An exploration of social representations of the Roma woman in Italy and Brazil: Psychosocial anchoring to emotional reactions

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Monica Pivetti, Giannino Melotti, Mariana Bonomo

Abstract

This study investigates the content of the system of representations of Roma women asthey emerge from a free-association task, collected from a sample of university students in Italy and Brazil. Available data on the situation of Roma women show that they experience greater social exclusion than the Roma men and the women of the majority community, especially in accessing employment, education, health and social services. The sample consists of 643 participants (mean age 22.9), 50.4% of whom are Italians and74.3% female. Data were collected via a free-association task, the prompt word being "Gypsywoman". SPAD-T software ran a lexical correspondence analysis, extracting two factors. Wedefined the first axis: "The mysterious Roma woman vs. The Outcast Roma woman", andthe second axis: "The seer Roma woman vs. Different sides of Roma woman".Moreover, psychosocial anchoring to the emotional reactions towards Roma people wasstudied, showing how different groups of individuals, characterized by specific emotional reactions to Roma people, were attuned to certain social representations of the Roma woman.The implications of these results are discussed in terms of the role played by Roma women in traditional Roma and western societies.

This study deals with the system of representations of Roma[1]women in western society, given the relevant impact thata general belief system may have on individual perceptions and collective behaviours toward ethnic minorities (Dalsklev &Kunst, 2015; Moscovici, 1998; Jodelet, 1991; Wagner, 2003).

The Roma community is an ethnically differentiated group made up of approximately 12 million people (the official dataare few). The Roma today live all across Europe and the Americas, as well as in some areas of Asia and Oceania (Ringold, Orenstein, & Wilkens, 2005). There is no single Roma land and they see themselves as "a people without territory". Despitethis diversity, Roma across the world stress how they share fundamental linguistic, cultural and historical commonalities (Ravnbøl, 2010).

Throughout Europe, Roma[1] communities are at high risk of marginalisation. Roma people are positioned at the bottomof many social comparative indexes concerning average income, employment rate, life expectancy, education and health (Ringold et al., 2005). Roma families differ from other families in terms of certain demographic features: high fertility andmortality rates, low life expectancy, due to their living conditions and scarce access to health services (Corsi & Crepaldi,2010).

Data on the situation of Roma women are particularly few and far between, even though most of sociological studiesshow that Roma women experience greater social exclusion than Roma men and the women of the majority community, especially in accessing employment, education, health and social services, partly as a result of the gender roles that persistin Roma communities (AWID, 2008; Corsi & Crepaldi, 2010; Foldes & Covaci, 2011; Ringold et al., 2005). Traditionally, the woman's

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[1] The term "Roma" used throughout the present text refers to Roma, Sinti, Kale, Travellers, and related groups in Europe, and aims to cover the widelydiverse groups concerned, including groups that identify themselves as Gypsies (Council of Europe, The Strasbourg Declaration on Roma, 20 October 2010,<wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1691607#P20 276).

role is mainly to take care of the home and family and she has responsibility for the transmission of traditional Roma culture and ethnicity between generations. Roma women start taking on adult-caring roles from the age of 11, areexpected to marry young and have many children in life-long marriages. The traditional care-giver role of Roma girls andwomen is also an obstacle to their education and to access to the labour market (European Commission, 2010).

As for housing conditions, the Roma usually live in segregated, isolated districts with poor access to public transport andsocial services, or in makeshift camps on the outskirts of urban areas (as in Italy and Brazil), or caravan sites. This makest he domestic workload particularly hard for Roma women, who spend most of their lives in these housing conditions, andcontributes to aggravating their health problems. As for health conditions, Roma women tend to experience greater healthrisks than non-Roma women, because of early and multiple pregnancies and abortions, a heavy domestic workload, poorhousing and malnutrition.

Social perception of Roma people

Social perception of Roma people could be better understood by considering the interplay between Social RepresentationTheory (SRT; e.g., Moscovici, 1961/2011, Moscovici, 1984; Duveen, 2000) and Social Identification Theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1981), instead of considering them as two separate paradigms. We agree with Elcheroth, Doise, and Reicher (2011) and those who have called for more integration of the two theories. The construction of SR is related to the presence of social categories, thatis the way we divide people into groups, in the social world. The way one individual orients a representation depends on how he/she categorise his/herself in relation to the relevant group at stake. At the same time, the construction of a social identityrelies on the SR shared by group members regarding a specific relevant topic. This is even more true in the case of Roma people: anthropologically speaking, non-Roma people need to differentiate themselves from the "noble savage" Roma, thatwith its nomadic free-living threatens the majority's identity. In this sense, the majority group needs to differentiate itself from the minority, in order to preserve the former's human status. The study of Roma people as a social object needs to takeinto consideration both the majority-minority intergroup relationships and the content of the majority's shared knowledge about this group.

Socio-psychological literature has shown that negative stereotyping by the majority population remains a key issue. In all countries, Roma experience widespread and deep-seated discrimination and racism (Csepeli & Simon, 2004; Van Baar,2012), in many domains such as employment, housing, health care access (Janevic, Sripad, Bradley, & Dimitrievska, 2011) and education (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2013).

SRT has been used as a theoretical framework to investigate laypeople's perceptions of the Roma minority, which has been seen as the favourite target of the dehumanization process (e.g. Pérez, Moscovici, & Chulvi, 2007). Specifically, the Roma minority is conceived at the heart of an ontologization process, according to which it is represented as a symbol of "animal kingdom" as compared to the non-Roma "human" majority in the SRs of the majority-minority relationship. From the discourse analysis perspective, Tileagˇa (2006) analyses the ideologies of moral exclusion of the Roma group among Romanian citizens, showing the construction of a socio-moral order linked to notions of lesser humanity or non-humanity.Given the Roma minority's resistance to dominant social processes and the maintenance of a distinct culture and economy,in the face of myriad pressures towards integration and assimilation, the ontologization process intervenes to lessen the threat leveraged by this group (Moscovici and Pérez, 2007; Powell, 2011). Empirical research has shown that more cultural characteristics are attributed to the in group than to the Roma, whereas more natural

characteristics are assigned to the Roma than to the ingroup in Great Britain and Romania (Marcu & Chryssochoou, 2005), and in Italy (Berti, Pivetti, & Di Battista,2013). In their three-experiment study, Pérez et al. (2007) found that the Roma minority was more negatively ontologized by attributing more animal-like characteristics to them when the participants were primed by a picture of a wild animal (i.e. amonkey) representing nature, as compared to when primed with a picture of a domesticated animal (i.e. a dog) representing human culture. Recent studies showed that SRs on Roma people are similar in many countries (e.g. Brazil), with Roma people being associated to a primitive, wild and dirty idea. Besides being seen as criminals, Roma people are seen as carriers of parasites, diseases and even curses (Bonomo, Faria, Brasile, & Souza, 2012; Carvalho, Lima, Faro, & Silva, 2012; Mendes, 2000; Silva & Silva, 2000).

