Universidade do Minho
Escola de Psicologia

Marta Sampaio Soto-Mayor Negrão

"What is to be a Gypsy?" Examining Elementary School Students' Knowledge on the Ethnic Group

Outubro de 2018

Universidade do Minho
Escola de Psicologia

Marta Sampaio Soto-Mayor Negrão

"What is to be a Gypsy?" Examining Elementary School Students' Knowledge on the Ethnic Group

Dissertação de Mestrado
Mestrado Integrado em Psicologia

Trabalho realizado sob orientação de

Professor Doutor Pedro Rosário
Professora Doutora Paula Magalhães

Outubro de 2018

Declaração

Nome: Marta Sampaio Soto-Mayor Negrão

Endereço electrónico: martasnegrao@gmail.com

Telemóvel: 912253805

Número do cartão de cidadão: 14603589

Título da dissertação: "What is to be a Gypsy?" Examining Elementary School Students' Knowledge on the Ethnic Group

Orientação: Professor Doutor Pedro Rosário; Professora Doutora Paula Magalhães

Ano de conclusão: 2018

Designação do Mestrado: Mestrado Integrado em Psicologia

É AUTORIZADA A REPRODUÇÃO INTEGRAL DESTA DISSERTAÇÃO, APENAS PARA EFEITOS DE INVESTIGAÇÃO, MEDIANTE DECLARAÇÃO ESCRITA DO INTERESSADO, QUE A TAL SE COMPROMETE.

Universidade do Minho, 16/10/2018

Assinatura: Marta Sampaio Soto-Mayor Negrão

Index

Resumo iv

Abstract v

Theoretical background 6

The Gypsy Community 6

Gypsy discrimination 7

Exclusion at School 8

Purpose of the study 10

Method 11

Participants 11

Measure and Instrument 11

Procedure 12

Data analysis 12

Results 13

Connotation of the responses 13

"Do not know" responses. 14

Social classification 14

Class experience with Gypsies, social classification and connotation of the responses 16

Discussion 18

Implications for Practice and Peer Education about Gypsy ethnicity 20

Limitations of the study and future research 21

References 23

Appendix A 29

Index for figures

Figure 1. Sample of the present study 11
Figure 2. Categories and subcategories of analysis of the answers. 14
Figure 3. Social classification. 16
Figure 4. Class experience with Gypsies and connotation of the responses. 17
Figure 5. Class experience with Gypsies and social classification. 17
Figure 6. Subcategories of social classification and class experience with Gypsies. 18

Agradecimentos

Aos meus orientadores, Professor Pedro e Professora Paula, um enorme obrigada por toda a disponibilidade e ensinamentos que me deram ao longo deste ano. Ao GUIA, que me deu a conhecer uma verdadeira equipa! Um especial obrigada à Tânia, que pacientemente e com tanta sabedoria me deu a conhecer um bocadinho do mundo que é a análise qualitativa, à Beatriz, pelo interesse e preocupação que sempre demonstrou pelo meu trabalho, à Ritinha, que provavelmente sem ter dado conta, me trouxe serenidade e calma nas poucas conversas que fomos tendo, e à Joaninha, com quem simpatizei de imediato e tive muito boas conversas.

À Carolina, ao André, ao Diogo, ao Filipe, e ao Moisés que partilharam este percurso de trabalho comigo, e um especial obrigada à Sandra, que me tão bem me ajudou e com quem partilhei tantas dúvidas e inquietações.

Aos meus pais e irmãos Francisco, Maria, e Manel que são a minha família e as pessoas mais importantes da minha vida! Obrigada Mãe pelos "descontrai, há sempre solução!".

À família Campelo, em especial ao Tio Joaquim e à Leonor, que como ninguém me receberam em sua casa.

Aos meus tão bons amigos da grande cidade do Porto, a Carol, o Manel, o Chico, o Nuno, o Manel, e a todos os outros, que me aturaram e acompanharam ao longo deste ano e me fizeram apaixonar pela cidade. Um especial obrigada à Pia, a melhor amiga que eu podia ter tido este ano.

E por fim, um gigante obrigada à Marta, à Joana, à Natália e ao Pedro, os melhores amigos da universidade!

“O que é ser Cigano?” Análise do Conhecimento de Alunos do Ensino Básico sobre a etnia

Resumo

A etnia cigana é um grupo minoritário que é largamente discriminado. Apesar das várias medidas adoptadas com via à sua inclusão, no campo da educação o cenário não é tão positivo. Estudos anteriores mostram que as crianças Ciganas nem sempre são bem integradas na escola e que a discriminação que sofrem pode estar relacionada com a falta de conhecimento da sua cultura. O presente estudo tem como objectivo analisar o conhecimento acerca da etnia Cigana de alunos do ensino básico. Foram analisadas 80 definições sobre a etnia Cigana escritas por alunos do 4.º ano de escolaridade. Os resultados revelam que a maioria dos participantes apresenta no seu discurso respeito pela diversidade intra e intercultural, atribui mais características “culture” do que “nature” a este grupo, e mais respostas com uma conotação positiva. No entanto, o conhecimento que estas crianças têm acerca da etnia Cigana é baixo. Sabem que têm uma cultura e crenças diferentes e defendem que os mesmos merecem respeito e direitos, mas não sabem definir concretamente a etnia em causa. Participantes com contacto em sala de aula com crianças da etnia Cigana têm uma opinião mais positiva acerca desta etnia e maior conhecimento acerca da sua cultura. Os resultados demonstram a necessidade de fazer chegar aos estudantes informação acerca da etnia Cigana. Aumentar o conhecimento acerca deste grupo étnico poderá contribuir para a sua integração escolar e consequentemente na comunidade onde estão inseridos, e promover o seu envolvimento escolar.

Palavras-chave: etnia Cigana; conhecimento; alunos do ensino básico; estudo qualitativo

“What is to be a Gypsy?” Examining Elementary School Students’ Knowledge on the Ethnic Group

Abstract

The Gypsy ethnicity is a minority group that is largely discriminated. Although the many measures adopted in terms of their inclusion, the education’s field doesn’t have such a positive scenario. Previous research report that Gypsy children are not always well integrated in school and the discrimination suffered can be due to a lack of knowledge of their culture. The present study aims to analyze elementary school student’s knowledge on this ethnic group. Eighty definitions about the Gypsy ethnicity provided by students from the 4th grade were analyzed. Findings indicate that the majority of the participants report respect for an intra and intercultural diversity, attributes more “culture” than “nature” characteristics to this group, and holds a more positive connotation about the Gypsy people. However, the knowledge children have on Gypsies is poor. Children know that Gypsies have a different culture and beliefs and are worthy of respect and human rights, but they cannot define specifically this ethnicity. Participants with class experience with Gypsy children have a more positive opinion about Gypsies and a better understanding about them too. These results indicate the need to provide information to students about the Gypsy ethnicity. Incrementing their awareness about this group may help integrate Gypsies in school and, consequently, in the community they live in, and promote their school engagement.

Keywords: Gypsy ethnicity; knowledge; elementary students; qualitative study

"What is to be a Gypsy?" Examining Elementary School Students' Knowledge on the Ethnic Group

"*For me the Gypsy ethnicity is something that I don't understand very well because they have different costumes and do some stuff differently.*", Girl, 10 years old

This is an answer to the question "What is to be a Gypsy?" from the point of view of a ten-year-old child. This description reveals the recognition of the Gypsy ethnicity but also a general lack of knowledge about it. Although this group is living in Portugal since more than five centuries, they still suffer discrimination, racism and social inequality (Mendes, Magano, & Candeias, 2014). Due to several reasons, such as cope with family responsibilities and cultural mores, Gypsy children school absenteeism is a reality. The ignorance about these reasons by the mainstream society may explain the discrimination against Gypsy people. The current study aimed to examine mainstream fourth graders knowledge about the Gypsy ethnicity. Increasing our knowledge on how Gypsies are perceived by the non-Gypsy students may help us further understand the reasons of the existent discrimination. Through this study we expect to help school administrators and teachers design contents to use in class or awareness-raising interventions aiming to favor the integration of Gypsy children in school and prevent discrimination.

