OSLO AND AKERSHUS
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
OF APPLIED SCIENCES

[Partha Bopaiah]

[Dismantling the Masters House?]

[The Resistance(s) of the Roma and the Hakki-Pikki]

Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences,

Faculty of Social Sciences

Abstract

The alienation, discrimination and marginalization experiences of subaltern communities continue to spawn vast literature but equal attention is hardly paid to how these communities respond. This thesis examines the responses of members of marginalised groups to the dominant bordering discourse. Specifically how communities like the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma use the resources and tools available to them to cope with their othering as stigmatised communities. The thesis analyses the ways in which members of marginalised communities accept or reject these dominant discourses

My research interest lies in the area of resistances, especially the unstated and everyday forms it takes. I am interested in how these forms of resistances of the subordinated have a role in altering the dominant boundary discourse. In this thesis, I have examined how the bordering discourses are created and maintained in the public discourses through media representations, policy, and governance frameworks. I have also analysed the various kind's responses to these dominant discourses which can take cognitive, individual, social, cultural, economic and political forms. Overall, the members of these marginalised communities are observed to make strategic claims of belonging and un-belonging in coping with their othering and discrimination experiences. I have examined the ideological and cognitive tools that are used by the members of these communities in helping them negotiate the pervasive and entrenched discrimination

Based on field work, conducted in Karnataka, India and different parts or the U.K, I establish the stigmatised and reified depictions in the dominant discourse taking different structural forms in both cases. The responses of communities to these discourses can largely be classified as pro-dominant, anti-dominant and avoidant. Strategic claims of belonging are found to be made by communities based on the resources and cultural, social, political tools available to them. I have demonstrated how un-belonging claims of the Migrant Roma and Hakki-Pikki are rooted in the discrimination experience. How psychological belonging underlies repeated performances of certain stigmatised actions and how that could lead to boundary negotiations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project is only made possible due to the help and support of many people

I owe my deepest gratitude to Prof. Phil Brown at the University of Salford who supervised my thesis. Thank you for the constant encouragement, guidance and support throughout the course of writing this thesis. And for constantly reminding me to "put community voices first". Without your selfless efforts and care, this thesis would not have been possible.

I would like to sincerely thank Madhu Bhushan for introducing me to the Hakki-Pikki and for the many long conversations that have certainly influenced this thesis.

The many respondents who shared so candidly the many stories and experiences, I owe you a debt of gratitude.

Thank You, HIOA for all the wonderful opportunities you have provided. Thank you, also for providing me with generous funding that was necessary to conduct my fieldwork in India and in the UK. I would like to also thank Stuart Deakin for your continuous support and ensuring I don't have to worry about anything apart from the thesis.

I would like to thank my Mother and my family, without whose support I would not be able to achieve my goals. I would like to thank Becky and other Coleman's, McBride's and the Brady's for their hospitality and kindness. I would thank, my friend Rahul Mitra who laboriously pored through several versions of this thesis. And, also for being a constant source of encouragement.

Finally, Thank You Prof. Sony Pellissery and Dr Leemamol Matthew who encouraged me to pursue this degree and for being my mentors.

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION

Anderson (1983) pointed to the social construction of communities and illustrated how boundaries can then be built by defining what constitutes a community. These boundaries also define 'what is not a constituent community'. It is the latter that concerns this thesis, along with the nature of these definitions and its role in exclusion. An obvious context of power underlies these definitions of non-communities (Tuchtenhagen 2006). They are said to be communicated through various "discourses of dominance" (Henry and Tator 2002). These dominant bordering discourses form the basis for this thesis.

Significantly, the construction of boundaries is also seen as a continual process of contestations and negotiations. These contestations of the boundaries by the "non-communities" is the particular focus of this thesis. How do they contest their "othering" definitions, especially in the context of differential power? What are the resources and strategies available to them, and how do they use these? I am deeply interested in finding answers to these questions.

In trying to understand this, I chose two communities as subjects of my study; The Roma migrants in the U.K and the Hakki-Pikki tribe in the southern state of Karnataka, India. Based on interviews conducted with members of both these communities, I will explore their responses to this dominant bordering discourse. I will particularly focus on the strategic nature of these responses in the possible acceptance and rejection of dominance (Smart Richman and Leary 2009, Tajfel 2010). At a cognitive level, I will also explore how discrimination is understood and how that effects the nature of responses. Overall, I aim to understand how the boundaries of marginalisation are created, challenged, and negotiated by these communities.

My larger research interests lie in how boundaries are negotiated between various groups and the role of everyday resistance. I am particularly interested in the attempts of the subordinated against hegemonic narratives, values, and understandings imposed by the dominant.

The introductory section begins with a brief background of the communities under study and a review of some important literature in this area. Following this, the reader will be introduced to the chosen research questions. A brief overview of the theoretical framework that forms the basis

of my arguments will then be presented. Further, I will outline the research design and methodology. Additionally, these sub-sections have been examined in detailed in the subsequent chapters. The final sub-section will outline the structure of the remainder of the thesis.

1.1 Introduction to the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma

The Hakki-Pikki: The Hakki-Pikki in India, are an itinerant, peripatetic community known for their traditional occupations as bird trappers and hunters (Mann 1980). They belong to the larger Vagri Tribe which originated in the North-Western part of India and later migrated to the southern state of Karnataka. In the state of Karnataka, the official population of the Hakki-Pikki was said to be 11,892 (Census of India 2011). The Hakki-Pikki have been officially listed as a nomadic community in the List of 'Nomadic Tribes, Semi-Nomadic Tribes and De-Notified Tribes' (NT/SNT/DNT) (Constitution of India 1950). The history of nomadic communities in India is a history of discrimination, deprivation, and criminalization (Devy 2000, 2004, 2006, Radhakrishna 2008, 16). Most of the nomadic communities were criminalised in the colonial regime using the Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) of 1871, revised in 1911 and 1924 (Radhakrishna 2001, Schwarz 2010). Even through these laws were repealed, the communities such as the Hakki-Pikki continue to be targeted under the Habitual Offenders Act (1952, 1959) (Simhadri 1991, Schwarz 2010). Laws have been passed by recent governments restricting their access to forests and affecting their livelihoods and way of life (Ministry of Social Justice, 2008, 91). As a result, many of the nomadic communities have been displaced, live in poor conditions, and have resorted to begging and hawking on the streets (Rath 2006, Asian Development Bank 2013, Deepak and Sindhu 2017). Hakki-Pikki have been listed as a "Schedule Tribe" (ST), a list consisting of mostly forest dwelling indigenous tribes of India (Census of India 2011). Being listed as ST provides the Hakki-Pikki access to affirmative action schemes in India, popularly known as reservations (Osborne 2001). However, along with these benefits also comes the stigma of being associated with other ST communities and also as a welfare beneficiary (Gudavarthy 2012).

Majority of the Hakki-Pikkis live in segregated settlements mostly located on the fringes of cities and forests (Mann 1980, Naik 2002). These segregated settlements were planned by the governments in the 1970s to settle many of the nomadic tribes such as the Hakki-Pikki.

Traditionally the Hakki-Pikki due to their itinerant nature fell outside the caste system (Werth 1996, Gandhi 2014). However, with sedentarization they are drawn into caste discrimination. This is due to the cultural, occupation, and culinary practices associated with pollution in the Hindu caste system (Olivelle 1998).

Therefore these multiple identities of being a nomadic community, Scheduled Tribe, and with subordinated caste attributions creates an intersection of multiple kinds of discrimination.

The Roma[1]: The Roma are a nomadic people with origins in the Indian subcontinent, considered to be the largest ethnic minority group in Europe (European Commission 2010). They are said to have arrived in Europe in the 14th Century and their population is said to number anywhere between 10-14 million in Europe (Liégeois, 2012). A large number of this population is in the eastern European countries of Romania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic and Slovakia (ERRC, 2014). Studies have documented their historical discrimination, across the various regimes, governments and nations since their arrival in Europe (Hancock 2004). Unfortunately this situation has not changed much, with many studies pointing to the increasing deprivation, discrimination, violence and exclusion faced by the Roma (Hancock 2004, EU-MIDIS II 2016). Various studies and human rights groups have pointed to the widespread discrimination, violence, and poverty of the Roma communities particularly in Eastern Europe (European Union 2004, Brearley 2001, Hancock 2004, James 2014). Therefore post ascension of Eastern European countries into the European Union (EU) many of the Roma migrated west in the hopes of avoiding discrimination and violence (Grill 2012, Smith 2016, Cook, Dwyer and Waite 2011).

The United Kingdom probably has the largest migrant Roma population in Western Europe with estimates of 200,000 migrant Roma currently living in the UK (Brown, Scullion and Martin, 2013). Recent studies have documented the low levels of education, employment, healthcare, and living conditions of the Roma in the UK (Amnesty International, 2011, Brown, Dwyer, Scullion, 2013).

[1] I have used the words Migrant Roma and Roma interchangeably through the thesis. They both refer to the subjects the Roma who have migrated from other European countries into the U.K

1.2 Introduction to the Review of Literature on Dominant Discourses

Roma: Recently a number of studies have examined the representation of the Roma in the public discourse, particularly in the UK. Some of them have specifically examined the dominant bordering discourses against the Roma in the UK (Smith 2016, Yuval-Davis 2017). Others like McGarry (2014), have examined the societal and politico-legal representations of the Roma and how various institutions including the Roma elite play a part in these discourses. Many other authors examined the impact political policies have on the bordering on the Roma, for example, BREXIT[2] etc. (Goodwin and Heath 2016, Morris 2016). Martin, Scullion and Brown (2017) have also recently examined how the Roma have been represented in the welfare discourse as "benefit tourists" in the media adding to the historical prejudices against the Roma. Many other authors have also examined the representations of Roma in the neo-liberal and cultural discourse (Veermersch 2012, Goodwin and Buijis, 2013).

In addition, there have been other studies about the representation of the Roma in the media and how the media creates narratives of criminality and deviancy (Kroon et al. 2016, Okely 2014, Richardson 2014, Vidra and Fox 2014). McGarry (2014) also points to the inequity in the public discourse with the Roma having limited or no say in how they are represented. In addition to this Richardson and O'Neill (2012), point to the symbiotic relationship between biased news reports and the police.

Hakki-Pikki: However, when it comes to the Hakki-Pikki there is an absence of academic scholarship in the area of media representations or the dominant discourse. I have referred to the few studies that are available about the Hakki-Pikki in order to point to their institutional discrimination (Mann 1980, Naik 2002). I have also used examples of studies done on similar communities such as the larger parent tribe Vagri and similar tribe in a neighbouring state called the Narikauravas (Gandhi 2014, Werth 1996, Misra and Prabhakar 2011).

In light of this absence of substantial literature on the Dominant Discourses about the Hakki-Pikki, I proposed to conduct a media analysis that would be representative of the public discourse. This would further help establish the basis for comparing the Roma and the Hakki-

[2] The decision of the Government of U.K to exit from the EU (Dorling 2016)

Pikki. The introduction and review of the literature for both Hakki-Pikki and the Roma will be expanded upon in the next chapter.

1.3 Research questions

This study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How are the members of the Hakki-Pikki represented in the dominant discourse?
2. How do members of these communities recognize and respond to these discourses in their everyday experiences?
3. What are the various ways in which the members of the marginalized communities accept or reject these dominant discourses??

1.4 Introduction to the Theoretical Framework

I have divided the theoretical frameworks into three parts.

The first part examines the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of the dominant bordering discourses. I have used various theories to outline the bordering discourse. The theoretical concept of dominant discourses is important because this helps establish the foundational premise of the thesis. I have referred to Yuval-Davis (2006) "Politics of Belonging" to capture how hegemonic discourses are constructed. The author uses three different kinds of definitions of belonging in the bordering discourse. The first way to construct these borders is social location based on demographics of class, race, age and other characteristics.

The second is based on emotional and aspirational values, and the third is based on ethical and political values. I have also relied on theories that have examined the role of media (van Dijk 1992, Hall 1989). I have pointed out studies that have examined how the media affects the construction of the subordinated "other" (Bullock, Wyche, and Williams 2001, Grabe, Ward and Hyde 2008, Whitley Jr, 2009, Eisend 2010). I also used the studies on bordering to show how dominant communities tend to 'Order, Border and Other' (Van Houtum and Van Naerssen, 2002, Newman 2006). I have also used the social psychological theories of social dominance to show how dominance can be maintained and normalised by myths, ideologies, and beliefs.

The second part of the theoretical framework attempts to understand how the marginalised communities respond to such dominant discourses. I used the explanations offered by the Social Identity Theory, to articulate inter-group relations, seen from the view of the Individual (Tajfel

1969, 2010, Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986, 2004). The theory categorises the group an individual belongs to as the in-group and out-group to refer to other groups. It analyses the relationship between these groups. This theory was particularly helpful because this helps situate subjects of subordinated and dominant groups. However most importantly, in order to analyse responses of the subordinated, I relied on Smart Richman and Leary, (2009)'s formulation of a multi-motive model. This was largely developed to understand the rejection experiences at an individual level. However, I altered this to articulate the social alienation responses or responses to the bordering discourse as Pro-dominant, Anti-dominant and Withdrawal and Avoidant responses.

The third part of my theoretical framework revolves around the ideas of resistance against the dominant framework. While some of this was covered as Anti-dominant responses (Smart Richman and Leary 2009), the theories outlined in this section go a step further and find cognitive, motivational, and socio –cultural explanation for the responses. In particular, I draw heavily on the idea of what I termed here as Psychological Un-belonging. I drew from debates between DuBois 1965, and Fanon (1968) about the rejection of dominance and Nandy (1983) who called it the 'dialectics of a non-player'. Here I attempted to call out theories that have indirectly looked at un-belonging as resistance. I also used Butler (1998, 2015) to theorise the performative aspects of resistance as this would help qualify certain responses of the marginalised groups that conventionally would not be qualified as resistance. This is further supported by Scott's (1990) formulation of hidden resistance and public and private transcripts as "weapons of the weak". Further Mathiesen (1965) showed how the tools of the dominant can sometimes be used by the subordinated towards negotiations of the borders. The theoretical framework will be expanded upon in the second chapter

1.5 Introduction to the Methodological Framework

The Ontology would help outline the assumptions made by the research (Crotty). In this research, I have used the constructivist paradigm and an Interpretivist framework (Crotty 1998, Cresswell 2013). This is in consonance with the aims of the thesis to examine the social constructions of the borders and interpreting experiences of the individual social actors. In this as interpretivism points out, the researcher is also a social actor and brings meaning to the process and outcome of the research (Crotty 2008). Therefore it is important to outline the influences and biases of the researcher (Cresswell 2013). I have articulated my influence on the process and outcome to the best of my knowledge.

As Yin (2013) points out, the link between the research questions and findings are best established by a good research design. I have used a qualitative comparative case-study design as this facilitates the achievement of the analytical depth essential for generalizations that are based on similarities and differences across varying contexts (Ragin 2014). Further this design is also helpful in contexts where different existing theories need to be synthesized and conjectures need to be evaluated (Kaarbo and Beasley 1999, Eckstein 2000, 108). This design is also seen as helpful in refining existing theories and exploring novel hypothesis (Kaarbo and Beasley 1999, 375), in this case the concept of "Psychological Un-belonging".

I have used an integrated analytical framework in my analysis. This was necessary in the aims of the thesis to analyse both the dominant discourse and responses of the subordinated.

1) Frame Analysis to analyse the dominant discourses surrounding the Hakki-Pikki (Enteman 1993)
2) Thematic Analysis to analyse the understanding and responses (Braun and Clarke 2006)
3) Metaphor Analysis and Thematic analysis to explore understanding of the discrimination experience and resistances (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Pragglejaz group 2007)

This research is based on data drawn from field work carried out in the U.K and India. I travelled across different parts of the U.K interviewing various Roma migrants from different communities. In India, fieldwork was conducted in the various districts of Karnataka. In both these contexts, I interviewed a wide variety of respondents including community members, activists, NGO workers, academics, public officials, Religious leaders and law enforcement authorities. The sampling was a mix of purposive and snowball sampling. The latter half of Chapter II will explain the methodological framework including the methods, ethical concerns, and limitations of the study in detail.