Social representations and emotions

When studying the minorities historically subjected to prejudice and discrimination, we need to deal with the emotional/affective dimension experienced by the ingroup toward the outgroup. For this reason, SRT, described as a cognitive/emotional process (de-Graft Aikins, 2012; Jovchelovitch, 1996; Kalampalikis & Haas, 2008), could be useful to understandhow the groups build shared meanings about themselves and other groups, based on the emotional private past vis-à-visthe object of the representation. Jodelet (2008) suggests paying attention to the role emotions, memory and tradition playin the formation of SR, to advance the SRT. According to Rimé (2008, 2009), emotions are a field where meanings are pro-duced and they drive communication, enabling the absorbance of an unfamiliar object of knowledge and turning them into SRs, making the unfamiliar familiar (Moscovici, 1961/2011; Moscovici, 2005). Moreover, emotions organize integration and social cohesion within groups. Shared emotions spread through communities.

Since its original formulation (Moscovici, 1961/2011), some authors have underlined the affective/emotional dimensionas being fundamental for SR, even if this relationship has only been marginally investigated (de-Graft Aikins, 2012; Campos& Rouquette, 2003; Sen & Wagner, 2005). Among the few available studies, in a sample of religious participants Curelaru, Neculau, and Cristea (2012) found that the internal structure of SR of cloning is mainly organized around the emotional element of fear. Campos and Rouquette (2000) showed that SR seems more consensual if the object of the representation conveys a stronger affective/emotional burden. Finally, Lheureux and Guimelli (2009) have verified the hypothesis that the organization of SR partly depends on the fact that the elements of the representation either share or do not share common feelings. In this sense, when studying SRs the distinction between practices, cognition and affection is only important for the purposes of analyses, as SRs are acts of affection and knowledge founded in everyday experience and are therefore replete with social practices (Jovchelovitch, 1996).

According to de-Graft Aikins (2012), SRs need to be understood as an emotional-cognitive process, activated within the intergroup context vis-a-vis a new object of social knowledge, creating the tension necessary to the production of a socially shared meaning. We agree with de-Graft Aikins in that to study SR as an emotional-cognitive process, we need to deal withtwo issues: (1) considering the emotions elicited by the object of the SR in the everyday context and in social interactions; (2) focusing on the role played by the specific emotion within the conflict originating from familiarization of the social object, where the anchoring process is crucial.

Roma people in Italy and Brazil

Currently, there are about 120,000–150,000 Roma people living in Italy, most of whom divided into two groups: Sinti (mainly living in the North of Italy) and Roma. Sixty percent of Roma people are Italian citizens, while the remaining 40% areeither citizens of European Union or other countries, non-citizen refugees, legal and illegal immigrants, stateless people orpeople with no official immigration status (de Foletier, 1997; Piasere, 2004; Sigona, 2007). There is a deep-rooted xenophobic tradition towards Roma people in Italy (Colacicchi, 2008; Piasere, Saletti Salza, & Tauber, 2005). A recent study shows that Italians have deep-rooted prejudices against Roma, ranking only just above the Czechs, who are the most biased in Europe towards them (Vitale & Claps, 2010). The arrival of Roma people in Brazil seems to date back to 1574, after they were expelled from Portugal, together withother European minorities (Moonen, 2012). Currently, a report realized by some Roma communities in collaboration with the Brazilian Federal Government indicates that in Brazil there are around 800,000 Roma people, between Roma, Sinti and Calon, divided into 291 Roma settlements in 21 states of the Brazilian federation. The majority do not speak Portuguese, live in poverty and in conditions of social exclusion and are not even recognised as Brazilian citizens (Brasil, 2013; Lima,2011a, b; Silva, 2012). Only in the last ten years, after the mobilisation of Roma groups, has the Government promoted publicpolicy measures considering the specific ethnicity of these people: for instance, in 2011, the Ministry of Health abolished the obligation for Roma people to provide documents to certify their residence in order to access health care services; in2012, the Ministry of Public Education laid down some guidelines for the educational context, respectful of the specificity of nomad groups. However, according to the survey run by the Roma people on their camps in Brazil (Brasil, 2013), public policies and social programmes targeted to Roma people are still lacking, particularly in the education and health domains.

In both Italy and Brazil, the Roma people languish at the bottom of many socio-economic indexes and the Roma women experience double-edged discrimination, both as a Roma and as women. The dimensions of disadvantage are similar to those experienced by women from other ethnic minority groups, but Roma women typically face further or more pronounced forms of marginalisation and discrimination (European Commission, 2010).

As for collective memory, rumours of Roma child kidnappings have circulated for centuries and circulate both in Italy and Brazil. In October 2013 in Ireland, police wrongly took two Roma children from their respective families simply because they were pale skinned and blue-eyed. In both cases, it transpired that the children were being raised by their biological parents and had not been kidnapped. The two incidents followed a case in Greece in which "Maria", a blonde-haired, blue eyed childwas taken away from a Roma couple who were not her biological parents (McGuire, 2013, October 24th). In 2008 in Italy, a woman in Naples surprised a Roma girl in the act of kidnapping her few month old baby girl from her apartment and fleeing down the stairs. The neighbours heard the mother screaming, stopped the Roma girl and called the police (La Repubblica, May 11th, 2008). After this episode was reported in the media, many xenophobic raids against the Roma settlements in the Naples area were reported, such as stone-throwing and threatening behaviour in general (La Repubblica, May 13th, 2008). Even if this kind of urban legend have been confuted by official data provided by the State Police, the impact of news like thison the public opinion is strong and unpredictable, and in some cases also exploited by the leaders of some political parties.