Theoretical background

The Gypsy Community

Gypsies, Travelers or Roma, are terms used in literature to describe a heterogeneous ethnic group (e.g., different points of view, backgrounds, history, style of living). Despite its heterogeneity, this group share a set of cultural characteristics (e.g., growing with a few rules and schedules; and the value of the family and of the community) that leads to a strong internal cohesion of the group (see ACIDI, 2013; Bhopal, 2011; Jordan, 2001; Pinto, 2003; Rosário et al., 2013; Rosário et al., 2017) and allows to recognize themselves as being part of the same ethnic group.

The largest population in Europe lives in Bulgaria and Romania, and 80% of those living in Europe are now settled (ERIO, 2012). In Portugal, this group is named 'Ciganos' (Gypsies); this term is not only used officially, but also by Gypsies themselves (Baptista, 2011). Thus, from now on, authors will refer to this group as Gypsies. Gypsies constitute a minority ethnic group in Portugal since 500 years ago (ACIDI, 2013) and recent numbers presented by the High Commissioner for Migration (May 2017) pointed to 37 000 people of this community living in Portugal (Lusa, 2017). Portuguese Gypsy communities are mainly sedentary (Rosário et al., 2016), which contributes to children's school

attendance and their social integration (Baptista, 2011). Still, this community faces serious difficulties of integration and marginalization (ACIDI, 2013; Mendes et al., 2014).

Gypsy discrimination

The prejudice about Gypsies provoking distrust, fear, and rejection is deep-rooted in the European culture (ACIDI, 2013; Nicolae, 2007). Although the degree of prejudice and exclusion differs from country to country, the pattern of exclusion and discrimination Gypsies face is repeated across countries; for example, Gypsy people suffer more poverty and social exclusion than almost every other minority group (Frazer & Marlier, 2011; Nicolae, 2007; Baptista, 2011). Moreover, and according to Villano, Fontanella, Fontanella, and Donato (2017), Gypsy people is often considered as "a burden on society" (p. 35) due to their allegedly preference for living on welfare benefits rather than working. Additionally, the Gypsy community is commonly perceived by the mainstream population as wild, noisy, and dirty (Chryssochoou & Marcu, 2005). Their values, standards and lifestyles, often not aligned with the mainstream society, contribute to reinforce the contrast between them and the community they are trying to integrate (Pinto, 2003).

Anti-Gypsyism, as mentioned by Nicolae (2007), is a specific type of racism, an ideology of racial superiority that contributes to Gypsies' exclusion: "it manifests itself through violence, hate speech, exploitation, and discrimination" (p. 1). There is a sense that people in this ethnic group is still not recognized as citizens and not fully accepted in mainstream communities where they live (Deuchar & Bhopal, 2013). According to the participants of a study conducted in Italy, the lack of Gypsies' integration has more to do with the mainstream society than with their unwillingness to be integrated (Villano et al., 2017). The mainstream people lack of knowledge about this group, is likely to reflect on the distorted images of inferiorization and contempt, that negatively affect Gypsies' lives (Mendes et al., 2014).

Perceptions of discrimination regarding minorities have an impact on minorities' attitudes towards the dominant group, maintaining them distant and segregated from the society they are part of (Bagci, Çelebi, & Karaköse, 2017). This isolation not only answer the minorities needs of keeping their cultural identity preserved (ACIDI, 2013; Flecha & Soler, 2013; Jordan, 2001), but also contributes to their isolation, society's mistrust, and self-exclusion (ACIDI, 2013).

Gypsies share the same rights as the rest of the citizens, but daily life do not corroborate this proposition. For example, their complaints about the bullying and racism suffered in schools are not taken seriously by the school system (Bhopal, 2011; Deuchar & Bhopal, 2013). To minimize Gypsies' discrimination, several plans and measures have been put in motion, regarding education, health,

security, and equality, among others (ACIDI, 2013). For example, in 2007, an office to support Gypsy Portuguese communities, *Gabinete de Apoio às Comunidades Ciganas*, was set to answer their needs, promote their social integration, and value their culture and participation as Portuguese citizens (ACIDI, 2013). However, there are still obstacles to the implementation of such actions. The general lack of information concerning the Gypsy community, either about their real number, geographic location, or life styles constitutes an obstacle to the development of the National Strategy for the integration of this community (ACIDI, 2013).

Exclusion at School

Discrimination among the Gypsy community extends to several aspects of their lives, including school. Despite the many accomplishments obtained over the last years regarding integration, the full inclusion in the education system has been recognized as one of the major challenges yet to achieve (Frazer & Marlier, 2011). Gypsy children in school often suffer racism, institutional discrimination, name-calling, and even physical bullying. These maltreatments are likely to trigger self-exclusion from school and society (Jordan, 2001; Lloyd & McCluskey, 2008). Although schools have been adopting anti-racism and anti-bullying policies, they still fail to protect gypsy children's rights (ACIDI, 2013; Deuchar & Bhopal, 2013). For example, some Gypsy students feel excluded from school activities, such as extra-curricular activities, due to discrimination and lack of understanding of their lifestyle (Deuchar & Bhopal, 2013).

Some of the barriers that contribute to the non-inclusion of the Gypsy children at the school context are the lack of integration projects for Gypsy students, language barriers, limited access to transportation, educational professionals with low expectations regarding Gypsy students, and opposition of the non-Gypsy parents to the presence of Gypsies at their children classes (Gould, 2017). Denial of differences can be central to the negative experiences Gypsies are exposed to at school (Lloyd & McCluskey, 2008). Arguing that they are equal and so they should be treated as mainstream students may indicate: lack of recognition of their culture, or the assumption that their full inclusion requires an uncritical assimilation to make them similar to the mainstream children (Lloyd & Stead, 2001). Some teachers argue that by promoting Gypsy culture at school they are reinforcing Gypsies' dissimilarity and for this reason all pupils should be treated equally and differences between ethnic categories should be eliminated (Bhopal, 2011). In a Hungarian school, for example, Dunajeva (2017) reported that Gypsy students often discipline each other by using expressions such as "don't talk like a Gypsy", "don't act like a Gypsy", "don't be a Gypsy". It seems that these Gypsy children have internalized in their speech negative stereotypes shared by the non-Gypsy community.

"WHAT IS TO BE A GYPSY"

Another barrier to inclusion and well-being of Gypsy students at school is related with teachers behaviors. In Araújo's (2016) study, most of the interviewed teachers, social workers, and decision-makers, were of the opinion that the Gypsy population resists to be included, is incapable to adjust to school norms and values, and has poor social and cultural skills (Araújo, 2016). Teachers often argue that Gypsy children have learning difficulties instead of recognizing the impact that non-attendance at school has in their learning progress and skills (Deuchar & Bhopal, 2013). The cultural mores (e.g., early marriage, support provided to patients) plus the daily tasks each Gypsy child is expected to be responsible for (e.g., to take care of the younger siblings, to wash the dishes and clothes, to collect scrap metal, help their family selling in fairs), are not always compatible with the school courses and schedules, contributing to Gypsy children nonattendance to school (Pinto, 2003). Moreover, teachers' knowledge about their students' family environment and living conditions influences their behavior and expectations (Zachos, 2017). Bhopal (2011) highlights the influence of the teachers' attitudes towards Gypsy students on their confidence and disposition to attend school and participate in school activities. Teachers' expectations regarding their Gypsy students seem to be low, which is likely to impact negatively on their performance (Bereményi, 2011). In fact, teachers who emphasize that Gypsy children are a problem were found to be those who lack knowledge of and empathy with Gypsy culture (Bhopal, 2011).

