WP6 - PUBLIC DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
GENERAL CONCERNS

I. SELECTION OF MATERIALS

The selection of the texts through which we plan analyzing the discursive formation of the spatialization and racialization of social exclusion is subsumed to the role that WP6 (public discourse analysis) plays in the framework of the whole research project, which is:

(1) in Romania: to be integrated with the multi-sited ethnography; (1.1.) to contribute to the contextualization of information gathered through fieldwork in five cities, plus through the discussions/ interviews conducted at central governmental bodies and national and international NGOs + (1.2) to collect materials through which we will be able to analyze the discursive production of the investigated realities (the narratives collected by the means of interviews are the other source for this);

(2) in other countries - together with what we do on WP6-Romania and on European policies -, WP6 is expected: (2.1) to describe and interpret the discursive context and the discursive/ cultural formation of "Gypsy ghettoes" in contemporary Europe, (2.2) to provide a sense on forms and mechanisms of the spatialization and racialization of social exclusion, but as well as on the involved type of actors across Europe (stressing both the differences and similarities among the countries under scrutiny)

According to this, the following types of materials need to collected

- Policy documents
- Media texts
- Documents of non-governmental organizations

POLICY DOCUMENTS

[laws, strategies/ action plans, institutional reports, which are relevant and/or in function in the time period 2000-2012 (if changed during this time period, we should compare the very last and the recent regulations)]

Romania:

- National level:
  o Roma policies (including the 2000, and the 2011 National Strategy, and other legal provisions, if any, regarding special measures on the domain of housing)
  o Housing law and other related governmental decisions (with reference to social housing, necessity housing, housing standards, evictions, segregation)
  o National Inclusion Strategy (with special reference to Roma)
  o Law against social marginalization
  o Regulations of providing identity papers and welfare provision
- Local levels (Cluj, M-Ciuc, Tg. Mures, Ploiesti, Calarasi):
  o Roma policies (if any)
  o Urban development strategies, with reference, if any, to (segregated) impoverished neighborhoods
  o Regulations on social housing, eviction, poor neighborhoods, identity papers and welfare provisions
  o Local council/ mayorship Decisions on Roma housing, evictions, necessity housing, slum clearance etc

Other countries: Italy, France, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria

- National (and in case regional) level:
  o Roma National Strategy (if any, and in case, old and new)
  o Housing Law and related governmental decisions (with reference to social housing, camps, evictions, housing standards, segregation)
  o National Inclusion Strategy (with special reference to Roma)
- Local level:

  [the local level refers to 1 urban setting that meets the following criteria:

  Size: 50000-400000, Formerly industrialized, With Roma immigrants, With Roma (immigrant and/or traveler) camps]:

  o Roma policies

- o (Roma) immigrant policies
- o Regulations on social housing, eviction, poor neighborhoods, segregation
- o Local council/ mayorship Decisions on Roma housing, camps, evictions/camp or slum clearance, expulsions etc

International:
- Housing laws, regulations and programs/ EU and UN
- Social inclusion-related EU (including equal opportunities, non-discrimination, poverty reduction, reducing marginalization)

MEDIA TEXTS

Romania:

- Two national level dailies (one conservative, other progressive; or one rightist and other leftist) to be depicted and browsed in the time period 2000-2012 by using keywords: Roma & urban space/any local term that brings us closer to this (these newspapers should have an electronic archive): by using these keywords, we should be able to identify the whole range of the topics that are reflected on by national media related to urban Roma, and we might gain a sense about the place of housing/segregation/eviction-related stories within the whole thematic picture)

- Local level dailies (Cluj, Tg Mures, M-Ciuc, Ploiesti, Calarasi):

  o time period 2000-2012;

  o depicting the events about which, during our fieldwork, we learned as decisive events from the point of view of the visited segregated areas

  o looking for articles about these events in as many local newspapers as there are (electronic archives, looking not only for the articles, but also on their comments)

Observation: in the case of Romania, the analysis of published texts will be completed with an interview conducted in each city with one media person (who published broadly on the topic, and/or who is having a leading editorial role)

Other countries: Italy, France, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria

- Two national level dailies (one conservative, other progressive; or one rightist and the other leftist) to be depicted and browsed in the time period 2000-2012 by using the keywords Roma (both immigrant and non-immigrant) & urban space (these newspapers should have an electronic archive): by using these keywords, we should be able to identify the whole range of the topics that are reflected on by national media related to urban Roma, and we might gain a sense about the place of housing/segregation/eviction-related stories within the whole thematic picture)

- Local level [the local level refers to 1 urban setting that meets the following criteria:

- Size: 50000-400000, Formerly industrialized, With Roma immigrants, With Roma (immigrant and/or traveler) camps]:

  o Selection of one city (it should be the city that was selected for the local policy analysis, see above)

  o Time period 2000-2012

- o As many local newspapers as there are (electronic archives, looking not only for the articles, but also on their comments)

