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Dual identities, intergroup contact, and political activism among minorities: The case of Bulgarian Roma and Kosovo Albanians in Switzerland

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«Dual identities, intergroup contact and political activism among minorities: The case of Bulgarian Roma and Kosovo Albanians in Switzerland »

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ABSTRACTS

This thesis focuses on specifying the social and psychological processes driving the political attitudes about social change of historically disadvantaged group and ethnic minorities by drawing on the literature about the sedative, or "paradoxical", effects of positive intergroup contact (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007; Saguy, Tausch, & Dovidio, 2009; Wright & Lubensky, 2009) and on identity-based models of collective action (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). The originality of this research lies in its mixed-methods approach, the focus on minority members' subjective perspective, and the examination of two groups understudied in social psychology, i.e. Roma and Kosovo Albanians. Considering the role of discourse in collective identity processes, the first line of research explores how Roma manage their negative ethnic identity and produce alternative definitions of their collective identity facing anti-Roma prejudice. Article 1 and 2 reveal the principles and themes, respectively, that organize Roma's opinions about ethnicity and intergroup relations. Results stress the interdependence between majority and minority group perspectives and suggest that the dehumanized social representation associated with Roma ethnicity impede Roma's support for collective action. Article 3 makes a novel contribution to the literature on prejudice as social identity performance (Durrheim, Quayle, & Dixon, 2016; see also Klein, Spears, & Reicher, 2007) by revealing some of Roma's arguments about anti-Roma prejudice that participate in the performance of a more positive Roma identity but contribute to the maintenance of status quo. In the second line of research, the thesis concentrates on the paradoxical effect of contact on the political activism of the Roma (Article 4) and of Kosovo Albanians (Article 5) and investigates how this effect is moderated by national and dual identification. Results reveal that Roma mobilize national identification in support for ethnic activism and thereby resist the paradoxical effect of contact. In contrast, Kosovo Albanians who identify both as Swiss and Kosovar are demobilized by their positive contact with non-immigrant Swiss. The thesis provides contextual and theoretical interpretations of these results and reflects on practical implications for social change.

(FRENCH VERSION)

Cette thèse précise les processus sociaux et psychologiques à la base des attitudes politiques vis-à-vis du changement social des groupes historiquement défavorisés et des minorités ethniques, en s'appuyant sur la littérature concernant les effets sédatifs ou "paradoxaux" des contacts intergroupes positifs (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007; Saguy, Tausch, & Dovidio, 2009; Wright & Lubensky, 2009) et sur des modèles d'action collective fondés sur l'identité (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). L'originalité de cette thèse réside dans son approche par méthodes mixtes, dans l'insistance sur la perspective subjective des membres de minorités, ainsi que dans l'examen de la situation de deux groupes encore peu étudiés en psychologie sociale : les Roms et les Albanais du Kosovo. Considérant le rôle du discours dans les processus identitaires, un premier axe de recherche explore la manière dont les Roms négocient psychologiquement leur identité ethnique négative et fournissent des interprétations alternatives de leur identité collective face à l'omniprésence des préjugés anti-Roms. Le premier et second article révèlent ainsi, respectivement, les principes et les thèmes qui organisent le discours des Roms concernant l'ethnicité et les relations intergroupes. Les résultats soulignent l'interdépendance entre les perspectives des groupes majoritaires et minoritaires et suggèrent que la représentation sociale déshumanisante de l'ethnie rom empêche leur mobilisation politique. Le troisième article contribue à la littérature sur l'expression des préjugés intergroupes comme relevant d'une performance identitaire (Durrheim, Quayle, & Dixon, 2016; voir aussi Klein, Spears, & Reicher, 2007), en révélant plusieurs arguments des Roms au sujet des préjugés anti-Roms qui participent à une identité rom positive mais contribue, toutefois, au maintien du statu quo. Dans le deuxième axe de recherche, la thèse se concentre sur l'effet paradoxal du contact sur l'activisme politique des Roms (Article 4) et des Albanais du Kosovo (Article 5) et étudie comment cet effet est modéré par une identification nationale et duelle. Les résultats révèlent que les Roms mobilisent l'identification nationale en faveur de l'activisme ethnique et résistent ainsi à l'effet paradoxal du contact intergroupe avec la majorité non-rom. En revanche, les ressortissants albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse qui s'identifient à la fois en tant que Suisses et en tant que Kosovars et qui entretiennent des contacts positifs avec les membres de la majorité suisse non-immigrante se démobilisent. La thèse fournit des interprétations contextuelles et théoriques de ces résultats et propose des solutions pratiques pour favoriser le changement social.

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Overview of the thesis

Mirroring the domination of social majorities onto minority groups, research in social sciences has been predominantly occupied with describing and understanding the perspective, attitudes, and expectancies of majority groups (Demoulin, Leyens, & Dovidio, 2009; see also Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Notwithstanding this observation, social psychology was, otherwise, historically involved in criticism against racism and discrimination (see e.g., Duckitt, 1992 for a historical overview of the research on prejudice) and examined in details how the derogation of minority groups emerges and is reproduced, and this despite the contemporary anti-discrimination climate. While the strategies of minority groups facing derogation, negative social identity and inequalities were described (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the tendency has been so far to essentialize the majority-minority group asymmetry and minimize the fact that social categories are constructed and contested realities (Zagefka, 2009). By working on the minority, subjective perspective, the present thesis proposes to challenge this disciplinary bias.

This thesis investigates the complex relationships between experienced prejudice, intergroup contact, collective identity processes, and political attitudes of ethnic minorities towards social change and the struggle against social inequalities. Integrating the literature on the sedative effect of positive intergroup contact (e.g., Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007; Saguy, Tausch, & Dovidio, 2009; Wright & Lubensky, 2009) and identity-based models of collective action (e.g., Klandermans, 2002; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), this thesis takes a stance towards democratic societies and their implementation of the equality and freedom principles by focusing on the extreme, but revealing, case of European Roma's engagement in the political realm. Victims of persecution for centuries, Roma minorities are subject to reparation and anti-discrimination policies throughout the European Union. Nevertheless, the Roma minority is far from reaching social equality, continuing to face racist attitudes and ethnic prejudice, and hardly represented on the political scene. This thesis thus questions the nature of Roma's collective identity and its potential for politicization. Considering that the politicized collective identity of ethnic minorities is a dual (e.g., bi-cultural) identity (e.g., Simon & Ruhs, 2008; see also Dovidio, Gaertner, Shnabel, Saguy, & Johnson, 2010), this thesis explores identity constructions of ethnic minorities and evaluates the consequences of intergroup contact on the relationship between collective identity constructs and minority activism. The thesis presents a series of published and unpublished manuscripts based on data collected among Roma and

Kosovo Albanian immigrants living in Switzerland (see the "list of publications" below).

The introduction of this thesis will be organized in two parts. First, I will discuss the origin and contemporary context of anti-Roma prejudice and, second, I will present the conceptual framework of this thesis overviewing social representations, social identity, intergroup contact and collective action research relevant for minority groups. Next, the research questions and hypotheses, data and methodological approach of the thesis will be described. The empirical part of the thesis is then organized in two lines of research. The first line of research explores in details how Roma manage their negative ethnic identity and produce alternative definitions of their collective identity facing anti-Roma prejudice (Articles 1 to 3). The second line of research concentrates on the paradoxical effect of contact on activism among Roma (Article 4) and Kosovo Albanian immigrants (Article 5).

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Giroud, A. (unpublished manuscript). Organizing principles of the discourse of Roma-Bulgarians about interethnic relations: a quantitative analysis of the social representation of Roma-Gypsies. (**Article 1**)

Giroud, A., Politi, E., Green, E. G. T., Maloku, E., & Misini, G. (unpublished manuscript). Sedative effects of intergroup contact on ethnic activism among Kosovo Albanians in Switzerland: The interplay of ethnic, national and dual identification. (**Article 5**)

Giroud, A., Durrheim, K., & Green, E. G. T. (unpublished manuscript). I don't feel insulted: constructions of prejudice and identity performance among Roma. (**Article 3**)

Pereira, A., & Green, E. G. T. (2018). Genèse et maintien d'une division ethnique : le cas du préjugé envers les Gitans [Origin and maintenance of an interethnic division : the case of prejudice against Gypsies]. In K. Faniko, D. Bourguignon, O. Sarrasin, & S. Guimond (Eds.), *Psychologie de la discrimination et des préjugés* (pp. 175-186). Louvain-la-Neuve: De Boeck Supérieur. (**Section 1.1.1, introduction**)

Pereira, A., & Green, E. G. T. (2017). Minorité Nationale et Identité Sociale Stigmatisée : Discours Identitaire des Roms de Bulgarie. In C. Staerklé & F. Butera (Eds.), *Conflits constructifs, conflits destructifs* (pp. 171-187). Lausanne: Editions Antipodes. (**Article 2 translated**)

Pereira, A., Green, E. G. T., & Visintin, E. P. (2017). National identification counteracts the sedative effect of positive intergroup contact on ethnic activism. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 8(477). doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2017.00477 (**Article 4b**)

Part I

Research field and theoretical framework

1.1. MAJORITY ATTITUDES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF ETHNIC PREJUDICE

During the summer of 2018, in a town called *Aubonne* in French-speaking Switzerland, a group of Yéniches[1] made the news for settling without permission on a sports field (see Marti, 2018). The caravan people had been unsuccessfully looking for a land with water and electricity commodities for a few days before deciding on this forced occupation. Facing anger from permanent residents, the local authorities reacted quickly and sought an alternative area in collaboration with the leader of the caravan. Thanks to the colonel of the military complex of Bière (a commune located in the north of the same district), a solution was found within a few hours: The Travellers would occupy a military practice field with access to drinking water. Although a solution was found quickly, the chief of police interviewed by the media emphasized the exceptional nature of the solution found and stressed the goodwill of the authorities. He explicitly asked the leader of the caravan to ensure that, during their stay, the members of his group would comply with the laws applying to sedentary residents, and that such unauthorized occupation would not happen again in the future. The caravan's leader, on his side, deplored the decrease of available areas for stops and stays of Swiss nomads given the expansion of the Swiss sedentary majority. He also denounced the threat of European Travellers, that is, other nomad, but transnational, communities, who occupy the same areas, and are blamed for systematically leaving them in damaged conditions, thereby feeding prejudice and negative stereotypes about Travellers in general.

Prior to conceptualizing and analysing the consequences of prejudice and intergroup contact on identity and political attitudes of ethnic minorities, the first section of this introduction sets the scene for the research by portraying the issue of prejudice against the Gypsies. The Gypsies constitute a heterogeneous social category grouping nomadic but also settled populations, some of which shall now be called “Roma” instead

[1] The Yéniches, estimated at 35,000 people in the nineties, lived in caravans and were specialized in handicrafts. Following waves of forced settlement to counter what was long considered a form of "vagrancy", Swiss authorities finally recognized the citizenship of Yéniches as a traditional Swiss minority only in 1991 (OFC, 2017a). Despite a credit granted in 2003 and renewed in 2006 by the federal parliament to help the survival and development of this native Swiss minority, the number of year-long, traveling Yéniches shrank to about 3,000 people during the last decades (OFC, 2017b).

of Gypsies or Tziganes. This ethnic minority will receive a lot of attention in the present thesis, for it is an exemplary and extreme case of institutionalized exclusion, the consequences of which on members of the minority have received little scientific attention so far. The introductory section reviews the history of Gypsies and contextualizes the historical emergence of an interethnic boundary and its maintenance despite the plurality of national trajectories and cultural mixing that members of the communities have actually lived. The section also reviews the few empirical studies about the functioning of anti-Gypsy and anti-Roma ethnic prejudice among members of European majority groups. Finally, the section reflects on the results available by articulating different social psychological theories and discuss the dynamic and historical reproduction of ethnic prejudice. This introductory section about the origin and history of prejudice against Gypsies and Roma is written in French, for it was recently published as a stand-alone chapter in an edited French university textbook about discrimination and prejudice. The end of the section further situates the exclusion of Gypsies in the context of post-French and American revolutions democratic societies, which have established the principles of equality and freedom as a common value for all nations and citizens.

> *We are probably more familiar with the history of dinosaurs, which we study because it fascinates us, than with that of a persecuted minority, which we ignore because it leaves us indifferent* (Moscovici, 2011, p. 257).

1.1.1. Genèse et maintien d'une division ethnique : le cas du préjugé envers les Gitans[2]

L'ethnicité d'une personne décrit son appartenance à un groupe en vertu de certains marqueurs, tels que la pratique de traditions culturelles ou d'une langue, le partage d'ancêtres ou encore l'attachement à un territoire (pour ne citer ici que les plus courants, voir Zagefka, 2009). Beaucoup de ces marqueurs d'ethnicité incitent à envisager la diversité des groupes ethniques comme le fait d'une reproduction de personnes ou de traditions en raison de leur isolation géographique ou sociale. Néanmoins, les frontières interethniques demeurent même lorsque les personnes sont mobiles tout comme en cas de contact interethnique prolongé et de métissages (Barth, 1969). La psychologie sociale nous enseigne alors que la notion de « groupe » (en l'occurrence *ethnique*) résulte davantage d'une construction symbolique que d'un classement objectif des personnes. En effet, les définitions des différents groupes ethniques que nous partageons se construisent et se transforment en fonction des relations que nous entretenons avec eux (Staerklé, 2016). Aussi, la discrimination et l'expression de *préjugés ethniques* jouent-ils un rôle déterminant dans le maintien et la reproduction de tels groupes.

Dans *La Nature du préjugé*, Gordon Allport (1958, p. 10) définit le préjugé ethnique comme une antipathie dirigée envers un groupe ou une personne particulière parce qu'elle est membre de ce groupe. Cette antipathie est fondée sur une généralisation erronée et inflexible des qualités du groupe, qui résiste à l'acquisition de nouvelles connaissances sur sa cible. Plus d'un demi-siècle d'investigation scientifique plus tard,

[2] Pereira, A., & Green, E. G. T. (2018). Genèse et Maintien d'une Division Ethnique : le Cas du Préjugé Envers les Gitans. In K. Faniko, D. Bourguignon, O. Sarrasin, & S. Guimond (Eds). *Psychologie de la discrimination et des préjugés : De la théorie à la pratique* (pp. 148-158). Louvain-la-Neuve : De Boeck Supérieur.

Rupert Brown (2010, p. 9–10) reprend cette définition et enracine le préjugé ethnique au niveau intergroupe de notre fonctionnement sociocognitif : c'est bien parce que nous pensons le groupe en tant qu'objet réel de la vie sociale, auquel nous associons une valeur et des normes et auquel nous nous identifions, que nous sommes ensuite capables de formuler des préjugés ethniques envers les groupes dont nous ne sommes pas membres.

Le préjugé ethnique envers les Gitans constitue un exemple extrême d'une telle antipathie persistante, malgré plus de cinq siècles de cohabitation et d'échanges sur les plans économique et culturel. L'appellation *Gitans*[3] recouvre en fait un ensemble assez vague de communautés établies dans des territoires aux langues et traditions multiples (Kenrick, 2007; Pamporov, 2009). Malgré un statut juridique et des conditions de vie qui varient selon les pays, les Gitans suscitent partout des récits de menace (voir par exemple Loveland & Popescu, 2015) et le préjugé ethnique dirigé contre eux légitime de nombreuses violations de leurs droits humains fondamentaux (voir par exemple Hammarberg, 2012). Ainsi, ce chapitre propose un survol des rares études menées par des psychologues sociaux sur le fonctionnement du préjugé ethnique extrême à l'égard des Gitans.

D'abord, nous effectuons un rapide survol historique de l'origine des Gitans en Europe dans le but de révéler la source et les conditions de leur division ethnique et de leur discrimination. Nous parcourons ensuite une série d'études empiriques récentes mettant en lumière plusieurs mécanismes impliqués dans l'expression d'un préjugé ethnique déshumanisant à l'égard des Gitans. Malgré la pluralité des ancrages théoriques dont sont issus les résultats, nous les articulons autour de la notion de *représentation sociale*. Nous concluons en insistant sur le maintien et la réactualisation du préjugé ethnique envers les Gitans en raison de la reproduction des rapports sociaux qui l'ont vu naître.

TRÈS BRÈVE HISTOIRE DES GITANS ET GENÈSE D'UNE ALTÉRITÉ ETHNIQUE

Les premières traces écrites de la présence de Gitans dans plusieurs pays d'Europe remontent au XV^{e} siècle. Néanmoins, certains historien·ne·s estiment que leur arrivée à l'Est, dans les Balkans, et dans le Sud-Ouest, en Espagne, remonterait déjà au

[3] Le terme Gitans est utilisé dans le chapitre de manière générique. Nous précisions néanmoins qu'il s'agit là d'une désignation externe assimilant à un seul et même groupe des femmes et des hommes aux situations, origines et traditions multiples.

XI[e] ou XIII[e] siècles (Kenrick, 2007). Pour les peuples occidentaux s'étant progressivement sédentarisés au cours des siècles précédents, l'apparition de ces groupes adaptés à un mode de vie itinérant a suscité une grande curiosité. Les connaissances à propos de ces groupes seront dès lors un mélange inspiré de leurs propres mythes, de légendes orales et de spéculations des peuples occidentaux sur leurs origines (Barany, 2002). On rapporte leur présence sous les termes d'Egyptien·ne·s (qui donnera le mot *Gitans*) ou de Bohémien·ne·s, du nom des régions (i.e., la petite Égypte et la Bohême) qu'ils auraient traversées. Les traces évoquent aussi les interrogations que suscitent leur apparence physique et leurs coutumes, notamment vestimentaires. On les dit d'abord respectés et accueillis comme les pèlerins venus découvrir le christianisme. Mais très vite aussi, les témoignages montrent un durcissement de l'attitude à leur égard. La suspicion d'apostolat envers ces nomades à l'allure orientale est au croisement d'enjeux multiples.

D'abord, il y a le conflit géopolitique qui oppose dès le XIII[e] siècle l'Occident chrétien à l'Orient musulman suite à l'expansion de l'empire ottoman aux territoires jusque-là librement visités par les croisés chrétiens. Ensuite, à la même époque débute la persécution des hérétiques et des païen·ne·s dirigée par l'Église catholique. L'Inquisition est particulièrement forte envers les musulmans sarrasins d'Espagne (auxquels les Gitans convertis à l'Islam au cours de leur migration sont assimilés), mais aussi envers les communautés hérétiques du Sud de la France (auxquelles les Gitans sont apparentés) et toutes les communautés slaves encore païennes demeurant sur des territoires assujettis à l'Église orthodoxe russe. Témoignant de ces enjeux religieux d'un autre temps, ces trois territoires—Espagne, France et Europe de l'Est—sont d'ailleurs encore associés aujourd'hui à la présence de Gitans. Enfin, entre les XIII[e] et XIV[e] siècles, les marchand·e·s et les familles ambulantes, mêmes chrétiennes, n'étant ni citoyen·ne·s d'une ville, ni serfs rattachés à un domaine, deviennent de fait des « hors-la-loi » et se voient refuser les privilèges accordés aux habitant·e·s réguliers des cités médiévales (voir Kenrick, 2007). L'indépendance des Gitans résultant de cette exclusion sociale suscitera, dès lors, un mélange de crainte et d'envie parmi les autres citoyens.

Puis, dès le XV[e] siècle, les expéditions coloniales donnent naissance à de nouveaux discours sur la diversité culturelle. Les narrations sur les peuples « sauvages » rencontrés par les colons sur le nouveau monde établissent progressivement une représentation hiérarchique des rapports entre l'Occident (civilisé, blanc et chrétien) et le reste du monde. À l'instar du préjugé naissant envers les populations « noires », la

couleur de peau plus foncée de certains Gitans devient elle aussi motif de leur exclusion, renforcée par la distance entre Orient et Occident qui s'immisce suite à l'échec des Croisades chrétiennes et à la diminution des échanges.

Les Gitans, ainsi que leur dialecte et leur mode de vie itinérant intéressent alors les linguistes et les anthropologues qui voient en eux les vestiges vivants de civilisations antérieures. Durant les siècles qui suivent, tantôt les autorités leur imposent une sédentarisation brutale (à l'image des mesures prises contre les Indigènes en Amérique par exemple), tantôt les Gitans sont réduits en esclavage. En réaction à ces persécutions, les Gitans cherchent alors à disparaître et se dissimulent précisément dans l'itinérance ou des vies essentiellement rurales, ce qui n'a pour effet que d'augmenter la distance et les préjugés ethniques à leur égard (voir à ce propos l'étude de Schlueter, Schmidt, Glenz, & Ullrich, 2017). Finalement, au début du XX^{e} siècle, la politique de purification ethnique de l'Allemagne nazie les prend pour cible et provoque la persécution et la mort (estimée à plus d'un million et demi de personnes) de Gitans à travers toute l'Europe. Après la guerre, les survivant·e·s de ce génocide (aussi appelé *Porrajmos*) sont toujours victimes de suspicion et de méfiance. À la sortie des camps, beaucoup d'entre eux peinent à retrouver leurs biens ou à regagner leur lieu d'habitation d'avant la déportation. En outre, une grande partie des survivant·e·s se trouvent sur des territoires devenus communistes, où ils sont soumis comme tous les citoyen·ne·s au régime autoritaire et où leur statut de victimes des camps ne sera jamais officiellement reconnu (Open Society Foundation, 2013). À la chute des régimes communistes, les Gitans perdent leurs emplois dans les coopératives agricoles et les usines (voir par exemple Kligman, 2001) et sont victimes de violences raciales dans un contexte de montée des mouvements de droite nationaliste (Fawn, 2001; Gheorghe, 2012). Ces nouvelles persécutions mobilisent alors le soutien moral et financier des institutions européennes. Malgré leur statut réitéré de victimes, les Gitans sont perçus comme des parasites, mais désormais également comme des assisté·e·s à la charge de la société (Gheorghe, 2012). À la fin du XX^{e} siècle, l'appellation *Roms* [4] est introduite par des activistes gitans, ravivant l'usage du dialecte Romani originaire du Nord de l'Inde (voir Gheorghe, 2012; Kenrick, 2007). Cette introduction marque une volonté de s'approprier la frontière ethnique avec l'Occident en affirmant une lointaine origine indo-aryenne, qui ne fait pourtant pas l'unanimité parmi les Gitans (voir par exemple Pereira & Green, 2017). Le

[4] que l'on pourrait traduire littéralement par "homme appartenant à notre groupe"

terme sera néanmoins adopté comme une appellation politiquement correcte dans de nombreux contextes nationaux (notamment à l'Est de l'Europe). Cette transition rappelle à certains égards l'introduction du terme *Afro-Américain* pour désigner la population « noire » des États-Unis, et avec elle, la perpétuation de la stigmatisation raciale que l'on sait (voir Philogène, 1994).

Le plus récent chapitre de la discrimination des « Roms » est entamé par l'opposition marquée à leur libre circulation dans le cadre de l'élargissement de l'Union économique européenne (UE) à plusieurs pays de l'Est. Leur mobilité, toujours assimilée à un mode de vie ambulant, attire les foudres. Elle s'apparente pourtant aujourd'hui bien plus à une migration économique vers l'Ouest, identique à celle qu'effectuent de nombreux autres habitants du Sud et de l'Est du continent (Tabin & Knüsel, 2014). De même, les médias et les autorités présentent les activités de marchandage, de mendicité ou de vol auxquels s'adonnent certains Gitans comme des pratiques culturelles, alors qu'on ne pourrait y voir aussi qu'une série d'adaptations normales à la pauvreté et à l'exclusion, qui n'ont de « traditionnelles » que le fait d'être nécessaires depuis des siècles.

En résumé, l'histoire des sociétés européennes a permis l'émergence d'un groupe ethnique appelé Gitans, Tsiganes ou Roms selon les époques et les contextes, et qui symbolise une altérité profonde avec les ethnies occidentales (Kligman, 2001). Les Roms en tant que groupe « ethnique » auraient dû disparaître—et ont bel et bien disparu dans une certaine mesure—au gré des métissages culturels et interethniques. Le maintien d'une frontière interethnique aussi franche révèle plutôt une mise en altérité autour d'enjeux sociaux. Puisqu'ils ne s'accordent ni sur leur passé, ni sur leur langue ni, souvent, sur leurs traditions culturelles, l'altérité ethnique des Gitans repose plutôt dans leur déficit en qualités économiques, religieuses, morales et intellectuelles, et dans la démonstration constante de leur infériorité raciale et civique, bien loin des marqueurs traditionnels d'ethnicité (cf. Zagefka, 2009 ; voir aussi Simonsen, 2016).

PRÉJUGÉ ETHNIQUE ENVERS LES GITANS ET LES ROMS EN EUROPE

Relativement peu d'études du préjugé ethnique dans une perspective psychosociale se sont penchées sur le cas des Gitans, et ce malgré l'ampleur historique du phénomène. Les rares travaux proviennent très souvent des pays de l'Europe de l'Est (tels que la Hongrie, la République tchèque, la Roumanie et la Bulgarie), où les Gitans

constituent une minorité ethnique traditionnelle sédentarisée depuis des siècles et le plus souvent désignée aujourd'hui en tant que minorité « rom ». Comme on le verra, à l'Est, les préjugés ethniques anti-Roms peuvent se traduire de manière très explicite, voire par des violences interethniques (Gheorghe, 2012; Kligman, 2001). À l'Ouest du continent en revanche, les préjugés envers les Gitans et les Roms prennent des formes plus subtiles ou ambivalentes, sans doute en raison de normes anti-discrimination beaucoup mieux établies (voir Pamporov, 2009 ; Kende, Hadarics, & Lášticová, 2017). Malgré ce « dégradé » géographique, l'origine du préjugé ethnique et ses conséquences pour les conditions de vie de cette minorité ethnique se ressemblent beaucoup d'un bout à l'autre de l'Europe.

Dans la suite, nous examinons donc les résultats d'études se penchant sur l'expression du préjugé ethnique envers les Gitans et les Roms dans différents contextes nationaux. Les contributions empiriques sont organisées en trois groupes : celles qui relèvent de la théorie des représentations sociales, celles qui mobilisent la théorie de la menace intergroupe et celles qui font appel à la théorie du contact intergroupe.

a. Représentation sociale dominante à l'origine du préjugé ethnique.

La *théorie des représentations sociales* est une analyse de la pensée quotidienne ou du « sens commun » qui porte sur des objets sociaux complexes (tels que les groupes), en opposition à une connaissance philosophique ou scientifique de ces mêmes objets (voir Moscovici, 2002). En outre, les représentations sociales décrivent des raisonnements dont l'origine se situe dans la vie collective, en opposition aussi à une pensée individuelle. La validité de ces raisonnements repose donc davantage sur le consensus que sur une quelconque démarche de vérification empirique (voir Clémence, 2002 ; Jodelet, 2003). Ancrées dans les relations sociales qui font naître ou imposent d'autorité ce consensus, ces représentations partagées sont alors souvent des traductions symboliques plus ou moins franches des enjeux de pouvoir ou des conflits qui structurent une société (voir Staerklé, 2016). Tout l'intérêt de la perspective des représentations sociales est donc d'envisager les phénomènes psychologiques individuels en tant qu'ils reflètent des savoirs élaborés socialement et donc qui situent la personne dans un contexte sociohistorique donné. Dans cette perspective, le préjugé ethnique est ainsi considéré comme une manifestation psychologique d'une réalité intergroupe d'ordre proprement sociologique (Jodelet, 2003).

Quelques chercheurs/euses ont analysé les discours sur les Gitans afin de mettre à jour des caractéristiques partagées qui seraient à l'origine du préjugé ethnique (par exemple, Moscovici & Pérez, 2003 ; Sigona, 2005 ; Tileagă, 2006). Tout d'abord, les Gitans sont perçus comme des *nomades* ou comme les descendant·e·s directs de peuples nomades. Ils contrastent dès leur arrivée en Europe avec le sédentarisme grandissant des peuples occidentaux. Plusieurs chercheurs/euses (par exemple, Cossée, 2016) s'accordent pour dire que ce contraste les prive encore aujourd'hui du statut et des droits que l'on réserve à d'autres minorités pauvres ou migrantes, alors même que le nomadisme ne concerne plus qu'une infime minorité des différents peuples gitans. Ainsi, en Italie par exemple, Sigona (2005, voir aussi 2015) analyse comment les ghettos pauvres où se concentrent certaines communautés de Gitans sont considérés par les autorités et la population comme des « camps », en référence aux campements temporaires de populations nomades. Cette représentation sert ensuite à légitimer les expulsions, les déplacements ou la destruction de ces camps, perpétuant indéfiniment la ségrégation des Gitans dans des zones de non-droit à l'écart du reste de la population.

Ensuite, l'image des Gitans est partout celle d'un peuple *antisocial*. L'origine de cette idée est complexe. Elle serait notamment liée au contraste physique et culturel qui a engendré une prohibition du contact avec ces étranger/ères. Accompagnant cette mise à distance et cette exclusion sociale, des discours les décrivant comme des membres d'une autre espèce ou comme des sauvages ont émergé. Ce rejet aurait provoqué à son tour des comportements antisociaux de survie parmi les Gitans, confirmant les discours. C'est du moins l'hypothèse qu'ont développée Pérez, Moscovici et Chulvi (2007) à travers le concept d'ontologisation de la minorité gitane. L'ontologisation désigne ici le phénomène qui consiste à placer l'espèce d'un groupe de personne (i.e. onto- en latin renvoie à la notion « d'être ») en dehors de l'espèce humaine afin de prévenir toute relation interethnique. À travers une série d'études menées en Espagne, les auteur·e·s ont soumis un échantillon de participant·e·s (tous issus de la majorité espagnole non-gitane) à l'image d'un homme muni d'une guitare et accompagné d'un chien. Une partie des participant·e·s voyait une version (testée préalablement) dans laquelle l'homme avait l'allure consensuelle d'un non-Gitan, tandis qu'une autre partie voyait une version du guitariste et du chien légèrement modifiée afin que l'homme ait l'allure prototypique d'un Gitan. Par ailleurs, les participant·e·s étaient confrontés à l'image d'un singe soit juste avant, soit juste après celle du guitariste. Les résultats indiquent que c'est dans la condition expérimentale de préséance du singe que les participant·e·s ont donné le plus

souvent des attributs animaux négatifs au guitariste gitan (tels que féroce et oisif). De plus, dans cette condition toujours, les attributs du Gitan et du chien se superposaient davantage que dans la condition où le singe était vu *après* le guitariste. Enfin, dans la version du guitariste « gitan », le chien était perçu comme moins domestiqué que dans celle du guitariste non-gitan. Selon les auteurs, ces résultats révèlent une conception des rapports entre majorité et minorité ethnique qui rejoue symboliquement ceux de l'humain avec l'animal (à savoir la domestication et l'opposition à ce qui est sauvage). En effet, lorsque le rapport de l'humain à l'animal est évoqué (ici, par le statut problématique du singe), le besoin du participant·e de se différencier trouve un exutoire dans la description d'un Gitan sauvage, jusqu'à lui retirer ici sa capacité (proprement humaine) à domestiquer l'animal (i.e. le chien).

Ce portrait de sauvages incite donc à juger les comportements des Gitans comme relevant d'une nature plutôt que d'y voir des adaptations ponctuelles ou des réponses culturelles complexes. Ainsi, si les Gitans ne travaillent pas, c'est qu'ils n'aiment pas travailler par nature, et non pas que le niveau extrême de leur discrimination rend l'éducation et l'intégration professionnelle impossible (voir Tileagă, 2006). De même, si les sociétés ne sont pas parvenues à les intégrer, c'est qu'ils *sont* inadaptables. Même lorsqu'une culture des Gitans est abordée, elle est présentée souvent comme primitive ou arriérée : on insiste sur le mariage des mineur·e·s, sur un fort taux de natalité, sur leur refus ou leur difficulté de se scolariser, sur leur pratique religieuse infantile ou sectaire, sur leur rejet de la propriété privée, ou encore sur leurs comportements criminels et antisociaux (voir Loveland & Popescu, 2015). Ces mœurs primitives sont par ailleurs fréquemment décrites comme la cause plutôt que la conséquence de leur marginalisation. C'est le cas en République tchèque où Fawn (2001) montre qu'une partie importante de la population tolère la ségrégation, les exécutions de Roms par des Skinheads, ou même l'idée de retirer la citoyenneté aux Tchèques d'origine rom, car il existe un fort consensus : si les Roms sont défavorisé·e·s, c'est qu'ils sont profondément antisociaux et qu'ils cultivent l'anomie, l'irresponsabilité et la fainéantise. En Roumanie, Tileagă (2006) rapporte également les signes d'une pensée ontologisante à l'origine des préjugés anti-Roms. L'auteur présente une série de trente-huit entretiens menés auprès de citoyen·ne·s roumains de classe moyenne. Tous les participant·e·s—qu'ils se positionnent idéologiquement en faveur ou en opposition à des mesures politiques d'extrême-droite à l'encontre des minorités ethniques—évoquent la minorité rom comme responsable de son rejet et dans des termes dégradants, menaçants, et

animalisants (par exemple, « Dans tous les pays où vous irez[,] vous trouverez des Gitans. Ils sont de ces gens qui s'étendent. Qui sont comme une pieuvre qui essaie de s'étendre, d'étendre ses [tentacules] », p. 32). D'ailleurs, aucun des participant·e·s n'envisage la question rom comme comparable à d'autres problématiques interethniques rencontrées à l'échelle nationale (par exemple, avec la minorité hongroise de Roumanie). Enfin l'ontologisation des Gitans se réactualise aussi aujourd'hui à la lumière des avancées technologiques, et notamment génétiques. Ainsi, certains travaux ont établi un lien entre le patrimoine génétique d'un échantillon de Roms et la caste des Intouchables en Inde, dont on peut désormais trouver des témoignages dans les discours, toujours pour justifier leur exclusion sociale (voir Levy, 2010). Des mutations génétiques dues à l'isolation sociale extrême des ancêtres des Gitans font actuellement l'objet d'investigations scientifiques (par exemple, Kalaydjieva, Gresham, & Calafell, 2001). Si les éléments mis à jour pénètrent le savoir populaire, ils pourraient eux aussi contribuer à renouveler des discours de division ethnique, leur donnant l'apparence aujourd'hui très consensuelle qu'a acquis le langage scientifique.

À noter qu'un préjugé ethnique consistant à percevoir un peuple comme autant de sauvages primitifs peut toutefois aussi véhiculer des connotations plus positives. Rodríguez-Bailón, Ruiz et Moya (2009) ont décidé d'exploiter ce versant positif des préjugés ethniques en évoquant plutôt la musique flamenco, souvent décrite comme l'unique contribution positive des traditions et du tempérament insoumis des Gitans à la culture populaire espagnole. Les auteurs ont étudié les préjugés implicites, qui ont pour particularité d'être incontrôlables et inconscients, à l'aide d'une Tâche d'Association Implicite (ou *TAI*, voir Nosek, Hawkins, & Frazier, 2011). Cette tâche consiste à mesurer la force de l'association (i.e., le temps de réaction) entre un concept projeté sur un écran de manière extrêmement rapide et son évaluation positive ou négative. Ainsi, les auteures ont d'abord établi l'existence d'une forte association implicite entre l'objet mental « Gitan » et des attributs déplaisants ou négatifs. Elles ont ensuite observé que dans la condition d'exposition à des clips de musique flamenco avant la tâche d'association, les participant·e·s présentaient des scores d'association implicite négative plus faibles que dans la condition d'exposition à de la musique classique. On pourrait s'attendre à des effets positifs similaires sur le préjugé anti-Roms dans les territoires d'Europe du Sud-Est grâce à la très populaire musique « Tchalga » qui est un mélange de différentes influences dont la musique rom.

Le préjugé ethnique envers les Gitans consiste donc principalement à les représenter comme des vagabonds indignes de l'espèce humaine. Tous leurs attributs sont synonymes de déficit et d'absence (voir aussi Pérez et al., 2007), comme pour rappeler leur disparition périodique du paysage. Ils sont sans véritable patrie, sans religion, sans culture unique ou sans éducation, et en conséquence sans privilège et sans droit.

Comme le négatif d'une photographie, leur privation de qualités sociales et humaines est le reflet des valeurs d'un Occident sédentaire, chrétien et « civilisé », qui a arbitrairement défini ses propres attributs comme ceux garantissant un statut social positif et supérieur. Comme l'écrivait Serge Moscovici (1991), les Gitans et les Roms font sans nul doute partie de ces groupes ethniques qui n'existent que pour être détestés (p. 232).

b. Menaces économique et symbolique et expression du préjugé ethnique.

Les spécialistes des relations intergroupes ont depuis longtemps souligné le rôle joué par la perception d'une menace dans le développement et l'expression de préjugés (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009). La théorie de la menace intergroupe (par exemple, Stephan et al., 2009) distingue notamment une menace qualifiée de « matérielle » d'une menace dite « symbolique », selon que la présence d'un autre groupe ethnique est perçue comme un péril pour les ressources physiques ou plutôt comme un danger pour les valeurs et les croyances du groupe d'appartenance.

Les ancêtres des Gitans ont en effet été désignés comme hors-la-loi pour exister en dehors du cadre qui régissaient les échanges commerciaux dans les villes et les campagnes, mais aussi en raison du danger que leur liberté et leurs mœurs païennes présentaient pour l'ordre religieux que les autorités tentaient d'établir. Aujourd'hui, les pratiques commerciales jugées malhonnêtes ou les détériorations matérielles attribuées aux Gitans menacent toujours la paix des citoyen·ne·s « honnêtes » et des contribuables. Par ailleurs, leur mode de vie d'apparence autarcique vient contredire la tendance actuelle à l'internationalisation et à la globalisation des échanges entre les nations.

Maisonneuve, Testé, Morchain, Lecat et Guinguoin (2014) ont sondé des Français·e·s sur l'établissement d'un terrain d'accueil pour les « Gens du voyage » à proximité de leur domicile (fictif) ainsi que sur sa distance relative optimale. Les

résultats suggèrent que c'est bien la perception d'une menace qui explique en partie le choix d'accepter ou non le terrain ainsi que la détermination de sa distance par rapport aux habitations régulières. Ainsi, le droit des Gens du voyage (pourtant constitutionnel en France) de disposer d'un terrain est remis en question par leurs concitoyens. En outre, les participant-e-s leur attribuèrent plus d'émotions primaires (comme la colère ou la joie) que d'émotions secondaires (comme la culpabilité ou l'espérance), ce que les auteures interprètent comme la perception d'un déficit d'humanité (voir aussi Leyens, 2015). Par ailleurs, la décision d'accueil est aussi déterminée par l'attribution d'émotions primaires, plutôt que d'émotions secondaires. Les auteures y voient la perception par les participant·e·s d'un déficit d'humanité (voir aussi Leyens, 2015) parmi les Gens du voyage, qui résulte en une remise en question citoyenne du droit des Gitans (pourtant constitutionnel en France) de disposer d'un terrain.

En Europe de l'Est, les Roms bénéficient d'aides sociales ou d'exemptions de charges (i.e. eau, électricité) qui irritent le reste de la population. Il règne cependant également dans ces régions un ressentiment spécifique lié aux défis socio-économiques qui ont marqués la transition démocratique et l'adhésion de certains pays de l'Est à l'UE (voir par exemple, Fawn, 2001). Par exemple, avant 2007, les minorités rom de Roumanie et de Bulgarie étaient une des causes de la réticence de l'UE à l'adhésion de ces deux pays. Durant et après le processus d'adhésion et d'intégration économique (encore aujourd'hui contesté), les Roms s'y sont transformés en boucs-émissaires tout désignés. Ils y ont rapidement symbolisé l'origine des espoirs déçus face aux promesses européennes de justice et de prospérité (Loveland & Popescu, 2015). En outre, les Roms incarnent un métissage ethnique et culturel entre Orient et Occident que peu des sociétés de l'Est sont prêtes à valoriser (voir Latcheva, 2010). Cette menace, plus symbolique, renforce des aspirations ségrégationnistes, mais expliquent aussi plusieurs tentatives historiques d'assimilation culturelle forcée (voir Kenrick, 2007).

Ljujic, Vedder, Dekker et van Geel (2013) ont cherché à comprendre les prédicteurs du préjugé anti-Roms chez les adolescent·e·s serbes en articulant la perception d'une menace économique et/ou symbolique et les attentes quant aux stratégies d'acculturation des Roms. Plus les adolescent·e·s sondés avaient des attentes intégrationnistes (en soutenant des affirmations telles que « Je souhaite que les Roms gardent leur propre culture, mais adoptent aussi la nôtre »), moins aussi ils percevaient les Roms comme constituant une menace économique (« Trop d'argent est dépensé dans les programmes d'éducation des Roms ») ou une menace symbolique (« Les Roms et

les non-Roms ont des valeurs familiales différentes ») et moins ils exprimaient de préjugés. En revanche, plus les adolescent·e·s avaient des attentes ségrégationnistes (« Je souhaite que les Roms gardent leur propre culture sans adopter la culture serbe »), plus ils percevaient les Roms comme constituant ces deux types de menaces, plus ils exprimaient de préjugés.

D'Ouest en Est, le préjugé ethnique envers les Gitans ou les Roms se fonde donc sur une représentation partagée reposant elle-même sur des menaces à l'encontre du bien-être matériel et des valeurs des groupes dominants, menaces dont le contenu spécifique varie selon les contextes. Étonnamment, ces menaces sont souvent évoquées en l'absence de tout expérience directe avec ces populations.

c. Contact intergroupe et préjugé ethnique.

Outre la théorie des représentations sociales et celle de la menace intergroupe, la théorie du contact intergroupe a également été mobilisée et ce pour envisager non pas l'origine, mais plutôt la réduction des préjugés envers les Gitans. Les recherches dans la lignée de l'ouvrage séminal de Gordon Allport ont montré que le contact intergroupe positif, sous certaines conditions, a le potentiel d'atténuer les frontières intergroupes (voir Hewstone & Swart, 2011) et ainsi de réduire efficacement les préjugés (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). La théorie du contact intergroupe a donc été implémentée dans de nombreux programmes de sensibilisation ou de réduction des préjugés ethniques. Cependant, précisons d'emblée que l'exclusion et la stigmatisation extrêmes dont sont victimes les Gitans engendrent un tabou du contact (voir Pérez et al., 2007) qui laisse en fait très peu de place à l'établissement des conditions de rencontres favorables.

En Hongrie contemporaine, une société par ailleurs décrite comme hostile aux Roms et fortement ségréguée, Orosz, Bánki, Bőthe, Tóth-Király et Tropp (2016) ont étudié la réduction du préjugé anti-Roms chez des adolescent·e·s ayant participé à un programme de sensibilisation à la discrimination des Roms. Suite au programme, les adolescent·e·s avaient l'opportunité d'entrer en contact avec des Roms formés pour répondre aux questions subsidiaires en intégrant des éléments de leurs parcours de vie. Tout d'abord, les analyses d'Orosz et collègues indiquent que le niveau initial de préjugés des participant·e·s au programme variait en fonction de leur perception de l'étendue du préjugé anti-Rom parmi leurs camarades. Ce premier résultat confirme l'origine du préjugé dans une pensée collective. Ensuite, le niveau de préjugés anti-Roms des adolescent·e·s *après* la rencontre était significativement plus bas en

comparaison à celui des adolescent·e·s n'ayant pas souhaité saisir l'opportunité de rencontre. Pour ces dernier·e·s en revanche, le niveau de préjugé avait même augmenté entre les deux temps de mesure. Kende, Tropp et Lantos (2017) rapportent quant à elles aussi l'efficacité d'une intervention basée sur le rapprochement d'étudiant·e·s rom et non-rom dans un cadre universitaire. Leurs résultats indiquent l'efficacité de tels échanges, en particulier lorsque les participant·e·s non-rom pensaient que l'université encouragerait de telles initiatives (voir aussi Allport, 1958). En dehors des programmes de sensibilisation, László (2016) confirme dans son étude le potentiel des amitiés interethniques spontanées, notamment en ce qu'elles peuvent bénéficier aux jugements d'attractivité physique et au choix de partenaires amoureux du sexe opposé parmi les élèves d'origine rom. Néanmoins, ses analyses montrent aussi que ce sont aussi les élèves non-rom en marge des réseaux d'amis dans les classes sondées qui étaient en fait les plus disposés à inviter un·e élève rom à sortir.

En outre, les opportunités de contact augmentent non seulement l'incidence d'expériences positives mais aussi celle d'expériences potentiellement *négatives*, lesquelles maintiennent ou augmentent les préjugés (Barlow et al., 2012 ; Kende, Hadarics, & Lášticová, 2017). En Bulgarie, Visintin, Green, Pereira et Miteva (2017) ont justement sondé des membres de la majorité bulgare (non-rom) et de la minorité ethnique turque (qui bénéficie d'un statut social plus élevé par rapport aux Roms) à propos de leurs contacts positifs et négatifs, de leurs préjugés et de leurs attitudes politiques envers la minorité rom. Leurs analyses concluent que, chez les deux groupes, les contacts positifs comme (par exemple, échanger quelques mots dans le bus ou dans la rue) étaient associés à moins de préjugés envers les Roms ainsi qu'à une attitude plus favorable envers les politiques sociales pro-Roms (par exemple, « Le gouvernement devrait améliorer les standards de vie dans les communautés rom »). Les contacts négatifs, plus fréquents chez la majorité bulgare, étaient quant à eux associés à plus de préjugés et à une attitude moins favorable envers ces mêmes politiques. Enfin, lorsque les opportunités spontanées de contact positif sont limitées, des travaux indiquent que le simple *contact imaginaire* avec les Roms aurait le potentiel de réduire les préjugés ethniques sous certaines conditions (notamment en fonction de l'orientation idéologique des personnes, voir Asbrock, Gutenbrunner, & Wagner, 2013).

Il est donc difficile de conclure à une diminution nette du préjugé ethnique envers les Gitans et les Roms même après plus de cinq siècles de contact et d'échanges interculturels, ou grâce aux programmes contemporains de sensibilisation (voir aussi à

ce propos les impacts inattendus et néfastes du contact positif pour l'activisme rom; Pereira, Green, & Visintin, 2017). Certains observateurs vont même jusqu'à affirmer qu'aucun progrès significatif n'a été atteint dans le domaine de l'intégration sociale des Roms en Europe (par exemple, ECRI, 2014).

CONCLUSION

Si le préjugé ethnique envers les Gitans a sans nul doute évolué à travers les âges (Gheorghe, 2012) et que les caractéristiques modernes des préjugés ethniques (par exemple, l'internalisation de normes anti-discrimination, voir Brown, 2010) gagnent progressivement aussi l'Est du continent (Pamporov, 2009), les preuves empiriques mises en avant dans ce chapitre suggèrent plutôt que les rapports que l'Occident entretient avec les Gitans et les Roms font encore et toujours appel—tantôt implicitement, tantôt de manière encore très flagrante—à une représentation sociale largement partagée et qui les exclue de la sphère des semblables (voir Loveland & Popescu, 2015; Kligman, 2001; Tileagă, 2006). Le dernier volet de l'enquête sociale européenne (European Social Survey Round 7) confirme d'ailleurs l'étendue du préjugé envers les Gitans, en comparaison à d'autres communautés qui sont également les cibles de préjugés ethniques: dans la totalité des 21 pays sondés, les Gitans arrivent, en effet, en tête des groupes ethniques les moins désirables, bien après les personnes de confession juive ou musulmane (Heath & Richards, 2016).

De plus, les Gitans et les Roms sont, comme leur histoire le souligne, difficiles à définir comme un groupe ethnique homogène. Pourtant, tous les groupes qui leur sont de près ou de loin apparentés sont représentés comme des nomades, antisociaux, sauvages, retardés et primitifs. Certains groupes ethniques—que les sociétés ont elles-mêmes contribué à constituer comme tels—existent pour pouvoir incarner et écarter les menaces et les divergences face à l'ordre établi. Ces oppositions symboliques doivent faire l'objet d'une attention aussi soutenue que les conflits matériels pour trouver des solutions constructives, lesquelles impliquent forcément une transformation des représentations. Certains agendas politiques construisent au contraire les divisions ethniques en déshumanisant des groupes entiers de personnes.

Enfin, la psychologie sociale s'est bien plus intéressée à l'expression flagrante des préjugés anti-Roms qu'aux répercussions des préjugés sur leurs cibles. En l'occurrence, un vécu commun de discrimination comme seul et unique lien entre toutes

les personnes apparentées aux Gitans limite grandement le développement d'un sentiment partagé et positif d'appartenance (voir à ce propos Csepeli & Simon, 2004), lequel s'avère être un important vecteur de mobilisation des minorités pour le changement social (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008).