Another factor that can hamper Gypsies' children inclusion at school is their parents' perceptions about school. According to Rosário and colleagues (2013), Gypsy families are likely to perceive school as a way to learn the basic skills needed to help their family in the fairs business. When interviewed, Gypsy families justified their children and grandchildren's school early leaving in the end of elementary school saying that children had already learned the knowledge that school is expected to transmit (e.g., read, basic arithemetics); the family and the community would teach them what they need to learn in life (e.g., sexuality education, human values) (Mendes et al., 2014). This may explain the high dropouts rates of these students (Rosário et al., 2016). Some parents view secondary school as a hindrance to their 'children's maturity', because they believe that at this age their children are becoming adults and therefore should be occupied with adult tasks (Gould, 2017, p. 130). For many Gypsy children and their families, school is the place of distinct culture (Bhopal, 2011), and they get worried that their culture might merge when they send their kids to school (Lloyd & McCluskey, 2008). Moreover, Gypsy families often perceive school as an institution where they are not welcomed and do not belong to, largely as a consequence of the lack of dialogue between the community and schools (Flecha & Soler, 2013). There is an important gap between school rules and goals and Gypsies values

and styles of living (Montenegro, 2012). In fact, authors such as Deuchar and Bhopal (2013) argue that Gypsy children early drop out of school has to do more with concerns about the school institution itself rather than with the parents not wanting their children to receive education. Actually, many parents want to involve their kids into the school system and support their education (Dunajeva, 2017; Lloyd & McCluskey, 2008), but feel frustrated for not being able to exercise their rights and accomplish their responsibilities as Gypsy parents (Lloyd & McCluskey, 2008). Still, despite their concerns about the educational system, parents want a better life for their children and regard education as the answer (Dunajeva, 2017).

Purpose of the study

This study analyzed elementary school students' knowledge about the Gypsy ethnicity. The study is focused on the Gypsy ethnicity due to the serious difficulties of integration and marginalization in the society they live in, especially within the education system (ACIDI, 2013; Frazer & Marlier, 2011). Extant literature and ad hoc evidence support that the mainstream culture lack knowledge about the Gypsy culture (Cudworth, 2008); besides, literature reports that lack of knowledge is intimately related to discrimination (Thornicrof, Rose, Kassam, & Sartorius, 2007). Therefore, it seemed relevant to learn the children's knowledge about the Gypsy ethnicity.

Listening to students aiming to learn their knowledge about the Gypsy ethnicity may help design interventions that promote positive attitudes towards Gypsies and influence their school achievement and inclusion. Elementary school students go through a process of change, from an egocentric self to understanding and forming perceptions about others (Akos, 2000). Moreover, negative attitudes are developed in early age and tend to stabilize with time (Weiss, 1994). Therefore, to prevent the onset of discrimination, elementary school is a privileged time-frame to intervene. For this reason, participants were children from elementary school.

Our sample was split in two groups: one composed by students that share classes with Gypsy students and the other composed by students who don't share classes with Gypsy students. Therefore, we can analyze whether the presence of Gypsy children in class influences mainstream children's knowledge about this group.

These results may provide information about the distribution of students in classrooms and peer relationships between Gypsies and non-Gypsies, which might help planning future peer education interventions. Moreover, the results may contribute to reach the Portuguese National Strategy, regarding the effective integration of Gypsy communities until 2020 in the society (ACIDI, 2013). In order to investigate students' knowledge about the Gypsy ethnicity, an open question was made. Open questions

allow us to acquire a better understanding of the participants' perceptions through the description provided in the answers. Another benefit of using this methodology is that it prevents the investigator from restricting the participants to a smaller array of answers and it also eliminates bias from the survey (Campbell, Morton, Roulston, & Barger, 2011).

Method

Participants

The present study is a part of a larger investigation about the effectiveness of a program in increasing knowledge and decreasing stigma towards Gypsy people. Participants were 603 elementary school students attending 19 regular classrooms from public schools in the north of Portugal. Considering the qualitative nature of the goals of this investigation, the present study included a total of 80 elementary school students of the 4th grade, of which 41 were female (51.25%), aged between 8 and 10 (M=9.14; SD=0.44). Two groups were formed according to the class experience (CE) or non-experience (NCE) with Gypsy children. From the original pool of participants, 40 students were randomly selected from classes with Gypsy students (CE) and 40 students were randomly selected from classes without Gypsy students (NCE), as illustrated in Figure 1 bellow.

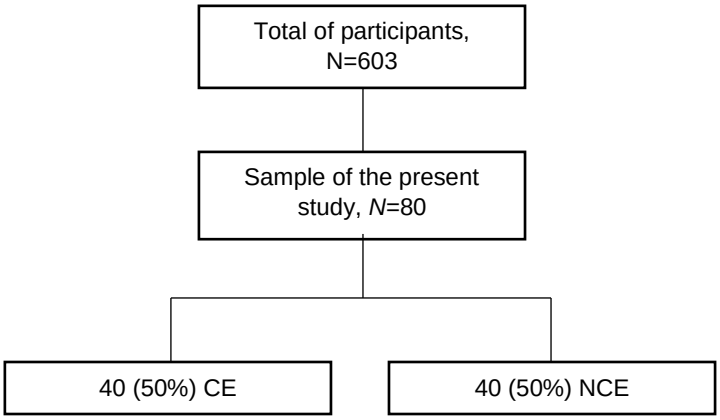


Figure 1. Sample of the present study

Measure and Instrument

Socio-demographic questionnaire. This questionnaire includes questions about gender, age, ethnicity, and personal experience with Gypsies.

Open question. Questionnaires about factual knowledge were found to be a limited methodology to access declarative knowledge on a particular theme or to capture the diversity of conceptions and beliefs on a particular phenomenon (Campbell et al., 2011). Hence, to overcome this

limitation, an open-format question ("What is to be a Gypsy?") was posed to children with the goal of learning their declarative knowledge about what is to be a Gypsy.

Procedure

Data collection occurred within the context of a larger study designed to increase children's knowledge on Gypsy culture. For the present study we analyzed the participants' answers to the question "what is to be a Gypsy?" and their demographic information. Before contacting the schools to proceed with the data collection an authorization was obtained from the Ministry of Education. Afterwards, parents and those responsible for the students were informed about the study and asked to have their children participating on it. After gathering the parental informed consents signed, students were asked to fill in a questionnaire composed by the demographic questions and the open-format question, "What is to be a Gypsy?". Data was obtained during regular classes.