The current study

This paper aims to explore the content and the anchoring process of the SRs of the Roma women as they emerge from afree-association task, collected from among a sample of university students in Italy and Brazil.

In our view, the main novelties of the study are two-fold. Firstly, we aimed to study the anchoring process of the SRs ofthe Roma woman. Within the so-called School of Geneva, Doise (1985) advanced the idea that even if members of a given population share common knowledge and views about a certain social issue, they may not hold the same positions. In this sense, SRs are considered as "principles generating individual positioning that are linked to specific insertions in a set of social relationship" (Doise, Clémence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1992, p. 154). What may be consensual in SRs are reference points in relation to which individuals position themselves according to specific social experiences they share with other individuals. In this sense, an important phase in the study of SRs is the search for a common organizing principle underlying the issue under examination.

Specifically, we aimed to put forward the notion of a psychosocial anchoring process to the emotional reactions elicited by the overarching Roma group. As Doise (1992) suggests studying how SRs can change according to the normative, value and belief systems shared by a group of people, we considered emotions as the expression of those value systems and explored the way the SRs of the Roma woman is anchored to the emotional reactions elicited by the overarching Roma group. In otherwords, we aimed to study how the SRs of this social category are positioned according to the overarching belief system surrounding the Roma people in general. When comparing the psychological and psychosocial anchoring, it is true that the emotions are individual structures and could be studied within a psychological anchoring. However, individual emotions are tuned to a larger and socially shared view about the object of an SR (de-Graft Aikins, 2012). In our view, sharing emotions implies collectively building an SR, as the psychosocial anchoring occurs when an SR anchors to psychosocial variables suchas attitudes or emotions.

Even if exploring the full anchoring process of the SRs of the Roma woman is beyond the scope of this work, we aimed to explore the sociological anchoring as well, referring to the study of the relation between a certain individual positioning andthe specific individual's membership to groups and to their shared beliefs and social experiences (e.g. participants' gender, nationality etc) (Doise, 1992; Spini & Doise, 1998).

The second novelty of the study lies in the target group. We have chosen to study the SRs of Roma women as this is alargely unexplored topic, warranting empirical investigation. Roma women experience stronger discrimination resulting from their belonging to the ethnic minority of Roma people and they suffer a high degree of gender inequality, the latteroften being a combination of gender inequality in society generally, gender inequality resulting from poverty and social exclusion, and gender inequality within Roma communities (European Commission, 2011). In this sense, the SRT is suitable for comprehending the social perception of this group (i.e. the Roma woman), located at the crossroads of different social categories, characterized by strong prejudice and discrimination (i.e. the Roma, the women, the minority group). In line with the suggestions by Moscovici and Kalampalikis (2012), this work deals with the study of our culture, as an anthropology of contemporary world. Since a different reasoning set can exist within the same culture, a primary task for social psychologyis the understanding of the set of images and beliefs simultaneously generated and transmitted in a given society.

Sample

The sample is made up of 324 Italian and 319 Brazilian participants (N = 643), mean age 22.89 years old (SD = 5.58; range17–54). The Italians are approximately one year older than Brazilians (F(1, 625) = 5.19, p = 0.02; MIta= 23.41, MBra= 22.39). Asfor the Italian sample, participants were university students enrolled at psychology and social sciences courses at two publi cuniversities: one in the north and one in the south Italy. As for the Brazilian sample, participants were university students enrolled in various field of study from one public and two private Universities in Victoria (State of Spirito Santo). The country selection was based on researchers' professional contacts with colleagues from local Universities who were interested inthe topic addressed by the study. This approach represents one of the three major strategies to conduct cross-cultural studies (Shiraev & Levy, 2015). Questionnaires were administered at the end of the lessons. Filling in the questionnaire took approximately 30 min. The research was compliant with the Code of Ethics of the Italian Psychology Association (Associazione Italiana di Psicologia, 2012).

As for gender, the sample consisted of 478 female and 147 male participants (missing = 18). Women were significantly more frequent in the Italian sub-sample, while men were in the Brazilian sub-sample (2= 17.2, df = 1, p < 0.001). As for ethnicity, Italians were mainly Caucasians (98%) while Brazilians were Caucasians (42.9%) and mixed-race (38.1%). As forreligion, the Italian sample was mainly made up of Catholics (59.2%) and Christians (17.6%), whereas the Brazilian sample was made up of Catholics (44.7%), Christian Evangelical (26.3%), atheists (21.1%) and by a group of confessions and religions typically widespread in Brazilian context. As for political orientation, the sample is tendentially left-wing (M = 3.63, SD = 1.4), with Italians as more left-leaning than the Brazilians (F (1, 536) = 3.81, p = 0.05; Mita= 3.50, Mbra= 3.74).

Describing the kind of contacts participants had previously had with Roma people is relevant to understanding the experience through which the participants were able to build an SR of the target group. 41.1% of participants affirmed that they did not know whether "there are Roma people living close to you in your town", whereas 22.6% replied that there wereand 35.3% that there were no Roma people in the neighbourhood. Approximately one third of the sample (36.5%) reported they had occasionally talked to a Roma, while only 5.6% declared to have a Roma friend and 3.9% to have done business with a Roma. When comparing Italians and Brazilians, Italians reported that they had the chance to talk with a Roma more often than the Brazilians did (43.5%Itavs 29.5%Bra; 2 = 13.75, df = 2, p < 0.001; Adj. Std. Res.Ita = 3.7 vs Adj. Std. Res.Bra = −3.7), and to see a Roma by chance more often than the Brazilians did (96.9%Itavs 90.9%Bra; 2 = 14.52, df = 2, p < 0.001; Adj. Std.Res.Ita = 3.2 vs Adj. Std. Res.Bra = −3.2).