1.6 Summary of Thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. This introduction constitutes the first chapter. The Second chapter will provide background of communities under study – The Hakki-Pikki and the Roma, and will review the relevant literature. The third chapter will detail the theoretical framework that forms the basis of the thesis. This is divided into dominant bordering discourses, responses to these discourses and resistance. In the fourth chapter, I will familiarize the reader with the methodological framework of this covering research methodology and methods.

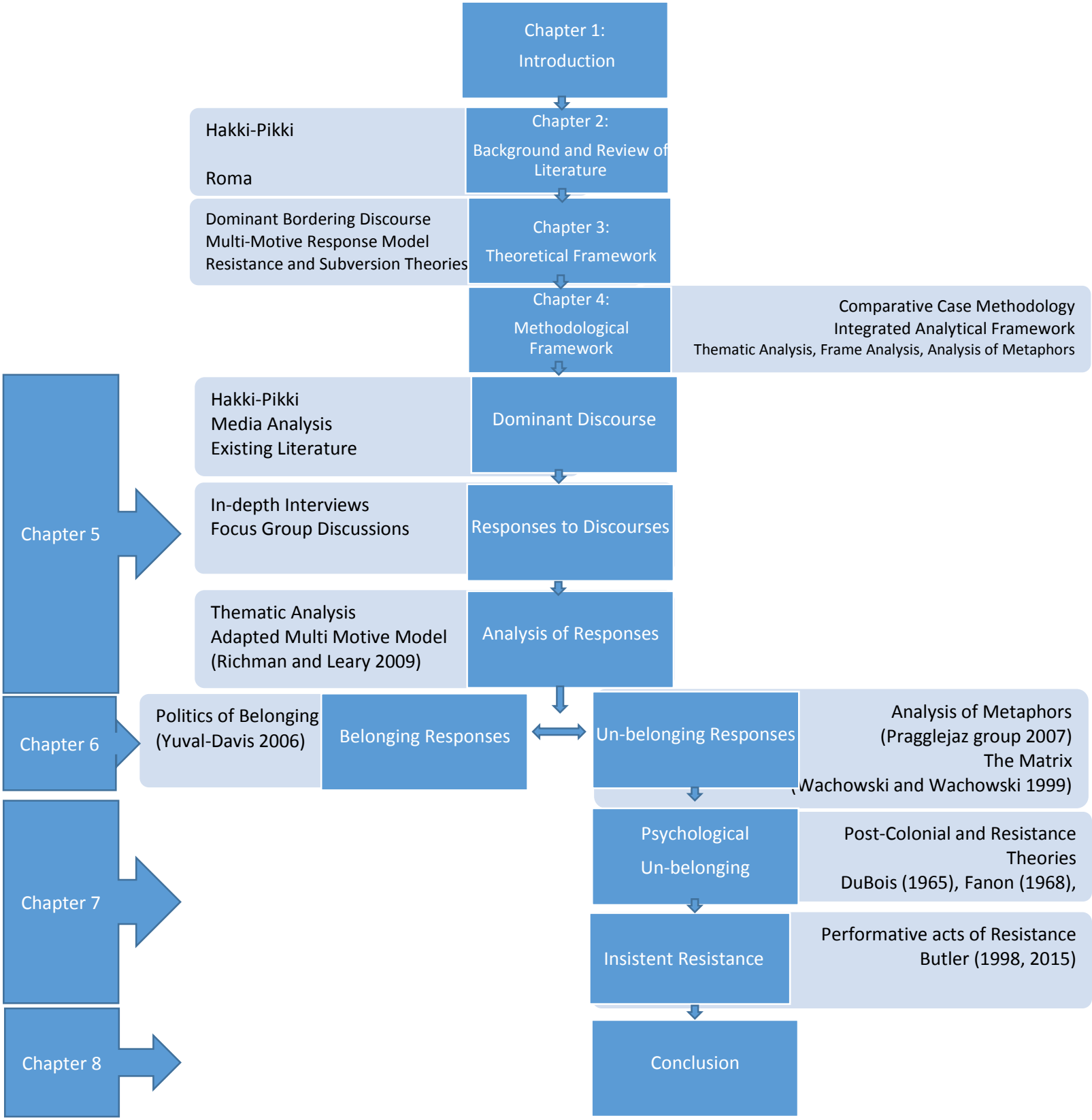
In the fifth chapter, having already established the presence of dominant bordering discourse about the Roma migrants in the U.K., I will examine the media representations of Hakki-Pikki and situate them as a part of the dominant public discourse of exclusion. I will detail and compare the stigmatised representations of the Hakki-Pikki and the boundaries it creates in the public discourse. Following this, I will examine how members of both the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma communities recognize, understand, and respond to these dominant boundary discourses and the various strategies they employ to deal with discrimination. In analysing this, I will use my adaptation of the "multi-motive model" by (Smart Richman and Leary 2009).

In the sixth chapter of the discussions, I aim to specifically examine some of the pro-dominant responses as claims of strategic belonging. I will use the case of religion, caste, popular culture and music as examples of dominant controlled institutions. And I will demonstrate how marginalised communities may attempt to alter the dominant constructed boundaries. I will examine the strategic nature of their subscriptions and membership claims into these dominant and popular institutions.

In the seventh chapter, I will examine some of the examples of resistance based on the concept of un-belonging proposed in the theoretical chapter. I will examine "Psychological Un-belonging" as an epistemic idea of resistance. Using theories of resistance (Butler 2015, Fanon 1965, Scott 1990, DuBois 1965 and Nandy 1983), I will draw a link between 'rejection of dominance' in their theories and un-belonging. Combining the (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Pragglejaz group 2007) methods to analyse metaphors and using popular film "The Matrix" as a framework, I will examine the concept of "un-belonging" as resistance in the experiences of the Roma and the Hakki-Pikki. I will show how the dominant "matrix" is continually altered through performative acts of "insistent resistance" and how it is used negotiate the dominant boundary discourses.

Finally, the eighth chapter concludes by summarizing my findings and explores area for further research.

1.7 Schema of the Thesis



2. BACKGROUND AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 The Nomadic Tribes of India

The stigma of nomadic people and coerced sedentarization can be traced back to the colonial regime (Radhakrishna 2001) in India. The colonial government's reading of the Indian nomadic communities was based on their own historical experiences conflated and dealing with the poor, vagrants, tramps, migrants, gypsies who were all conflated and deemed criminal (Devy 2000, 2004, 2006, Radhakrishna 2008, 16). The nomadic communities were listed as 'Criminal Tribes' by the British regime under a series of laws starting with the Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) of 1871, revised in 1911 and 1924 (Kennedy 1994, Radhakrishna 2001, Schwarz 2010). These tribes were said to be "addicted to the systematic commission of non -bailable offences" (Simhadri 1991, 121). Under these acts, the members of the deemed 'Criminal Tribes' had to register and report to the police station. The provisions of this law only required suspicion on the part of the authorities and the members of the community could be picked up for questioning (Devy 2000). These laws were seen as helpful in preventing crime and was applied even to members who have no past convictions or misdemeanours (Simhadri 1991, Schwarz 2010).

Post-independence, the Criminal Tribes Act was repealed. The tribes that were previously listed under the Criminal Tribes List were "De-Notified" from that list and subsequently came to called De-Notified Tribes (DNT) (Government of India 2008, 9). However, it was soon replaced by a law called Habitual Offenders Act (HOA) 1952, 1959 (Simhadri 1991, Schwarz 2010, Devy 2004).

The Habitual Offenders Acts, preserved most of the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act and continued the labelling and criminalization of these tribes (Devy 2004, 282, Abraham 1999, Bokil and Raghavan 2012). Members of the various nomadic and peripatetic communities that may not even previously in the DNT list are being targeted using the HOA, with restrictions on their movement, strict surveillance and undue questioning from the police (Devy 2006, 2000, 52, Bokil and Raghavan 2012). In addition, several other laws[3] enacted by the Government of India

[3] These laws include: Indian Forest Act, Wildlife Protection Act of 1972, Land Acquisition Act of 1984, Prevention of Beggary Acts (States) adopting antiquated Bombay Prevention of Begging Act, 1959, The Drugs and Magic Remedies (Objectionable advertisements) Act 1954, *Excise Act of 1944, Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act of 1999, Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, 1960, etc." (Ministry of Social Justice, 2008, 91).*

have adversely impacted the livelihoods of members of the De-Notified, and Nomadic Tribes (DNT's) in different ways.

These acts have been studied as resulting in the denial of access to forests which deprived these communities of their livelihoods. In fact, "it made them criminals overnight without offering them any sustainable alternatives" (Ministry of Social Justice, 2008, 91). As Bokil (2002) points out that these legal restrictions applied to hunting small game and accessing forests resources. Consequently, the tribes became vulnerable to police, forest officials, and other local authorities. In addition to that, they were also stigmatized in the society.

However, after years of debate, international environmental conventions, and extensive consultations, the government of India enacted the 'Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers' Recognition of Forest Rights Act 2006 (Government of India 2006). This law is also known as the Forest Rights Act (FRA) and was concerned with the rights of forest-dwelling scheduled tribes and other traditional communities for livelihood and food security (Perera 2009). The law basically recognised the rights of traditional forest-dwelling communities and partially providing a remedy to the historical injustices caused by successive forest laws in the 19th and 20th centuries. It provided the various forest-dwelling tribes displaced by the various state development activities, access to forests and tenurial rights. (Devy, 2006, Perara 2009). Although the law itself was progressive, many studies have found that the FRA has not been effective in meeting its objectives and still struggles at implementation (Sarker 2011). Bose et. Al (2012) point out that the implementation of FRA has actually "reinforced political control over the scheduled tribes through new forms of authority, inclusion, and exclusion". Communities continue to face, discrimination and violence from the law enforcement, media and larger society (Dyer 2010, Sharma 2012).

2.1.1 The Hakki-Pikki in Karnataka

The Hakki-Pikkis are a formerly forest-dwelling, peripatetic group who are known for their traditional occupations as bird trappers and hunters (Mann 1980). The Hakki-Pikki tribes are divided into four clans namely *Gujrathio, Kaliwala, Mewara* and *Panwara* (Naik 2002). They are said to have descended from the larger Vagri Tribe, originating in the North-Western part of India and having migrated into Southern Indian states such as Maharastra, Andhra Pradesh,

Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The 'Hakki-Pikki' are also called *Narikauravas* in the neighbouring state of Tamil Nadu (Tangam 2012)[4]. Within the state of Karnataka, they are called *Haranshikari, Melshikari* and *Hakki-Pikki* in Shimoga, *Phanse Pardi* in Bidar, *Arayana Shikari* in Chitradurga, *Adavi chicheru* in Bijapur, *Chigaribetergar* in Bagalkot and *Melushikari* in Shimoga District (Naik 2002). All these communities speak the common language of *Vagri Boli* used by the other *Vagri* communities (Werth 1996, 136, Mann 1980).

In Karnataka, the Hakki-Pikkis have been listed under Scheduled Tribes (ST) [5] and are entitled to state affirmative action programs otherwise called reservations (Osborne 2001). Among the various groups of Scheduled Tribe, the Hakki-Pikki are listed as a Nomadic Tribe (NT)[6] (Government of India 2016). The state of Karnataka has a total population of 64 million, of which 4.2 million is the population of 'Scheduled Tribes' and 10.4 million 'Scheduled Caste' (including Dalits)[7] (Registrar General 2011). The state has a total of 96 Nomadic Tribes including the Hakki-Pikki. The official population of the Hakki-Pikki is said to be 11,892 (Registrar General 2011). Some authors claim a total population of over 30,000 accounting for all the related tribes such as the *Chigaribetegar, Haranshikari,* and *Vagri* etc. that are counted separately in the census. (Herbert 2012).

Most of the Hakki-Pikki live in government allocated segregated settlements located on the periphery of forests and cities. Most of the Hakki-Pikki still depend on forest produce for their livelihoods. These settlements were earmarked by the governments in their efforts to resettle the nomadic and semi-nomadic societies (Mann 1980, Bhushan 2016). However, a large number also live in shantytowns and makeshift housing (Asian Development Bank 2013). The Hakki-Pikki across Karnataka travel due to their engagements in itinerant businesses and other livelihoods (Guruprasad 2015, Deepak and Sindhu 2017). The settlement plans for this Nomadic

[4] They are known by many names, '*Naklavala*' and '*Petla-vala*' in the state of Andhra Pradesh. Within the state of Karnataka they are called *Haranshikari, Melshikari* and *Hakki-Pikki* in Shimoga, *Phanse Pardi* in Bidar, *Arayana Shikari* in Chitradurga, *Adavi chicheru* in Bijapur, *Chigaribetergar* (Naik 2002).
[5] SC/ST/OBC - The communities that fall under Schedule Caste, Schedule Tribes or the Other Backward Caste (SC/ST/OBC) are eligible for affirmative action schemes.
[6] Nomadic Tribes, Semi-Nomadic Tribes and De-Notified Tribes (NT/SNT/ DNT) form some of the most marginalised and disadvantaged sections of the society.
[7] Dalits, are outcastes who fall outside the caste-Varna ideology because of notions of purity and uncleanliness. The remaining are said to be caste-Hindus consisting of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. For a detailed view of the caste-Varna ideology see Dumont (1980)

Tribe are still ongoing and marked with constant struggles for citizenship, land, and ownership titles (Bhushan 2016). Due to rapid urbanization and prohibition of hunting and other activities, they have had to adapt to other ways of making a living such as selling decorative flowers, trinkets, and even begging on the streets etc. (Asian Development Bank 2013, Jagadeesh and Gowda 2017). Being a part of the Schedule Tribes technically allows them access to affirmative action schemes in the areas of housing, education, healthcare and employment. The Hakki-Pikkis have not been able to utilize these schemes fully due to many barriers. Only a few in the community have availed land-titles, reservations in education and employment (Bhushan 2016). In Shimoga, Hassan, and more recently, the settlement in Bangalore, many Hakki-Pikki have been allocated agricultural land (Bhushan 2016, Jagadeesh and Gowda 2017). However, the land holdings are small and the Hakki-Pikkis are dependent on other allied activities for subsistence including working as agricultural labourers in some areas. Although with their Schedule Tribe status, Hakki-Pikki's have access to local representation at village and district committee levels they are unable to effectively participate in the democratic process due to their small numbers (Naik 2002, Prithivaraj and Ramu 2008).

2.2 The Roma in Europe

Roma, as an umbrella term, includes many communities with different practices, dialects, and cultures all across different parts of Europe. They are known by different names across Europe like *Sinti* in Germany, *Manush* in France, *Romanisaell* in Sweden and Norway, *Kale* in Spain, Finland and Wales, *Boyash* in Romania, *Ashkali* in the Balkans, *Yenish*, *Dom* etc. (Fraser 1992). The terms Gypsy and Roma are often used interchangeably. The term "Gypsy" is a misnomer, as they were thought of as Egyptians when they first started arriving in Europe. However, many in the Roma community, especially in mainland Europe feel that Gypsy is a derogative term and hence prefer the term Roma (James 2014).

The Roma are considered the largest ethnic minority in Europe that suffer not only from economic deprivation but are also victims of prejudice and social exclusion (European Commission 2010). The discrimination of the Roma dates back to the Ottoman Empire and pre-enlightenment Europe to the time when they first started arriving in Europe in the 14th century (Fraser 1992). The differences due to their nomadic tradition, lifestyle, and culture set them apart

from other communities in Europe (Acton 2010). During the enlightenment period, attempts were made for the Roma to conform to the norms of sedentary society. There was widespread prejudice against the Roma and they were considered deviants. There were widespread attempts "to end the common existence of the ethnic group itself" (European Union 2004, 7). This period also saw the emergence of ideas of criminalization and the deviance of the gypsies. They were enslaved in Romania. They were surveilled and their movements were restricted, for instance, they were banned from entering England and were required to register with the law enforcement, children were taken away from them etc. (Frazer 1992, Brearley 2001). Their way of life was criminalized and they were subjected to many anti-vagabond legislation and even imprisoned (Brearley 2001). During the Nazi holocaust, the persecution of the Roma are in many ways similar to the Jews, who were seen as 'enemies of the race-based state' with estimates of deaths being as much as 1.5 million (Hancock 1987, 383-396). Following the war many of the Roma groups were split between the two different kinds of regimes that emerged in Europe, generally as a communist East and a capitalist West (James 2014).

