographed, one man and four women.

**Table 7**

#### *Dynamics and Factors Observed During Interviews with Gypsy Participants*

Dynamics and Factors Observed	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10
Projecting confidence	x	x	xxx	xxx	x	xx	x	xxx	xxx	x
Comfortable with interviewer	xx	xx	xxx	xxx	xx	xx	x	xxx	xxx	xx
Emotionally expressive	xx	xx	xxx	xxx	-	xx	x	xx	xx	xxx
Open to discussion on topic	x	xx	xxx	xxx	x	xx	x	xxx	xxx	xx
Sociable behavior	x	x	xxx	xxx	x	xxx	x	xx	xx	xx
Ethical self-identification	x	xx	xx	xxx	x	xxx	x	xx	xxx	xxx
Acceptance of being photographed	xxx	-	x	xxx	-	xxx	-	-	xxx	xxx

### **Gypsies Participants Brief Description**

All 10 Gypsy participants seemed to be glad to participate in the study and receive the attention allocated specifically for them to be heard on what they have to say on the

topic. Some of them even expressed some notes of curiosity over the questions and the study itself.

### ***First Gypsy Participant***

This participant was an elder woman, about 5 feet tall, fair complexion, amber or light brown eyes, grayish-brown hair, wearing a long-sleeve white blouse and mostly black clothing that included a crocheted head cover and an overall crocheted light blue vest that she made herself. She was wearing black clothing in remembrance of her recently passed husband. She had a kind face and eyes expression, with a soft smile and candor on her look. Soft-spoken, the lady had a slow speech on her answers to the questions as she had all the time in the world to think about what else she could say on the topic. I noticed a slight Hungarian accent on her Romanian spoken language as she was finishing the words using Hungarian pronoun rules and pronunciation. She wasn't overly excited about the interview, but she enjoyed talking and interacting. She presented a low level of identification with the Gypsy ethnicity, repeatedly mentioning how she grew up amongst Romanians and Hungarians without any differentiation of being a Gypsy or not. During the interview, this participant mostly sat down and claimed difficulties in moving because of her legs and age. She was very modest in speech, behavior, and attitude.

### ***Second Gypsy Participant***

This participant was a woman past her middle age, about 5 feet 7 inches tall, dark brown complexion, short black hair, and dark brown eyes. She was wearing casual clothing, red-colored blouse, and black pants. Her voice and attitude had a strong

intonation, and she seemed like a very outspoken person, with prestige in her presentation of the answer to the questions. A little skeptical and not too sociable, but open for discussion. She was also trying to present her difficulties in getting any support from the government, and she seemed to identify herself with the Gypsy ethnicity but somewhat discontent about it; still very modest and disciplined, with good vocabulary and speaking fluent Romanian without any difficulties.

### ***Third Gypsy Participant***

This participant was a middle age man, about 5 feet 4 inches tall, light brown complexion, light brown hair, and eyes, wearing business casual clothes, a shirt, and slacks. He was overly excited about the interview and getting the researcher's attention, tried to impress through his social, economic, and ethical status by presenting stories and facts about his entire family, from close relatives to second cousins and friends or neighbors. The facial expressions and gesticulations were very rich but attentive and somehow contained to not crossover any boundaries or to seem rude or intrusive. Very animated and very fluent, with abundant thoughts, was speaking well Romanian. He was deviant when expressing association with the Gypsy ethnicity, showing a somewhat preference for being Romanian, disregarding his ethnical background but with love for the Gypsy music and old traditions. Content with his life and family, judgmental of other Gypsies that do not respect social norms and those Romanians might misinterpret his high ethical values and principles of life.

***Fourth Gypsy Participant***

This participant was an elder woman, about 5 feet 2-4 inches tall, very thin, with long gray hair hidden under a colorful double layered scarf covering round brown eyes with deep orbits, very thin lips, and fair complexion slightly prominent nose. She was wearing multiple colorful layers of clothing, a red sweater, a colorful skirt to match the scarf, a black and white dots apron over the skirt, and a black leather vest to keep her back warm. She was very effervescent in her overall manifestation, she made sure to be heard on her point of view. However, she continuously complained about everything around her and her husband, her eleven children that were not seemed to help out, the community, or the mayor about which she repeatedly mentioned that “he did not send anybody the entire year to help her clean the house or the yard.” She spoke very well Romanian. However, I noticed a slight accent of Gypsy language interference. Very open and emotional, but respectful and aware of the researcher’s personal space. Her identification with the Gypsy heritage was very clear and seemed not to bother her at all.

***Fifth Gypsy Participant***

This participant was a middle-aged man, about 6 feet tall, average weight, bold, light complexion, light brown round eyes, and glasses. He was wearing a white sports T-shirt and pants, comfortable but skeptical in being open to discussing the answers to the questions in detail. He started smoking from the beginning of the interview, and he did not seem to be caring about smoking inside the house or disturbing the researcher or anyone else with that. His Romanian language was very good. However, he was taking his time giving any answers, giving me the impression that he was looking to give the

right answer while there wasn't the case. He wanted to give a good impression about himself and his social and financial status but did not agree for pictures to be taken more than just the kitchen and the house's front yard. He was limited in expressing openly any emotions or social behavior. He seemed content with his situation and searched for a spiritual guiding answer if he could get it from the researcher. His ethnical identification with the Gypsies was very low, repeatedly mentioning how he is working more with Romanians than Gypsies, and how he married a Romanian and his daughter married a Romanian man. He was also critical about certain other Gypsies and their behavior or social status.

#### ***Sixth Gypsy Participant***

This participant was an elder man, about 5 feet 6 inches tall, very thin, fair complexion, gray hair, and small, round, light brown eyes. He was wearing black pants, multiple visible layers on top, starting with a white T-shirt, a white shirt, a black and grey sweater, a blue jeans vest, and a black with purple beanie hat. He was moderately expressive on his gestures and emotions but very open with answering the questions, very sociable and very supportive, and confident of being in the pictures. He was moving slowly, speaking very fluent Romanian in a soft and warm voice. He seemed very caring of his family, the Gypsy ethnicity, content and peaceful. This participant is currently deceased.

#### ***Seventh Gypsy Participant***

This participant was a middle--aged man, about 5 feet 7 inches tall, athletic, fair complexion, light brown hair, and hazel eyes. He was very refrained in his gesture and



talk, an introvert that did not project too much emotion but expressed deep concerns and struggles through his eyes. His voice was soft but firm, candid and calm. It seemed that he would have a lot to say but did not have the confidence to discuss and verbalize what he would say. He expressed a low ethnical identification, projecting more confusion about who he was supposed to be or how he was supposed to act, speak, behave. I could somehow notice a hopeless attitude in what the government, himself, or the community could do about any of the difficult situations that exist for himself or others. He wanted to be ensured of the confidentiality of his identity and interview answers.

### ***Eight Gypsy Participant***

This participant passed middle age, about 6 feet tall, thin body, light brown complexion, dark brown eyes, curly dark brown hair, and mustache. He was wearing black and gray-colored clothing, pants with a T-shirt, and a light jacket. He was very talkative, comfortable and open for discussion, and calm, moderate in his expressions and gestures to explain his stories. He was very content about himself, his life, and his traditions, with a good level of identification with the Gypsy ethnicity, but very critical about other Gypsies and Romanians. He sympathized more with the Hungarians and their similar traditions, specifically music and food. He had a rich vocabulary of the Romanian language and was very fluent. However, somehow contradicting in his opinions. Very critical about other Gypsies that lived in other areas. He had a bottle of alcohol that he was tasting while interviewing.

***Ninth Gypsy Participant***

This participant was an elderly woman, very short, about 4 feet 5 inches tall, with gray hair and brown eyes. She was wearing mostly dark-colored clothing, a white blouse covered with a gray sweater, a black dotted skirt, and a yellow scarf covering her head. She was very comfortable and confident and talkative, open for discussion, and ready to complain about all aspects of her life and the community. Her Romanian language was fluent. However, it had a few grammatical discordances as interference from the other two languages that she was familiar with: Hungarian and Romani (one of the Gypsy dialects) languages. She had a high level of identification with the Gypsy heritage and ethnicity, taking pride in her accomplishments in life and her efforts. She expressed a specific worry about current problems in the society, towards bad behaved Gypsies, and the lack of responsibilities and support from the government in solving issues. She was very proud of her household.