1.1.2. The evolution of ethnic prejudice into functional intergroup distinctions

The issue about the space allocated to Travellers at the beginning of this section is by no means a Swiss particularity. As the above overview of the origin and construction of prejudice against the Gypsies stressed, the "nuisances" produced by the episodic passage of Travellers have regularly been an issue throughout European countries as far back as public archives go (see e.g., Kenrick, 2007). Tensions and mutually perceived threat between sedentary populations and nomads have a long history. While nomadism has been key in the survival of our ancestors in all part of the world (as testified by the existence of nomads in all cultural areas, e.g., in Egypt and sub-Saharan Africa, in Israel, on the Mongolian steppes, in India), recently-born sedentary societies imposed new views of the world and prerogatives about space allocations and management of limited material resources. As a consequence, social groups that threaten, or do not participate, in the productivity of sedentary societies, have been progressively constructed as "bad", stigmatized for so, and banished. Ironically, individuals with Roma-Gypsy origin encountered in the contemporary world became quasi-exclusively sedentary people. Nomadic Roma, despite being the most visible ones, would represent less than 10% of the Roma who have survived the Second World War genocides. However, nomadic and settled Roma inherited from previous generations a status of pariah minority and many social disadvantages. Their situation thus reveals a paradox between the contemporary anti-discrimination climates promoted by most democratic Western societies and enduring structural inequalities experienced by ethnic minorities.

Most European nationals indeed live in democratic nation-states recognizing the equality and freedom of all citizens. Inherited from the American and French revolutions of the end of the 18th century, the idea that equal and free citizens can live

in orderly societies (Borgetto, 2008) notably guarantees the political participation of all citizens irrespective from their appearance, race, religion, language, tradition or occupations. This normative shift towards equality and freedom contrasted with the tyranny of a privileged few onto large groups of working poor and the colonial model, which were the prevailing and unquestioned social systems for centuries.

However, the principles of equality and freedom historically rose in a climate of unprecedented economic development and soon translated into a desire of human groups sharing common ancestry, traditions or language to achieve self-determination as compared to other groups. Since social distinctions such as "races" were morally proscribed by new constitutions unless they served the "common good" (see article 1 from the French Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen of 1789), a new (apparently) non-discriminating sense of community was invented. "Ethnicity" was thus defined as a functional and non-discriminating category, despite being based on subjective definitions of ancestry, traditions or language (Barth, 1969). In line with it, a new political organization compatible with these new democratic values was adopted: the nation-state. People were now living in a(n apparently) more egalitarian national societies that were mutually structured by interethnic distinctions that were construed as "functional".

However, the match between national boundaries and ethnic groups was in fact only a brief—or, most likely, an imaginary—transition during the constitution of nation-states (Adam, 1995; Zick, Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2008). These functional ethnic distinctions soon translated (again) in the alienations and violations of the rights of those perceived as ethnic out-groups or minorities within legitimate national majorities. Evidence of the unequal access of ethnic minorities to human rights and institutional politics, despite officially non-discriminating national constitutions, are plural: Afro-Americans in the US (see e.g., Brown, Akiyama, White, Jayaratne, & Anderson, 2009), Indigenous people in North- and Latin America (see e.g., Stephens, Porter, Nettleton, & Willis, 2006), immigrants from various origins in Europe, especially Arabs and Muslims (see e.g., André & Dronkers, 2017; Fasel, Green, & Sarrasin, 2013; Pereira, Vala, & Leyens, 2009), Palestinians, and Travellers, "Gypsies" and Roma (see e.g., Hammarberg, 2012).

Seventy years after the universal declaration of human rights, liberal-democratic interpretations of equality and anti-discriminatory principles are increasingly criticized for granting ethnic minorities members with strange and limited equal rights, namely

those to participate in the productivity of the society and align with the dominant culture (Reijerse, Van Acker, Vanbeselaere, Phalet, & Duriez, 2013; Rosaldo, 1997). While the democratic ideology has efficiently stated the irrationality and immorality of racial prejudice and discrimination, it failed in arguing the end of interethnic inequalities (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007). Contemporary definitions of citizenship failed to favor the community of laws and equal access to human and political rights for all members of the society, and to safeguard the diversity of human cultures (Banting & Kymlicka, 2013; Delgado-Moreira, 1997; Gobel, Benet-Martinez, Mesquita, & Uskul, 2018; Reijerse et al., 2013). On the contrary, several nations facing ethnic diversity experience national identity crises, the rise of xenophobic discourses and, from the first time in decades, barefaced oppositions to antiracism laws (see e.g., Sarrasin et al., 2012; see also Falomir-Pichastor, Gabarrot, & Mugny, 2009 about the "reactive group distinctiveness" rising among European majorities). The work of van Dijk (1992) already warned about the "denial" of racism in everyday conversations as well as talks by elites illustrated by the now well-known disclaimer "I am not racist, but..." (with what comes after "but" being the real racist stance; see also Durrheim et al., 2018 for a recent contribution to the study of the denial of racism in the context of talks supporting the recent vote for the Brexit in UK). Some research mobilising discursive psychology have targeted more specifically the Gypsies as a psychological category frequently discriminated against in everyday conversations and the media. For example, Goodman and Rowe (2013) analysed Internet discussion forums about Gypsies and unravelled similar taboo and denial of racism. Tileagă (2005, 2006, 2007) provided several empirical contributions about the discursive strategies and rhetoric used by non-Gypsy speakers in order to avoid racist accusations, while still blaming the Gypsies for the status quo.

On a very culturally diverse European continent, now again confronted with exogenous diversity resulting from more recent economic and conflict-related migrations, ethnic prejudice cannot continue to be a political and scientific "blindspot" (Uskul & Mesquita, 2014). More resources need to be devoted to the investigation of psychological motives and intergroup dynamics that maintain the status quo as regards interethnic inequalities and justify majorities' indifference towards the violations of minorities' rights.

1.2. MOVING TOWARDS THE MINORITY PERSPECTIVE ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS, INEQUALITIES, AND SOCIAL CHANGE

So far, the introduction established the fact that there are groups that diverge in terms of resources, power, and prestige. According to one of social psychology's founding theories, i.e. the theory of real conflicts (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961), the unequal distribution of scarce resources such as power or wealth between groups leads to strong rivalry between the privileged (or majority) group and the subordinate (or minority) group.

In addition to a better understanding of the role of intergroup competition in the development of human societies and social hierarchies (see also Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), the intergroup conflict theory also allowed subsequent theorization about more symbolic and subjective psychological phenomena related to group membership and intergroup relations, such as social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Group membership produces divergent worldviews and social discourses, which, in turn, reinforce and perpetuate individuals' membership in the group (see Delouvée, 2016). Dominant or majority groups impose their visions of the world as well as their beliefs about the origin of the other groups, portraying them most often as legitimately less prestigious (section 1.1.1. was a concrete historical illustration of this phenomenon). These group-based visions of the world and their behavioral correlates are conceptualized in social psychology by the Social Representation Theory and the Social Identity Theory, that will be now presented from the minority perspective and, more specifically, to the assumption that "less powerful groups should be dissatisfied with the unfavorable outcome distribution [of resources in the society] and thus should be motivated to work or even fight for a redistribution of […] intergroup power (Simon & Klandermans, 2001, p. 322; see also Ellemers, Wilke, & Van Knippenberg, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

1.2.1. Social representations and ethnic minorities

Social Representation Theory (Moscovici, 1963, 2002; see also Jodelet, 2003) emerged between the 1960s and 1980s and describes the origin, structure, and evolution of socially-developed knowledge. For Serge Moscovici, social knowledge was key to social psychology, for it reveals the particular relationship that individuals have with different sources of knowledge and social influence, such as institutions, scientists, heritage groups, or social majorities. The contribution of the social representation theory to social psychology thus directly concerns the influence of social groups with different statuses in the genesis and diffusion of this collective knowledge (Moscovici, 1976). The theory had the ambition to specify social psychology by defining its study object—i.e., complex objects of thoughts, historically or contextually-situated issues—and its types of empirical material—i.e., ideas that are crystallized in discourses, iconographies, endeavours or social organizations (see Kalampalikis & Apostolidis, 2016). The concept of social representations has the advantage of allowing to study both majority and minority groups' perspective, plus to consider their interdependence in terms of social reproduction of intergroup inequalities or social change (Moscovici, 1976, 1991).

Serge Moscovici described the origin of social representations in two complementary processes—anchoring and objectification—that have both the function of making new objects of social knowledge more familiar (see also Jodelet, 1984). The operation of anchoring describes how social groups incorporates new objects of thought by applying pre-existing knowledge or concepts to them. For example, the name Tziganes, which means "heretic", defines and qualifies a community in relation to the Westerners who defined themselves as Christians and who considered themselves (at the time of the emergence of this term) as responsible for the evangelization of "savage" peoples. The operation of objectification also participates in the genesis of social representations by translating new objects of thought into a concrete, graspable image and limiting them to concrete or material experiences. For example, when I evoked "Gypsies" to a group of Bachelor students from the University of Lausanne during a seminar, asking them to associate five words with this group, the most cited words were *caravan*, *guitar*, *fortune-teller*, and a young French singer who sang a very popular song about his Gypsy origin at the moment that I conducted the survey. This short survey illustrates the anchoring and objectification processes. The words associated indeed reflect a historically- and culturally-situated (i.e., French-speaking Switzerland) lay construction of "Gypsies".

The focus on these two social representational processes in the theory empirically translated in a research field dedicated to describing the content and structure of social representations. Hereunto, the majority—minority perspective discrepancy can be revealed by proceeding to analyses of content and structure of social representations. Nevertheless, the latent organization of the content of social representations—just like the latent organization behind psychological parameters in clinical or experimental studies—required reconstruction and further theorization by social psychologists. Accordingly, Jean-Claude Abric (2001) introduced the theory of the central core. Elements from the central core of a social representation vary little over time and are related to collective memory and history of a social group. They have for function the stabilization of the representation. Central core elements generally characterized the stance adopted by the group dominating the environment or the majority. In contrast, peripheral elements allow the integration and accommodation of individual experiences to the socially constructed object. They are also more flexible components that may vary between groups and contain contradictions and adaptations of the rigid, unilateral representation of the majority group.

A second interesting extension of initially formulated processes of social representations was proposed by Willem Doise (1985, 1992). Doise contributed to understanding the structure of social representations by conceptualizing them as *organizing principles* of interindividual differences. He basically drew on the dialogic nature of social representations to describe how different point of views are generated within the field of the same social representation and how these are structured around a reduced number of dimensions that he named "organizing principles" (see e.g., Clémence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2004). By revealing a structure derived from the variation in individual positions towards a social issue or object of thinking, the approach by organizing principles constitutes a concrete example of analysis of individuals' anchoring in systems of symbolic meanings related to different social status or group membership. The study of interindividual differences was integrated by Doise and colleagues to a quantitative approach to social representations, and was typically investigated with factorial analysis conducted on aggregated individual data, such as questionnaire, interviews or responses to words free-association tasks. For example, Spini and Doise (1998) distributed a questionnaire to a sample of Swiss students in order to gather their individual opinion about the implementation of human rights. Students were asked to rate on scales their personal agreement with statements about the

responsibility for the implementation of human rights and their commitment to an action-oriented involvement towards human rights (as compared to more abstract involvement towards the principle of human rights). The analysis of questionnaire answers revealed that, on average, students agreed on what the Swiss government should do on an abstract level, a result that the authors interpret as consistent with a traditional conception of the implementation of human rights. The authors unravelled four organizing principles resulting from the intersection between personal versus governmental responsibility on the one hand, and, on the other hand, abstract versus applied involvement: personal—abstract, personal—applied, governmental—abstract and governmental—applied.

Also speaking to the dialogic and multi-voiced nature of social representations process, the notion of thêma was proposed following the observation that social knowledge proceeds of dialectical constructs based on simple semantic oppositions (e.g., good—bad, life—death, day—night), which can be traced also in social representations. The study of the different themata of social representations thus focuses on the historical origin of social representations in situations or events that have evoked these oppositions, and have provoked social groups' reasoning and positioning towards them (Markova, 2003; Moscovici & Vignaux, 1994; see also Article 2 for an empirical illustration). For example, Moloney, Hall, and Walker (2005) studied the construction and functioning of social knowledge about donation and organ transplantation and revealed contradictory representations of this particular issue, representations that were, however, rooted in a single dialectical construct: life and death.

In summary, these structural approaches to social representations allows understanding the deep and often "silent" relationships between social norms related to a specific sociohistorical context, and the particular positions adopted by individuals or groups (Kalampalikis, 2003). More generally speaking, the analysis of social representations informs much more about the social memberships and the ideology of the thinking community, than about the nature of the represented object. From a methodological point of view, the analysis of social representations gives room to qualitative methods and analyse, for example, mental categories that emerge from discourse. This can consist in either lexical analysis (i.e., analysis of linguistic units, as for example words, see Article 1), or thematic analysis (i.e., meaning derived from social discourse, see Article 2). Qualitative analysis of social representations is consistent with the project of valuing subjective, minority perspectives in social psychology, as its

epistemological goal is to "identify the singularity and complexity of phenomena, to situate them in their psychological and social dynamics and to restore their internal logic [...]" (Kalampalikis & Apostolidis, 2016, p. 88).

1.2.2. Social identity as an extension of social representations and discourses

"The concept of social identity marks the individual-social interface interpreted as the construction of individuals in relation to the social representations of significant groups in their society" (Duveen & Lloyd, 1986, p. 219). The construction of ethnic majority versus ethnic minority categories indeed draws on particular systems of values, ideas and practices, from which different social identities derive. The negative or stigmatized social identities of ethnic minorities can be defined as "extensions" of social representations and social discourse developed by majority groups (Salgado & Clegg, 2011), which can be temporally endorsed and enacted by ethnic minority members, or not.

Notwithstanding the agentic potential of minority group members, as soon as the majority thinking community represents the minority group (e.g., the strangers, the Gypsies, the refugees, the Arabs), the capacity of minority members to live, think and behave as normal members of the society finds itself dramatically alienated (see also Goffman, 1963; Said, 1980). Social psychological empirical findings have widely illustrated the consequences of individual awareness of a negative social identity, especially on well-being and performance (e.g., Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Moreover, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) describes the behavioral options available to individuals whose social identity is negative. Depending on the social discourse about the permeability and legitimacy of majority-minority boundaries, these individuals can adopt an individual strategy, that is personally moving from the minority to the majority group category, or they can adopt an intergroup strategy, that is engage in collective actions in order to change the existing social hierarchy. The work of Moscovici and Faucheux (1972) on social influence also stressed the binary nature of minority groups' choice facing devaluating social categorization. These authors distinguished active from conforming minorities: Conforming minorities tend to align with the dominant

representations of existing majority-minority categories. On the contrary, active minorities succeed in bringing significant—albeit covert—social change by durably changing the way the minority group is represented. Moscovici (2011) however stated the need for social psychology to further investigate how ethnic prejudice expressed against ethnic minorities may function as both "obstacles [or] motives that encourage ethnic groups or communities to accept this shared fate and to play a normal part in the life of a society" (p. 444).

In fact, the social psychological literature established the relationship between ethnic minorities derogation by majority groups and acceptance of a shared fate and identity. The rejection-identification model introduced by Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey (1999) states how perceived discrimination by the majority group actually results in consolidation and positive reinterpretation of the minority group's identity. Nevertheless, this model points the social withdrawal of ethnic minorities, rather than their participation in the society, and would thus suggest that ethnic prejudice functions as psychological obstacle only. Psychological motives that, on the contrary, encourage ethnic minorities to play a part in the society—neither as subordinate or as second-class citizens, but as normal citizens—are described in other studies exploring the discourse of minority groups members. This literature reveals that low-status or disadvantaged individuals—such as members of ethnic minorities—usually contest intergroup boundaries (see e.g., Zagefka, 2009), claim multiple group identities, or strategically express or suppress behaviors in order to adapt to different situations. The contestation and negotiation of identity in the discourse of members of native, non-migrant ethnic minorities is very common. For example, Blackwood, Hopkins, and Reicher (2013) interviewed Scottish Muslims about their encounters with airport authorities. Participants complained about being misrecognized by authorities as Muslim instead of Scottish and Muslim (see also Hopkins, 2007). Howarth, Wagner, Magnusson, and Sammut (2014) also found that British mixed-heritage youths resisted ethnic categorization and experienced a tension between their need to "fit in" with the British society, and their need to honor their cultural origin. Similarly, Merino and Tileagă (2011) found that young Mapuches, a Chilean indigenous minority, described themselves as members of the minority but also objected to such categorization by majorities whose use of the term was deemed to be prejudiced. Hopkins and Greenwood (2013) reported how British Muslim women verbally anticipated Islamophobic prejudice when talking about the hijab, and took steps to resist this by identifying with

British and by developing counter-stereotypical discourse about their religious and gender identities (see similar findings among Black women in a study by Crenshaw, 2005). Moreover, contestation is also present in ethnic minorities resulting from migration. For example, Sala, Dandy, and Rapley (2010) showed how the discourse of Italian immigrants in Australia aims at demonstrating their Italian authenticity, while also discussing boundaries between immigrant and Australian ethnic identities (see also the work of Scuzarello, 2015 among Somalis and Poles in Sweden and the UK). Strategic positioning as regards social norms and majority groups' attitudes towards ethnic diversity, as well as the social identity function of the minority discourse in these few empirical examples, should remind of the social representations approach to intergroup relations.

Altogether, these empirical findings suggest that ethnic minority members "navigate" multiple identity categories (see also Curtin, Kende, & Kende, 2016) through discourse and interactions, an idea congruent with the notion of identity performance developed by Klein, Spears, and Reicher (2007). The authors refer thereby to the strategic and dynamic enactment of endeavours or traits that are conventionally associated with a salient social identity in order to achieve social goals. Social actors may perform different group memberships by stressing different groups traits and adopting specific behaviors. Accordingly, social representations of group categories and social identities shall be examined to the extent that they emerge in the dynamics of intergroup relations.

1.2.3. Intergroup contact, recategorization and the transmission of intergroup ideologies

While positive contact between majority and minority members reduces prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2011), it also provokes recategorization processes (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Dovidio et al., 2010) and influences the perception of intergroup discrimination. The critic formulated in the literature on sedative, or paradoxical, effect of positive intergroup contact is that intergroup contact scholars had so far acknowledged that "contact may transform interpersonal attitudes and stereotypes, but cautioned that it may leave unaltered the ideological beliefs that sustain systems of racial discrimination » (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux 2007, p. 868). This questionable

position was strengthened by existing social psychological theories stressing the psychological tendency among social minorities confronted with intergroup power and resources asymmetry to simply accept inequalities (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Moscovici & Faucheux, 1972).

It was some research conducted by social psychologists working in post-colonial societies where an ethnic minority (e.g., the autochtonous group) is disadvantaged that empirically revealed the sedative effect of positive intergroup contact on minority members' support for equality and social change. Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, and Pratto (2009) found that positive intergroup encounters between Israeli Arabs and Jews increased perceived fairness of the advantaged Jewish group by low status Arabs, which was related with decreased Arabs' willingness to support social change in favor of their group. Similarly, Sengupta and Sibley (2013) carried out a survey in New Zealand showing that positive contact with European descendants decreased Maori indigenous' support for policies favoring their rights on territorial planning issues. This effect was mediated by Maoris' adoption of Western meritocratic values (see similar "sedative" effect of positive intergroup contact in Brylka, Mähönen, Schellhaas, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015; Cakal, Hewstone, Schwär, & Heath, 2011; Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007; Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012; Durrheim & Dixon, 2010; Durrheim, Jacobs & Dixon, 2014; Tropp, Hawi, Van Laar, & Levin, 2012; Tausch, Saguy, & Bryson, 2015). Wright and Lubensky (2009) explained this demobilizing effect of positive intergroup contact by a psychological cleavage experienced by disadvantaged minority group members, between liking and respecting the high-status group and seeing this group as responsible for the disadvantaged group's oppression. Trying and solving this internal conflict, many individuals belonging to a disadvantaged social group decide that the categorization of oneself as "low-status" is the problem and that being more like the high-status group is the solution (see also Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012).

1.2.4. The complexity of "we" and identity-based model of collective action

A body of research parallel to sedative effects of contact has addressed the consequences of (positive) contact, and identity strategies, on attitudes and discourse of

minority members. Identity strategies of migrants following intercultural contact and integration in a receiving society was described in migration studies and acculturation research (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006).

Whereas migration studies confirmed that social exclusion and segregation leads members of ethnic minorities to seek social support and value in exclusive ethnic identities, in line with the rejection-identification model (cf. Branscombe et al., 1999), migration studies also suggest other possible identity strategies. For example, minority members can navigate between the ethnic minority and the majority identities, or construct a bicultural identity. Dual identifiers are notably capable of stressing one or the other identity component, depending on the ingroup or outgroup audience confronted (see Klein, Spears, & Reicher, 2007; see also Barreto, Spears, Ellemers, & Shahinper, 2003; Klandermans, 2002). For example, they can stress ethnic minority concerns when addressing ingroup fellows, but they can also formulate those concerns in a way that does not threaten the superordinate social group' values, norms, or laws in front of a mixed or majority audience. Besides, dual identification is frequent because individuals generally value social distinctiveness and singularity of one's position at the intersection of different social categories, over complete alignment with one single group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). A dual identification strategy may also be a pragmatic identity strategy when individual mobility from the minority to the majority group is impossible (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994).

Drawing on this literature and surveying members of ethnic minorities in post-migration societies, Simon and Klandermans (2001) hypothesized that the social identity of ethnic minority members supporting collective action is a dual construct, combining aspects from the country of origin and from the receiving country (see also Louis, Amiot, Thomas, & Blackwoord, 2016). Social psychological determinants of participation in collective action have been extensively demonstrated. These determinants are a motivation to balance costs and benefit of protesting (De Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Stürmer & Simon, 2004), the perception of shared grievances and collective efficacy (Simon & Klandermans, 2001), approbation of the participation by the milieu of origin (Klandermans & van Stekelenburg, 2014) and previous participation in political activities. Moreover, socially disadvantaged groups that have developed a salient collective identity seem to benefit from a unique and independent psychosocial motive for collective action, as conceptualized in the Social Identity Model of Collective

Action (SIMCA, Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008; see also Simon, 1998; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Thomas, Mavor, & McGarty, 2011; Reicher, 2004). When this collective identity takes a dual form that articulates membership in the ethnic minority (or heritage group) and membership in the superordinate national society, support for collective action and political participation in the name of the ethnic minority is increased (e.g., Turkish migrants in New York and Muslim in the Netherlands, see Klandermans, van der Toorn, & van Stekelenburg, 2008; Turkish and Russian migrants in Germany, see Simon & Grabow, 2010; Simon, Reichert, & Grabow, 2013; Simon & Ruhs, 2008). This identity process was described in the Politicized Collective Identity model of minority activism (PCI, Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Note that politicization and related identity adaptations among ethnic minorities with migration background seem to result from the maintenance of functional social distinctions in pseudo-egalitarian democratic states (cf. Section 1.1.2.). However, while civic integration policies usually promote the development of a common, national identity, the content and norms associated with this superordinate ingroup identity are usually biased towards the ethnic majority or dominant group (see e.g., Reijerse et al., 2013).

Moreover, according to acculturation research and consistent with the notion of identity performance (cf. Klein et al., 2007), articulation between ethnic and national identities is not necessarily a psychological experience in which the two identities are completely blended, but can take an alternating form and become more or less salient depending on contexts or situations (see Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Besides, ethnic and national identities are socially constructed knowledge (see Reicher & Hopkins, 2001), which can be psychologically reconciled to mobilize support for minority activism in some contexts, but which may also demobilize individuals in others (see e.g., Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2014 about the downside of dual identification for religious activism in Western Europe).

Integrating these different notions into a conceptual framework that is summarized in Figure 1 below, the present thesis challenges the sedative effect of positive intergroup contact on the political attitudes of ethnic minorities by examining the construction and the components of their collective identity. In a first line of research, I will focus on the consequences of ethnic prejudice for the social identity of ethnic minorities, thereby indirectly speaking to the rejection-identification model, and by drawing more explicitly on social representational explanations of social identities, and social identity performance (Articles 1 to 3). In a second line of research, I will address the relationship

between intergroup contact and collective identity boundaries, which in turn affect support for social change through minority activism, that is, the sedative effect of positive contact (Articles 4a, 4b, and 5). This second line of research will notably integrate the social identity, and the politicized collective identity models of collective action (SIMCA and PCI) and look at the statistical and psychological interaction between ethnic and national identities of ethnic minorities members (i.e., dual identity).

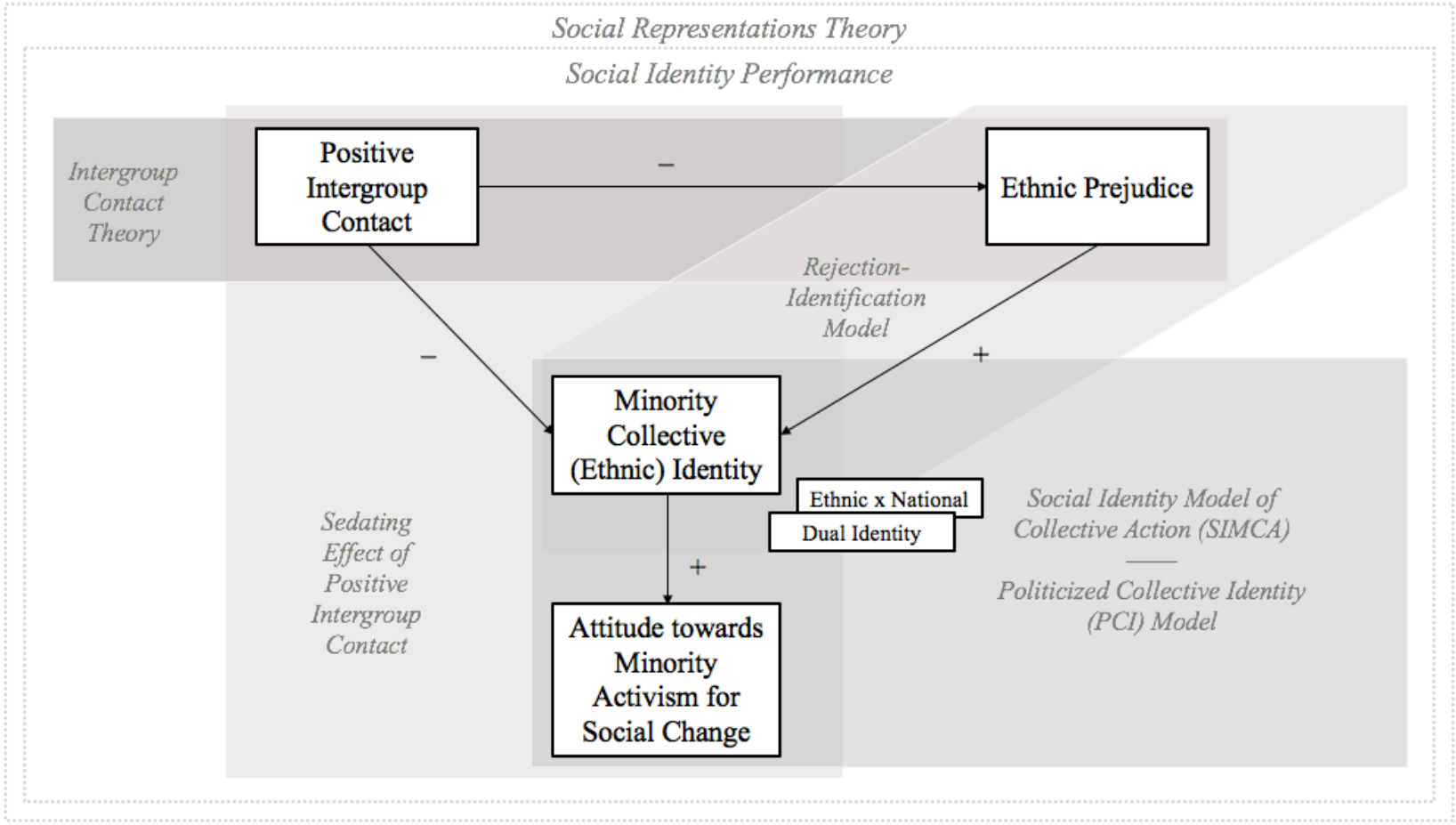


Figure 1. Conceptual framework of the thesis

1.2.5. Preliminary evidence about ethnic identification, perceived discrimination and political attitudes of Roma

Large-scale social surveys conducted within the EU provide some preliminary information about the opinion and attitudes of members of national Roma minorities, that is the great majority of contemporary Roma that are now settled and living in Central or South-Eastern European countries. For example, Kamberi, Martinovic, and Verkuyten (2014) pooled data from more than 8000 Roma citizens from twelve different South-Eastern EU countries. The study revealed that social discrimination was reported three times more often among Roma than among non-Roma EU citizens. Moreover, Roma participants had, on average, a lower level of well-being compared to non-Roma nationals. This was notably explained by lower self-evaluated levels of health, income, housing, and education. Figures from the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (EU AFR, 2011) confirm the extent of this shared discrimination experience among members of European Roma minorities. In the 11 countries where the agency collected data, an average of 46% of the Roma had been victims of ethnic discrimination during the 12 months preceding the survey, in particular regarding housing and employment. Discrimination was experienced by two out of three Roma participants in Italy, the Czech Republic and Poland, and concerned one out of three participants in Romania, Bulgaria (the context of four of the studies presented in this thesis), and Spain.

Accordingly, one could expect that the Roma minorities would have developed a political will regarding the improvement of their social position and reputation. However, statistics indicate another reality. While two-thirds of the Roma surveyed by the EU AFR said they knew of organizations supporting the Roma minorities, less than 10% had participated in voluntary work or political activity supporting them. In contrast, one out of two of the Roma surveyed, and especially among EU Roma citizens living in Central and South-Eastern countries, said they voted in the last national elections. This reluctance from members of the different Roma national minorities to engage in a power struggle for the emancipation of all individuals belonging to the Roma category might be partly explained by another interesting finding from Kamberi et al.'s aforementioned secondary analysis of EU survey data. Indeed, Roma participants in their sample presented significantly lower scores of identification with a distinct ethnic group (i.e., Roma) as compared to the scores of members of non-Roma superordinate national

majorities. This observation is not unique. For example, the work of Tomova, Vandova, and Tomov (2000) in the region of Sliven in the center-East of Bulgaria (2005) also indicated that only 71% of a sample of inhabitants identified by authorities and locals as Roma actually self-identified themselves as Roma. The remaining individuals alternatively identified as Bulgarian (7%), Turkish (5%) or simply refused to identify in ethnic terms (17%). Csepeli and Simon (2004) found comparable proportions in their multi-national study. In Romania and Hungary, this proportion of people reluctant to Roma ethnic identification increased to two-thirds of the "Roma" surveyed (Ladányi & Szelenyi, 2001). In Slovakia, Reysen, Slobodnikova, and Katzarska-Miller (2016) explained this self- versus other-identification discrepancy by revealing that the more the boundary with the non-Roma Slovak majority was perceived as permeable, the less the Roma participants in their study identified as belonging to a separate ethnic group (see also Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Actually, several experts agree that settled Roma minorities are usually deeply attached to their national territories and committed to local traditions. Most of them feel, for example, Serbian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, French, but "in a Roma way" (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2014; Kligman, 2001, see also the work of Kahani-Hopkins & Hopkins, 2002 about feeling Muslim "in a British way").

The Roma minorities are thus in reality very diverse, despite a lack of resources (including political power) and a chronicity of social disadvantages obviously shared across national contexts. According to some experts, the reluctance to engage in a power struggle in the name of the Roma might originate in the progressive transformation of the ethnonym "Roma" into a generic, and negatively connoted, term designating an impoverished socio-economic class living in Eastern Europe (ECRI, 2014). Interestingly, Pnevmatikos, Geka, and Divane (2010) sought to find out when and how the first signs of ethnic identification with the Roma appear. They thus surveyed Greek citizens with Roma origin. Their study concluded that awareness of belonging to a distinct ethnic group appears at the age of only 3. Moreover, Roma children mentioned a particular tradition, that is the marriage between minor individuals belonging to Roma minorities. Since most contemporary constitutions prohibit the marriage of minors, the only alternative for Roma citizens who wish to perpetuate this ancestral tradition related to the issue of virginity is to marry illegally among members of Roma minorities sharing the same faith. This endogamous social practice of course influenced the socialization

of Roma children. This study also highlights why the Roma ethnicity is usually defined by Roma as a very restricted aspect of their social identity related to parentage and choice of partner (see e.g., Pamporov, 2008), rather than to a transnational collective consciousness. The endogamous practice of Roma also, ironically, causes the mechanic reproduction of interethnic boundaries and the persistence of national majorities' image of the Roma as a self-marginalizing group with backward cultural practices. In summary, being born as a Roma person exposes individuals to a social destiny that is already sealed (Kligman, 2001): they may try to reject or hide their origin, or they may embrace the social stigma and accept the disadvantages (and advantages) of a life in the margins of the society.

Altogether, prior knowledge resulting from the few social surveys and psychological studies conducted among members of Roma settled minorities indicate that individuals with Roma origin undoubtedly share a common fate regarding the extent of their group discrimination. However, prior research also indicates that members of Roma minorities throughout different European nations resist the Roma-exclusive ethnic identification to the benefit of more inclusive national affiliations, for example. Consistently, few Roma actually support ethnic activism in favor of improvements of the position of all Roma, whereas quite a few enact their civic rights (when provided), by going to the polls for national elections, for example. Furthermore, the concomitance between the weak political emancipation of the Roma minorities throughout Europe, and the endurance of anti-Roma prejudice speaks to Moscovici's (2011) assumption about the prejudice-related obstacles and motives that encourage ethnic minorities to accept a shared fate and to play a normal part in the society (2011). Once again, this thesis thus contributes in filling in this knowledge gap by studying the social and psychological motives driving the reluctance—or motivation—of members of the Roma and the Kosovo Albanian minorities to participate in collective, political actions in the name of their minority group. From a theoretical perspective, traditional Roma minorities are thus more likely to perceive their ethnic and national identities as two compatible sides of a dual identity mobilized in ethnic activism. In contrast, the politicized, collective identity of Kosovo Albanian immigrants in Switzerland might cover a totally different social reality (see the section 2.2.1. and 2.2.2. below for information about the origin and history of the minority populations studied in the present thesis).

Part II

Research questions and methods

2.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

As a reminder, this thesis proposes to examine the antecedents of the political participation of individuals on behalf of their group, when they belong to a disadvantaged and / or stigmatized ethnic minority. At the crossroad between the social representation, the social identity, and the intergroup contact theory, this thesis focuses on the obstacles or motives that encourage ethnic groups to accept a shared fate (cf. Moscovici, 2011) and fight as a group for social change. In line with this theoretical framework (cf. Figure 1), the present thesis addresses a number of theoretical and empirical questions:

The thesis starts by investigating how members of ethnic minorities build and negotiate a collective identity facing prejudice, building on notions and methods from social representations and identity performance approaches. First of all, the thesis questions the content of the Roma discourse about the Roma collective identity and interethnic relations and investigates the principles (**Q1**) and themata (**Q2**) that structure the discourse. The contestation of an exclusive ethnic identity by members of national Roma minorities in the existing European surveys forecasts some contradictions in the generalized adoption of a Roma-ethnic identity. Facing the particular history of intergroup relations and the social representations of the Roma-Gypsy minority (cf. section 1.1.1.), I thus hypothesized that (**H1**) the content of the minority discourse would reveal alternative definitions of the Roma identity. Notwithstanding the assumption made at the beginning of this thesis about a majority-minority perspective discrepancy, I also hypothesized (**H2**) an interdependence in majority and minority groups' views about Roma identity. Then, the thesis questions the role of anti-Roma prejudice in Roma identity processes (**Q3**). Drawing on the interdependence and on the dynamic nature of identity processes and performances, I hypothesized that (**H3**) prejudice would be a central psychological motive in the construction and negotiation of the Roma minority's collective identity.

Second, the weak support for pro-Roma social movements in existing surveys suggests that other intergroup dynamics—such as a sedative effect of positive intergroup contact—are at stake and undermine Roma's enactment of a politicized collective identity. Accordingly, the thesis then examines the psychological requirements for Roma's politicization (**Q4**). In line with the literature, I hypothesized that (**H4**) a

combination of anger, perceived discrimination and identity predictors explain Roma's involvement in the political realm, both in general (i.e., civic involvement) and, more specifically, in favour of the minority group (i.e., ethnic activism). The thesis then further examines whether the sedating effect of positive intergroup contact on minority activism for social change holds when simultaneously considering national identification of native, ethnic minorities members such as the Roma (**Q5**). I hypothesized that (**H5**) national identification can efficiently counter demobilization produced by reduced ethnic identification. Finally, drawing on the literature about the dual nature of active minorities' collective identity, the thesis further specifies whether this is the compatibility between ethnic and national identities that keeps minority members supportive despite positive intergroup contact experience (**Q6**). I there hypothesized that (**H6**) dual identification counters the sedative effect of contact happening through reduced ethnic, and increased national, identification, respectively.

These research questions were formulated to address, and were inspired by, the particular situation of settled Roma minorities. However, they can undoubtedly be generalized to other ethnic minorities that have been historically disadvantaged and suffer interethnic prejudice. In order to guide the reader in the possible translation of these theoretical issues to other ethnic minority groups, this thesis includes a final study that examines identity predictors of minority activism in a different ethnic minority, namely Kosovo Albanian immigrants living in Switzerland (see Table 1 for a summary of research questions, hypotheses and study populations).

2.2. DATA

2.2.1. Roma dataset

Studies presented in Articles 1 to 4 were conducted with data from a collaborative research project in which I had the opportunity to participate actively. The project entitled "*The dynamic of interethnic relations in Bulgaria*" was part of the Bulgarian-Swiss Research Program, an initiative implemented and funded by the Swiss National Scientific Foundation (SNSF). The project enacted the support provided by Switzerland in the economic development of the European Union and the inclusion of

new member-states. Eva G. T. Green, Associate Professor in Social Psychology at the Institute of Psychology of the University of Lausanne, was the principal investigator (PI) for Switzerland. Yolanda Zografova was the Bulgarian PI. Prof. Zografova is the head of the social, work and organizational psychology research unit, as well as the scientific secretary of the Institute of population and human studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia. Christian Staerklé (Associate Professor, University of Lausanne) and Antoaneta Hristova (Associate Professor, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) were respectively the Swiss and Bulgarian co-PIs (see Green, Zografova, Staerklé, & Hristova, 2013-2016. SNF Grant n° IZEBZ0_142998). The general aim of this project was to deepen the understanding of social psychological processes underlying interethnic attitudes and prejudice of both the Bulgarian majority and of the two major ethnic minorities (Roma and Turks, 4.9% and 8.9% of the population, respectively) in contemporary Bulgaria. The project examined the views of the Bulgarian majority and the two largest minorities on their relationship between each other as well as their views on new minorities, that is, immigrant groups. The project addressed a large number of social psychological constructs such as group identification, acculturation orientations and expectations, intergroup contact, emotions and attitudes, political orientations and historical memory.

My collaboration in this research project was an opportunity to discover a national and interethnic context that was previously unknown to me. This international professional collaboration and the diversity of research interests around the survey project motivated me to carry out preliminary personal historical and socio-political research about the Bulgarian intergroup context. The next pages summarize key-elements of these preliminary readings.

A WORD ABOUT THE BULGARIAN INTERETHNIC CONTEXT

What makes a nation is the past (Hobsbawm & Kertzer, 1992).

The Balkans and Caucasian regions in South-Eastern Europe are among the world's richest ethnolinguistic ones (Gammer, 2008). Among these, the Bulgarian territory, and in particular the shores of the Black Sea, were inhabited already during antiquity. After the Roman Empire, Bulgarian territory came under the influence of the Byzantine Empire, which recognized in 681 the unity of a proto-Bulgarian community, a mixed population notably constituted by further Eastern Slavs, who brought the

Cyrillic alphabet into Bulgarian culture. According to several national myths, ever since then, the inhabitants of the Bulgarian territory have maintained a cohesion and sort of national "consciousness" (Volgyi, 2007).

At the end of the ninth century, proto-Bulgarian people progressively adopted Christianity, which makes it one of the oldest Christian nations in Europe. This Christianism would later be construed as a fundamental aspect of the Bulgarian national identity (see e.g., Eminov, 1999; Volgyi, 2007). At the end of the fourteenth century, all regions populated by communities from emerging Bulgarian culture had been conquered by the Ottoman Empire, an occupation that lasted until 1878. At the end of the occupation, the integrity and unity of the Bulgarian regions were questioned and half of them were soon returned to the Ottomans. A first Bulgarian constitution (1879-1947) was nevertheless established. This constitution guaranteed the freedom of religion throughout a territory inhabited by many Muslim communities, although it also clearly stated Orthodox Christianity as the official religion of the Bulgarian majority (Volgyi, 2007).

The complete independence of Bulgaria from Turkey was proclaimed in 1908. After the first World War, Bulgaria endured severe territorial sanctions. The authorities of the young Bulgarian state were asked to conform with the prerogatives of the League of Nations (the ancestor of the United Nations) regarding the recognition of ethnic minorities' civil rights, especially those of Bulgarian "Gypsies". According to some experts, these sanctions and reparatory demands, from the perspective of a long-occupied nation, activated "revanchist and cultural nationalism" (Volgyi, 2007, p. 14). These feelings might partly explain why Bulgarians came to the second World War allied with Axis forces, despite refusing to participate in the fight against the Soviet Union and accepting pacifically the soviet occupation in 1944.

After the second World War, Bulgarians stayed under the influence of the Soviet Union. The Bulgarian Communist Party-state (BCP) was created and built a regime in which ethnic minorities, in particular descendants from Turks (who had stayed after Bulgarian declaration of independence) and Gypsies were perceived as additional supporters of the one-party state. However, assimilation campaigns directed towards these two ethnic minorities—Turks and Gypsies—were also launched by communist authorities, which were sensitive to the issue of national cohesion and aware of criticism against the failed unity achieved through the class struggle (Anagnostou, 2005).

After 40 years of communist regime, the end of the Soviet society and the need for a political transition stressed even more the need to redefine the relationship between state and citizens and to reformulate once and for all the Bulgarian national identity (Volgyi, 2007). However, community habits and small-groups solidarity had been an important coping strategy facing the institutionalized deprivation of citizens' fundamental rights (e.g., private property) during the most authoritarian years of the communist regime. Accordingly, Bulgarians withdraw on their local community and ethnic identities facing the national identity crisis surrounding the democratic and economic transition (Hobsbawm & Kertzer, 1992).

In July 1991, after a monarchist and two socialist versions of the Bulgarian constitution, a democratic constitution was written, with only four major amendments since. As in other democratic societies, the Bulgarian constitution focuses on individuals and citizens' rights, and ensures cultural and religious freedom. Social surveys dated from these transition years indicate that attitudes from the ethnic Bulgarian majority towards Turkish-Bulgarians were rather negative, as they were towards Pomaks (a traditional Bulgarian Muslim minority) and Roma (Volgyi, 2007). In order to prevent interethnic conflict, the transition government decided that the new constitution would also prohibit the formation of ethnic-based parties. However, the Movement for Rights and Freedom (MRF) has already been clandestinely formed in the last years of the communist period and was traditionally populated by Turkish and Muslim Bulgarian citizens who radicalized after the communist assimilation campaigns. While the constitutional article was inflexibly applied to Roma-Bulgarian organizations, the MRF was not prohibited, despite this meant that the Turkish-Bulgarian minority was de facto privileged and politically legitimated. As a result of the absence of official pro-Roma party, deputy, or candidate, political parties in Bulgaria have been accused since then of strategically using the Roma minority to win in the polls.

Furthermore, from the democratic transition onwards, Bulgaria's major political concern was oriented towards the European integration process. EU pressures against ethnic discrimination and against the violation of minorities' rights, in addition to the fact that most Turkish- and Roma-Bulgarians inhabited rural regions of the country, surely alleviated separatist claims and the risk of violent interethnic conflicts. In 2007, Bulgaria (and Romania) officially became EU member-states. Education grants, minorities' media broadcasting in their native language, cultural projects, but also a number of non-governmental organizations actively supporting minorities' rights, are

legacies of messages sent to EU candidate states by the European court of Human Rights (see e.g., Anagnostou, 2005; Rechel, 2008; Volgyi, 2007). Testifying EU's sometimes conflicting messages about cultural diversity, however, Bulgarian authorities alternatively celebrate Roma's inclusion into Bulgarian culture, and blame them for impeding Bulgaria's economic integration into EU. Public debates regularly focus on the money spent on ethnic minorities, especially social aids allocated to Roma citizens. Today, EU integration is questioned, since the young Bulgarian democracy encounters economic and political instability, along with rising crime, poverty and corruption. These important social issues are recurrently associated with interethnic distinctions. Indeed, Turkish- and Roma-Bulgarians are still named "Bulgarian Turks" and "Roma", emphasizing their distinct identity and maintaining a symbolic separation between groups (Pettigrew, 2010), as opposed to some more inclusive multicultural discourses heard in other democracies of the world.

SURVEY PREPARATION AND PROCEDURE

The research plan of the Swiss-Bulgarian project included a secondary analyses of existing social survey datasets (e.g., International Social Survey Programme ISSP, Eurobarometer, European Social Survey ESS), a cross-sectional survey conducted in three regions of Bulgaria (Kardzhali, Montana, and Stara Zagora, see Figure 2) chosen for their differing ethnic makeup, and semi-directive interviews conducted in a subsample of the cross-sectional survey participants. Prof. Green, Prof. Staerklé, Dr. Emilio Paolo Visintin (post-doctoral fellow), and myself (at the time, the Swiss PI's PhD student) collaborated with the Bulgarian PI and co-PI as well as with senior (Dr. Diana Bakalova) and junior psychologists (Drs. Polimira Miteva and Ana Bozhanova) from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences on the elaboration, planning and execution of the project. As junior collaborator, I was in charge of creating, feeding and updating a project website (visit the project website at http://wp.unil.ch/interethnicbulgaria).

a. Cross-sectional survey questionnaire.

During the first year of the project, Emilio P. Visintin and I retrieved and proposed scales and items for a number of dimensions of interest (i.e., group identification, acculturation orientations and expectations, intergroup contact, emotions and attitudes, political orientations and historical memory). The entire Bulgarian team

was then involved in finalising the survey questionnaire. Three versions of the survey questionnaire were built with modifications depending on the relevance of the concepts related to the study of intergroup relations for each of the Bulgarian ethnic sub-groups. The questionnaire versions were carefully translated from English (i.e., the project language) into Bulgarian and back by bilingual members of the project in order to obtain equivalent Bulgarian versions. All items were either reproduced from validated scales or adapted with modifications for matching the specificities of the Bulgarian intergroup context. The version of the questionnaire developed for Roma-Bulgarians assessed group identification, intergroup ideologies, prejudice, contact, acculturation orientations and political behaviour. For it did not contain historical memory and victimization items (which concerned the Ottoman past of Bulgaria), the version for Roma-Bulgarians was slightly shorter. We notably spent time developing and contextualizing a total of 14 items that were relevant to the civic involvement of Roma-Bulgarians, to their support for policies improving the status of Roma, and to their willingness to personally engage in ethnic activism (see Appendix A for questionnaire). After the finalization of the three questionnaire versions, Emilio P. Visintin and I finalised the survey materials (i.e., questionnaire layout, response cards, and training material).

b. Follow-up semi-structured interviews.

For interviews, I was in charge of proposing a methodological framework and design a first draft of the interview protocol relevant to the project themes, under the supervision of Prof. Green. Conducted among some voluntary participants of the ethnic Bulgarian, Turkish, and Roma study samples, the interviews enriched our understanding of intergroup attitudes and provided us with more personal, in-depth accounts of everyday interethnic relations in Bulgaria.

We rapidly chose to conduct semi-structured interviews. A semi-structured interview is framed around themes to be explored (e.g., the parameters measured in the cross-sectional questionnaire), while still allowing an open conversation where new themes or ideas are welcome (as compared to structured interviews, see Edwards & Holland, 2013). Drawing on my review of several qualitative research guides (e.g., Braun & Clarke, 2013; Flick, von Kardoff, & Steinke, 2004), my first draft of the semi-structured interview protocol stressed a number of methodological aspects about the formulation of question probes (e.g., the distinction between main and clarifying questions, choice of keywords) and about the interview procedure in general (e.g.,

interviewers' presentation, warm-up, finishing the interview). The protocol was structured in four thematic sections: identification, contact and prejudice, historical memory and historical victimhood (only for ethnic Bulgarians and Bulgarian Turks), and discrimination and victimization. The Bulgarian team was then involved in finalising the questions for these semi-structured interviews of the three ethnic groups. Dr. Visintin and I were in charge of finalizing the interview materials as for the questionnaire (see Appendix B for interview protocol designed for Roma participants).

c. Preparatory fieldwork trips.