The eastern communist countries tried to end nomadism among the gypsies and tried to assimilate them by forcing them into communal housing and work and by also providing welfare (Brearley 2001). While these assimilative efforts did see some Roma participation among the state elites, it was still unable to end the racism (European commission 2004, 8). During this period, there was cultural repression, language, self-employment and nomadism were repressed by assimilationist state policies and this period also saw forced sterilization of Roma women, coerced schooling and fostering children in state care (Brearley 2001, Hancock 2004, James 2014). After the fall of communism, the persecution of the Roma worsened, with heavy Anti-Romani sentiment across Europe led by the emergence of the free-press and the general public (James 2014). This anti-Roma hostility was particularly acute in Eastern Europe where they were blamed for everything from the collapse of the economy to the social order (Barany 2002, Bancroft 2005). There was an increase in violent crimes and attacks against the Roma and formation of specific groups targeting them (Barany 2002, Imre 2005). In order to escape violence and entrenched discrimination, the members of the Roma in these countries were forced to resort to the asylum route leading migrations into other parts of Europe, which was often viewed as "invasions" by the media in these countries and have led to collective expulsions (European Commission 2004, 9). After the accession of Eastern European countries to the

European Union, many Roma exercised their treaty rights and moved to other EU states trying to escape poverty, deprivation, discrimination, and exclusion. Also prospects of employment, better standards of living, lack of discrimination etc. continue to attract them to these countries (FRA 2009).

Their continuing exclusion and inclusion efforts in the European Union in recent times have been a subject of many studies, especially in the areas of housing, education, employment, welfare and violence (European Commission 2004, 2007, 2010, FRA 2009, Brown, Dwyer, and Scullion 2013, 2015). The discrimination is perpetuated through policies of segregation in education, being excluded from accessing decent housing, evictions and procedural injustices in the distribution of services. Various studies have found that prejudice, discrimination towards Roma are barriers to successful implementation of measures to improve Roma inclusion (European Commission 2010). There has been a significant attempt to have a single, articulate, and comprehensive definition of experiences of biases from the view of the Roma, Gypsies, and the Traveller communities. This has led to a working definition of "Anti-Gypsyism". According to the reference paper by Alliance Against Anti-Gypsyism (2016)

> "*Anti-Gypsyism is a historically constructed, persistent complex of customary racism against social groups identified under the stigma 'gypsy' or other related terms, and incorporates:*
>
> *1. A homogenizing and essentializing perception and description of these groups*
>
> *2. The attribution of specific deviant characteristics to them*
>
> *3. Discriminating social structures and violent practices that emerge against that background, which have a degrading and ostracizing effect and which reproduce structural disadvantages."*

Recognising the prevalent discrimination and prejudice, the European Commission in 2011 pushed for national strategies for Roma integration to be implemented and detailed various concrete policies in this regard (European Commission 2011). One of the first recommendations was for all the member states to "ensure that the Roma are not discriminated against but treated like any other EU citizens with equal access to all fundamental rights as enshrined in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights" (European Commission 2011). This included the measures to combat deprivation, improve access to education, healthcare, and employment. The Commission also proposed that the Member States align their National Roma Integration Strategies to the

targeted approach in areas of education, employment, housing, and healthcare, but urged also that they go beyond and look at positive discrimination measures (European Commission 2011, 2). While some implementation of some of these inclusion strategies has been successful, the countries have been criticized for disproportionate resource allocation, lack of a clear role for the Roma in decision making, monitoring and also for states abandoning their responsibilities (McGarry 2011). The commission itself has been called out for its "little attention to issues of discrimination in general and the multiple discrimination faced by Roma women in particular" (Brüggemann and Friedman, 2017). Many Roma continue to face Anti-Gypsyism, and anti-Roma political rhetoric both in the home countries and in the countries where they have migrated (Vermeersch 2017, Hammarberg 2012, McGarry 2011).

2.2.1 Migrant Roma and the UK

The Roma have migrated into the United Kingdom, which is also home to the indigenous Gypsies and Travellers, for centuries. Romany Gypsies are said to have their roots in India and came to Europe in the 13th century, while Travelers and Gypsies are mainly of Irish origin (Parry et al 2004). The Travellers and Gypsies do not identify with the term Roma and unlike mainland Europe, the use of word 'Gypsy' is not considered degrading or offensive by these communities (James 2014). However, the Gypsies, Travellers and the Roma may share common ancestral origins and ways of living including living in close groups, strong familial ties and strict moral codes (Shubin and Swanson 2010). Post the arrival of the Gypsies, Travellers, and the Roma during the 14th century, many groups dispersed across Europe (Brearley 2001). Although nomadism remains a significant part of the Gypsy, Traveller and Roma identity, the groups that moved west, especially, became commercial Nomads (Acton 2010). However, the fall of communism in Eastern Europe led to an increase in the number of Roma from these countries and the failure of the authorities to challenge these negative and false stereotypes led them to be publically vilified from everything to the fall of communism to the ills of capitalism (James 2014). As the members of the Roma arrived in the UK from Eastern European countries using the asylum route, the reactions from most sections of the British press were vitriolic and overtly hostile (Colin and Campbell 2000). This trend has not abated even in recent times, with Tabloid and Broadsheet newspapers, mainstream politicians targeting Roma communities across the U.K (Powell 2011, Clark and Campbell 2015). According to estimates, the Roma Population

in the U.K has grown to 200,000 in addition to the 200,000-300,000 indigenous Gypsies and Travellers (Brown, Scullion, and Martin 2013). The Roma who moved to the UK and are located in the urban centers like London, Manchester, and Glasgow etc. consist largely the sedentary Roma (Poole and Adamson 2008, Fremlova 2009). Most of the Roma appear to be employed in low waged and low skilled employment, and have limited access to housing and face issues in accessing healthcare (Poole and Adamson 2008, Ryder and Cemlyn 2014). Discrimination and harassment of Gypsies, Roma, and Travellers is normalized across Britain, and this is from the general public, law enforcement and other authorities (Lane, Spencer and Jones, 2014, James 2014, Clark 2015). According to the European Commission (2013) when it came to discrimination, Britain had failed to make progress on the anti-discrimination measures of European Commission's Framework for National Roma Integration. This was not just limited to the UK. Prejudice and discrimination resulting in unemployment, low paid and menial work, violence, poverty and exclusion have been documented to be realities of experiences of Roma across various parts of Europe (Brown, Dwyer, Scullion, 2013).

2.3 Review of Literature

2.4 The Roma and the Dominant Bordering Discourse

Here I will examine some important studies on the representations of the Roma in the Public Discourse. There have been many studies that have examined this and some of them have even focused on the dominant representations or the stigmatising discourses. A recent study by Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy (2017) is a comprehensive examination of the dominant bordering discourse about the Roma across various countries in Europe. The authors have focused on different kinds of discourses, perpetuated through welfare policies, social movements, migration policies, and neo-liberalism. This study helps establish the presence and practices of an everyday dominant bordering discourse surrounding the Roma.

The societal and politico-legal representations of the Roma were examined in detail in a study by McGarry (2014), who studied the construction of ethnic boundaries about the Roma. The study examined representations created by the majority non-Roma population. It demonstrated how the international organisations, national governments, NGOs and the Roma elite play a huge role in

this regard. However, the article also linked Roma representations to the public presence and agency of Romani communities. In addition to this, other studies have examined specific areas of public discourse like policy discourses etc. For example, the framing of Roma as a threat to national security in the study of the decision of the government of France to deport Roma migrants (Bennett 2011, H O'Nions 2011, Costi 2010, Mahoney 2011). Authors Marinaro (2009), Fekete (2014) have also similarly studied the public discourses in other European countries like Italy, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.

The role of political policies was studied, by Morris (2016), using the example of BREXIT in the UK. This study connected the political decision BREXIT to polarising public discourse and an increase in Xenophobia, and Anti-Gypsyism. The study indicated uncertainty and the precarious state of the Roma migrants. Although the study has focused itself on BREXIT, it provides an indication of the stigmatised political discourses about the Roma.
In a study of transnational policies, Veermersch (2012) examined how the Roma are framed as outsiders and cultural deviants, based on the discursive material provided by transnational policies. Studies by Streeck (1995) and Goodwin and Buijis, (2013) looked at how the transnational policies have also shown focus on market economy where economic integration is seen as the way of resolving social discrimination. This has also been studied to further the possibilities of 'multiple discrimination', where along with ethnic, social discrimination the Roma have to endure the class-based discrimination prevalent in capitalist societies (Sigona and Trehan 2009, Brown, Dywer and Scullion 2013).

These studies show the pervasiveness of the dominant discourse when it comes to the Roma. The studies show how the discourse takes economic, political, social and even transnational forms. This helps in setting the field for the Roma to be studied as subjects of the stigmatised dominant discourse.

2.4.1 Media studies on the Roma and the marginalizing discourse

The media plays a significant role in the construction and the propagation of the marginalization discourse. In the case of the Roma, a number of studies have specifically examined the biased portrayal of the Roma in the media and its resulting impact on the community (Nicolae 2003,

Kroon et al. 2016, Clark and Campbell 1997, Erjavec 2001, Morris 2000, Munk 2007, Bar-Tal et al 2013, Okely 2014, Richardson 2014, Vidra and Fox 2014). A recent study by Kroon et al. (2016) found that the media created "systematic associations between the Roma and criminality and problematic behaviour". They also found that these associations strengthened negative beliefs about the Roma among the general public.

Erjavec (2001) examined the media narratives to show how the Roma were largely represented as being lazy, dirty, cunning, and immoral. The author pointed to the use of stereotypes, selective reporting, and disproportionate focus on the 'deviant' Roma as being central to marginalising discourses in the media. Cretu (2014) further pointed out that the reason these problematic images of the Roma is easily consumed by the general public is due to the simplicity, pervasiveness, and availability of the messages. McGarry (2014) pointed out that the Roma are overrepresented in the public sphere, with little control over how they are represented.

In the UK, a study of "the visual framing of Roma migrants in the British online press" found that the Roma were framed as threats, parasites, and deviant others' Walters (2015). Richardson (2014) analysed media reporting to show how the "anti-gypsy hegemonic media" used tools of "antagonistic discourse" in order to highlight the "otherness" of the Roma and their 'deviancy from societal norms'. Fox, Morosanu and Szilassy (2012) in their study of the Roma showed how tabloid media invokes cultural differences as a basis to exclude the Roma. Other studies in the U.K point out how the British media failed to include information about the social or historical development of issues involving the Roma migrants in their reporting (Morris 2000). Richardson and O'Neill (2012) also pointed to the cyclical relationship between the media and the government. The biased representation in the media was seen as feeding the exclusionary policies and these policies were being justified by the government based on biased reportage.

As seen above the media plays a huge role in influencing policies, public understanding, and social behaviour. The various studies have pointed to the pervasiveness of the stigma against the Roma in public discourse. The studies show the how the media continually creates and continual maintains the bordering discourses.

There is an absence of academic scholarship when it comes to the Hakki-Pikki. However, there have been a few studies that can provide substantial information to establish a case for further study. Some, slightly dated studies have examined the community from an anthropological view (Mann 1980, Naik 2002). They are an essential source of information on the social, historical, cultural, and religious practices of the Hakki-Pikki. In addition, some local Hakki-Pikki scholars have documented the conditions and cultural practices of the community (Prithiviraj and Ramu 2008, Shushilappa 2015). While these are in the local language *Kannada*, information from these sources are directly relevant to the thesis. Other studies that make references to the Hakki-Pikki have examined their knowledge on medicinal plants (Guruprasad et. Al. 2015), briefly mentioned the community within a larger review of non-pastoral nomads (Misra and Prabhakar 2011), or outlined their socio-economic profile (Deepak and Sindhu 2017). Some civil society reports have commented on living conditions and deprivation (Rao 2013). A more recent document, is a documentary film and a related blog project, which documented various experiences of travelling into the Hakki-Pikki communities in Karnataka[8] (Raja 2017, Bhushan 2016).

Despite various attempts online, in local libraries, and searches both in the local language and English, I was unable to find anything on the public discourse or media discourses. Therefore, a case had to be built on the literature described above. In addition to this, I have used proxies like referring to studies on similar communities like *Narikauravas*, larger *Vaghri* tribe, *Schedule Tribes* and Nomadic Tribes.

2.4.2 Hakki-Pikki and discrimination: Tribal, Criminal, and Caste Identities

While there are no studies specifically looking at institutional discrimination of the Hakki-Pikki, studies conducted with other ST communities or NT/ SN/ DNT communities indicate institutional and societal discrimination. According to authors, Misra and Prabhakar (2011, 166) stereotypes emanating from a "lack of knowledge" of sedentary people are said to be at the core of the discrimination experiences shared by non-pastoral nomads like the Vagris, and among them the Hakki-Pikki.

[8] I was a member of the documentary team (Raja 2017), before this research project was undertaken

Discrimination due to Tribal identities: As pointed out earlier, the Hakki-Pikkis in the state of Karnataka have been included in the list of "Scheduled Tribes". This provides them access to affirmative action schemes, in the areas of Housing, Education, and Employment (Gandhi 2014, Mann 1980). This also conflates them with other communities who are discriminated within the caste system (Gandhi 2014). The availing and the design of affirmative action policies in Karnataka have been found to reinforce the caste values. For example, the NT/DNT/SNT communities are often provided employment in occupations like cleaning, housekeeping etc., which are considered "unclean" under traditional caste system (Gandhi 2014, 116). This further entrenches the caste-based discrimination these communities experience.

Discrimination due to Caste identities: Werth (1996, 136) in a study of the Vagri community established the low caste status of the Vagri community. The author draws linkages between the sedentary Vagri people in the original place of Gujarat and nomadic Vagri in other parts of India. The Hakki-Pikki along with the Narikuravas of the neighbouring state Tamil Nadu are studied to be a part of the larger *Vagri* tribe (Meshack and Griffin 2002, Werth 1996, Mann 1980). The Hakki-Pikki share a close ethnic, linguistic, religious, and cultural connection with the Narikauravas in the neighboring state of Tamil Nadu, who are considered to have a lower caste status (Meshack and Griffin 2002, 262). Thus arguments can be made about the existence of caste discrimination against the Hakki-Pikki. Further, if one examines the cultural practices of the Hakki-Pikki, studies have commented on the consumption of bush meat and wild game as a part of their cuisine. This is quite different from the food habits of the caste society (Misra and Prabhakar 2011) and is often viewed as unclean by the dominant castes in society[9]. Therefore the Hakki-Pikki much like the Narikauravas, may face lower caste attributions (Meshack and Griffin 2002, 262).

Discrimination due to Criminal attributions: Although, the Hakki-Pikki were not included in the Criminal Tribes Act, there have been direct attributions of criminality made about the members of the Hakki-Pikki community (Kalyan 2002, 140). Many authors point out how the various nomadic tribes are being targeted by law enforcement in recent times using the Habitual Offenders Act (1952, 1959), a law that replaced the Criminal Tribes Act (Devy 2006, 2000, 52,

[9] For detailed view into culinary eating practices and caste attributions see (Marriot1968).

Bokil and Raghavan 2012, Misra and Prabhakar 2011, 168). In addition, legal restrictions on hunting small game and accessing forests resources makes communities like the Hakki-Pikki, who depend on the forest produce for livelihood, vulnerable to criminalization in law and larger society Bokil (2002).

In summation, the Hakki-Pikkis are shown to experience multiple levels of discrimination in dominant discourse – Firstly, due to their tribal identities, emanating from the history of being forest dwellers, continuing dependence on the forest for livelihood and inclusion as scheduled tribes. Secondly, caste-based discrimination based on eating practices and attributions of pollutions and uncleanliness (Olivelle 1998). Thirdly, due to attributions of criminality seen in the use of discriminatory laws and criminalization of livelihoods. And their discrimination based on criminal attributions can lead to an intersection of various vulnerabilities. The different intersections of discrimination provide a good point of departure for further investigation of dominant discourses among the Hakki-Pikki.

In contrast to the arguments above, authors like Gudavarthy (2012) argue that the notion of stigma in the accessing of affirmative action schemes using SC/ ST [10] identity is gradually changing. He points out that through 'political organisations', the right to access affirmative action is "gradually witnessing an assertion, without an accompanying sense of shame". Further, Sayer (2005) argues that being a small tribe, among the long list of diverse 'Scheduled Tribes' may offer certain anonymity from stigma.