Data analysis

Students' spontaneous definitions of "What is to be a Gypsy" were analyzed in the present study. Participants' answers were transcribed verbatim to a Word document for later coding and analysis, which was made with the assistance of the software NVivo. A thematic analysis was carried out following the steps indicated by Braun and Clarke (2006). The codebook was built following a deductive and inductive process at a semantic level (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The categories "nature" and "culture" present in the codebook, were based on the study by Chryssochoou and Marcu (2005). These authors followed a process of "social classification" (Pérez, Moscovici, and Chulvi, 2002) and asked their participants to rate their national in-group and the Gypsy group using characteristics typically human and typically animal. This approach is based on the dimension nature-culture, where "nature" refers to the material that exists before the "culture" and that can undergo a cultural process of transformation (Chryssochoou & Marcu, 2005); it's "the primitive condition before human society" (Williams, 1989, p. 222), and it's seen as something that needs to be dominated and controlled (Chryssochoou & Marcu, 2005). In contrast "culture" exists when "nature" is domesticated, when there's evidence of "human development", "civilization", "a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development" (Williams, 1989, pp. 89-90), "a system of beliefs and practices in terms of which a group of human beings understand, regulate and structure their individual and collective lives" (Parekh, 2000, p. 143). The emergent themes and sub-themes from data were defined taking into account participants' own words (see Appendix A for categories and subcategories).

To enhance the trustworthiness of the findings, two researchers carried out the thematic analysis. Both were trained on the coding scheme and coded independently each answer. After each

researcher coded the answers, the inter-rater reliability was assessed and the researchers met to discuss discrepancies found in the coding process. Cohen's Kappa coefficient showed an inter-rater agreement of 0.72, which is considered substantial (Landis & Koch, 1977). After coding 40 definitions for both groups of participants (i.e., 40 for the group with class experience, CE and 40 for the group with non-class experience with Gypsies, NCE), researchers found that further answers produced no changes in the codebook. At this point, data saturation was reached.

Results

All the participants answers were analyzed considering two main focuses: connotation (positive, negative and neutral) and social classification ("nature" and "culture").

Connotation of the responses

In order to understand the perspective (positive, negative or neutral) of the participants about "nature" and "culture" characteristics, their answers were analyzed regarding denotation and connotation.

Positive connotation responses. Approximately half of the answers showed a positive connotation (46.25%, 37 out of 80); the code "positive" was assigned to responses with positive ideas or feelings to Gypsy culture and nature, where there was evidence of respect, acceptance and report of positive characteristics (e.g., P.6: *There's nothing wrong in being a Gypsy. Surely they can be different*). Most of the answers coded in this category mentioned Gypsies and non-Gypsies as being equal, and also the need to respect Gypsy people cultural mores and traditions (e.g., P5: *For me a Gypsy is someone like others, makes mistakes but I make it too*; P17: *For me to be a Gypsy is a person like others but with different costumes and traditions*; P36: *For me to be a Gypsy is to be like others. To be respected and to respect everyone. They are different from the outside but equal on the inside*).

Negative connotation responses. Approximately one quarter of the answers had a negative connotation (27.5%; 22 out of 80). The code "negative" was attributed to responses with negative connotation regarding the Gypsy ethnicity, where discrimination, negative characteristics and contempt were present (e.g., P39: *To be a Gypsy is horrible because they cause a lot of problems*). Most of the answers coded in this category mentioned Gypsies' lack of respect to others and their disruptive behavior (e.g., P40: To be a Gypsy is *to be violent, someone that do not respect others*; P56: *...I feel that they misbehave, they don't have manners*).

Neutral connotation responses. Twenty out of 80 responses (25%) were assigned to responses with a neutral connotation regarding the Gypsy ethnicity, when there was no value judgment

in the response but only descriptions of the Gypsy ethnicity (e.g., P65: *To be a Gypsy is to have and to live a culture different than ours*). The answers of the participants that didn't express any opinion were coded as "neutral" too. Most of the answers coded in this category mentioned the different culture and costumes of the Gypsy people (e.g., P74: *Listen to Gypsy music, to dance and to throw parties*; P72: *To follow a different religion and to have different costumes*).

"Do not know" responses. Nine out of 80 responses (11.25%) did not address any definition of Gypsy ethnicity. Quotations included in this category declared to not to be aware of what the gypsy ethnicity was.

Social classification

Each students response was also categorized as "nature" or "culture". If the response had "nature" and "culture" arguments, it was codified in both categories (e.g., P62: *They are people a little bit different from us because they have different ethnicity, other ways of living, different skin and also an accent*).

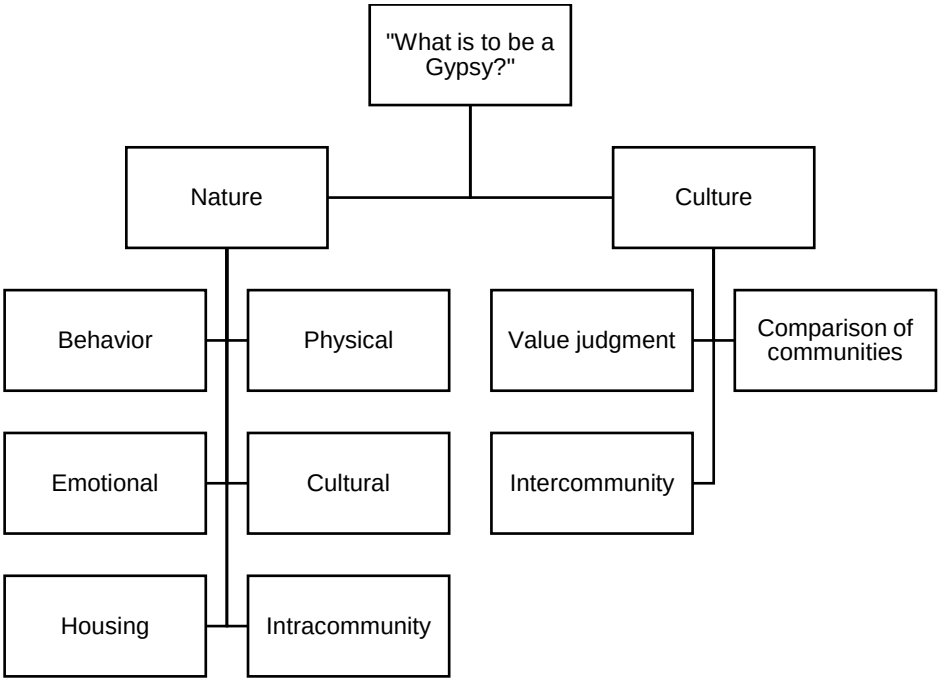


Figure 2. Categories and subcategories of analysis of the answers.

"Nature" state responses. Fifty-two out of 80 responses (65%) were coded in this category. The code "nature" was attributed to descriptions that mentioned characteristics of the Gypsy individual, its natural traits, personality characteristics, behavior, its free-spirit essence (e.g., free of social restrictions, wild, noisy, dirty, aggressive) (e.g., P41: *...because they hit, push, they are mean to other*

people and their parents are even worst, even over they have lice). From these 52 responses 18 (34.62%) were exclusively coded in the "nature" category. Within this category, most of the answers, 22 out of 52 (42.31%) showed a "positive" connotation, 20 out of 52 showed a "negative" connotation (38.46%) and nine out of 52 a "neutral" connotation (17.31%).

"Culture" state responses. Fifty-three out of 80 responses (66.25%) were coded in "culture" category. "Culture" comprises statements with a description of the Gypsy community taking into account its integration and relation with the society they live in. While in "nature" it is only considered the Gypsy individual, in "culture" the Gypsy community and the non-Gypsy community are both addressed. The "culture" descriptions mention Gypsies through comparisons of both non-Gypsy and Gypsy communities (e.g., P33: *A Gypsy is not that different from us*), value judgments about the ethnicity (e.g., P41: *For me to be a Gypsy is awful,...*) and the relation Gypsies and non-Gypsies maintain (e.g., P32:*...but we are all friends*). From these 53 responses, 19 (35.85%) were exclusively coded in the "culture" category. Within this category, most of the answers, 34 out of 53 (64.15%) showed a "positive" connotation, 14 out of 53 showed a "negative" connotation (26.42%) and four out of 53 showed a "neutral" connotation (7.55%).