***Tenth Gypsy Participant***

This participant was a young woman in her 30s, about 5 feet 3 inches tall, athletic, with dark burgundy colored hair, big brown eyes, and a light brown complexion. She was dressed in a black with green stripes track suit and a blue hoodie underneath. She was very expressive, crying and laughing while sharing her opinions and stories. However, she was soft-spoken, gentle, and a little avoidant of sharing too much information that she thought could get her in some trouble. She spoke fluent Romanian and had a humble attitude, aware of her poor financial situation, but proud of her ethics and family. She had a high level of identification with the Gypsy ethnicity, and she took pride in who she was.

### **Applying the Conceptual Framework**

An ethnographic case study on discrimination policies against a background of cultural diversity calls for a narrative policy framework and interpretation at the individual level through self-categorization theory. I started with the self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), which emphasizes the importance of cultural factors and the specific traits of ethnic groups. It matters how individuals see and categorize themselves, in this case as a Gypsy, a Romanian, or another ethnicity or nationality.

For this study, the focus on cultural factors was a starting point to address how they could cause problems with the Gypsies' social integration and exclusion from the community. It led to the idea of being discriminated against, as mentioned in previous literature, specifically through public policies on Gypsy housing. As a primary but complex means of communication and cognition, the narrative policy framework is the actual understanding of the power and role of narratives as the determining factor of the policy process (Jones & McBeth, 2010). From here, I drew up the main research question about the discrimination Gypsies from Apahida face due to housing public policies, including how people see themselves and others can lead to discrimination. The research would have been incomplete without question at the meso-level, where local authorities make a significant contribution to the wellbeing of the community and each individual through their perceptions of and interactions with Gypsies.

### **Evidence of Trustworthiness**

Creswell (2013) described trustworthiness as actual validation of the research, but this might be too close to the terminology of quantitative research and could create

confusion or be otherwise inappropriate, according to Maxwell (2013). Even though it projects confidence and is closely tied to authenticity (Maxwell, 2013), it wouldn't be enough if it didn't demonstrate fairness and the inclusion of diverse perspectives and realities (Patton, 2002). Trustworthiness, or in other words, the rigor of the research study, presents the level of confidence that the researcher can have in the data collected, its interpretation, and the efficiency of the research methods in delivering high quality it (Pilot & Beck, 2014). I followed Creswell's (2013) recommendations and used multiple data sources for triangulation to achieve high trustworthiness, but I also distinguished past experiences that could have affected the approach and interpretation. I established a good protocol, and the procedures needed to deliver a scholarly study were valuable. Following the traditional guidance criteria recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985), I ensured the study has solid credibility, transferability, confirmability, dependability, and good authenticity.

### **Credibility**

As the most important criterion, credibility reflects how much confidence there is in the truth of the study and, of course, implied in its results and the findings (Polit & Beck, 2014). The credibility of a study depends on the procedures used to ensure the right population is selected and the correct methodology is used to collect data and address research questions. For the study population, Gypsies from Apahida were the main focus, as the study addressed their experiences of discrimination. I also recruited local authorities to collect more housing policies and gain a different perspective. I performed an ethnographic case study guided by the narrative policy framework and self-

categorization theory to drive my research questions, starting from the framework of general narratives, political and geographical settings, media, and social environment, and proceeding through the community down to the individual level and the narratives and ways each person categorizes.

Credibility also reflects trust and an open approach to each person within their micro-universe. Attention to detail, active listening, recording of answers to open-ended questions, and empathic neutrality reflects the commitment to credibility (Patton, 2002) that I maintained throughout the study. Another way I enhanced credibility was by taking the time to connect with participants before the interviews (Patton, 2002). I asked how they were doing, their family, and their perspectives on the possible findings. In this way, I also touched on member checking as a strategy for increasing credibility (Creswell, 2013). I used my experience, and with the highest professional standards, I provided details that interconnected the material and provided more strength and credibility (Patton, 2002).

### **Transferability**

Following Patton (2002), I would define “transferability” as generalizability, and the words “how” and “why” were useful for achieving analytic generalizability or external validity (Yin, 2014). I considered deriving conclusions that could be transferred to other contexts (Huberman et al., 2014). A mix of participants, including Gypsies of different genders and ages, local authorities from councils, social services, police, and legal departments, provided a wide range of possible feedback to each question. Different

scales of analysis, from the micro to the macro level, provided a broad transferability to other studies or approaches to experiences of discrimination.

### **Dependability and Confirmability**

Dependability, or the ability to replicate findings, is ensured through member checking, qualitative data analysis tools like NVivo, and the accuracy of the transcriptions and translations of the recording. As recommended by Huberman et al. (2014), I used clear research questions, a constant and stable inquiry process, and triangulation in data collection. I allowed the participants to speak freely, using neutrality to achieve confirmability.

I fostered confirmability or the extent to which others can verify or validate results using a sampling technique and software that supported qualitative data analysis and log coding (Trochim, 2006). I considered the study's neutrality or the degree to which findings can be consistently repeated (Polit & Beck, 2014) I considered it very important. I maintained it through detailed notes and journaling of the progress and each decision. Reviewing my notes daily during research and the feedback from the chair and committee members helped me prevent biases.

### **Authenticity**

In today's society, people often wonder how much they can rely on qualitative research and how relevant this can be. Sometimes, in a rush or a strenuous effort in finishing or publishing qualitative research work, some of its rigor or scientific integrity can be diminished. In my study, I ensured to maintain ethical standards of rigorous research and standard procedures for interviewing, observation, and document analysis,

starting with collecting data, all the way to findings and interpretation. I continuously reviewed and considered the intended outcome and the ideas on which framework's foundation sits. I kept the scientific value as the main goal for the research. As a main strategy and accepted norm, I used the constant comparative method and linking to the conceptual framework. I used a good size and variety of participants to present a clear argument. To enhance authenticity, I paid consistent attention to epistemology, and grounding theories and offered a clear justification of the research methods. In conclusion, I used good science that provides credible findings of authentic research with great trustworthiness and the highest standards of ethical research integrity (Jones, 2013).

### **Results**

This study focuses on the discrimination experienced by Gypsies from Apahida concerning housing policies and their cultural heritage. Gypsy communities live mostly in marginal settlements or poorly developed housing and face social discrimination that greatly impacts their neighbors and neighboring communities (Hognogi et al., 2021). Their problems, including social integration, have not yet been resolved, and communities are struggling to develop institutional activism and ethnic intermediation on their behalf (Fitantte, 2021). Based on the narrative policy framework and self-categorization theory, this study was meant to identify gaps in the literature and bring more information to the topic. The ethnographic case study was conducted at a micro-level in the small city of Apahida and its seven appurtenant villages. The target population consisted of the Gypsies from this area.

The three research questions for this study are relevant to the topic. The eleven interview questions were each sorted under one of the research questions. I present the answers to the three questions below, with examples from the raw data of participants' answers to the interview questions. I also discuss some nonconforming data and their impact on each theme's research statements and conclusions.

#### Research Question 1

To what extent do Gypsies from Apahida, Cluj experience discrimination because of local public policies on housing?

##### *Sample Responses*

1. "I don't think that they are discriminated against."
2. "I believe they are given favor in this matter."
3. "I don't think there is real discrimination, but I know more can be done for them."
4. "I don't think they are discriminated against at all."
5. "I don't know."
6. "Here in Apahida, they are not discriminated against."
7. "No, they are not discriminated against."

##### *Impact of Non-confirming Data*

Research question 1 produced the most unexpected responses of the three developed categories. There were non-confirming data involving comparisons to literature about Gypsies' experiences of discrimination at another location and presented



in the literature and media. This resulted in looking at other aspects of the Gypsies' understanding of discrimination against them.

*Answer*

Participants had mixed opinions about Gypsies being discriminated against in locations other than Apahida, though the question was specifically about the Gypsies from Apahida. Some participants cited childhood experiences, different locations, and what they had seen in media such as television and newspapers. A constant reminder of the focus on the local population was needed, and the interview questions helped in this by mentioning the focus on Gypsies from Apahida specifically.

The answers to the interview questions for this research question revealed that there were no discriminations against Gypsies related to the housing policies.

Research Question 2

What cultural factors prevent Gypsies from being adequately integrated into the local communities in Apahida?

*Sample Responses*

1. "They mind their own businesses; they don't get in trouble with the police."
2. "The marriages are arranged; the families talk and plan out their children's marriages from the time they are little."
3. "They have so many children."
4. "Everything starts with education, in my opinion."
5. "Definitely the dancing, that is similar to folk dancing, and their folk songs—they belong and are familiar in this region."

6. “I think their arts and handcrafting can be encouraged and promoted.”

7. “Unfortunately, the parents’ low level of education is perpetuated in their children. Lack of education leads to delayed professional development, so this makes the families dependent entirely on social services from the government.”

8. “Some have more, but many are poor.”