Both these arguments and counter arguments make a strong case for not only studying the aspects of institutional discrimination among the Hakki-Pikki but also their responses.

2.4.3 Hakki-Pikki and the need to study the Dominant Discourse

In light of the limited literature around the Hakki-Pikki, I found the need to empirically establish the presence of a dominant bordering discourse. Establishing the presence and pervasiveness of a dominant bordering discourse about the Hakki-Pikki is a part of setting the field. However, in comparison with the Roma, the literature in this area was limited. Therefore, I will further in the

[10] Schedule Caste and Scheduled Tribe

thesis conduct an empirical analysis of media representations of the Hakki-Pikki as an exercise in mapping the public discourse. The theoretical basis for analysis of the public media is found in the arguments of Hall (1989, 1990) who points out that the media and its narratives are reflective 'both of the social discourses in society as well as a product of the kind of discourses a society considers legitimate'. Therefore, media can be analysed not only to ascertain the nature of dominant discourses and the consensus in society, but also the other narratives and perspectives it chooses to marginalise.

As a result, such an analysis for the Hakki-Pikki would help comparison of contexts between the two communities.

In the next chapter, I will detail the theoretical framework basis for the examination of the dominant public discourses and the responses of the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma.

3. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section of the thesis presents the theoretical basis for examining the marginalisation of the communities in the dominant public discourse, the nature of those discourses, and the resulting experiences. This theoretical understanding will allow us to understand the varying responses of marginalised communities like the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma in their situation. It will also help us understand the personal conceptions that underlie responses in such situations.

This chapter is divided into three main sections:

1. The first section is an introduction to dominant bordering discourses or the various ways in which members of dominant society exercise their influence in order to ensure and maintain the marginalisation of certain communities.
2. The second section outlines various theories which can help understand the ways and means that these communities have strategically responded to such discourses.
3. The third section deals with the concept of resistance. It aims to outline the various ways in which the dominant boundary discourses are resisted, negotiated and subverted by members of marginalised communities.

This structure is also reflective of the leanings and the interests of the author in such interactions between the dominant and the subaltern.

3.1 The Dominant Bordering Discourses

Foucault (1977, 1980) developed the idea of discourse as comprising social knowledges which needed to be examined to understand the world. According to the author, discourses are reflective of the constructed reality and as being influenced by power relationships. This view finds that power is normalized and embedded in the everyday experiences, practices, customs, standards and narratives (Foucault 1979). These discourses mainly scripted by the dominant entities help them create, maintain, and normalize stratification, creating boundaries between dominant and subaltern groups (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992). In attempting to explain how these hierarchies are maintained by the dominant, the Social Dominance Theory proposed by Sidanius and Pratto (2001), found that by myths, ideologies, and beliefs prevalent in the public discourse play a huge role. Through the pervasiveness and the influence of the public discourse discrimination is maintained as unchangeable, exclusion as acceptable, and injustices as being

due to poor choices made by the subordinates. Therefore, the power and hierarchical relationships are normalized, made mundane, and is characteristic in public discourses.

In understanding of dominant boundary discourse, Anderson (2006) idea of imagined communities seems significant. Here the community is demarked by certain values that separate the community from non-communities. The dominant discourse creates and maintains these boundaries by controlling social cognition of various groups and its members through expressions of acceptable norms, attitudes, knowledges, and ideologies (van Dijk 2015). Many studies have also looked at how these dominant discourses construct these boundaries based on subjective differences and even invented cultural elements of rituals and symbols (Barth 1969, Wimmer 2008). Since these dominant discourses are present in language, behaviour, and texts, careful analysis of texts could reveal constructed categories, beliefs and realities influenced by differential power relationships.

The media is often studied for its role as a creator an indicator of dominant discourse (van Dijk 1995). It is seen as playing a significant role, in introducing, influencing, and prioritising values in a society and shaping public opinion. Some studies have found that there is an under-text of consensus, dominance, essentialization, and simplification of beliefs in the views presented and the language used (Hall 1989, Chomsky 2002). Many studies have implicated media in its role for perpetuating and even reinforcing negative stereotypes of minorities and disadvantaged groups in news, advertising, and entertainment programs (Bullock, Wyche AND Williams 2001, Grabe, Ward, and Hyde 2008, Whitley Jr, 2009, Eisend 2010). Studies also show that different forms of media, like films, television, or the internet enable essentializing stereotypes and present value-based information that not only shapes our preferences but also our self-image, intergroup, in-group, out-group and normative beliefs (Nelson 2009, 9, 230). This role of the media as a creator of value-based information is significant as there is only a minimal difference in attitudes to first-hand experiences of an out-group and its experience through media (Worth and Gross, 1974). It is shown that reactions to events that unfold on TV, new media, or computers usually have the same effect as it would have if it happened in real life (Reeves and Nass, 1996). Studies further suggest that persons usually seek out news sources they tend to be

in agreement with and especially that the 'internet is a safe haven to access information that is biased, divergent, even racist' (Nelson, 2009, 294, Melican and Dixon 2008).

The dominant bordering discourses, 'order, border, and other' certain communities (Van Houtum and Van Naerssen, 2002, Newman 2006). As indicated earlier, this process of everyday bordering also involves a construction and reconstruction of the other (Yuval-Davis 2006, 2011). The dominant entities determine the criteria for inclusion and exclusion of other entities. Yuval-Davis (2011) points to nationalism, racism, and citizenship as discourses that are the basis for the construction of these boundaries. However, in the process of construction and reconstructions of 'the other', the borders are also seen as constantly shifting and contested (Yuval-Davis 2011, Mackie, Maitner, and Smith, 2009). The constructions and reconstruction and the contestations form what the author calls the "the politics of belonging" (Yuval-Davis 2006).
Here belonging is defined as a dynamic process and as a naturalized construction of a hegemonic form of power relations. The author outlines three different levels of belonging that is used as values in the dominant bordering discourse.

1. The first is social location, where hierarchical organizations are based on values of age, race, gender, nation, class etc (Yuval-Davis 2006, 199). These are seen as fluid and contested. The classification into these groups is usually intersectional and resulting in complex boundaries that are constructed and reconstructed between individuals or groups of individuals (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1983, 1992, Yuval-Davis 2011).
2. The second level is individual identities and emotional attachments to groups (Yuval-Davis 2006, 202). Here the dominant constructions of belonging are seen to comprise of identity narratives at both the individual and a social level. These are said to be more than just cognitive stories and having both emotional and aspirational values (Elspeth 1997, Fortier 2000).These identities can be selectively reproduced and can be done so generationally. This also takes multiple forms, is shifting, and contested. They are based on mythology or origin and can be used to explain the present and serve as directions for the future (Yuval-Davis 2006, 202, 203).
3. The third construction of boundaries can be related to the ethical and political value systems with which people judge their own and others' belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006, 203, 204). These refer to values and ideologies that determine where and how boundaries

are drawn to include and exclude entities. These values and ideologies determine the construction of boundaries based on social location and the narrative of identities.

Overall, the authors point out that the politics of belonging lies in "the maintenance and reproduction of the boundaries of the community of belonging by the hegemonic political powers but also their contestation and challenge by other political agents" (Yuval-Davis 2006, 205).

In the articulation of "politics of belonging" the author defines belonging to mean the values, identities, emotional attachments, ethical and political leanings (Yuval-Davis 2006). The focus is therefore on the constitution of dominant notions of belonging, definitions of the mainstream group, and the constructions of boundaries delineating the other. This framing of belonging is important to the thesis in setting the field and establishing the prevalence of dominant discourses. The focus of the thesis is how these discourses and boundaries are contested at individual and groups levels. I have therefore used the term "strategic belonging" as claims of "belonging" made by the subaltern by subscribing to these mainstream dominant values. Therefore effecting negotiations of these boundaries.

3.2 Responses to the Boundary Discourses

In an attempt to understand how members of marginalised communities respond to dominant bordering discourse, I have relied on social and psychological explanations. One of the major goals of social identity theory is said to explain responses of people to their positioning in the social structure (Tajfel 1969, 2010, Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986, 2004). The theory basically focuses on the identities of people and their need for a positive self-identity and self-esteem in their belonging to a certain group (Tajfel 2010). If an individual belongs to a certain group they are said to takes on the identity of that group (Tajfel and Turner 2004). According to the theory, the in-group seeks to find negative characteristics of the out-group. They exaggerate the positive characteristics of the in-group while downplaying positive characteristics of the out-group. Within the group, there is an exaggeration of similarities, and exaggeration of differences compared to other groups (Turner, 1999). As a theory, this helps us not only understand the responses to dominant groups and its discourses but also how identities are created, regulated and controlled (Alvesson and Willmott 2002). The Social Identity Theory also posits that groups employ several strategies like individual disassociation from the stigmatised group, comparisons

on parameters that the groups are perceived to be proficient in, and direct competition with the out-groups (Tajfel 2010).

In trying to articulate the various kinds of responses of communities to negative discourses, or stigmatising discourses Smart Richman and Leary, 2009 proposed a multi-motive model. Although this model looks at individual responses, I found it helpful to adapt this model to articulate position and behaviour at a group level. This model looks largely at three kinds of responses – pro-social, antisocial, and socially avoidant responses. The model's focus on motives is relevant in understanding the responses reported by the interviewees in this thesis. The pro-social response involves attributes of what is called "strategic belonging" in the thesis or articulated in the model as "heightened desire for social connections" (Smart Richman and Leary 2009, 6). This desire for social connections can be with the dominant or with subordinate groups and allies. These groups are seen as providing acceptance and support. The second is what is theorised as an anti-social response, in opposition to dominant bordering social discourses and even adversarial to it. The third is the socially avoidant response and withdrawing contact. This is said to be motivated by the need to avoid further rejection. The theory also proposes that these responses are based on construal of the dominant 'othering' and 'stigmatizing' discourses. I have adapted this model to talk about the responses of the marginalised to the Dominant Bordering Discourse, at a group level. I propose three categories, Pro-Dominant responses, Anti-Dominant Responses and Withdrawal and Avoidance responses.

3.2.1 Pro- Dominant Responses

This refers to the positive responses to the dominant bordering discourses discrimination. These are responses that are aimed at increasing the value of the subordinated and the need to have amicable relationships with the dominant out-groups. The subjects of the stigmatised discourses have a heightened sensitivity to not just experiences of discrimination but also social information (Banaji, and Hardin, 1996, Johnston and Macrae, 1994, Crocker and Major, 1989). This allows the subject to understand, pre-empt, avoid, or even repair instances of discrimination (Pickett, Gardner, and Knowles, 2004, Shelton et al. 2004). Studies have found how experiences of exclusion were related to the need for increased affiliations (Maner, DeWall, Baumeister, and Schaller 2007) including the need to cultivate alternative relationships and sources of support

(Baumeister and Leary 1995, Cohen and Wills, 1985; Holahan and Moos, 1985; Taylor, 2007). Pro-social responses also included imitation of the dominant values, behaviour etc. driven by the need be viewed positively (Chartrand and Bargh, 1999, Hardin and Conley, 2001). Another strategy was to establish connections within the group strengthening in-group identity (Schmitt and Branscombe 2002). The authors Schmitt and Branscombe (2002) point out that experiences of discrimination could make members more engaged within the in-group providing the needed support. This could lead to self –affirmation and create a sense of belonging and acceptance and therefore help counter stigmatised dominant discourses (Sellers and Shelton 2003, Sherman and Cohen, 2006, Steele 1998).

3.2.2 Anti-Dominant Responses

The experiences of discrimination could also lead to aggressive or adversarial responses (Leary et al., 2006). Due to situations of pervasive discrimination, the subjects tend to be highly sensitive (Banaji, and Hardin, 1996, Johnston and Macrae, 1994, Crocker and Major, 1989) and these subjects usually have antisocial reactions to rejection (Downey, et.al, 1998). In addition, responses to discrimination situations can also include lowered empathy and amicableness (DeWall and Baumeister 2006 Twenge et al. 2007, Buckley et al. 2004).

3.2.3 Withdrawal and Avoidance

A less studied response to discrimination is the withdrawal and avoidance response (Smart Richman and Leary 2009). Most of the evidence is from interpersonal contexts but can also be paralleled to social groups. In these responses, the individuals or groups may withdraw from and avoid social interactions. The subjects can withdraw physically, socially, and psychologically if they are unable to avoid the social situation. These responses are said to occur when there is low expectation of reconciliation, the situation of discrimination is pervasive, relationship is not valued, and there are no other alternatives (Anderson and Martin, 1995, Dodge et al. 1987, Maner et al. 2007).

3.3 Resistance, Subversion, and Negotiation of Dominant Boundary Discourses

In the strategic responses of the subordinated groups discussed above is their characterisation as agentic and interactive entities. Underlying these are strategic behaviour of subordinated groups, who are constantly making sense of their oppression, and trying to influence, shape, and subvert

the motives of the dominant groups to the extent possible. This is also theorised as "strategic interactionism", first explained by Erving Goffman (1970) in the context of 'Game theory' where a player's situation is dependent on the actions of the opponent and both players are constantly sparring with strategies like creating false evidences and uncovering real evidences. The theory of strategic interactionism views marginalised communities as agentic entities, constantly engaged in both surviving and improving their social status and power. In trying to establish counter-narratives of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination, the subaltern imagines a strategic transformation through first engaging the hegemonic power, upsetting it and offering an alternative emancipatory vision (Buckley 2013, Fanon 1965, 1970, Nandy 1989). Using the strategic interactionism as its basis, the thesis aims to moves forward from responses to stigmatized bordering discourses to examine the various forms of strategic expressions, acts, and organizations. This would include the hidden and overt forms of expressions of resistance, performative and psychological resistances, organized and unorganized social resistances. (Butler 2015, Fanon 1965, Scott 1990).

3.3.1 Performance of Resistance: Overt, covert, and subversive

Butler (2015) shows how discriminated and vulnerable populations are not only blamed for their own vulnerability but also held as being responsible for their situation. The author shows how "precarity" is constructed using discourses of dehumanization (Butler 2009) and points out that the dominant solution to bordering and othering has been assimilation, abandoning subaltern culture, and reproducing mainstream norms. In the seminal work, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution", Butler (1988) theorizes the idea of resistance as "performative using gender as a framework. The author defined the performances of resistances "a stylized repetition of acts" which due to its idea of being a "performance" contests the reified status (Butler 1988, 520). The author further states that dominant frameworks presuppose what an 'ideal performance' should be and punish anything that falls outside that conception. However, according to the author, the resistance is in the fact that such conceptions are countered by performative acts. These acts are not usually a personal choice and are informed by a "legacy of sedimented acts" or "historical social constructions of subordinated identities" (Butler1988, 522).

While Butler (1988, 2009, 2015) speaks of public performance of resistance, Scott (1985, 1990) in his seminal work with peasants in South-east Asia, details the 'Hidden' aspects of resistance that the subordinated employed in the face of overwhelming authority. The author articulates two different discourses that are at play – one "public" and the other "hidden" for both the subordinated and the dominant (Scott 1990, 13-14). The author argues that the more oppressive the dominance, the stronger the hidden resistances and private transcript. Foot-dragging, sabotage, backstage bickering and double speak, and publicly submissive and placid are listed as different strategies employed by the subordinated (Scott 1990: x). The author points out that the subordinated are able to 'come together in a safe space to support and conspire away from the gaze of power'. Further, Scott (1990) refers to the strategic use of ideologies as tools, using the Norwegian prison study of Mathiesen (1965) to point out that the prisoners used the prison rules, set out by the prison authorities to their advantage. This was done by holding the authorities to the rules prescribed by the authorities themselves, and ensuring that they do not exceed the rules in any manner.

By focusing on resistance I do not intend to frame these communities in a directly oppositional mode to the dominant (Margolis 2002). I use a framing of resistance that is directly non-confrontational and subversive, to show how the 'strategic alterations' can be used for boundary negotiations.