Materials and methods

Participants filled in a written questionnaire. For the free-association task, activists were told to write the first fivewords/short sentences coming into their minds when prompted by the stimulus word: "What do you think, feel or imagine when I say 'gypsy woman'?2 Write down the first five words (or short sentences) that come into your mind" (Bonomo, deSouza, Melotti, & Palmonari, 2013; de Rosa, 2003; Deschamps, 2003). Giving a stimulus word and asking the respondent to freely associate what ideas coming into his or her mind gives relatively unrestricted access to mental representations.

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[2] In Italian, we used the words "donna zingara", and in Brazilian, we used the words "mulher cigana". We are aware that those words are sometimesconsidered as being biased by prejudice. However, we aimed at specifically studying the social representations of the "donna zingara" together with all thenegative associations made to this group of people. Moreover, there is no other politically correct word to describe the Roma people either in Italian orBrazilian.

Participants were also asked to indicate at least five of their emotional reactions to the Roma people from a list of 26 items: "From the list, please select which emotional reactions you feel towards the Gypsies3 (at least five)" (e.g. fear, anxiety, panic, trust, respect, well-being) (Bonomo et al., 2012). The last section included some socio-demographic questions such as age, gender, ethnicity, kind of contact with Roma people, religiosity (open-ended questions) and political orientation (measured on a 7-point scale, 1 = left; 7 = right).

Analysis

Following the methodological works by Doise (1992), we analysed the content and the anchoring process of the SRs ofthe Roma woman. As for the content of the SRs, the corpus of data underwent a lexical Correspondence Analysis (CA) (Lebart& Salem, 1994), using the procedure ASPAR of SPAD-T (Doise et al., 1992; Lebart, Morineau, Becue, & Haeusler, 1993). CA allowed for the graphic representation of answers, grounded in the principle of proximity/distance.

As for the anchoring process, we have chosen to study only sociological and psychosocial anchoring, for the sake ofbrevity. As for the sociological anchoring, we looked at the participants' group membership, such as gender and nationality. As for the psychosocial anchoring, we looked at the emotional reactions towards the more inclusive Roma group elicited inthe participants. Psychosocial anchoring refers to the way an SR varies as a function of the participants' normative, valueand belief systems. We computed the frequency for each of the 26 emotional reactions elicited by the Roma people, and then carried out a lexical CA. After that, a hierarchical cluster analysis showed the existence of three different clusters of participants. Each cluster is homogeneous in regard to the participants' emotional reactions to the Roma people. After that, the three clusters were projected onto the two factorial plans, described above, related to the SRs of the Roma woman.

Results

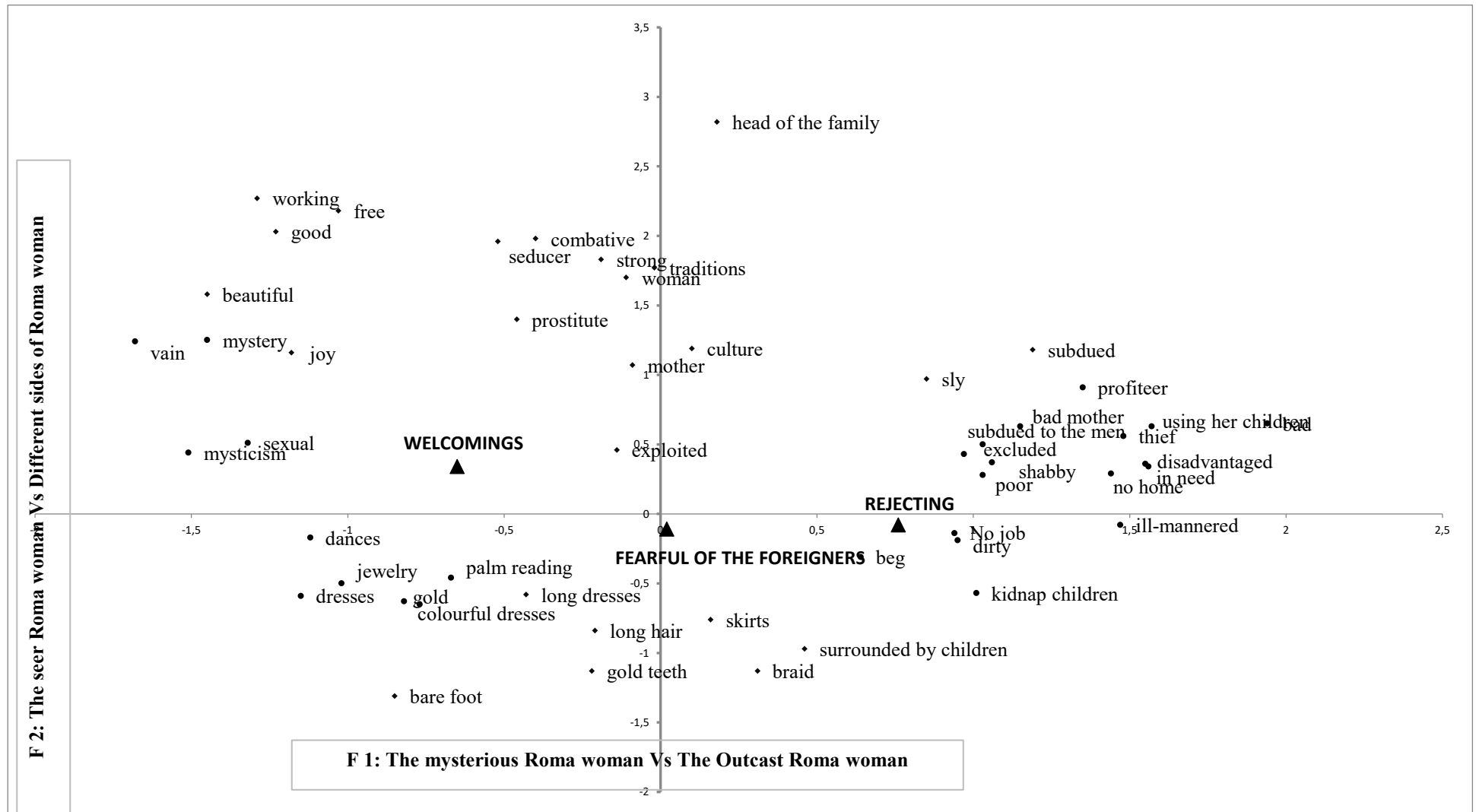*Social representations of the Roma woman and sociological anchoring*