#### *Impact of Non-confirming Data*

Research question 2 had the most diverse responses, and it seemed like it could have created a lot more discussion. There were non-confirming data, mostly related to the legal aspects of certain behaviors, which participants avoided discussing this theme in detail.

#### *Answer*

Using more questions on this theme would increase the complexity and detail of the responses. A third category, regular citizens and people of different ethnicities, could also have brought more significant knowledge. A different data collection method, such as unsigned letters, would also provide a greater feeling of privacy and anonymous participation.

The answers to the interview questions for this research question revealed that the cultural factors preventing a healthy integration are such as diminution of the positive cultural factors like traditional music, dance and folklore, loss of the intergenerational transfer of manufacturing skills, all being replaced by extravagance, noise, scandals and the reminiscences of illegal conduit as children’s marriages.

#### Research Question 3

How are Gypsies perceived by the city government and police in Apahida?

*Sample Responses*

1. "They are doing their job."
2. "They helped them a lot."
3. "I didn't see anything not legal. All the papers were approved and compared to other places; they have very good collaboration."
4. "The relationship can be situational."
5. "Everything flows normally."
6. "There is a little bit of a problem. If you go to the police, they say you are Gypsy, but if you go with someone, they take care of you."
7. "They received land to build their houses. They're being helped by city hall."
8. "They play music very loud. They disturb everybody, yell, and make noise, and that's how they annoy the neighbors late at night."
9. "Their relationships with the local administration are good because they know that they receive help from them. From this perspective, they like being helped."

*Impact of Non-confirming Data*

Research question 3 received the most unspecific or incomplete responses. There were non-confirming data, mostly related to the personal and social image of the person. This resulted in responses being oriented toward personal or professional gain and prestige.

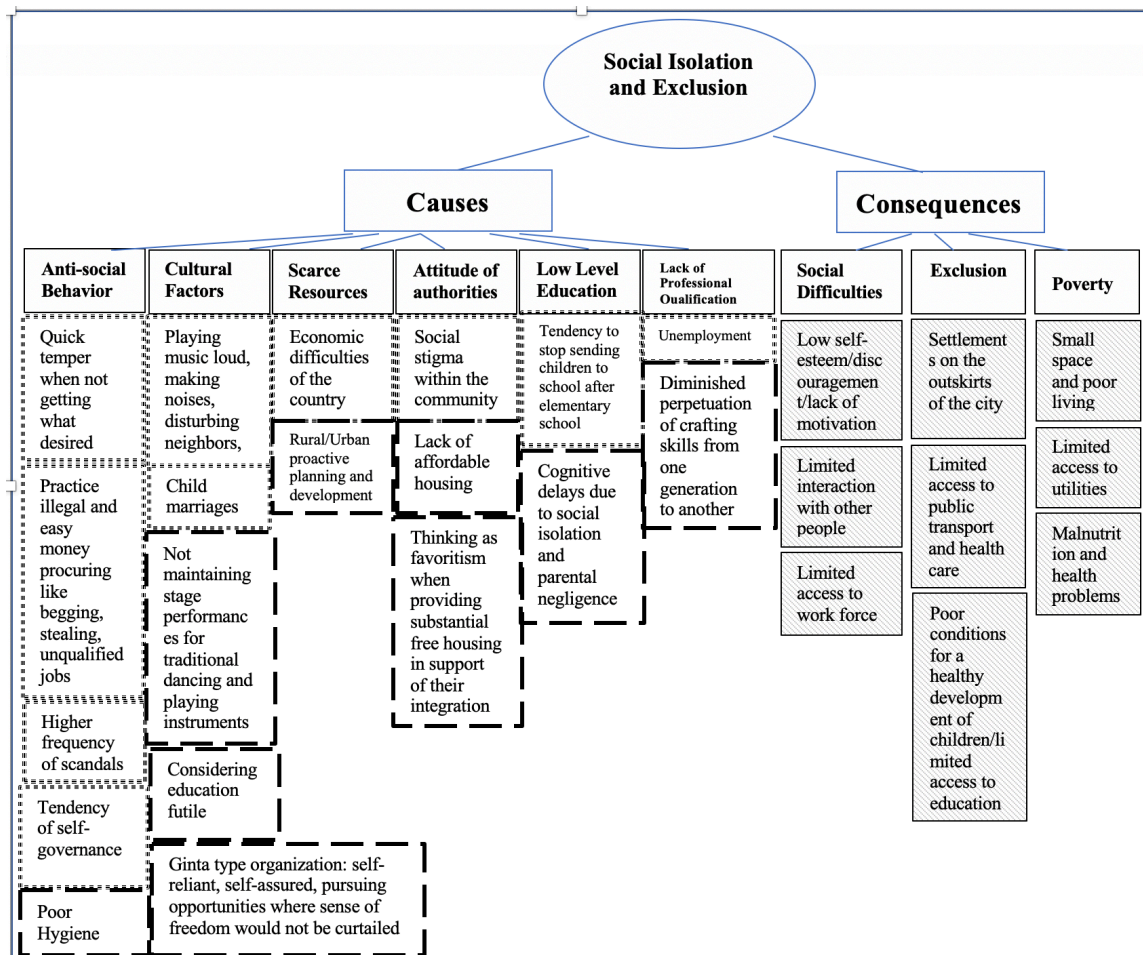
*Answer*

Rephrasing the interview questions for this theme could minimize participants' assumption that they are being evaluated or judged when the word "perceived" is used. One option would be to get responses by providing specific interaction scenarios and finding out how local authorities would treat the Gypsies. However, this approach would be more costly in time and research effort.

The answers to the interview questions for this research question revealed that there is a somewhat negative perception and stigma related to disturbances within the community that decreases the motivation of police and authorities in providing support to Gypsies. However, there was nothing specific mentioned that could prove some kind of intimidation techniques against Gypsies in regards of housing or housing policies.

**Figure 4**

*Causes and Consequences of Social Isolation and Exclusion Among Gypsies in Apahida*



*Note.* NVivo Mind Map

For the mind map in Figure 4 above, I used solid lines for the two aspects I followed, cause and consequence, and for factors under each category. Sub-factors that I considered based on interviews and observations to be hard to improve I kept them in boxes with dotted margins. Bold interrupted lines on boxes indicates sub-factors of social isolation that I considered easier to influence; local governments and ethnic representatives are already addressing some. The main causes found for social isolation

are easier to work on than consequences, whose factors are harder to change because they have been caught in the system for so long and have a wide range of manifestations. The sub-factors marked as consequences are annotated in boxes with diagonal lining gradient to the right side of the mind map to indicate they are more neutral for future proposed solutions. Most of these are directly connected to causal sub-factors that can be resolved as soon as the cause changes or conditions around it improve.

Possibility of housing discrimination of Gypsies in Apahida, Cluj County, Romania was analyzed under both aspects of causes and consequences and was not identified in this case, leading more towards indices of social isolation and exclusion. The main causes of social isolation and exclusion were identified to be the quick temper, poor hygiene, illegal money procuring, scandals, and tendency of self-governance as part of Gypsies anti-social behavior. From the cultural factors category, I found causes like diminishing of traditional Gypsies stage performances of their folklore that were replaced with noise, child marriages, poor attitude over education, and a high sense of freedom and lack of social responsibility. Economic difficulties of the community is also causing hardship overall, with limited possibilities to provide welfare for poor Gypsies that could also be seen by others as favoritism if significant help provided to them. A low level of education, lack of parenting in support of going to school, lack of professional qualifications, unemployment, are causes of limiting their economic development and access to a more decent life. On the other hand, consequences of social isolation and exclusion lead to difficulties with social integration, low self-esteem, limited interaction with others in the community, limited access to workforce, exclusion, settlements to the

outskirts of the city limits, poor living and health conditions, and poverty, with small living spaces, limited access to utilities, malnutrition and health problems.

### **Document Review**

From the beginning of the field research and the start of the interviews, were brought up some of the local and national governmental laws, like the Law 15/2003 that was implemented in support of the Gypsies. Before the interview started, I have searched for regulations specific to the Gypsies and their housing. However, the findings were very limited. A total of five legislative documents resulted from the search related to Gypsies' housing. None of these were specifically mentioned during the interviews, which somewhat disregards it. I noticed a critical need of increased positive dissemination of information through media, political avenues, social platforms, and thorough education of the local governments in these aspects.