3.3.2 The Framework of "Psychological Un-belonging"

Both the theories on resistance point to the hidden, public, and covert forms of resistance. However in this section, I will use the "Anti-Social" and "Withdrawal and Avoidance" responses articulated by Smart Richman and Leary (2009, 14, 18) as a point of departure to propose a new understanding to these responses based on resistance as imagined by DuBois 1965, Fanon (1968) and Nandy (1983). This positioning of resistance is based on the premise that the marginalised may seek to disassociate from a system that is extremely oppressive, and they may mobilise a distant "moral and cognitive venture against oppression" using "diverse sources of defiance" including "private and public myth…imageries, myths and fantasies" (Nandy 1983, xiii). This was articulated as "psychological" withdrawal by Smart Richman and Leary (2009, 18). Nandy calls this the "Third Space" as located both "beyond and within modernity's binaries". This could be seen as a coping mechanism in order to deal with the unfair and stressful situations

caused by discrimination. This has also been studied in psychodynamic psychology as dissociation, an ego defence mechanism that people use when they sense a threat to their ego and self-esteem (Spiegel 1994). Interestingly, people who use dissociation often have a disconnected view of themselves from the dominant world (Spiegel 1994). Such un- belonging may also then show increased affiliation towards 'one's own' systems, beliefs and standards (Tajfel 2010, Smart Richman and Leary 2009).

This "un-belonging" exists as a normative fact in exclusion, in that marginalised communities "do not belong" and are alienated. However, the psychological conception of "un-belonging" in order to cope with stressful situations of discrimination also inherently refuses to accept the "subordinated" position allocated by the systems of dominance. To illustrate this, the work of DuBois (1965) and Fanon (1968) seems important. DuBois argues, 'African Americans, like the colonized, are forced to view themselves from and as negative perspectives of the dominant society', where their dominant constructed stigmatised identity is antagonistic to their true sense of self-identity. Fanon (1967, 1968, 155) further argues that one must reject the "determinations" imposed by the dominant identity, in fact proposing to 'negate' the dominant identity entirely. In contrast, DuBois (1965, 215) does not entirely subscribe to Fanon's idea of liberation and only goes so far as to reject just the problematic parts of the identity and not the whole dominant conception of "identity". In this debate, the authors position their arguments as deciding between absolute rejection vs. compromise. However, both these positions at a fundamental level articulate acts of "un-belonging" in different conceptions as necessary to "liberation".

3.3.3 Themes of Un-Belonging in the Dominant "Matrix"

The reference here to "The Matrix" is from the popular Sci-fi film with the same title, is based on the idea that the world is constructed by powerful machines to keeps most of its human subject in an illusory, an artificial reality (Wachowski and Wachowski 1999, Schuchardt, 2003, 18). However, the film has spanned some serious academic work. There are studies that have analysed experiences of colonization, discrimination and education using the framework of the film (Bass 2014, Bell 2006, Allen 2002, Coates 2011, King and Leonard, 2006). In addition the film itself has been analysed for the film itself for its philosophical, biblical, racial underpinnings (Žižek 1999,). The film represents two dimensions one that is real, the other constructed, and the

capability of only a few to recognize the difference (King and Leonard 2006, 92). The matrix as a film has been specifically used to study institutional racism and articulate various dominant-subordinated relationships (Pitre and Alen 2014, Miller and Garan 2007, Hatch and Cunlife 2006)

The next chapter would provide the detailed methodological framework of the thesis including the research methodology, methods and limitations of the study.

4. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Ontology

The ontology refers to the nature of reality, or how we understand the existence of something. Therefore making explicit the ontological approach would help outline the assumptions made by the research (Crotty 1998). This study finds itself in the constructivist paradigm which supposes that reality is socially constructed by the various social actors. This paradigm also assumes that the researcher is also a social actor and interacts with the subject of research while trying to explain a social phenomenon (Cresswell 2013). While the researcher may not be able to separate himself from the reality, in line with interpretivism, the researcher's positions can be counted as knowledge (Crotty 1998). This research identifies with the constructivist paradigm and recognizes that realities and experiences are constructed based on social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values (Cresswell 2013). This construction is carried out by dominant systems that use their control over resources and outcomes to manufacture an understanding (Foucault 1982). For example, stigmatized bordering discourses as constructions used to 'other' certain groups towards the interests of the dominant (van Dijk 1992, 1995, Houtum and Naerssen 2002, Yuval-Davis 2006). It seeks to examine the boundary discourses and resulting social experiences as constructions by exploring the understanding and responses of members of certain groups. This research aims to understand how these meanings are negotiated personally, collectively, and socially, especially in relation to the dominant systems. Lastly, following the understandings, the research looks at how these understandings shape responses and how these responses seek to alter the constructions of the dominant. This research compares the perspectives among members of two marginalized communities whose marginalization was historically scripted and is continuing today.

4.2 Researchers Predisposition

In the research process, my privileged position as an English educated, middle-class man outlines a perspective very different from some of the respondents in the research who had very different social, economic, and caste backgrounds. In this process, I was to the extent possible, aware of my own social position and role in meaning formation through the research process and was conscious of my relationships with the respondents and also my expected categorization. Before this research project, I had spent a length of time, living and working with some members

of the Hakki-Pikki community. In this process, I had built close relationships with some of them and also spoke the local language which helped me gain access and get forthright testimonies. In the case of the Roma communities where I had no familiarity, I was linked closely to individuals or organizations like Supporting Roma Voice, at the University of Salford, that had built relationships with members of these communities. In the case of some respondents from the Roma community, my ethnicity, both as a minority and as an Indian, also helped open some interviews with references to the Indian origins of the Roma and or even references to "*Gadze*", "*Gora"* (Church and White 2006) other. However, as this thesis suggests these interactions even with the researcher, are open to being evaluated for aspects of representation, belonging, and negotiations.

There were instances where the interviews did no longer follow the structure set out initially and the respondents chose to relate their experiences at length about areas that were important to them. During this process, my earlier rigid conceptualization around experiences of discrimination, prejudice and stereotypes, and ideas of resistance was challenged. Therefore, I had to broaden my focus to include other forms of strategic interactions including the neo-liberal, religious, cultural, and social processes that enable such strategies. There were varied responses including how the victimhood status can be politically used to create solidarity, the 'perpetrator identity to avoid discrimination, the different ways stereotypes were strategically internalized and externalized etc. These responses helped me broaden the scope of the research beyond just agency or setting it in a simplistic oppositional mode to the dominant to a more interactive and a dialectical domain.

Following Butler (2015), Scott (1990), I attempted to not just represent historical and current experiences but to look for the 'unstated' or the 'performative' within the testimonials of the respondents to examine the construction of discourses, identities etc. Similarly, I have been inspired by Fanon (1970) and Nandy (1983) to evaluate dominant construction of discourse, its hegemonic power and its impact on the subject. Using these two frames I have connected the individual to the structure and vice versa.

4.3 Research Methodology

4.3.1 Comparative Case Methodology: Why the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma?

I have used the qualitative methodology because of the fundamental ability of a qualitative methodology to penetrate the "experiential social worlds of intentional, self- directing actors" (Mangen 1999). This qualitative case methodology is considered particularly helpful in facilitating 'thick descriptions' which explain both behaviour and its context in a manner that the behavior becomes meaningful to anybody who is not familiar with the group (Geertz 1994). The qualitative method is ideal to probe into aspects like understandings, experiences, cognitions, and ideas like discrimination, prejudice, stereotypes, etc. This method allows for data to be collected from various sources like Semi-Structured Interviews, Focus Group Discussions, Document and Media Analysis.

A comparative case study helps draw out a) similarities and differences, b) make generalizations to similar situations and c) highlight the nuances of a case (Azarian 2011).

The Hakki-Pikki and the Roma are chosen as cases based on their common experience of, the 'phenomenon of marginalization' and possibilities of comparing of potential 'responses' to this phenomenon. This would help validate the generalizability of common findings and even construct new concepts (Skocpol 1979). This methodology is particularly helpful in the achievement of the analytical depth essential for new concepts and theories (Ragin 2014).

Apart from generalizability of new findings, comparative studies can help test existing explanations and make explicit "the often taken-for-granted basis of practices and phenomena" (Azarian 2011,117, Kocka 1980). This method helps synthesize the different existing theories in understanding a phenomenon (Kaarbo and Beasley 1999). As illustrated above, there are several theories of dominant boundary discourses and the responses that may apply to the Roma and the Hakki-Pikki. A comparative analysis would help in testing these explanations. This has also been termed as "plausibility probe" by Eckstein (2000, 108) where various theories are aligned to explain a phenomenon and needs new empirical evidence to be validated. Such a design is similar to pilot studies in experimental methods which helps avoid high-cost exploration of a 'plausible phenomenon'.

Overall, using the comparative case study method to study the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma, would help examine different responses to marginalization, draw out similarities that can be applied to similar cases of discrimination and also highlight the nuances in both cases.

4.3.2 Integrated Analytical Framework

With the aim of the thesis being to explore responses of marginalized communities to the dominant bordering discourses, I had to first establish the presence of the dominant bordering discourse. This was easily done in the case of the Roma with the vast amount of scholarship available on the subject. In general, there is a lack of scholarship when it comes to the case of Hakki-Pikki. I could not find any studies that had examined dominant discourses or even any from the view of discrimination. However, online news articles were found which were indicative and representative of dominant stigmatizing discourses (van Dijk 1995). Therefore, I chose to conduct an analysis of news articles based on the Entman (1993) framing approach. In addition to this, one of the objectives of the thesis was to understand how actors from marginalized groups understood their social positions (Tajfel 2010, Smart Richman and Leary 2009). One of the ways is to explore the use of metaphors by the actors in the interviews (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). As this would help understand their 'abstract models of reality' (Moser 2000). Therefore I have used analysis of metaphors based on the method prescribed by Pragglejaz Group (2007).

The following is the outline of the methods:

Aims of Thesis	**Analytical Framework**
Dominant Bordering Discourse	Frame Analysis, Document Analysis
Understanding and Responses	Thematic Analysis
Abstract Reasoning and Understandings	Analysis of Metaphors, Thematic Analysis

Table 1: Showing the different Analytical Methods used in the Thesis

4.3.2.1 Thematic Analysis

The analysis followed an inductive approach where themes were identified from the data drawn from interviews and focus group discussions, without trying to fit into a pre-modelled frame (Braun and Clarke 2006). Thematic analysis was used because this research aimed at bringing out subjective understanding and experiences of discrimination, resistance, and myth-making among the members of the community. This kind of analysis accounts for differing experiences

and perceptions of participants as the principal objects of study (Cresswell 2013). In addition, it also takes into account the differences observed in these communities. The process of Thematic Analysis included preparing the data in an analyzable format, generating initial codes within the data, searching for various themes among codes, reviewing these themes, defining and naming themes, and finally producing this study (Guest, MacQueen, and Namey 2011, Braun and Clarke 2006, Cresswell 2003). I used Microsoft Word and Excel to code and classify these themes.

4.3.2.2 Frame Analysis

I examined "framing" of the Hakki-Pikki based on the Entman (1993) idea where the specific aspects of text are deliberately made salient in order to promote how a problem is defined, causally interpreted, morally evaluated, or even in treatment recommendations that follow when reading certain news articles (Entman 1993, 51-58). The creators of communication use this to construct and define certain groups, experiences, and events. The creator also intends the communication be interpreted while driving the experiences and actions of the interpreters through framing.

The media analysis are seen as indicators of not only the popular public opinion but also the dominant discourse (van Dijk 1995). The data consisted of videos and online news stories. The videos were transcribed and were added to the list of articles. The articles were also analysed line by line, coded, and categorised into various themes. The video and imagery used in the articles were also analysed for context.

4.3.2.3 Analysis of Metaphors

Metaphors have been studied in psychology as analogies influencing understanding, decision-making and behaviour (Gentner 1983). These three aspects are relevant to the aims of the thesis in its attempt to understand how members of the marginalised communities understand and respond to the dominant discriminatory discourses. Further, as Moser (2000) points out, although metaphors are socially and culturally defined, they can be studied as "abstract models of reality". Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 5) define metaphors as 'understanding, experiencing, and thinking one thing in terms of another'. An analysis of metaphors should, therefore, provide insight into the interactions between culture and cognition and resulting actions. Lakoff and Johnson (1980)

in their seminal work on metaphors point out that metaphors not only structure our understandings of concepts but also shape our perceptions and actions based on those concepts. For example, Bendl and Schmidt (2010) have analysed various metaphors that denote experiences of discrimination and point out that they provide deeper insights into the various aspects of discrimination. I used the Pragglejaz group (2007) method of manually identifying metaphors to analyse the metaphors in the data. The process as described includes:

1) *Reading the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.*
2) *Determining the lexical units in the text–discourse*
3) *(a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Taking into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.*

   (b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. Basic meanings tend to be more concrete, related to bodily action, more precise or historically older, but not necessarily more frequent

   (c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4) *If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.*

4.4 Research Methods

Location:

United Kingdom: Roma	Greater Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, London, Glasgow, Oldham and Bristol
India: Karnataka: Hakki-Pikki	Mysore, Kolar, Shimoga, Bellary, Bangalore and Hassan districts

Table 2: Showing the different fieldwork sites in India and the U.K

The fieldwork was carried out over a period of five months in the UK and one month in India. In the U.K, I was helped by Supporting Roma Voice (SRV) and their contacts. In India, I was helped by community activists with whom I had worked in the past. I was also familiar with respondents in some of these districts and they referred me to respondents living in other settlements.

***Participants*:** Interviews were conducted among various members, leaders, and representatives of the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma community. In addition, interviews were carried out with researchers, political representatives, religious leaders, state representatives, law enforcement and NGO workers. These intermediaries were persons largely with Roma or Hakki-Pikki backgrounds.

The Roma participants in the UK were recruited based on snowball sampling, based on interviews and contacts from the Supporting Roma Voice project and from other intermediaries like the Church and NGOs. The respondents contacted through SRV were largely educated and English speaking while the other who were contacted through the church and NGOs needed an interpreter. The interpreters had done this job numerous times and were professional and adept in their translations. In the case of the Hakki-Pikki, the sampling was a mix of purposive and snowball sampling. There were varying levels of education, most of them were unlettered, but I was able to conduct interviews in the local language.

Methods	**Hakki-Pikki**	**Roma**
Semi-Structured Interviews	14	16
Focus Group Discussions	2 (8 people each)	1 (5 People)

Table 3: Showing the distribution of Primary research methods by Hakki-Pikki and Roma

Since, I was familiar with the Hakki-Pikkis from my previous work, the respondents were very comfortable. Also due to references from SRV, I found the members of the Roma community to be equally welcoming. In one of the areas, there were tensions between the Roma and the local South-Asian community and the respondents were initially reluctant to talk freely. However, the interpreter was a well-respected member of the community and this helped open up the conversations.

4.4.1 Methods

Semi structured interviews:[11] The semi structured interviews gave the participants to talk freely about issues they felt were important. It also allowed me to ask questions which I had not thought of earlier and gain insights into the personal motivations of the Respondents (Cresswell 2013). This method was important because it later allowed for the possibility of the inductive method of theorizing and conceptualization (Bryman 2012, 12). The respondents asked me many questions to understand my research and the questions better and this led to an increased rapport. The average duration of interviews were over 60 minutes, the respondents were very generous with their time. The interviews needed times because most respondent spoke about their views, opinions and feeling. A lot of information was gained from talking about areas that was important to the respondents.

Focus Group Discussions: I used focus groups because it was the easiest way to obtain varied views, examine the processes of group interactions and the dynamics of the group (Bryman 2012, 502). The focus group in Karnataka was conducted among people within the community who spoke English, Kannada or Hindi as these were languages I can speak. The focus group in the UK was conducted with English speaking Roma Youth and other members. The focus groups provided rich insights into the consensus about issues, group based reactions that started with "*We…*". In addition, this was an appropriate forum for differences of opinion and majority views on certain topics

Media Analysis: In order to examine the dominant border building narratives about the Hakki-Pikki I conducted an analysis of news articles. While the selected articles and videos are from the internet it is still indicative of the representation as a majority of these online articles have appeared in the print or on television. The articles were sourced from tabloid, broadsheet and 24-hour news channels and included both English and the vernacular language Kannada.