"Nature" subcategories. The "nature" category includes the following subcategories: "behavior", when Gypsies are defined by their behaviors (e.g., P49: *Gypsies steal stuff, and they ruin a lot of things of others*); "physical", if Gypsies physical characteristics are described (e.g., P16: *...they have dark skin and longer hair*), "emotional" when Gypsies emotional traits are described (e.g., P42: *In my opinion a Gypsy is someone really nervous*), "cultural" if Gypsies cultural costumes are mentioned (e.g., P12: *For me to be a Gypsy is to have other costumes,...to speak in a different way*), "housing" if Gypsies housing features are described (e.g., P61: *They're homeless people*) and "intracommunity" when it is mentioned the relation Gypsies maintain with each other (e.g., P2: *...because their family is very united, they're together almost every time*). The subcategory "cultural" was the most mentioned in the participants answers (twenty six out of 80, 32.5%), followed by the subcategory "emotional" (twenty four out of 80, 30%), and the subcategory "behavior" (twelve out of 80, 15%).

"Culture" subcategories. The "culture" category includes the following subcategories: "value judgment" when there is a value judgment on the Gypsy ethnicity in the answer (e.g., P49: *For me to be a Gypsy is something very bad*), "comparison of communities" if Gypsies are described through a comparison of the Gypsy and the participants' reality (e.g., P1: *For me the Gypsies are like us*) and "intercommunity" when mentioned the relation between Gypsies and the mainstream society

(e.g., P13:*...they are our friends and I'm their friend too*). The subcategory "comparison of communities" was the most mentioned in the participants answers (thirty seven out of 80, 46.25%).

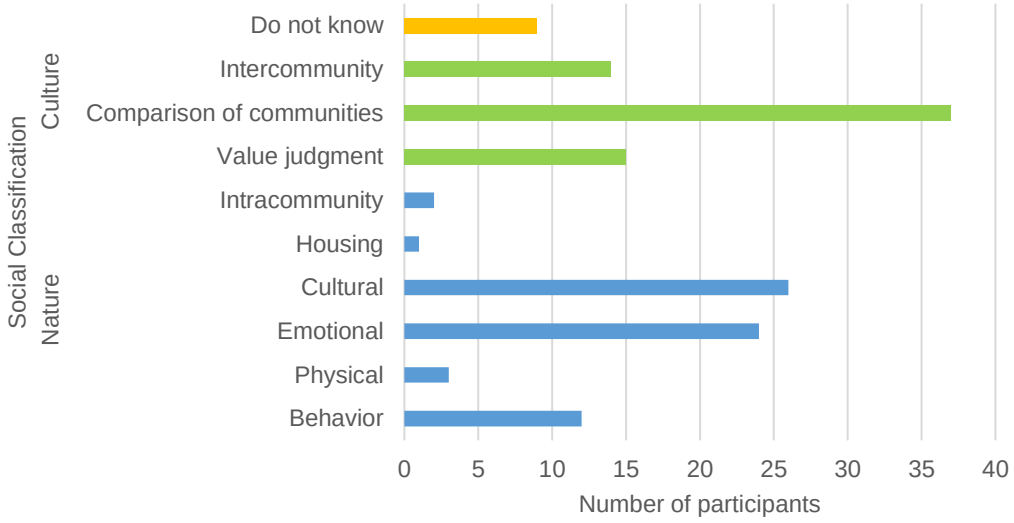


Figure 3. Social classification. Each bar represents the number of participants who referred each content subcategory.

Class experience with Gypsies, social classification and connotation of the responses

In the following paragraphs, social classification and connotation will be analyzed separately in each one of the two groups that form the sample: participants with class experience with Gypsies – CE; and participants without class experience with Gypsies – NCE.

CE – Concerning social classification ("nature" and "culture") in this group, 27.5% (11 out of 40) of the answers mentioned "culture" characteristics, 22.5% (9 out of 40) mentioned "nature" characteristics and 45% (18 out of 40) mentioned both "culture" and "nature" characteristics. Five percent of the answers of this group (2 out of 40) were coded into the "do not know" category. The most mentioned subcategory in this group was "comparison of communities" (57.5%, 23 out of 40), followed by "cultural" (40%, 16 out of 40). More than half of the answers, 65% (26 out of 40) of the participants with class experience with Gypsies had a "positive connotation", 17.5% (7 out of 40) had a "neutral connotation", and 17.5% (7 out of 40) had a "negative connotation".

NCE – Concerning social classification ("nature" and "culture") in this group, 22.5% (9 out of 40) of the answers mentioned "culture" characteristics to the Gypsies, 20% (8 out of 40) mentioned "nature" characteristics, and 40% (16 out of 40) mentioned both "culture" and "nature" characteristics. The most mentioned subcategories in this group were "comparison of communities" and "emotional" (35%, 14 out of 40). This group of participants had a higher result (17.5%, 7 out of 40)

in the "do not know" category than the ones with class experience with Gypsies. Regarding connotation of the responses, 37.5% (15 out of 40) had a "negative connotation" and 30% (12 out of 40) had both "neutral" and "positive connotation".

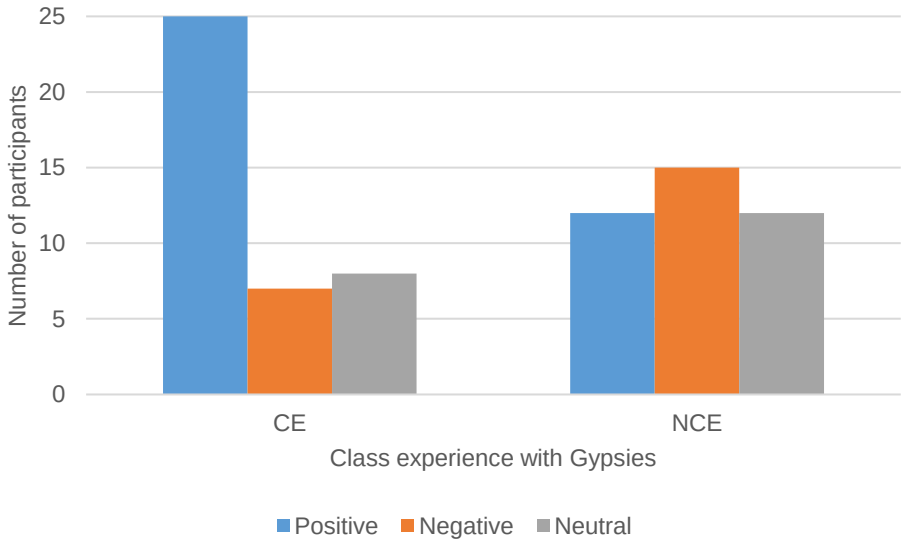


Figure 4. Class experience with Gypsies and connotation of the responses. Each bar represents the number of participants with or without class experience with Gypsies and each color represents the connotation of the responses.