### ***Memorandum of Agreement/21 September 2005***

This Memorandum of Agreement was established between the Romanian Secretary of State, National Agency for Roma, and the United Nation Developmental Program for the funding and the administration of the Program of Activities for the Implementation and Monitoring of the Strategies for the Improvement of the Situation of the Roma, a Partnership in support of the Roma – 2005. It is considered as an international document published into the Official Monitory No. 878 dated 30 September, 2005. This document was the result of a review of few previous legislations including the establishment, organization and functioning of the National Agency for Roma through the Governmental Decision no. 1703/2004. The other three additional laws that

constituted the foundations for this memorandum, were the Governmental Decision no. 113/1991 for the accordance of the Romanian Government with the United Nations' Program development, the Governmental Urgent Disposition No. 64/2003 of governmental restructuring, followed with updated changes with the Law no.194/2004, and the Budgeting Law for the year 2005 no. 511/2004.

***Governmental Decision No.1.128/29 September 2005***

This document represents the approval of the above-described Memorandum of Agreement, and it was published in the same edition of the Official Monitory No. 878 dated 30 September, 2005.

***Methodology of Community Development Program/19 June 2006***

This document represents a proof of effort in the management of the housing of Gypsies in one of the communes from County of Mures, a nearby county to Apahida, Cluj. This took action based on the Human Rights European Union Court decision no. 1/2005 and Law no. 350/2005 in regards of the grants offered to the nonprofit organizations with general objective to be used towards helping with the integration of Gypsies. This document was published in the Official Monitory No. 667 dated 3 August 2006.

***Governmental Decision No.1.237/1 October 2008***

This document represents a milestone in the start of practical measures in developing and supporting the Gypsies and their communities in Romania. It is the approval of the Pilot Program for the construction of the affordable housing specifically



for the Gypsies. It was published in the Official Monitory No. 705 dated 16 October 2008.

***Pilot Program Affordable Housing/1 October 2008***

This document describes the details of the implementation of the affordable housing project specifically for Gypsies and concludes with a collaboration, administration and management of the local governments over the finalized homes. It was published in the same edition of the Official Monitory No. 705 from 16 October 2008. This action triggered some social waves among the local population from Apahida, Cluj. Corresponding with the data from the interviews, some affordable housing were built in Apahida as well, directed specifically for the Gypsies from Pata Rat, and not including the rest of the Gypsies from Apahida. Restricting the affordable housing access to only Pata Rat made the population from Apahida upset and even determined for a significant amount of people to gather and demonstrate in front of the Apahida City Hall. The mayor himself disagree to the approach of the use of the funds and access to the affordable housing to only Gypsies from Pata Rat while the terrain belonged to the City of Apahida and the local administration had no say into it besides offering support for the completion of the project. Local news and media have provided identical narrative to those resulted from the interviews. The mayor of City of Apahida made sound judgment and discussed with the population that led to a general agreement of acceptance for the benefit of the community and in support of those Gypsies from Pata Rat that were in the worst housing condition of living.

***Law no. 15/2003***

This law has two most recent updates through Law no. 237/2010 and Law no. 342/2013. It contains the details and regulation for the distribution of parcels of 250 - 1000 m<sup>2</sup> of land free of charge to young adults between the age of 18 and 35 for the construction of their first home with the right of ownership for the duration of existence of the house. This law has been implemented in Apahida as well since 2003 and it is still effective and ongoing. All citizens living in Apahida, regardless of their economic, social, ethnical, educational, or professional background have access to request this terrain for construction as long as they meet the age (18-35 years old) and property (to not own any other property at the time of request) requirements. The allocation of parcels is done conforming to a waiting list, the preference of location, availability of the parcels. Selection is done in public sessions in the presence of those with an approved packet request and announced by name on the public webpage of the community and public location listing on the official board of the City of Apahida city hall.

***Newspaper Articles and Media***

The review of the newspapers and local media from Apahida revealed social concerns about scandals and criminal behavior that some Gypsies are manifesting. One of the articles mentioned how the Gypsies from Sannicoara (one of the villages from Apahida) were drinking and spitting on children while using public transportation. Other news described assaults and burglaries committed by Gypsies on other people's properties or in public places. There were also reported domestic violence cases on a regular basis. All these articles correlate with the data from the interviews where

participants describe some situations where Gypsies party very loud, drink, then act violently or just act irresponsibly, disregard public law, and public or private property.

### **Summary**

The research questions in this study were used to explore how extensive the discrimination is faced by Gypsies from Apahida, Cluj, in housing and local public housing policies, and the cultural factors that affect their integration into the community. I found that both Gypsies and local authorities felt that the Gypsies received substantial help from the community and local administrators for their housing, but a lot of work remained to be done amid the stringent socio-economic limitations and scarce available resources. My interpretation of the findings is discussed in chapter 5, including limitations, recommendations, possible implications, and a conclusion.

## Chapter 5: Discussion

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this study was to explore the extent of the housing discrimination faced by Gypsies from Apahida, Cluj County, Romania, because of local policies, and whether any cultural factors influence the way Gypsies are perceived or treated by the local government and police. This goal was pursued by studying the causes and consequences of this type of discrimination. The main idea was to explore cultural factors that could lead to housing discrimination against Gypsies and how Gypsies had experienced the consequences of this type of discrimination. An additional aim was to fill in informational gaps in the literature on the Romanian government and nongovernmental organizations' plans for integrating Gypsies and their culture into democratic coexistence with local populations, including providing them with access to better jobs, education, professional development, and healthcare (Dar et al., 2013).

The research was designed as a qualitative ethnographic case study of the Gypsies' struggles and experiences of housing discrimination and cultural factors anchored in the local community. Based on the narrative policy framework (Jones & McBeth, 2010) and the self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), the study brings a better understanding of the housing of Gypsies in Apahida and options for improvements to local public policies. I identified an ethnographic case study (Creswell, 2013) as the best approach to this qualitative inquiry due to the influence of the specific culture of the Gypsies and to the limited time afforded for the field research: about 6 weeks. Further support for this approach came from the fundamentals of practice-oriented disciplines

like social work, public administration, and urban planning (Newton & Rudestam, 2007). In this situation, the paucity of research into housing discrimination against Gypsies and the cultural factors involved showed the need for a qualitative ethnographic case study (Creswell, 2009). As Patton (2002) recommended for determining how participants feel or think about a topic, this study included documents supporting the analysis of the data obtained through observation and interviews. Following Maxwell's (2013) recommendations, this inquiry was aimed at understanding the specific context and processes involved.

### **Key Findings**

Researchers assume the responsibility for extracting meanings from the dynamics of a group and drawing conclusions based on analysis of the collected data (Newton & Rudestam, 2007). I collected data from several sources: interviews, observations, and other sources like local media and artifacts (articles on local laws and regulations; historical village documents; neighborhood, city, and national newspaper articles, and websites, links, and social media accounts). I used three central research questions to guide the study (Huberman et al., 2014) recommended. The research questions guided the interview questions used in collecting data.

The first central question focused on how much discrimination Gypsies in the study site experience because of public housing policies. Participants' responses revealed that neither the local authorities nor the Gypsies thought there was discrimination in the housing policies. However, the Gypsies had divided opinions on being seen as less important, both in being compared to the rest of the community and in taking care of their

problems, including matters related to their households. The concerns about other types of discrimination could be brought into future research.

The second central question was about the cultural factors that prevent Gypsies from being integrated into the local communities in the study location. The interviews provided information about multiple social and cultural factors. Although the participants unanimously agreed that Gypsy culture and traditions have been significantly diminished, there was a large influx of references to and suggestions regarding the need to develop and provide educational programs and access to transportation. In addition, there was support for the reinstatement of Gypsy traditions like music, dancing, iron casting, and crafting of other materials.

There was some nonconforming information about the contemporary style of Gypsy music, now called *manele*, and dance, which does not resonate with the old-fashioned Gypsy style. The traditional popular style was admired, but participants indicated it had been weakened too much to be an independent entity. The conflict between the new *manele* and the traditional violin and accordion represented a cultural conflict over musical tendencies and preferences. Some participants mentioned great talents from the Gypsy community and how they could bring life and prestige to their heritage if engaged and nurtured, and some complained about traditions being transformed into something that just projects extravagance and noise through loud parties that often disturb neighbors and end in scandal. Some participants also mentioned the illegal Gypsy tradition of marrying children and giving girls away into marriage as early

as age 12 to live with their future husband's families and how this impairs a young woman's education and civil rights.

The third central question, about how the city government and police perceive Gypsies, revealed mixed perceptions by the local authorities regarding their relationships with the Gypsy community. Participants' answers showed a consensus that a good relationship exists among the Gypsies and the authorities, but some nonconforming data appeared in individuals' reflections about achieving their goals when requesting support from either the local authorities or the police for help in settling neighboring problems or city administrators with regards to legal documentation of properties. Some Gypsy participants implied that other Gypsies have drawn negative attention from the police and created disturbances in the neighborhood, which has led the authorities to respond more cautiously to their inquiries and calls. Some Gypsy participants were content with the support they receive from the police and authorities. There was nothing to imply that police or civic administrators intervene in any way that could intimidate Gypsies, specifically concerning housing or housing policies.