[11] Refer to Appendix for the Questionnaire format and Consent Forms

Publication Type	Articles
24 Hr. TV News	4
Broadsheet	18
Tabloid	3
Grand Total	**25**

Table 4: Showing the break-down of articles by the publication type

Using various combinations of the Keyword, "Hakki-Pikki" I searched the search engines and video websites for news articles and news reports. Only news related articles featured in credited news websites and news reports videos were selected, the documentaries and other videos etc. were ignored. Majority of the articles were carried in the liberal English language daily called *The Hindu*, followed by the popular *Times of India, Deccan Herald, Deccan Chronicle, Telegraph* and tabloids like *Mid-Day, DNA India* and *News Karnataka*. The videos, however, were chosen from the vernacular 24 hour local news channels like *Public TV* and *Prajaa TV* and an English news channel called *News9*.

4.4.2 Ethical concerns

The aims and objectives of the research were disclosed to the participants and participation in the research was assured to be voluntary. Free and informed consent was obtained from the respondents using consent forms. However, in some cases participants were skeptical about signing a form or were not lettered, then verbal consent was obtained. I was conscious of the power dynamics that is brought in through the process of conducting interviews and tried to collaborate with other community members and known intermediaries during this process. In a couple of cases, I was refused permission to use the voice recorder so I had to take written notes. I have consciously omitted or disguised all identifiable information in this thesis and during transcription. In all cases the research was under constant supervision of academics and activists working within the community and followed rules set by the ethics board (National Committees for Research Ethics in Norway 2006, 22).

4.4.3 Limitations of the Study

- A qualitative comparative project designed across two countries, with fieldwork among marginalised populations made this project both time and labour intensive. In addition to

this the complexities of the contexts in both these communities tested the scope and limits of the Master's thesis. Therefore, I chose to focus on broad categories of responses instead of evaluating each of the responses. Further, the scholarly work on the Hakki-Pikki community was scarce and almost none directly examining experiences of discrimination. Therefore more effort was required to lay the foundations for comparison. In this, I have drawn from various sources including media articles and documentary videos etc. to populate the data.

- I have tried to provide equal space in the thesis for both the communities, however, due to the differences in the contexts and experiences this was not possible in all cases. In addition, my relatively deeper understanding of the contextual factors of the Hakki-Pikki based on my past experiences may weigh the thesis analytically towards the Hakki-Pikki. However, I have attempted to balance this by drawing on the vast and varied literature available on the Roma communities across Europe

- Despite trying to be as balanced as possible, there are possibilities of selection bias of specific data or in the construction my arguments. This is especially true as the thesis deals heavily with psychological aspects of marginalization, which can be viewed as interpretative and less objective. In order to balance this, I have attempted to substantiate all my claims with empirical evidence and other research studies. In addition, making clear my motivations, biases and leanings, as I have, hopefully should contextualize the bias in the study.

- Most of the findings are based on a small sample in the communities and cannot be generalized or simplified to speak for the entire Hakki-Pikki or all of the Migrant Roma. However, support for many of the findings were found in relevant theories and studies that have evaluated similar context.

Although, there were many complexities in every step of the research process, this rich complexity has been of immense learning to me personally, and, hopefully, will be of value to the reader.

5. THE DOMINANT BORDERING DISCOURSES: The Hakki-Pikki and the Migrant Roma

In the theoretical chapters, I have examined the dominant bordering discourses surrounding the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma. I detailed the representation of Hakki-Pikki in the policy discourses and their institutional discrimination. I pointed to various studies of media representations of the Roma. However, as stated earlier, there have been substantial studies looking at how the Roma have been represented in the media and the bordering discourses. There is a present lack of scholarship in the case of the Hakki-Pikki. Therefore, in trying to explicate the nature of dominant discourses surrounding the Hakki-Pikki, I will attempt to analyse their media representations in this section.

5.1 Hakki-Pikki: Immoral People and a Criminal Race

In news articles, an over-representation of the community as criminal and immoral stereotypes is prevalent. The articles in most of the tabloids and the 24-hour news channels contain highly prejudicial information. For example, regular use of phrases like "*belonging to the historically criminal tribes*", "*dangerous*", 'cheaters', "*tricksters*", and even "*poachers and hunters responsible for killing endangered animals*" is observed to identify them. (Khan 2015, Menon and Khanna 2008, Khanna 2014, News9 2010, Satish 2016, Srinivas 2015, Chetan 2009, News Karnataka 2016). Tabloid articles were seen to propagate the idea that the Hakki-Pikki community regularly cheat the public, producing and selling their "illegal" and "fake" products (Chetan 2009, News Karnataka 2016, Khan 2015, Menon and Khanna 2008, News9 2010). An article on 'using infants to beg on the streets' indirectly related the practice with the Hakki-Pikki, implying that they are involved in the practice of begging with children (Srinivas 2015).

The Hakki-Pikki have traditionally lived off forest produce. In recent times their movement into the forests has been limited. However, even their limited and surveilled presence in the forests are used to portray them as being "*dangerous*" and as a '*threat to the wildlife and nature*' (Khan 2015, Menon and Khanna 2008, Khanna 2014). This is observed in the quote from a forest authority, featured in one of the tabloid articles, "*As an act of revenge, the tribes people might even set the forest on fire or kill the wildlife.*" (Khanna 2014). There are several such examples

where tabloids news directly portray the Hakki-Pikki as criminals, for example "*Hakki-Pikki tribals are also actively involved in the smuggling of non-timber forest produces*" (Menon and Khanna, 2008) and "*Hakki-Pikki colonies …have worked in collaboration with notorious poachers*" (Khan 2015) and "*Using locally-made explosives for hunting animals is fast becoming a trend with Hakki-Pikki tribals*" (Menon and Khanna, 2008), or "*Hakki-Pikki tribal community, that has been living in this region and has earned the notoriety for being involved in several theft cases*." (News Karnataka 2016). These dehumanising stereotypes used by the news media could lead to the community being perceived as consisting of violent and immoral individuals looking to harm the general public. Their traditional association with the forests is used to portray them as 'savages' who do not have regard for animals or nature.

5.1.1 Hakki-Pikki: Dirty Barbarians

Many of the articles also depict the Hakki-Pikki both as people living in an unhygienic environment, and 'lacking personal hygiene and sanitation' (PrajaaTv 2015, Satish 2016, Rohith 2015). In one of the articles, a quote from a non-Hakki-Pikki is used to highlight how the Hakki-Pikki "*community lacks hygiene*" and the need for "*toothbrush and soaps*" (Rohith 2015). In a report on the 24-hours news channel, the living conditions of the Hakki-Pikki were described as being "*worse than animals*" (PrajaaTV 2015). This kind of essentialist descriptions are found to be accompanied by images of unhygienic living conditions and are often featured without any analysis about the disadvantages faced by the community. The depiction of a forest dweller, engaged in illegal hunting or poaching of animals and trades in their body parts propagates the imagery of a 'primitive tribe' distancing it from majority societies. Also, such depictions very significantly advance the notion of 'purity' through these images.

5.1.2 Hakki-Pikki: Un-Deserving Victims

Most of the articles in broadsheet news websites tended to focus on the community as victims. These articles attempted to draw attention to the needs and issues of the community. For example, the need for land titles, better living conditions and livelihood options (The Hindu 2017, Shivakumar 2017). Focusing on the poverty and injustice faced by these communities, these articles also carry images of their poor living conditions and living situations (The Hindu 2017). Most of these articles feature the voices of the community, with quotes from the members of the community. These articles represent the dire situation of the Hakki-Pikki and how their

conditions are beyond their immediate control. Other articles take a moral view on how these victims are expected to behave or demand their rights. For example, their protests for claiming land titles is resented as 'illegal' and illegitimate (The Hindu 2017). In these articles, the voices of the dominant community members are used to negate the claims of the Hakki-Pikkis.

Apart from presenting them as victims, the Hakki-Pikki are also presented as un-deserving of that status of a victim. This is largely seen to be done by using immoral stereotypes of cheaters and tricksters. For example, the Hakki-Pikkis are also portrayed as people who are able to use illegal ways to trade and gain wealth illegitimately. An article titled "Passport to quick bucks", states,

> "*With demand for the fake wildlife products on the rise, the Vagre tribe, also known as the Hakki-Pikki community, has one or other tribe member abroad most of the year. Umesh Mettur and his family are more familiar with the Burj-al-Arab and the Big Ben than the Vidhana Soudha as they jet-set to Dubai, Singapore and London more often than living in Bangalore."*

They are portrayed as entrepreneurs who 'frequently travel abroad' and make money selling their 'illegal' and 'fake' handicrafts. The article treats with suspicion the otherwise normal access to passports, especially in a "tribal" household. The article states,

> "*Every family has a passport though most dwellers haven't even passed Standard I. Some households have more than one passport*" (Chetan 2009).

Here, both possessing a passport and different members of a household having access to passports is framed with suspicion probably because it does not meet the stereotypes of a tribal family. Their access to certain status indicators in the society like a passport and travelling abroad is contrasted with their lack of education and disadvantaged circumstances in order to portray the illegitimacy of their wealth and success. This propagates narratives of Hakki-Pikkis as 'undeserving victims', as one who is 'uneducated', 'deprived' and 'tribal' and therefore undeserving of status indicators such a passport and foreign travel.

5.2 News depictions as a measure of the Dominant Bordering Discourse

The analysis of the representation of the Hakki-Pikkis in the media brings to the fore the various stereotypes that have become a part of the bordering discourse. The media's role in the

construction and maintenance of Hakki-Pikki as a 'moral' and a legal 'other' is quite prominently visible.

In the review chapter, I articulated possibilities of three kinds of stigmatised dominant discourses
1) Narratives based on tribal identities: This was confirmed in the articles that highlighted the various depictions of the Hakki-Pikki as primitive, forest-dwellers, barbarians etc.
2) Narratives based on caste identities: Articles were found that established deviance based on the dominant caste values of cleanliness, purity, victimhood and segregation
3) Narratives based on criminality: The narratives based on criminality were found to be dominant across the narratives, with the Hakki-Pikki being represented as poachers, beggars, dangerous and immoral.
In addition, other class values of wealth and education is used in these narratives of deviance of the Hakki-Pikki. The analysis also shows that even when there are depictions of positive stereotypes, as being 'entrepreneurial' or as 'artists', these representations have been found to add to the objectification of the community as different from the larger society.

The various representations described above were presented as authentic by selectively using the statement of authoritative actors like the police or government officials (Enteman 1993). The space for Hakki-Pikki voices was found to be minimal if not completely absent and in some cases quotes from members of the community were used to further the biased narrative of the article. Consequently, due to the absence of the Hakki-Pikki voices, actors from the majority were found to be assigned the role of deconstructing of the issues and offering solutions. Further, exposure to such biased news and articles have been studied to provoke prejudicial responses from the majority communities and institutions (Melican and Dixon 2008).

5.3 Conclusion: Dominant Bordering Discourses

The media representation, policy and governance frameworks are significant indicators of the presence of boundary discourses. In this chapter, I examined the representation of Hakki-Pikki in the media. In addition to this media analysis, the analysis of the institutional frameworks and policy discourses[12], they highlight the representation of communities using deviance values. The

[12] in the review of literature

use of positive stereotypes was also found to commodity and essentialize these complex communities. Therefore, the reification and the stigmatization narratives tend to exaggerate differences between the majority population and these communities in mainstream public discourse.

The analysis also showed the attempt of these discourses to categorize these communities into class, race, ethnic, and caste stratifications. However, such stratification was not just through the dominant discourse and the exertion of control or stigmatization alone. This was also due to seemingly pull factor from dominant frameworks as providers of genuine and empowering solutions (Fanon 1968, Scott 1990). These solutions are usually assimilation practices and a part of the dominant caste and class frameworks. This leads to marginalised communities being coerced, policed, and assimilated into the lowest order, for example; as low caste or lower class subjects (Fanon 1968, Nandy 1983).Further, owing to unequal distribution of power and resources, the members of the subordinated groups like the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma, may not be able to challenge these representations.

The next section will attempt to shed more light on how the members of the Roma and the Hakki-Pikki respond to these representations in media and the larger public discourse. I will examine how they understand and cognize these dominant discourses and how it affects their everyday living experiences.

5.4 Understandings, experiences, and responses to the dominant discourse of discrimination

In the previous section, I referred to how the bordering discourses consist of stigmatised representations of marginalised groups. I outlined various stereotypical representations and connected it with the exercise of dominance and power. In this section, based on interviews conducted with members of the Hakki-Pikki in India and the Roma migrants in the UK, I will examine how the respondents respond to this dominant bordering discourse in their everyday experience. In conclusion, I will compare the responses using an adapted version of the multi-motive model (Smart Richman and Leary 2009).

5.5 Hakki-Pikki

5.5.1 The Hakki-Pikki respond to discriminatory Caste Discourses

In my interviews, the respondents pointed out that they experienced discrimination when they were mostly identified as a Hakki-Pikki. This identification was reported to be based on the locations of the Hakki-Pikki settlements, food practices, religious customs, cultural practices and occupations of the tribe.

The school and college going Hakki-Pikki students spoke about being subjected to discrimination mainly on caste-based values and values that are based on stereotypes of the Hakki-Pikki,. A high school student stated the following during a focus group,

> "*It was in the way they call us "Hakki-Pikki" in a derogatory manner, to insult us. They knew we came from the Hakki-Pikki settlement and know that we are lower caste. People in school make fun of us and call us thieves, forest-people, or say that we are dirty. Everyone has had the same experiences at school, and not just from other children but also sometimes from teachers or even the principal*."

Other respondents pointed also pointed out that the physical location in a "Hakki-Pikki Settlement" caused people to view them as lower caste. A school going respondent pointed out that her "*classmates would not eat or share lunch*" because she was considered "*dirty and unclean*". The idea of cuisine and pollution[13] is closely linked with caste notions of pollution. And was also supported by other accounts generated in the focus group with community members, talking about eating practices one of the members of the community said

> "*The farmers (Upper Caste) would not even give us a drink of water from their houses... this is because they think we eat all these different unclean meat from the forests… So they think they will become unclean".*

Therefore predominant caste identifiers like names that could identify people as Hakki-Pikki are changed to avoid ascriptions of caste-based discrimination. It was found that most young people

[13] The idea of 'pollution' also occurs prominently in the hierarchical ideology of caste, where persons and practices deemed unclean are relegated to the subordinated castes (Olivelle 1998)

had changed their names to resemble upper caste names, popular surnames or names of popular Bollywood actors. In the interview a Hakki-Pikki youth who changed his surname to include the dominant caste "Rajput"[14] says,

> *"Earlier people used to have very different names and every one made fun of our names and it was funny, now nobody wants to have names like that. People have started naming their children like people outside do. And I have chosen my own name because the Hakki-Pikki have descended from the Rajputs and I wanted to show that in my name."*

5.5.2 The Hakki-Pikki respond to being called Criminal Tribes

The stigmatization also extends beyond its basis on caste notions to the historical discrimination of the tribes like the Hakki-Pikki as "criminals" and "criminal tribes". In many of the interviews, especially with members of the law enforcement or public officials, references were made repeatedly to stereotype the Hakki-Pikki as "dangerous criminals". In an interview, a police officer who was formerly in-charge of an area with a Hakki-Pikki settlement, characterized crime as being a 'descent-based attribute of the Hakki-Pikki'. He used these explanations to justify the practices of "*frequent monitoring, questioning and the investigation*". Such stereotypical representations may build, exaggerate, and perpetuate biases observed in the dominant discourse. This is true as the statements of police officers are featured as 'authority and experts statements' as seen earlier in the analysis of news articles (Khan 2015, Menon and Khanna 2008, Khanna 2014, NewsKarnataka 2016).

In the Hakki-Pikki settlement, where the same police officer once held jurisdiction, a member of the community pointed to the bias prevalent among the law enforcement authorities.

> "*It does not matter if there is a crime, the police come here (settlement) and conduct raids and question us, no one bothers to investigate if people from the community are actually involved or not. There is usually no evidence but they regularly pick up the same people for questioning. Sometimes if there are suspects from the Hakki-Pikki community, living in another part of the state, we are even asked to help track them and turn them in.*

[14] These upper caste claims have been reported in other cases and is seen to be rarely accepted by the majority communities. For examples, see (Shah 1998,137, Singh 1998, 633)

It has become very normal people for to be picked up for questioning, information or even false cases".