My personal ethnographic observations during the Swiss team's trips to Bulgaria have been key in developing my expertise on the results. Appendix C is a short photographic report of the project that I created using pictures that I took and ethnographic observations that I wrote during our preparatory fieldwork trips in October 2013 and June 2014. The Swiss-Bulgarian research project was punctuated by several journeys from the Swiss research team to Bulgaria (4 in total, but only 3 in which I personally participated) as well as one visit of the Bulgarian research team to the University of Lausanne. During the second visit of mine in Sofia in June 2014, we consulted several specialists of interethnic relations in Bulgaria and survey among ethnic minorities: Prof. Ilona Tomova, Dr. Erguil Taguir, Dr. Alexey Pamporov, and Prof. Maya Grekova (see p. 262 for some pictures of these meetings). Publications and comments from these experts were key in interpreting the different quantitative and qualitative results of the project. During this second journey, the entire research team travelled to Stara Zagora (where the semi-structured interviews with Roma had just started to be conducted, see section d. below), for visiting the sampling regions and discussing the fieldwork (see also pp. 257-261).

The photographic report also contains pictures from the final trip to Bulgaria that was organized early June 2016. During this last stay, we paid a post-research visit to the municipality of Karzhali, where we met the mayor and local stakeholders to present our main results (see p. 266). During this last journey, we also invited around 50 stakeholders involved in the monitoring and improvement of interethnic relations in Bulgaria (incl. related NGOs, representatives of the National Council for Cooperation on Ethnic and Integration Issues, the Committee on Interaction with NGOs and Citizens' Complaints) to join us for an official roundtable in Sofia (see p. 268).

d. Fieldwork.

The data collection was conducted by the Study of the Societies and Knowledge (ISSK), Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, in June and July 2014. Dr. Diana Bakalova and the PhD students participated with Dr. Ekaterina Markova from ISSK in the training of interviewers in the three regions. The PhD students monitored the fieldwork. The questionnaire procedure was conducted in the three municipalities using a two-stage cluster sampling method. Sampling points were selected based on self-reported ethnicity data (Bulgarian National Statistical Institute, http://statlib.nsi.bg:8181/isisbgstat/ssp/fulltext.asp?content=/FullT/FulltOpen/P_22_2011_SRB.pdf). Eight respondents were sought from each sampling point. The sample was stratified by gender, age, and urban or rural residence. This particular quota sampling has then required from us to control it in the statistical analyses.

The survey questionnaires were administrated to a total of 576 ethnic Bulgarians, 320 Bulgarian Turks, and 320 Roma-Bulgarians spread across the three regions (see Figure 2). Montana is a city and municipality in North-western Bulgaria known for hosting the country's highest proportion of Roma citizens. According to the last ethnic census of the Bulgarian National Statistical Institute (2011), the minority culminates there with 12,7% and lives relatively well integrated with the rest of the local population. In contrast, Stara Zagora is a city and municipality in the centre of Bulgaria, where the Roma community represents 6.8% of the local population (see also Pamporov, 2016) spread between segregated neighbourhoods from Stara Zagora city and rural villages. The third survey region, Karzhali, is populated by less than 1% of Roma, or by people from Roma descent but self-identifying as Bulgarian Turks. Therefore, we decided not to sample Roma in this region. Accordingly, the final sample of Roma was equally distributed between Roma from Montana and from Stara Zagora.

At the end of the questionnaire procedure, some participants were additionally asked for their written consent about being contacted during the summer for a follow-up face-to-face interview. The semi-directive interviews were conducted between July and September 2014, prior to being transcribed and translated into English during autumn 2014 under the supervision of the Bulgarian team members. Dr. Erguil Taguir conducted ten semi-structured interviews among Bulgarian Turks living in Karzhali. In addition, ten Roma-Bulgarians living in the municipality of Stara Zagora were selected

to participate in the semi-directive interview procedure in exchange of a 15 Lev incentive (corresponding to circa 7.5 euros).

Figure 2. Map of Bulgaria. Arrows indicate the three municipalities where the survey was conducted.

In the absence of trained and skilled Roma interviewer, we mandated a Bulgarian sociologist from outside the project to conduct the interviews with the Roma. Alexey Pamporov is Ph.D. in sociology and Associate Professor at ISSK, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Due to his longstanding experience with interviewing ethnic minorities and especially Roma, Prof. Pamporov (see p. 262) was able to adapt to the particular conditions of the survey among Roma citizens. For example, instead of a traditional and at-home face-to-face interview setting, he had to conduct outdoor and public interviews (especially for female interviewees). He also anticipated the potential status and desirability biases that may trigger distancing from ingroup and either tried to directly address them during the interview process or provided us with useful comments in the interview transcripts.

The two Bulgarian PhD students hired on the project conducted themselves twenty semi-structured interviews among ethnic Bulgarians and also transcribed the 40 interviews in total. The translations of these interview transcriptions (approximatively

450 pages of interview material) into English were carried out by an external agency. Prof. Zografova, Prof. Hristova, Dr. Bakalova, Polimira Miteva and Ana Bozhanova then conducted a content analysis of the interview data in order to provide the entire team with a complete overview of the material.

e. Insight into majority attitudes towards Roma-Bulgarians in the survey.

Preliminary analysis of the questionnaire data collected among ethnic Bulgarians confirmed the prevalence of negative attitudes of the majority group towards Roma-Bulgarians. Ethnic Bulgarians (n = 576) expressed low trust towards Roma citizens (M = 1.71, SD = .85) and felt little able to share joys and sorrows with Roma (M = 1.89, SD = .58).[5] Notwithstanding these negative emotions, majority members expressed on average little discomfort (M = 1.83, SD = 1.04), anger (M = 2.15, SD = 1.05), or disrespect toward the Roma (M = 2.38, SD = 1.09, all intergroup emotion items were rated on a scale ranging from 1 '*No, not at all*' to 5 '*Yes, very much'*).[6] These results confirmed the observation that Roma ethnicity in Eastern Europe is associated with a "familiar strangeness" (Zhelyazkova, 2001; see also Petkov, 2006). Moreover, the anti-Roma blatant dehumanization scale[7] (α = .79) clearly indicates that ethnic Bulgarians consider Roma as a backward cultural minority (M = 4.42, SD = .63, items rated on a 5-points scale ranging from '*Completely disagree*' to '*Completely agree*'). When asking what was the general attitude of ethnic Bulgarian participants towards Roma on a scale ranging from 1 '*Extremely Bad*' to 7 '*Extremely good*' (with 4 indicating indifference), the sample mean lean, again, to the negative side (M = 3.51, SD = 26). Finally, negative contact[8] with Roma were reported more frequently than positive contact on average (t(515) = 3.13, p = .002, d = 0.14, see also Visintin et al., 2017).

For further information, the project's findings are now formalized in a substantive number of papers published in peer-reviewed, scientific journals (see Bakalova & Tair, 2014; Bozhanova, 2014; Green, Visintin, Hristova, Bozhanova,

[5] Items were '*Do you trust the Roma?*' and '*Can you share joys and sorrows with Roma?*', respectively.
[6] Items were '*Do you feel uncomfortable about meeting an unknown Roma?*', and '*Do you feel disrespect toward the Roma?*', respectively.
[7] The scale was composed of three items, i.e. '*Roma's intelligence is lower than that of other communities.*', '*Moral values are less developed among Roma.*', and '*Some aspects of Roma life are typical examples of a backward culture.*'.
[8] The contact item was '*If any, how often do you experience the encounters with Roma you know well as unpleasant?*'.

Pereira, & Staerklé, 2017; Miteva, 2015; Visintin, Brylka, Green, Mähönen, & Jasinskaha-Lahti, 2016; Visintin, Green, Bakalova, & Zografova, 2015; Visintin et al., 2017; Zografova & Andreev, 2014; Hristova, Zografova, Bakalova, & Andreev, 2016).

2.2.2. **Kosovo Albanian immigrants dataset**

The final study (cf. Article 5) is based on cross-sectional data collected after the end of the Swiss-Bulgarian research project via a self-administrated questionnaire procedure among Kosovo Albanian immigrants (n = 150) established in Switzerland. The questionnaire was developed in collaboration with Gesim Misini, a Masters student from Kosovo who conducted his thesis at the University of Lausanne under my advisor and I's supervision in 2016. In addition to several scales that I proposed and that were similar to those we used in the Bulgarian survey questionnaire, the questionnaire notably included a dual identification scale (see Appendix D for questionnaire). Note also that Mr. Misini made effort to gather detailed information about the migration background of participants (e.g., year of arrival in Switzerland, citizenship, fluency in French) that add to the quality and great potential of this dataset. For detailed information about the questionnaire preparation and fieldwork, see Misini (2016).

A WORD ABOUT THE KOSOVO ALBANIAN MINORITY IN SWITZERLAND

According to the Swiss Federal Office of Migrations (OFM), the Kosovo Albanian diaspora represents one of the major immigrant groups in Switzerland estimated to 150'000 to 170'000 people (Burri Sharani et al., 2010). The first migration waves in the 60's was composed of poor seasonal-working men, occupied mostly in agriculture and construction, who lived at the outskirt of the Swiss society and maintained a strong Albanian and Muslim identity. From the 1990s onward, around one million Kosovo Albanians left the small province located at the northern boundary between Albania and Serbia due to a violent armed conflict with Serbian authorities. In Switzerland, arrivals culminated between 1998 and 1999 with 50'000 asylum seekers, most of whom returned in the province of Kosovo shortly after the end of the conflict officially dated from June 9th, 1999. Kosovo Albanian communities are more present in the German-speaking cantons (e.g., Zurich), and less in the French (e.g., Vaud, Genève) and Italian-speaking regions. Their arrival during the Swiss economic crisis of the

1990s, along with the involvement of young Kosovo Albanians in drug deals, built the image of a community seen as an economic burden and abusing the Swiss asylum and welfare system (Fibbi & Truong, 2015).

In addition, Kosovo Albanians from Switzerland are generally considered as having a salient ethnic identity due to the sensitiveness of the Kosovo state recognition issue. They are perceived by Swiss authorities as separated and politicized (Dahinden & Moret, 2008), especially for having provided a key political and financial support to the resisting forces in Kosovo during the conflict (Burri Sharani et al., 2010). New Kosovo Albanian arrivals (mainly for family grouping motives) are close to 4'000 per year. Besides, 40'000 Kosovo Albanians have gone through a Swiss naturalization process to date. The annual number of naturalization requests has drastically increased in the last years. Second-generation Kosovars often naturalized and highly educated (Fibbi & Truong, 2015), and expressing freely their attachment to Kosovo, have now freed themselves from the primary economic sector and are visible in many areas of the Swiss socioeconomic environment, contrasting with the former stereotype about this immigrant minority. Their progressive integration into the Swiss society feeds public debates about the loyalty of this minority towards Switzerland, and the compatibility of Kosovar and Swiss cultural norms (see e.g., Cola, Iseni, Brusa, 2012; see also Boren, 2018; Nicolet, 2014).

2.3. OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH STUDIES

The research empirical findings of the thesis are organised in two lines (see Table 1 for a summary of articles presented within each research line). A first line of research composed of three research studies explores the discourse of the Roma about ethnic and national identities, interethnic contact, and prejudice. The first line of research manages both the content and the function of the Roma minority discourse, by combining quantitative and qualitative data mining techniques (see also methodological section 2.4. below). More precisely:

Article 1 describes and reveals semantic principles organizing the content of the discourse from members of the Roma minority about ethnic identity and interethnic relations.

Article 2 further explores the same interview material in terms of underlying themes, and questions their relationship with representations of the "Gypsies" hold by the non-Roma majority group.

Article 3 focuses on part of the interviews mentioning anti-Roma prejudice and analyses how they relate to discourse about ethnic and national identities of the Roma.

Integrating insights from the Roma discourse, the second line of research is composed of two additional studies that implement statistical techniques to examine the relationships between positive contact, ethnic, national, and dual identification, and support for ethnic activism. Accordingly:

Articles 4a and 4b build on the politicized collective identity model of minority activism in order to predict support for Roma activism among members of the Roma minority and then test whether the sedative effect of contact is conditioned by the interplay between Roma's ethnic and national identification.

Finally, **Article 5** tests the conditions of the sedative effect of contact for Kosovo Albanians living in Switzerland and reflects further on the issue of compatibility and oppositions between ethnic and national identity.

Table 1.

Summary of Research Studies (in Order of Appearance in the Thesis)

		Authorship	Study Population	Sample Size	Analysis Method	Research question (Q) and hypothesis (H)	Key Concepts / Measures	Material available in Appendix
Research Line 1	*Article 1*	Giroud (in preparation)	Bulgarian Roma (Swiss-Bulgarian SNSF project)	10	Computer-Assisted, Lexical Analysis	(**Q1**) What is the content of the Roma discourse about interethnic relations and what principles structure interindividual variations? (**H1**) the content of the discourse would reveal alternative definitions of the Roma identity.	Social Representation Theory Structuring Principles of Position Taking (cf. Clémence, Doise, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1994)	Appendix B
	Article 2	Pereira & Green (2017)			Discourse Analysis	(**Q2**) What are the themata underlying the positions of Roma about Roma ethnicity and interethnic relations? (**H2**) Since majority and minority positions are interdependent, minority position is likely to be generated by the same dialectical oppositions.	Themata (Moscovici & Vignaux, 1994), Gpysy Ontologization (Pérez, Moscovici, & Chulvi, 2007)	Appendix B
	Article 3	Giroud, Durrheim, & Green (in preparation)			Discourse Analysis	(**Q3**) Does the presence (or absence) of prejudice and discrimination play a role in Roma-Bulgarians' talking about the Roma identity? (**H3**) Arguments about anti-minority prejudice participate in expression and performance of the minority group identity.	Identity Performance (Klein, Spears, & Reicher, 2007; Durrheim, Quayle, & Dixon, 2016)	Appendix B

Research Line 2	*Article 4a*	Pereira (unpublished preliminary study)	Bulgarian Roma (Swiss-Bulgarian SNSF project)	320	Descriptive Statistics & Multiple Regressions	(**Q4**) Do Roma-Bulgarians meet the psychological requirements for politicization? (**H4**) The politicization of Roma-Bulgarians and their attitude toward activism can be predicted by antecedents of the politicized collective identity model (PCI, see Simon & Klandermans, 2001).	(IVs) Perceived Discrimination, Anger, Ethnic, National, & European Identification (DVs) Support for Ethnic Activism, Civic Involvement	Appendix A See also Appendix E
	Article 4b	Pereira, Green, & Visintin (2017)			Multiple Regressions	(**Q5**) What happens to the sedating effect of positive intergroup contact on minority activism for social change when considering the national identification process observed among members of traditional, national minorities? Does the effect still holds? (**H5**) National identification will buffer the sedating effect, since it brings entitlement and commitment to the society where the struggle has to be fought. In addition, identification to both ethnic and national groups predicts greater politicization of minority members.	(IVs) Ethnic and National identification, Intergroup Contact. (DV) Support for Ethnic Activism	Appendix A
	Article 5	Giroud, Politi, Green, Maloku & Misini, (in preparation)	Kosovo Albanians immigrants from Switzerland	154	Multiple regressions	(**Q6**) Can the perceived compatibility of ethnic and national identities, tapped with dual identification (cf. Simon & Ruhs, 2008), keep immigrant minorities motivated for activism, despite experiences of positive contact with members of the advantaged national majority? (**H6**) Dual identification modulates sedative effects of intergroup contact due to reduced ethnic identification and increased national identification, respectively.	(IVs) Ethnic, National, and Dual Identification, Intergroup Contact (DV) Support for Ethnic Activism	Appendix D See also Appendix F for supplementary material

2.4. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The Swiss-Bulgarian project consisted of interview and questionnaire research in a cross-sectional design. While research on intergroup relations traditionally uses a wide range of quantitative methods (e.g., cross-sectional surveys, longitudinal studies, experimental designs), research on collective action, social representations, and social identity performance also uses qualitative methods (e.g., focus group, subjective interviews). Based on the nature of the available data and on the methods used in the literature presented in Part I, I adopted a mixed-methods approach for investigating the antecedents and conditions of minority activism. Besides, since most of the analyses presented in this thesis were based on translated survey data, triangulating the findings with different methods decreased the risk of misinterpreting the results and avoided ethnocentric pitfalls (see e.g., Hinds, Vogel, Clarke-Steffel, 1997).

Whereas the integration of qualitative and quantitative methods is illustrated by the very architecture of the thesis organized in a qualitative and quantitative, complementary research lines, the mixed-methods approach adopted is also illustrated *within* the first research line. Indeed, Article 1 consists in a statistical content analysis of the discourse of Roma, whereas articles 2 and 3 address different research questions with qualitative discourse analyses. Moreover, and although the sequence of the research project consisted in collecting questionnaire data *prior* to interviews, the conducted analysis of the Roma interviews will be first. Indeed, I addressed exploratory and confirmatory research questions simultaneously during the entire thesis process, which is completely in line with a mixed-methods approach (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009; see also Colombo, 2003). Besides, while social minority members must be familiar with majority definition of social categories, their subjective and alternative constructions cannot be excluded from a rigorous psychosocial analysis. Accordingly, at different stages of the research process, I used the discourse of Roma-Bulgarians to access their interpretations of some of the standardized items of the questionnaire. Therefore, in the present thesis, interview data do not have only an illustrative and complementary status as compared to statistical modeling. On the contrary, quantitative and qualitative analyses of interviews were a necessary step for understanding the construction of collective identity among members of the Roma minority, as well as for concretely "entering" the minority group's perspective.

2.4.1. **The advantages and limits of mixed-methods research**

Integrating quantitative and qualitative data in social and behavioral sciences has becoming increasingly popular in recent decades. Mixed methods research is a synthesis and third paradigm that includes ideas from the other major social sciences paradigma, i.e. qualitative and quantitative research (see Creswell & Plano Clarke, 2017; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007). In a research-oriented Western world, statistics from survey research on particular social issues are commented on a daily basis by the media, politicians, teachers and citizens. However, interpreting the components of survey research statistics and weighing the scope of a set of results require scientific expertise and critical review (Nardi, 2018). In this regard, integrating quantitative and qualitative methods multiply the vantage points on a social issue mirroring individuals' multiple ways of seeing, hearing, and making sense of the social world (Greene, 2007) and can therefore provide a better understanding of the research problem than either of each method alone. Accordingly, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) stress that the utility of mixed methods it providing stronger inferences and an opportunity for a greater assortment of divergent views. Higher mental functions of human beings—such as subjectivity or identity—have been phenomenologically defined as resulting from the progressive internalization and accommodation of multiple perspectives on reality, which are derived from interpersonal activity (Fernyhough, 1996). Thus, dialogism is a key condition for psychological functioning, which places discourse and communication in a position consubstantial to human psyche. Interestingly, this focus on divergent views on social realities of was also promoted by the research on social representations. Indeed, Serge Moscovici already called for the triangulation of quantitative and qualitative research methods, which, in his view, was a better approach to the complexity of social realities (see Abric, 2005). Social psychology is ever since a discipline sensitive to the role of language in the construction of human realities, such as categories and labels used in questionnaires (Zagefka, 2009; see also Marková & Orfali, 2005). Despite the legitimate anchoring of social psychology in the quantitative and experimental approaches, mixed methods appear as a relevant way of reconciling the group-based statistical approach with more subjective and dialogical aspects of human psyche.

Nevertheless, mixed methods also present risks for the research, for they take more skills, time and resources to plan and implement (Creswell & Plano Clarke, 2017; see also section 2.2.1. of this thesis). It is also difficult to articulate a study drawing on the findings of a previous that was carried with the other research paradigm, for it may be unclear how to resolve discrepancies that arise in the interpretation of the findings. Accordingly, mixed methods research implies the adaptation of research questions, nomenclature, and conceptual framework in order to integrate the findings from quantitative and qualitative analyses in a relevant and meaningful way (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010).

Part III

Empirical studies and research results

3.1. CONSTRUCTION AND NEGOTIATION OF A NEGATIVE SOCIAL IDENTITY

In this first line of research, I present an in-depth analysis of 10 interviews with Roma-Bulgarians declined into three different research articles. The analysis of the interviews allows showing how the Roma identity is constructed and negotiated, aligning with or rejecting the majority (prejudiced) view. The analysis starts with a quantitative approach of the content of the interviews (Article 1), before moving to a thematic analysis of their identity-related content (Article 2) and ends with a discursive analysis of Roma-Bulgarians' rhetoric and strategies facing anti-Roma prejudice (Article 3). The first and third articles presented are unpublished manuscripts. The second article was published in French as an edited book chapter. The present thesis reports a version translated in English and adapted after publication in order to increase the readability and internal coherence of the dissertation (see also the footnote on page 80).

"*Any psychology of sign systems will be part of social psychology"* (Ferdinand de Saussure).

Article 1

Organizing principles of the discourse of Roma-Bulgarians about interethnic relations: a quantitative analysis of the social representation of Roma-Gypsies[9]

A social representations approach of ethnic groups and interethnic relations is particularly useful for the study of culturally diverse societies where the sense of common goals and "togetherness" is a sensitive and politicized issue (see e.g., Howarth & Andreouli, 2012). Indeed, living together requires achieving sufficient degree of shared information and understanding about the world and its complex social objects, such as cultural or ethnic minorities (Moscovici, 1963; 2011). The concept of social representations refers to such "views of the world", which depend on the group's history, prior knowledge, and status in the social world (Moscovici, 1963; Jodelet, 1984). According to Abric (1994), the functions of social representations are fourfold: they provide knowledge and understanding of the world, they provide a sense of identity and position in the world as compared to other groups, they prescribe behaviors and normative expectations, and they justify opinions and actions towards objects. As a consequence, social representations are important realities to consider when studying phenomena such as social exclusion, for they provide individuals with meanings about their relationships to the world and to social "others" (Abric, 2003; Jodelet, 2003; see also Moscovici, 1992).

The Roma in Europe constitute a good example of how the view of the world and believes of Western societies have determined majority behaviors and social policies, and justify exclusion of Roma-Gypsies for centuries. The arrival of nomadic tribes from Southern and Eastern-European bounds around the XIIIth century has provoked the emergence of a social representation in order to make sense of the pagan and culturally distant practices observed in these travelling communities (see Moscovici & Pérez, 2003). For example, nomads were rapidly described as natives from Egypt due

[9] Giroud, A. (in preparation). Organizing principles of the discourse of Roma-Bulgarians about interethnic relations: a quantitative analysis of the social representation of Roma-Gypsies.

to the relative physical resemblance between the two populations, and to the assimilation to Bedouins. This amalgam gave the ethnonym *Gypsies*, that is an idiomatic distortion of the word E*gyptians*. Moreover, the need of sedentary populations to dismiss alternative social norms, moral orders and uses of the world at a time of progressive institutionalization of the sedentary habits and religious obscurantism provoked the reduction of nomadic habits observed among these communities to the sole images of caravans, darker skin and different clothing, although nomadism is a sophisticated means of human subsistence adopted by many civilizations (Tileagă, 2007; see also Moscovici, 2011). Social exclusion, poverty, prejudice, and segregation of these nomad groups resulted, in turn, in the development of survival behaviors among their members, which were thus perceived as backward cultural habits and assimilated to animal predispositions irreconcilable with the new norms of the sedentary majority (Pereira & Green, 2018).

Centuries later, the treatment of the sedentary Roma and the few remaining traveling "Gypsies" in contemporary Europe can still be explained by motivations and attitudes rooted in the social representation of Gypsies (Kende, Hadarics, & Lášticová, 2017). The dominant status of European ethnic majorities influences the diffusion of this social representation and the maintenance of the associated negative, ethnic identity of the Roma-Gypsy minority. However, members of these communities also participate in the maintenance and transformation of this representation and, therefore, co-construct their social identity. While a lot of research has investigated attitudes of European majorities towards the Roma-Gypsies from the perspective of the social representation theory (e.g., Moscovici & Pérez, 2003; Pérez, Moscovici, & Chulvi, 2007; Tileagă, 2007), the present study turns the spotlight onto the sedentary Roma minority perspective and draws on the theory of organizing principles (Doise, 1993) and on the notions of objectification and anchoring to reveal the perspective of this social minority group.

The Theory of Organizing Principles and the Quantitative Analysis of Social Representations

From a social representations perspective, the process of applying pre-existing knowledge and names to new objects of thought is called *anchoring*, whereas the figuration and association of new objects with concrete, material experiences (e.g., the caravan, the skin color, the clothes) define the process of *objectification*. These two

processes constitute a major field of investigation in the study of social representations, revealing the content and the origin of representations.

Nevertheless, human communication is not only based on shared definitions or images, but also on the possibility to argue and have different opinions about the same object, however using common landmarks (Clémence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2004). Accordingly, Doise (1993) proposed the theory of organizing principles, where social representations are defined as semantic lines along which the varying positions and arguments of individuals can be identified and organized. The theorizing is consistent with the dialogic nature of the genesis and transformation of social representations, for it thus conceptualizes how different point of views can be generated within the field of a social representation depending on the social positions or group membership occupied by groups and individual social actors (Doise, 1990; Doise, Clémence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993). Thereby, the organizing principles approach also constitutes a particular model of the analysis of anchoring, by situating the positions of different individuals within a group (or the ones of groups towards each other) in function of variations of elements constituting the represented object (Clémence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2004).

Concretely, the study of organizing principles has three stages (see also Clémence, 2002). First, information circulating about a represented object is identified and quantified. Second, different positions adopted towards the object are identified by structuring interindividual variations, for example with statistical techniques. Third and last, the origin of different positions in the discourse is explained. In the work by Doise and colleagues, the two first stages were typically gauged by factorial analyses. The principle of factorial models applied to the analysis of social representations is straightforward: discourse about social objects implies the presence of stable, repeating concepts and lexical structures (i.e., words or speech segments composed of several words). These repetitions are then used as the statistical foundation for the grouping of individual subjects around axes of a factorial space (see Larose & Lenoir, 1998). Mapping lexical structures of discourse then allows identifying the semantic principles underlying individual variations in arguments and positions towards a particular social object (see e.g., Doise et al., 1993; Ratinaud & Marchand, 2015; Reinert, 1995). The analysis of organizing principles can thus be defined as lexical analyses and textual statistics based on the frequency (i.e., repetitions and co-occurrences) of words or syntaxes.

To our knowledge, no prior quantitative analysis of the social representation of Roma-Gypsies was carried using lexical analysis on a verbal material produced by individuals from Roma origin. Contributing to both a limited knowledge and methodological area, this study investigated how the Roma ethnicity and interethnic relations are discussed by members of the Roma minority, and how lexical units (i.e., words) can be organized in order to explain both variations in individual discourse and the discrepancy between majority and minority group's discourse (Clémence, 2002; Doise, 1990). Although the quantitative analysis of social representations is more an exploratory than a hypothesis-testing approach, we claim that quantifying the content of the discourse and examining the structure of the representational field from the minority perspective will allow observing subtle variations in the negative identity associated to the Roma minority.

Context of the Present Social Representations Study

Bulgaria is a demographically, multicultural nation characterized by the presence of Turkish and (settled) Roma communities constituting together the two major ethnic subgroups after the "ethnic" (i.e., Slavic) Bulgarian majority. Despite the relative downplay of interethnic differences during the communist years, the sense of common social goals and "togetherness" remains a pervasive social issue underpinning public discourse and everyday interethnic relations in Bulgaria. Integration of Roma citizens through educational programs has been a politicized issue in Bulgaria for the past decades (Grekova, 2006; see also Tomova, 2008). However, most education policies since the end of the communist period have failed, and contemporary Roma do not have equal access to quality education, neither to qualified jobs (see e.g., Kanev, Nounev, Evgeniev, & Krumova, 2007). As elsewhere in Europe, the Roma minority in Bulgaria is the target of prejudice, discrimination and exclusion from public life rooted in the image of the traveling and antisocial "Gypsies". According to experts, anti-Roma prejudice in Bulgaria was sustained by the extremely negative connotation of the oriental, ancestral origin of the Roma, which symbolically threatens the Slavic identity of the Bulgarian nation (e.g., Grekova, 2002; Latcheva, 2010; Ladányi, & Szelényi, 2001). In contrast with the majority perspective, ethnographic studies have revealed that Roma-Bulgarians do not identify as members of a single and homogeneous ethnic subgroup, and stress instead their individual (or their close group's) parentage. The latter generally consists of complex interbreeding between members of the different Bulgarian

communities (i.e., Bulgarians, Turks, Roma subgroups) rather than in strict Roma endogamy (see e.g., Pamporov, 2009).

Methods

Data

Data used in this study came from the transcriptions of 10 semi-directed interviews collected during a research project in Bulgaria (Green, Zografova, Staerklé, & Hristova, 2013-2016). Five Bulgarian men and five Bulgarian women with self-declared Roma origin and living in Stara Zagora (in the center of Bulgaria) gave their written consent for participating in a face-to-face interview in exchange of a 15 Leva incentive (corresponding to circa 7.5 euros). All interviews were conducted by a non-Roma researcher with a long experience of surveys in Bulgarian Roma communities. The discussion lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. Semi-directive question probes tapped identification as Roma, interethnic relations with the non-Roma majority and Turks, and the perception of discrimination. The individual interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim in Bulgarian into 10 separated text files under the interviewer's supervision. Note that, due to a lower level of education among Roma-Bulgarians as compared to other Bulgarians, the level of language in these interviews was generally low. Since part of the research team (including the author of this paper) do not speak Bulgarian, all interviews were translated into English by a professional agency and annotated by the Bulgarian interviewer with contextual information. The descriptive statistics of word repetitions and the interpretations that follow were conducted on the English translations.

Analytic Strategy

In order to analyse the content of the transcribed Roma interviews, we used an open-source, lexical analysis software named IRAMuTEQ (Ratinaud, 2007-2018). This software functions with scripts imported from R (www.r-project.org) and is based on algorithms developed by social psychologists who were interested in contributing to the quantitative approach to social representations. IRAMuTEQ allows automatizing word count and assists the evaluation of the semantic content of textual data by visually attractive output facilities (see e.g., Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010; Kalampalikis, 2003 for a discussion about the increasing popularity of such software).

Besides, IRAMuTEQ performs sophisticated statistical analyses based on word co-occurrences, thereby allowing to map a "semantic world" convenient for the analysis of social representations (see e.g., Chaves, Rodrigues dos Santos, Pereira dos Santosa,

& Müller Larocca, 2017 for a recent presentation of empirical research potentials using this particular software). For example, IRAMuTEQ proposes a top-down hierarchical classification macro, based on the algorithm and method developed by Reinert (1983), and similar to the one used in *Alceste* software for textual analysis. In order to perform this classification, the data is transformed into a matrix indicating the presence or absence of a word across textual units. Thus, this method requires deciding whether the classification will be performed on the entire textual material or in smaller speech segments, depending on the nature of the data and hypotheses. Moreover, the method allows discriminating between "full" forms of words (i.e., words with an active meaning) and "tool-forms" (i.e., connectors, adverbs, pronouns, etc.).

More concretely, the analysis of the matrix consists in three stages (see Reinert, 1983; see also Ratinaud & Marchand, 2012). First, a classic correspondence factor analysis (CFA) is performed. Textual units containing similar (combinations of) words are grouped until obtaining a first, bi-partition of the matrix around a first underlying factor, and maximizing the inertia between the two, output matrices (called "classes"). The statistic used to quantify the association between rows and columns of the word matrix can be Pearson's chi-square (i.e., the ratio between expected, equal and observed word frequencies). Second, every single textual unit is "moved" from one class to the other in order to detect a potential improvement of the inertia between the classes. Permutations are conserved when successful, and continue until no more movement of units improves the inter-class inertia. Last, word forms that contribute a lot to one class (according to the Chi-Square statistics) are artificially removed from the other class. The algorithm then repeats these three stages (CFA, permutation, removal) in a loop for each of the new matrix produced by the initial bi-partition and for the following partitions. The resulting classification is qualified as "top-down" because it follows a rule for stopping the classification at a certain point (i.e., in IRAMuTEQ, when the maximal inter-class inertia is reached). Note that, according to Reinert (1995), the final number of classes is not statistically relevant: The method requires the researcher deciding which is the most parsimonious description of the data after testing multiple classification trials on different partitions of the data.

Interview Formatting

The detailed procedure for formatting input data files when performing data mining with IRAMuTEQ is described in Loubère and Ratinaud (2014). In the present case, the ten individual interview translated transcriptions, from which question probes

from the non-Roma interviewer were removed, were merged into a single document. In line with the Reinert's method described above, IRAMuTEQ requires the researcher fixing, a priori, whether the full material or only smaller text segments will be used as textual units for generating the initial word-by-unit matrix. Note that the software, however, keep punctuation signs as a primary criterion for slicing the data, above and beyond this arbitrary segmentation. Given the natural structuration of the text material in already ten individual units, and the semi-directive nature of the discourse (i.e., switching from one theme to the other), limited-length segments that optimized the narrative consistency and improved the validity of the post-hoc interpretations were chosen. Roma-Bulgarians low level of literacy comforted this choice of relatively short-length segments.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

The single formatted text-file gathering all ten interviews transcriptions contained 35'701 words in total. This represented 2902 non-repeated words and 2336 lemmas (i.e., words sharing a same root reduced to a single unit, generally the entry in the dictionary). Among these lemmas, 1895 were active, full word forms, whereas 441 words were tool-forms. Overall, the five first most repeated full forms were *person* (n = 103), *know* (n = 90), *Bulgarian(s)* (n = 60), *Roma* (n = 53), *like* (n = 49), and *thing* (n = 45). Note that 682 full forms were repeated at least or more than 3 times (whether by the same or by different study participants), which is the criterion for entering the matrix. In the classification presented hereafter, the data was sliced into 1956 segments of 18.25 words each on average. These segments are referred to as *elementary contextual units* (ECUs) in the rest of the analysis.

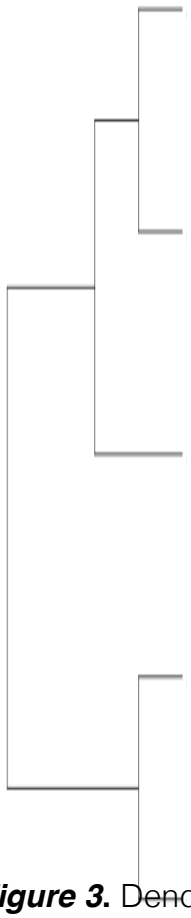
Results from the Classification Following Reinert's Method

We performed a top-down, hierarchical classification on the matrix generated by crossing the 682 full word forms with the 1956 ECUs. After multiple classification trials, we conclude that the interviews were best summarized by five word classes determined by four underlying factors.[10] This five-class solution allows classifying 1659 ECUs, that is, 84.8% of the data. The classes were numbered following the order in which they were progressively produced by the classification algorithm. The dendrogram to the left of

[10] Although the 3-class solution allowed classifying 94.2% of the word sequences, the 5-classes solution was preferred in terms of within-classes semantic homogeneity.

Figure 3 illustrates the partition and the classification procedure and provides the first four, most frequent, full forms of each output classes, with their respective chi-square values and relative frequency (i.e., the proportion of a full form within a class relative to its overall prevalence in the material, see Chaves et al., 2017, p. 45 for similar presentation criteria). Note that the specific presence of a word in a class does not imply that it never appears in other classes (or in the remaining unclassified ECUs), since class-specific forms are artificially removed from opposite classes during the classification.

The first partition was performed between classes 1 and 4 on the one hand, and, on the other hand, classes 2, 3, and 5. The first factor reflects a .67 correlation between words and the total number of ECUs classified (i.e., square root of the factor's eigenvalue). The second partition was performed between class 2 and class 3, and was determined by the second factor (r = .63). The two first factors together explained 60% of the vocabulary variance in the material. The third partition was performed between class 1 and class 4, and determined by a third factor (r = .56). Finally, the fourth partition was performed between class 5 on the one hand, and, on the other hand, classes 2 and 3 as determined by the fourth factor (r = .52). Class 1 concentrates 24.1% of the total number of ECUs successfully classified. Class 2 and class 3 correspond respectively to 22.7% and 9.8% of these ECUs. Class 4 groups 20% of the ECUs, while finally the class 5 gathers 23.4% of the 1659 ECUs classified.



Classes	Full forms	Chi-square statistic (χ^2)	%
Class 2 *"Family and Work"*	Work	85.4	51.5
	Child	84.3	56.1
	Kid	57.3	61.9
	Daughter	57.1	80.0
Class 3 *"Education"*	Education	345.4	89.4
	School	320.2	84.0
	Grade	251.9	100
	High	119.2	88.2
Class 5 *"Material and economic conditions"*	Pay	128.6	91.7
	Leva	124.2	95.2
	Time	101.9	81.1
	Money	92.6	75.0
Class 1 "Abstract concepts"	Person	83.3	49.3
	Thing	71.1	67.2
	Feel	49.4	74.3
	Life	38.2	64.3
Class 4 "Ethnic labels"	Gypsy	188.5	65.0
	Bulgarian(s)	165.4	53.7
	Turkish	125.3	75.8
	Turks	113.9	91.4

Figure 3. Dendrogram illustrating the data hierarchical partition resulting from successive classification analyses (see Figure 4 below for colour codes). Most frequent full forms in each class are provided. Forms are ordered by Chi-square values. The percentages in the last column indicate the relative frequency of the full forms across classes and relative to their overall frequency (100%) across all ECUs that were successfully classified.

Interpretation of Results from the Perspective of Organizing Principles

Figure 4 below presents the projection of the five output classes in a two-dimensional space determined by the two first factors. When visualizing the results of a lexical correspondence analysis, "two words stand all the closer in space as they are associated in the answers of several participants, and are placed further away from other words with which they are less associated" (Wagner et al., 1999, p. 114). Accordingly, after carefully examining the original context of productions of these words and their

relative positions in the space defined by the two first factors, interpretations of the underlying organizing principles were drawn. Note that caution is needed when interpreting the distance between words or classes in Figure 4, since projections on the two other dimensions (i.e., third, and fourth underlying factors) are not illustrated in the figure.

The first, horizontal, dimension opposes ethnic labels (i.e., *Turks, Gypsy, Bulgarian, Roma*, see Class 4 in blue in Figure 4) and abstract notions (Class 1, in red) to the left, to terms referring to family and domestic life to the right (Class 2, in grey). Examination of the original segments revealed that ethnic labels were frequently juxtaposed, and were combined with particular action verbs (e.g., *insult, hurt, separate*), verbs of state *(e.g., know, change, born*, *think*, *feel*) and abstract notions (e.g., *people*, *things, life, nation*) in arguments about ethnic groups and interethnic boundaries (e.g., "Here our mayor *separates Gypsy* and *Bulgarians*." female subject, 63 years old; "To *feel Roma*? How would I *know*? I *live* in 21st century *Bulgaria* and I don't *feel Roma*" male subject, 25 years old). The opposite pole of this dimension groups words from the family, domestic and work lexica. These segments about relatives and domestic life naturally present more individuated narratives about everyday life as a member of the Bulgarian Roma minority in contrast to aforementioned depersonalized statements, or more general opinions, about interethnic groups and boundaries. Besides, analysis of the positions of the left-out, tool-forms (not represented in Figure 4) suggested a relative repartition of the pronouns *us, we, they, I,* and *you* on the left of the figure, whereas the pronouns *my, her/his, him, ours,* and *your* were more numerous on the right of the figure. Individuated narratives notably denounce Roma's unemployment and argue Roma's commitment and alignment to the Bulgarian work ethics (e.g., "Many are the boys my age that are agile, *want to work* and in search of way to live normally, but it's hard for them" male subject, 24 years old). The first organizing principle can thus be interpreted as disentangling segments about Roma as an abstract category along with other Bulgarian ethnic groups, from segments about everyday life, family descriptions, and work as a Bulgarian Roma citizen living in contemporary Bulgaria.

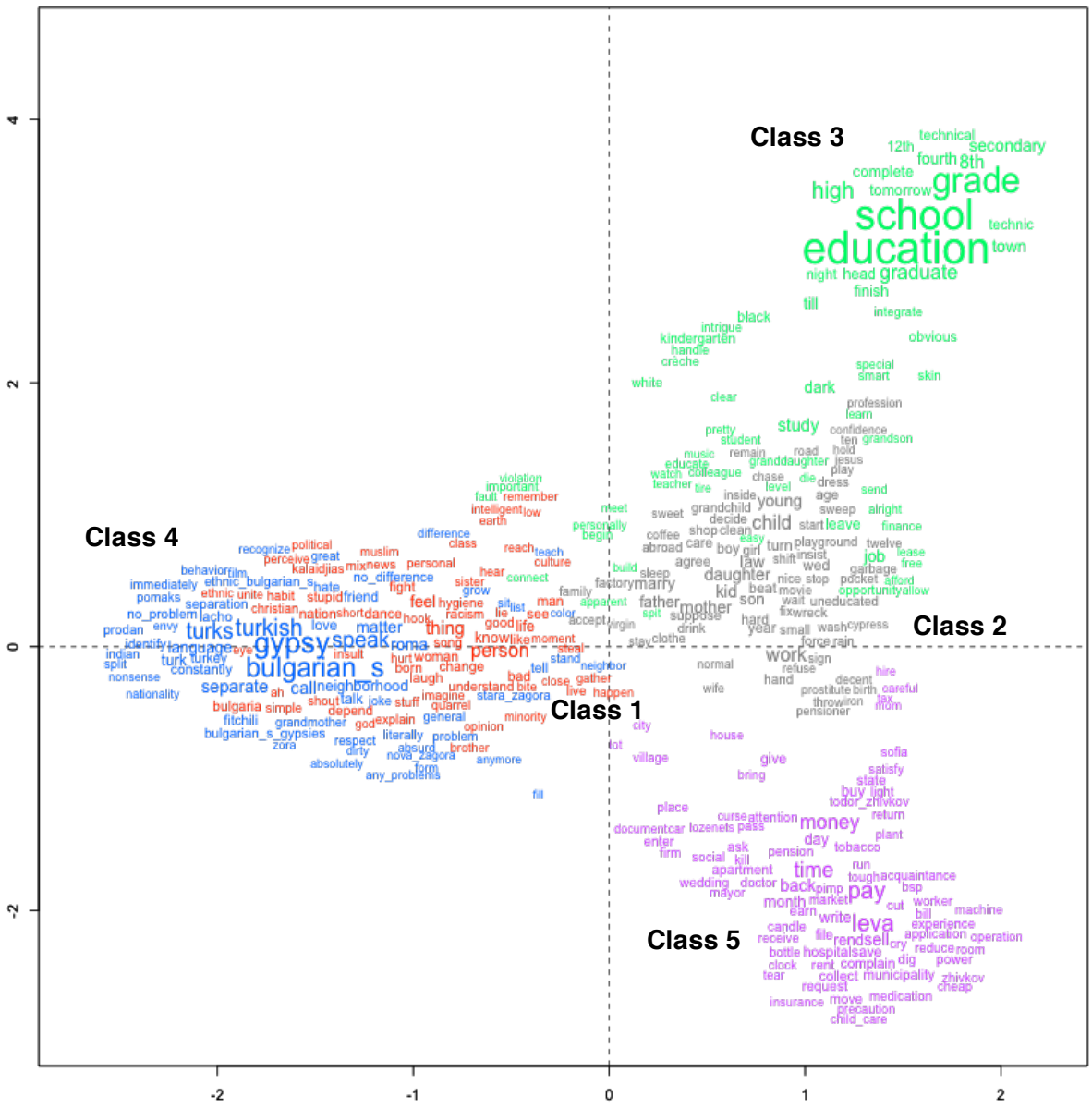


Figure 4. Results of the correspondence factor analysis performed on 1659 ECUs extracted from the Roma interview material. The figure shows the projection of five word classes on a two-dimensional space defined by the two first correspondence factors. The size of the font is proportional to the word frequencies in the class.

The second, vertical, dimension opposes full forms referring to education (Class 3, in green) at the top, to forms referring to money, material conditions and work at the bottom (Class 5, in purple). Classes 3 and 5 were among the most stable and recurrent ones across different analysis trials, stressing the importance of this education—material conditions organizing principle in the interview material. *Money*, *pay* and *leva*[11] were

[11] The Bulgarian currency

the most cited word forms in arguments about financial difficulties, corruption and living conditions (e.g., "in my opinion it should be 50 *leva* firstly because it is a *poisonous work dirty unhealthy*" Female, 66 years old; "Now the law is really weak, whoever has *money* passes without being caught"). Moreover, some of those segments arguing Roma's economically disadvantaged status articulate material conditions with children education and care (e.g., "When I don't have anything more, no *money*, to *educate* him and make him go to *school* with head held high", male subject 24 years old; "How are you going to *take care of this child*, you see there is *no work*" female subject, 45 years old; "in order for this child to go to *school* it should *be dressed properly* as a Bulgarian child" female subject, 66 years old; "You cannot let this child go [to school] with *ripped clothes*" male subject, 45 years old). Roma interviewees discuss the principles of education (e.g., '*I've seen people, that even with higher education have no sense in their head, you know?*' male subject, 24 years old) and denunciate the enduring gap between the principles of education for Roma and the maintenance of structural inequalities and anti-Roma prejudice (e.g., "She *doesn't have a job* and she is pretty, white, and *has completed 9th grade*" male subject, 45 years old; "*I don't want anybody to spit on them, right, because they have no education or haven't studied*" Female, 24 years old).

Discussion

In this study, we performed a computer-assisted, textual analysis of ten transcribed semi-directed interviews collected among Bulgarian Roma citizens. The study draws on the organizing principles theory and implements a correspondence factor analysis (Doise, 1992). The goal of the study was to identify, quantify, and structure, the opinions conveyed in a sample of the Roma discourse in order to reveal similarities and variations from the minority perspective as regards the social representation of Roma-Gypsies.

The hierarchical classification analysis performed on the full word-forms extracted from the transcriptions of the Roma discourse revealed five relatively stable word classes, which were projected onto a two-dimensional space defined by the two first computed factors resulting from the correspondence analysis on which the classification procedure was based. The horizontal dimension suggested an opposition between depersonalized talk about ethnic groups and intergroup relations on the one hand, and, on the other hand, more individuated reports about family concerns, domestic life and work. Accordingly, we claim that individual discourse is organized by a first

principle that differentiates between the necessary acknowledgment of existing ethnic identity categories to communicate with the rest of the society, and a discourse about the self, family and everyday life in Bulgaria that challenges abstract ethnic categories and the related stereotypes. This first principle shows how individuals with Roma origin transform the unfamiliar concept of ethnicity into the concrete notion of parentage (cf. Pamporov, 2008), and how they dodge the stereotyped, majority discourse about the Roma as lazy and non-working people by denouncing structural inequalities and stressing commitment to a work ethic. Since work is known for being a key feature of the human species, such minority discourse may also aim at re-humanizing the Roma identity, in contrast to the de-humanizing image of the Roma delivered by non-Roma majorities (cf. Pérez et al., 2007). Furthermore, this finding illustrates quite well that the social representation of an object of thought (in this case, the Bulgarian Roma social identity) derives from both an anchoring of this object in pre-existing categories and a personification of the experience of this object. In addition, majority groups that influence the diffusion of social representations generally defend the stability of elements located at the central core of the representational system, that is, elements providing meaning and permanence to the object. In contrast, minority groups tend to commit to peripheral elements (e.g., education, work), that is, more negotiable elements allowing the adaptation and individuation of the representation into more concrete experiences (Abric, 1994; 2001).

The vertical dimension suggested an opposition between, on the one hand, Roma education and, on the other hand, Roma's economic conditions and relationships with Bulgarian authorities. Interestingly, these themes were not probed by the interviewer. We suggest that this second, spontaneous, principle of individual variations reveal the gap between the principles of education for Roma and the structural barriers to social change and Roma integration in Bulgaria (see e.g., Grekova, 2006). Indeed, in Bulgaria, education degrees do not provide members of the Roma minority with jobs, as illustrated by many segments in which participants denounced discrimination on the job market, despite having completed their school education. This finding echoes prior social representations studies that investigated the key role of lay knowledge and beliefs about education among majority and minority members in contexts of diversity and social exclusion (see e.g., Andreouli, Howarth, & Sonn, 2014; Howarth, 2004).

Taken together, these two dimensions reveal how concerns of majority groups about the Roma minority (i.e., ethnic distinctiveness, education, self-marginalization)

leak into the discourse of ethnic minority members as tools for social communication (cf. Wagner et al., 1999). This central finding confirms the interdependence between a subject and an object of representation and stresses the difficulty in defining the Roma ethnic identity outside Roma's asymmetric, intergroup relations (Moscovici, 2011).