The corpus of data was a set of word associations or vocabulary about the stimulus word "gypsy woman", obtained from the respondents. The dictionary was processed to make the corpus of words more uniform and to reduce the number of categories to be used in the following analysis. Two independent judges coded the whole sample. Controversial or ambiguou scases were discussed with a third judge. For instance, under the category "surrounded by children", words such as "wrapped children", "shoulder children", "children at the mother's breast". Long sentences were broken up into single coding unity. Terms that expressed the same semantic content and differed only in grammatical form (gender, singular/plural) were grouped together. As a whole, participants produced 3004 associations, with a mean of 4.7 associations per participant. The number of distinct categories was 337, that is 11.2% of the original answers.

Secondly, the data corpus was submitted to a lexical CA. Ninety-four categories were selected, whose frequency was higher or equal than 8. According to CA, two factors were extracted, explaining 4.844 total inertia. Fig. 1 shows the factorial plan originating from the crossing of the first and second axis.

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3 In Italian: "gli zingari": In Brazilian Portuguese: "os ciganos".

4 With lexical CA, it is common that the percentage of total inertia is low as it is based on the number of possible factors (i.e. k-1, k is equal to the numberof categories, in this case k = 94). In order to select the significant categories, we chose the rule a.c. ≥ 100/n of categories (a.c. ≥ 1.06). We used the criterionV-test ≥ |2| to set the acceptance level for supplementary variables.

Figure 1: The Social representations of the Roma woman. Lexical Correspondence Analysis: first factorial plan

F 2: The seer Roma woman Vs Different sides of Roma woman

head of the family

working
free
good
combative
seducer
strong traditions
woman
beautiful
prostitute
vain
mystery
joy
culture
subdued
mother
sly
profiteer
mysticism
sexual
WELCOMINGS
exploited
bad mother
using her children
subdued to the men
thief
bad
excluded
disadvantaged
shabby
in need
poor
no home
REJECTING
No job
ill-mannered
dances
dirty
FEARFUL OF THE FOREIGNERS
beg
jewelry
palm reading
dresses
gold
long dresses
kidnap children
colourful dresses
long hair
skirts
surrounded by children
gold teeth
braid
bare foot

F 1: The mysterious Roma woman Vs The Outcast Roma woman

On the left-hand pole of the first axis (explained variance = 2.54%), a positive and "romantic" representation of the Roma woman emerges. She is depicted as woman surrounded by mysticism (a.c. = 3.2) and mystery (a.c. = 2.0), maybe due to the fact that she usually has some sort of job (working, a.c. = 1.6), such as palm reading (a.c. = 4.3), expressing her joy (a.c. = 1.2) and feeling free (a.c. =0.1.2) dancing (dances, a.c. = 6.3). She is a good woman (a.c. = 1.1), characterised by her colourful (a.c. = 2.8) dresses (a.c. = 2.7), and gold (a.c. = 1.4) jewelry (a.c. = 2.5). She is depicted as vain (a.c. = 2.8), very beautiful (a.c. = 3.5) and sexual (a.c. = 1.7). On the positive right-hand pole, a representation characterised by negative stereotype emerges. The Roma women is described as dirty (a.c. = 6.7), shabby (a.c. = 2.0), bad-mannered (a.c. = 1.6), a thief (a.c. = 3.7), a profiteer (a.c. = 1.3), sly (a.c. = 1.4), bad (a.c. = 2.5), that kidnap children (a.c. = 1.1). She is a bad mother (a.c. = 1.3) that has no qualms about using herchildren (a.c. = 4.0) to beg in the streets (a.c. = 3.3). She is also a excluded (a.c. = 1.9), disadvantaged (a.c. = 2.9), in need (a.c. = 1.4) woman, as she is poor (a.c. = 3.9), has no home (a.c. = 1.8) or job (a.c. = 1.8), often subjugated to the men of her group (a.c. = 1.1). We defined this axis as "The mysterious Roma woman vs. The outcast Roma woman". As for supplementary variables, men (V-test = −3.7) and the Brazilians (V-test = −34.6) were located on the left-hand pole. Women (V-test = 1.95) and the Italians (V-test = 34.6) were located on the right-hand pole.

As for the second axis (2.3% of explained inertia), an iconic representation of the Roma women emerges on the lower dimension: a woman with long hair (a.c. = 3.4) and braids (a.c. = 1.4), wearing skirts (a.c. = 3.7) or long and colourful (a.c. = 2.3) dresses (a.c. = 1.1), walking bare foot (a.c. = 1.5), often surrounded by children (a.c. = 3.0), displaying gold teeth (a.c. = 2.0) while palm reading (a.c. = 2.3). On the upper axis, Roma woman is described as a free (a.c. = 6.0) working (a.c. = 5.3) woman (a.c. = 2.4). She is beautiful (a.c. = 4.6), well-behaved (good, a.c. = 3.4) and a joyful (joy, a.c. = 1.3) mother (a.c. = 5.0), playing the role of head of the family (a.c. = 4.7). She is a strong (a.c. = 4.2) and combative (a.c. = 4.4) person, gaining force from the capacity to create an aura of mystery around her (a.c. = 1.6), thanks to her skills as a seductress (a.c. = 4.0), even at the cost of appearing sly (a.c. = 2.0) and vain (a.c. = 1.7). She is a complete person thanks to the respect for traditions (a.c. = 3.5) coming from her culture (a.c. = 2.1), even if sometimes she runs the risks to be subjugated (a.c. = 1.2), exploited (a.c. = 1.1) and treated as a prostitute (a.c. = 1.2), because of this tradition. The second axis was labelled: "The seer Roma woman vs. Different sides of the Roma woman". As for the supplementary variable, women (V-test = −2.0) and the Brazilians (V-test = −2.5) are located on the lower pole, whilemen (V-test = 2.3) and the Italians (V-test = 2.5) are located on the upper pole.