The members of the community also reportedly relied on various subversive methods in their response to stereotypes of being "dangerous" and "Criminals". For instance, a Hakki-Pikki student pointed out that in order to avoid bullying, the Hakki-Pikki students in school tended to validate and perpetuate stories about the Hakki-Pikki as being 'dangerous'. As one of the students point out,

"The other kids in the class are too scared to bully us, they would think twice before bullying a Hakki-Pikki because of our reputation as being dangerous. We discuss these stories, in school like they are real even if we know it is not. The reputation of the Hakki-Pikki in this area is such".

5.5.3 The Hakki-Pikki respond to Market and Class Discourses

In my interviews, I found that most of the members of the community reported that 'education and self-employment could help them be "*treated equally*". In terms of employment, most of the Hakki-Pikki were self-employed and engaged in selling of various handicrafts and medicinal oils. A large majority of the community members were employed as small-time traders, travelling to different parts of India and selling these handicrafts, religious articles, and oils. A few of the respondents also sold imitation animal products. Some also reported begging and trapping birds for livelihoods. The members of the community reported that they also now participated in organised trade practices like exhibitions and selling to commercial businesses. A few members of the community reported travelling abroad to various countries in Africa to sell their products[15].

However, as shown in the analysis of media these positive developments are often misrepresented (Chethan 2009) and was also reported to be a reason for discrimination and tension outside the community. Some of the respondents pointed out that members of the dominant community perceive the travelling abroad of a few people to be indicative of their

[15] The products were reportedly based on complex and vulnerable informal arrangements of travel and business. See Iwatani (2002) for a understanding of commercial travelling practices of the larger Vagri tribe.

wealth. A respondent points out that members of the dominant community actually charge the members of the Hakki-Pikki a premium on public services as 'punishment'.

> "*The businesses outside charge us more money now thinking we are rich and think that we have a lot of black money because some of us have travelled abroad and have passports. The rickshaw (Taxi) guys charge us more, passport agents charge us double the price they would charge anyone else…Also, I think the problem is that our people like to dress well and buy the latest phones, even if we don't have the money, so they also see this and think that we have a lot of illegal money*…"

The respondent points out the prejudice in the dominant discourse about all Hakki-Pikki being wealthy and their wealth being "ill-gotten". In this case, foreign travel and possessing a passport exposes the Hakki-Pikki to prejudice and discrimination from the dominant communities.

On the other hand, a Hakki-Pikki youth indicated that they '*prided*' themselves on being "*more fashionably dressed*" than their dominant community peers. He further states,

> "*When they (members of the dominant community) look at our fashion, and clothes we wear, they think we are not like the Hakki-Pikkis they have in their mind, in fact, we dress better than them. That also makes them respect us and treat us well*…"

According to this respondent, the attempt is also actually to dissociate themselves from the stereotypical images of the Hakki-Pikki. However as seen earlier, this could lead to them being further stereotyped as "criminals" and as "*undeserving victims*". The dominant community may perceive this assertion for more "respect" and 'better treatment' as a threat to their dominance.

5.5.4 The Hakki-Pikki respond to the Dominant Political Discourse

A few members were reportedly active in local politics, even having contested elections at the local levels. However, due to their small population, it was reportedly difficult to win elections due to the caste-based voting prevalent in various electorates (Kothari 1995). One of the Hakki-Pikki leaders who had previously contested elections in a constituency reserved for the subordinated castes points out,

> "*We are 400 families almost and 700 people are on the voting list, and Garasia are 40 people, Meda are 1000 and totally we are 5000 according to voters list, but Valmiki have 300,000 people, all of them belong to the 'schedules caste'. If the government makes*

us compete for reservations will it work? Can we really compete with larger communities? This is a major reason. There are a lot of government schemes, but these schemes have no goals, the schemes are not specific, the money comes to the whole ST, and is appropriated by the larger ST communities the benefits do not actually reach other ST communities the smaller ones. What happens to the Hakki-Pikki?"

According to various community leaders, it was not possible for a Hakki-Pikki representative to be elected from a constituency that is majority dominated without the support of the majority party or its members. This is an issue as one of the community leaders point out,

"*Even if a minority community representative is voted in by the majority party, you will have to toe the majority party line."*

However, some members reported contesting elections and in the process coming in contact with other actors in the political establishment and using these contacts to draw resources into the community.

In general, there seemed to be a higher amount of trust in the civil society, particularly self-organised Associations[16]. One of the community leaders who was also the leader of the association recounted reasons why associations were better equipped than political parties in resolving community issues.

"*There is a difference between politics and associations; the respect that associations enjoy is not present in political parties. If you are in a party you have to do what the party leadership says. So you are bound by their rules and not what the community actually wants. Also, if you lose elections and are in the opposition, the ruling party may not always respond. But through the associations, we can question and demand any political party to deliver. If we have a strong association, any political party will come to us. But if we choose to support a political party, then we are divided*".

These associations although apolitical are organised by the Hakki-Pikki themselves. They are used to both gain access to current government beneficiary programmes and to lobby for new

[16] The Hakki-Pikki communities have their own local associations. For example, Akhil Karnataka Hakkipikki Mahasangha (AKHM), Bellari Jilla Hakkipikki Janabhivridhi Sangha* (BJHJS) in Bellary district and also have organised at a national level under the All India Nomadic Tribes Association (AINTA).

beneficiary schemes. However, some respondents reported that the engagement in those associations were be limited to a few prominent members of the community.

5.5.5 The Hakki-Pikki and understanding the Dominant Bordering Discourse

In my interviews, most members in the Hakki-Pikki community were observed to accept their discrimination as natural. Some others challenged these discourses at an individual level. This variation among responses was seen to be largely dependent on whether or not the respondent was affiliated to any organisational set-up, like , associations, NGOs and political parties. In general, most respondents reported being aware of the various stereotypes and "*bad things*" said about them in the media. They pointed out that the media chose to focus on the "*wrong things and sensationalise cases* while being indifferent to their "real issues" like livelihoods and housing.

As observed, various practices including eating practices, geographical locations were reportedly used as proxies by members of the dominant castes. This helped them to determine the social location of the Hakki-Pikki. However the members of the Hakki-Pikki were also aware that their discrimination was rooted in these caste values. A student reported how the people in the neighbourhood communities find it easy to discover the social locations of the Hakki-Pikki,

> "*They will start by asking questions like, where do you live? Or what language do you speak at home? Or what does your father do for a living? Or what you eat? If I answer any of these questions earnestly then they will know that I am a Hakki-Pikki… I am always aware of this trap. Sometimes, I say different things, sometimes I tell the truth."*

Another respondent clearly makes explicit her understanding that notions of caste were central to her being abused "… *this happens because we are from the lower caste, this happens, it is basically their rules, if I want to go to school or work or live outside the settlement we have to follow it*…"

Most of the experiences of discrimination were reportedly experienced in immediate neighbourhoods of settlements, like local marketplaces, schools and colleges, where other members of the public are aware of the Hakki-Pikki. However, most respondents also referred to the actual settlement spaces as "our settlement" and other spaces as "their spaces"", with experiences of discrimination mostly being recounted outside the safety of the settlement.

The discrimination was reportedly lesser in public spaces where the Hakki-Pikki identities are not visible, was ambiguous, and could be camouflaged, for example, during 'business trips in city spaces' or other states and countries.

5.6 The Migrant Roma

Most of the Roma respondents having had migrated from different parts of Eastern Europe readily recalled the instances of discrimination in those countries. From the interviews conducted with various members of the Roma communities, almost all the respondents reported experiencing various instances of Anti-Gypsyism including discrimination, hate speech and violence.

5.6.1 Understandings of Anti-Gypsyism and identity negotiations

Responses to questions on recognition and understanding of Anti-Gypsyism indicate that the respondents were always aware of situations of prejudice or discrimination. Some of the respondents stated that they recognized an instance of discrimination sometimes "*by instinct*" or by the use of stereotypes. A member of the Roma community talking about repeated experiences of discrimination articulated this "Instinct" as her "*Race Mind*" in the following excerpt. The respondent points to how the repeated experiences of discrimination primes the individual to be 'hyper-conscious' and evaluate experiences from the prototype of prejudice and discrimination. The respondent also pointed out that everyday situations can also be misread and that it can be quite stressful to constantly be on the lookout.

> "*I am constantly thinking that they will know any minute that I am a Roma…my race mind is always active and telling me to avoid confirming any details that would give away anything…, the race mind, it is working with all my Roma friends... our race mind is very strong, and even if there are other things going on… maybe others in similar circumstances may consider it an overlapse… but we will read it as discrimination…because, we have experienced it so much, we are always aware and extremely conscious…if I follow my race mind it's almost instinctive, if I explain it to people, I will not be able to convince them, but I know instinctually…I cannot tell you how it feels not to have this voice in my head because I don't know, I have always had it."*

Many respondents also indicated differences in the experience of discrimination. This reportedly depended on "how *identifiable the person was with the public stereotypes of the Roma*". In a focus group discussion, the participants pointed out that the discrimination experience varied based on the colour of the skin, education, and wealth. A respondent said,

> "*If, as a Roma, you physically look closer to a white person and there are many Roma people in the community I know like that, they don't feel as much discrimination especially from people who don't know you from before… or this also happens if you are really good educated or maybe if you look very rich then the discrimination is much lesser…"*

In the interview, many members of the Roma community indicated that achievement of status indicators like education or wealth were the only ways they could avoid discrimination. Many reported their attempt to hide their Roma identities in schools, work, or other public spaces in order to avoid any possibilities of discrimination. One university student states,

> "*I used to tell people I am Turkish because I can look like I could be from Turkey and people believed me. I did this because I did not want to think that I was a Roma, I would go to great lengths to avoid any references to being a Roma. If one judges from the way I dress and talk, they will never think I am a Roma*"

Another, Roma youth pointed out how, "*speaking with a strong British accent*" helps in a discrimination situation. The respondent pointed out that, "*If they know that you were born here, or have been here a long time, they think twice about saying anything racist*"

5.6.2 Anti-Gypsyism and community responses

In my interviews with the members of the Roma community, the situations in the U.K were much better as compared to their countries of origins. Most of the respondents indicated that the discrimination was in most cases verbal, with members of the dominant communities using "racial slurs against them. Many of them reported that in most of the discrimination was hidden and subtle, for example,

> "*When I go to the supermarket, the security guard is always watching us like I am going to steal something. This also happens when I go with my wife and children."*

Anti-Gypsyism was reported to significantly emanate from the non-Roma immigrants from Eastern European countries of origin who now lived in the U.K. This aspect is also evidenced by

recent studies of the experience of Roma in accessing healthcare in the UK (Brown et. al 2015). In the interviews, respondents attributed this to the lack of English skills in the community, and their reliance on the "*biased interpreters from their home countries*", who passed on "*misleading information*" about them to the service providers. This can be detailed in the following excerpt from an interview with a Roma NGO support worker,

> "*There is not a good relationship between a Roma person and the person from Eastern Europe, because we are highly visible in these countries. Roma people blend in here because it is so multicultural, but back home everyone knows who is a Roma by the way we look and dress. So if the Roma person books an appointment and the Roma person is coming, they will know straight away it is a Roma person, because we are highly visible back home. When we talk to our clients, they say that they did not like the way the interpreter interacted with them, how they speak to them and they could sense the distance and barrier..."*

As referred to in the introductory sections, the problems of the Roma community have been acute in the related areas of education and employment (Brown, Dwyer and Scullion 2013). Many Roma youth reported to being bullied and facing violence in schools and also pointed to a lack of support from the school authorities in their interviews. The Roma community workers pointed out that,

> "*The number of Roma students that attend school is increasing, because the parents also realise that their kids will have better opportunities. However, issues of bullying and abuse in schools have become common and this impact how well they do in school or even continuing education*".

As employment opportunities are related to educational attainment, most of the members only manage to find temporary contract employment in low-wage jobs. One of the respondents who worked in a warehouse reported that he worked with other Non-Roma members from origin countries. The respondent points out in the interview that the similarity in the conditions of works between the Roma and Non-Roma immigrants from Slovakia may not lead to a hierarchical relationship but to a segregated one,

> "*Here, I work with them, but they are same here as me, similar situation, similar wages, they get treated the same. I have a British boss, which is better than having a boss from*

Romania... I try not to mix with them much, I mind my own business and they mind theirs"

Studies such as Brown, Dwyer and Scullion (2013) have documented the disadvantages faced by the Roma due to discriminatory practices in the labour market. The study has also documented unemployment, low wage labour, precarious employment conditions, segregation, all of these said to be compounded by "disadvantages shaped by the Roma identity" (Brown, Dwyer and Scullion 2013, 24).

In addition to these issues, there have been reports of tensions between various groups and the Roma in the U.K. An example is incident at Page Hall in Sheffield where communities in the neighbourhood reported tensions due to members of the Roma community congregating in the streets of Page Hall in large groups (Richardson 2014). In my interviews with the Roma at Page Hall, these tensions were largely based on "*misunderstandings of culture*" and that these have been resolved over time.

5.6.3 Responses to discrimination based on stereotypes and national identities

Most of them indicated that the discrimination in the U.K is relatively lesser in comparison to their countries of origin. However, most of them indicated that they were still targets of prejudicial attitude and discriminative and even violent behaviour in the U.K. They recounted the constant struggles of everyday experiences due to anti-gypsyism and prejudice against them. The respondents in their interviews indicated that the public was largely unaware about their history, suffering, or current situation, and in fact, the sources of information misrepresented the Roma in the U.K.

When asked about the Roma identity, a Roma activist points out that, "*If I say, I am a Roma, people immediately think of the beggars, or think I am on welfare or trafficking*". The respondents recognised these stereotypes as being prevalent in the public discourse in the U.K and Europe.

While the majority of the respondents felt like they had a more European identity, they also did not have a "*specific country they would call home*". A large number of them also claimed identities of their countries of origin and often introduced themselves as "I *am a Hungarian*

Roma" or "*Romanian Roma*" etc. A large majority of youth, who had spent a significant time in the country claimed a significant British identity. The biggest advantage according to the respondents is the ability to blend into the diversity within the U.K. However, some respondents pointed out that over time, members of the various Roma communities were distinguishable from the diverse population which lead to them being targeted. As a Roma activist explains,

> "*but we have been living here for the past 10 years, people now are able to distinguish someone as Roma gypsy, through social and economic status, nationality, and sometimes languages and employment status*"

5.6.4 Organisational responses to Anti-Gypsyism

A significant number of interviews with the members of the Roma communities were organised based on networks of various academic and non-governmental organisations. Therefore many of the respondents spoke of the importance of these organizations, especially when it came to issues of Anti-Gypsyism, violence, and discrimination. Most of the respondents indicated that they would first reach out to their contacts in these organisations for advice, support and information. In addition, many of the respondents were connected specific individuals within these organisations, who were mostly of Roma origin. As individuals, these members played significant roles, as representative of the community, as sources of information and points of contact in case of any instances of discrimination.

During my interviews, I spent considerable time in the offices and support and information centres for the community. I was able to observe a symbiotic relationship between the members of the community and the NGOs providing support. A support worker belonging to the Roma community and affiliated with an NGO said,

> "*Whenever they have problems related to healthcare, education, housing and other issues they know that they can come here and we will help them with all their issues. We are always on call, my personal phone number is with each of them. They call me anytime and I am available to support them and meet them anytime. And at the same time we try and build a relationship when we need them to participate in the discussions that will help us understand their issues better and make reports to keep these services going, they realise that it is important for us and they will come…"*

It was seen that members of the community, especially the women and the children also used these organisations as a spaces to congregate and socialise. These organisations were seen as quite important by the members of the community, in many cases, these were the only 'public spaces' the members of the community found comfortable visiting outside their community. One of the female respondents' states,

> "*I am excited to come here to the office not only because they are all so nice and helpful. But also I get to see all the other friends, talk about our problem and relax, it is nice to sit here for a while and then go back home*"

Many community events, cultural gathering, discussions and service camps were organised by different organisations working on Roma issues. The community workers, academics and activists from the Roma community were all very well-connected with the community and often galvanised participation into these community events. These events and gatherings were well-attended, particularly by the Roma youth. One of the community workers pointed out the significance of the participation of the youth in these discussions and events.