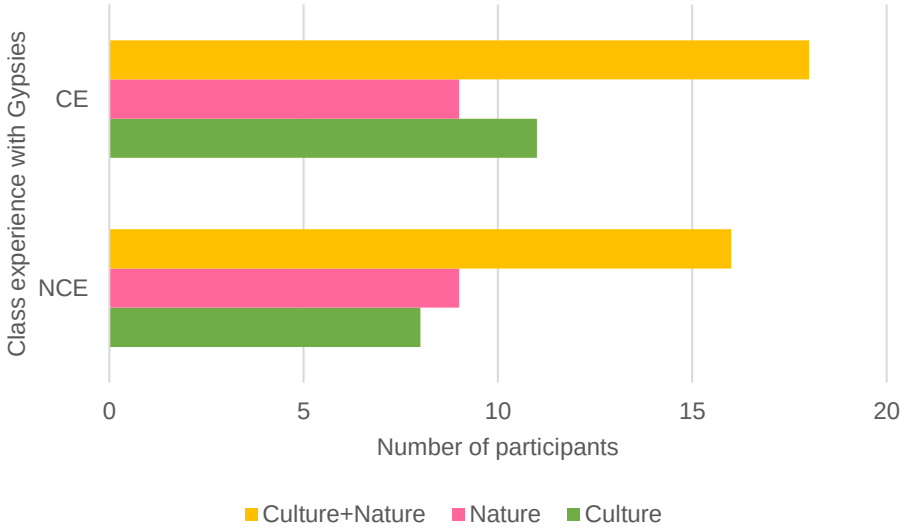


Figure 5. Class experience with Gypsies and social classification. Each bar represents the number of participants with or without class experience with Gypsies and each color represents the social classification attributed by participants.

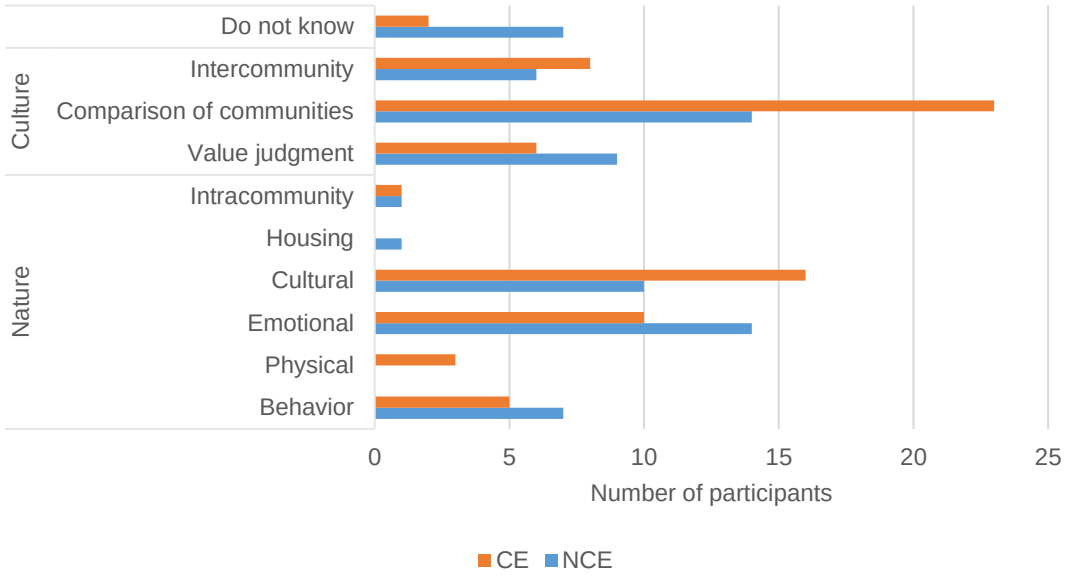


Figure 6. Subcategories of social classification and class experience with Gypsies. Each bar represents the number of participants who referred each content subcategory and each color represent the personal experience with Gypsies.

Discussion

This study aimed to learn elementary school children's knowledge about the Gypsy ethnicity. Overall, findings indicate that almost half of the responses had a positive connotation, and both "culture" and "nature" characteristics were attributed to the Gypsy population. Finally, the subcategory "comparison of communities" (defining the Gypsy ethnicity by different or equal given participants' reality and by the way they should be treated), was present in most of the responses. The descriptions tended to define the Gypsy ethnicity highlighting their culture, costumes and traditions and their emotional characteristics (e.g., P35: *To be a Gypsy is to be a good* person…*the way they speak is funny*).

Nevertheless, despite the high percentage of positive responses, there are still participants describing the Gypsy ethnicity as something negative. This may reflect the prejudice against the Gypsy ethnicity that is deeply spread in today's world society. According to literature, Gypsies are commonly perceived as a community displaying an aggressive and impolite behavior (Chryssochoou & Marcu, 2005). The subcategories "emotional" and "behavior", two of the most referenced categories by the participants with a "negative connotation" associated, are consistent with this prior finding.

Despite representing a very small percentage (6.25%, 5 out of 80), some participants recognized the isolation Gypsies live due to their discrimination by the dominant group (e.g., P55: *For me to be a Gypsy is to be unknown and not knowing anyone*; P59: *To be an unknown person*; P28: *…to be lonely…*).

"WHAT IS TO BE A GYPSY"

Some participants, 11.25%, declared not to know what a Gypsy is ("do not know" category), however, and despite "culture" being one of the most mentioned subcategories, it doesn't necessarily show a deep knowledge about this ethnicity when analyzing the other participants' answers, we learn that globally students lack knowledge about the Gypsy culture. The participants are aware of the Gypsy ethnicity, but they do not give detailed examples of the characteristics of the Gypsy culture (e.g., P59: "*It is to be a different person, from another country, another ethnicity.*"). Students statements are vague. For example, they acknowledge that Gypsies have different traditions, uses and costumes but they don't specify them (e.g., P63: *It is to have different origins and culture and to be different*; P17: *For me a Gypsy is someone like the others but simply has other costumes and traditions*). Data show that participants realize that Gypsy ethnicity exists and has its own particularities but in reality, they do not know in what Gypsy ethnicity identity consists of. This lack of knowledge, as explained before, may be one of the possible interpretations for the discrimination felt by Gypsies.

Curiously, within the category "do not know", participants without class experience with Gypsies, scored higher (77.78%, 7 out of 9). To promote Gypsies' inclusion, some state the importance of finding strategies that put Gypsies and non-Gypsies working together in the same activity, or even sharing the same neighborhood (Mendes et al., 2014). In fact, looking at the results the participants with class experience with Gypsies scored higher in the positive connotation (65%, 26 out of 40) comparing to the participants without class experience (30%, 12 out of 40).

Concerning social classification, the difference between the number of responses attributing "culture" and "nature" characteristics to Gypsies is not noteworthy, contrary to the results of the study by Chryssochoou & Marcu (2005). The same happened when compared participants with and without class experience with Gypsies (participants with class experience with Gypsies attributed more "culture" traits to the Gypsies). There can be several reasons that may explain these conflicting results. First, in the study by Chryssochoou & Marcu (2005) the participants were asked to produce attributes either typically human or typically animal, while in our study the participants didn't have such specific instructions. Another possible reason may be the fact that Gypsies are incorporating some features of the mainstream society such as the sedentarism, leading participants to look at them with more "culture" traits. Nowadays, the most part of the Gypsy's communities living in Portugal are sedentary (Mendes et al., 2014). Interestingly, in the current study no participants mentioned the Gypsy way of living: nomad or sedentary.

"Nature" is associated to a negative connotation (Pérez et al., 2002). In the present study, even with a similar number of positive and negative connotation responses in the "nature" category, positive

connotation scored higher (positive - 42.31%, 22 out of 52, negative - 38.46%, 20 out of 52). However, when looking at the responses solely codified in the "nature" category (excluding the ones with both "nature" and "culture" characteristics) the negative connotations doubled the positive ones. "Nature" is defined as a primitive and still not domesticated state, where the wild man is part and considered as something negative (Pérez et al., 2002). The ethnic minorities are usually associated to the "nature" domain (Pérez et al., 2002).