### **Interpretation of the Findings**

#### **Comparison to Peer-Reviewed Literature**

The literature review I conducted before this study supported the focus on the discrimination faced by Gypsies due to local housing policies and the cultural factors. Donders (2016) indicated that local administrators face major economic struggles and problems with housing policy discrimination. However, contradictory results were reached by Blasco (2016) and Silver and Danielowski (2019), who found that Gypsies

experience extreme discrimination. The results from my research indicate that consistent housing support is offered to Gypsies. The local government's available resources and economic struggles do not prevent them from providing housing repairs, allocating land for home construction, and being tolerant about providing construction permits and property documentation even after the start or completion of the construction.

Cingolani's (2016) finding that discrimination against Gypsies interferes with their social integration matches the findings of this study. Cingolani's ethnographic study of housing policies and the politics of identity among the Gypsies and non-Gypsies in Turin, Italy, notably showed that the cases have social conditions in common. Again, the main reason inferred was poverty and lack of education among the Gypsies. Contrary to the findings of Watson and Downe (2017), my findings suggest that significant experiences of discrimination against Gypsies are not the result of their culture, ethnicity, housing, or economic status. Nuseibeh (2020) described the limits of the social services available to the Domari Gypsies in Jerusalem, and similar issues can be found in the village in my study.

Alves (2017) cites deliberate ethnic housing segregation targeting the Gypsy population in Portugal, but that case differs from Apahida. Administrators in Apahida actively try to disperse and mix the allocation of housing resources and locations among ethnicities while considering all citizens' preferences, including Gypsies, in light of availability.

According to Lancione (2018), there is a link between political factors and the social and housing situations of Gypsies in Romania. The European Union has made



initiatives to address discrimination and racism targeting Gypsies, but there are still obstacles, as the present research also shows. The mayor and administration are trying to gain access to funds for housing Gypsies, but limited resources are available. NGOs are helping in some ways, but the needs are still far from fulfilled, and there is a long way to go to reach satisfying levels of financial and social support. Lastly, Webb (2019) pointed out that Gypsies in Britain are an invisible minority in comparison to Whites, which contrasts with the findings of this inquiry that show significant importance given to Gypsies in Apahida, in housing support, efforts at integration, educational programs, and the voice given to them in discussions of their concerns.

Across previous literature, there is significant importance given to education as part of the influencing cultural factors over the socio-economic integration of Gypsies. Lloyd and McCluskey (2008) mentioned that the tensions between the Gypsies and the local communities could trigger specific discrimination that Gypsies experience when they contact the structures of education. If they feel rejected or their ethnicity is associated with social stigma, this could develop an avoidance of socializing in public settings and established systems, including going to school and attending public education. This could create contradiction with the government's efforts to reduce the social exclusion of minorities like Gypsies. This ethnographic case study's findings presents, to a similar outcome about the Gypsies from Apahida, Romania, regarding education being a key element of Gypsies' social integration. Moreover, their minimal efforts in accessing the educational system and their cultural approach to it are not

favorable. It also has repercussions over their professional development and access to a successful career or job opportunities.

Apart from the public education system, a substantial contribution has been gained through family and community. O'Hanlon (2010) has made reference in her study about Gypsies in the UK to how important this aspect of the Gypsy culture is regarding education and how much supportive legislation has improved their attendance in school. Like this approach, the Gypsies from Apahida, Romania, are being offered different opportunities in attending school, from providing them with transportation, to snacks and meals for them as economic support and financial contribution to those consistently making presence in the educational schooling system. Here is where the community participates and supports them with clothing and food. Social services pay frequent visits to their homes where school-age children are and offer them services and financial aid. The local government offers programs that help the Gypsies access after-school teacher support in doing homework and provides additional meals and classroom comfort for them. The community and the local government's impact is tremendous in motivating and sustaining the Gypsy children in the educational system. Positive results can be seen within the ranks of younger families that seem more receptive to developing their children educationally and professionally.

Another similarity from this study on Gypsies from Apahida, Romania, can be found in previous literature (Agarin, 2014) about the Gypsies' cultural tendency to move frequently from one place to another and not to be held accountable or responsible to the law of either state or region. Even with the involvement of the governments to increase

their participation in the political, social, and economic life of a state, very few opportunities have strived to redress their exclusion. O'Hanlon (2010) also attributes the disinterests of attending school to the frequency of moving and the tradition of social and economic mobility, which in Apahida is found as well in Gypsies' preference to work by day, by the hour, without the stability of a regular full-time job or the responsibility of waking up every day to attend a school or a professional environment. Powell (2016) also discusses the work of Elias Norbert, which presents the long-term effects of the child-parent/adult relationships, a sort of dysfunctionality due to the lack of civilizing of the parents that can turn in their social constraints into future self-restraint in their children. The Gypsy families' type of socialization transformed into maintaining their specific group identity and part of their cultural continuity perpetuated to their children and long-term outsider perception within the community. Levinson (2013) found a correlation between education and social identity issues. Here comes in the question the creation of hybrid or multiple identities. Like the Gypsies from his study from Southwest England, the Gypsies from Apahida, Romania, seem to have a conflicting attitude towards finding their ethnic identity, which interferes with their perception of the educational system. Some Gypsies adopted the Romanian nationality and started integrating similar to other families from the community. These families accepted to be helped by the community and the government and made progress in their children's education and professional development. Some other ones maintained their ethnic identity and only partially accepted or disregarded the educational system. There are still those in between, still

confused about their transition to a new tradition, including being socially responsible, sending their children to school, developing a career, or maintaining a constant job.

Previous literature demonstrates a perception of indiscipline and irresponsibility when it comes to the perception of Gypsies by the local authorities and local police. A study conducted in Finland while interviewing police officers about Gypsies' behavior showed consistent blame of them for being unsettled, economically irresponsible and not contributing to the well-being of society, having different sexual attitudes, and undisciplined in their emotions, mostly regarded as a deviant group (Tong, 2015). Van Baar et al. (2019) presents a study about how the German police and security institutions perceive Gypsies as a threat. It seems that the police and other authorities have been perceiving Gypsies' behavior as primarily deviant or so-called the "gypsy way." This perception finds similarities in my study where local representatives, police, and even some of the Gypsy participants state that some of them have their way of managing their life, they have their law, own way of life, and many of them live to procure an easy way of life by committing small robberies, theft, begging on the streets, living off other people's land, and maintaining their tradition of marrying their daughters since childhood.

### **Implications**

Before starting the fieldwork for this study, I reviewed and annotated the conceptual framework to give my thoughts on any possible issues or theories, as Maxwell (2013) recommended. I constructed the conceptual framework for the inquiry to be linked to the demands of the research questions. As I explained in Chapter 2, the framework I

identified is composed of the narrative policy framework (NPF) and the self-categorization theory. This was a perfect fit for understanding the study's context, processes, and direction.

The NPF (Jones & McBeth, 2010) was the anchoring framework. Once I started the field research and gathered data from a diverse group of Gypsy women and men and local authority representatives, the NPF helped me understand their narratives. Narratives of shared experiences are fundamental to human life as a basic but complex means of communication and cognition (Jones & McBeth, 2010). Further, the NPF understands the power and role of narratives as the determining factors of policy processes and incorporates effective strategies for shaping public opinion (Shanahan et al., 2017). Individuals also carry their belief systems and develop cultural norms and institutions as they pursue progress through specific expressions and manifestations of their rights (Weible & Sabatier, 2018). The following description represents an overview of the research approach in the NPF (Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, 2018).

NPF has five different assumptions (Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, 2018) that for this research align as follows:

**Social construction.** The meaningful parts of policy's reality are socially constructed. In this case is expected to be some housing policies referring to the Gypsies having equal rights in accessing housing and identical rules in eviction actions. However, since literature show that Gypsies marginalization has happened in the past, it is expected to find them in poor housing conditions or under eviction and these to be socially and generally stereotyped and accepted by the general population or the Gypsies themselves.

Bounded relativity. The social constructions become significant values that the community adopts through their belief system, religion, and locality that people carry as core existential values and provide their settling and long-term stability.

Generalizable structural elements. Narratives in this aspect are specifically oriented towards the integration of Gypsies but as an ultimate goal of wellbeing for the entire community. The institutions and social systems are strongly rooted into their core values, habits formed over time and generally accepted by characters in power.