Emotional reactions to the Roma people: psychosocial anchoring

Altogether, participants made 3188 choices, with a mean of 5.10 choices per participant. Table 1 shows the number and percentage of participants who chose each emotional reaction.6
More than half of the sample reports feeling insecurity and mistrust but also curiosity vis-a-vis the Roma. More than one third of the participants indicated indifference, respect and fear while one fifth chose discomfort and solidarity. The remaining, mostly negative, emotional reactions were chosen by between less than one fifth and one tenth of participants (i.e. sadness, anxiety, repulsion, disgust, fascination, calmness, anger, disregard, antipathy). Less than one tenth of participants reported positive emotional reactions (i.e. empathy, admiration, liking, affection, joy, trust, well-being, security).

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5 Tendentially significant.

6 Available data = 636 (missing = 7).

Tab. 1 – Emotional reactions to Roma people: numbers and percentage

Emotional reactions	N	%
Insecurity	367	57.70
Curiosity	360	56.60
Distrust	346	54.40
Indifference	254	39.94
Respect	239	37.58
Fear	230	36.16
Discomfort	157	24.69
Solidarity	148	23.27
Sadness	123	19.34
Anxiety	106	16.67
Repulsion	103	16.19
Disgust	91	14.31
Fascination	90	14.15
Calmness	77	12.11
Anger	77	12.11
Disregard	75	11.79
Antipathy	71	11.16
Empathy	63	9.91
Admiration	62	9.75
Liking	55	8.65
Panic	35	5.50
Affection	24	3.77
Joy	18	2.83
Trust	6	0.94
Wellbeing	6	0.94
Security	5	0.79

Figure 2: Emotional reactions to the Roma people. Lexical Correspondence Analysis and cluster analysis
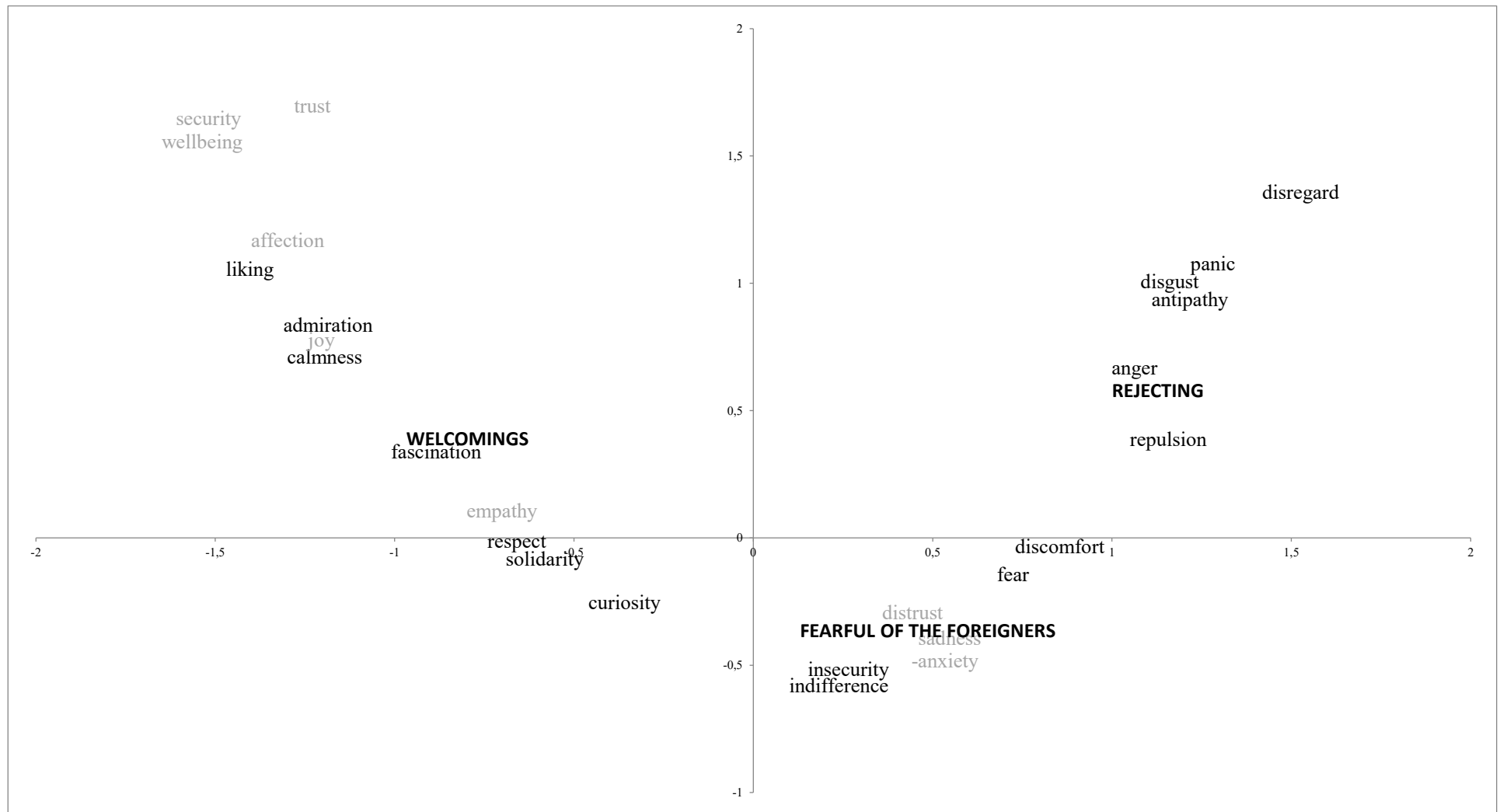
To better describe the emotional reactions to Roma people, we ran a lexical CA on the emotions associated to the prompt word. Lexical CA showed a two-axis factorial plan explaining 21.29% of total inertia (see Fig. 2). Words are spread out according to the classical parabola relating to the Guttman effect (Benzécri, 1973). The positive emotional reactions vis-a-visthe Roma people are grouped on the left high side: liking (a.c. = 7.3), admiration (a.c. = 6.6), calmness (a.c. = 8.0), fascination (a.c. = 5.8). As we move down on the parabola/curve, positive emotional reactions indicating a certain psychological distance to the target emerge: respect (a.c. = 8.5), solidarity (a.c. = 4.6) and curiosity (a.c. = 5.3). As we move to the right-hand side of the factorial plan, negative emotional reactions emerge in terms of personal discomfort vis-a-vis the Roma, even if no aggressiveness appears: indifference (a.c. = 7.9), insecurity (a.c. = 10.9), fear (a.c. = 5.3) and discomfort (a.c. = 4.2). When considering the right upper side of the parabola, a negative emotional reaction together with a certain level of aggression emerges: repulsion (a.c. = 5.9), anger (a.c. = 4.0), antipathy (a.c. = 4.6), disgust (a.c. = 5.5), panic (a.c. = 4.5) and disregard (a.c. = 8.1).