However, some limitations of this study need to be considered. First of all, the conversation with a non-Roma interviewer may have, of course, influenced participants' themes and word choices. Although the results of this study may still be considered as representative of the minority discourse in front of a majority audience, future studies should indeed pay particular attention to the meanings that co-construct through the exchanges between the interviewer and the interviewees. Second, the small number of interviewees does not allow us to analyse the positions of individual participants on the factorial plan. While semi-directive interviews are a well-validated method for studying social representations (see e.g., Grenon, Larose, & Carignan, 2013), these are generally conducted among a larger sample. Nevertheless, our study still allows revealing the overall contrast of the representational field with previous work on the majority perspective on Roma. Future studies on Roma could use other methods to visualize confidence intervals around word classes (see e.g., Grenon, 2008) in order to counter the limited size of sample available in this particular population. Third, while computer-assisted procedures for textual analysis are increasingly efficient, they also have risks. Reducing the study of a social representation to a two-dimensional space defined by statistical relations remains a limited (and potentially erroneous) operationalization of the initial explanatory scope of the social representation theory (see Doise et al., 1993). The techniques used in the current study rely on the assumption that word repetition and co-occurrences are semantically significant, an assumption that needs to be carefully considered depending on the nature and original context of production of a verbal content (see e.g., Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). The present classification analysis based on word frequencies implied, of course, a certain de-contextualization and depersonalization of participants' signifying practices, along with potential over-interpretations of the importance of certain terms drawing on their absolute frequency (especially since synonyms or paraphrases cannot be automatically processed by computer-assistant yet). The capacity to situate the projection of the word classes on three or four dimensions would also probably nuance, or at least complement, our findings. Finally, other discourse analysis techniques might reveal more sophisticated levels of the communication process, such as the use of analogies and metaphors, or

interactional strategies depending on the audience and social setting confronted by Roma (see Pereira & Green, 2017; Giroud, Green, & Durrheim, unpublished manuscript).

Notwithstanding these limits, examining the perspective of ethnic minorities on issues they are directly concerned with is an important task for social psychological research. By revealing members of ethnic minorities' discourse and understanding of their exclusion, researchers may identify key elements and arguments that could more efficiently mobilize minority (and majority) groups for social change.

Article 2

"Sooner or Later They'll Call You Gypsy": How Roma endorse the dominant Social Representation of Gypsies[12]

Gypsies, Tziganes, Kale, Sinti, Manush, Romanichal, Roma… Different terms used interchangeably, mixing properly ethnic labels and other just stigmatizing, streamlining ones. More precisely, the term Gypsy might have come from the word Egyptians, indicating the origin that has been historically (and probably wrongly) assigned to people from that group. Tzigane (or Zigeuner in German), in turn, might have derived from a term designating certain heretic tribes, thus revealing a negative moral judgment of the traditions observed among those people centuries ago. This plural terminology also confounds groups with different statuses (e.g., national minorities, ordinary migrants, nomads) and located in different cultural areas.

At the end of the twentieth century, activists inspired by some Eastern European Bolshevik figures organized several Gypsy congresses and proposed using the term "Roma" instead of the other multiple, misleading and often negatively connoted ethnonyms (i.e., ethnic group names). This self-determination movement culminated in the 1970s with the institutionalization of the "International Romani Union" (see e.g., Kenrick, 1971). This mobilization built a symbolic unity across those scattered communities helped by two historical contingencies. First, the Gypsies of that period had survived Nazi concentration camps. Second, they were together the targets of after-war reparation policies following their massive genocide. Nevertheless, in absence of a strong cultural and linguistic unity among them, and facing arguments that refuted the idea of the "Indian" origin of all Roma, the rise of a collective identity among Gypsies was finally much more symbolic than objective (Tabin & Knüsel, 2014).

The discrimination endured by the Roma thus decisively participated in the determination of this social category as a homogeneous ethnic group, sometimes in opposition with historical evidence. Estimations of the total number of people belonging

[12] A French version of this study was published as Pereira, A., & Green, E. G. T. (2017). In C. Staerklé & F. Butera (Eds.). *Conflits constructifs, conflits destructifs. Regards psychosociaux*. Lausanne: Antipodes. Note that the French version slightly differs in that it does not explicitly develop the concept of social representations' themata.

to the Gypsy–Roma category, despite being difficult due to often-segregated or marginal living conditions of its members, vary between six and twelve million individuals. Accordingly, European institutions (e.g., the European Commission for Intolerance) have attempted to find global solutions to the Roma social exclusion issue (see e.g., Simhandl, 2006), even though the improvement of the Roma's rights is still politicized and decided at the national level.

The territoriality of the Roma issue in Europe echoes the fact that most of the Gypsy-related groups are now sedentary national minorities that were present since well before the constitution of the modern states. In South-Eastern regions of Europe (e.g., in Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria), the ancestors of the Roma minorities settled around the 12th or 13th centuries (Kenrick, 2007). Consequently, the traditions, norms and specific concerns of these national Roma minorities may completely differ depending on national characteristics, history or politics. In contrast to their reputation of stateless, trans-national travellers (see Moscovici & Pérez, 2003), only of small part estimated to less than 10% of contemporary Gypsies is actually still nomads, whether being within- (as for example, the Jenish in Switzerland or Travellers in France) or between-nations (see "Development of Romani culture", n.d.).

Notwithstanding the fact that most contemporary Roma minorities are settled, a renewed nomadism emerged during the last ten years must also be acknowledged. Recent migration waves of Eastern European Roma have emerged, constituted by individuals who embrace their right to freely circulate throughout EU, motivated by poverty but also the rise of right-wing extremist parties in post-communist regions (Hammarberg, 2012). As a result, anti-Roma prejudice in Europe has been unquestionably revived. In fact, opinions among majority members in European countries are strikingly homogeneous and reveal a blatant racist discourses (Correia, Brito, Vala, & Pérez, 2005; Kende, Hadarics, & Lášticová, 2017). Note that blatant racism against Roma is expressed despite a major institutional and ideological shift in favor of anti-discrimination norms in most Western and, now also, Eastern societies.

The Dominant Social Representation of the "Gypsies"

Social representation theory describes a set of phenomena related to collective elaboration of knowledge about complex social realities. The study of social representations consists in determining their content (that is, however, subject to change), but more importantly their process. The latter is dual: first, shared understanding of complex notions or social objects proceed from anchoring the

unknown into more familiar knowledge or relations (e.g., situating a group within an existing social hierarchy). Second, the social representation process transforms complex and abstract notions into more concrete, graspable, ideas using familiar images, analogies or metaphores (Jodelet, 1984). As typical objects of social representations, groups are complex social realities that are frequently simplified by associating who group members are by *where* they are physically located or come from. Indeed, the discrimination of social groups is often substantiated by denunciations of spatial activities or physical segregation (see e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 1994; 2003). Indeed, social objects such as groups are rarely perceived as arbitrary and changing realities. On the contrary, most of us have acquired, or built their own, definitions of the essence of complex and abstract social realities populating our close environment. When such object is another group, essentializing representations constitutes a solid ground for discrimination and racist attitudes (Wagner, Holtz, & Kashima, 2009).

Some, albeit few, social psychological research applied the social representation theory to the study of ethnic minorities. For example, Gina Philogène (1994) described in details how ethnonyms used to name the Black minority in the U.S. national context reflects the transformation and active reinterpretation of the lay understanding of the origin of Black individuals. From the term "Negro" marked by the guilty history of slavery, the society switched to "Afro-Americans", an ethnonym that both legitimates the citizenship and civil rights, but also points to a geographic location (i.e., Africa) suggesting blackness without having to say it explicitly. Similarly, the ethnonym "Roma" chosen by Roma themselves was progressively adopted as public opinion recognized the victimized status of this group and its right to self-determination. Note, however, that the other negatively connoted ethnonyms continue to be used in parallel, especially in talk blaming this community.

Social representations of the Gypsies proceed in anchoring their nomad endeavours and strange outlook into more familiar knowledge (e.g., the Bedouins from Egypt well known since centuries) and beliefs (e.g., heresy in the Bible). The complexity and strangeness of Gypsies' cultural practices is conceived as essential and biology-driven characteristics one could easily identify and stay away from thank to visible characteristics (e.g., skin color, clothes). In his work about the Roma minority in Romania, Tileagă (2005, 2007) clearly described how the lay understanding of the Roma communities as descendants from nomadic tribes is used majority Romanians as arguments for excluding the traditional Romanian Roma minority from all spheres of

life. Pérez, Moscovici and Chulvi (2007) also drew on the study of social representations to approach attitudes towards the Gypsy minority in Spain. Pérez et al. asked their participants to perform a simple attribution task facing the image of a Gypsy-looking character (or a Spanish majority-looking character in the other condition). Prior to this task, part of the participants had been confronted with a priming procedure. The latter consisted in presenting the portrait of an ape meant to subtly invoke the ambivalent status of human beings on the continuum from the animal and natural domain to the human and cultural one. Their results show that primed participants used more negative animal attributes (e.g., idle, fierce) when describing the image of the Gypsy-looking man, as compared to primed participants confronted to the non-Gypsy looking man. Pérez et al. explained this effect by formulating the hypothesis of Gypsy ontologization, defined as the displacement and relegation of Gypsies' characteristics from the human to the animal realm in order to make sense of their cultural differences. Indeed, prejudice expressed by dominant majorities towards ethnic minorities often consists in pushing the minority group outside the human boundaries in order to prevent interethnic contact and to consolidate existing social hierarchies (see also Roncarati, Pérez, Ravena, & Navarro-Pertusa, 2009).

In addition, this study highlights a number of dyadic oppositions (i.e., human-animal, wild-civilized) that directly evokes the concept of themata of social representations. The knowledge in which the social representations are anchored are chosen for their capacity to evoke major themes that have dominated the social thought over the centuries, themes in themselves not very accessible, neither verbalized (Moscovici & Vignaux, 1994). The concept of themata thus directly complements the structural and organizing principles approaches of social representations, focusing on the epistemological origin of the content thereby represented. They are building blocks "l[ying] at the root of common sense and shap[ing] how we make sense of issues in the social world" (Smith, O'Connor, & Joffe, 2015, p.1.1). In the case of the social representation of Gypsies, the work and lessons of Pérez (2015) provide a series of antinomies (i.e., self—other, nature—culture, human—animal, nomad—sedentary, good—bad, local—global, internal—external) coming from religious, scientific (in particular, anthropologic) and everyday knowledge, which have fed discourses about the Gypsies for centuries.

Ethnic and National Identity of Ethnic Minorities: a Social Representation Perspective

Social identification refers to a psychological reality where socially elaborated definitions of the different groups or categories to which an individual can assign himself are projected, compared and organized in order to produce the best self-image possible (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). As "views of the world" that are collectively elaborated for the purpose of behaving and communicating in everyday life (Moscovici, 1963), social representations have a clear identity function allowing the definition and the affirmation of a membership as well as the positioning compared to other groups in the social field (Abric, 1994). The relationship between social representations and social identity theories received considerable support (Breakwell, 1993; Duveen & Lloyd, 1986), since social representations arise as a product of groupality, and then work at consolidating and perpetuating a group identity. In this regard, the concept of themata is particularly interesting as it addresses the founding themes and archaic oppositions that support the ingroup favoritism bias and the intergroup differentiation, more generally (Moscovici & Vignaux, 1994).

National identification refers to individuals' (positive) positioning towards outgroups based on perceived similarities of thinking and behaving of ingroup members within national boundaries (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Ethnic identification, in contrast, refers to belief in a shared ancestry, generally based on physical appearance, language, or traditions (Zagefka, 2009). The ethnic identity of majority group associated with a national territory is likely to be infused within the national identity concept and considered difficult (or impossible) for migrants to acquire due to the essentialized nature of similarities. Kadianaki and Andreouli (2015) unravelled how discourse based on an essentializing, ethnic-based representation of Greek national citizenship were used to argue the exclusion of newly arrived migrants. In contrast, they also showed that civic representations of Greek national citizenship (i.e., that stress the equality of all citizens before the law) favored the inclusion of arriving migrants into the Greek society. The ethnic identity of minority groups, in turn, is often more salient and minority members are likely to develop an ethnic self-concept more clearly differentiated from the national identity (Staerklé, Sidanius, Green, & Molina, 2010).

In fact, depending on the treatment of the ethnic minority by the majority group, ethnic minority members can develop very inclusive, or exclusive lay understanding of their ethnic and national identities (see Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009). For example, Verkuyten (1997) conducted interviews with Dutch citizens from Turkish origin and found that members of this now long-established immigrant group talk about an

articulation of an attachment to their ethnic origin and of a loyalty to the Dutch nation (see also Deaux, 2008, and the concept of hyphenated identity). In contrast, Molina, Phillips and Sidanius (2015) demonstrated that the perception of discrimination from the dominant majority increases ethnic identification among ethnic minority individuals to the detriment of national identification (see also the rejection-identification model developed by Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999).

The Roma community has unquestionably suffered discrimination from European majorities, which may have triggered exclusive definitions of their Roma-ethnic identity as compared to their various national group memberships. However, many experts have rejected the hypothesis of an homogeneous ethnic group consciousness among European Roma precisely due to the ontologization of Gypsies (cf. Pérez et al., 2007), but also to their importance put on personal filiation over collective ancestry and the variety of the historical trajectories of local Roma communities (see e.g., Pamporov, 2008). For example, communist ideology and interethnic conflicts have profoundly shaped South-Eastern Roma's nationalist feelings, in opposition to Roma-Gypsy communities populating Western states (see e.g., Krasteva, 2005). The articulation of ethnic and national identification among members of the European Roma minority is thus an intriguing investigation area, that has received little attention so far.

Examining Ethnic and National Identification among Roma-Bulgarians

The Bulgarian Roma minority is estimated to 4.8% of the national population according to official statistics. Its presence on the Bulgarian territory goes back to the XVth century according to official records (see e.g., Kenrick, 2007). Despite this historical presence, prejudice and racist attitudes against Roma-Bulgarians are common and members of the Roma minority are still excluded from almost all spheres of the social life (Vassilev, 2004). The Roma-Bulgarians are denied symbolic access to ethnic Bulgarian*ness*, due to their (hypothetical) oriental origin that opposes them to the Slavic-looking Bulgarian majority (see Latcheva, 2010). Anti-Roma prejudice has been recently revived by arguments about the social and economic burdens that the minority defined by a high number of uneducated and unemployed citizens, coupled with a higher birth rate represents for the young Bulgarian liberal democracy. More specifically, the Bulgarian Roma minority has been extremely politicized in Bulgaria's process of accession to EU (officialised in 2007).

Putting prior findings on ethnic minorities' construction of their ethnic and

national identities in the perspective of the social representation theory, this study focused on themata underlying the identity discourse of a sample of Bulgarian citizens belonging to the Roma minority.

Method

Data and Participants

As part of a larger research project about interethnic relations in Bulgaria (Green, Zografova, Staerklé, & Hristova, 2013—2016), we collected ten semi-directive interviews with members of the Bulgarian Roma minority. Volunteers were recruited from a larger sample of Bulgarian Roma citizens from different regions taking part in the questionnaire part of the investigation. Interviewed participants were five men and as many women aged 18 to 70 years old and living in either urban neighborhoods or rural surroundings of *Stara Zagora*, a town in the center of Bulgaria (230 km east of Sofia). Interviews were conducted in summer 2014 by a Bulgarian ethnologist and were structured following an outline drawn from the project's theoretical assumptions (see Appendix B). Interviews were conducted in Bulgarian language and recorded prior to being transcribed verbatim and finally translated into English. Note that the two identity-related probes were meant to open the discussion in order to rule out contagions by other topics, such as discrimination or political stances.

Analysis

For the present study, we focused on the answers to the opening questions "*What makes you feel Roma?*" and "*What makes you feel Bulgarian?*" among ten Roma-Bulgarians, as well as some later extracts that contained views or concerns about group identification selected after carefully screening the entire interviews. We looked for themata accountable for commonalities in how the participants answered to those questions. Despite the semi-directive outline calling for clearly separate inquiries about identification to Roma-ethnic and Bulgarian-national groups, preliminary observations of the material revealed that the interviewer actually formulated several times the identity-related probes by inviting the comparison between Roma and Bulgarian identity (see the use of the verbs *differentiate* or *distinguish* in Extracts 1, 3, 4, 5 and 12). Our analysis must thus be weighed considering the probes that primed participants towards more comparative answers than those they would have (potentially) spontaneously provided. However, given the salience of the ethnic distinctiveness of Roma for majority groups and their extreme social exclusion, we considered that the sampled discourse was still worth investigation and valid.

In the results sections below, italics is meant to help the reader in identifying the words or phrases that drove our interpretations. Underlining was reserved to pronouns playing a role in the construction of interethnic boundaries. Finally, some translation difficulties from Bulgarian into English – often due to the low level of literacy in the participants – impeded reader's understanding of the discourse. We thus sometimes added short explanations or words in brackets to increase the readability of the selected extracts.

Results

The analysis of Roma Bulgarians' discourse about their ethnic and national group identities indicated the presence of five themata: nature—culture, human—animal, innate—learnt, local—global and internal—external. In the two following subsections, we will first present evidence of the three first themata listed above, which suggest, in our view, an internalisation of the ontologization of Gypsies in discourse about Roma identity in Bulgaria. Second, we will describe how local—global and internal—external themata are used specifically to articulate ethnic and national identities of the Roma minority.

Ontologization Of Gypsies and Construction of Interethnic Differences Between Roma and Non-Roma Bulgarians

As a reminder, the hypothesis of the ontologization of Gypsies (cf. Pérez et al., 2007) refers to the shared understanding that the Gypsy ethnos is located outside the human species and that their minority status is justified by the same undefined gap between human beings and animals. In line with this hypothesis, we observed very frequent arguments underlid by the human—animal and nature—culture antinomies in extracts revealing Roma-Bulgarians' construction of their ethnic identity.

Thus, Bulgarian Roma participants frequently tried to define the superiority of the Bulgarian majority over the Roma minority (Extracts 1 to 4). In addition, we found many pieces of evidence of a tension between innate and acquired characteristics used by participants to rationalize, or challenge, the Roma stigma.

Extract 1. (Female, 18 years old)

Interviewer	Ok, what differentiates Bulgarian and Roma people? What is the difference?
Dora	Well, it's because Bulgarians have more confidence and because they [have studied] *upper,* right, secondary education, *higher*

education. We as Roma have no opportunity, right, constantly abroad.

Extract 2. (Female, 45 years old)

Interviewer And what makes you feel Bulgarian, a Bulgarian woman?

Maria Bulgarian woman, what makes me feel… because I look at your (i.e., the interviewer) *culture* and it is [much] *better*. For example, you in *culture*, your *culture*, I see that you *study*…aaah…because when you *study* and you have [completed] 12th grade [i.e., high school], you know, *education*, you have a *nice* job. And with us, you know, in our minority, that is Roma, they wed really young. They wed younger and this is *not good*, it is [really] different, you know, to study, to turn 18 years [old] and after that to wed.

Extract 3. (Female, 69 years old)

Interviewer What is the most important thing for you in Roma culture? What is more specific, that differentiates Roma and Bulgarian people?

Ivana Well, between the Roma and the Bulgarian people there is still…but amongst the Bulgarians there [is] too, such… that like to *conflict*. Really, *the most important thing for Roma [is that] there is more conflicting*. And this is by them that they *do not know order.*

Interviewer The Roma people?

Ivana The Roma people.

Interviewer How come?

Ivana *We don't know how to stand in line*, *rather that bump* [in one another], it's like that.

Interviewer And how do you explain that to yourself?

Ivana Well*, low culture*, *they don't have education*. *Nowadays most of the young people began graduating more*, but the elders *are without education and with low culture*.

Extract 4. (Male, 32 years old)

Interviewer What makes you feel Roma?

Asen You know, when they see your *darker skin*, that's where everything comes from.

Interviewer	[...] What is the distinction if they are "Roma are different, Bulgarians are different"? What is that thing that distinguishes Bulgarians and Roma people?
Asen	Because most of them are *uneducated*. That's where it all comes from...
Interviewer	[...] But do you think that only education is distinctive between Roma and Bulgarian people?
Asen	[It] could be the *language*. *Because there are some* [that] *cannot speak good Bulgarian and that's the problem*. (…)

In the extracts reported above, majority Bulgarians are recurrently defined by their superiority in term of culture, as oppose to a Roma nature. Bulgarians have higher education and intelligence (Extracts 1, 2, 4), whereas, in comparison, Roma are reduced to their inherited biological traits (e.g., darker skin color in Extract 4), lower education and uncivilized behaviours (e.g., Roma who "cannot speak Bulgarian", "bump" into each other, "do not know order"). Note in extract 3 the rationalisation of the conflict opposing the majority to the Roma minority by something to which Roma are more prone. In extract 2, Maria refers to the Roma tradition of early marriage that generally limits school achievements in contrast the Bulgarian majority that can study until 18 years old and wed afterwards. The evocation of this tradition in particular is not trivial, since it is often criticized and taunted by the non-Roma majority to emphasize the backward culture and questionable morality of the minority.

Participants thus invoke shared understanding of the Roma ethnicity as determined by an indomitable nature, while the Bulgarian (majority) identity represents an emancipation from this nature, mainly through formal education (see e.g., Extract 2). However, the extracts also subtly nuanced the superiority of the Bulgarian majority group identity by arguing that contemporary Roma (children at least) could perfectly acquire those cultural qualities if they could access the education system without discrimination or structural difficulties (see Extract 3). For example, in extract 1, Dora explains Roma's lower education by their necessity to go working "abroad" thereby ruining their opportunity to follow normal school curricula. Note that participants from extracts 2, 3, and 4 also challenge the depersonalizing and stereotyping definition of Roma ethnicity as anchored in the natural domain, by using the third person to talk about the Roma ingroup and by limiting inferiority to "some" uncivilized Roma. Participants thereby set space for articulating ethnic and national identities. If they acknowledge that

the Roma ethnos is related to biological determinism by referring to ancestry, blood or skin color (Extract 4), they also argue that this does not exclude them from the Bulgarian culture.

Extract 5. (Female, 63 years old)

Interviewer	What makes you feel Bulgarian? Something to do with tradition or... What is the difference between Roma traditions and Bulgarian traditions?
Darina	Look now. We don't have such [difference]. As they speak Bulgarian, so do we. We speak Turkish, Roma we speak. What do they want? And to say now "We don't speak Bulgarian. *We are stupid*, we don't know the language etcetera".

Extract 6. (Male, 24 years old)

Interviewer	What makes you feel Bulgarian? That you are Christian, that you are born here?
Ivan	Well yes, *I wasn't born in India*, you know what I mean? *I was born here*, I profess their prayer, I am Christian, everything Bulgarian I eat, I speak Bulgarian. I don't even know the languages – not Gypsy, nor Turkish. I grew up here... around more Bulgarian children. And that's it. *They can only recognize me as Gypsy because of my color*, otherwise they wouldn't be able to recognize me, *if I was fairer*. *I don't speak broken*, *I'm not stupid* or whatever. *But the feud will be there for the rest of my life*. Just as there are *stupid Gypsies*, there are *stupid Bulgarians*...

Extract 7. (Male, 25 years old)

Interviewer	What makes you feel Roma?
Dimitar	So *I've been a Christian* for year and a half, maybe even more *I have believed in God*. [...] And *I believe in God* and for me it doesn't matter what person is, you know? *It doesn't matter if you are Roma, Bulgarian or Turkish*. *The question is if you are human*, because we live in tough times and nowadays people are really *greedy, selfish, egoists, arrogant*.
Interviewer	I'm asking what personally makes you say that you are Roma? Where does that thing come from? What does it come from? Something in the tradition, custom, something in culture?

Dimitar Something in *culture* of course, yes.

Extract 8. (Female, 45 years old)

Maria Really, when my son goes and as you [ask] "What nationality are you?", "Roma", you know, this is ok, because *God made me this way.* One is Roma, one is Turkish, one is Bulgarian*, God made us this way*, but I want to say that, you know, when you go to [the] working force, *people really judge by the clothing*, and for real, you have to be *well-dressed*. You cannot go with *ripped slippers* and something, but there are people who don't have [any clothes] at all. They go, they are listed, but when they see how she is *dressed*, there is no job for her. And on the other hand- *uneducated*.

The reference to the ontologization of Gypsies in the extracts above is more indirect. Participants there propose alternative definitions of the Roma identity, generally equivalent and not inferior to the Bulgarian majority identity (Extract 6). Participants notably react to the insinuation of "differences" between Roma and Bulgarians (Extract 5, see also Extract 4) and accused the Bulgarian majority group of systematically discounting intellectual and language abilities of the Roma. In particular, the ability to speak both the official national language as well as the variety of Roma dialects is advanced as central evidence against Roma's intellectual and cultural inferiority. Answers stress the similarity of Roma and non-Roma, especially when interviewer's probe present Bulgarian and Roma as two exclusive group identities (see also statements like "we are *people like people*" in Dora's later speech, "boys like me who aim (...) to live a *normal* life" in Ivan's, "I feel *normal*" in Asen's later speech).

Interestingly, extracts 6, 7, and 8 call out religious, and especially creationist, arguments to achieve the symbolic reconciliation of Roma's and Bulgarians' group identity. Description of ethnic identity in religious terms (Extracts 6 to 8) thus illustrates alternative representations of the Roma. For example, in Extract 7, the participant reinterpreted the nature—culture and human—animal themata by opposing the initial divine, perfect and equal nature of all human beings to the alienated and sinful endeavours ("greedy, selfish, egoists, arrogant") emerging in human societies through cultural constructions (e.g., "It doesn't matter if you are Roma, Bulgarian or Turkish. The question is if you are human"). This variation around the central thêma (i.e., nature—culture) underlying the common-sense definitions of the Roma communities is a perfect illustration of how alternative definitions of an object can be generated within

a shared social representation as a tool for intergroup communication. Note how, once this alternative definition is provided, Dimitar can safely admit the existence of a *cultural* difference between the groups ("Something in culture of course"), since the cultural difference here is no more opposed to a Roma different nature. In extract 8, Maria illustrates another frequent counter-argument against Roma's dehumanization and devaluation, namely the status of the Roma as a community cursed by God, but also thereby chosen among other human groups by God. Interestingly, throughout all these extracts, participants are relatively resilient and do not personally attack the interviewer for being the one who introduce the difference between the two groups. On the contrary, all the participants are eager to take advantage of this opportunity to claim a different reality.

Extract 9. (Male, about 45 years old)

Interviewer	What are the culture and traditions that you are trying to preserve?
Petar	So the respect towards elders, reverence, not to argue with elders, [you should] do whatever they tell you, even if it might be wrong. When we see that the elders are wrong we should somehow in a more tactic way clarify this thing, but with respect towards the older, because they have been left *illiterate*, and *we are in a way with education, we are somehow integrating*, *we speak*, but it is really difficult to integrate, because it is connected with schooling, education in a family [environment], work, all that. And *our tradition has failed*, *even our crafts tradition*… we were families that worked with iron, we made chains and cookers.

In extract 9, Petar praises Roma's emancipation thank to national education policies in line with the ethnic/nature—national/culture thêma. However, he also nuances this progress by also denouncing a "failure" and alienation of the Roma traditions that had survived until then *thank to* social exclusion. The resulting impression is that what the majority group conceives as improvements for the Roma minority is an arbitrary change of Roma's own culture in favour of the majority group's.

"Locatedness" of Roma-Bulgarians' Identity Facing Informal Segregation in Bulgaria

Another aspect of the ontologization of the Gypsies that was not directly addressed by the original authors of this hypothesis is the particular relationship of the Roma group identity with space. The geographical and symbolic segregation produced

by Roma's ancestors' nomadic practices were replaced, for contemporary settled Roma minorities, by a geographical and socioeconomic segregation in urban and rural settlements. The common-sense understanding of the Roma identity thus often consists in describing where the Roma minority is located.

Extract 10. (Male, about 45 years old)

Interviewer What makes you feel Roma?

Georgi What makes me feel Roma is the *environment where I live*, my family, I grow up in this kind of family. (...)

Extract 11. (Male, 32 years old)

Interviewer (...) What makes you proud to be Roma? Something very specific about Roma culture, that distinguishes you?

Asen I don't see the difference, if one is born *in Bulgaria*, he should feel Bulgarian. That's the whole thing.

Extract 12. (Female, 45 years old)

Interviewer And what should be preserved from Roma traditions? What should continue to exist, so that Roma people are Roma?

Maria [...] we live together *in Bulgaria*. Since *we are in Bulgaria,* we are Bulgarians as well. It doesn't matter that I am a Roma woman.

Extract 13. (Male, 25 years old)

Interviewer Man, ok. What makes a man Roma? For women is that they have to be virgins for example. What makes man feel Roma?

Dimitar To feel Roma, how would I know. *I live in the 21th century in Bulgaria* and I don't feel Roma. I mean for me, being Roma means being *below* everybody, you see...

(...)

Interviewer And do you feel as citizen of Bulgaria? Do you in any way feel Bulgarian?

Dimitar Absolutely. I feel it. I was born *here, I live here*, I studied *here* and the most important thing for me, that I found God *here*, right. This is very good. I mean *if I were somewhere else* maybe this wouldn't have happened, but now I explain it to myself like this, because *I am here*.

Extract 14. (Female, 69 years old)

Interviewer Ok, apart from you being Roma woman, you are a citizen of Bulgaria. What makes you feel Bulgarian?

Ivana Well I feel born *here* and *the country* is dear to me. I don't have a desire for *going in another country*.

Interviewer Why so?

Ivana Well, I am born *here*, I want to live my life *here*, he is.

Consistently, Roma identity was frequently defined by participants by physically locating the community within the Bulgarian environment (Extract 10), a "soil" (Bulgaria, Extracts 11-14) or, more symbolically, as being "below" others (Extract 13). Confirming the reduction of the minority identity to spatial activities, these definitions (e.g., "I don't have a desire for going in another country, see also Ivan's comment in Extract 6, "I am not coming from India" referring to the oriental origin associated with Roma ethnicity), however, subtly contest the stateless and nomad image of Gypsies. The fact that participants recurrently stressed their attachment to the Bulgarian soil (Extracts 11, 13 & 14) is highly meaningful, in particular facing the threat of social exclusion. The locatedness of Bulgarian Roma identity is also illustrated throughout the extracts by the systematic use of location adverbs and phrases such as "here", "in the neighbourhood", "in Bulgaria", "in the village" as identity markers. Note that these spatial arguments characterize as much extracts about Roma's exclusive ethnic identity (Extracts 10 & 13) than extracts about Roma's Bulgarian*ness* (Extracts 13 & 14). In fact, extracts 11 and 12 illustrate very well the recurrent demonstration of the articulation between Roma and Bulgarian identities by the locatedness of these groups in one and a same environment.

Extract 15. (Male, 24 years old)

Interviewer What makes you feel Roma? What is that thing that makes you Roma?

Ivan According to me there are no Roma and no Bulgarians. We are one, but they call us that- Gypsies. This is for them.

Extract 16. (Male, about 45 years old)

Petar However, in general I don't take an insult, when they call me Gypsy-Mypsy[13], I have said that [already], whatever you eat- I eat. I am a Bulgarian and you are a Bulgarian. I was born in Bulgaria and *I am not someone imaginary* and *in general an Italian or German*. I were one, I would be there. I wouldn't be here. And those who are Turkish, here in

[13] means "Gypsy and its synonyms"

> Bulgaria [I tell them], "Don't call yourselves Turks" I have said this many times. *If you are Turks, what are you doing here*? They left from here, because of you, to go to Turkey. And how many people did come back from the border.

Finally, throughout the extracts, the recurrent use of *us-we-me* as opposed to *them-they* pronouns (systematically underlined in participants' answers) conveys the internal—external thêma that structures the common-sense image of Roma as a separate group. Participants recurrently play with this in- and out-group perspective, as illustrated by uses of the word "Gypsy" instead of the official "Roma" term used by the interviewer. By adopting a common-sense, prejudiced name of the Roma minority, participants thus seem to demonstrate their capacity to move beyond the boundaries of their ethnic ingroup. The mix and match of the pronouns "we" and "they" for referring sometimes to a common national ingroup, sometimes to clearly separated ethnic subgroups, sometimes to distance oneself from the negatively connoted Roma minority reveals the complexity of alternative thinking facing well-established, majority definitions of intergroup boundaries. For example, in extract 15, Ivan uses "we" in reference to both majority and minority groups, while also using a distancing "they" to refer to those Bulgarians expressing anti-Roma prejudice. Facing the threat of being excluded from the Bulgarian national identity, in extract 16 Petar contests the construction of Roma ethnicity and the exclusion of Roma from the definition of Bulgarian*ness* by claiming not being "someone imaginary" neither "an Italian or German". He then strategically moves the focus and denounces a lack of patriotic loyalty of the other traditional minority in Bulgaria (i.e., Turks) in contrast to Roma-Bulgarians who do not feel attached to any other country but Bulgaria. Petar thus convincingly reinterprets the statelessness and antisocial traits commonly associated with Roma identity into autochthony and loyalty of a long-established community.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore the definitions of ethnic and national identities expressed by members of a settled Roma national minority. By adopting a social representation approach, and, more particularly, by focusing on themata (cf. Moscovici & Vignaux, 1994) that underlie everyday discourse about the Roma ethnicity, we analysed the answers of Roma-Bulgarians questioned about their identification with the Roma-ethnic and the Bulgarian-national groups. This particular theoretical approach led us to two interesting findings.

First, extracts distinguishing Roma and Bulgarian identities were characterized by themata known for underlying the common-sense representation of Gypsies. Participants presented their Roma identity as determined by *nature* and wild, while the Bulgarian national identity was defined by *cultural* achievements such as education and professional and social expertise. Sometimes, Roma were construed as able to achieve this culture, and sometimes as incapable. Nevertheless, participants' definitions of the Roma identity nuanced and challenged this antinomy by stating Roma's cultural achievement and humanity. Nevertheless, note that some alternative definitions might remain counter-productive, such as equality statement based on shared religious beliefs for example. Indeed, Christian proselytizing has constituted a major assimilation strategy of Gypsy-related groups throughout Europe (Kligman, 2001). Memories of these assimilation policies in the majority group now revived anti-Roma prejudice by describing them as adopting naïve, sectarian, or alienated religious practices, completely discarding the creationist arguments advanced here.

Second, Roma ethnicity and its articulation with was recurrently defined by localizing it in specific spaces. By situating Bulgarian Roma identity as limited by space (e.g., segregated living conditions), or by positioning Roma ethnicity in the Bulgarian soil, participants contested the stateless and nomadic understanding of their group. The locatedness of Roma-Bulgarians' identity *in* Bulgaria echoes European surveys' findings about sedentary Roma minorities' attachment to their country of residence (cf. "Romani culture", n.d.; Uğur, 2016). However, this recurring rhetoric to present itself as a member of the ingroup and an integrated citizen, where Roma are generally excluded, draws a rather depressing picture of the current situation.

We must also acknowledge some limitations of the present study. First, the specificities of the national context where we collected these interviews limit the generalization of our interpretations for Roma living in other European areas. Nevertheless, we believe that by explicitly reflecting on the locatedness of the Bulgarian Roma identity discourse, we touched a central aspect of Roma's identity strategies in response to statelessness and nomadism. Second, the use of a non-Roma Bulgarian interviewer, and the observation of frequent projections of his own constructions of the two identities as separated, unquestionably influenced the type of answers we collected. Notwithstanding that other aspects of the Roma ethnic identity could have emerged in response to less comparison-eliciting probes, we claim that this data at least

demonstrates Roma's participation in, and dependence to, the social representation delivered by the majority group.

Individual variations in the expression of social representations is constitutive of the social representation process (Doise et al., 1993). Indeed, by communicating alternative views of the same object, ethnic minority individuals discard prejudice and seek to subtly influence, or change, majority opinions. In his seminal contribution to the study of active minorities, Moscovici indeed described conformism *and* social creativity as two sides of ethnic minority individuals' strategy to cope with their disadvantaged status and foster social change (see e.g., Moscovici & Faucheux, 1972). Social change is there presented as a consequence of minority influence, minority groups being able to convince majority groups by notably staying consonant (see e.g., Politi, Gale, & Staerklé, 2017 for a recent contribution on minority influence process in the case of the collective elaboration of the figure of the "refugee"). Moscovici's work notably states the functional interdependence of ethnic majority and minority groups, one group being always represented *relatively* to the other. This study thus contributed to the rare social psychological literature on Roma discourse by demonstrating evidence of both conformism and attempts to exert a minority influence through the conversation with a representative of the majority group.

Social representation theory is a useful approach for the study of European Roma. Focusing on Roma's positive, alternative constructions of their identity, but also pointing to the risks of some of their common-sense reinterpretations could help developing more efficient, convincing and mobilizing political discourses about Roma inclusion.

Article 3

'I don't feel insulted': constructions of prejudice and identity performance among Roma in Bulgaria[14]

Despite a major normative shift towards anti-discrimination and racial equality (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Brown, Akiyama, White, Jayaratne, & Anderson, 2009), distinctions between social groups based on ethnicity or "culture" remain. Durrheim, Quayle, and Dixon (2016) recently demonstrated how arguments about the nature of prejudiced discourse and beliefs produced by a privileged social group in response to racist accusations and criticism contribute to the dynamic process of maintenance of intergroup inequalities. Privileged groups seem to continuously need to prove the legitimacy and the non-prejudiced nature of their treatment of outgroups in order to maintain their position at the top of the social hierarchy. The authors showed how constructions of prejudice – that is, arguments about what can or cannot be said about an outgroup – were used by privileged social groups members to consolidate or restore a positive social identity. A common example of this strategy is to think that if prejudice exists, it is due to an initial problematic behavior of the outgroup, which clears the privileged group conscience, and makes the intergroup bias the fault of the outgroup.

The extent to which members of low-status social groups use identity-relevant arguments about the nature of the prejudice of which they are targets in order to rationalize or challenge their social exclusion has not been investigated to date. In this article, we explore constructions of ethnic prejudice by members of the Roma community, a social minority who face discrimination and severe inequalities. We investigate how these constructions of anti-Roma prejudice allow individuals with Roma origin to consolidate, challenge or restore a positive Roma identity.

Indeed, the situation of Roma in Europe dramatically illustrates the consequentiality of well-argued legitimizations of prejudice and exclusionary policies. Europeans' treatment of Roma minorities is quite unique in terms of long-term maintenance of ethnic distinctiveness despite interethnic blending, extended contact,

[14] Giroud, A., Durrheim, K., & Green. E. G. T. (in preparation). 'I don't feel insulted': constructions of prejudice and identity performance among Roma in Bulgaria.

and shared traditions, especially between Roma minorities and Slavic majorities in Eastern European societies. The characteristics of the Roma ethnos – nomadism, endogamy, antisocial practices, immorality, and paganism, to cite but the most common (see Moscovici, 2011) – are depicted as signs of backward cultural development. As a result of this social devaluation, mixed marriage and contact with Roma are taboo and the presence of Roma in society is considered a threat for group identity (see Pérez, Moscovici, & Chulvi, 2007). Explicit racist attitudes toward Roma minorities in Europe have been demonstrated in media content studies (e.g., Rowe & Goodman, 2014), socio-political analyses of institutional texts and talk (e.g., Simhandl, 2006) and analyses of discourse (Loveland & Popescu, 2015; Tileagă, 2005). The recent normative shift to anti-discrimination ideology has done little to undo the distinctiveness and exclusion of the Roma so far.

Despite the growing interest in anti-Roma prejudice as a contemporary and enduring form of blatant racism, few studies have surveyed Roma minority members and analysed their attitudes or discourse about anti-Roma prejudice. Among these few, Bigazzi and Csertő (2016) surveyed Roma in Hungary and revealed two identity strategies – avoidance of contact with the Hungarian high-status majority group or denial of interethnic distinctiveness. In Slovakia, Reysen, Slobodnikova and Katzarska-Miller (2016) found that the perceived impermeability, stability and illegitimacy of interethnic boundaries with the non-Roma majority (cf. Tajfel & Turner, 1979) predicted Roma minority members' ethnic identification and desire to contest discrimination (measured by 1 item: "*I wish that Roma would work together to stop discrimination from the side of Non-Roma*"). In Bulgaria, Pereira & Green (2017) found that Bulgarian citizens with Roma origin used national identity markers (e.g., language, religion, traditions) in their discourse to secure and defend their inclusion in the national ingroup. In all three countries, the social identity of Roma and the threat of ethnic prejudice appear as being two, tightly intertwined realities.

The present analysis focuses on Roma discourse and more specifically on prejudiced and non-prejudiced treatment of the Roma as a central device for talking about the Roma identity. Before proceeding with our analysis, we first review literature showing how communication – and especially talk about prejudice – can serve identity performance functions. We then argue that prejudice-related identity performances might be especially useful to ethnic minorities who must manage stigma and exclusion.

Whereas existing research has mostly focused on how majorities construct prejudice, we turn to spotlight on minority identity performances and the interdependence between majority and minority group identities.

Prejudice as Social Identity Performance

A crucial contribution of social identity theory to prejudice research has been to highlight the role that positive distinctiveness motive plays in social identification and intergroup differentiation (Tajfel & Turner 1986; Turner et al., 1987). Expressions of intergroup prejudice indicate the salience of one's own and others' social identity and usually involve descriptions of others in terms of stereotypes.

Subsequent work (see e.g., the Social Identity Model of Deindividuation effects (SIDE), Postmes, Spears, & Lea, 1998) demonstrated how the psychological shift from a salient personal, to a salient social, identity has a profound effect on individual behaviours. A particular social identity may strategically be made salient by some situations or by social actors pursuing particular political agendas (see e.g., Reicher, Hopkins, & Condor, 1997). Moreover, Klein, Spears and Reicher (2007) demonstrated that individual group members can also proactively express (or suppress) behaviors that are "relevant to those norms conventionally associated with a salient social identity" (p. 3) to achieve situation-specific relational goals. Different aspects of a social identity can be performed depending on whether the audience is comprised of ingroup or outgroup members (Klein et al., 2007, see also Barreto, Spears, Ellemers, & Shahinper, 2003). For example, minority group members can decide to make their group identity more or less visible (Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013), or they can strategically ascribe themselves a visible attribute of the majority group identity in order to challenge the negative stereotype associated with the minority group they belong to (Pereira & Green, 2017). Crucial for the present study, Klein et al. (2007) stated that everyday expressions of intergroup prejudice are typical occasions for social identity performance, which support both the public consolidation of social categories and the personal, psychological endorsement of a group membership.

Examining the strategic character of identity performances, Durrheim et al. (2016) drew attention to the way arguments about what is and is not prejudiced or racist are powerful resources for achieving group identity goals and or mobilizing social action (cf. Reicher, 2012). In their analysis of UKIP Brexit campaign materials, Durrheim et al. (2018) illustrated how UKIP leaders used racial imagery to convince voters to leave

the EU, but were able to deny racist accusations and mobilize substantial support by carefully constructing of their depictions as truthful, not prejudiced.

Prejudice-related identity performances have become important tools for managing social change in many societies where arguments about who and what is truly prejudiced are used to explain events, sanitize tarnished identities, legitimize actions, and mobilize support. The enactment of a carefully figured and sculpted non-prejudiced identity has thus become a "part of the dynamic process by which the status quo is changed or preserved" (Durrheim et al., 2016, p. 18).

Minority Group Collective Identification Facing Prejudice

The negative psychological consequences of prejudice and discrimination from the perspective of their targets are many (e.g., Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Being the target of prejudice notably increases consciousness of belonging to a disadvantaged social category or group (see e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009). Perception of group-based discrimination is dealt with different psychological strategies, ranging from distance-taking with the discriminated group to collective action-oriented attitudes (Taylor, Wright, & Moghaddam, 1990; see also Curtin, Kende, & Kende, 2016).

Recent social psychological literature has reported that ethnic minority individuals, and especially members of native, non-migrant minorities, contest ethnic-exclusive group identification (Blackwood, Hopkins, & Reicher, 2013; Hopkins, 2007; Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013; Howarth, Wagner, Magnusson, & Sammut, 2014). Depending on the local political climate, minority members present themselves as occupying some hybrid position in-between ethnic and national categories or stress civic identity markers (e.g., language, laws, citizenship, patriotism, see e.g., Simonsen, 2016). For example, Blackwood et al. (2013) interviewed Scottish Muslims about their encounters with airport authorities. Participants complained about being misrecognized by authorities as Muslim instead of Scottish *and* Muslim (see also Hopkins, 2007). Howarth et al. (2014) found that British mixed-heritage youths resisted ethnic categorization – "It's only other people who make me feel Black" – and experienced a tension between their need to "fit in" with their "host" (or home) society, and their need to honor their cultural origin. Similarly, Merino and Tileagă (2011) found that young Mapuches, a Chilean indigenous minority, described themselves as members of the

minority but also objected to such categorization by majorities whose use of the term was deemed to be prejudiced.

In these and other studies, minorities attributed majority depictions of them as being prejudiced. The experience of prejudice is an everyday challenge for ethnic minorities who interact with audiences and in social contexts dominated by the norms and attitudes of a majority group that has developed arguments to legitimize prejudice expression. In response, minority members develop (counter-)arguments about the origin and the nature of prejudice, which may, we argue, also be treated as prejudice-related identity performances. As preliminary evidence of this, Hopkins and Greenwood (2013) reported how British Muslim women verbally anticipated Islamophobic prejudice when talking about the hijab, and took steps to resist this by British identification and developing counter-stereotypical discourse about their religious and gender identities. More recently, Greenland, Andreouli, Augoustinos, and Taulke-Johnson (2018) observed that minority group members tended to "minimise both hard and soft forms of discrimination" preferring not to see themselves as victims of discrimination (para. 20; cf. Sue 2015). Their work nicely extents previous research on the personal/group discrimination discrepancy (Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990) by illustrating how the perception of my group but not myself as a target of discrimination is rhetorically argued.

In sum, when communicating with outgroup audiences, ethnic minority members perform identities that are designed to anticipate and resist prejudice about their group, and to make something else of prejudice (see similar conclusions in the work of Benston, 2013 about African-Americans' reparatory performance of their "blackness"). Based on the observation that majority and minority's definitions of minority social identity are bound by prejudice (see also Bigazzi & Csertő, 2016), the present study explores how arguments about the nature of prejudice of which members of a Roma national minority are targets are produced by Roma, and this in order to consolidate or challenge their social identity and explain attitudes of the non-Roma majority.

Method

Participants

The data used for this study were English transcriptions of ten semi-directive individual interviews that were collected in Bulgarian during a survey on interethnic relations (Green, Zografova, Staerklé, & Hristova, 2013—2016). After participating in

a survey, the participants who confirmed belonging to the Roma minority were provided with the opportunity to volunteer for an interview in the exchange of a 15 Leva incentive (corresponding to circa 7.5 euros). The interview subsample was composed of five men and five women aged between 18 and 70 years old and all give their written consent. Interviewees all spoke Bulgarian as their native language and lived in Stara Zagora in the centre of Bulgaria. This particular location was chosen among the three regions where the survey was carried for its particularly mixed ethnic make-up and the presence of an urban ghetto (called "Lozenets") where Roma citizens live segregated from the rest of the local population. During the time when these interviews were conducted, a site nearby this Roma ghetto was the theatre of interethnic tensions. The situation ended up in July the same year (2014) with the spectacular destruction of several houses considered by local authorities as an illegal Roma "camp".

Procedure

Semi-directive interviews were conducted by a trained Bulgarian ethnologist, whose longstanding experience in interviewing and studying Roma was key. He has notably excellent knowledge of the different regional Roma subgroups and vocabulary, as well as skills facing illiterate participants. Interviews were conducted in Bulgarian and lasted between 30 and 50 minutes. The conversations took place directly in the street, in public places (or more rarely in participants' houses), and generally in the near presence of participant's partner (especially for female participants) or neighbors. The conversations were audiotaped, transcribed verbatim and then translated into English.

Since Roma*ness* is a politicized issue in Bulgaria and Roma ethnicity frequently inferred from physical appearance, the interviewer was instructed to begin with a non-judgmental probe that referred to participants' self-identification as Roma[15] in the initial stage of the survey. The interview protocol then moved the discussion to the participant's national identification, interethnic contact, discrimination, and to discussing future perspectives on interethnic relations in Bulgaria (see Appendix B).

Analytic Strategy

The content of the discourse thereby collected was rich and covered a broad and large spectrum of research topics complementary to the survey questionnaire. The data

[15] During this survey, we used "Roma" (also in Bulgarian language) to refer to the Bulgarian minority otherwise known as *Gypsies* or *Tziganes*. Roma is the politically correct and non-discriminatory label used nowadays by European authorities in charge of human rights and by NGOs active in Bulgaria.

were thus subject of previous publications answering different research questions.[16] For the present study, and in line with Schmidt's (2004) analytic procedure for semi-directive interview data, interviews were read and reread by the first author in order to progressively identify recurrent terms, themes, and arguments revealing participants' constructions and theories about prejudice in particular. Hypothesizing that arguments about anti-minority prejudice participate in minority group identity formation, we paid particular attention to *relational* accounts of Roma identity that may favor or blur the boundaries of the Roma minority. Interview transcripts were approached as places "where identities are being negotiated as part of an interactive process where meaning is co-constructed" (Merino & Tileagă, 2011, p. 90; see also Potter, Edwards, & Wetherell, 1993). Interpretations of individual discourse were thus made by focusing on the way Roma identity was qualified and performed specifically through arguments about the nature of anti-Roma prejudice experienced in intergroup encounters. In addition, we examined how Bulgarian Roma identity was co-constructed in exchanges between the interviewer and the interviewees. We progressively formulated, tested and revised an analytical guide for summarizing the topics that emerged in each interview, especially highlighting talk about identity and prejudice.