Inter-dependable Levels of analysis. Out of the three interacting levels of narratives, from the micro one or individual to the meso one of the group, all the way to the macro one that presents the culture and institutions impacting the community, I was able to identify each, with strong impact on the overall research.

Homo narrans model of the individual. Interviews were the main source of narrative, but observation of the individuals interacting and communicating within their group or community provided the researcher with the understanding of how they think, act, and what preferred mode of communication they have, how they present their stories. Based on the research questions, the level of analysis starts individually or micro as each person develops their narratives during interviews. The Group or meso level is encountered mainly at the community level on adopting and using similar narratives commonly accepted by the general population, including Gypsies. The macro level, culture, or institutions has brought narratives that specifically provide information on socio-economic limitations or opportunities that can support Gypsies' social integration and their aspiration to a better life through less discrimination and better established

public policies. The Model has narrative content, and the research design is non-experimental, as an ethnographic case study, using interviews, observations, and documents content analysis as research methods. This ethnographic case study used triangulation and access to narrative data through interviews, direct observation, and available document reviews from media, newspapers, public records, and open sources documents from the internet and the government. For the analysis, I have been using sampling technique, open coding, NVivo coding, and narrative correlation to the NPS framework.

The self-categorization theory was the second constituent of the conceptual framework for this research. In chapter 2, I discussed how the NPF emphasizes that narratives affect the development, implementation, and evaluation of policies (Gray & Jones, 2016), and how essential it is for understanding group formation and how individuals feel about themselves and their groups (Page et al., 2015). Tajfel (1978) suggested that it is important to understand the psychology of individuals and group behavior and how the two are related to how individuals define and perceive themselves and others.

Self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) developed from social identity theory (Hogg, 2016), and it helped me understand how Gypsies identified themselves with their ethnic groups and how their culture affected their perception of situations and their experiences of potential discrimination. The theory also improved my understanding of this inquiry's setting and the inferences implied by the participants' identification with the local population or other Gypsies.

Stevens et al. (2017) noted the assumption of the self-categorization theory that people place themselves and others into social groupings based on salient attributes, and I could identify such traits in my study. The Gypsies from Apahida showed multiple social identities influenced by social groupings, and most of them mentioned division and social and cultural differences among people of the same ethnicity living in the same area. Self-perception is central in such a situation, and categorization into social groups focuses on similarities between people; the Gypsies from Apahida had a factional structure. The narratives they gave in answer to interview questions revealed differentiation between groups of Gypsies from different streets or with different personal practices and behaviors—for instance, the group who let their horses roam on other people’s properties, those who dressed differently, or those who liked to work or who did not. The application of self-categorization theory to the conceptual framework improved my comprehension of situations, my awareness when interacting with participants, my insights into aspects of culture, my attainment of empathic neutrality, adaptability to changes, and my capacity to deal with problems during the fieldwork.

### **Limitations of the Study**

According to Patton (2002), perfect designs do not exist. Other scholars consider qualitative studies to be adequate by nature. However, I followed good implementation measures to minimize expected limitations. I avoided taking just a single approach to not lean solely on interviews. I also used more than one data source to improve the input and achieve triangulation for a more comprehensive approach (Patton, 2002). Through triangulation, systematic biases can be significantly reduced (Maxwell, 2013). For the



interviews, I focused on asking good questions and active listening, adapting to the situation, being sensitive to participants' reactions and attitudes and knowledgeable about the topics, and maintaining the highest standards of ethics (Yin, 2014). After a thorough review of the recommendations of Huberman et al. (2014) and my research limitations, set through the IRB board approval, I decided it was essential that I talk only to the participants who had contacted me and chosen to take part in the study.

### **Recommendations**

The main aim of this research was to understand better housing discrimination against Gypsies from Apahida based on their culture and heritage. The findings suggest that some perceived housing discrimination exists based on long-term, persistent economic and social difficulties associated with demographics, migration, government regimes, scarcity of resources, corruption, and lack of education among the Gypsy minority. Substantial government education programs and other interventions must significantly improve the Gypsies' wellbeing and that of the community they belong to. Education will open new opportunities for professional development and increase the sustainability of cultural factors within socially accepted norms, legislation, and public policies.

### **Practical Considerations**

Apahida's government, starting with the mayor and local council, should receive support from the state government for providing local solutions to housing development by offering parcels of land to young citizens. This is a great initiative that has had impressive results in providing families with homes and providing the Gypsies with equal

housing rights, regardless of its use as a home or to procure funds for other desired properties.

The local government's approach has been remarkable and demonstrates great interest in mitigating housing problems and providing forward-thinking rural and urban development with equal opportunity for all citizens, regardless of ethnicity. After reviewing the literature in chapter 2 on discrimination against Gypsies, I determined that some studies' findings have merit, which this study confirmed. For example, the housing conditions of some Gypsy families are still very poor. In very precarious settings, they live in misery with small rooms where elders, adult children, and babies live together.

Law 15 from 9 January 2003, referring to the support local administration offered to young adults by giving them parcels of land to build their first homes, is a general law applicable to all citizens, not just those of Gypsy ethnicity. Law 15 was approved and implemented through the National Official Monitor of the Romanian government and local governments at their level. According to interviews, observations, and local archives, the law seems to have contributed significant support to the local youth population and most young Gypsies who wanted the property for their first homes. A few other laws and policies at the local level also provide needy families with financial and social-service support. The financial, housing-repair, and social-service policies are not specific to Gypsies, but most needy families are Gypsies. But implementing new measures for providing housing support to Gypsies and eliminating housing discrimination still requires a lot of work to include stakeholders from the municipality and Gypsy leaders and representatives.

Further discussion of new policies and access to government funds would be appropriate. A healthy democracy directed toward the common good would be beneficial to the social environment in Apahida and across Romania. Further suggestions include searching the literature for other practical cases in neighboring communities and other cities. As one of the interviewees mentioned, the city of Turda and other countries, like the United States, might provide good examples of effectiveness in dealing with social integration and the management of public policies for the Gypsy population. Following examples of successful integration of Gypsies into local communities while still encouraging their traditions and culture and providing opportunities to further their education and careers could significantly improve their condition and lessen their experiences of discrimination.

### **Further Knowledge in the Discipline**

To better understand this topic, I recommend identifying the leaders of the Gypsy community who have the most contact with local administrators. An additional group would help represent the municipality and provide insight into other policies that could be developed regarding housing discrimination against Gypsies and strategies for more effective socio-economic and cultural integration. Members of these two subgroups could then be interviewed in the same manner as this study to express their views on the three research questions. The findings could positively impact preventing community crises in cities, communes, and villages that fall under the administration of the County of Cluj.

Finally, it could be advantageous to expand this research to involve ministries representing internal affairs, investigators from the municipal police, command and

control, and the municipal department of culture. Their interaction and efforts throughout the region, and views of strategic planning, could lead to a better understanding of the system overall. The cultural programs and the department's views handling the management of socio-cultural dynamics could bring good insights from non-officials and about informal struggles or ways to enhance the wellbeing of Gypsy families and improve their interactions with local administration and the police.

### **Implications**

Human needs and desires take the form of private thoughts that can feed into local authorities' responses (Hennessy, 1985). Local and state governments can then act on public thoughts and responses and develop their responses by compiling, issuing, and approving public policies. In this way, the population has input into changes in their own lives and wellbeing transcribed into public policies (Hennessy, 1985). People vote and express their desires and thoughts by supporting those they elect to represent them and deal with their concerns through public policies. However, this was defined by Hennessy (1985) for citizens of a democratic republic without corruption in its structure.

The positive social changes that this study could bring extend from a better understanding of the contemporary culture of Gypsies and their experiences of discrimination in housing policies to giving a voice to their community as a resource for the development of better public policies.

### **Conclusion**

Good reforms will start with policymakers' acknowledgment of the need for measures to be taken regarding the social integration of Gypsies. Policymakers, local

administrators and governments, and the police must continue to develop healthy, feasible, and reliable approaches to interacting with diverse ethnicities and cultures to strengthen their legitimacy (Porat & Yuval, 2011). Altruistic consent is necessary for local authorities to review their proceedings in interactions with minorities without the risk of the groups perceiving them as an alien force acting tangentially to their interests (Porat & Yuval, 2011).

The perception of an alien force that is doing little to support minorities' calls for justice, even if it is a misconstrued, it may create further misunderstanding due to lack of particular skills, resources, and information, and could further aggravate relationships and increase suspicion (Porat & Yuval, 2011). A broader approach at the level of interactions between authorities and minorities may be necessary. The minorities' involvement will have to be considered seriously, mostly by engaging the informal leaders of the Gypsies, either the "bulibasa" or the most educated, recognized leader of each faction. Their involvement will benefit the relationship with the local government, implement regulations and police engagement, and solve social problems, including housing issues.