Hierarchical cluster analysis allowed for the recognition of three clusters of participants, corresponding to three different emotional reactions to the Roma people (see Fig. 2). Cluster 1, the "Fearful of the foreigner" is made up of 368 participants (male = 77, female = 281, missing = 10), pointing significantly more to negative emotional reactions characterised by inse-curity, fear and anxiety before the "other": insecurity (V-test = 9.2), indifference (V-test = 6.9), distrust (V-test = 5.2), sadness (V-test = 4.4), anxiety (V-test = 3.8), fear (V-test = 3.3) and curiosity (V-test = 3.2).

The second cluster, the "Rejecting" numbers 121 participants (male = 31, female = 87, missing = 3), referring to aggressive and rejection emotional reactions: disregard (V-test = 14.2), disgust (V-test = 10.4), antipathy (V-test = 9.4), panic (V-test = 8.4), anger (V-test = 7.8), repulsion (V-test = 7.0), discomfort (V-test = 5.2) and fear (V-test = 4.0).

The third cluster, the "Welcoming" numbers 147 participants (male = 38, female = 104, missing = 5). Those participants most often chose positive emotional reactions referring to a welcoming attitude towards the foreigner: calmness(V-test = 12.5), liking (V-test = 10.8), admiration (V-test = 10.5), fascination (V-test = 8.5), respect (V-test = 8.0), affection (V-test = 6.4), solidarity (V-test = 5.8), empathy (V-test = 5.5), joy (V-test = 5.0), curiosity (V-test = 4.7), insecurity (V-test = 3.1),well-being (V-test = 2.7), and trust (V-test = 2.7) (see Fig. 2).

As for nationality (see Table 2), Italians were more frequent in the Rejecting cluster, while the Brazilians were more frequent in the Welcoming cluster. Italians and Brazilians did not differ significantly in the "Fearful of the Foreigner" cluster. No significant differences emerged as for the gender, with male and female equally spread out in the three clusters ($\chi 2$= 2.1,df = 2, p > .05).

Tab. 2 – Distribution of Italians and Brazilians on the three cluster

	Italian sample % (N) *Adj. Std. Res.*	Brazilian sample % (N) *Adj. Std. Res*
"Fearful of the Foreigner"	60.3 (193) *1.3*	55.4 (175) *-1.3*
"Rejectings"	28.4 (91) *6.1*	9.5 (30) *-6.1*
"Welcomings"	11.3 (36) *-7.1*	35.1 (111) *7.1*
Tot.	100 (320)	100 (316)

$\chi 2$=69.9, *df* =2, *p* <.001

In order to study the psychosocial anchoring, we then projected the three clusters on the factorial plan emerging from the CA of SRs of Roma women, reported in Fig. 1; this procedure allowed for a better understanding of how the representations of the Roma woman are anchored to the different emotional reactions elicited by the Roma.

On the first axis, the Welcoming (V-test = −18.0) are located on the left-hand pole, that is the "mysterious Roma woman", while the Rejectings (V-test = 18.1) are located on the right-hand pole, that is the "outcast Roma woman".[7]

On the second axis, the members of the Fearful of the Foreigner (V-test = −6.3) and the Rejectings (V-test = −1.98) clusters are placed on the bottom pole, that is closer to "The seer Roma woman". The Welcoming participants (V-test = 9.3) are located on the upper pole, that is closer to representation that we called the "Different sides of the Roma woman".

Discussion and conclusions

The SR of Roma people was deemed by Moscovici himself as one of the few social objects warranting socio-psychological research as it is situated at the crossroads of psychological, sociological and anthropological thinking. Studying the ontologization process of ethnic minorities, Pérez et al. (2002) examined how the construction of human identity was based on the fundamental nature-culture and animal-human dimensions, which could be used as a basis for a social classification within which it was possible to understand the processes of social inclusion and exclusion. The study of the SR of the Roma woman is particularly interesting as she is the object of a dual discrimination, both as a member of a minority group (e.g. the Romagroup) and as a woman.

First of all, the system of representations around the Roma woman is characterized by the long-standing ideal of the fascinating and mysterious Roma woman; she is a beautiful, colourful, and a sexually arousing dancer. As the amount of contact that Italians and Brazilians have with Roma people is scarce, we believe that the SR of the Roma woman was built starting from the media representation of the Roma people, and of Roma women in particular. Beside the differences among the two countries in terms of historical background and Roma settlement, we believe that the influences media plays onlay people's imaginary is common. The representation of the Roma minority acquires from media discourse the romantic idea of the travelling Roma as embodied by Johnny Depp in the worldwide movie hit Chocolat, where the character played by Juliette Binoche develops an attraction to Irish Roma Roux (Johnny Depp). This attractive romantic construct of the Roma people as lacking morals, disregarding decency and nurturing outrageous sexual practices is present in much of the art, music and literature of the 19th century. The female Roma in particular was characterized and stereotyped as free-spirited, strong, deviant, sexually arousing, alluring, and dismissive. This romantic construct of the Roma woman may be viewed in direct opposition to the proper, controlled, chaste, submissive woman held as the Victorian European ideal (Hancock, 2008). In the musical drama The Hunchback of Notre Dame (1996), Esmeralda, a beautiful and kind-spirited Roma, uses a magic spell to free the hunchback. This 'oriental' fascination with the forbidden world of the Roma other in music is best characterized in the opera Carmen (Helbig, 2004; Hancock, 2008). This romantic representation is shared mainly by Brazilians, who also show an iconic representation of a palm-reader Roma woman as characterized by long hair and colourful dresses. This is possibly related to the imagine conveyed by popular soap operas in Brazil. In the 1980

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[7] The "Fearful of the Foreigner" do not place significantly on the first axis.