Education is the foundation for social and cultural transformation of the people (Vala, Brito, & Lopes, 2015) and is part of the citizen's rights to have access to it. Beside the learning of the citizenship rights, socialization through education promotes social skills, extending the knowledge about others (Mendes et al., 2014). Literature indicates that the higher the Gypsies' education level, the better the levels of relations with non-Gypsies (Mendes et al., 2014). Thus, is essential to understand the reasons that lead Gypsies to be distant from schools and promote their education.

It is interesting that many participants wrote about human rights and the respect Gypsies deserve when the question made was about the definition of being a Gypsy. This may indicate participants lack of knowledge about this ethnicity and also social desirability.

Gillespie-Lynch and colleagues (2015), on their research about college students' conceptions regarding autism, mentioned the negative impact of the teachers, students and staff lack of understanding of the disorder on college students with autism. Furthermore, they found students with a first degree relative on the spectrum exhibiting a trend towards reducing stigma. Considering this information, it may be said that understanding is essential on a process of inclusion and acceptance.

Parents and especially peer perceptions, influence children's attitudes towards Gypsies (Maričić & Mihalj, 2016), which makes these two groups of great importance for future intervention to end discrimination and increase positive perceptions about Gypsies. School works as a cultural interface between the different communities (ACIDI, 2013) and may help diminishing Gypsies discrimination and social exclusion (Bhopal, 2004).

Implications for Practice and Peer Education about Gypsy ethnicity

Considering students' lack of knowledge about the Gypsy culture and in order to contribute to Gypsies' sense of school belonging, the Gypsy culture should be included as a content in the school curriculum. This educational strategy, would not only improve the knowledge about the topic but also favor positive attitudes towards it (Cummings, Cassie, Galambos, & Wilson, 2006; Rosário et al., 2016).

Besides providing this knowledge to students it is also necessary to display sessions about Gypsy culture to the teachers, school staff and parents. The lack of knowledge participants present is

likely to reflect teachers and parents' lack of knowledge about Gypsy people. Increasing students, parents, teachers and school staff knowledge about the Gypsy culture enhance Gypsies social development and contributes to their inclusion in the school and community they're part of.

Introducing in schools Gypsy mediators could also be a great measure to implement. In a study of Mendes et al. (2014), when Gypsies were interviewed about their perception about school and the measures that could be done in the line of their inclusion, mostly (89.6%) revealed the importance of existing Gypsy teachers and staff in the schools (Mendes et al., 2014).

In a school integration program, Gypsy parents changed their attitude and mindset by letting their children participate in the activities proposed by the school (Pinto, 2003). The relation of proximity and trust the animator responsible for the activities developed with the Gypsy community, was the reason for this changed of opinion. The activities' preparation was done in collaboration with the Gypsy parents and the result always communicated. Therefore, Gypsy parents should be involved in the school life of their children in order to promote their education.

According to the literature and the current results, organizing mixed classes with Gypsy and non-Gypsy students is an inclusive strategy. The strong union between Gypsies is globally recognized, but on the other hand the relation between Gypsies and non-Gypsies is not that common, mostly for reasons of suspicion and fear (Mendes et al., 2014). The results show us that students with class experience with Gypsies have a more positive perspective of the Gypsy culture, a better understanding of the culture and a stronger notion of cultural diversity, when compared with the students without class experience with Gypsies.

Limitations of the study and future research

The participants' age and the lack of instructions to guide the participant's answers are two reasons that may explain why the participants' responses have low information about Gypsy ethnicity. To overcome these limitations, presenting the same question "what is to be a Gypsy?" but followed by some more direct questions, such as, "identify three aspects that characterize the Gypsy culture" and "do you think Gypsies are discriminated? If so, why?", could be a solution.

An open-ended format question has its limitations, such as having a limited space to write, which can restrain participants' answers. While coding the data, investigators dealt with the difficulty of understanding some participants point of view. In order to control this difficulty in expressing themselves in writing and to better understand and explore their knowledge about the question, a semi-structured interview conducted individually could be made.

It wasn't taken into account if the participants had any personal contact with Gypsies, only the presence of Gypsies in the class. Due this factor, it is not possible to assume that participants' knowledge about the Gypsy culture is only influenced by the presence or non-presence of Gypsy classmates.

Despite the instructions to respond the question individually, data was collected with the whole class, which made difficult to control the influence of each other's on each individual's answer. Moreover, it is unknown whether participants' answers reflect their true feelings and attitudes or are social desirable answers.

Participants opinions can be influenced by different aspects, such as, for example, their parents. Literature suggest that parents have impact in their children's attitudes considering gender, politics and religion (Glass & Bengtson, 1986). Consequently, these children attitudes can be the reflection of their parents' attitudes. In future interventions, parents should be taken in consideration and an intervention with both groups should be planned.

As a suggestion for a future research, it would be interesting to explore the teachers' perceptions about Gypsies, considering their influence on students' beliefs, opinions and attitudes, and the lack of studies with this group.

The studies about the perception people have on Gypsies are scarce, especially children's perception. Gypsies discrimination is more than proved, and in order to fight this reality, we need to understand better this phenomenon and design effective interventions. For that, is necessary more investment on this subject and consequently more studies about it.

References

Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural [ACIDI]. (2013). *Estratégia nacional para a integração das comunidades Ciganas 2013-2020*. Lisboa: ACIDI. Retrieved from https://www.acm.gov.pt/documents/10181/52642/enicc_ACM.pdf/42f8ef57-8cd7-4118-9170-9fcd9bc53ec2

Akos, P. (2000). Building empathic skills in elementary school children through group work. *The Journal for Specialists in Group Work*, *25*(2), 214–223. doi: 10.1080/01933920008411462

Araújo, M. (2016). A very 'prudent integration': white flight, school segregation and the depoliticization of (anti-)racism. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *19*(2), 300–323. doi: 10.1080/13613324.2014.969225

Bagci, S. C., Çelebi, E., & Karaköse, S. (2017). Discrimination Towards Ethnic Minorities: How Does it Relate to Majority Group Members' Outgroup Attitudes and Support for Multiculturalism. *Social Justice Research*, *30*(1), 1–22. doi: 10.1007/s11211-017-0281-6

Baptista, I. (2011). *Promoting Social Inclusion of Roma: a study of national policies*. Lisboa: CESIS. Retrieved from www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu

Bereményi, B. (2011). Intercultural policies and the contradictory views of teachesr: the Roma in Catalonian schools. *Intercultural Education*, *22*(5), 355–369. doi: 10.1080/14675986.2011.643134

Bhopal, K. (2004). Gypsy travellers and education: Changing needs and changing perceptions. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, *52*(1), 47–64. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8527.2004.00254.x

Bhopal, K. (2011). 'This is a school, it's not a site': teachers' attitudes towards Gypsy and Traveller pupils in schools in England, UK. *British Educational Research Journal*, *37*(3), 465–483. doi:

10.1080/01411921003786561

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. doi: 10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Campbell, J. M., Morton, J. F., Roulston, K., & Barger, B. D. (2011). A Descriptive Analysis of Middle School Students' Conceptions of Autism. *Journal of Developmental and Physical Disabilities*, *23*(5), 377–397. doi: 10.1007/s10882-011-9234-4

Chryssochoou, X., & Marcu, A. (2005). Exclusion of ethnic groups from the realm of humanity. Prejudice against the Gypsies in Britain and in Romania. *Psicologia Politica*, *30*, 41–56. http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=1271250

Cudworth, D. (2008). 'There is a little bit more than just delivering the stuff': Policy, pedagogy and the education of Gypsy/Traveller children. *Critical Social Policy*, *28*(3), 361–377. doi: 10.1177/0261018308091275