Below, we present a series of extracts from interviews that illustrate how the sampled Bulgarian Roma interviewees evoked different constructions of prejudice in relation to their Roma identity. The extracts selected for the purpose of the present article highlight constructions of prejudice and Roma identity performance practices that appeared recurrently in our data, although we do not make an assumption about their validity in other national contexts. Note that interview participants were given pseudonyms.

Results

Anticipating and Dodging the Identity of a Target of Prejudice

The first and most evident constructions of prejudice evoked by Roma interviewees were observed in interview opening exchanges, and following the interviewer's invitation to the participant to confirm the ethnicity declared some weeks earlier:

[16] These previous studies drew on Social Representation Theory revealing how Roma-Bulgarians' discourse is structured around semantic principles that suggest subtle variations in the dominant representation of Roma-Gypsies (Giroud, in preparation) and underlied by common-sense themes (Pereira & Green, 2017).

Extract 1. (Female, 18 years old)

Interviewer	During the survey, you have said that you are Roma, that you think of yourself as Roma person.
Dora	Yes, yes, yes, yes.
Interviewer	What does it mean for you to be Roma? What defines you as a Roma woman? What [differentiates] you from others?
Dora	Well, absolutely nothing. We are people like people.
Interviewer	And why do you say you are Roma and not Bulgarian for example?
Dora	Well, because our nation is like that, I mean, because Bulgarians constantly [say] "filthy Gypsies". They offend us, right, …

Extract 2. (Male, 24 years old)

Interviewer	You are Roma.
Ivan	I am Roma, yes. And a Gypsy is a Gypsy. Gypsy is as quoted. Stupid.
Interviewer	As a way of life?
Ivan	Yes, a Gypsy is a Gypsy. He is stupid, he has no mind, he only thinks of stealing the easiest way and to live overall easier. But Roma is something like me, a person who fights with life, has aims in this life and struggles to be a normal citizen. To live the normal way and for no discrimination.

In Extracts 1 and 2 participants endorse the Roma identity category cued by the interviewer and at the same time they dodge, deny and contest the proposed ethnic distinction. Dora claims that nothing differentiates the Roma who "are people like people". Ivan uses the distinction between Roma and Gypsy denominations, limiting social devaluation to the Gypsy denomination.

If Roma are not a distinct people, why then identify as Roma? In both of these extracts the basis for the identification is a constructed prejudice. Interestingly, both Dora and Ivan develop an account of being a target of prejudice by mimicking Bulgarian racism. In extract 1, Dora uses reported speech to tell the interviewer what "Bulgarians constantly say" (i.e., Filthy Gypsies). In Extract 2, Ivan impersonates a Bulgarian way of thinking: "A gypsy is a Gypsy. He is stupid, he has no mind, he only thinks of stealing.". Of course, these are exaggerated, hyperbolic depictions of Bulgarians that Bulgarians would no doubt contest. They are constructions of prejudice. More than that: they are identity performances. They perform the identity of the prejudiced other as a tool for setting space for an alternative social identity as Roma. Although the category

Roma marks a contested distinction from Bulgarians and people in general, for speakers it is a way of dodging prejudiced portrayals of Gypsies.

We identified a second way in which our participants used constructions of prejudice to ground their social identification. In these instances, rather than claiming membership of Roma ethnicity, participants distanced themselves from the troubled category.

Extract 3. (Male, 24 years old)

Interviewer	Would you tell me what happened to you, when you have faced discrimination?
Ivan	It hasn't personally happened to me, but it is obvious, man! If I noticed sometimes…right…not personally to me because I am not somebody [important], but I am always standing tall, well dressed, clean, you know, with nice clothes and sports shoes. I am always fixed so they can't look at me in a bad way. [...]

Extract 4. (Female, 18 years old)

Dora	[...] and I like it very much that they [i.e., Bulgarian friends] perceive us, the Roma people, as good people, because we don't lie, we don't steal, we are just family friends, I could say that, with his [her husband's] colleagues.

Extract 5. (Female, 18 years old)

Interviewer	Has there been a problem when the one who receives your application for child support asks "What do you want, what are you doing here?"
Dora	Well, no, when you can write, when you treat them nicely, obviously, and they treat you well.

In the above extracts, interviewees argue they are capable of efficiently avoiding prejudice and interethnic misperceptions when encountering Bulgarians (E3, "so they don't look at me in a bad way"; E4, "I like it very much that they *perceive* us… as good people"). Personal (E3, E5) or collective (E4) is framed as a disconfirming negation of an ethnic stereotype. Strategies to prevent prejudice consist precisely in disproving actively the stereotype by keeping a low profile (E3, "not being someone important"), dressing appropriately and being clean (E3), but also "not lying" (E4) and "not stealing" (E4) and being "just friends".

In extract 5 the interviewer describes an episode of aggressive and discriminatory behavior ("What do you want, what are you doing here?") by the

majority. As in extract 3, Dora again uses an individual mobility narrative, dodging the identity of the target of prejudice by presenting herself as a disconfirming case – someone who can write, and who is thus treated well.

Extract 6 illustrates a third way that prejudice constructions feature in identity performances of targets of prejudice. In contrast to the previous strategies, here this older female participant takes ownership of the prejudicial stereotype and justify behaviours of young Roma.

Extract 6. (Female, 63 years old)

Darina (…) youngsters are going there, making request applications and they see the dark skin, they don't let the applications but tear them up. This is not nice. Not nice. Kids here are starving, young men are starving, look at them sitting, not working. Starving. They go collecting bottles. W[eeee]ell, the Roma dig in [the trash bins]. Is it nicer to steal? You can't steal, right? And when you steal you go right in the jail. And, and they collect iron, bottles, they sell them to feed their families, but what are we to do? That is what life is like to us. (…)

Before, I will tell you now. If he [mentioning the name of a former communist ruler] stands from his grave, he will put all of Bulgaria right. […] Truth I tell you. Everything will be alright, because there was no stealing, no killing, no hunger. At 12 we go to work from Lozenets to Petkene[17] we go to work. We walk to work but you walk calmly.

Job discrimination faced by the contemporary young generation of Roma-Bulgarians was frequently cited, especially by older participants, to rationalize the stereotype of the Gypsy as a lazy and aggressive person who does not want to "work", "steals", "digs in trash bin". Rather than disavowing the stereotype, Darina (E6) treats it as a reality, one brought about by discrimination that keeps young "dark skin" Roma out of work. It is discrimination that accounts for the counter-normative behaviour of Roma. This is born out by the recent political transition leading to expressions of nostalgia for the communist regime. If there were no prejudice as during communist

[17] The interviewee probably refers here to *Petko Enev*, located in the southern industrial zone of Stara Zagora, which was a poultry processing factory during the communist years where many Roma in this region were employed.

years, "everything [would] be alright". Roma would have access again to education, work, and housing and there would be "no stealing, no killing, no hunger".

All three of these identity performances considered in this section are grounded in constructions of prejudice. By contesting the Roma identity category for being shaped by prejudice and by alternatively making statements about one's personal capacity to control the emergence of prejudice and conform to majority norms, or by rationalizing the origin of Roma's antisocial behaviors, interviewees perform an active and more positive version of the Roma identity where they are not just passive targets of prejudice, but integrated Bulgarian citizens.

Disclaiming Being a Target of Prejudice

In contrast to above extracts illustrating how interviewees spontaneously invoked prejudice by denouncing the arbitrariness of the interethnic distinction, other extracts revealed disavowal of experiencing prejudice grounded on accounts of positive interethnic relations, thereby indirectly also relying on prejudice constructions:

Extract 7. (Female, 66 years old)

Interviewer	During the survey with my colleagues you have said you were Roma. What makes you feel Roma?
Margarita	I do not separate myself from my nation. It doesn't matter whether I am Roma or Gypsy, it's the same to me. I am Gypsy by descent [...] The Bulgarians don't separate[18] at all from us, the Roma people and here in the neighbourhood we get along really good.

Extract 8. (Female, 63 years old)

Interviewer	But is there something that is different for the Roma compared to Bulgarians? Any custom, anything?
Darina	Look now, we are trying like this with Bulgarians.[19] My daughter-in-law [is] Bulgarian. We are not separating [from Bulgarians by not marrying them]. My brother got hooked with a Bulgarian woman. My son got hooked with a Bulgarian woman. We are mixed, you see. We don't have any differences. But there are Bulgarians that make a difference.

[18] The literal translation was "The Bulgarians don't limit themselves".

[19] The woman means that she will explain the interviewer how the Roma are usually trying to connect.

In Extract 7, Margarita evokes positive contact in terms of non-segregation and harmonious cohabitation. Mirroring earlier extracts, the Roma vs. Gypsy distinction is made, despite being presented as irrelevant ("It doesn't matter whether I am Roma or Gypsy") since interethnic relations are positive. Positive interethnic contact with Bulgarians is also invoked in terms of exogamy[20] (E8). Darina lists examples of "mixed" relationships and marriages in her family. Non-segregation is however disclaimed by the "we" vs. "they" phrasal constructions and by the use of the generic category of "Bulgarians" to refer to the national majority outgroup. Despite stressing intergroup harmony, this denial of being a target of prejudice still relies on the interethnic distinction between Roma and Bulgarians. Besides, note that Margarita and Darina attribute those privileged intimate relationships to local circumstances (E7, "here in the neighborhood"). "Here" people are not prejudiced, while elsewhere, interviewees concede that prejudice remains and is mainly due to individual predispositions (E8, "But there are Bulgarians that make a difference"), thereby denying the institutionalization of Roma's inequalities. In addition, positive intergroup contact is also constructed as a privilege reserved to some exceptional Roma (generally including the interviewee), especially thanks to a job (E4) or to mixed marriages.

Extract 9. (Male, 25 years old)

Interviewer	Ok, however, what makes you feel Roma, when you are asked if you are Bulgarian, Turkish or Roma?
Dimitar	I mean I don't feel...
Interviewer	What makes you...
Dimitar	...I don't feel insulted that way you know?
Interviewer	I'm not saying that it is an insult. It's not.
Dimitar	I don't feel insulted.
Interviewer	But something has to make you feel... Roma.
Dimitar	Well.... in general. [...] Yes. Everyone is Roma, who does the Roma things. I mean they make a lot of children, how should I put it – things that Bulgarians are not keen on…

Countering the Roma identity category by defining what does not count as prejudice was also clearly illustrated by Dimitar, who constructs prejudice as a matter

[20] Note that exogamy is described not only with ethnic Bulgarians but with Bulgarians of Turkish origin too. Here we focused on mixed marriage and relationships with ethnic Bulgarians for the purpose of clarity.

of individual sensitiveness. While also invoking behaviors stereotypically associated to the Roma minority, Dimitar does not refute them. The rhetorical question "how should I put it" reveals his attempt at disclaiming interethnic prejudice as a matter of individual susceptibility, which he is not personally concerned with ("I don't feel insulted"). The formulation "Bulgarians are not keen on" in reference to stereotypical behaviors of some Roma ("they make a lot of children") reveals his euphemising of prejudice that he reduces to a matter of personal taste or cultural habits of the majority. Disclaiming being a target of prejudice also allows Dimitar to perform an alternative social identity as a Roma who is able to understand, adapt, and agree with the majority perspective.

Discussion

Previous research has focused on advantaged, majority groups who challenged being "prejudiced" or "racist", revealing thereby how arguments about the nature of interethnic prejudice in contemporary societies are related with restoration and performance of a positive social identity (Durrheim et al., 2016; Durrheim et al., 2018). In the present analysis, we demonstrate how arguments about prejudice are related to the performance of the social identity of targets of prejudice.

First, our analysis describes how members of the Roma minority who endorse the Roma identity anticipate the threat of prejudice by depicting the discourse of a prejudiced and antagonist majority in sometimes crude and stereotypical terms. By being the ones who first bring anti-Roma prejudice into the discussion, subjects thus impose themselves as relevant producers of (alternative) knowledge about the nature of prejudice and about the Roma identity (Durrheim et al., 2016). Subjects notably contest the Roma minority identity for being spoiled and bound to prejudice expressed by the non-Roma majority (Bigazzi & Csertő, 2016; Hopkins, 2007; Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013; Merino & Tileagă, 2011).

Nevertheless, denouncing prejudice exposes subjects to being perceived as plaintive victims, which may ultimately increase—instead of decrease—intergroup distinctiveness and prejudice (e.g., by benefiting from social programs or aids). Apart from performing an identity as target of prejudice, we thus also observed a second type of discourse allowing the performance of a more positive, non-victimized Roma identity, still related to arguments about prejudice, though. This discourse consists of disclaiming being a target of prejudice, either by praising positive contact with the non-Roma majority or by confirming the negative stereotypes about the Roma while presenting oneself as the exception as opposed to the rule. The first strategy (i.e.,

stressing positive contact) illustrates how minority members perform a positive social identity by directly referring and altering one of the fundamental aspect of anti-Roma prejudice, namely the taboo of intergroup contact (cf. Pérez et al., 2007). The second strategy (i.e., autostereotyping and disidentification) nicely illustrates the self/group discrimination discrepancy (Taylor et al., 1990), by revealing how the own situation can be rhetorically and convincingly distinguished from the group.

In sum, by disclaiming the identity of a target of prejudice, our subjects sought to perform a more positive identity as integrated Bulgarian citizens, far from the stereotypical image of Roma. Ironically, the energy deployed by subjects in creating positive intergroup narratives between mutually exclusive verbal and mental categories in order to disprove prejudice, limit their capacity to actually think and present themselves beyond "us" versus "them" categories (cf. Bigazzi & Csertő, 2016; see also van Dijk, 1993).

By highlighting the role of positive intergroup contact accounts in the identity performance of minority groups, our analysis also speaks, indirectly, to the research on the sedative effect of positive intergroup contact (cf. Wright & Lubensky, 2009). While our data confirm that constructions of non-prejudiced majority attitudes derived from positive contact experiences relate to minority members' disclaiming of (personal) discrimination and downplaying of grievances, our analyses also suggest that "us" and "them" categories are not psychologically abolished. We thus claim that the sedative effect of contact on minority groups' willingness to fight for equality should be nuanced in future research by considering the performance of alternative, more positive minority identity.

Of course, we must acknowledge a number of important limitations to the present analysis. First, we cannot rule out the bias induced by the non-Roma interviewer and by the presence of other Roma close by in the nature of the arguments produced. Nevertheless, we believe the social identity performance approach allows minimizing those biases. Indeed, the non-Roma interviewer can be seen the (involuntary) interactional origin of the threat of prejudice that is anticipated by most subjects. Besides, the fact that ingroup members attending the interview setting have potentially influenced the nature of the discourse produced informs us on the social desirability and validity of the rhetoric we found. Second, whilst most likely we have not produced an exhaustive list of rhetorical levers due to the limited number of interviews available, our data provide an original contribution to the literature by presenting the perspective of

the Roma minority about prejudice. The discursive strategies that we present in this study illustrate how the concept of "prejudice" provides an identity framing also for stigmatized social minorities. Interestingly, this identity framing either counters (when minority members denounce being a target of prejudice) or nourishes (when they disclaim being a target of prejudice) the identity performances of majority group members who, in turn, seek to present themselves as unprejudiced and to legitimize existing social relations (Durrheim et al., 2018).

The way others look at us as members of a social category matters and definitions of a group identity has concrete implications for group members' opportunities, access to resources and living conditions. The Roma community is probably one of the most dramatic contemporary illustrations of that statement. However, the Roma are also an interesting case of efficient collective resilience and survival strategies in the margins of the society, despite extreme group devaluation and dishonour associated with the Roma ethnic identity. The identity performance framework along with a discursive analysis powerfully show how emerging definitions of intergroup prejudice, from both majority and minority group perspectives, contribute to the maintenance of status quo in group-based inequalities, but also challenge inherited social identities by allowing subjects to present alternative realities.

3.2. CONTACT, IDENTITY, AND ETHNIC ACTIVISM

After revealing the complex and multidimensional nature of the Roma collective identity emerging in a context of intergroup relations in Bulgaria, I now examine the relationships between collective identity, intergroup contact, and ethnic activism. In this second line of research, I present analyses based on two different datasets that were collected among two different minority populations. First, in a preliminary study, the antecedents of support for ethnic activism among Roma-Bulgarians are tested, using the questionnaire data from our the Bulgarian survey project (Article 4a) and drawing on the politicized collective identity model of minority activism. Second, using the same data, the interaction of ethnic and national identities of Roma-Bulgarians on the relationship between contact and support for ethnic activism is examined (Article 4b). Third and lastly, the compatibility between ethnic and national identities is examined by employing a dual identification construct measure, and this in order to explain the sedative effect of contact on collective action. In this last contribution, the thesis moves to the situation of an immigrant ethnic minority, which is also the target of prejudice: Kosovo Albanians living in Switzerland.

Article 4a was a preliminary study to the research presented in article 4b, which was published in 2017 in Frontiers in Psychology. Article 5 is an unpublished manuscript resulting from the collaboration with multiple co-authors. It is currently in preparation for submission.

Article 4a

Antecedents of political protest: testing the politicized collective identity model of minority activism among Bulgarian Roma[21]

The political influence of the Roma minority in Europe is strikingly small as compared to the size of Roma minorities in Central and Eastern European nations, but also as compared to the external politicization of the Roma by European institutions (e.g., EU proclaimed 2005–2015 the Roma decade, see Jenatsch, 2009). This lack of political participation has been explained by the heterogeneity of the Roma minority (Csepeli & Simon, 2004; McGarry & Agarin, 2014). Indeed, Roma communities within and between national contexts greatly differ terms of housing, spoken language, and level of social integration, which challenges the politicization of Roma as a single actor or party. While ethnic lobbying by Roma activists exists, it is a marginal political reality, especially since most national Roma minorities actually contest belonging to one and the same pan-European ethnic group (and commit, instead, to internal struggles over power and prestige *between* Roma subgroups, see AFR, 2011). The Europeanization of the Roma issue is thus criticized for reproducing the image of these scattered communities as being one single group, with a shared destiny. Several experts of the European Roma minorities agree on saying that the political participation of Roma and the social improvements of their situation can only be fought at a local level, and on situated issues (Brown, Denton, Farnworth, Russinov, & Tashev, 2003, see also Gheorghe, 2013).

Contributing to the limited knowledge about Roma activism in a social psychological perspective and integrating the assumption that Roma activism can only be a local reality, this study tested the antecedents of the political protest among members of a situated Roma minority, that is Roma-Bulgarians. The study draws on research showing that politicized immigrant minorities mobilize a *dual* collective

[21] This preliminary study is based on Giroud, A., Visintin, E. P., & Green, E. G. T. (2015, June). The consequences of contact for ethnic minorities: Contact with majority, dual identification and politicization of Bulgarian Roma [Poster]. EASP 2015 Small Group Meeting 'The Dynamics of intergroup relations: Majority and minority perspectives on improving intergroup relations', Budapest, Hungary. See Appendix E.

identity, which psychologically reconciles ethnic distinctiveness with an attachment to the superordinate, national society (i.e., the context where the political struggle is projected).

Roma-Bulgarians as an (Externally) Politicized Ethnic Minority

In Bulgaria, the Roma minority represents the third largest ethnic subgroup (5% of the national population) after the Bulgarian Turkish minority and the Slavic majority group (the so called "ethnic Bulgarians"). The Bulgarian communist regime implemented assimilation campaigns that have encouraged Roma communities to abandon their nomadic lifestyle and either work in collective farms or settle in the communist urban ghettos (Vassilev, 2004). During the communist years, any form of ethnic-based political activism was proscribed in favour of the single party-state. Roma political movements and institutions in Bulgaria[22] were further prevented by the democratic constitution of 1991, which prohibits the electoral participation of parties defined by ethnic or religious membership (Hajdinjak, 2008). Denying the political (and reparatory) demands of ethnic and religious minorities was praised for years by the Bulgarian government as an effective strategy for maintaining peaceful relationships between the different Bulgarian subgroups, in comparison with the explosive politicization of ethnic and religious identities practiced by Bulgaria's Former Yugoslavian neighbors (Zhelyazkova, 2001). The democratic government of the 1990s promoted an ethno-nationalist model of citizenship, which consisted in defining the nation in terms of ethnicity and assimilating the minorities to the dominant group (Zhelyazkova, 2001; see also Gheorghe, 2012; Pettigrew, 2010). Nevertheless, discrimination and inequalities experienced by Roma-Bulgarians persisted until today, consistently renewed by prejudice and beliefs about Gypsies and Travellers.

In this context of politically illegible ethnicity, but enduring interethnic inequalities, Roma-Bulgarians are a sort of permanent, familiar strangers for the rest of the Bulgarian national population (cf. Zhelyazkova, 2001). Many of them live in the margins or do seasonal work outside Bulgaria instead of pursuing the struggle for their political emancipation and equal participation in the Bulgarian society (Vassilev, 2004). Besides, the current age structure of the Roma minority (i.e. with children and young adults overrepresented), combined with structural inequalities in accessing the education system, minimize the older adult and educated proportion of Roma-Bulgarians that

[22] because there was a Roma "intelligentsia" that emerged in the 1930s (Kenrick, 1971).

could potentially participate in politics. In the last two decades, the market economy adopted by the Bulgarian government brought qualified and specialised jobs, for which the low-educated and still segregated Roma minority was not prepared. Eventually, Bulgaria entered EU in 2007 and EU authorities imposed their measures to fight the discrimination of Roma citizens and Travellers as they do throughout all member-states (see e.g., Simhandl, 2006). Despite an institutionalized social exclusion, local empirical studies provide evidence for Roma Bulgarians' attachment to the national territory from which they hold the citizenship, speak the official language, and profess the official religions (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2014).

Facing the striking contrast between the Roma-Bulgarian communitiy as a visible and externally politicized traditional minority, but their weak participation in civic activities and institutional politics, the present study examines the antecedents of support for ethnic activism among Roma-Bulgarians. In line with the recent history of the Roma minority in Bulgaria, the study considers the influence of the nationalist propaganda on Roma-Bulgarians' collective identity and evaluated the interaction between ethnic and national identifications on support for ethnic activism. Besides, we also explored the effect of identification as a member of Europe on Roma-Bulgarians' support for Roma political activism.

Antecedents of Political Participation in Minorities: The Politicized Collective Identity Model of Activism

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), social minority members who are disadvantaged by the existing social hierarchy and the unequal distributions of resources can get motivated to engage in collective action and challenge the advantages of the dominant (majority) group, unless the permeability of intergroup boundaries or the perceived legitimacy of group statuses prevent individuals to support a collective action (see also Ellemers, Wilke, & Van Knippenberg, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Drawing on this theory, the social identity model of collective action (Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008) stressed some additional psychological conditions that foster collective action for social change. Among these, the perception of shared grievances and the anger felt towards the advantaged group increase the salience of disadvantaged group members' collective identity (see, however, Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990 about consequences of the personal/group discrimination discrepancy). In turn, such an ingroup identity grounded on perceived discrimination by an out-group was found to

provide a renewed sense of collective efficacy and positive identity, in opposition to the unfavorable social image projected by the advantaged group (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Cronin, Levin, Branscombe, van Laar, & Tropp, 2011).

Interestingly, research on predictors of political protest produced the concept of politicized collective identity (PCI), referring thereby, more specifically, to the awareness to be collectively engaged in, and the motives for, a political struggle against another (generally ruling) group (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Stürmer & Simon, 2009). Consistent with research on intergroup relations, the antecedents of such politicization of social minorities are a combination of salient collective identity, group efficacy and shared grievances. More precisely, empirical studies on the political participation of disadvantaged ethnic minorities in various national contexts revealed that the politicized collective identity of active minorities has got a dual form (Simon & Grabow, 2010; Simon & Ruhs, 2008; Stürmer & Simon, 2004). Dual identity refers to the psychological experience of biculturalism, that is, hyphenated or hybrid identifications with both the receiving society's culture, and the heritage group's one, drawing notably on research on the consequences of intercultural contact for immigrants (see e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Commitment to the superordinate polity provides immigrants with the acceptable means and ends for the political game (e.g., voting, participating in democratic elections, peaceful protest). In other words, dual identity provide psychological resources to overcome the pragmatic constraints of participation in democracy (Curtin, Kende, & Kende, 2016; Klandermans, Van der Toorn, & Van Stekelenburg, 2008; Louis, Amiot, Thomas, & Blackwood, 2016; Scuzzarello, 2015 for further evidence of dual identification of minorities and support for political activism). Nevertheless, the phenomenology of dual identification is rich, and the two components of identification (ethnic and national) can be perceived as complementary or oppositional, depending on the national context and on the political goal pursued (Simon & Ruhs, 2008; see also Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2014). For example, being a Muslim[23] tends to be considered as incompatible with a host national identification in different European countries (Chryssochoou & Lyons, 2011). Nevertheless, the work of Hopkins and colleagues in

[23] The conception of Muslim identity as an ethnic and not a religious group identity may be surprising here. However, ethnic categories are flexible social constructs (Zagefka, 2009) and the amalgam between Muslim*ness* and ethnic background is often explicitly introduced in the studies cited.

UK provides ample evidence of British-Muslim citizens' positive integration of these two group identities (e.g., Blackwood, Hopkins, & Reicher, 2013).

In the particular case of Roma-Bulgarians, we expect high level of dual identification to overlap with high identification on separate ethnic and national identity scales (see also Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016 for a systematic study of the overlap between the high ethnic—high national interaction with a dual identity construct measurement). Based on the socio-political history of the Roma minority in Bulgaria, we expect that the Roma supporting collective action in favour of the minority's rights identify with both the Roma-ethnic subgroup and the Bulgarian national society. More specifically, we hypothesized that high identification with both ethnic and national groups predict stronger civic involvement and, more specifically, stronger support for pro-Roma activism. In line with the Europeanization of the Roma issue, we also expect identification as a European citizen to predict civic involvement and support for pro-Roma activism. Similar to the analytical procedure followed by Simon and Ruhs (2008), the study assesses the potential for politicization of the Bulgarian Roma minority by testing whether the antecedents are satisfied, that is, perception of discrimination by the majority, anger, and collective identity (see also Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

Method

We had access to data from Bulgarian citizens who self-identified as Roma-Bulgarians thanks to a collaborative research project (Green, Zografova, Staerklé, & Hristova, 2013—2016). This project aimed at understanding social psychological processes underlying interethnic attitudes between the three major ethnic subgroups composing the Bulgarian population, that is, ethnic Bulgarians, Turkish-Bulgarians and Roma-Bulgarians. The project includes a cross-sectional questionnaire procedure.

Participants

A total of 320 Roma-Bulgarians (162 females and 158 males) aged from 15 to 83 years old (M = 43.30 years, SD = 16.66) completed the questionnaire stage of the research project during the spring 2014. A non-representative sampling procedure for the questionnaire administration was implemented by an independent survey agency in two regions with differing proportions of Roma: Montana, a municipality inhabited by a large community of Roma-Bulgarians (culminating at 12,7% of the local population), and Stara Zagora in the center of the country (5,8% of the municipality population, and well-known for segregated Gypsy neighbourhoods in Stara Zagora city). The sampling was processed in two stages. First, the survey agency determined 40 sampling points in

both urban and rural areas of these two regions. Second, for each sampling point, the agency sought eight questionnaire participants selected at balanced proportions of age and gender. This particular sampling procedure thus resulted in a complex sample structure.

All participants reported Bulgarian as their first language with the exception of one participant who reported Romani. The majority of them (60.3%) had primary or lower secondary education (e.g., professional school degree). The proportion of participants having an upper secondary education was 23.1%, whereas 1.2% had a university degree. The remaining 15.3% reported never having completed primary education or been to school. The proportion of participants with upper secondary and university education was larger in our sample as compared to official national statistics (see e.g., Pamporov & Kabakchieva, 2012). The subjective economic situation of Roma in our sample was modest (M = 4.03, SD = 0.97), with only 7.8% of the participants reporting having enough for their needs.

Measures

All items described below were rated on a similar 5-points scale, ranging from (1) *No, not at all* to (5) *Yes, very much.*

Group identification. The questionnaire started with a section measuring the degree to which the participants felt attached to different social groups. National identification Ethnic identification was assessed by four items (‘*Do you often think of yourself as a member of the Bulgarian nation?’*, ‘*Is being part of the Bulgarian nation important to you?*’, and ‘*Do you feel close to other members of the Bulgarian nation?*’, Cronbach’s a = .69). Using the same wording, three items measured identification as a Roma (Cronbach’s a = 0.84). Finally, three parallel items measured identification as a member of Europe (Cronbach’s a = 0.74).

Perceived discrimination and outgroup-based anger. We assessed participants’ perceived discrimination by the Bulgarian majority by four-items tapping the impression of being treated unfairly or negatively, teased of insulted because of being Roma, and the perception of unfair treatment of the Roma population (Cronbach’s a = 0.85*)*. Preliminary factor analyses showed no support for distinct personal versus group discrimination computed scores. Anger towards ethnic Bulgarians was measured by one item (“*Do you feel anger toward ethnic Bulgarians?*”).

Civic involvement and support for ethnic activism. Four items assessed to what extent they would be willing to sign a petition, take part in a demonstration, take

part in a political meeting or meet a representative of the government (Cronbach's a = 0.89). In order to further specify Roma-Bulgarians' civic involvement in general, one item invited participants to claim sympathy for one (or several) of the 13 official Bulgarian political formations. Four items similar to the ones used by Mähönen and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2015) assessed participants' willingness to engage in (normative, non-confrontational) political activities to improve the situation of Roma in Bulgaria (i.e., vote for a candidate defending Roma's rights; defending the rights of Roma in public debate; defending the rights of Roma in situations where you notice discrimination; taking part in cultural events organized by Roma, Cronbach's a = 0.85).

Analysis

We performed multiple regression analyses with support for pro-Roma activism and civic involvement serving as criteria, entering perceived discrimination, outgroup-based anger, ethnic and national identification and their interaction term (previously centred to reduce multicollinearity problems) as predictors. Gender, age, educational level and perceived economic situation of the participants were systematically controlled for in the analyses. Since the complex structure of our empirical sample presented a risk for correlations between the scores of participants recruited in a same sampling point, we performed this multiple regression analysis using the complex samples general linear models command (CSGLMs) from the SPSS version 25.0 program (SPSS Inc.). This command adjusts the estimates of standard errors according to the nature of the data. More concretely, the values of the two criteria in function of the explanatory variables were tested multiple times across the data clusters. Since the analyses using this command as compared to a standard multiple regression command and adding the cluster as additional control were similar, we decided to report here only the results of the standard multiple regression procedure for clarity purpose.[24]

Results

Unless otherwise noted, statistical tests are two-tailed, with alpha set at a value of .05. Degrees of freedom may vary because of missing data. The grand mean of perceived discrimination by non-Roma Bulgarians in the sample was weak (M = 2.74, SD = 0.93) and significantly lower than the midpoint of the scale t (319) = - 5.39, p <

[24] The complex procedure proposed in SPSS requires the dichotomization of the explanatory variables in order to facilitate the interpretation of the multiple comparisons tests executed across clusters. Consequently, the procedure provides Wald's Chi-squared statistics instead of regular regression coefficients as outputs.

.001. Anger felt towards non-Roma Bulgarians was low (M = 1.51, SD = .07). Ethnic identification was strong (M = 4.26, SD = .08) and significantly stronger than identification as a member of the Bulgarian nation (M = 3.82, SD = .11, t (319) = 6.77, $p < .001$). Consistent with our contextual hypothesis, ethnic and national identifications were perceived compatible as evidenced by a moderate but positive correlation (Pearson's r = .174, p = .002). Contrary with the rejection-identification model (cf. Branscombe et al., 1999), ethnic identification was not positively (neither negatively) correlated with perceived discrimination. Ethnic identification was negatively correlated with the education level achieved by participants (r = -.124, p = .027), whereas national identification increased as the education level increased (r = .192, p = .001). Finally, the grand mean of identification as European was low (M = 2.29, SD = .09), positively correlated with national identification (r = .302, $p < .001$), and negatively correlated with the age of participants (r = -.171, p = .002). Though anger and perceived discrimination were low, ethnic identification was high, suggesting a moderate potential for politicization in our sample.

Table 2 summarizes means and provides intercorrelations of the study variables. Multiple regression analyses were performed by progressively entering the controls, then anger and perceived discrimination, and finally the identity predictors. The results of these regression analyses with support for ethnic activism and civic involvement as statistical criteria are presented in Table 3 and 4 and described in details below.

Civic involvement. Perceived discrimination of Roma and national identification emerged as significant positive predictors of participants' general involvement in civic activities. European identification emerged as a marginal predictor. Altogether, these identity predictors increased the variance explained by the model of 10%, confirming the key-role of collective identity construct in the politicization of minority individuals. Among controls, only higher economic deprivation significantly predicts lower civic involvement.[25]

In order to further understand Roma-Bulgarians' position as regards the Bulgarian politics, we also explored sympathy for the official political parties. However, a large majority of participants either refused to answer to provide information about their sympathy for a particular party (n = 35) or reported no particular party affiliation

[25] However, economic situation did not predict civic involvement in the model obtained with the complex command of SPSS.

(n = 172). Among the participants who reported sympathy for one or the other party in the provided listing, a majority (n = 62) was in favour of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), followed by supporters of the (predominantly Turkish) Movement for Rights and Freedom (n = 26) and by some supporters (n = 13) of a pro-European party named Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB). The rest (n = 11) spread across some less influential parties. A Chi-square test of independence revealed that BSP supporters were more numerous among high national identifiers (χ^2 (7) = 25.16, p = .02) and low European identifiers (χ^2 (7.7) = 24.06, p = .02).

Support for pro-Roma activism. Both ethnic and national identification emerged as significant, positive predictors of participants' support for ethnic activism. Identity predictors increased the variance explained by the model of more than 20%. Contrary to our expectations, however, identification as European did not predict support for ethnic activism in favour of the Roma minority in the sample. Besides, the interaction between ethnic and national identification significantly and negatively predicts support for Roma activism. This negative coefficient comes from the fact that national identification actually flattens the mobilizing effect of ethnic identification (see Figure 5). In other words, the lowest support for ethnic activism is observed among low ethnic and low national identifiers, whereas, contrary to our expectations, high ethnic and high national identifiers are not more supportive than low ethnic and high national identifiers. Indeed, the unstandardized simple slope for participant 1 SD above the mean of national identification was -.033 and was not significant (p = .696), whereas the unstandardized simple slopes for participants 1 SD below the mean of national identification was .343 and was highly significant (p < .001). In this second model, controlling for clusters significantly explain variance in support for ethnic activism. We further explored whether the region of sampling and living in an urban *versus* rural district could substantiate the effect of clusters. These additional analyses revealed that participants from Montana (M = 4.37, SD = .77) were significantly more supportive than participants sampled in Stara Zagora (M = 3.89, SD = .92, F(1, 319) = 25.80, p < .001). We found no effect of the urban/rural district.

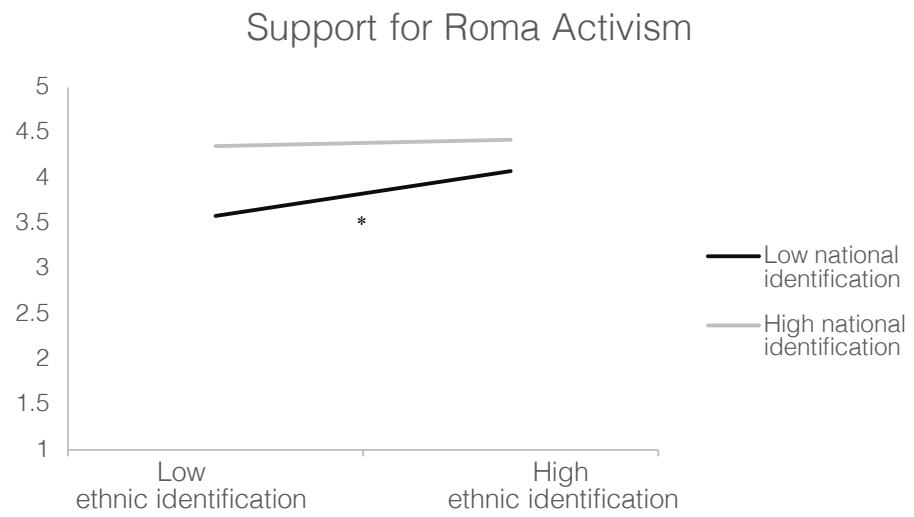


Figure 5. Simple slopes of ethnic identification predicting support for Roma activism for +1SD of national identification and –SD of national identification. The asterisk indicates a significant increase.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations and Intercorrelations Between the Main Continuous Explanatory and Predicted Variables

Variables	*M*	*SD*	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Perceived discrimination	2.74	.86	1	.31**	-.02	-.36**	-.12*	-.03	.13*
2. Anger	1.51	.82		1	-.09	-.22**	-.01	.02	-.06
3. Ethnic identification (Roma)	4.26	.79			1	.17**	.07	.19**	.11*
4. National identification (Bulgarian)	3.82	1.03				1	.30**	.29**	.27**
5. European identification	2.29	.99					1	.13*	.18**
6. Support for Roma activism	4.13	.88						1	.53**
7. Civic involvement	2.76	1.21							1

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$ all (two-tailed)

Table 3

Multiple Regression Analysis for Civic Involvement

Predictor variables	*B (SE)*	*β*	*t*(317)
Gender	.141 (.13)	.058	1.089
Age	.007 (.004)	.091	1.612
Education level	.042 (.06)	.046	.728
Economic level	-.197 (.07)	-.158	-2.726*
Cluster	.000 (.001)	-.031	-.536
Perceived discrimination	.374 (.08)	.267	4.548**
Outgroup-based anger	-.087 (.08)	-.059	-1.038
Ethnic identification (Roma)	.096 (.08)	.062	1.151
National identification (Bulgarian)	.319 (.07)	.272	4.470**
Roma x Bulgarian	-.005 (.08)	-.003	-.061
European identification	.131 (.07)	.107	1.907†

Note. $R^2 = .19$, $R^2_{adj} = .16$, $F(11, 317) = 6.49$, $p < .001$ (two-tailed). † n.s. * $p = .007$. ** $p < .001$ (all two-tailed).

Table 4

Multiple Regression Analysis for Support for Ethnic Activism

Predictor variables	*B (SE)*	*β*	*t*(317)
Gender	.103 (.09)	.059	1.113
Age	.003 (.00)	.056	1.010
Education level	.024 (.04)	.036	.576
Economic level	.013 (.05)	.014	.250
Cluster	-.002 (.00)	-.265	-4.614**
Perceived discrimination	-.004 (.06)	-.004	-.064
Outgroup-based anger	.036 (.06)	.033	.592
Ethnic identification (Roma)	.218 (.06)	.196	3.666**
National identification (Bulgarian)	.188 (.05)	.220	3.666**
Roma x Bulgarian	-.133 (.06)	-.127	-2.404*
European identification	.027 (.05)	.030	.551

Note. $R^2 = .22$, $R^2_{adj} = .19$, $F(11, 317) = 7.63$, $p < .001$ (two-tailed). * $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$ (all two-tailed).

Discussion

Drawing on the literature about the politicized collective identity model of collective action (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Simon & Ruhs, 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2008), this study evaluated the predictors of the politicization and support for ethnic activism of Roma-Bulgarians, a traditional Roma national minority facing severe discrimination and structural inequalities but little self-engaged in the political realm.

The analysis of data from a cross-sectional survey project revealed a counterintuitive combination of low anger and perceived discrimination, and high identification as members of the Roma ethnic minority. While this finding confirms the strong ethnic distinctiveness of the Roma minority in Bulgaria (Vassilev, 2004), it also reveals a denial of discrimination in this sample. Besides, Roma-Bulgarians also strongly identified with the Bulgarian national group. Roma-Bulgarians were little interested in civic involvement in general and greater involvement (e.g., vote, demonstration, public debate) was predicted by the perception of Roma discrimination and national identification.

In contrast, support for ethnic activism was very high on average and was predicted by identification as Roma and Bulgarian. The interaction between ethnic and national identification significantly, and negatively predicted support for ethnic activism. Indeed, the statistical decomposition indicated that ethnic identification was actually a mobilizing motive only for Roma who had relatively low national identification scores. For Roma-Bulgarians strongly identified as "Bulgarian" (a majority of participants in the sample), support for ethnic activism was guaranteed whatever participant's level of ethnic identification. Low scores of both ethnic and national identifications related to the lowest support for ethnic activism, suggesting that marginalized social identity is the least favourable configuration for collective action here. In contrast, the combination of high ethnic and high national identification, however, did not predict significantly stronger support for ethnic activism as compared to the low ethnic and high national identification pattern in this sample. This result thus nuances prior conclusions on the mathematical overlap of dual identification score and high ethnic—high national separate scores as predictors of minorities' politicization (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). Further studies using a dual identification scale could complement our findings by further reflecting on the perceived compatibility between ethnic and national identities as a motive for collective action.

The positive relationship between national identification and support for ethnic activism might be explained by the non-confrontational, normative nature of the ethnic activism items proposed in the questionnaire. The relatively smooth political protest conveyed by the scale may thus have confounded with system justification motives (see e.g., Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Ni Sullivan, 2003), which may also explain why ethnic activism was not predicted by perceived discrimination. Hereunto, intergroup contact with the Bulgarian majority is a vehicle for the transmission of system justification ideologies (Durrheim, Dixon, & Jacobs, 2013). However, since Bulgaria has a constitutional amendment restricting ethnic political activism, we decided (along with Bulgarian experts) to formulate normative items in order to avoid high rates of non-response. The fact that support for ethnic activism was also found weaker in Stara Zagora, a location that was the theatre of interethnic tensions at the time of the survey, suggest that assessing support for ethnic activism among Roma-Bulgarians is a difficult task. Moreover, the average low interest in civic activities measured in this sample may be due to the circumspection of contemporary Roma-Bulgarians towards state officials as regards corruption and attempts to buy Roma's votes during national elections. Nevertheless, the observation that commitment to civic activities, in general, was weaker than the average support for ethnic activism challenges this interpretation and forecasts other potential dynamics influencing the political participation of Roma, such as a principle—implementation gap (see e.g., Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007). Future studies examining the construction and consequences of positive intergroup contact between Roma and non-Roma communities may help in infirming or confirming these interpretations.

Finally, the observed combination of low perceived discrimination and attachment to the national group more indirectly reminds the theoretical opposition between victimized minorities—that usually use discrimination statements to have moral power over the majority (see Pérez, & Molpeceres, 2018)—and active minorities—whose influence rather consists in embodying the change they wish to see in the society (i.e., being an integrated Bulgarian citizen who do not have to denounce discrimination any more). Whereas absence of discrimination can be due to geographical isolation of the Roma communities (see e.g., Poore et al., 2002 for similar results among Inuits), denial of the discrimination endured by Roma might also reflect the fact that participants did do want to appear as victims. After the fall of the communist regime, some members of the Roma community have been on hunger strikes and public

protests have drawn attention to their tragic discrimination in the new-born democracy. However, these protests have reinforced anti-Roma prejudice and racism in the majority, which has increasingly perceived the Roma minority as a parasite one, that does not sufficiently take advantage of the social programs developed specifically for them (Vassilev, 2004). A generation later, Roma minority members who continue to endure blatant prejudice seem to have internalized the uselessness of drawing attention onto their discrimination. However, this strategy might still further evolve in the future, with the arrival of new generations of Roma who did not experience at all the communist identity politics and who grew up as a marginalised and jobless minority group (see e.g., Zhelyazkova, 2001).

Studying Roma activism inevitably confronts social scientists with mix-ups and confusions between the externally-defined Roma category and the subjective, psychological experience of individuals belonging to situated Roma national minorities (Csepeli & Simon, 2004; Rughiniş, 2011). The public image of the Roma is indeed associated with marginality and antisocial practices that limit Roma-Bulgarians' civic interest and capacity. The present study suggests that support for political protest of Roma-Bulgarians is a complex phenomenon achieved through different psychological pathways, including commitment to the larger national group as a way to resist exclusion. The question of whether the different countries hosting significant Roma minorities will let the Roma fully join the nation and make statements about social change on this ground, or whether they will make them withdraw and consolidate their ethnic distinctiveness is a matter of political will (Krasteva, 2005). European Roma is a set of fascinating national minority groups to understand majority-minority dynamics and the relationship between identity politics and democratic participation of ethnic minorities.

Study 4b

National Identification Counteracts the Sedative Effect of Positive Intergroup Contact on Ethnic Activism[26]

Minority activism aims at modifying norms or practices established by a majority group (Moscovici, 1976). In the case of *ethnic* minority activism, unequal treatment and discrimination based on the ethnic categorization of individuals is challenged. Ethnic categories and the related social identities develop when a group of individuals share a common ancestry, physical traits or values differentiating them from others (Smith, 1991). Most countries are ethnically diverse in this sense, and ethnic identities usually differentiate subordinate minorities from dominant majorities within superordinate nation-states (see Staerklé, Sidanius, Green, & Molina, 2010). The ethnic identities of national minorities (or majorities) are indeed in part relational, stemming from interdependent comparisons, and frequently, unequal treatment.

Notwithstanding the criticism addressed to integration policies that focus on prejudice reduction rather than addressing structural inequalities, recent research has shown that members of ethnic minorities who experience positive contact with members of the advantaged, or dominant, majority display attenuated ethnic activism (e.g., Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007), partly because of reduced ethnic identification (e.g., Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Building on the literature revealing this "irony of harmony" resulting from positive intergroup contact (Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009; see however Kauff, Green, Schmid, Hewstone, & Christ, 2017), our goal is to examine whether the sedating effect of positive contact on ethnic activism via reduced ethnic identification is buffered by national identification of minority members. As national identities are central in the contemporary world (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001), we argue that the synergy between ethnic and national identification in ethnic minorities is at play in intergroup encounters. The contribution of this research is twofold. First, we provide novel insights that speak to the recent integration of two research traditions—work on

[26] Pereira, A., Green, E. G., & Visintin, E. P. (2017). National Identification Counteracts the Sedative Effect of Positive Intergroup Contact on Ethnic Activism. *Frontiers in psychology*, *8*, article 477. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2017.00477

social identity predictors of activism and work on demobilizing effects of intergroup contact (see also e.g., Çakal, Hewstone, Schwär, & Heath, 2011). Second, we examine the perspective of the Roma minority, historically one of the most severely rejected ethnic minority in Europe (e.g., Heath & Richards, 2016), yet hardly studied in social psychology. We conducted a cross-sectional survey in Bulgaria, a multicultural society composed of ethnic minorities among which Roma are the second largest.

Positive Intergroup Contact and Minority Activism

There is ample evidence that positive intergroup contact improves intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In particular, individuals from advantaged groups who have positive contact experiences with members of disadvantaged social groups show less prejudice and negative emotions as well as greater support for egalitarian policies (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). However, the consequences of positive intergroup contact are different for members of disadvantaged groups. Recent research has revealed that positive contact with members of socially and economically advantaged groups is associated with attenuated support for egalitarian policies. For example, studies conducted in post-apartheid South Africa have shown that quantity of positive contact with Whites was related to Blacks' decreased support to compensatory and preferential policies aiming to ensure racial equality (Çakal et al., 2011; Dixon et al., 2007) and reduced behavioral intentions in favor of the Black minority (such as signing a petition or participating in anti-discrimination projects; Çakal et al., 2011). Similarly, Tropp, Hawi, Van Laar and Levin (2012) revealed that ongoing friendships with Whites were associated with a progressive decline of support for ethnic activism among African- and Latino-American college students. In short, unless the struggle for equality is carried out by the advantaged majority, positive contact with majority members can demobilize minorities, and unintendedly result in the status quo of power relations.

Scholars have explored the psychological processes underlying this demobilization of minority members. For example, Saguy et al. (2009) found a relationship between experiencing positive contact with Israeli Jews and reduced support for social change among Israeli Arabs (i.e. improvement of their position in Israel). The relationship was mediated by improved attitudes towards Jews, by increased perception that Jews treat Arabs fairly, as well as by decreased awareness of structural inequalities (see also Çakal et al., 2011 and Tropp et al., 2012 for similar findings showing decreased perceptions of discrimination). Furthermore, using self-reports of

past interracial contact, Wright and Lubensky (2009) demonstrated that interactions with Whites before entering university reduced endorsement of ethnic-based collective action both in African- and Latino-American students. Crucial to the present study, the sedating effect of positive intergroup contact was mediated by reduced ethnic identification. Tausch, Saguy and Bryson (2015) found a similar disidentification process among Latino-American students resulting from *present* interethnic friendships with Whites. In the current study, we thus also expect that positive intergroup contact with the Bulgarian national majority is related to reduced ethnic activism among the Bulgarian Roma minority through diminished ethnic identification.