Lastly, and maybe most importantly, the rest of the community, as fellow citizens, must play a significant role in molding experiences of discrimination and cultural interference that could create friction or conflict. Community members can assist local authorities in gaining the trust and acceptance of the Gypsy minority through policies and practices that have been refined for the common good. However, the review of common practices and policies should be done in such a way as to elude public shaming, as it will

not be bought into by the Gypsies if they remain skeptical, uncooperative, or suspicious (Porat & Yuval, 2011).

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## Appendix A: Initial Contact Letter

Dear Member of the Local Community,

I would like to give you my best regards and introduce myself. My name is Simina Moldovan, and I am a doctoral student at Walden University in the United States. I would like to invite you to participate in an ethnographic case study designated to identify some important cultural facts about the Gypsy minority and to discuss your experiences with public policies related to their housing. This research is part of my dissertation work in my public policy and administration doctoral program. I selected the community of Apahida, Cluj County as it represents the demographic area I used in my research.

Your role in this study will be to answer ten interview questions on the topic I mentioned. I will randomly select ten participants from among the local authorities and ten others from the Gypsy minority living in this area.

You can benefit from your contribution by learning more about what Gypsies experience in regard to housing and public policies and a final report on the results.

To ensure the confidentiality of this study and your participation in it, all twenty participants will be assigned a call sign and a coded number. All references to the study will be addressed using this code. All the data will be secured in a locked file cabinet.

Please express your desire to participate in the study by email, telephone, or postal mail by 1 December.

Thank you for your time,

Simina Moldovan  
Doctoral Candidate  
Walden University Student  
(786) 812-5888  
simina.moldovan@waldenu.edu

## Appendix B: Participant Number System

## Participant Numbering System

Participant Call Sign	Name	Ethnicity	Job	Contact information
G <sub>1</sub>				
G <sub>2</sub>				
G <sub>3</sub>				
G <sub>4</sub>				
G <sub>5</sub>				
G <sub>6</sub>				
G <sub>7</sub>				
G <sub>8</sub>				
G <sub>9</sub>				
G <sub>10</sub>				
R <sub>1</sub>				
R <sub>2</sub>				
R <sub>3</sub>				
R <sub>4</sub>				
R <sub>5</sub>				
R <sub>6</sub>				
R <sub>7</sub>				
R <sub>8</sub>				
R <sub>9</sub>				
R <sub>10</sub>				



## Appendix C: Interview Protocol

Participant number/call sign: \_\_\_\_\_ (G<sub>n</sub> = Gypsy participant; R<sub>n</sub> = Local authority participant)

Date of interview: \_\_\_\_\_

## Instructions:

The interview is conducted face-to-face with the researcher or by phone. The researcher records the interview on paper and in an audio recording and makes coded annotations for documentation purposes. Upon the participant's approval and signature of the consent form, the researcher assigns a coded number that will be used on all materials pertaining to that person as a participant in this study. The interview includes questions about Gypsies, their culture, and their experiences of discrimination in reference to local housing policies. The interview contains ten questions to help the researcher gather information on this and any specific factors of Gypsy culture that play important roles in the social integration of Gypsies into local communities. The researcher gathers data on participants households, the locations of their homes, and their living conditions through naturalistic observation.

By signing my assigned call sign, I agree that the researcher has informed me of the entire interview protocol.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant call sign    Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Researcher signature    Date

Participant call sign: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Location: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of interview: \_\_\_\_\_

*Preliminary Interview Questions*

Research Questions	Interview Questions	Participant Responses	Coding
1. To what extent do Gypsies from Apahida, Cluj experience discrimination because of local public policies on housing?	1. Thank you for your participation in this study. I have a few questions about Gypsies and their culture. What do you know about Gypsies? 2. Can you describe the attitudes and approach taken by public policies on the housing of Gypsies? 3. To what extent do you believe that Gypsies from Apahida, Cluj are discriminated against in local public policies on housing?		

	4. What specific actions have been taken by the local authorities regarding the housing of Gypsies?		
2. What cultural factors prevent Gypsies from being adequately integrated into the local communities in city of Apahida, Cluj County, Romania?	5. What is your understanding of the Gypsies current culture and their traditions? 6. Can you describe the process of integration of Gypsies into the local community? 7. What are some important cultural aspects that should be considered to bring equity and equal opportunity within the community?		
3. How are Gypsies perceived by the city government and police in Apahida, Cluj?	8. In your opinion, what are the attitudes of city hall and police representatives toward Gypsies in your city? 9. Describe the relationships, as you see them, between the local authorities and the Gypsy community. 10. Tell me about your experiences with interaction between Gypsies, city hall and the police. 11. Thank you for your information. Is there anything you would like to add before we finish?		

*Note.* The coding system will be as follows: *italics* for important cultural factors, underlined for perceptions of Gypsies and their culture, and **bold** for experiences of discrimination.

### Appendix D: Observation Protocol

The purpose of this observation protocol is to provide additional information and focus for the research. It allows the recording of additional details relevant to the research questions or future research.

Directions: Before the actual observation starts, a few minutes are allocated to gathering information on Form A about the portrait of the person, the physical setting, and the activity the person is engaged in. Notes are taken on who else is present and how are they interacting. Personal reflections and initial interpretations are essential, along with any codes that might be derived from the data collected for the research questions. Form B of the observation protocol is used as an observation recorder. The researcher notes the time, the specific observation, and the code related to it according to the specific research questions. Form C is specific to the household of each participant.

#### Observation Form A

Call sign of participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Time: \_\_\_\_\_

Location: \_\_\_\_\_

Descriptive Notes		Reflective Notes			Initial Interpretation	Codes
		Personal Reflections	Attitude	Behavior		
Portrait of Person	Who is he? How does he look? What is he wearing?		What does he express? What are his gestures? What is his posture?	What is he doing? Who does he interact with? How does he interact?		



Time:	Observation:	Code:

Themes:

### Observation Form C

Dynamics and factors to observe	H1	H2	H3	H4	H5	H6
Verbal protests against household settings						
Discomfort with home environment						
Four or more people sharing a room for living						
Limited access to utilities						
Isolated location						

H = household

For coding in Form C, x's will be used to represent the level of the dynamic present in the household that reflects possible housing discrimination:

No x = absence of this factor

x = low presence of the dynamic or issue

xx = moderate presence of the dynamic or issue

xxx = high presence of the dynamic or issue

## Appendix E: Summative A Priori Codes

A priori codes	Open codes	Categories	Sub-categories	Themes	Parti- pants	Excerpts
- discrimination	-equal access to anything	Experiences of discrimination	- perception of non-discrimination because of local housing policies	Experiences of discrimination	P <sub>2</sub>	“No, it was never a problem”
	-allocation of terrains		- experience of discrimination because of local housing policies		P <sub>2</sub>	“nobody mentioned anything about me being any way different”
	-deteriorated homes		- marginalization			“built some nice, beautiful houses”
	-social homes				P <sub>8</sub> , P <sub>13</sub>	“there are some that have beautiful houses”
	- how they live				P <sub>1</sub> ,P <sub>2</sub> , P <sub>3</sub> , P <sub>4</sub> ,P <sub>5</sub> ,P <sub>13</sub>	“They are not discriminated”
						P <sub>17</sub>

						“interventions are done without any discrimination or favoritism”
					P <sub>8</sub>	“they are given favors in this matter, for their houses”
					P <sub>20</sub>	
- social behavior	-have no worries	Emotions	-instability	Social Imbalance	P <sub>12</sub>	“They should all be socially accepted”
	-not care about society		-insecurities			“they were loud and get some fines”
	-financially challenged		-ignorance		P <sub>16</sub>	“they play the music very loud”
	-scandals					“They like it there because they have no worries, no problems, they don’t care about the social life”
	-lack of temperance				P <sub>1</sub>	
- characters	- “Bulibasa”		- Local police	Leaders	P <sub>18</sub>	“I found out that he was one of their