[8] Tendentially significant.

s, "Yesenia", a South American soap-opera about the romantic life of a young and beautiful woman, was broadcast in Europe and South America. The woman was raised by Roma people after she was abandoned as a newborn by her rich non-Roma family. Moreover, in the 1990s the soap opera "Explode Corac¸ão" described the love connection generated by the clash between the traditional Roma culture and the external pressures stemming from western culture (Moonen, 2012).

Moreover, our data show a second representation of Roma women, including the idea of an outcast, subjugated, poor mother. This representation recognizes the condition of marginalization and difficulties faced by Roma women. Within a patriarchal family tradition, she is a young mother, forced by the power of men to take a leading role in providing for the whole family. Italians generally share this representation, arising from their occasional contacts with Roma women begging in the streets, surrounded by young children. Roma women's condition is aggravated by the specific Roma culture, which is based on 'traditional' and strictly separated gender roles. The traditional Roma family is fully patriarchal: the woman occupies a subordinate position and there is a clear division of labour between tasks for women and those for men: traditionally, the woman's role is mainly to take care of the home and family and she has responsibility for the transmission of traditional Roma culture and ethnicity between generations. The adult role that Roma girls acquire at a young age (i.e. 11 years old) is also an obstacle to their education and to access to the labour market and job opportunities (European Commission,2010). This image is shared by woman from western societies, who take distance from the marginalized Roma woman, who follow a patriarchal traditional care-giving role. This condition is opposed to the feminist conception of women as gaining control over their life working outside the home thanks to proper education (Schultz, 2012; Sordé Martí, Munté, Contreras, & Prieto-Flores, 2012; Silverman, 2012).

In our opinion, one of the main novelties of the work lies upon the exploration of the relationship between SR and emotions. This study puts forward the psychosocial anchoring to the emotional reactions as theorized by Doise (1992), who suggested studying how SRs can change according to the normative, value and belief systems shared by a group of people. As emotions are the expression of those value systems, it is possible to observe the ways in which different groups of individuals, characterized by specific emotional reactions to Roma people, are attuned to certain SRs of Roma women. According to our data, the ideal representation of the Roma woman as fascinating and mysterious is anchored to a welcoming emotional reaction to Roma people. On the contrary, the representation of the Roma woman as an outcast and subjected poor motheris anchored to an emotional reaction of rejection to Roma people. We are aware that this procedure is somehow new and we hope that this study may have contributed to the theoretical and empirical advancement of the SRT by enriching thetheory with a concrete example of how an SR on a specific object is congruently related with the emotions, elicited by amore inclusive social object. In our view, emotions bond people from different nationalities, who share a common SR. For instance, Italians and Brazilians do not differ significantly in the "Fearful of the Foreigner" cluster, meaning that both national groups share the same negative emotional reactions to Roma people characterised by insecurity, fear and anxiety before the "other".

Among the few studies that have attempted to study the role emotions play in the formation of SR, Deschamps and Guimelli (2002) found a correspondence between the content of the SR of insecurity of goods and people and the emotions elicited by those topics. Along the same lines, Lheureux and Guimelli (2009) explored the SR of driving and found that the SR were organized according to an emotional as well as cognitive dimension. The internal organization of the SR is based onthe sharing of similar emotions.

Our results on the relations between SR of Roma woman and emotions elicited by the Roma outgroup are also supported by recent trends on emotions and intergroup behaviors arising from the social cognition mainstream. Within thisline of research, many approaches underlie the role played by

intergroup emotions in shaping intergroup perceptions and behaviours (e.g. Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). According to Intergroup Emotions Theory (IET; Mackie, Davos, & Smith, 2000), intergroup emotions are generated by belonging to, and by deriving identity from, one specific social group. They are shaped by the very different ways in which different groups see the world. Once created, such intergroup emotions can drive intergroup behaviour. As for attitudes towards Roma people, the perception of economic and symbolic threats predicted adolescents' negative attitudes towards Roma people in Serbia and the Netherlands, while acceptance of social interactions with a culturally diverse minority corresponds to more favourable outgroup attitudes (Ljujic, Vedder, Dekker, & Geel, 2013). In Poland, experienced anger enhances negativity toward the Roma outgroup both in correlational and experimental studies (Bukowski, Dragon, & Kossowska, 2014).

Although we believe that administering questionnaires to university students is a valuable way to investigate the SRsof Roma people, we do acknowledge this as the study's main limitation. Further research should take into consideration amore inclusive sample, more representative of the populations of both country (i.e. Italy and Brazil).

As the representations of Roma people constitute ideological constructs that act to justify and legitimize existing socialand power relations between communities within society at large (Howarth, 2001; Tileagˇa, 2006; Triandafyllidou, 2000), the study of SR of the Roma minority still deserves socio-psychological consideration. Roma feminists are pointing to the invisibility of Roma women in public and non-governmental programmes and reports, the uncritical view of Roma culture and the vulnerability of Roma women to domestic violence. The social cost of the lack of secure jobs is particularly serious for the most vulnerable among Roma women, namely single mothers, widowed women and women victims of domestic violence, who lack the support of the community and may find themselves caught up in prostitution and/or trafficking. Asthe Roma women "wear their identities on their body", common stereotypes include racial inferiority and sexual availabil-ity/permissiveness (Oprea, 2004; p. 16; Gelbart, 2012). In particular, the results regarding the association between Roma woman and sexual objects may have negative consequences in terms of increased antisocial behaviours (Rudman & Mescher, 2012).

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