- o Depicting events (not through fix keywords) that lead to the enactment of segregation/ creation of spatial boundaries or divisions (might be actions of evictions, or slum/ camp/ ghetto clearance etc): !!! we are not looking for any kind of events happening in camps or slums or ghettos or whatever such spaces are named locally (ex. schooling, work, crime etc), but only for events that (re)create them (in different countries there might be different terms for naming such events and linguistically they could have specific local meanings, which we should describe; in English: relocation, displacement, replacement, dispossession, eviction, dismissing, dispelling, outcasting etc, for example in Romanian "strămutare")

Some arguments for this type of selection:

- We are not aiming at generalizing on media discourse, but to describe as deep as we can the characteristics of media discourse that contributes to the discursive formation of spatial segregation (as, generally speaking, our whole multi-sited ethnography does not want to generalize on the occurrence of segregation/ spatialization of social exclusion/ formation of "Gypsy ghettoes", but it aims to make an in-depth analysis of instances/ processes of such socio-spatial arrangements)

- We might be blamed for a negative bias regarding case selection, but this is our methodological option: we want to understand a phenomena that has negative consequences on people's life (by this we do not affirm that there are not "good practices", but it is not our aim investigating them)

NGO DOCUMENTS

[establishing/registration acts, strategic plans, work plans, reports and other publications, statements/petitions/declarations etc[

Each country on which we are referring to by the SPAREX research

- Two NGOs working on national level, with or without networks of local organizations,
- NGOs at the local level (the locality will be the city that was also chosen for the local policy documents analysis and local press analysis, see above), as many as they are,
- three international NGOs (Amnesty International, UNDP, ERRC)

The documents will be collected regardless of the fact if they are referring or not to housing issues (evictions, segregation, etc), in order to have a sense about the priorities of these NGOs, the way in which they conceptualize "the Roma issues", and within their general frame, the issues related to housing/segregation/evictions/ghettoization

Observation: in the case of Romania, the analysis of written NGO texts will be completed by interviews conducted with NGO people [Gyuszi will coordinate his selection process with Camelia and Anca (for the 5 cities), Adi (Romani Criss, Amnesty International, UNDP, ERRC), and Eniko and Cristina (Soros Foundation, Habitat Romania/Bucharest), who were conducting interviews with NGO people]

II. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

We should use different methods for the analysis of media texts on the one hand, and on the other hand for the analysis of policy and NGO texts:

- *Media text analysis* (on the base of the proposal of Michal Buchowsky, and that of Orsolya Vincze, we made the following proposal to be followed in our case):

  o **Critical discourse analysis (including thematic qualitative analysis**), that aims at describing and interpreting the discursive formation of the spatialization and racialization of social exclusion as reflected in the depicted texts – identifying:
    - main topics and sub-themes around which these texts are produced;
    - how different people (not only Roma), actions, situations referred to in the texts are named;
    - characteristics, features etc. attributed to people, actions, situations;
    - media genres and columns in which and where the texts are placed;
    - evaluative utterances regarding the discussed people, actions, situations, and their types (derogatory or appreciative, stereotypical/generalized or individualized, specific or evasive, explicit or implicit);
    - arguments by which the author supports his/her utterances (types of the arguments and the argumentation schemes, or topos ex. economic, social, cultural, historical, biological etc;
    - the author and the newspaper on the national/local political/ideological stage;
    - whose interest/ voice is represented in the text;
    - what kinds of languages are used in the texts as frames of reference (ex. fear, panic, threat, violence, danger, etc.);
    - what is the position of the author (involved or detached, instigate or mitigate, manipulative or persuasive/credible)

- *Policy (text) analysis and NGO documents analysis*:
  - See the anthropology of policy-model used of Shore & Write, in Anthropology of policy
  - Suggestions:
    - the cycle or dynamics of the creation and clearance of slums/ camps/ segregated social housing areas, and of evictions that, during different time periods are, in case, causes, and in other cases results of the social formation of such areas (authorities might actively contribute to their formation or might only tolerate for a period of time their occurrence, and afterwards might intervene by evictions/ displacement/ dispossession/ relocation – terms used to name these actions and their meanings differ locally –, by dispersing people or, contrary, by re-creating segregated areas in other zones);
    - these policies (that are not neutral instruments of solving problems, but are ideologically informed means of any power regime to name, regulate, control, define problems and their solutions etc.) are part of the broader socio-economic stage (they might actively support the major social-economic trends, like the former socialist development, or the current neoliberal developments, and/or they might try tackling the negative/ exclusionary/ discriminatory consequence of such developments)
    - our policy analysis should understand the reasons and power relations that are behind such urban space-related policies, should be able to identify what kinds of interest they serve
    - in the relation between policy-makers and NGOs we should be able to talk about their relationship as well (is that collaborative, or confrontative, how they reply to each other, what kind of impact do they have on each other etc), seeing this as part of the societal negotiation process about (the spatialization of social exclusion, or about spatial divisions and the formation of segregated urban areas)