The rationale for the sedative effect of contact put forward by Wright and Lubensky (2009) derives from the idea that collective action and prejudice reduction are two incompatible routes in disadvantaged groups' struggle for social equality. Indeed, with ethnic identification driving ethnic activism, social protest implies recognizing social disadvantages and motivation to improve the status of the ingroup. Positive intergroup contact, in turn, results in lowered attention to inequalities (Saguy et al., 2009) and weakened salience of group categories (see Brown & Hewstone, 2005 for a discussion on category salience during intergroup contact). Experiencing positive contact with more advantaged individuals makes intergroup boundaries seem more permeable. Hence the advantaged social identity becomes relevant and the disadvantaged (ethnic) identity less relevant for disadvantaged individuals. Consequently, members of disadvantaged groups reinterpret their social identity as mirroring a common ingroup shared with the advantaged group or as a dual identity with elements of the disadvantaged and advantaged identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). According to Wright and Lubensky (2009), in such identity configurations the subordinate ethnic identity is no longer strong enough to drive social protest, since it is dominated by or at least predisposed towards the advantaged group. Building on this research, in the current study, we however suggest that the motivation to enhance the subordinate group's position can remain in new identity reconfigurations following intergroup contact experiences and thereby allow for activism.

Dynamic reconfigurations of identity are not a new idea. Social identity theory (Tajfel et al., 1979) and the literature on social stigma (e.g., Major & O'Brien, 2005) have described a range of social identity adjustments that are crucial for the well-being of stigmatized groups members (Bobowik, Basabe, & Pàez, 2014). Outgroup derogation (e.g., prejudice) is one strategy. Individual upward mobility from a discriminated group

to another more privileged one is another (see Tausch et al., 2015). Furthermore, recent studies on negative identity management have proposed that disadvantaged ethnic minority members cope by "navigating" *multiple* group identities (e.g., Curtin, Kende, & Kende, 2016). Multiple identities are described in those studies as resources, not replacing, but rather repositioning and reinterpreting the disadvantaged (ethnic) identity in light of other group memberships. In particular, members of ethnic minorities can experience a psychological overlap between their exclusive (i.e., ethnic) and inclusive (i.e., national) identities. Some studies have found that this particular configuration of their "collective" identity drives support for minority activism (e.g., Çakal, Eller, Sirlopú, & Pérez, 2016; Curtin et al., 2016). Note that such identity reconfigurations communicate societal changes minority members wish to see (Smith, Thomas, & McGarty, 2015), for example a normative change in ethnic (or racial) groups differentiation. In the present study, we consider the interplay of ethnic and national identifications when examining the relationship between contact and activism.

National Identity and Its Mobilizing Effect for Ethnic Minorities

National identification has been conceptualised as a relational construct, which "provides a means of appealing to a group of people [...] within a given territory" (Reicher et al., 2001, p. 26). As national subgroups, ethnic minorities can thus identify with, that is feel attached to, both ethnic and national groups. Furthermore, "native" or traditional ethnic minorities may strongly identify with the nation considered their ancestral homeland (Sibley & Liu, 2007). Indeed, the strength of ethnic minorities' national identification has been shown to vary across countries (e.g., Staerklé et al., 2010).

As ethnic minorities can simultaneously identify with an ethnic and a national group, we argue that when interpreting the sedating effect of positive intergroup contact on minority activism via reduced ethnic identification national identification should be accounted for. Recent research supports such reframing. For example, national identification can increase minority members' expectations to be treated fairly and help them believe in social change (Chryssochoou & Lyons, 2011). As a result, when unequal treatment is experienced, national identification fuels minority members' disappointment (Klandermans, Van der Toorn, & Van Stekelenburg, 2008). National identification also fosters feelings of entitlement to political rights among immigrant minority members (Klandermans et al., 2008; Scuzzarello, 2015) as well as claims of country "ownership" among established minorities (Brylka, Mähönen, & Jasinskaja-

Lahti, 2015). Additionally, minorities can strategically navigate identities (e.g., adapt their statements of identification) as a function of the audience they are communicating with. Ethnic minority members may make more national identification claims before a host country audience compared to an audience of ethnic peers (Barreto, Spears, Ellemers, & Shahinper, 2003). Furthermore, a particular overlapping of ethnic and national self-definitions labelled *dual identity* (i.e., identifying as both a member of the ethnic minority and of the national group) has been shown to uniquely predict support for ethnic minority activism (e.g., Simon & Grabow, 2010; Simon & Ruhs, 2008; see also Verkuyten, 2016, for the effects of normative contexts in this process). For example, in the US, Glasford and Dovidio (2011) found that ethnic minority members exposed to a dual identity representation (as both American and member of an ethnic group) were more motivated to address disparities during intergroup interactions compared to participants exposed to a common ingroup representation (as solely American). The mobilizing effect of ethno-national identification stresses an important feature of minority activism: When minority group members become active, they do so because their minority identity is defined in terms integrating the "more inclusive societal context in which this struggle has to be fought out" (Simon & Klandermans, 2001, p. 319; see also van Zomeren, 2016).

To summarize, national identification is a dynamic identity process observed among minority members, alongside ethnic identification. Our reading of research on intergroup contact, negative social identity management strategies, and collective identity explanations of group activism (see also Çakal et al., 2011) suggests that the synergy of ethnic identification—involving separation and grievances—and national identification—bringing entitlement— more accurately reflects the collective identification of ethnic minority members and should thus be considered when examining the sedating effects of positive contact. The goal of the current study is thus to examine whether the negative effect of positive intergroup contact on ethnic activism via reduced ethnic identification is buffered by the national identification of minority members.

We make a novel theoretical contribution by examining national identification as a buffering factor of the demobilization process resulting from intergroup contact. Reasoning in terms of identity (re)configurations allows considering identification as a dynamic process rather than a fixed ethnic identity (see Tajfel et al., 1979). As prior research has shown the importance of multiple identities for endorsement of social

change, in particular the combination of ethnic and national identities, we suggest that national identification counteracts the sedative effects of positive contact. Based on the outlined theoretical arguments, in our research in Bulgaria, we examined the moderating role of national identification in the relationships between contact, ethnic identification and ethnic activism. In particular, we hypothesize a moderated mediation pattern underlying the sedative effect of intergroup contact (see Figure 6): The mediation pattern from intergroup contact to reduced Roma activism through Roma's weakened ethnic identification should be moderated by identification with the Bulgarian nation. Identification as a member of the Bulgarian nation should thus buffer the sedative effect of experiencing contact with members of the Bulgarian national majority. We expect that the indirect effect from intergroup contact to activism through ethnic identification emerges only for Roma with low national identification, or at least is stronger for them than for Roma with high national identification.

Figure 6. The hypothesized moderated mediation model predicting ethnic activism

The Context of the Present Study: Roma in Bulgaria

We also make novel empirical contributions to intergroup contact and collective action literature by examining the perspective of the Roma minority in Bulgaria. Roma are an understudied group, despite being historically and currently the most severely rejected ethnic minority in Europe (Heath & Richards, 2016). The study of negative identity management among Roma is thus particularly important. However, others perceive Roma as an ethnicity more than Roma themselves (Csepeli & Simon, 2004).

In other words, the Roma ethnicity is formed by discrimination experiences and attributed stereotypes as least as much as by a particular appearance, language or ancestry (Kligman, 2001). Moreover, Roma are spread all over Europe forming small national minorities that self-identify with the various national groups or traditions (Marushiakova & Popov, 2007). Accordingly, Roma minorities are an interesting case for the study of collective identity predictors of activism, because both the abstract and externally defined ethnic identity and the various nation-specific minority identities can be potentially mobilized.

In Bulgaria, the Roma minority has experienced assimilation policies before, during and after the communist regime (Marushiakova & Popov, 2008a). Such policies have certainly also affected the self-identification of Roma across generations. Indeed research has shown that Bulgarian Roma and ethnic Bulgarian adolescents do not differ in their level of attachment to the nation (Dimitrova, Chasiotic, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2014). After the political transition to democracy, Bulgaria declared itself a multicultural country and highlighted the different cultural and religious groups in its constitution. Compared to neighbouring countries also with large Roma minorities (e.g., Hungaria, Romania), contemporary Bulgaria is the only country with a national strategy for integration of Roma people in its legislation (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 2014). Yet, the upsurge of ethnic nationalism in Eastern Europe along with economic difficulties throughout the European Union have reached Bulgaria and constitute a renewed threat to Roma inclusion. Roma communities are scapegoated (see e.g., Petkov, 2006), subjected to ethnic characterization and systematic othering (Kostava et al., 2011), and relegated to a sub-proletarian class (Vassilev, 2004). In this context, support for Roma activism against persisting ethnic discrimination is a highly relevant, albeit sensitive, enterprise. These observations pointing to an integrative normative context coupled with ethnic stigmatisation call for a nuanced perspective when studying the relationship between contact with the Bulgarian majority and Roma activism (see also Kauff et al., 2017 for cross-national evidence). Roma's identity management and adjustments related to ethnic and national identity need to be considered (see Reysen, Slobodnikova, & Katzarska-Miller, 2016 for a similar approach of the Roma issue).

Method

Participants

Three-hundred-twenty self-declared Roma from Bulgaria participated in this study.[27] A two-stage sampling procedure was used, which consisted of first determining sampling points in both urban and rural areas, and then seeking eight respondents stratified by age and gender from each sampling point. Respondents were recruited by a Bulgarian survey agency in two districts of the country: Montana (north-west) and Stara Zagora (center). The final sample consisted of 162 female and 158 male respondents (M_{age} = 43.30 years, *SD* = 16.66, range = 15-83 years old) nested in 40 clusters (i.e., sampling points). All respondents reported Bulgarian as their first language with the exception of one participant who reported Romani. Regarding educational level, 15.3% of Bulgarian Roma had never been to school or not completed primary education. The large majority (60.3%) of respondents had primary or lower secondary education. The proportion of respondents having an upper secondary education was 23.1%, whereas 1.2% had a university degree. Note that those with upper secondary and university education were slightly overrepresented in our sample as compared to official figures (Pamporov & Kabakchieva, 2012). We also asked participants to define what was their or their family's current economic situation on a scale ranging from 1 (*We have enough money for our needs and are able to save*) to 5 (*We have to cut back on consumption and we don't manage on our earnings*). The subjective economic situation of Roma in our sample was modest (*M* = 4.03, *SD* = 0.97), with only 7.8% or respondents reporting having enough for their needs.

Procedure and Measures

The data used in this study are part of a research project examining social psychological processes underlying interethnic attitudes and prejudice of both the Bulgarian majority and of the two largest ethnic minorities (Roma and Turks) in contemporary Bulgaria. The survey questionnaires were designed in English and then translated into Bulgarian using a back-translation method. They were administered face to face by professional interviewers, who were members of the national majority. This survey was carried out in accordance with the recommendations of the Code of Deontology of the Swiss Psychological Society and of the American Psychological

[27] Our target sample size (determined by the fieldwork budget as well as statistical considerations) was 300 Bulgarian Roma respondents. We anticipated model designs with 10 to 15 parameters and bore in mind suggestions for sample sizes of 20 times the number of parameters (e.g., Kline, 2015). The final sampling point grid allowed for a sample of 320 Bulgarian Roma respondents in the entire survey involving national majority and minority members.

Association, and in compliance with the Law for Protection of Personal Data in Bulgaria. Respondents were provided with the necessary information for informed consent, as well as guaranteed anonymity and right to withdraw from the survey at any time.[28]

Table 5 summarizes means, standard deviations and correlations for the final variables used in the subsequent analyses.

We assessed *close positive contact* with three items (see Voci & Hewstone, 2003; Pettigrew, Christ, Wagner, & Stellmacher, 2007) addressing the quantity and quality of Bulgarian Roma's close contact with ethnic Bulgarians (*"How many ethnic Bulgarians do you know well?"* and *"How often do you experience these encounters with ethnic Bulgarians you know well as pleasant?"*) and extended contact *("How many people you know have ethnic Bulgarian friends?"*). Quantity of contact (direct and extended) was rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*None*) to 4 (*Many*), whereas quality of contact was rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*Always*). The respondents reported both a lot of close contacts with ethnic Bulgarians (M = 3.38, SD = 0.95) as well as knowing many Bulgarian Roma having ethnic Bulgarian friends (M = 3.40, SD = 0.85). Since the quality item was filtered for the respondents reporting no contact with ethnic Bulgarians, we considered these respondents "never" having positive contact and replaced the missing values (n = 34) accordingly (i.e., with 1). Respondents perceived their encounters with ethnic Bulgarian as generally positive (M = 3.65, SD = 1.24). Extended contact was strongly correlated with quantity (r = .73, p < .001) and quality of contact (r = .64, p < .001). Moreover, a principal component analysis yielded a single factor explaining 80% of variance. Thus, the three items were considered as representing a single concept, that is, close positive contact with ethnic Bulgarians. Due to different response scales, the three items were standardized prior to computing a close positive contact score (α = .88; see also Pettigrew et al., 2007 for an intergroup friendship index using both direct and extended contacts).

Ethnic and national identification were measured with three parallel items (*"Do you often think of yourself as* a member of the Bulgarian nation/Roma*?" "Is being* part

[28] The questionnaire for the Roma sample included other measures that were not considered in the current study. Questionnaire item order was the following: Ethnic and national identification, ideological orientations, intergroup contact with and prejudice towards ethnic Bulgarians, intergroup contact with and prejudice towards Bulgarian Turks, social distance, status perceptions, perceived discrimination, acculturation orientations and expectations, political behavior and ethnic activism, and socio-demographics.

of the Bulgarian nation/Roma *important to you?" "Do you feel close to other* members of the Bulgarian nation/Roma?*",* e.g., Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997). The scale ranged from 1 (*No, not at all*) to 5 (*Yes, very much*). Both identification scales reached good or adequate reliability (for national identification α = .84, for ethnic identification α = .69). Both high level of ethnic and national identification were reported in the sample though ethnic identification was significantly higher than national identification, $t(319) = -6.77$, $p < .001$. The two identification indices were moderately correlated.

We assessed *ethnic activism* with four items (α = .85; see collective action scale of Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015) addressing the willingness to improve the position of Roma in Bulgaria by different political contributions (*vote for a candidate defending Roma's rights; defending the rights of Roma in public debate; defending the rights of Roma in situations where you notice discrimination; taking part in cultural events organized by Roma*).[29] The 5-point scale ranged from 1 (*No, not at all)* to 5 (*Yes, very much)*.

Table 5

Means and Correlations for Close Contact, Ethnic and National Identification and Ethnic Activism (N = 320 Roma Respondents).

			1	2	3
	M	*SD*			
1. Close contact[a]	0.00	0.90	-	-	-
2. Ethnic Identification	4.26	0.79	-.19***	-	-
3. National Identification	3.82	1.03	.08	.17**	-
4. Ethnic activism	4.13	0.88	.16**	.19***	.29***

Note. [a] standardized score; * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p \leq .001$

Results

The analytic strategy was to first attempt to replicate the sedating effect of intergroup contact on ethnic activism through reduced ethnic identification, and then to

[29] The item on the willingness to participate in cultural events organized by Roma could be seen as measuring a social creativity strategy (i.e., coping) rather than as an active resistance strategy (Becker, 2012). However, the item was strongly correlated with the other ethnic activism items ($r_s > .44$, $p_s < .001$). Furthermore, a principal component analysis confirmed that the four items loaded onto a single factor explaining 69% of variance.

test whether national identification can buffer this effect. Preliminary analyses revealed that, due to the clustered nature of the sampling (i.e., with eight respondents from the same sampling point), data is non-independent (*ICC* of ethnic activism = .50). We therefore tested path models using the Mplus Complex command, which allows accounting for the non-independence and non-normality of observations (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2010, p. 533).[30] Ethnic and national identification indices were centered as their interaction was modelled in the second step of the analysis. Gender, age, educational level and perceived economic situation of the respondents were controlled for.

First, we assessed the mediating role of ethnic identification in the relationship between positive close contact and ethnic activism. As expected, we replicate the sedating effect of contact. The left panel (A) of Table 6 shows that contact was negatively associated with ethnic identification, which in turn was positively associated with ethnic activism. The indirect effect of contact on ethnic activism through ethnic identification was significant (B = -.04, SE = .02, p = .044). However, also an unexpected positive relationship between positive close contact and ethnic activism was observed. The only significant effect of the control variables was a positive relationship between educational level and ethnic activism (B = 0.11, SE = 0.05, p = .044).

Next, we tested our moderated mediation hypothesis. Close positive contact was entered as the independent variable (X), ethnic identification as mediator (Me) and ethnic activism as the dependent variable (Y). The direct path from close positive contact to ethnic activism was also estimated. National identification was specified as the variable moderating (Mo) the relationship between ethnic identification and ethnic activism. The findings are summarized in the right panel (B) of Table 6 and depicted in Figure 7. Again, the sedating effect of contact was revealed: close contact was related to reduced ethnic identification, which in turn was positively associated with ethnic activism. National identification was positively related to ethnic activism. Importantly, national identification moderated the relationship between ethnic identification and activism. As predicted, the indirect effect of close contact on ethnic activism mediated by reduced ethnic identification was buffered by national identification.[31] The sedating

[30] We also conducted the same analyses using the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) and tested indirect effects with bootstrapping. The result patterns were identical. However, PROCESS does not take into account the nested structure of data, necessary for the current sample.

[31] The indirect effects, estimated with Mplus, are calculated as the product between the regression coefficient of the IV on the mediator and the regression coefficient of the mediator on the DV.

effect was significant for low national identifiers (B = -0.06, SE = 0.03, p = .042), while not for high national identifiers (B = -0.005, SE = 0.01, p = .678). Positive contact sedated activism thus only for Bulgarian Roma who reported weak self-identification as a member of the Bulgarian nation.

The direct path from close contact to ethnic activism remained marginally significant and positive in the moderated mediation model. None of the control variables yielded significant effects. Finally, we also examined whether national identification moderates the path between close contact with the majority and ethnic identification (i.e., the first stage of the mediation), or the direct path from close contact to ethnic activism.

Table 6

Unstandardized Coefficients and Standard Errors of the Mediation Model and of the Moderated Mediation Model

	(A) Mediation analysis				(B) Moderated mediation analysis			
	Ethnic Identification (Me)		Ethnic Activism (Y)		Ethnic Identification (Me)		Ethnic Activism (Y)	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Close Positive Contact (X)	-0.16*	0.06	0.17*	0.08	-0.16*	0.06	0.14†	0.07
Ethnic Identification (Me) centered			0.27**	0.09			0.20**	0.08
National Identification (Mo) centered							0.19**	0.08
Ethnic x National (Me x Mo)							-0.16*	0.08
R^2	0.05*	0.03	0.11*	0.05	0.05*	0.03	0.17**	0.07

Note. X = independent variable; Me = mediator variable; Mo = moderating variable; Y = dependent variable. Gender, age, educational level and perceived economic situation of the respondents were controlled for in the analyses.

† $p = .054$; * $p < .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

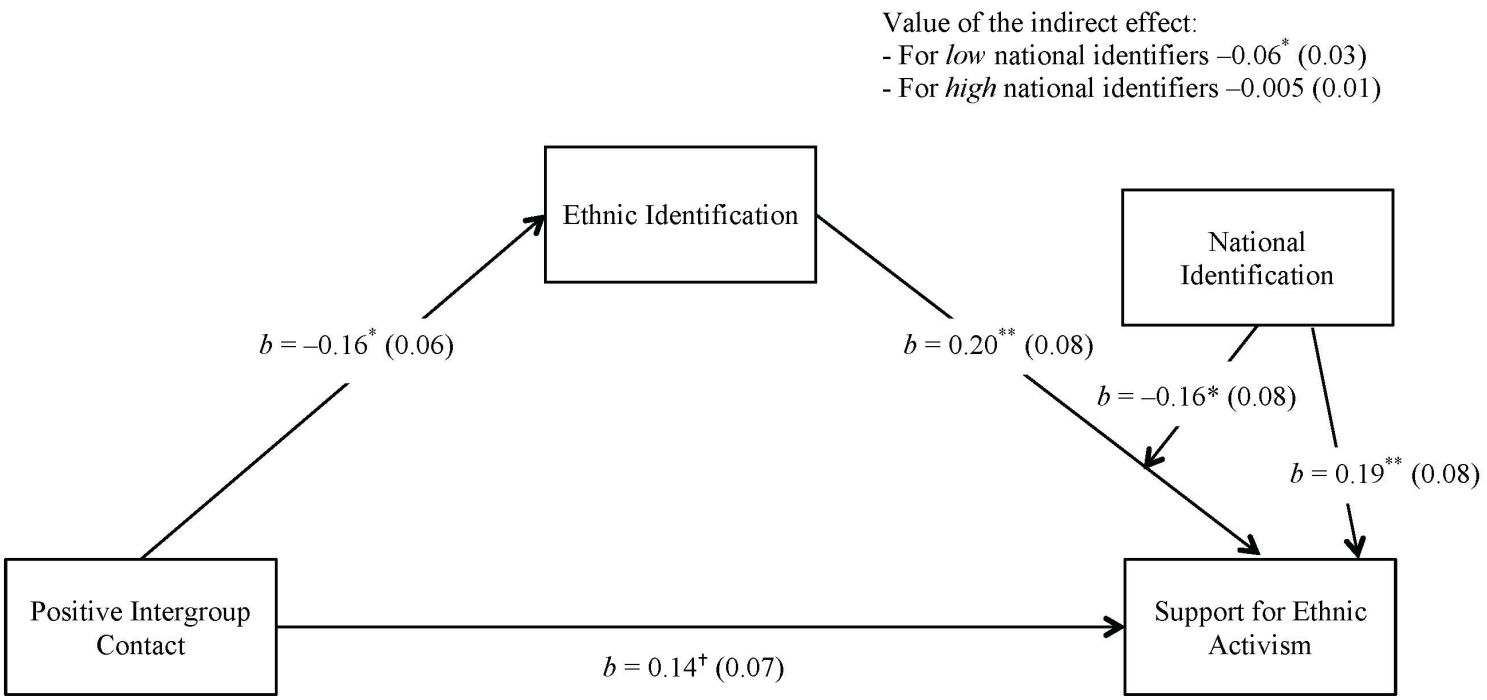


Figure 7. The empirical path model predicting ethnic activism

Additional moderated mediation analyses revealed that neither one of these paths was moderated by national identification. This suggests the specificity of interplaying ethnic and national identification that predict support for minority activism.

Discussion

The aim of the present study was to disentangle the sedating effect of positive contact with the majority on ethnic minority activism, by considering not only the reduction of ethnic identification, but the synergy of ethnic and national identification. Our chief contribution was to show that national identification buffered this sedating process: the demobilization effect of contact through reduced ethnic identification was found only among individuals with low levels of national identification.

The revealed buffering effect of national identification clearly confirms the need to consider more than one identity when studying minority activism (see also Curtin et al., 2016). This finding also suggests the existence of a nonconforming style of national identification among ethnic minority members. As Moscovici (1976) proposed, minorities use productive –as opposed to sedative– forms of conformity and alignment with the social context. This is in line with research on the effects of dual identity on ethnic activism (e.g., Simon & Grabow, 2010), which shows that the motor of ethnic minorities' struggle is a collectively endorsed commitment to the higher societal level, which in turn results in an entitlement for claims in the name of the subordinate ethnic group. Furthermore, we chose to focus on national identification among other potentially relevant interplaying identities (e.g., religious, opinion-based, gender) for several reasons. The demonstration that Roma identify with the nation contributes to contesting the stereotype of a "nomadic" and stateless minority fundamentally different from other ethnic minorities. Indeed, the Roma are often seen as "forever pilgrims", defined as a non-territorial and transnational ethnic community (Vermeersch, 2003). Roma should be rather compared to Indigenous people with regard to attachment to the national homeland: Though their ethnic group identity derives from family lineages rooted in a homeland, national majorities consider them as unassimilated in the modern nation state. Furthermore, national identification can provide this kind of internally segmented minorities the psychological and political resources to challenge intergroup disparities (see Çakal et al., 2016). In contrast to Indigenous people, Roma have personal experiences of state paternalism under the communist rule, or at least they have been exposed to nostalgic discourses about the less marked ethnic segregation back then as

compared to the present. These considerations suggest that national identification is an important component of Roma collective identity.

Our results also revealed an unexpected positive direct relationship between positive close contact and ethnic activism, which was not moderated by national identification. Several studies have indeed highlighted that positive interethnic contact does not exempt experiencing negative emotions due to threat of persistent interethnic prejudice (e.g., Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005). Contact with the advantaged group provides opportunities for personally assessing intergroup injustice and leading minority members to realize their disadvantaged position. For example, Poore et al. (2002) revealed that Inuits' perception of group-based discrimination increased as a function of their contacts with the North-American culture. This result does not contradict our main finding of national identification buffering the sedative effect of contact, but simply suggests other parallel consequences of intergroup encounters.

The Interplay of Ethnic and National Identification in The Bulgarian Context

The findings of this research require reflecting on the Roma-Bulgarians' national identification that implies a common ingroup shared with ethnic Bulgarians. The demobilizing effect of contact has been originally studied in segregated societies (e.g., South-Africa, US, Israel). In those contexts, bringing people back together involves the development of a common ingroup identity that can overlap with national identity, and the abandon of ethnic (or racial) categories. In contrast, post-socialist Bulgaria has experienced an inverse normative shift, from implicit interethnic differences to more explicit interethnic recognitions. During the communist regime in Bulgaria, interethnic contact took place within an ethno-nationalist ideology affirming equality of citizens whatever their ethnic origin, and state policies were implemented ensuring the public integration of Roma citizens (Marushiakova & Popov, 2008b). After the transition to democracy and to market economy, the Bulgarian nationalist discourse and constitution highlighted multiculturalism. Ethnic minority members were encouraged to develop a strong identification as a member of the nation "coloured" with ethnicity, as Pettigrew (2010) commented about the specificity of interethnic relations in Bulgaria. Today, the inherited ethno-nationalist model is reinterpreted through political and media discourse describing Bulgarian poverty and economic difficulties as having a specific "racial" origin: Roma (see Kligman, 2001). One must note though that Bulgaria is praised for having avoided any major interethnic clash.

Accordingly, Roma-Bulgarians' feeling of national belonging may not reflect a by-product of their positive relationships with the majority, but rather suggest a reminiscence of, or even a battle for, access to a national group from which they are materially and symbolically excluded (Pereira & Green, 2017). This interpretation echoes research in the field of coping with social disadvantage. According to system justification theory (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004), members of socially disadvantaged groups engage in a struggle for social change only when the unfavorable nature of their self- or group-image "overcomes the strength of system justification needs and tendencies" (p. 887). This claim supports our interpretation, since the image of the Roma as a national subgroup is unquestionably unfavorable. The negotiation of both ethnic identification—stigmatised but nevertheless protected by the Bulgarian constitution—and identification as a marginalized member of the nation results in an unfavorable collective identity. Likewise, Barreto and Ellemers (2009) proposed that identifying with an under-represented or culturally threatened group accentuates rather than sedates the perception of social disadvantage. Finally, Hopkins and Blackwood (2011) demonstrated that stigmatised minority members (i.e. Muslims in Britain), who have internalized the denial of their citizenship, sometimes actively claim citizenship as a form of resistance against others' negative assumptions about their identities. Future research should substantiate these interpretations of the combative nature of national identification among Roma people in Bulgaria and in other East European countries with somewhat different legislative frameworks regarding ethnic minorities.

Moreover, the sedating effect of positive contact with the majority revealed in this study (among low national identifiers) may be due to the legacy of implicit interethnic boundaries combined with exclusion from the current legitimate national group (i.e. ethnic Bulgarians). In a study conducted in England among marginal citizens of Roma origin, Casey (2014) found a tendency to favor the status quo, that he argued was a strategy for maintaining Roma ethnic identity and cultural traditions that have survived *thanks to* social exclusion. Additionally, it is likely that contemporary Roma-Bulgarians experience some degree of political cynicism (due to corruption, prolonged discrimination, etc.), known to impede activism (Klandermans et al., 2008). Further studies should unravel whether political cynicism is relevant in Roma minorities' struggle for social equality. More generally, to better understand what predicts ethnic minority activism, we must consider how intergroup contact between minorities and majorities (along with the normative context in which it takes place) constructs the

interethnic issue at stake in the first place. Eastern European countries provide a fascinating field to study how minorities (and majorities) use their ethnic and national belonging to adapt to recent social change, and eventually readjust and react to the new emerging inequalities.

Limits and Conclusions

Some limitations of our study must be acknowledged. First, the wording of the national identification measure (i.e. being member of the Bulgarian nation) might have triggered the interplay of sub- and superordinate identities. This wording was however the best alternative in this context: Asking Roma respondents to what extent they felt "Bulgarian" could come across as either insulting (i.e. as Roma-Bulgarians have no other homeland, they may perceive that the interviewer sees them as authorized or unauthorized immigrants) or misleading (i.e. some Roma subgroups claim to be "ethnic" Bulgarians because of their lineage with proto-Bulgarian people living on the national territory before the modern state constitution). Second, one should not underestimate the bias in self-reporting intergroup contact and support for ethnic activism, in particular as the interviewers were members of the national majority. Confronted to a non-Roma audience, survey respondents may have made national identification claims (see Barreto et al., 2003). Third, the support for ethnic activism in our sample does not reflect the actual implementation of Roma activism in Bulgaria. Other predictors of engagement in activism should be accounted for in future research on Roma activism. In addition to support for collective activism, more individual responses to social disadvantage or the combination of individual and collective strategies should be considered (see Becker, Barreto, Kahn, & de Oliveira Laux, 2015). Finally, no firm causal conclusions regarding the relationships between variables can be drawn from our cross-sectional design. Still, a large number of experimental studies have established that collective identity and intergroup contact are important predictors of activism increasing our confidence in the current findings. In our view, studying activism among a harshly stigmatised, yet understudied group such as Roma offsets the caveat of being unable to make firm causal claims.

In conclusion, this study contributes to the scarce body of knowledge about Roma's activism (see e.g., Reysen et al., 2016; Vermeersch, 2014 for other recent studies). We revealed that Roma activism in Bulgaria was shaped by contact with the advantaged national majority as well as by an interplay of ethnic and national

identification forming a collective Bulgarian Roma identity that was mobilized to support social change. We demonstrated that the previously evidenced sedating effect of contact on activism due to a reduced ethnic identification can be counteracted by identifying with the Bulgarian nation. Our results and interpretations stress the adaptive (and instrumental) role of identification to both a subordinate ethnic and a superordinate national group, which need to be considered within the specific societal structures (van Zomeren, 2016). Rather than being fixed realities, ethno-national identities are collective identities, construed through communication and interactions, that vary across contemporary nations.

Article 5

Sedative effects of intergroup contact on ethnic activism among Kosovo Albanians in Switzerland: The interplay of ethnic, national and dual identification[32]

While prejudice-reducing effects of positive intergroup contact have been amply evidenced (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Hewstone & Swart, 2011), a growing body of research has argued and demonstrated that such encounters participate in the reproduction of structural inequalities. Across different national contexts, where one group historically dominates members of a subordinate, lower status group (e.g., Black South Africans, Arabs in Israel, Maori, Latinos in the US, Indigenous people, Roma), scholars have linked positive contact between groups with reduced support for both equality principles (Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010; Durrheim, Jacobs, & Dixon, 2014; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009; Sengupta & Sibley, 2013; see however, Kauff, Green, Schmid, Hewstone, & Christ, 2017) and ethnic activism (Cakal, Eller, Sirlopú, & Pérez, 2016; Cakal, Hewstone, Schwär, & Heath, 2011; Pereira, Green, & Visintin, 2017; Reimer et al., 2017; Tausch, Saguy, & Bryson, 2015; Tropp, Hawi, Van Laar, & Levin, 2012; Wright & Lubensky, 2009).

Reduced identification as a separate, ethnic group is one of the main social psychological processes put forward to explain this so-called sedative, or "paradoxical", effect of contact on minorities' willingness to engage in political struggle against social inequalities (Wright & Lubensky, 2009; see e.g., Saguy et al., 2009 for other explanations). This explanation is consistent with basic premises of intergroup contact theory, whereby contact transforms intergroup boundaries and stress identification to a common superordinate group (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Dovidio, Gaertner, Shnabel, Saguy, & Johnson, 2010), and with explanations of collective action research, whereby a salient group identity predicts group members' support for collective action (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). In line with the recent call for considering the

[32] Giroud, A., Politi, E., Green, E. G. T., Maloku, E., & Misini, G. (in preparation). Sedative effects of intergroup contact on ethnic activism among Kosovo Albanians in Switzerland: The interplay of ethnic, national and dual identification.

intersectionality and compatibility of multiple collective identities appealing to minority group members (Curtin, Kende, & Kende, 2016), the present study aims at disentangling the different role played by ethnic, national, and dual identification in explaining the sedative effects of positive intergroup contact.

The Interplay Between Ethnic and National Identities, and Activism of Immigrant Minorities

Identity dynamics are at the heart of support for collective action among minority group members who need to stick together in order to claim better conditions and equal rights (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Van Zomeren, Spears, & Leach, 2008; see also Ellemers, 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social psychological literature has provided evidence for the relationship between ethnic identification and support for political activities in favour of the ingroup. For example, Chipeaux and, Kulich, Iacoviello, and Lorenzi-Cioldi (2017) demonstrated that reduced French identification of cross-border workers (i.e., French nationals living in France but working in Switzerland) as compared to French co-ethnics working in France, decreased the motivation to get involved in actions aimed to improve the situation of French people living in border regions of Switzerland (see also Derks, Van Laar, Ellemers, & Raghoe, 2015). Furthermore, decreased identification with the ethnic minority group mediates the sedative effects of intergroup contact on activism (Wright & Lubensky, 2009; see also Pereira, Visintin, & Green, 2017; Saguy et al., 2009).

Recent research has also revealed the negative relationship between national identification and support for ethnic activism. For example, Mähönen and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2015) demonstrated that Finnish national identification of Ingrian Finns (i.e., a Russian-speaking, traditional Finnish minority), who had returned from Russia to Finland, was related to decreased support for ethnic activism in favour of the Russian-speaking minority (through increased perceived permeability of the intergroup boundary with the Finnish majority), even when controlling for the relationship between ethnic identification and support for collective action (see also Kulich, Lorenzi-Cioldi, & Iacoviello, 2015). Although the role of national identification has never, to our knowledge, been tested in conjunction with sedative effects of intergroup contact, we expect increased identification with the national majority group to mediate the negative link between intergroup contact and activism.

Moreover, the role that identity dynamics play in supporting or undermining ethnic activism is likely to depend on the degree of compatibility perceived between different identity facets (i.e., dual identity, see Dovidio et al., 2010) or between different cultural identities (Benet-Martínez, & Haritatos, 2005). According to Simon and Klandermans (2001), reconciling identity markers both from ethnic and national groups allows immigrants, in particular, to feel entitled to participate in political debates and denounce inequalities (Simon & Ruhs, 2008; Simon & Grabow, 2010; Scuzzarello, 2015; see also Simon, Reichert, & Grabow, 2013). Such a dual identity is the form of immigrant minorities' collective identity that drives support for minority rights and activism (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; van Zomeren et al., 2008; see however Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2014 on the demobilizing effect of dual identification for religious activism of Muslims in Western Europe). Conversely, we argue that dual identity construct is not a politicized collective identity *per se*, but only to the extent to which two (or more) identities are perceived as compatible, relevant and efficient collective identity components for collective action aiming at improvements of the position of the low-status group.

Research conducted in different national contexts seem to validate this nuanced definition of dual identity. For instance, Glasford and Dovidio (2011) exposed racial minority students in the US to reports of positive intergroup encounters with Whites and stressed either a definition of their identity as members of a common, national group (i.e., US Americans) or a definition of their identity as dual. The results indicate that the focus on national identity reduced both participants' motivation for future intergroup contact and support for social change, while the focus on dual identity sustained motivation for both contact and social change (see, however, Cakal et al., 2016 for sustained support despite commitment to common ingroup identity). In contrast, in a study conducted among Roma in Bulgaria, Pereira et al. (2017) found that the mobilizing role of ethnic identification was dampened by high levels of national identification. The authors explain how national identification of Roma-Bulgarians is, for historical reasons, a dual construct composed of nationalist feelings combined to an enduring ethnic distinctiveness, which attenuated the positive effects of ethnic identification in support for improvement of the Roma status. Taken together, these results suggest that dual identity construct is a psychological motive that allows overcoming the fundamental contradiction between "getting closer" through intergroup contact and "getting in conflict" through collective action. Therefore, dual identity attenuates the

impact of individual identity components. In the present study, we expect dual identity to reduce the positive effects of ethnic identification, and the negative effects of national identification, on ethnic activism, thereby nuancing the sedative effects of intergroup contact. To the best of our knowledge, no research to date has examined the interactive effects of ethnic and dual identification, nor of national and dual identification, underlying ethnic activism.

The Present Study

Bridging research on sedative effects of intergroup contact and the duality of politicized collective identities, the present study makes a novel contribution by examining whether compatibility of ethnic and national identities, tapped with dual identification, maintain immigrant minorities' support for ethnic activism, despite experiences of positive contact with members of the advantaged national majority. First, we examined the two mediating processes, through national and ethnic identifications. Second, we tested whether dual identification moderated the mediating roles of both ethnic and national identification in the relationship between contact and support for ethnic activism. Accordingly, we hypothesized that the negative relationship between contact and support for activism is explained through two processes, namely reduced ethnic (H1a), and increased national (H1b), identification. In turn, ethnic identification should be positively (H2a), whereas national identification negatively (H2b) related, to support for activism. Furthermore, we hypothesized that perceived compatibility between ethnic and national identity, operationalized by dual identification, buffers the sedative effects of contact through reduced ethnic identification (H3a). In contrast, we hypothesized that dual identification counters the negative relationship between national identification and activism (H3b). In addition, we explore the moderation effect of dual identification on the direct relationship between contact and activism. Figure 8 summarizes our hypotheses.

We investigated these processes in a cross-sectional study among Kosovo Albanians in Switzerland, an immigrant minority that has attracted little attention in social psychological research so far. Estimated between 150'000 and 170'000, the Kosovo Albanian diaspora represents one of the major immigrant groups in Switzerland (Burri Sharani et al., 2010). The ethnic identity of Kosovo Albanians in Switzerland is generally considered salient and they are perceived by Swiss authorities as self-segregating and politicized (Dahinden & Moret, 2008). Over 40'000 Kosovo Albanians have gone through the Swiss naturalization process to date. Progressive integration into

the Swiss society feeds public debates about their loyalty towards Switzerland (see Nicolet & Barth, 2018), and the compatibility of Kosovar and Swiss cultural norms (see e.g., Cola, Iseni, & Brusa, 2012). Indeed, second-generation Kosovars are often naturalized and highly educated (Fibbi & Truong, 2015), while expressing their attachment to Kosovo. Switzerland, with a strong democratic culture, but with limited access to citizenship for immigrants, and little readiness to accommodate cultural diversity and minority rights (see Guimond, de la Sablonnière, & Nugier, 2014), makes ethnic activism of Kosovo Albanians in Switzerland a fascinating topic for social psychological research.

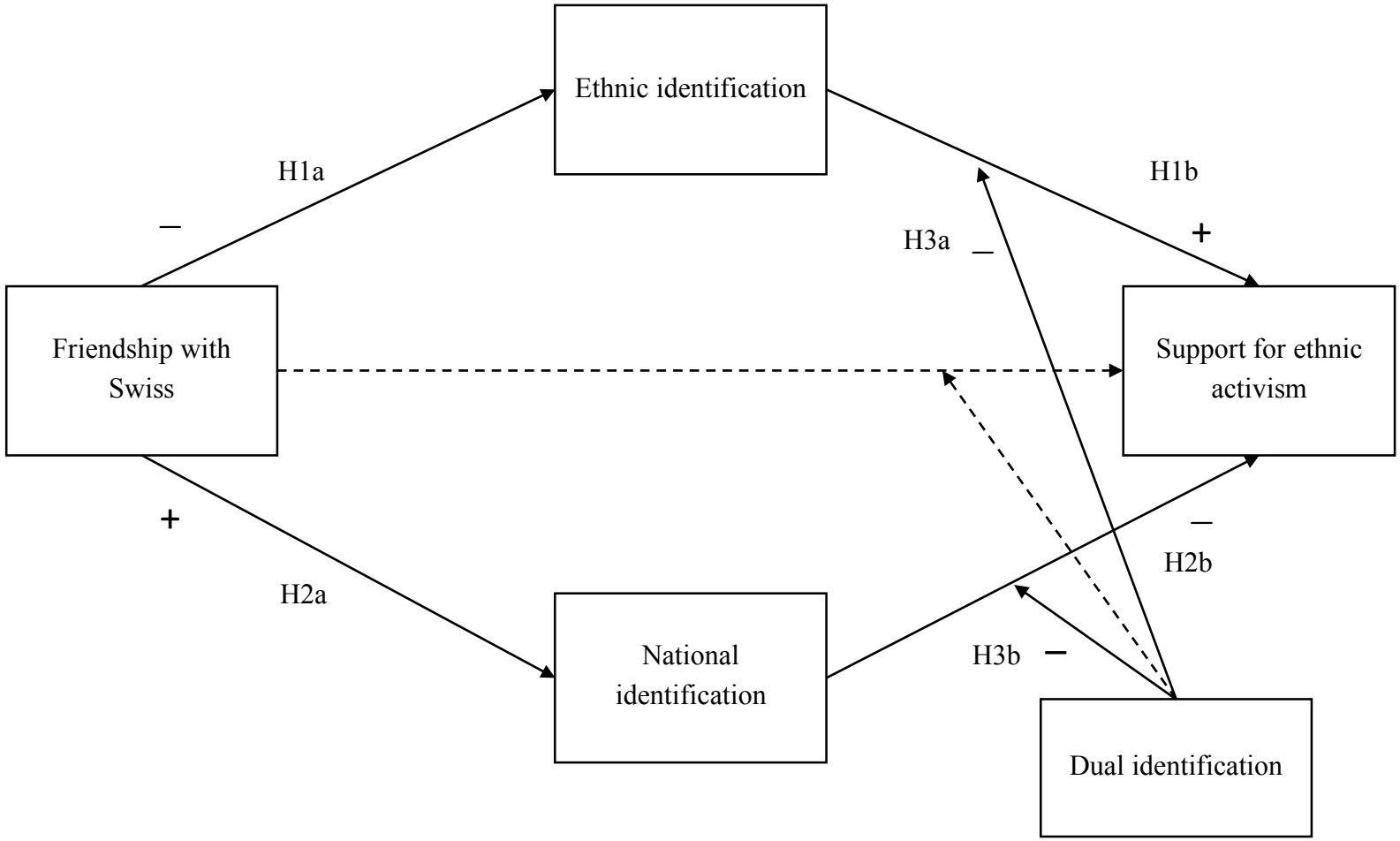


Figure 8. Conceptual model of the effects of contact on support for activism as mediated by ethnic and national identification and moderated by dual identification. Dashed lines indicate relationships that were explored during the statistical analysis but not predicted.

Method

Procedure and Participants

The study was conducted between October 2015 and February 2016 in the French and German-speaking regions of Switzerland. Respondents were contacted individually by a research student with Kosovo Albanian origins, or invited to complete the questionnaire by relatives or friends who had previously taken part in the study (see Misini, 2016). Full anonymity was ensured. The final sample included 154 participants with 60% of males (40% female) and a mean age of 32.2 years (SD = 11.03). Depending on their language proficiency and individual preference, respondents filled out either a French (n = 65) or Albanian (n = 88) version of the questionnaire. Since no questionnaire version was available in German, participants in the German-speaking region completed exclusively the Albanian version.

The majority of the sample (76.6%) was composed of participants who had grown up in Switzerland. Indeed, 48 participants were either born on Swiss soil or arrived in Switzerland before the age of 5 years. Among those, 42 participants had Swiss citizenship. In contrast, 32 participants arrived later, during primary or secondary school, 20 of which had obtained Swiss citizenship since then. Finally, 70 respondents arrived as adolescents (>15 years old) or as adults in Switzerland, half of which (n = 32) had obtained the Swiss citizenship since then. Overall, 61.4% of the participants had Swiss citizenship. Forty percent of our respondents had a higher vocational or university degree, 50% a vocational or secondary education and 7,8% primary education. One third of the participants were students at the time of the survey, whereas 60% were employed and the remaining 10% were either unemployed, permanently disabled, retired or reported household work for employment status. Over 80% of the participants judged their economic situation as either average (50.3%) or comfortable (31.4%) for the Swiss standards. Eighty-two per cent were married or cohabitating with other Kosovo Albanians (against only 18% with a person of another "ethnicity"), confirming the cohesion within this minority group. The majority of the participants (83.1%) reported Islam for religion.

Measures

The questionnaire assessed intergroup contact, political behaviour, group identification, and integration into the Swiss society (for full questionnaire see Appendix D).

Support for ethnic activism in Switzerland. We computed a six-item index of support for ethnic activism (α = .81). Two items assessed support for improvements in the economic and education domains (adapted from Klandermans et al., 2008), one item the right to vote in cantonal elections (adapted from Simon & Ruhs, 2008), and three items the support for more general improvements of the position, of equal job opportunities, and of access to resources from Kosovo Albanians. The three first items were rated on 7-point scales ranging from '*would never support'* to '*would certainly support',* whereas the three following were rated on a 7-point, agree–disagree scale. The sample mean was significantly above scale-midpoint, $t(153) = 15.46$, $p < .001$.

As a control we also measured participants' general interest in politics with one item rated on a 7-point, agree-disagree scale (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Average interest in politics was just above the scale-midpoint (M = 4.4, SD = 1.98).

Contact. Contact was assessed with intergroup friendship[33] rated on a 4-point scale ranging from (1) '*none of my friends are Swiss'* to (4) '*almost all my friends are (non-immigrant) Swiss'*.

Dual identification. Dual identification was measured with four items (α = .71) adapted from previous studies and rated on a 7-point, agree-disagree scale (e.g., "*I feel I belong to both the Swiss and the Kosovo Albanians.*", '*I feel at ease with both Albanian culture and Swiss culture*.', see Simon & Grabow, 2010).

Ethnic, and national identification. We used single-item indicators of both ethnic and national identification, rated on 7-point, agree–disagree scales (see Jenkins, Reysen, & Katzarska-Miller, 2012).

[33] Positive intergroup contact with non-immigrant Swiss was measured in the questionnaire by three different items tapping the quantity of Swiss, close friends, and both the quantity and quality of casual contact with representatives of the Swiss majority. Since the correlation between quality of casual contact, and the quantity of Swiss friends was moderate (r = .285, $p < .001$), we kept a single contact indicator.

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations of Main Explanatory and Outcome Variables

Variables	Mean	Standard deviation	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Support for Activism	6.04	0.95	1				
2. Ethnic Identification	5.59	1.57	.26**	1			
3. National Identification	4.64	1.84	-.06	.13	1		
4. Dual identification	5.82	1.09	.06	-.06	.41**	1	
5. Intergroup Friendship	2.45	0.77	-.20*	-.21**	.21*	.28**	1

Note. * $p < .05$ (two-tailed). ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed). All items were rated on a 7-points scales, except for Intergroup Friendship, rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*None*) to 4 (*Almost all my close friends are ethnic Swiss*).

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 7 summarizes the descriptive statistics for the main variables. Participants reported above scale midpoint scores of identification with Kosovo Albanians. Identification with the ethnic group was significantly stronger than national identification, $t(150) = 5.07$, $p < .001$. Moreover, men generally supported ethnic activism more ($M = 5.52$, $SD = 1.05$) than women ($M = 5{,}02$, $SD = 1.01$), $F(152,1) = 4.54$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .029$. Older participants supported activism slightly more than the younger participants in this sample ($r_{activism—age} = .26$, $p = .001$). Observations of the correlational patterns between the main explanatory and outcome variables confirmed the positive relationship between support for ethnic activism and Kosovo Albanian identification. In line with the literature on sedative effects, friendships with the Swiss correlated negatively with both ethnic identification and support for ethnic activism. In contrast, friendships with the Swiss correlated positively with Swiss national identification. Swiss national identification and dual identification however were unrelated to ethnic activism. Statistical tests for the regression analyses presented hereafter were two-tailed with alpha set at .05. The reported degrees of freedom for each test may vary due to missing data.

Hypothesis Testing

In order to test our set of predictions, we conducted a relative conditional process analysis (Hayes, 2018) on the two hypothesized pathways separately. Age, gender, citizenship status, economic vulnerability, education, and general interest in politics, and language proficiency[34] were used as control variables. The moderated mediation models were tested using PROCESS model 15.[35]

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[34] We chose to control for each of the aforementioned variables, instead of the language of the questionnaire. In fact, preliminary analyses revealed that language confounds multiple dimensions, related to both acculturation orientations and socio-demographic characteristics, as well as data collection location as on the German-speaking region the questionnaire administered in Albanian. On the one hand, the choice of questionnaire language (Albanian as reference category) correlates with intergroup contact, $r(151) = .33$, $p < .001$, ethnic identification, $r(151) = -.28$, $p = .001$, dual identification, $r(151) = .16$, $p = .04$, support for activism, $r(151) = -.39$, $p < .001$. On the other hand, it correlates with citizenship, $r(150) = .34$, $p < .001$, age, $r(149) = -.52$, $p < .001$, socialization in Switzerland, $r(148) = .36$, $p < .001$, economic vulnerability, $r(150) = .18$, $p = .02$, education level, $r(151) = .24$, $p = .003$, and language proficiency, $r(151) = .65$, $p < .001$. When language of the questionnaire was inserted as covariate, the result pattern remained the same and estimates stayed robust. Nevertheless, the main effect of intergroup contact on ethnic identification shrank to non-significant.