		Government and Gypsy group leaders				leaders, a so called bulibasa”
	- The Mayor		- Social services			“Manelistii are a different category, something in between the modernism and traditionalism”
	- “Manelisti”(contemporary Gypsy music singers)		- NGOs			“NGOs came in and based on the same criteria and a social investigation they allocated apartments to young Gypsy families”
	- NGOs		- Gypsy leaders		P <sub>8</sub>	“We also have partnerships with different NGOs”
			- Gypsy artists			“I know there were some negotiation meetings that involved representatives of the Roma community union party that came from Cluj for the department from Apahida. Gypsies



						from Apahida and the surrounding villages participated and the local administration leaders participated as well, including the Mayor”
						“I went to the mayor and asked for help”
					P <sub>8</sub>	
					P <sub>4</sub>	
					P <sub>6</sub>	
					P <sub>13</sub>	
- setting	-negligence towards children	Causes impacting discrimination and social integration	- attitude towards work	Lifestyle	P <sub>5</sub>	“they might stink, don’t wash themselves, but you can’t just push them aside”
	-negligence of hygiene		- lifestyle			“they should maintain proper hygiene, stay clean”
	-ignorant of school		- attitude towards law			“some are slobs, stealing, mostly

						those with carts they are slob's"
	-not taking children to school		-attitude towards children		P <sub>1</sub> , P <sub>5</sub> , P <sub>7</sub>	"The tinkers, these with the caravans, that work with iron and stuff, they have different language than ours"
	-making gutters		-attitude towards social norms			"they are not accommodating according to social norms"
	-selling brooms		-principles of life		P <sub>16</sub>	
	-pottery					
	-iron crafts					
	-respect for others				P <sub>16</sub>	
	-acting on their own					
	-preference for easy or illegal profit					
	-social behavior					
	-preference towards unqualified work				P <sub>9</sub>	
	- start life with a deficit	Causes impacting discriminatio	- how they live		P <sub>8</sub>	"many currently living in poor or miserable conditions"

	-stay in step with society	n and social integration	- lifestyle		“they are maintaining their own law ... a stateless administration, a specific organization of their own...taking advantage or pursuing any opportunity that would allow them a sense of freedom without restrains”
	-taking care of themselves				“They have their own leader that all follow and organizes them”
	-formed habits				“the ones that have horses and let them free on other people’s cultured land”
	-school abandonment				“There were built a lot of apartment buildings, given to them, and they put their horses inside and they stayed in their tents outside”

	-preferring to be free of responsibilities				P <sub>18</sub>	“Nobody comes to clean our yard”
	-complacent with their condition of life					
					P <sub>18</sub>	
					P <sub>10</sub>	
					P <sub>18</sub>	
					P <sub>11</sub>	
	-delayed	Consequences of discrimination	- unemployment		P <sub>8</sub>	“They work temporary and unqualified labor”
	-uneducated		- poverty			“most of them are under the poverty line”
	-unqualified work		- social delay			“they are very poor” ...”I’m a poor guy”
	-gather on the city outskirts		- hardship		P <sub>18</sub>	
	-begging on the streets				P <sub>15</sub>	
	-financial problems					
- moral	-childhood marriages	Causes of discrimination and low social integration	- lifestyle		P <sub>16</sub>	“they broke in to a vehicle and stole something so they put them in jail”
	-formed ideas		- wellbeing			“are wearing knives with them since young age of 18”

	-live in carriages and tents		- occupations			“they also keep their girls without education...coming 8 <sup>th</sup> grade, they didn’t let her go to school anymore because she is getting married”
	-access to cultural center		- values		P <sub>16</sub>	“disregard the social norms or law and cross boundaries”
	- preference towards outlaw					“they are preferring to have freedom and not to have a schedule or to wake up at a specific time every day or to have to be at work on time every day”
					P <sub>8</sub>	
					P <sub>19</sub>	
					P <sub>4</sub>	
- housing policies	-allocate parcels	Support system	-local policies	Laws, Policies and Commonwealth	P <sub>5</sub>	“Imagine that someone gives you for free some land so you can build your house!”

	-specific measures		-governmental support			“They gave us 5 millions and bought the prefabricated materials because my house collapsed”
	-rebuild their homes		-action taken by locals			“this land is expensive and we were homeless before”
	-helped with construction materials				P <sub>13</sub>	“public policy 501 from code 18 established and allowed the functioning of the national agency for them”
	-lack of national support					“law 15/2000, that helped the young ones in getting a parcel to build their first homes”
					P <sub>17</sub>	
					P <sub>18</sub>	
					P <sub>7</sub>	
- cultural factors	-dancing	Traditions	- cultural factors		P <sub>19</sub>	“they are very good musicians”

	-compose music		- occupations	Cultural factors impacting integration	P <sub>5</sub>	“They are also very good handymen and craftsmen”
	-singing		- preservation of traditions			“they like the music and they are doing iron casting”
	-entertainment				P <sub>13</sub>	“I was a musician my entire life and I traveled in many places”
	-stage performances					“We do have a folkloric dance ensemble”
	-great artists				P <sub>15</sub>	“I want to see them more often expressing their traditions and culture in shows”
	-pottery					“They must teach their new generations how to preserve their culture and tradition”
	-they buy and sell					“their culture is beautiful!”
	-lost traditions				P <sub>6</sub> , P <sub>10</sub>	

	-preferring to not be hold accountable					
	-traditional clothing					
					P <sub>18</sub>	
					P <sub>6</sub>	
- integration	-adults harder to integrate	Key cultural factors impacting Gypsies' social integration	- lack of education		P <sub>1, P7</sub>	“they don't take their children to school”
	-used with receiving help		- lack of professional development			“there is a lot of them that don't go to school”
	-listening to loud music		- poverty			“Everybody to be good and mind their own business”
	-partying loudly		- lifestyle		P <sub>10</sub>	“there are different mentalities”
	-social development		- level of education		P <sub>9</sub>	“5-7 years ago were staying at the corner of the streets and were talking and eating flower seeds, now they are working, they have full time jobs”
	-losing crafting traditions		- social norms			“everything starts with the education”



	-delayed professional development		- generation differences			“I believe they must be helped educationally, financially, cultural, socially, all types, even religious or spiritual, so they can get to the same level with everybody else, and that to be a start point for everybody”
	-public enjoying their performances				P <sub>18</sub>	
	-specific organization of their own					
	-stateless administration					
					P <sub>8</sub>	
					P <sub>8</sub>	
					P <sub>18</sub>	
- self-perception	- gave the interest	Perception	- perception of Gypsies by locals	Social and Political Narratives	P <sub>9</sub>	“they do receive a lot of help with this from the government for the children that do go to school”

	- helping Gypsy children		-perception of Gypsies by local administration			“to keep them off the streets and learn something good”
	- generally accepted		-perception of Gypsies by other Gypsies			“I love their violin, instrumental, and folkloric music”
	- supported the same way					“let’s check their vestments, their traditional fashion, their festivals, how much life and passion can they bring to the world”
	- not making differences				P19	“There are some that received help and houses from the government”
	- glad when see them happy					“they live well”
	- getting alone fine					“Everything is free for them”
	- free food and clothes				P18	“they are seen exactly like the Romanians”
	- less fortunate					“everyone sees them as less fortunate and poor”
	- anti-social behavior					

					P <sub>20</sub>	
					P <sub>20</sub>	
- plot	-given favors	How politics support housing integration of Gypsies	- support		P <sub>5</sub>	“The police and the administration if you are a Gypsy and you go with a problem, they help you”
	-same standards for everybody		- standards			“All children have free transportation ensured by the local administration”
						“receive some financial support”
						P <sub>8</sub>
					P <sub>4</sub>	
- policy narratives	-help with utilities	Stereotyping	- helped by government		P <sub>3</sub>	“They give social help and welfare to those without employment and sometimes for the holidays”...”They gave to the poor ones”...”They didn’t help us and we never benefit of any social help”

	-support to build homes		- helped by NGOs			“We build and repaired those houses”
	-communicate and collaborate with them		- helped by locals - community, media, and individual narratives			“they get materials for constructions or repairs after calamities or inclement weather damages, fires, or old building damages”
	-help them overcome obstacles and problems					“People were very responsive, they helped a lot with cloths, donations, furniture, food”
	-representation at different institution level					“the city council allows them to take energy, water”
	-have same rights like everyone else					“they don’t want to work and they want the government to pay them welfare”
	-social services helps them					
	-use of social media and television				P <sub>8</sub>	
	-newspapers					

					P <sub>8</sub>	
					P <sub>18</sub>	
					P <sub>20</sub>	
					P <sub>14</sub>	
- self-categorization	-considering themselves Romanian	Identification with Gypsy ethnicity	-identification as Romanians	Ethnical Identity	P <sub>3</sub>	“we were not raised with them”
- social identity	-not liking the new term “Roma”		-identification as Gypsies			“we were raised with the Romanians”
			-identification as other nationality			“Gypsy people they don’t want to admit it, they call themselves Romanians. They are ashamed or feared to be called Roma. I don’t know why”
						“I married a Romanian and for us was never the case to make a difference that I am like this or you are like that”
						P <sub>5</sub>

						way you don't have to call them Gypsy or Romi, because they categorize themselves as Romanians, as any other nationals, disregard of their ethnical background"
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