Cummings, S. M., Cassie, K. M., Galambos, C., & Wilson, E. (2006). Impact of an Infusion Model on Social Work Students' Aging Knowledge, Attitudes, and Interests. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, *47*(3/4), 173–186. doi: 10.1300/J083v47n03

Deuchar, R., & Bhopal, K. (2013). 'We're still human beings, we're not aliens': promoting the citizenship rights and cultural diversity of Traveller children in schools: Scottish and English perspectives. *British Educational Research Journal*, *39*(4), 733–750. doi: 10.1080/01411926.2012.679252

Dunajeva, J. (2017). Education of Roma Youth in Hungary: Schools, Identities and Belonging. *European Education*, *49*(1), 56–70. doi: 10.1080/10564934.2017.1280332

European Roma Information Office [ERIO]. (2012). *Debunking Myths & Revealing Truths about the*

Roma. Brussels: ERIO. Retrieved from http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/publications/roma final pdf.pdf

Flecha, R., & Soler, M. (2013). Turning difficulties into possibilities: engaging Roma families and students in school through dialogic learning. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *43*(4), 451–465. doi: 10.1080/0305764X.2013.819068

Frazer, H., & Marlier, E. (2011, December). *Promoting the Social Inclusion of Roma*. Retrieved from https://www.gitanos.org/upload/44/11/synthesis_report_2011-2_final_3_1_.pdf

Gillespie-Lynch, K., Brooks, P. J., Someki, F., Obeid, R., Shane-Simpson, C., Kapp, S. K., ... Smith, D. S. (2015). Changing College Students' Conceptions of Autism: An Online Training to Increase Knowledge and Decrease Stigma. *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, *45*(8), 2553–2566. doi: 10.1007/s10803-015-2422-9

Glass, J., Bengtson, V. L., & Dunham, C. C. (1986). Attitude similarity in Three-generation Families: Socialization, Status Inheritance, or Reciprocal Influence? *American Sociological Review, 51*(5), 685-698. doi: 10.2307/2095493

Gould, S. (2017). Promoting the social inclusion and academic progress of Gypsy , Roma and Traveller children: a secondary school case study. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, *33*(2), 126–148. doi: 10.1080/02667363.2016.1259996

Jordan, E. (2001). Exclusion of Travellers in state schools. *Educational Research*, *43*(2), 117–132. doi: 10.1080/00131880110051128

Landis, J. R., & Koch, G. G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, *33*(1), 159–174. doi: 10.2307/2529310

Lloyd, G., & McCluskey, G. (2008). Education and Gypsies/Travellers: 'contradictions and significant

silences' 1. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *12*(4), 331–345. doi: 10.1080/13603110601183065

Lloyd, G., & Stead, J. (2001). 'The boys and girls not calling me names and the teachers to believe me'. Name calling and the experiences of Travellers in school. *Children & Society*, *15*, 361–374. doi: 10.1002/CHI.671

Lusa (2017). Comunidade cigana em Portugal é de 37 mil indivíduos e 91,3% não tem o 3.º ciclo. Diário de Notícias. Retrieved from https://www.dn.pt/lusa/interior/comunidade-cigana-em-portugal-e-de-37-mil-individuos-e-913-nao-tem-o-3o-ciclo-8490570.html

Maričić, J., & Mihalj, M. (2016). The role of contact and perceived attitudes of surroundings in children's acceptance of "different" peers. *Psihologija*, *49*(1), 19–35. doi: 10.2298/PSI1601019M

Mendes, M., Magano, O., & Candeias, P. (2014, December). *Estudo nacional sobre as comunidades ciganas*. Retrieved from https://repositorio.iscte-iul.pt/bitstream/10071/15587/1/estudonacionalsobreascomunidadesciganas.pdf

Montenegro, M. (2012). *Aprendendo a ser cigano, hoje: empurrando e puxando fronteiras* (Doctoral dissertation). [Repositório da Universidade de Lisboa]. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10451/7994

Nicolae, V. (2007). Towards a definition of Anti-Gypsyism. In V. Nicolae & H. Slavik (Eds.), *Roma diplomacy* (pp. 21-30). New York, NY: The International Debate Education Association.

Parekh, B. (2000). Understanding culture. In *Rethinking multiculturalism: Cultural diversity and political theory*. (pp. 142-178). Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Pérez, J. A., Moscovici, S., & Chulvi, B. (2002). Natura y cultura como principio de clasificación social. Anclaje de representaciones sociales sobre minorías étnicas. *Revista de Psicologia Social*, *17*(1),

51–67. doi: 10.1174/021347402753408668

Pinto, M. F. F. (2003). Minoria étnica cigana, Processos explícitos e ocultos de inclusão/exclusão social. In D. Rodrigues (Ed.), *Perspectivas Sobre a Inclusão: Da Educação à Sociedade* (pp. 185-196). Porto: Porto Editora.

Rosário, P., Nunez, J. C., Azevedo, R., Cunha, J., Pereira, A., & Mourão, R. (2013). Understanding gypsy children's conceptions of learning: A phenomenographic study. *School Psychology International, 35*(2), 152–166. doi: 10.1177/0143034312469304

Rosário, P., Núñez, J. C., Vallejo, G., Cunha, J., Azevedo, R., Pereira, R., ... Moreira, T. (2016). Promoting Gypsy children school engagement: A story-tool project to enhance self-regulated learning. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, *47*, 84–94. doi: 10.1016/j.cedpsych.2015.11.005

Rosário, P., Núñez, J. C., Vallejo, G., Azevedo, R., Pereira, R., Moreira, T., ... Valle, A. (2017). Promoting Gypsy children' s behavioural engagement and school success: Evidence from a four-wave longitudinal study. *British Educational Research Journal, 43*(3), 554–571. doi: 10.1002/berj.3271

Thornicrof, G., Rose, D., Kassam, A., & Sartorius, N. (2007). Stigma: ignorance, prejudice or discrimination? *British Journal of Psychiatry*, *190*(3), 192–193. doi: 10.1192/bjp.bp.106.025791

Vala, J., Brito, R., & Lopes, D. (2015). *Expressões do racismo em Portugal* (2nd ed.). [Repositório da Universidade de Lisboa]. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10451/22539

Villano, P., Fontanella, L., Fontanella, S., & Donato, M. Di. (2017). Stereotyping Roma people in Italy: IRT models for ambivalent prejudice measurement. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *57*, 30–41. doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2017.01.003

Weiss, M. F. (1994). Children's Attitudes toward the Mentally Ill: An Eight-Year Longitudinal Follow-up. *Psychological Reports*, *74*(1), 51–56. doi: 10.2466/pr0.1994.74.1.51

Williams, R. (1989). *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society* (3rd ed.). London: Fontana Press.

Zachos, D. T. (2017). Teachers' perceptions, attitudes and feelings towards pupils of Roma origin. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *21*(10), 1011–1027. doi: 10.1080/13603116.2017.1326176

Appendix A

“What is to be a Gypsy?” coding manual.

1. State of enculturation
    - 1.1 Nature
        - 1.1.1 Behavior
        - 1.1.2 Emotional
        - 1.1.3 Physical
        - 1.1.4 Cultural
        - 1.1.5 Housing
        - 1.1.6 Intracommunity
    - 1.2 Culture
        - 1.2.1 Value judgment
        - 1.2.2 Comparison of communities
        - 1.2.3 Intercommunity
2. Connotation of the response
    - 2.1 Positive
    - 2.2 Negative
    - 2.3 Neutral
3. “Do not know”