[35] A joint model grouping ethnic and national identification in a parallel double moderated mediation is available on request. The result pattern remained the same. This model should be interpreted with caution however: The sample size is underpowered for testing a double moderated mediation model, thus resulting

Sedating effects through reduced ethnic identification.

The first pathway was tested by means of a moderated mediation model, which included ethnic identification as mediator of the effect of intergroup friendship on support for activism. Dual identification was used as moderator of total, direct and indirect effects. First, we calculated the total effect of intergroup friendship on activism, and we entered dual identification as moderator. Then, we estimated the conditional indirect effects, by introducing ethnic identification as a mediator (H1a and H2a), and tested whether the indirect effect was moderated by dual identification (H3a). Full information about the effect of control variables on both ethnic identification and activism can be found in Table 8 in Appendix F.

As a first step, intergroup friendship was regressed on activism. The model was significant, $F(10, 136) = 3.56$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = 0.21$. The main effect of intergroup friendship on activism was non-significant, $b = -0.13$ (0.11), $p = .24$, 95% CI [-0.36, 0.09]. Yet, dual identification moderated the relation between friendship and activism, $b = -0.19$ (0.08), $p = .02$, 95% CI [-0.35, -0.02]. A test for simple effects showed that intergroup friendship was negatively related to activism when dual identification was high (centered at one standard deviation above the mean), $b = -0.34$ (0.14), $p = .01$, 95% CI [-0.61, -0.07], but not when dual identification was low (centered at one standard deviation below the mean), $b = 0.07$ (0.15), $p = .63$, 95% CI [-0.23, 0.38]. Accordingly, the Johnson-Neyman Technique revealed that intergroup contact reduced activism among 59% of participants, namely those who reported scores of dual identification higher than the threshold value of 5.95.[36]

As a second step, we tested whether the conditional effect of intergroup friendship was mediated by ethnic identification (Figure 9). We inserted all meaningful

in biased estimates. Moreover, the observed covariation between ethnic and national attachment as moderated by dual identification violates the underlying assumption of orthogonality between parallel mediators (Hayes, 2018). Indeed, the relation between ethnic and national identification was qualified by a cross-over interaction with dual identification, $b = .34$ (0.07), $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.19, 0.48]. Although the bivariate correlation between the two identity measures was weak, $b = 0.10$ (0.08), $p = .23$, 95% CI [-0.06, 0.26], a test of simple effects revealed that ethnic identification was negatively related to national identification for low levels of dual identification, $b = -0.27$ (0.13), $p = .04$, 95% CI [-0.52, -0.02], but positively related to national identification for high levels of dual identification, $b = 0.47$ (0.10), $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.26, 0.67].

[36] No hypothesis was formulated as concerning the interactive effect of intergroup contact and dual identity. Nevertheless, this finding highlights the ambivalent role of dual identity on activism. Whereas dual identity supported activism directly, it also jeopardized activism through intergroup contact. Supporting this indirect pernicious effect, additional exploratory analyses showed that dual identification was also related to increased prescription of national culture adoption for immigrants, $r(152) = .32$, $p < .001$, and cognitive representations of Kosovars and Swiss as incorporated in the same category, $r(143) = .30$, $p < .001$.

interactions between focal predictors and dual identification. In line with hypothesis 1a, we found that intergroup friendship was related to decreased ethnic identification, b = -0.39 (0.19), p = .04, 95% CI [-0.76, -0.02]. Supporting hypothesis 2a, ethnic identification fostered activism, b = 0.14 (0.05), p = .006, 95% CI [0.04, 0.23]. Moreover, the main effect of ethnic identification on activism was moderated dual identification, b = -0.10 (0.04), p = .02, 95% CI [-0.18, -0.01]. A test for simple effects showed that ethnic identification increased activism when dual identification was high, b = 0.24 (0.07), p = .001, 95% CI [0.10, 0.39], but not when dual identification was low, b = 0.03 (0.06), p = .61, 95% CI [-0.09, 0.15]. Put differently, ethnic identification was linked to increased activism among 50% of participants, namely those reporting scores of dual identification below 6.16. Compared to the model without the mediator, ethnic identification, and its interaction with dual identification accounted for a significant increase of the total explained variance of activism, $\Delta F(2, 135) = 5.58$, p =.005, $\Delta R^2_{adj} = .06$[37].

Pursuing the relative conditional process analysis (Hayes,(2018), we estimated indirect effects for two cutting points in the distribution of dual identification. As hypothesized (H3a), the indirect effect through ethnic identification was significant when dual identification was low, b = -0.09 (0.05), 95% CI [-0.20, -0.007], but not when dual identification was high, b = -0.01 (0.03), 95% CI [-0.09, 0.04]. Dual identity attenuated the positive effects of ethnic identification on ethnic activism, thereby nuancing the sedative effects of intergroup contact through decreased ethnic identification.

[37] As a robustness test, the same hierarchical regression model was estimated including national identification as covariate. In line with a moderation mediation model the interaction between ethnic and dual identification shrank but remained significant, b = -0.09 (0.05), p = .05, 95% CI [-0.18, -0.0001].

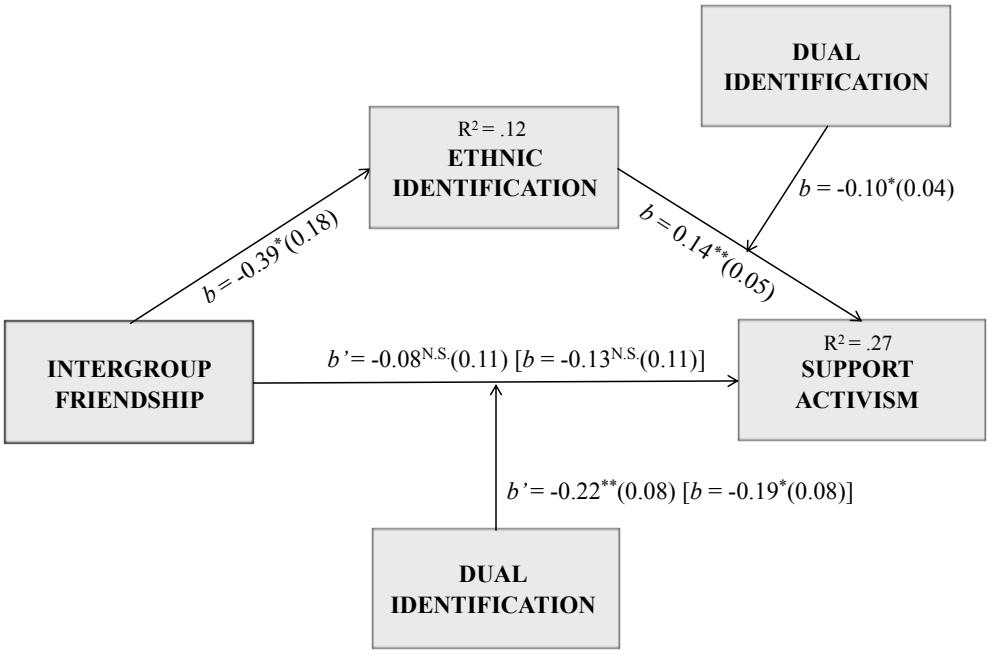

Figure 9. Sedative effect of intergroup friendship on political activism. First pathway through decreased ethnic identification. Estimates extracted from a moderated mediation model using PROCESS Version 3, model 15. Unstandardized estimates and standard errors are reported. Controls: age, gender, citizenship status, economic vulnerability, education, and general interest in politics. The total amount of variance explained for all endogenous variables is indicated on top of each variable. N.S. $p > .10$, † $p \leq .10$, * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$.

Sedating effects through augmented national identification.

The second pathway was tested by means of a moderated mediation model, which included national identification as mediator of the effect of intergroup friendship on support for activism (H1b and H2b). Dual identification was used as moderator of total, direct and indirect effects. As the total effect of intergroup friendship on activism was reported above, we focus on the conditional indirect effects, and tested whether the indirect effect was moderated by dual identification (H3b) (see Table 9 in Appendix F for full information of the model).

We found evidence for hypothesis 1b, that is for the relation between intergroup friendship and national identification, b = 0.35 (0.21), p = .10, 95% CI [-0.07, 0.77]. Also, national identification did not impair activism *per se* (contrary to hypothesis 2b), b = -0.10 (0.11), p = .40, 95% CI [-0.32, 0.13]. Yet, the main effect of national identification on activism was moderated by an interaction with dual identification, b = 0.09 (0.04), p = .04, 95% CI [0.003, 0.17]. A test for simple effects showed that national

identification was marginally related to reduced activism when dual identification was low, b = -0.12 (0.07), p = .07, 95% CI [-0.26, 0.01], but not when dual identification was high, b = 0.07 (0.06), p = .30, 95% CI [-0.06, 0.19]. Indeed, national identification was linked to reduced activism among 12% of participants, namely those reporting levels of dual identification lower than the threshold value of 4.11. Because of the weak effect sizes and reduced region of significance, national identification and its interaction with dual identification did not account for a significant increase of the total variance explained of activism, $\Delta F(2, 133) = 2.23$, p =.11, $\Delta R^2_{adj} = .03$[38]. We estimated indirect effects for low and high dual identification separately. Against hypothesis 3b the indirect effect through national identification was non-significant both when dual identification was low, b = -0.04 (0.04), 95% CI [-0.13, 0.008], and when dual identification was high, b = 0.02 (0.03), 95% CI [-0.03, 0.10].

[38] As a robustness test, the same hierarchical regression model was estimated including ethnic identification as covariate. When ethnic identification was controlled for the interaction between national and dual identification shrank and became non-significant, b = 0.06 (0.04), p = .18, 95% CI [-0.03, 0.15].

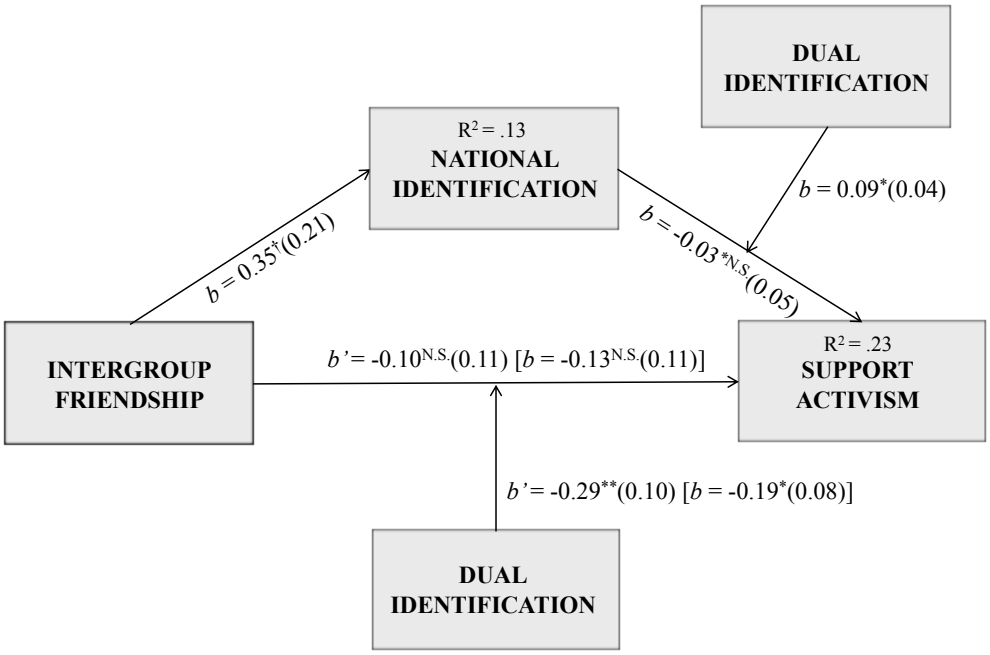

Figure 10. Sedative effect of intergroup friendship on political activism. Second pathway thorough increased national identification. Estimates extracted from a moderated mediation model using PROCESS Version 3, model 15. Unstandardized estimates and standard errors are reported. Controls: age, gender, citizenship status, economic vulnerability, education, and general interest in politics. The total amount of variance explained for all endogenous variables is indicated on top of each variable. N.S. $p > .10$, † $p \leq .10$, * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$.

Discussion

The present study brings together literatures on the sedative effect of contact and on immigrants' political activism by examining whether positive intergroup contact undermines support for collective action when considering dual identification. The contribution of the study is threefold. First, we reveal the sedative effects of contact in a population that has been little studied so far, although presenting interesting identity concerns, i.e. the Kosovar minority living in Switzerland. Second the study examined the moderating role of dual identity on this sedative route. Third, we tested a second sedating process, that passes via immigrants' national identification, though found no evidence.

In line with our hypothesis, dual identification buffered the sedative effect of contact on activism through reduced ethnic identification. However, this effect was not

due to a positive relationship between dual identification and ethnic activism, as evidenced by the absence of direct relationship between the two constructs in this sample. On the contrary, while high scores of dual identity were observed in a majority of participants in the sample, high dual identifiers who reported positive intergroup contact with non-immigrant Swiss were also those specifically sedated. In contrast, for those who perceive Kosovo Albanian and Swiss identities as less compatible, ethnic identification was the best identity predictor of support for collective action and fully mediates the relationship between contact and activism (since national identification did not predict activism in this sample). That the direct, negative effect of contact on support for ethnic activism did not hold for lower dual identifiers can be interpreted together with this full mediation found for lower dual identifiers. Finally, while the absolute level of identification with the national group increased with the number of Swiss friends, we did not find support for an alternative sedative route via Swiss national identification. Considering the positive, albeit moderate, relationship between national identification and dual identification in the sample, might suggest that the Swiss-national identity component of the dual identity construct was irreconcilable with the defence of ethnic minorities rights.

First, these results challenge the stereotypical image of Kosovo Albanians in Switzerland as a self-segregating minority that is highly politicized in favour of their ethnic ingroup (Dahinden & Morel, 2008). Second, these results call for a more nuanced interpretation of the mobilizing role of dual identities based on how ethnic and national identity components are construed and marked in everyday life. Identity adaptations following intergroup contact depend on individuals' migration trajectory and status (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2004), as well as on expectations of the receiving national society (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; see also Ward & Geeraert, 2016). The way social norms, and institutions of the receiving society adapt encounters between the national majority and immigrant or ethnic minorities influence the meaning and political scope of dual or bicultural identification. Although the dual or bicultural identification is generally related to positive health and social outcomes among immigrants (see e.g., Berry, 2017), it seems that here the consequence of the national identity component is a stagnation of the minority's political demands, probably due to the specificities of the Swiss cultural and civic norms. In Switzerland, loyalty to Swiss norms is expected from immigrants. As the defence of linguistic and local specificities and the autonomy of the different regions make the heterogeneity and cultural diversity

of the Swiss ingroup salient, the defence of migrant minorities' rights that would further add to this diversity and to the complexity of the Swiss landscape is a sensitive issue. The reluctance of Kosovar immigrants who have good relations with the Swiss majority, and have achieved a dual self-construct, to engage in collective action to improve the status of the Kosovar minority also suggests that the everyday cultural citizenship of people with a migration background in Switzerland may actually be culturally biased towards the attitudes and prerogatives of the Swiss non-immigrant majority (Bennour & Manatchal, 2019; see also Rosaldo, 1997 and Reijerse, Van Acker, Vanbeselaere, Phalet, & Duriez, 2013, on the relationship between cultural citizenship and the maintenance of inequalities in multicultural societies). Considering that the Kosovar identity is still highly politicized for it was officially recognized only recently, and since Switzerland recognized the Kosovo state and has participated in its reconstruction, the cost of the psychological well-being that integrates the two component identities (Kosovar and Swiss) seems to be a withdrawal from collective action in the name of the heritage ethnic group in Switzerland. In other words, while the Kosovar identity is a collective politicized identity, the Kosovar-Swiss bicultural identification is not necessarily, for it contradicts the Swiss civic norms.

Of course, the cross-sectional nature of these data and the sample size limit our conclusions. Future studies should employ longitudinal designs with cohorts of new Kosovo Albanian immigrants and study the emergence of dual identity in relationship with intergroup contact opportunities and ethnic activism (see e.g., Tropp et al., 2012). Future studies should also more systematically examine the role of national citizenship in explaining sedative effects of contact on activism. Acquisition of the Swiss citizenship represents an important upward social mobility (especially due to the restrictiveness of citizenship policies in Switzerland, see Bennour & Manatchal, 2019), that is likely to influence the psychological experience of dual identification and the resulting political behaviors. Based on a complex three-tiered hierarchy (communal, cantonal and federal) with the final decision made at the communal level (Wanner, Piguet, & Hayford, 2002), the Swiss naturalization process has been criticized for potentially relying on arbitrary and discriminatory final decisions made by the local and civil committees (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2015). This federalist organization puts a particular pressure on candidates for the Swiss citizenship.

The perceived compatibility between ethnic and national identities among immigrants is an important marker of psychological adaptation, but also an antecedent

of the political participation of immigrants in the receiving society. Immigrant minorities' participation in the democratic process is decisive for designing effective integration policies and programs, and build multicultural, cohesive societies. Accordingly, better understanding of the processes of political engagement of immigrant minorities regarding social issues they are directly concerned with (e.g., education and employment, social aid) is an important mission for research in social psychology.

Acknowledgments

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Part IV

General discussion

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The present thesis aimed at examining the psychological antecedents of collective action for social change in members of stigmatized ethnic minorities. The notion of collective identity was central to the thesis, for it is an independent and powerful predictor of individuals' support for collective action. Moreover, the notion is used in contrast to *ethnic* identity, for it conceptually distinguishes individuals' emerging awareness and dynamic adaptation to intergroup relations (i.e., collective identity) from their commitment and conformity to a socially constructed category (i.e., ethnic identity). The thesis first explored the collective identity of a specific and stigmatized ethnic minority, i.e. the Roma, in the extent that social identities are grounded on social representations that are expressions of integroup relations. In line with the existing literature about the identity discourse of minority individuals, the main expectation was that Roma would contest interethnic boundaries and propose alternative constructions of the Roma collective identity.

In a first line of research, three studies based on semi-structured interviews conducted among Roma-Bulgarians deepened the little existing knowledge about the identity of Roma as construed by members of the Roma minority themselves. Article 1 and 2 addressed the social representation of Roma-Gypsies and complemented each other by implementing the two main content analysis approaches: lexical and thematic analysis. Article 1 consisted in a lexical analysis of the Roma discourse that confirmed the contestation of interethnic boundaries by Roma, and this for being abstract and depersonalized concepts, but also simultaneously revealed the (unattended) reproduction of intergroup division. Besides, the lexical analysis of the Roma discourse revealed Roma-Bulgarians' commitment to the education principle (stated by the non-Roma majority) in order to improve their condition, but also stressed structural obstacles and lack of opportunities that limit the efficiency of existing education programs. In contrast, Article 2 consisted in a thematic analysis of the same material, which unravelled that Roma identity discourse is underlid by the same themata underlying majority prejudice about Roma, that is, human–animal, wild–civilized, internal–external. Finally, Article 3 presented a discourse analysis on the same material and demonstrated that contestation and legitimization of anti-Roma prejudice is involved in Roma's performance of the Roma ethnic identity (at least, in front of a non-Roma interviewer). Altogether, the results of this first line of research show how majority

prejudice about the Roma have penetrated, shaped and spoiled Roma's ethnic identity, making it a poor psychological motive for collective action. The content of the discourse rather points to alternative and more positive definitions of participants' Roma*ness* that notably articulate their national citizenship and their positive contact with the non-Roma majority.

The thesis then examined how different conceptions of a collective identity (i.e., ethnic, national, dual) relate to both positive intergroup contact with the majority and ethnic activism by drawing on cross-sectional, questionnaire data and implementing statistical analyses. The general hypothesis was here that simultaneous identification with the ethnic minority and the superordinate national society challenged the sedative effect of contact on support for collective action among historically disadvantaged minorities, in line with the politicized collective identity (PCI) model proposed by Simon and Klandermans (2001). The demobilization of ethnic minorities was explained in previous research by a reduced identification with the ethnic minority consecutive to positive contact or opportunities for friendship with members of the more advantaged majority group, to the benefit of a common ingroup identity. However, one particular construction of this common identity (i.e., dual identity) psychologically reconcile the ideas of positive attitudes towards the majority and necessity for social change.

Accordingly, in the second line of research, Article 4a preliminary aimed at testing the psychological antecedents of support for collective action in the total sample of Roma who completed the Swiss-Bulgarian research project questionnaire. The study found an interesting combination of low perceived discrimination and anger towards the majority (somehow in line with the denial of discrimination presented in Article 3), high ethnic and high national identification. Moreover, ethnic and national identification interacted to predict support for collective action. Article 4b further tested the hypothesis of a moderation of the demobilizing effect of positive contact with the non-Roma majority by identification as a member of the nation group. Results revealed that support for ethnic activism was best predicted by high scores of national identification, and allowed to counteract the sedative effect of contact on ethnic identification. Finally, Article 5 tests how perceived compatibility between ethnic and national identity moderates the relationship between positive contact, ethnic and national identification measured separately, and support for ethnic activism. Extending our model of the moderated sedative effect of contact to the Kosovo Albanian, immigrant minority living in Switzerland, study results indicated that the sedative effect of contact on activism

through reduced ethnic identification is moderated by participants' dual identification, but that high dual identifiers are nevertheless sedated when having positive contact with the Swiss majority. Post-hoc observations allowed to conclude that, while the Kosovar identity is a politicized collective identity, the Kosovar-Swiss dual identification is not, for it contradicts the Swiss civic norms.

Facing these mixed results, the second line of research allows only partially confirming that the politicized collective identity of stigmatized ethnic minorities has necessarily a dual nature. The comparison of the two very different intergroup settings studied in this thesis (i.e., native, traditional minority versus immigrant minority) stresses, however, that dual identity is a complex psychological reality that depends on the definitions and backgrounds of the ethnic and national component-identities. Articulated with the detailed analysis of the Roma case from the first line of research, these statistical results highlight the importance of questioning social representations underlying the categories of ethnic and national identity, as well as of surveying minority members' subjective definitions of their collective identity. Overall, this thesis is thus an invitation to more carefully study intergroup contexts in order to understand the subjective reality of minority groups, but also to look at multiple identities in future studies in order to find the relevant components of ethnic minorities' politicized collective identity.

4.1. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

4.1.1. Contribution to the literature on the sedative effect of positive contact

Interestingly, the conclusions from the two lines of research taken separately overlap with the two separate models of social change in social psychology (cf. Wright & Lubensky, 2008), that is "a model of change grounded in the rehabilitation of the prejudiced individual and a model of social change grounded in collective awareness of, and resistance to, systemic inequality» (p. 402). Contrary to Dixon and colleagues who popularized the integration of these two models when revealing the sedative effect of positive intergroup contact, this thesis suggests that these two models are not necessarily

two dissonant psychological processes leading to negative outcomes, but that they are simply two aspects of the everyday reality of minority group members that some individuals manage to reconcile (helped by favorable authorities or political climate) and other not.

In addition, this thesis validates the sedative effect of positive intergroup contact climates in two new inter-group contexts, Bulgaria and Switzerland. In a national context where harmonious relations with the non-Roma majority are still the exception rather than the rule, reduced ethnic identification cannot be interpreted as the consequence of biased perceived opportunities for upward mobility and freedom from discrimination. Besides, we found that the decrease in ethnic identification did not influence the direct and positive relationship between contact and support for ethnic activism. This finding clearly suggests that reduced ethnic identification in ethnic minorities engaged in positive intergroup contact with an advantaged majority reflects the contestation of intergroup boundaries and the development of an opinion-based, potentially politicized, collective identity (cf. Bliuc et al., 2007). As well-illustrated by the content of the semi-structured interviews, contestation of the distinctive ethnic categorization among Roma-Bulgarians is a central theme. Nevertheless, the political enactment of this psychological contestation was absent from the sampled discourse, most probably hampered by the constitutional prohibition to form ethnic-based parties. In contrast, while Swiss norms also somehow prohibit ethnic-based activism (albeit not constitutionally), the predictive roles of ethnic, national and the combination of the two identities measured by dual identity are completely different for members of the Kosovar minority and suggest that the composition of the politicized collective identity of Kosovo Albanians immigrants in Switzerland is different. Interestingly, Wright and Lubensky (2009) already doubted the potential of bicultural, dual identification as being a collective identity in service for collective action, and called for investigations of the relationship between dual identification and contact.

Finally, Article 3 contributes in an original and innovative way to the intergroup contact theory by adopting the minority perspective and revealing how prejudice-reduction discourses do not directly affect the prevalence of prejudice (which is still reported in the discourse), but rather affect what can be normatively defined as prejudice. In this regard, positive contact emerges as both an opportunity for minorities to redefine what prejudice is, and a risk of arguing what is not prejudice in order to accommodate positive contact experience.

4.1.2. **Contribution to the literature on collective action and social change**

Contrary to the previous few surveys in Roma populations (Kamberi et al., 2008; EU AFR, 2011), Roma-Bulgarians in our sample rated their discrimination as low and were strongly identified as Roma, otherwise substantiating the relationship between prejudice-reduction climate and the subtle maintenance of intergroup division and status quo. Besides, and consistent with existing literature (e.g., Dimitrova et al., 2014), Roma-Bulgarians in our sample identified as authentic members of the Bulgarian nation and politicized more on this ground, which led us to a dual collective identity interpretation. Interestingly, this particular combination of low perceived discrimination, but sustained support for ethnic activism speaks to the distinction introduced by Moscovici and Pérez (2007) between *active*, militant minority groups (i.e., self-consciously in conflict with a majority group) and *victimized* minorities. The latter concept was described as a novel social reality in the relation between minority and majority groups, which was consecutive to post-conflict, reparatory social movements that marked the 1990s. Social groups that elicit a sense of guilt in the majority and bring social change in terms of moral re-alignment were ever since distinguished from traditional militant minorities that convey social change by collective action and progressive transformation of social representations (Moscovici & Nemeth, 1974). Interestingly, while the Roma minority was historically associated with the emergence of victimized minorities, the present thesis demonstrates that the politicized collective identity model applies to the Roma issue, and that victimization is even actively avoided by some Roma when interacting with a member of the non-Roma majority. Consequently, this thesis also ontributes to the literature on collective action and social change by warning about the projections of majorities' concern—moral in this case—onto the psychology of minority individuals.

4.1.3. **Contribution to social representations research**

This thesis contributes to the study of social representations by providing two original studies drawn on semantic material collected in a population that has been, so far, the object, but not the subject, of social representational investigations. Besides,

Article 1 and 2 confirm the multi-voiced nature of social representations, but also their social inertia and rigidity as illustrated by the pervasiveness of the majority groups' definitions and connotations of the Roma ethnicity within the Roma discourse. More precisely, they reveal a rational and structured discourse, adapted to a non-Roma audience, that aims at re-humanizing the minority identity by stressing descriptions of individuated of non-stereotypical, ordinary citizens, who are attached to their national territory and engaged in positive, non-conflictual interethnic relations. Ironically, it came out from the discussion with Bulgarian experts that such ethnic dis-identification discourse is often heard by majority members as further evidence of the inconsistency of the Roma community.

Last but not least, the themata approach from Article 2 articulated to the discourse analysis from Article 3 go beyond the disciplinary conflict between social representation theory and discursive psychology (see Potter & Edwards, 1999), by showing how findings from socio-historical and action-oriented approach can be combined to get a better understanding of both symbolic and dynamic aspects of a complex social issue such as ethnic prejudice. While Article 2 shows how archaic images and symbolic connotations of the "Other" are renewed and still drive discourse and attitudes in contemporary democracies, Article 3 focuses on interaction strategies (e.g., stressing positive intergroup contact in order to disprove stereotype), which social relevance can be really grasped only when one knows about social representations in the background (e.g., the taboo of contact with Gypsies due to the dehumanization of their ethnicity). The social representational construction of group categories and stereotypes is a key strategy of intergroup influence (Reicher, Hopkins, & Condor, 1997) that must continue to be evaluated in future research on intergroup relations and attitudes. This thesis is an illustration of how this can be done in parallel to more classic, cross-sectional studies of intergroup attitudes.

4.2. PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

> *Black should not simply declare that color prejudices are the sole cause of their social status, and white South can not simply say that their social condition is the cause of prejudice. It is a cause and a reciprocal effect, and if we only change one of the two, it does not produce the desired effect* (Du Bois, 1903, p. 179).

4.2.1. Interventions among Roma communities

As has been observed in many past social struggles, the claims of disadvantaged groups often start by a challenge and a redefinition of their collective identity. This passage from the negative identity attributed by the majority to a more positive and self-determined identity carries with it the keys to the success of a social movement, in its capacity to awaken the interest and solidarity of the majority. In the case of Gypsies who have become "Roma", this redefinition has so far not had the desired effects, perhaps because it underlined a distant origin and values that are not compatible with the West. In contrast, the nationalist demands of European Roma citizens may represent a better collective strategy for the Roma, provided that the claims remain, at least initially, located and therefore potentially in contact with known and respected non-Roma people who could bring their local support to the cause. More generally speaking, socially deprived groups shall, first, become aware, and then, free themselves from external attributions of group traits in order to mobilize socially disadvantaged individuals for collective action despite social influence. When you have got nothing and nothing to lose, representing your in-group is already something and shall be stressed in order to keep individuals motivated for collective action. Accordingly, members of majority and minority groups shall be remind that the democratic principle of accepting to be governed by a majority of voters should never mean that the opinion of, and the solutions proposed by, the remaining minority(ies) are less good or less realistic. The democratic principle should precisely values governance that manages to enhance the existence and

validity of minority positions while implementing the solutions chosen by a majority of voters.

Drawing on social representational assumptions, this thesis stresses the need for Roma to continue renewing and redefining the Roma identity in a systematic and consistent way in order to bring a significant social change and challenge today's interethnic status quo. For example, some Roma representatives could become human rights advocates and specialize, with the support of majority groups, in the defence of human rights in intergroup conflict settings worldwide. Such a public function, if it were to be systematically occupied by representatives of the Roma community chosen for the dehumanization endured, could deftly defuse and derogate the historical definitions of this group and durably change its reputation. Such a project nevertheless implies a real political will to put an end to the social reproduction of the interethnic barrier with Roma and a certain solidarity of non-Roma majorities towards the Roma.

4.2.2. **Interventions among non-Roma majorities**

The inclusion of Roma minorities and their differentiation without subordination is undeniably a question of political will from the part of European national majorities. A certain version of the Roma emancipation, stressing economic inclusion and education, has unquestionably obtained the favor of the public opinion (Fawn, 2001). This politically correct opinion presents the Roma as a victimized community, to which historically privileged nations should ensure the opportunities of a democratic emancipation. While ethnographic, developmental, healthcare or even genetic studies contributed to improve development assistance programs (see e.g., Fésüs, Östlin, McKee, & Ádány, 2012), these limited disciplinary interests fall back again in an exotisation and simplification of the Roma issue. Healthcare development programs reveal very ethnocentric preoccupations of European majorities, for example about the risk of epidemics caused by these poor sub-populations that often cannot afford the contemporary hygiene standards. Besides, constitutional reforms and speeches in favor of Roma inclusion restore European majorities' morality, but translate into policies missing Roma's realities and readily justifying further exclusion for those who do not realize their freedom (see e.g., Koulish, 2003; Gheorghe, 2013; Vermeersch, 2003). Roma minorities are still considered a risky social group (Ladányi & Szelényi, 2001)

and are recurrently accused of destroying the social opportunities provided to them. In response, Roma minorities counter-accuse national majorities of not designing equitable and suitable policies and programs (Fawn, 2001). This vicious social circle was recently empirically demonstrated by Hera (2015) in Hungary, who described how "random" identity checks recurrently perpetrated among Roma citizens deteriorate the trust of Roma communities towards policemen, thereby explaining their refusal to call the police when needed. In turn, Hungarian authorities blame the Roma for what they conceive as a deliberate refusal to call the police. Further East, in formerly communist states, the support of the authorities for the improvement of the living conditions of Roma minorities is even more ambivalent. Indeed, supporting the emancipation of Roma minorities in these states stress interethnic distinctions that have already led to violent interethnic conflicts in the recent past (Deyanova, 2005).

Supporting ethnic minorities in their plans to free themselves from structural inequalities thus requires an awareness among members of privileged social groups. This was the aim of a workshop that I developed in 2016 in collaboration with Adar Hoffman, a doctoral student in social psychology at the University of Lausanne. The workshop was initially designed for visiting US students who had little knowldege about the Roma issue. Then, we also adapted it for students from the University of Lausanne who are generally exposed daily to Roma begging in the streets of Lausanne. More concretely, we developed a role-play that puts participants in the shoes of activists of Roma origin. We divide activists into two groups: separatist activists and moderate activists (that is, activists in favour of the maintenance of Roma minorities in their national contexts). After having given them some avenues for reflection (e.g., the idea of a Romanestan, the comparison with Zionism and the current intergroup situation in Isreal, the potential number of Roma seats in the European Parliament, the dual identities of Roma, the economic and social issues of separatism), we propose to the two groups to compete in a face-to-face debate for which we assume the role of mediators (see Appendix G for instructions). Combining a minimal group paradigm (Tajfel, 1970) with the principle of the "class divided" (Peters, Cobb, & Eliott, 1985), this role-play allowed us to observe on multiple occasions the resonances and the relevance of the Roma minority struggle in previously naïve participants, and their progressive realization of the relationships between ethnic distinctions, nations and intergroup conflict. We think that these kinds of workshop that could be declined according to the specificities of any

ethnic minorities, could find a place within programs of prevention of ethnic prejudice and discrimination against ethnic minorities.

4.3. LIMITS OF THE PRESENT THESIS

Like any scientific investigation, the present thesis raises a number of questions in addition to answering some others. Accordingly, I will now discuss the limits of this research in regards to their potential. Theoretical and empirical limits were already discussed in the separate empirical articles (see Part III of the thesis). Accordingly, I will now discuss only the limits that have direct implications for the overall validity of the thesis.

First of all, interpretations of research findings about the minority perspective drawn on the semi-structured interviews are limited by the fact that the interviewer was a member of the non-Roma Bulgarian majority. Despite the interviewer's expertise and sympathy for Roma-Bulgarians, I cannot rule out that the imprint of majority representations of Gypsies and the content of the discourse that I found were actually by-products of a social desirability bias due to his upper social status. However, social groups are first and foremost heterogeneous agglomerates of multiple individual realities, whose functional symbiosis can only be grasped by multiplying data sources and methodological approaches. The discourse of minority group members in front of majority audience is, in this regard, an important part of the social psychological investigation from the minority perspective.

Second, the translation of interviews is an obvious limitation to the social representational and discursive interpretations presented. However, the themes and discursive strategies unraveled in these studies echo the existing literature about Roma and prejudice, which reassured me as regards the overall relevance of the findings. Moreover, the methodologic and theoretical challenges of conducting secondary analysis of translated, qualitative data (see Hinds et al., 1997) were planned during the Swiss-Bulgarian project preparation. Accordingly, I was able to overcome these difficulties by, on the one hand, developing privileged contact with and getting frequent feedback from the ethnographer who conducted the Roma interviews, and, on the other

hand, by developing my discursive analytical skills in doctoral schools and parallel scientific projects (see in particular Durrheim et al., 2018).

Third, for I made the hypothesis of dual identification among Roma after that the Swiss-Bulgarian research project was finalised, the questionnaire did not contain a proper dual identification (construct) measure. The interpretation that national identification has functioned in this national context as a dual identity measure was based on thorough preliminary study of the history and situation of Roma-Bulgarians and considered the opinion of local experts. Nevertheless, future studies should more specifically study dual identification of Roma in relation to their support for Roma activism in order to verify and complement our results, and this in different nations hosting Roma. More generally speaking, future European social surveys could, in my view, systematically include dual identity in the response options, given the number of individuals potentially affected by the intersectionality of multiple identities in contemporary multicultural societies. Besides, another important antecedent of collective action was missing from the project questionnaire, i.e. perceived ingroup efficacy. For Roma in a little educated and dehumanized ethnic community, the extent to which Roma minority members perceive Roma*ness* as a politically relevant and *efficient* collective identity seems a key psychological motive or obstacle. Future studies conducted among Roma should definitely explore this particular motive in order to find ways to improve Roma's perceived efficacy (e.g., the idea of becoming human rights advocates in other groups' conflict). Future studies should also examine negative attitudes of the Roma towards ethnic majorities, as well as hierarchy and conflict between Roma sub-groups, drawing on the assumption that these intergroup and inter-minority processes are likely to impede the democratic participation and political empowerment of Roma. However, the absence of these additional measures does not call into question the aforementioned conclusions about the role of collective identity constructions in mobilizing individuals for collective action.

In addition to these limits related to specific conditions of data collection and measurement, causal claims cannot be drawn from our data since they result from cross-sectional research designs. Nevertheless, the mixed-methods approach that I adopted can have some interesting implication for causality in this thesis. Although the Roma participants in this research did not mention (or very little) their political will after having decided on the definition of their ethnic identity, the interview data collected undoubtedly make it possible to appreciate the centrality of the identity process and its

anchoring in intergroup contact opportunities. Furthermore, previous experimental (see Saguy et al., 2009) and longitudinal studies (Tropp et al., 2012) have established different portions of the causal sequence of the contact–identity–collective action triad. Nevertheless, rather than being limited to the stimulus–treatment–response model, this triad can also be considered as a single psychic event—identity performance—that is underlying intergroup contact, identity discourse, and political behaviors.

Finally, throughout this thesis, I used the categories of "minority" and "majority" which are concepts that are also socially constructed. The adoption of the perspective of the minority group and the study of the psychology of its members started from the questionable assumption that such a minority group exists, whereas the notion of minority actually covers a complex reality: On the one hand, the minority is a concrete subgroup of a society constituted by social actors with low status (economic, symbolic or both) who therefore suffer from social disadvantages in comparison with other individuals who are structurally advantaged by the social system. On the other hand, the minority is also an abstract and politicized object of thought, which usually generalizes to all minority members the problems or threats (e.g., criminality among Roma and Kosovo Albanians) encountered with a reduced but visible number of individuals. There is, therefore, an important limitation to the very presupposition of a minority perspective, which can quickly deviate into a hypothesis of "minority psychology" (see Jost et al., 1994). Such an assumption would be close to the psychology of the crowds that marked the beginnings of our discipline and was ultimately considered too "psychological" and difficult to verify (see Jenkins, 1983). By adopting this multifactorial approach of support for collective action among minority members based on the analysis of motives and obstacles, discourse, resources, political context, and intergroup relations, I left room for the questioning and the reality-check of pre-constructed majority-minority categories. This research has thus been used to make psychology about groups, rather than psychology *of* the group or *between* groups, which is the real added-value of the adoption of a minority perspective in social psychology.

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Appendices

Appendix A

English version of the survey questionnaire for Roma participants of the project “The dynamic nature of interethnic attitudes in Bulgaria: A social psychological perspective” (Article 4a and 4b)

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BULGARIAN ACADEMY of SCIENCES 1869

IDENTIFICATOR!

QUESTIONNAIRE
"R" FOR INTERVIEW

INTERVIEWER ENTER START DATE: ☐☐ / ☐☐ / ☐☐ (dd/mm/yy)

INTERVIEWER ENTER START TIME: ☐☐☐☐ (Use 24 hour clock)

GENERAL INTRO The purpose of this study is to deepen the understanding of attitudes and relations between the different ethnic communities in Bulgaria. By answering in an open and honest way you are enabling the researchers to make the correct conclusions for the real everyday aspects of the interethnic relations in Bulgaria. We are aware that some questions touch sensitive topics. Please mark just one answer for every question/statement, that best expresses your opinion. There are no right or wrong answers. Please note that your responses are confidential. Thank you in advance for your participation!

SECTION A

We are all part of different groups. Some are more important to us than others when we think of ourselves. To begin with, we would like to know how you think of yourself.

A1 Do you often think of yourself as a member of the Bulgarian nation?

Show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A2 Is being part of the Bulgarian nation important to you?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A3 Do you feel close to other members of the Bulgarian nation?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A4-A7 Are you proud of…

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response on each row

		No, not at all	No, not really	Somewhat	Yes, quite a lot	Yes, very much
A4	... Bulgarian culture?	1	2	3	4	5
A5	... Bulgaria's political system?	1	2	3	4	5
A6	... Bulgaria's history?	1	2	3	4	5
A7	... Bulgaria's scientific and technological achievements?	1	2	3	4	5

A8 Would you rather be a citizen of Bulgaria than of any other country?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A9 In your opinion, would the word be a better place if people from other countries were more like Bulgarians?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A10 Generally speaking, is Bulgaria a better country than most other countries?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

Before the interview, you declared you are a Roma. Now, I would like to pose you several questions in relation to your belonging.

A11 Do you often think of yourself as a Roma?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A12 Is being a Roma important to you?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A13 Do you feel close to other Roma?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A14 Are you proud of the culture of Roma?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

And now, we will ask you about your views about Europe.

A15 Do you often think of yourself as European?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A16 Is being a European important to you?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A17 Do you feel close to other Europeans?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

We now ask about your attitudes towards yourself and your life.

A18 Generally speaking, is your life the way you wish it to be?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A19 Are you satisfied with your life?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A20 So far, have you got the important things you wanted in life?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A21 Are the conditions of your life good?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

A22 If you had the chance, would you change many things in your life?

Still, show CARD 1. Indicate only one response

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

SECTION B

Societies include different groups: men and women, political factions, ethnic groups, etc. We are interested in knowing how you think society should be organized.

B23-B34 To what extent do you personally agree or disagree with the following statements?

Show CARD 2. Indicate only one response on each row

		Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree
B23	It's acceptable that certain groups are at the top and other are at the bottom of the society.	1	2	3	4	5
B24	It's acceptable if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.	1	2	3	4	5
B25	All groups should be given an equal chance in life.	1	2	3	4	5
B26	No one group should dominate in society.	1	2	3	4	5
B27	We should strive at achieving equality among the different social groups. [ethnic, gender, religious groups]	1	2	3	4	5
B28	Everyone should be free to express their religious or sexual preferences.	1	2	3	4	5
B29	To ensure law and order, one should act tougher against criminals and hooligans.	1	2	3	4	5
B30	Following the rules and respect toward one's authorities are very important values.	1	2	3	4	5
B31	It is always better to trust the judgments/opinions of the proper governmental and religious authorities.	1	2	3	4	5
B32	People generally deserve the rewards and punishments that they get in our society	1	2	3	4	5
B33	Our society is generally fair.	1	2	3	4	5
B34	Our society is getting worse every year.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION C

In Bulgaria there are different ethnic communities. We are now interested in your experiences with other communities. Please first consider your experiences with ethnic Bulgarians, that is, the Bulgarian majority.

C35 How often do you have brief interactions, for example exchanging a couple of words on the bus/train, in the street, in shops, in the neighbourhood and other places, with ethnic Bulgarians?

Show CARD 3. Indicate only one response

Never	1	➔ SKIP 36 and 37
Less than once a month	2	➔ CONTINUE WITH ITEM 36
Several times a month	3	
Several times a week	4	
Everyday	5	

C36 How often do you experience these brief interactions as pleasant?

Show CARD 4. Indicate only one response

Never	1
Seldom	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5

C37 How often do you experience these brief interactions as unpleasant?

Still, show CARD 4. Indicate only one response

Never	1
Seldom	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5

ASK ALL

C38 How many ethnic Bulgarians do you know well?

Show CARD 5. Indicate only one response

None	1	➔ SKIP 39 and 40
One	2	↓ CONTINUE WITH ITEM 39
A few	3	
Many	4	

C39 If any, how often do you experience the encounters with ethnic Bulgarians you know well as pleasant?

Show CARD 6. Indicate only one response

Never	1
Seldom	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5

C40 If any, how often do you experience the encounters with ethnic Bulgarians you know well as unpleasant?

Still, show CARD 6. Indicate only one response

Never	1
Seldom	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5

ASK ALL

C41 To your knowledge, how many Roma you know have ethnic Bulgarian friends?

Show CARD 7. Indicate only one response

None	1
One	2
A few	3
Many	4

SECTION D

People can have different attitudes and feelings towards different communities.

D42-D47 Now we are interested in your attitudes toward ethnic Bulgarians, that is, the Bulgarian majority, as a whole.

Show CARD 8. Indicate only one response on each row

		No, not at all	No, not really	Somewhat	Yes, quite a lot	Yes, very much
D42	Do you trust ethnic Bulgarians?	1	2	3	4	5
D43	Can you share joys and sorrows with ethnic Bulgarians?	1	2	3	4	5
D44	Can you understand the feelings of ethnic Bulgarians?	1	2	3	4	5
D45	Do you feel uncomfortable about meeting an unknown ethnic Bulgarian?	1	2	3	4	5
D46	Do you feel anger toward ethnic Bulgarians?	1	2	3	4	5
D47	Do you feel disrespect toward ethnic Bulgarians?	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION E

Now, please consider your experiences with Bulgarian Turks.

E48 How often do you have brief interactions, for example exchanging a couple of words on the bus/train, in the street, in shops, in the neighbourhood and other places, with Bulgarian Turks?

Show CARD 9. Indicate only one response

Never	1	➔ SKIP 49 and 50
Less than once a month	2	➔ CONTINUE WITH ITEM 49
Several times a month	3	
Several times a week	4	
Everyday	5	

E49 How often do you experience these brief interactions as pleasant?

Show CARD 10. Indicate only one response

Never	1
Seldom	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5

E50 How often do you experience these brief interactions as unpleasant?

Still, show CARD 10. Indicate only one response

Never	1
Seldom	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5

ASK ALL

E51 How many Bulgarian Turks do you know well?

Show CARD 11. Indicate only one response

None	1	➔ SKIP 52 and 53
One	2	↓ CONTINUE WITH ITEM 52
A few	3	
Many	4	

E52 If any, how often do you experience the encounters with Bulgarian Turks you know well as pleasant?

Show CARD 12. Indicate only one response

Never	1
Seldom	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5

E53 If any, how often do you experience the encounters with Bulgarian Turks you know well as unpleasant?

Still, show CARD 12 Indicate only one response

Never	1
Seldom	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5

ASK ALL

E54 To your knowledge, how many Roma you know have Bulgarian Turkish friends?

Show CARD 13. Indicate only one response

None	1
One	2
A few	3
Many	4

SECTION F

F55-F60 Next, we would like to know your opinions about Bulgarian Turks as a whole.

Show CARD 14. Indicate only one response on each row

		No, not at all	No, not really	Somewhat	Yes, quite a lot	Yes, very much
F55	Do you trust the Bulgarian Turks?	1	2	3	4	5
F56	Can you share joys and sorrows with Bulgarian Turks?	1	2	3	4	5
F57	Can you understand the feelings of Bulgarian Turks?	1	2	3	4	5
F58	Do you feel uncomfortable about meeting an unknown Bulgarian Turk?	1	2	3	4	5
F59	Do you feel anger toward the Bulgarian Turks?	1	2	3	4	5
F60	Do you feel disrespect toward the Bulgarian Turks?	1	2	3	4	5

Next, please rate your agreement or disagreement with the following sentences.

F61 Government is spending too much money in politics favouring Bulgarian Turks.

Show CARD 15. Indicate only one response.

Completely disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Agree	4
Completely agree	5

F62 Bulgarian Turks take away jobs from Roma.

Still, show CARD 15. Indicate only one response

Completely disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Agree	4
Completely agree	5

F63 Social aid is more often received by Bulgarian Turks than by Roma.

Still, show CARD 15. Indicate only one response

[Social aid means cash benefits, government gives money to those in need, for example people with low income, handicapped, sick, unemployed.]

Completely disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Agree	4
Completely agree	5

SECTION G

Now, we would like to ask you about your general attitude toward different communities in Bulgaria.

G64-G68 How is your general attitude toward...

Show CARD 16. Indicate only one response on each row

		Extremely bad	Very bad	Rather bad	Indifferent	Rather good	Very good	Extremely good
G64	... ethnic Bulgarians, that is, the Bulgarian majority?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
G65	...Bulgarian Turks?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
G66	... Roma living in Bulgaria?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
G67	... Russians living in Bulgaria?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
G68	... Arabs living in Bulgaria?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

G69-G71 Would you...

Show CARD 17. Indicate only one response on each row

		Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree
G69	… accept ethnic Bulgarians, that is, members of the Bulgarian majority, as neighbors?	1	2	3	4	5
G70	… agree to work together with an ethnic Bulgarian?	1	2	3	4	5
G71	… marry or cohabitate with an ethnic Bulgarian?	1	2	3	4	5

G72-G74 Would you...

Still, show CARD 17. Indicate only one response on each row

		Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree
G72	… accept Bulgarian Turks as neighbors?	1	2	3	4	5
G73	… agree to work together with a Bulgarian Turk?	1	2	3	4	5
G74	… marry or cohabitate with a Bulgarian Turk?	1	2	3	4	5

G75-G77 Would you...

Still, show CARD 17. Indicate only one response on each row

		Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree
G75	… accept Russians as neighbors?	1	2	3	4	5
G76	… agree to work together with a Russian?	1	2	3	4	5
G77	… marry or cohabitate with a Russian?	1	2	3	4	5

G78-G80 Would you...

Still, show CARD 17. Indicate only one response on each row

		Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree
G78	… accept Arabs as neighbors?	1	2	3	4	5
G79	… agree to work together with an Arab?	1	2	3	4	5
G80	… marry or cohabitate with an Arab?	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION H

Next, we would like to compare the following communities regarding their social and economic standing in Bulgaria. Social and economic standing refers to the level of income and education, and the prestige of the job.

H81 According to your opinion, how is the social and economic standing of Bulgarian Turks compared to ethnic Bulgarians, that is, the Bulgarian majority?

Show CARD 18. Indicate only one response.

Much worse	1
Worse	2
Equal	3
Better	4
Much better	5

H82 According to your opinion, how is the social and economic standing of Roma compared to ethnic Bulgarians?

Still, show CARD 18. Indicate only one response.

Much worse	1
Worse	2
Equal	3
Better	4
Much better	5

H83 According to your opinion, how is the social and economic standing of Roma compared to the Bulgarian Turks?

Still, show CARD 18. Indicate only one response.

Much worse	1
Worse	2
Equal	3
Better	4
Much better	5

H84 Is it easy for a Roma to be accepted into Bulgarian society?

Show CARD 19. Indicate only one response.

Very difficult	1
Difficult	2
Neither easy nor difficult	3
Easy	4
Very easy	5

SECTION I

When people from different ethnic groups interact or "live together" someone can feel that they have been treated unfairly. First, please think about your experiences with ethnic Bulgarians. To what extent do the next statements match to your opinions and experiences?

I85 Do ethnic Bulgarians have something against you because you're a Roma?

Show CARD 20. Indicate only one response.

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

I86 Have ethnic Bulgarians teased or insulted you because you're a Roma?

Still, show CARD 20. Indicate only one response.

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

I87 In your opinion, do ethnic Bulgarians treat Roma unfairly or otherwise negatively?

Still, show CARD 20. Indicate only one response.

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

I88 Ethnic Bulgarians don't accept Roma.

Still, show CARD 20. Indicate only one response.

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

And now, please think about your experiences with Bulgarian Turks.

I89 Do Bulgarian Turks have something against you because you're a Roma?

Still, show CARD 20. Indicate only one response.

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

I90 Have Bulgarian Turks teased or insulted you because you're a Roma?

Still, show CARD 20. Indicate only one response.

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

I91 In your opinion, do Bulgarian Turks treat Roma unfairly or otherwise negatively?

Still, show CARD 20. Indicate only one response.

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

I92 Bulgarian Turks don't accept Roma.

Still, show CARD 20. Indicate only one response.

No, not at all	1
No, not really	2
Somewhat	3
Yes, quite a lot	4
Yes, very much	5

SECTION J

People might have many kinds of opinions concerning the integration of different cultures in Bulgaria.

J93-J96 To what extent do the following statements match your thoughts and opinions?

Show CARD 21. Indicate only one response on each row

		Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree
J93	The different Roma communities in Bulgaria should maintain their religion and language.	1	2	3	4	5
J94	It is important that Roma maintain their customs and culture.	1	2	3	4	5
J95	It is important that Roma in Bulgaria have ethnic Bulgarian friends.	1	2	3	4	5
J96	It is important that Roma accept as their own values and ways of life of ethnic Bulgarians.	1	2	3	4	5

Now we will ask you about integration of different cultures in Bulgaria in general.

J97-J104 To what extent do the following statements match your thoughts and opinion?

Still, show CARD 21. Indicate only one response on each row

		Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree
J97	Ethnic minorities should have the right to study and speak their mother tongue in schools.	1	2	3	4	5
J98	Bulgarian media should broadcast news only in Bulgarian.	1	2	3	4	5
J99	Municipalities in Bulgaria should organize mixed cultural events for people of different ethnic background, for example festivals with ethnic Bulgarians, Turks and Roma together.	1	2	3	4	5
J100	The Government should provide favorable conditions for Muslims to pray in public places, as work, parks, shopping buildings.	1	2	3	4	5
J101	The government should improve the standard of living (health care, employment opportunities, education, housing, infrastructures) in Roma communities.	1	2	3	4	5
J102	The Government should introduce a compulsory quota for ethnic minority members in the job market.	1	2	3	4	5
J103	It is important to make efforts to improve the educational level of Roma.	1	2	3	4	5
J104	It is important that ethnic minorities defend their interests with their own political parties and associations.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION K

People can get involved in different political and social activities.

K105-K108 Please, indicate whether you would be willing to take part in these activities:

Show CARD 22. Indicate only one response on each row

		No, not at all	No, not really	Some-what	Yes, quite a lot	Yes, very much
K105	Sign a petition. [A petition is a written request, typically signed by many people, to ask for a particular cause.]	1	2	3	4	5
K106	Take part in a demonstration.	1	2	3	4	5
K107	Take part in political meetings.	1	2	3	4	5
K108	Meet a politician or a representative of the government to express your opinion.	1	2	3	4	5

K109-K112 Next, please consider if you are to improve the position of Roma living in Bulgaria...

Still, show CARD 22. Indicate only one response on each row

		No, not at all	No, not really	Somewhat	Yes, quite a lot	Yes, very much
K109	... by voting for a candidate supporting Roma's rights?	1	2	3	4	5
K110	... by defending the rights of Roma in public debate?	1	2	3	4	5
K111	... by defending the rights of Roma in situations in which you notice discrimination against them?	1	2	3	4	5
K112	... by taking part in cultural events organized by Roma?	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION L

To finish, some background questions about you.

L113 Gender **(INDICATE WITHOUT ASKING)**

Female	1
Male	2

L114 Your age: _____

L115 What is your marital status?

Single	1
Married	2
Cohabitation	3
Divorced	4
Widow	5
Other	_____
Refused to answer	

L116 Are you married or do you cohabitate with a person of another ethnicity?

Yes	1
No	2

If yes, please specify the ethnicity (ethnic Bulgarian, Roma, Bulgarian Turk, other):

_____

L117 Which religion do you belong to?

Christian Orthodox		1
Christian catholic		2
Protestant		3
Muslim		4
	(Specify if needed _____)	
Other		5
	(Specify if needed_____)	
No religious affiliation		6

L118 Regardless of whether you belong to a particular religion, how religious are you?

Show CARD 23. Indicate only one response

Not at all religious	1
Not really religious	2
Somewhat religious	3
Quite religious	4
Very religious	5

L119 What is the current economic situation of you or your family?

Show CARD 24. Indicate only one response

We have enough money for our needs and are able to save	1
We have enough money for our needs but are not able to save	2
We have to slightly cut back on consumption	3
We have to cut back on consumption a lot but we manage on our earnings	4
We have to cut back on consumption and we don't manage on our earnings	5

L120 What is your educational level?

Never visited school	1
Not completed primary education	2
Primary Education	3
Basic Education	4
Upper secondary Education	5
Secondary vocational Education	6
College Education	7
First level university degree (Bachelor)	8
Second level university degree (Master)	9
Scientific degree (Ph.D., doctor of sciences)	10

L121 What do you do now?

I am employed	1
I am a student	2
I am retired	3
I am a housewife	4
I am unemployed	5

L122 How possible is it for you in the near future to go abroad to live, work or study?

Show CARD 25. Indicate only one response

Not possible	1
Fairly possible	2
Somewhat possible	3
Highly possible	4
Don't know	5

L123 Which political party do you feel sympathy for?

Show CARD 26. Indicate only one response

Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB)	1
Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)	2
Movement for Rights and Freedom (DPS)	3
Attack (Ataka)	4
Bulgarian Without Censor (BBC)	5
Alternative for Bulgarian Revival (ABV)	6
National Front for Saving Bulgaria (NFSB)	7
Reformation Block	8
Voice of the People	9
Coalition for United Democracy	10
Other (Please, specify: _____)	11
None	12
Refuse to answer	13

L124 What languages do you know?

(More than one option is possible)

Bulgarian	1
Turkish	2
Roma	3
English	4
Other (Please, specify: _____)	5

Is there something you want to add on the topic of relationship between ethnic communities in Bulgaria?

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS.
END.

NOW COMPLETE INTERVIEW TIME ☐☐☐☐

INTERVIEWER ENTERS END TIME: (Use 24 hour clock)

PLEASE REPORT INTERVIEW LOCATION: **CITY (INDICATE)** _____

NEIGHBORHOOD (INDICATE)_____

INTERVIEWER ID:

SECTION M

QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWER.

M1 Did the respondent ask for clarification on any questions?

Never	1
Almost never	2
Now and then	3
Often	4
Very often	5

M2 Did you feel that the respondent was reluctant to answer any questions?

Never	1
Almost never	2
Now and then	3
Often	4
Very often	5

M3 Did you feel that the respondent tried to answer the questions to the best of his or her ability?

Never	1
Almost never	2
Now and then	3
Often	4
Very often	5
Don't know	8

M4 Overall, did you feel that the respondent understood the questions?

Never	1
Almost never	2
Now and then	3
Often	4
Very often	5
Don't know	8

M5 Was anyone else present, who interfered with the interview?

Yes	1
No	2

M6 Who was this? **(More than one answer is possible.)**

Husband/wife/partner	1
Son/daughter (inc. step, adopted, foster, child of partner)	2
Parent/parent-in-law/step-parent/partner's parent	3
Other relative	4
Other non-relative	5
Don't know	8

M7 In which languages was the interview conducted?
Please indicate _____

M8 What was the location of the interview?

At respondent's home	1
At the stairs	2
In the yard	3
At another place (please, specify_____)	4

M9 If you have any additional comments on the interview, please write them in the space below.
Please indicate problematic questions (use item numbers) for example those that participants found difficult, refused to answer or were uncomfortable answering.

Appendix B

Interview protocol of the Swiss-Bulgarian research project, Roma version (Articles 1 to 3)

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BULGARIAN ACADEMY of SCIENCES 1869

IDENTIFICATOR NUMBER IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE: | | | | |

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL "R"

Introduction of interviewer <setting up the interview and ground rules>

Hello, my name is _____, and I am working with a team of scientists from IPHS- BAS and University of Lausanne.

Our study examines interethnic relations in Bulgaria. We would like to discuss with you about what people living in Bulgaria think about contact and relationships between different ethnic communities.

The discussion will be recorded for research purposes. The study is completely anonymous and all information allowing your personal identification will be confidential.

Warm-up <beginning the interview, fill in background information>

First, I must make you aware of the **informed consent form**. If you agree, you can sign it and fill in the background information.

Identification

Main questions	Clarifying questions
You have defined yourself as a Roma. **What makes you feel Roma?**	**Can you mention 3-4 things that describe Roma' traditions and culture which are important to you?** **Is it important that Roma keep their traditions and way of life? Why?** *(acculturation orientations)*
You are also a member of the Bulgaria nation. Let's talk about you as a Bulgarian citizen. **Do you feel Bulgarian? What makes you feel Bulgarian?**	Can you mention some things about ethnic Bulgarians' traditions, culture and way of life, which you like and accept (or would accept if possible) as your own?

Contact with, emotions, stereotypes and prejudice toward the other two groups.

Now we're interested in your experiences and contacts with other ethnic communities.

Main questions	Clarifying questions
Please tell me the first thing that comes to your mind when thinking about <u>ethnic Bulgarians.</u> **Would you tell me about your encounters with ethnic Bulgarians?**	Where? On what occasion? How long? Would you like to keep these contacts in the future? *If applicable* – Do you happen to know ethnic Bulgarians personally? Do you have ethnic Bulgarian friends? *(Intergroup friendship)* *For those who report no contact at all*– Could you imagine knowing and having contact with ethnic Bulgarians in everyday life? How would you feel? **What is your personal opinion about ethnic Bulgarians?** **Is this your opinion about all ethnic Bulgarians (or only about some ethnic Bulgarians)?** *If distinction* - Could you specify? *If relevant* In your view, what are Roma' opinions about ethnic Bulgarians? *(Intergroup attitudes, norms)*
How would you react if your very close relative (such as brother, sister, mother, father) tells you that he wants to live together with an ethnic Bulgarian? Why?	
<u>And now we'll</u> continue discussing more specifically about <u>Bulgarian Turks.</u> Please tell me the first thing that comes to your mind when thinking about Bulgarian Turks. **You may meet or come across Bulgarian Turks (e.g. at work, in the neighbourhood, in the street). Would you recognize a Bulgarian Turk in the street? How?**	*(If required)* – **Would you tell me about your encounters with Bulgarian Turks?** Where? On what occasion? How long? Would you like to keep these contacts in the future? *If applicable* – Do you happen to know a Bulgarian Turks personally? Do you have Bulgarian Turkish friends? *(Intergroup friendship)*

How would you react if your very close relative (such as brother, sister, mother, father) tells you that he wants to live together with a Bulgarian Turk? Why?	*For those who report no contact at all –* Could you imagine knowing and having contact with Bulgarian Turks in everyday life? How would you feel? **What is your personal opinion about Bulgarian Turks?** **Is this your opinion about all Bulgarian Turks (or only about some Roma)?** *If distinction* - Could you specify? *If relevant* In your view, what are Roma' opinions about Bulgarian Turks? *(Intergroup attitudes, norms)*

Historical memory and historical victimhood

Main questions	Clarifying questions
According to your opinion, was there a moment or an event in Bulgarian history that made members of your ethnic community feel victims?	Which was the event? What do you know about this event? Who do you think is responsible for what happened? How were Roma harmed? **Does it influence the relationships between ethnic communities today?** How? How can this be prevented? *(Projection of victimhood for the past in current situation)*

Discrimination and victimization

In this last part of the interview, we would like to discuss discrimination and unfair treatments in Bulgaria.

Main questions	Clarifying questions
Do you think that there is discrimination in Bulgaria?	Do you think discrimination is a serious issue in Bulgaria? Which communities are involved? Where does such discrimination take place? In what form?
Have you ever been unfairly treated because of being a Roma? **Have you ever felt that your ethnic community is a victim of discrimination?**	Could you make an example? Could you describe the situation? How did you feel?
Do you think that the position of different ethnic communities in Bulgaria should be equal?	Do you think that the government treats all ethnic communities equally? How do you think that social aid could help in reducing inequalities? What else could the government do to reduce inequalities? **How do you think that inequalities in Bulgaria could change in the future?** *(Expectations about inequalities)* What solutions do you see to improve or maintain interethnic tolerance in Bulgaria? What could you personally do about this? *(Political behaviour)* **What could be done to favour more mixing between interethnic communities in everyday life in Bulgaria?** *(Desegregation)*

4

Conclusion <finishing the interview, contact and payment information>

Main questions
• Would you like to add anything on the topic of interethnic relations in Bulgaria? Thank you for sharing with us your opinions on these issues. Your participation is very much appreciated!

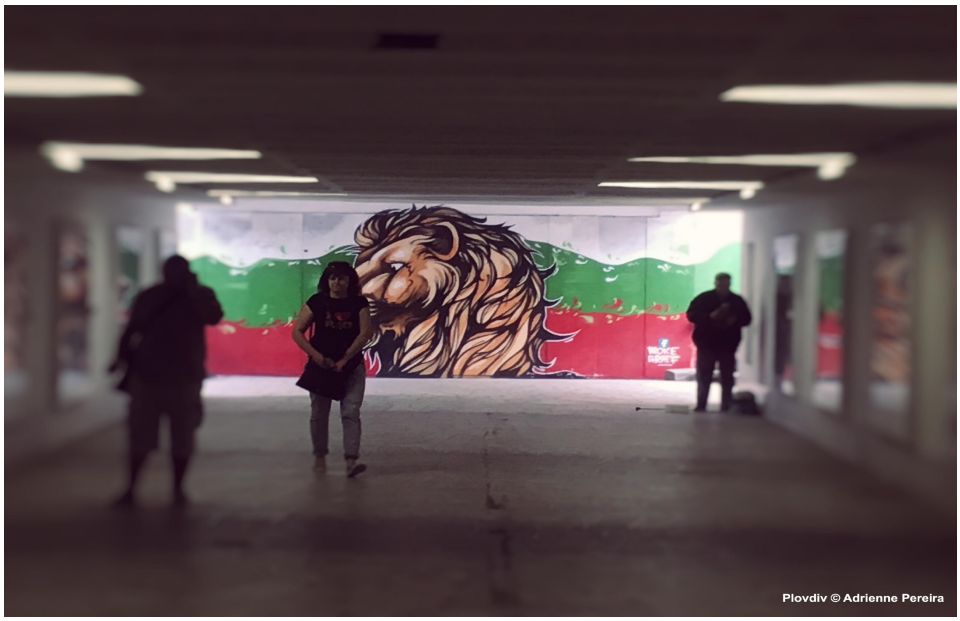
5

Appendix C

Photographic report of the Swiss-Bulgarian research project

"The dynamic of interethnic relations in Bulgaria: a social psychological perspective (2013-2016)"

Photographic report
and personal records



Adrienne Pereira
2018

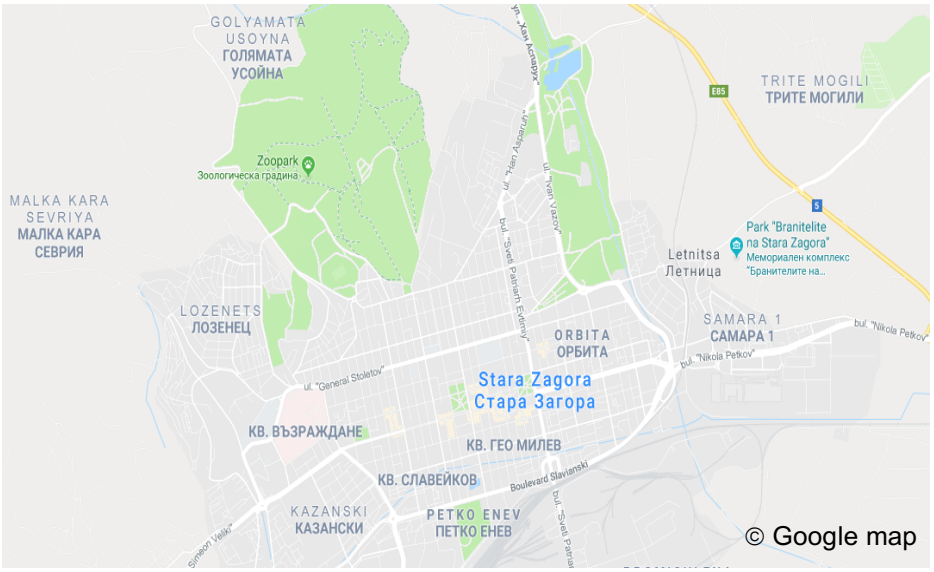
First stay, October 13th -16th 2013

At the time of this first visit, major social protests had been occurring for months in Bulgaria:

> "In early February, protests erupted in the city of Blagoevgrad after citizens noticed their electric bills were two times higher than the month before. […] protesters gathered in front of the Ministry of Economy and the National Assembly demanding the resignation of the government. […] Novinite.com, a Sofia News Agency, classified the protests as a "general outrage against poverty, monopolies, and corruption." The Sofia protests gave rise to a broader anti-government movement in which the public not only demanded lower utility prices but also called for the government to resign. […] Two weeks after protests began, Prime Minister Boyko Borisov and his government resigned. In May, the Bulgarian Parliament elected Prime Minister Plamen Oresharski. Oresharski's party, the left-wing Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP, along with the liberal predominantly ethnic Turkish party Movements for Rights and Freedoms, won exactly half of the seats, allowing them to form a coalition." (Lepkis, 2013)

Second stay, June 23th -26th 2014

About eight months later, the Swiss team was back to Bulgaria. This time, we had planned to visit an area where survey data were being collected and interviews about to start. We visited different neighborhoods of the municipality of Stara Zagora and to gather impressions from one of the survey fieldworkers who had been recommended to us by the survey agency in charge of the data collection.



A CHURCH HALL IN THE ROMA GHETTO OF STARA ZAGORA

ROMA GHETTO, STARA ZAGORA


by Adrienne Giroud


© by Adrienne Giroud

DISCUSSION WITH ALEXEY PAMPOROV AT THE BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, SOFIA

DISCUSSION WITH MAYA GREKOVA AT THE BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, SOFIA

A few weeks after our return in Switzerland and the beginning of the interview fieldwork, we received news from the Bulgarian team by e-mail, informing us about the destruction of the illegal Roma houses in Lozenets, the Roma ghetto of Stara Zagora, on July 21th.

> "We didn't believe that the municipality will do it.... […] it is really very dramatic, they are outside maybe even now. The mayor said that they have informed Roma people from Lozenetz many times and proposed to them to candidate for some soft credits, but Roma didn't do anything So now they will proceed with the house destruction and nobody knows what will happen there." (Personal communication)

Third and last stay, May 31st-June 5th 2016

In June 2016, we travelled one last time to Bulgaria for disseminating our results and visiting a Southern data collection region—Kardzhali—where an important community of Bulgarian Turks live.

A TURKISH-ROMA NEIGHBOURHOOD IN KARDZHALI

KARZHALI'S MUNICIPALITY BUILDING, ALSO NAMED THE "WHITE SHIP"

THE MAYOR OF KARDZHALI

ROUNDTABLE ORGANIZED IN KARZHALI ON THE SAME DAY AND GATHERING TEACHERS, SOCIAL WORKERS AND REPRESENTATIVES FROM NGOS INTERESTED IN INTERETHNIC RELATIONS.

ON THE BACK TO ROAD SOFIA,

SIGHTSEEING IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE NAMED PERPERIKON

ROUNDTABLE ORGANIZED IN SOFIA AND GATHERING THE SWISS AND BULGARIAN RESEARCH TEAM MEMBERS, AND NOTABLY SOME ROMA REPRESENTATIVES.

De : Hristo Nikolov <h_nikolov@abv.bg>
Envoyé : vendredi 3 juin 2016 15:29:02
À : Adrienne Pereira
Objet : integration of Bulgaria Roma

Братя българи, интеграцията на ромите не върви – нито преди, нито сега

Безвремието и лицемерието на БКП
През целия период, започнал на 9 септември 1944 г, като минем през правителството на Георги Димитров, през дългогодишното управление на БКП, начело с Тодор Живков и стигнем до падането на неговия тоталитарен режим през 1989 г., та до ден днешен, правителствата на България не са положили достатъчно усилия, за да създадат минимално необходимите условия българските граждани от ромски произход, които се самоопределят като роми, да бъдат пълноправни и пълноценни български граждани. Ако нещо такова се е случвало, за съжаление то е било само само по документи.

« Brothers Bulgarians, the integration of Roma is not working and it has never been working. Timelessness and hypocrisy of the Bulgarian Communist Party. […] »

EXTRACT FROM A SERIES OF EMAILS EXCHANGED WITH A ROMA LEGAL INITIATIVES

Appendix D

French version of the cross-sectional questionnaire for Kosovo Albanians living in Switzerland (Article 5)

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LES EXPÉRIENCES DES ALBANAIS DU KOSOVO DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ SUISSE

Dans le cadre de mes études à l'université, je mène une recherche sur les expériences de vie, les opinions et les comportements politiques des Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse. En répondant de manière ouverte et sincère à ce questionnaire, vous nous permettez de tirer les bonnes conclusions par rapport aux opinions des Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse. Nous sommes conscients que certaines questions touchent des sujets sensibles. Il n'y a pas de bonnes ou de mauvaises réponses! Pour chaque question/affirmation, veuillez marquer la réponse (unique) qui exprime le mieux votre opinion. Vous pouvez passer une question si vous ne parvenez pas à y répondre et renoncer à votre participation à tout moment. Toutes les informations que vous fournissez seront utilisées uniquement à des fins de recherche et aucune trace de votre identité ne sera conservée dans l'analyse des données. Le questionnaire devrait prendre environ 20 minutes à remplir!

Merci d'avance de partager votre opinion avec nous !

Si vous avez des questions ou des commentaires au sujet de cette étude, prière de contacter: Gezim.Misini@unil.ch

LE QUOTIDIEN EN SUISSE

Les interactions sociales font partie de notre vie quotidienne. Celles-ci peuvent prendre la forme de rencontres brèves ou d'amitiés plus profondes. Dans un premier temps, nous avons quelques questions sur vos interactions avec les personnes d'origine suisse.

Avez-vous des amis proches qui sont d'origine suisse ?	☐ 1 Aucun ☐ 2 Quelques uns ☐ 3 Plusieurs ☐ 4 Presque tous sont d'origine suisse

Quand vous êtes en dehors de chez vous, vous arrive-t-il d'avoir des contacts avec des personnes d'origine suisse? *Il peut s'agir de contacts dans les transports publics, dans la rue, dans les magasins ou dans votre quartier.*	☐ 1 Jamais ☐ 2 Moins d'une fois par mois ☐ 3 Une fois par mois ☐ 4 Plusieurs fois par mois ☐ 5 Une fois par semaine ☐ 6 Plusieurs fois par semaine ☐ 7 Chaque jour
Et à propos de ces contacts, sont-ils généralement bons ou mauvais ?	**Extrêmement mauvais** … **Extrêmement bons** ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7

Lorsque vous êtes avec des personnes d'origine suisse et des Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse:

	Fortement en désaccord	*Plutôt en désaccord*	*Modérément en désaccord*	*Ni en accord, ni en désaccord*	*Modérément en accord*	*Plutôt en accord*	*Fortement en accord*
- dans quelle mesure les percevez-vous en tant que membres de groupes différents, à savoir les Suisses et les Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse?	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
- dans quelle mesure les percevez-vous en tant que membres d'un même groupe, à savoir les habitants de la Suisse?	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
- dans quelle mesure les percevez-vous en tant que membres de groupes différents et, en même temps, en tant que membres d'un même groupe?	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

Il y a différentes façons d'améliorer la situation des Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse, notamment par des moyens politiques.

Au cours des 12 derniers mois, vous êtes-vous engagé-e dans les comportements suivants? Avez-vous...

	Oui	Non
…soutenu un groupe / association / parti qui travaille notamment pour les intérêts des Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse?	☐ 1	☐ 2
...exprimé votre opinion politique ou votre expérience comme Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse sur les médias sociaux (Facebook, Twitter, blogs, etc.) ?	☐ 1	☐ 2
Autres (précisez s'il vous plaît): _____		

Veuillez indiquer si vous seriez prêt-e à soutenir de manière active (ex. pétition, manifestation) les revendications politiques suivantes :

	Je ne soutiendrais jamais						**Je soutiendrais certainement**
Davantage doit être fait pour améliorer la situation économique (selon les standards suisses) des Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Une meilleure éducation et formation professionnelle doivent être fournies pour les jeunes Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Tous les Albanais du Kosovo installés en Suisse devraient avoir le droit de voter aux élections cantonales.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Autres revendications politiques (précisez s'il vous plaît) : _____							

Et maintenant, dans quelle mesure êtes-vous en accord avec les affirmations suivantes ?

	Fortement en désaccord	***Plutôt en désaccord***	***Modérément en désaccord***	***Ni en accord, ni en désaccord***	***Modérément en accord***	***Plutôt en accord***	***Fortement en accord***
Je trouve qu'il est nécessaire de soutenir les changements qui permettront d'améliorer la position des Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Je soutiendrais une loi par laquelle des possibilités de travail égales à celles des Suisses seront garanties aux Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Je soutiendrais une loi par laquelle plus d'égalité en termes de ressources, par rapport aux personnes d'origine suisse, sera garantie aux Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Je participerais à une manifestation qui peut impliquer une confrontation violente.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Je pense que les manifestations violentes sont parfois le seul moyen de réveiller le public.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Je soutiendrais *uniquement* des manifestations non violentes.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

	Fortement en désaccord	Plutôt en désaccord	Modérément en désaccord	Ni en accord, ni en désaccord	Modérément en accord	Plutôt en accord	Fortement en accord
Les associations des Albanais du Kosovo en Suisse peuvent avoir beaucoup d'impact sur la politique dans la société suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Je pense que les Albanais du Kosovo en tant que groupe sont capables d'améliorer leur situation en Suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Les Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse sont aussi compétents que les Suisses.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Les Albanais du Kosovo doivent rester ensemble et travailler comme un groupe pour changer la position de tous les Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

Maintenant, nous aimerions vous poser quelques questions au sujet de votre participation politique actuelle en Suisse et au Kosovo.

	Pas du tout intéressé-e						**Très intéressé-e**
À quel point diriez-vous être intéressé-e par la politique?	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

	Fortement en désaccord	Plutôt en désaccord	Modérément en désaccord	Ni en accord, ni en désaccord	Modérément en accord	Plutôt en accord	Fortement en accord
Mes opinions politiques sont liées au fait que je suis originaire du Kosovo.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Mon identité en tant qu'Albanais-e du Kosovo est importante pour mes convictions politiques.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

Êtes-vous membre d'une des organisations suivantes ***en Suisse*****?**

	Oui	**Non**
- parti politique	☐ 1	☐ 2
- organisation religieuse	☐ 1	☐ 2
- organisation culturelle (par ex. théâtre, danse folklorique, etc.)	☐ 1	☐ 2
- organisation des femmes	☐ 1	☐ 2
- organisation du sport ou des jeunes	☐ 1	☐ 2

Vous engagez-vous dans les comportements politiques suivants **liés au Kosovo ?**

	Oui	**Non**
- vote (y compris vote à distance)	☐ 1	☐ 2
- participation à des activités politiques	☐ 1	☐ 2
- participation à des activités politiques organisées *en* Suisse par les partis politiques albanais *du* Kosovo	☐ 1	☐ 2
- autre activités politiques (précisez s'il vous plait):_____		

VOTRE ATTACHEMENT À LA SUISSE ET AU KOSOVO

Nous sommes tous et toutes membres de différents groupes. Nous aimerions que vous pensiez à votre propre situation. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous personnellement en accord avec les affirmations suivantes?

	Fortement en désaccord	*Plutôt en désaccord*	*Modérément en désaccord*	*Ni en accord, ni en désaccord*	*Modérément en accord*	*Plutôt en accord*	*Fortement en accord*
Je m'identifie aux Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Je m'identifie aux Suisses.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
J'ai l'impression d'appartenir à la fois aux Albanais du Kosovo ainsi qu'aux Suisses.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Je me sens à l'aise avec la culture albanaise ainsi qu'avec la culture suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Si j'avais des enfants maintenant, je voudrais qu'ils adoptent également la culture suisse et albanaise.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Parfois je me sens plus comme un Suisse et parfois plus comme un Albanais du Kosovo, cela dépend de la situation.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
J'aime regarder à la fois la télévision albanaise et la télévision suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

Quand les gens de différents groupes ethniques interagissent ou «vivent ensemble», il arrive que certains membres sentent qu'ils sont victimes de discrimination (c.-à-d., qu'on les traite différemment sur la base de leur race, de leur religion ou de leur sexe).

Pensez à présent à votre expérience en Suisse. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous en accord avec les affirmations suivantes?

	Fortement en désaccord	*Plutôt en désaccord*	*Modérément en désaccord*	*Ni en accord, ni en désaccord*	*Modérément en accord*	*Plutôt en accord*	*Fortement en accord*
En Suisse, les Albanais du Kosovo sont discriminés à l'école.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
En Suisse, les Albanais du Kosovo sont discriminés sur le marché du travail.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Les Albanais du Kosovo sont socialement défavorisés en Suisse à cause de leur origine albanaise.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Les Suisses respectent de la même manière toutes les minorités culturelles vivant en Suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
En général, les Suisses acceptent les Albanais du Kosovo et leurs descendants.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

À présent vous êtes presque à la fin de ce questionnaire !

CULTURE ET VIE EN SUISSE

Les gens de différents pays viennent vivre en Suisse pour des raisons diverses. Ces raisons affectent la manière dont ils souhaitent vivre leur vie dans la société suisse.
Encore une fois, nous sommes intéressés à votre opinion personnelle. Donc, s'il vous plaît considérez dans quelle mesure êtes-vous en accord avec les affirmations suivantes.

	Fortement en désaccord	Plutôt en désaccord	Modérément en désaccord	Ni en accord, ni en désaccord	Modérément en accord	Plutôt en accord	Fortement en accord
Je pense qu'il est important que les Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse aient des amis suisses.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Je pense qu'il est important que les Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse passent du temps avec des Suisses durant leur temps libre.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Je pense que les Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse devraient rester entre eux.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Je pense que les Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse devraient préserver leur religion et leur langue.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
Je pense qu'il est important que les Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse préservent leur propre manière de vivre.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
À la maison, les Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse souhaitent conserver leur mode de vie.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
En dehors de la maison (ou en société), les Albanais du Kosovo vivant en Suisse souhaitent vivre comme les Suisses.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
À la maison et en dehors de la maison, les Albanais du Kosovo souhaitent combiner les modes de vie albanais et suisse.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

Nous aimerions maintenant à savoir à quel point ces affirmations correspondent à votre opinion.

	Pas du tout						**Beaucoup**
À quel point croyez-vous que **les Suisses trouvent dérangeant** que les Albanais du Kosovo préservent leur propre culture?	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
À quel point croyez-vous que **les Suisses trouvent dérangeant** que les Albanais du Kosovo préservent leur religion et leur langue?	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7
À quel point croyez-vous que **les Suisses trouvent dérangeant** que les Albanais du Kosovo préservent leur mode de vie?	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

Pour terminer, quelques questions concernant vos caractéristiques démographiques.

Quel est votre sexe ?	☐ 1 Homme ☐ 2 Femme
Quelle est votre année de naissance?	Veuillez indiquer ici : _____
En quelle année vous êtes arrivé en Suisse (si applicable)?	Veuillez indiquer ici : _____
Comment évaluez-vous votre niveau d'une des langues nationales suisse?	☐ 1 Très mauvais ☐ 2 Mauvais ☐ 3 Moyen ☐ 4 Bon ☐ 5 Très bon
Avez-vous la nationalité suisse ?	☐ 1 Oui ☐ 2 Non
Comment décririez-vous votre situation économique actuelle?	☐ 1 Très modeste ☐ 2 Modeste ☐ 3 Moyenne ☐ 4 Confortable ☐ 5 Très confortable
Vous arrive-t-il d'envoyer de l'argent à votre famille ou à vos proches restés au Kosovo?	☐ 1 Oui ☐ 2 Non
Êtes-vous marié-e ou cohabitez-vous avec une personne qui n'est pas d'origine albanaise ?	☐ 1 Oui ☐ 2 Non
De quelle confession religieuse vous sentez-vous plus proche?	☐ 1 Islam ☐ 2 Christianisme catholique ☐ 3 Christianisme orthodoxe ☐ 4 Autre (précisez si nécessaire) : _____ ☐ 5 Aucune appartenance religieuse
Quel est votre niveau de formation ?	☐ 1 École obligatoire ☐ 2 Formation professionnelle ☐ 3 Formation secondaire (maturité générale, bac) ☐ 4 Formation professionnelle supérieure, haute école spécialisée ☐ 5 Université
Quelle est votre activité en ce moment ?	☐ 1 Travail rémunéré (ou interruption temporaire) ☐ 2 En formation ☐ 3 Sans travail mais cherchant activement un emploi ☐ 4 Malade ou handicapé-e de manière durable ☐ 5 Retraité ☐ 6 Service militaire ou civil ☐ 7 Travail ménager, s'occuper d'enfants ou d'autres personnes

Merci de votre participation!

Appendix E

Poster presented at the EASP Small Group Meeting 2015 in Budapest, Hungary (Article 4a)

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The consequences of contact for ethnic minorities

Contact with majority, dual identification and politicization of Bulgarian Roma

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Despite the presence of between **7 to 9 millions Roma in Europe** and the declaration of the decade of Roma inclusion 2005-2015 (DRISF, 2012), Roma as a minority are absent of the political scene. Indeed, **Bulgarian Roma (5% of the Bulgarian population)** live mostly in segregated ghettos, along with other marginalized minorities (Pamporov, 2014). They clearly have a **disadvantaged position in society** and their social and economic integration into Bulgarian society depends greatly on the local context. Moreover, they are maneuvered by political parties, social movements and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Nevertheless, **Roma show little political involvement**, because frequently they do not embrace a strong and collective « Rom » identity (Ladányi & Szelényi, 2001; Marushiakova & Popov, 2007).

This study bridges recent research on the impact of collective identification among disadvantaged groups for politicization with research on intergroup contact. Investigating the Roma, a complex and understudied minority in social psychology, we found that the relationship between contact with the majority and politicization was positive and moderated by collective identification (dual, nation-rejecter, or ethnicity-rejecter).

Politicized (dual) collective identity

Politicized collective identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001) underlies the self-conscious engagement of a group in the political realm. This social identity takes a **dual form**, reflecting identification with a superordinate group (e.g., nation) as well as with the aggrieved group (e.g., ethnic group). Dual identification is a motor for (normative) **politicization** of disadvantaged minorities (e.g. Stürmer & Simon, 2004), since it allows the two established pathways to collective action: identification processes and acknowledgement of group-based grievances (e.g. Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004).

Intergroup contact

Intergroup contact has been shown to be an effective way of improving intergroup attitudes, notably by fostering this superordinate level of group identification (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000).

Research hypotheses

We first explored the patterns of collective identification among Bulgarian Roma (cf. Figure 1) and, in addition to dual identifiers, found two groups with low collective identification at one of the levels: nation rejecters had low superordinate, national identity and ethnicity rejecters identified weakly with the aggrieved ethnic group. **Among Bulgarian Roma, dual identifiers should be the most politicized (H1,** Table 1**). Contact with Bulgarians (i.e. majority) should increase the level of politicization in Bulgarian Roma low on one of the collective identification dimensions (e.g. nation rejecters or ethnicity rejecters), by bringing them entitlement (Scuzzarello, 2015) and thus legitimizing political involvement. For dual identifiers, contact with the majority should have less effect on their political commitment (H2,** see Table 2 and Figure 2**).**

The current research

DATA

Survey data and 10 semi-directive interviews were collected in Bulgaria during summer 2014 among 320 Bulgarian Roma living in different urban and rural areas of the country.

THE MEASURES

The score of **intergroup contact** (M=3.40, SD= .84, r= .74) was computed by averaging the quantity of intimate contacts with the report of extended contact (i.e. having friends that have Bulgarian friends). The scale ranges from 1 (= none) to 4 (= many).

The **dual identification** profiles were obtained by cluster analysis using items referring to national identification, national pride, nationalism, ethnic identification and ethnic pride. The scales range from 1 (= No, not at all) to 5 (= Yes, very much). Note that the middle point refers to "somewhat". (see opposite figures for clusters, similar procedure as Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006).

Politicization (M=4.18, SD= .68, α= .82) was measured by 7 items aiming the willingness to improve the position of Roma in Bulgaria (e.g. *Consider if you are to improve the position of Roma living in Bulgaria by defending the rights of Roma in public debate?*). The scales range from 1 (= completely disagree) to 5 (= completely agree).

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Figure 1: Defining dual identification (N=308)

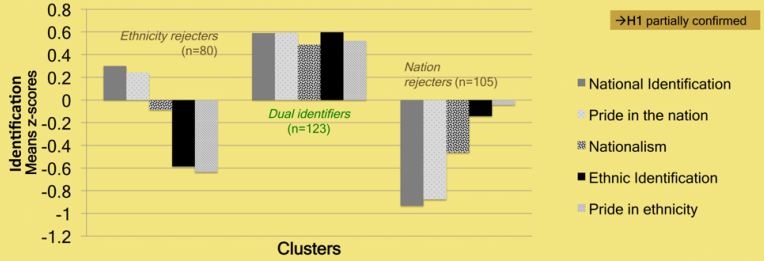


Table 1: Mean, standard deviation and correlation between politicization and contact among dual identification profiles

Dual identification profiles	Politicization	Contact	$r_{contact,\ politicization}$
Ethnicity rejecters	4.30_a (.55)	$3.62_{b\,c}$ (.57)	.22*
Dual identifiers	4.38_a (.58)	3.23_a (1.06)	.02
National rejecters	$3.86_{b\,c}$ (.76)	3.35_a (.73)	.32**

Note. Different characters in column indicate significant differences, p < .05
*p < .05, **p < .01

« *I am in Bulgaria here, but I am Roma. […] But we are here for many years. We are Bulgaria.* »
(Female, 63, Stara Zagora, Ethnic ID= 5; National ID=5, « dual identifier »)

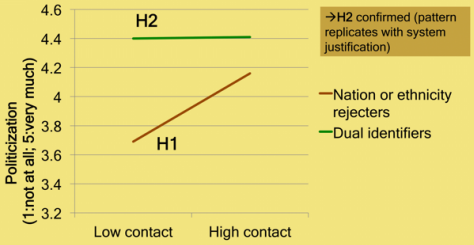
«*This is an old hassle. From many years and the nation is somehow lower in its class. And there are many people in this class, right, poor, begging, who steal, who whatever, but [they] haven't seen from the other side, that there are boys like me, who aim to look forward, to work, earn money, bread and [in a] sense to live a normal life. But you can't eventuate yourself in Bulgaria at all. There is no opportunity.* »
(Male, 24, Ethnic ID= 5; National ID= 3.33, « nation rejecter »)

«*I am a Bulgarian and you [i.e. the interviewer] are a Bulgarian. […] And those who are Turkish, here in Bulgaria [I tell them], "Don't call yourselves Turks" I have said this many times. If you are Turks, what are you doing here? They left from here, because of you, to go to Turkey.* »
(Male, 45, Ethnic ID= 3.33; National ID=5, « ethnicity rejecter »)

Table 2: Regression coefficients

Predictors	coefficient	SE	p
Constant	3.81	0.19	< .001
Contrast (dual:2; -1; -1)	0.16	0.02	< .001
Contact (centered)	0.19	0.05	< .001
Contact x Contrast	- 0.09	0.03	< .005
Covariates			
Gender	0.004	0.07	.96
Age	0.001	0.002	.57
Education	0.06	0.03	0.06
R^2 = .19, F(6, 300)=11.8, p < .001			
Conditional effect of contact on politicization at values of dual identification			
Nation or ethnicity-rejecters	0.28	0.07	< .001
Dual-identifiers	0.007	0.06	0.9

Figure 2: Impact of contact with majority on politicization conditioned by dual identification



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Appendix F

Supplementary material related to Article 5

Table 8

Unstandardized Coefficients and Standard Errors of All Variables Regressed on Ethnic Identification and Support for Activism

	Ethnic identification (Me 1)		Support for activism (Y)	
	B	***SE***	***B***	***SE***
Age	-.007	.01	.01†	.008
Gender	.29	.30	.02	.18
Citizenship	-.07	.15	-.16†	.08
Language proficiency	-.04	.20	-.11	.12
Economic level	.15	.18	.08	.10
Education level	-.03	.10	-.08	.06
Interest in politics	-.19**	.07	.02	.04
Intergroup Friendship (X)	-.39*	.19	-.08	.11
Ethnic identification (Me 1)			.14**	.05
Dual identification (Mo)			.13†	.07
Contact x Dual			-.23**	.08
Ethnic x Dual			-.10*	.04

Note. X, independent variable; Me, mediator variable; Mo, moderating variable; Y, dependent variable. Controls: age, gender, citizenship status, language proficiency (French), economic, education level, and general interest in politics. Estimates extracted from a moderated mediation model using PROCESS Version 3, model 15. $^{\dagger}p \leq .10$, $^{*}p \leq .05$, $^{**}p \leq .01$, $^{***}\text{p} \leq .001$.

Table 9

Unstandardized Coefficients and Standard Errors of All Variables Regressed on National Identification and Support for Activism

	National identification (Me 2)		Support for activism (Y)	
	B	***SE***	***B***	***SE***
Age	-.005	.02	.02†	.008
Gender	.42	.34	-.05	.18
Citizenship	.42*	.16	-.16†	.09
Language proficiency	.18	.23	-.11	.12
Economic level	.22	.21	.11	.11
Education level	.02	.12	-.05	.06
Interest in politics	-.04	.08	.03	.04
Intergroup Friendship (X)	.35†	.21	-.10	.11
National identification (Me 2)			-.03	.05
Dual identification (Mo)			.20*	.08
Contact x Dual			-.30**	.10
National x Dual			.09*	.04

Note. X, independent variable; Me, mediator variable; Mo, moderating variable; Y, dependent variable. Controls: age, gender, citizenship status, language proficiency (French), economic, education level, and general interest in politics. Estimates extracted from a moderated mediation model using PROCESS Version 3, model 15. † $p \leq .10$, * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$.

Appendix G

Proposition of intervention among non-Roma: Instructions of the workshop “Imagine a Roma state”

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CH-1015 Lausanne

So, you **support** the constitution of an independent Roma state…

INSTRUCTIONS: Here are some additional facts about the Roma issue. You can use this information (+ introduction and videos) **to support the Roma state constitution.** The following information is only a start. **We encourage you to DEVELOP YOUR OWN ARGUMENTS!**

- The communities that are currently labelled "Roma" arrived in Europe around the 12th century, long before the constitution of most European nation-states. For example, the presence of "Gypsies" was attested in Bulgaria in 1378, whereas the modern Bulgarian state was founded in 1878. In Switzerland, the proto-Swiss parliament (constituted in 1291) officially banished "Gypsies" in 1371. However, the modern Swiss state was founded in 1848.

- The Romani dialect (of the Sanskrit family) is a common denominator among the different Roma communities gathered in the International Romani Union (Matras, 2004).

- The Roma have been harassed, slaved and excluded from European societies for centuries.

- Below you will find an excerpt from the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. "Aboriginal" means a person living on the territory inhabited by his or her ancestors since immemorial time. Given their settlement in Europe more than 8 centuries ago, the "Roma" can be considered as a properly Europe-indigenous ethnic minority.

  > *Article 5*
  > Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State.

- "*The idea of a Romanestan, a homeland for the Gypsies, emerged in 1930s, clearly influenced by the Zionist movement*" (Kenrich, 2007, p. xliii). Below is an excerpt of the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel dated from 1948:

  > *"The State of Israel will be open for Jewish immigration and the ingathering of exiles; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel…"*

Note. In order to help you organize your arguments (and adequately face those of the other group), you might try to reflect in terms **of levels of social psychological analysis** (Doise, 1980). Do your different arguments speak to, respectively, an **intra-individual level**, an **intragroup or intergroup levels**, or to an **ideological/sociohistorical level** (i.e., institutions, national policies, social representations) of social functioning?

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If you have time, have a look at http://romafacts.uni-graz.at

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"Roma-state activists" team

Write down some notes in preparation for the debate (and for our records!)

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CH-1015 Lausanne

So, you **oppose** the constitution of a Roma state…

INSTRUCTIONS: Here are some additional facts about the Roma issue. You can use this information (+ introduction and videos) **to defend the status quo.** The following information is only a start. **We encourage you to DEVELOP YOUR OWN ARGUMENTS!**

- The communities that are currently labelled "Roma" arrived in South-Western and South-Eastern Europe around the 12th century. These populations then have gradually migrated further North and West throughout the European continent. In contrast to the common-sense knowledge representing them as a nomadic and stateless people, the vast majority of "Roma" (90%) are settled and relatively integrated into various nations.

- The Roma minorities in Central and South-Eastern Europe are highly attached to their territories and self-identify as Hungarians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Macedonians, before feeling "Roma".

- Romani is the official language of the Roma. However, this dialect (from the Sanskrit family) was almost extinguished when the International Romani Union (IRU) was created (1971). Today, this language is still very far from being practiced by every single Roma. Instead, the local languages used in the different European national contexts are learned and preferred for everyday interactions (see e.g., Matras, 2004).

- *"When talking about the culture of the Roma, the main problem appears to be tackling the established stereotypes which have existed for centuries ».*[1] The culture and the traditions of the communities gathered under the IRU banner are resulting as much from acculturation processes following extended contact with host societies that from the fixation of attributes inherited from the Roma's distant ancestors (e.g., "nomad spirit" is a typical example of such fixation of attributes that are no longer relevant)

- A Roma state would necessarily involve a great deal of cultural diversity, since "the Roma" are constituted by a complex mosaic of sub-groups having diverse traditions and languages. However, multiculturalism as a political ideology and as a norm for democratic societies is often criticized in the European context for having utterly failed (see e.g., Green & Staerklé, 2013).

- Claiming the constitution of an independent Roma state goes against contemporary dynamics of globalization and diversity policies.

Note. In order to help you organize your arguments (and adequately face those of the other group), you might try to reflect in terms **of levels of social psychological analysis** (Doise, 1980). Do your different arguments speak to, respectively, an **intra-individual level**, an **intragroup or intergroup levels**, or to an **ideological/sociohistorical level** (i.e., institutions, national policies, social representations) of social functioning?

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[1] **Have a look at http://romafacts.uni-graz.at**

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"National Roma minorities" team

Write down some notes in preparation for the debate (and for our records!)