> "*The young Roma are like support workers in their families, they are the ones that actually are able to speak English and they interact with the outside much more than their parents. They are already exposed to issues of discrimination etc. at a very young age either directly or indirectly because they are usually involved as mediators in appointments with doctors, teachers and other English speaking members of the community. It is therefore important we talk about all the issues surrounding the Roma with the children because they are more aware and reach out to us in case they need any help"*

Many of the community workers pointed out that the Roma youth are increasingly involved with issues of discrimination and prejudice and actively speak out against it. Education, knowledge of new technologies, training and interactions with other role models within the community help the young Roma in understanding and responding to it in an effective manner. A young Roma student involved with an academic project says,

> "*When I see that there are cases of Anti-Gypsyism either on the streets, with people I know, or even online, I always have something to say. All my other Roma friends who go*

to college are also like that, they are much more aware of the racism. We attend the various training programs and listen to other educated Roma talk about important issues, it all starts making sense. They can no longer racially abuse me or my friends and get away with it, we usually to respond to them and shut them up"

Many of the activists also observed that the Roma youth were using social media actively to share and comment on important and emerging issues connected with the Roma, organise and publicise events, and launch new initiatives etc.

Roma activists reported that NGO were main organisers of political movements in the U.K. especially when it came to the Roma. Some of them were critical of the various non-governmental organisations that were characterised as "providing *temporary solutions but as failing to create long-term changes*". The activists also saw that the project-based approach was not helping tackle main issues of Anti-Gypsyism prevalent in the society and at the "*root of most problems faced by the Roma*". However, non-governmental organisations were also described as places, where the members of the "*Roma community who would like to work towards positive changes within the community, can be employed and be remunerated for it*". In addition, some of the activists also reported that many of them were able to use the networks and resources of the organisations to reach out to non-Roma effectively.

5.6.5 Cultural responses to Anti-Gypsyism

The members of the community along with various organisations organize community outreach events like community celebrations of important holidays and other cultural events. These events feature Roma music, cuisine, dance, theatre, street plays, and other performances. They attempt to bring the community together and build relationships with members of other communities in the neighbourhood. One of the community events I attended, featured the Roma and other local communities. The event saw huge participation from both these communities. These events are organised in areas where the Roma and other communities are usually in large populations. A member of the Roma community pointed out,

"*In this area, there is a huge tension between the Roma immigrant community and the local communities. The Roma find it difficult to get houses for rent, or there are reports of children being bullied in schools and general prejudice. Such events show to the*

people that we are just like them, although different in many ways like food, music dance, essentially are like them. We also get to know a lot of them and we hope that such a relationship continues outside the event as well"

In the interviews with the organisers, they reported that such events that combine culture and interactions have been very effective in building relationships and minimizing conflicts between communities.

In addition, the cultural responses can take many forms. For example, the young Roma were reported to use music and art to speak about their experiences and views on many of the issues affecting them. In my conversations with some of the Roma rappers, they indicated that they usually spoke about racism and Anti-Gypsyism but also about other issues that appealed to young people. They pointed out that,

"*There are a lot of upcoming rappers like us from the Roma community, some rap in English or Hungarian, Czech or other languages, or mix all languages including Romanese. And even non-Roma people who listen to our music like us*"

A young Roma rapper, who rapped mostly in Roma and Czech said that he mostly rapped about being Roma and experiences of discrimination and bullying growing up. He further pointed out that he raps about issues beyond the Roma, so people are able to 'connect with him and the community'.

"*I rap about stereotypes of gypsies, I try to put them in perspective, about why we do things we do. I talk about the hatred against us and how that is a big thing that influences everything we do…I also rap about light things problems of any young person, about love, heartbreak etc. There are a lot of people who are non-Roma who listen to my music on Facebook and Soundcloud, and it's not just the Roma… when they listen to my music they will know that we Roma have the same problems like others and we are like them*"

Here music was being used as a medium to not only talk about issues that are central to the Roma but also using music to connect with members of other communities.

5.6.6 Political responses to Anti-Gypsyism

The political responses to the discrimination were said to be lacking when it came to the Roma fighting against discrimination. A Roma activist, when asked about public protest, pointed out that,

> "*Organising a protest by the Roma is difficult, because of the core fact that we are a diverse community, some of us are not yet citizens of this country. There are only a small number of us disclosing we are Roma, others do not want to publicly disclose that. Also, there are differences within – the conservative Roma and the non-conservative Roma see things differently. It will be difficult to organise a protest, because, they are not used to that, it could also be a lack of education and this is why they don't want to get involved. They find it extremely difficult to socialise, they lack the language, or feel like they lack the education and resources*"

In the interviews with community organisers and activists it was pointed out that due to entrenched discrimination, the participants were not willing to expose themselves as Roma. In addition, the lack of citizenship, internal differences, lack of education and resources were seen as reasons as to why a public political expression in the UK was difficult.

However, there have been representations made in the British parliaments by Roma activists highlighting Roma issues. A Roma rights activist spoke about the difficulty in engaging with the government and how citizenship was vital to any form of a push for rights:

> "*We went to the parliament in 2013 to talk and pitch for a national Roma strategy to be implemented, we needed 70 MP signatures and we got only 20. We have nothing, in the UK we are not recognised, we came here and lived here for so many years. We came as asylum seekers but we did not become British citizens, we need to become British citizens and become an ethnic minority group. This matters in light of BREXIT, and I encourage all Roma to do this, to stay in the country, and become an ethnic minority*."

Interviews with respondents following BREXIT (Goodwin and Heath 2016) indicated that respondents were highly insecure about their future in the U.K. Some of the respondents indicated that they had not applied for citizenship and could be sent back if the U.K withdrew. Community organisers and activists indicated that they had received numerous inquiries from

members of the Roma community who were reportedly tense about their future in Britain. In wake of these issues, several minority communities banded together for a campaign called "*A day without us*", the organisation leading the efforts also participated in one of the Roma community gatherings to get the Roma to participate in these protests. These unique forms of public protests and collaborations of social movements could be ways in which the Roma can voice their issues public through allies.

5.7 Comparing the Hakki-Pikki and the Migrant Roma

In this chapter, I examined the responses of members from the Roma and Hakki-Pikki communities to bordering discourses of discrimination. As shown in the earlier chapters, the bordering discourses take many forms through discrimination in social, political, economic and geographical domains. The inescapability of these situations forces the subjects to confront and respond to these discourses in their everyday interactions, choices, and goals. The attempt was to understand how marginalised communities negotiate discourses of exclusion in everyday experiences. As seen in the previous section, both communities are situated in contexts that are very different from each other, but the stigmatised dominant discourses and its institutional character may be similar. While the Hakki-Pikki found discrimination in the entrenched caste system and law enforcement, the Roma were found to be largely discriminated due to Anti-Gypsyism and their Eastern European origins. Therefore, the strategies used by members of these communities to cope with prejudice, discrimination and related outcomes vary due to varying contexts.

I have used the Smart Richman and Leary (2009) multi-motive model to summarize the various responses from the Hakki-Pikki and Roma Communities. The responses have been categorised as cognitive, individual, organizational, cultural, political, religious, market based and geographical. These responses have either been categorised as pro-dominant, anti-dominant and withdrawal responses based on the multi-motive model.

Marginalised groups	Responses	Hakki- Pikki	Roma
Pro-Dominant Responses	**Cognitive**	Conscious of Caste attributions, Dangerous and Criminal Tribes Attributions, Settlement space attributions	Hyper Conscious- Race Mind: Conscious of Nationality, Language, Race, Appearance
	Individual	Appearance, Changing Names	Speaking with a British accent, Changing Appearance, Blending into Diversity
	Market Based	Self-Employment, Foreign Travel	Participation in Labour Market
	Organisational	Affiliations with dominant allied organisations. Self-Organised Associations for advocacy and benefits	Affiliations with dominant allied organisations. Increasing Roma led initiatives and Organisations
	Cultural	Public Events - Awarding Allies Popular Culture - Dance Troupes	Public Events - Music, Food, Dance Popular culture - Hip Hop, music
	Political	Contesting Elections Affiliation with Dominant Political Parties	Political Response- Engagement with British Polity, Claiming British Citizenship
	Religious	Dominant Religious Celebrations	Affiliation to Church
Anti-Dominant	**Political**	Protests for Land titles	Romanestan Movement
	Market based	Begging, Hawking, Poaching	
	Cultural		Congregating in large groups
Withdrawal and Avoidance	**Geographical**	Own Segregated Settlement	

Table 5: Showing the adaptation of the "social multi-motive model" from Smart Richman and Leary (2009), summarizing responses of the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma to the Dominant bordering discourses.

5.7.1 Pro-dominant Responses

These denote those responses of marginalized groups that are aimed at increasing the value of their relationship with the dominant. This could also denote responses that aim at increasing the value of the in-group through various ascriptions, subscriptions, and claims.

5.7.1.1 Cognitive Responses

In order to increase the value of the relationships, firstly, the subordinated members need to be consciously aware of their own subjugation (Banaji, and Hardin, 1996, Crocker and Major, 1989,

Shelton et al. 2004, Pickett and Gardner 2005). This is seen in the conscious responses of members of both the communities. Individuals from both communities reported being conscious about their stigmatized identities during interaction with members of the dominant communities. This kind of extreme vigilance or hyper-consciousness is observed in the expression "Race mind", used by one of the respondents. Among the Hakki-Pikki community, the members reported being conscious of caste-related attributions and criminal stereotypes of the community. Consequently, attempts to hide or alter identities were used as strategies by individuals across both these communities to avoid discrimination.

5.7.1.2 Individual Responses

At an individual level, various strategies were reported among members of both communities, for example, changing the names to claim upper caste identities, or to resemble Bollywood actors. In addition, some of the Hakki-Pikki youth seemed to claim equality through appearance or "dressing fashionably". While the Roma members spoke about the how having "a strong British accent" can help in a discrimination situation. The members of the Roma community in the U.K also spoke of the diversity of the minority population being an advantage in blending in. As the Hakki-Pikki is a much smaller community, the ambiguity offered by diversity in tribal communities and a general lack of awareness meant that individuals could claim various identities in spaces outside their physical communities. In addition, the representation of Hakki-Pikki as poor victims and Adivasis[17] was also quite strong, so they were able to gather sympathy from the larger public outside of their immediate neighbourhood. With the Roma, it seems relatively difficult to alter their attributable identities due to pervasive Anti-Gypsyism.

5.7.1.3 Market-Based Responses

In the interviews, members of both communities insisted that education and employment were two very important values that could alter prejudice and discrimination. The members of the Roma community were reportedly engaged in low wage contracted work through various middlemen or were casually self-employed. They reported their difficulty in finding jobs as Roma or Eastern Europeans especially due to discrimination in the labour market. In the same manner, the Hakki-Pikki have approached the labour market through self-employment. Most of the respondents are reportedly involved in itinerant trading of traditional artefacts and oils made

[17] Adivasi: meaning 'Indigenous peoples'; refer to tribal groups synonymous with 'Scheduled Tribes', which Hakki-Pikki are a part of

with their unique knowledges of the forests products. Again the blending into the diverse population, lack of knowledge among societies beyond immediate neighbourhoods and strategic negotiation of identities, all of these play an important role in the case of Hakki-Pikki, which may not be easy when it comes to the Roma

5.7.1.4 Organisational Responses

The responses to these discrimination situations also take structural forms, especially with the involvement of various civil society, academic, non-governmental, political and cultural organisations. The Hakki-Pikki have organised themselves into different associations both as exclusively Hakki-Pikki associations and as a part of the larger association for "Nomadic Tribes, Semi-Nomadic and De-Notified Tribes". These associations although apolitical, are organised by the Hakki-Pikki gain access to current government schemes and programmes and also initiate new schemes. On the other hand, the Roma are organised mainly by various charities and non-governmental organisations and involve many of the members of the Roma community. However, many activists expressed a need organising the different Roma communities towards an ethnic minority status in Britain. Therefore, due to the varying nature of citizenship, goals of both these communities and political contexts the forms of organisations also varies strategically. The Roma being organised as an ethnic minority in the UK would be dependent if many of the Roma living in Britain for years are able to procure citizenship, especially post BREXIT when EU citizens may not have the same rights and accesses as before.

5.7.1.5 Cultural Responses

The Roma communities organise various cultural activities mostly led by various projects, charities and NGOs. These are sometimes open events highlighting Roma culture, music and cuisine, and on important Roma, celebrations bringing members of the community together. This reportedly makes a difference at a local area level with involvement of non-Roma members, local councils, other projects etc. This helps build awareness about the community and break stereotypes. In addition, some of the Roma youth by participating in the dominant subculture of Hip-Hop is also able to redefine their own stereotypes and that of the community. The Hakki-Pikki do not have such involvement from the neighbours due to both a physical separation of their ghettoised communities and also entrenched caste practices where cultural practices, including cuisine, are influenced by notions of caste. However, the Hakki-Pikki are still able to

use public forums showcase their dance forms and alter stereotypes. In addition, by giving awards to key non- Hakki-Pikki members, they are able to create dominant allies.

5.7.1.6 Political Responses

As observed in the interviews the Roma, have engaged with the political leaders and even represented their situation in the parliament. While they do not have a political party they are able to use dominant allies to connect to the various progressive political parties. Some of the member's citizenship status would not allow them to participate actively and directly in the political process. However, they are able to use their EU citizenship claims to seek implementation of certain standards. The Hakki-Pikki are able to use their membership into NT/SN/DNT associations to advocate for better conditions. Some of the members have also reported contesting elections and have allied with dominant political parties, directly participating in the dominant political processes.

5.7.1.7 Religious Responses

The members of the Roma community also report affiliating with the church, as a dominant institution which provides them with the various kinds of physical, community, and social support. This also helps claim certain positive values associated with religion. The Hakki-Pikki through public celebrations of dominant religious and caste festivals seek to make claims of membership into the mainstream discourse.

5.7.2 Anti-Dominant Responses

These are adversarial and aggressive responses that position the communities against the majority. Due to the pervasive discrimination, some of the Roma activists have proposed the idea of a separate state for the Roma in the EU. While there are divided opinions within the community about this, such a possibility is largely negated by the dominant society. The Hakki-Pikki, on the other hand, has engaged in public protests against the government and towards claiming material access and benefits. Due to various reasons including deprivation, the Hakki-Pikki continue to engage in acts of begging and hawking on the streets. These acts are not encouraged by the state and are constantly challenged.

In a specific incident, there was a reported standoff between the members of the Roma community and the dominant communities in Page Hall, Sheffield. The constant congregation of Roma men in the neighbourhood led to tensions between communities and law enforcement.

5.7.3 Withdrawal and Avoidance Response

Both communities are constantly engaged with the dominant discourse and societies. Being highly pervasive, these discourses make it very difficult for these communities to withdraw from spaces of discrimination. However, there is an example of Hakki-Pikki settlements as a segregated space which illustrates this response. The members of the community report the settlement space as being a geographical space where discrimination can be avoided.

5.8 Conclusion

As illustrated in this chapter, the dominant discourse, its institutions and values play a huge role in shaping the identities, practices, and responses of the Roma and the Hakki-Pikki communities (van Dijk 1992, 1995, Van Houtum and Van Naerssen, 2002, Newman 2006, Yuval-Davis 2006,). I have outlined and categorized various responses of the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma to this dominant bordering discourse. Using a social approach to multi-motive model (Smart Richman and Leary 2009) I have articulated the varying responses of members of the community as Pro-dominant, Anti-dominant and Withdrawal, and Avoidant. What constitutes pro-dominant and anti-dominant responses among marginalized communities and their responses has been well studied (Elspeth 1997, Fortier 2000, Yuval-Davis 2006, Leary et al., 2006). However, I have been able to illustrate that pro-dominant and anti-dominant have a strong observable element of strategic motives and subversion. In addition, as Smart Richman and Leary (2009) point out that to a withdrawal and avoidant responses have remained understudied.

With this a point of departure, in the forthcoming chapters, I aim to analyze some of the examples illustrated in these categories. I intend to examine the strategic and subversive nature of some of these claims of belonging and resistance.

6. STRATEGIC BELONGING: Physical, identity and ideological gains through subscriptions

In the previous chapter, I also examined, how the members of the marginalised groups understand and respond to dominant bordering discourses. The responses of members of both communities showed that a majority of the responses were aimed at increasing acceptability within the dominant discourse. With that as a basis, I showed that there were also strong strategic elements to the aspirational claims of these communities. In this chapter, I examine some of the examples in detail.

In this chapter, I aim to study these acts of "belonging" to the dominant discourse. I argue that although these attempts at subscription and affiliation can be viewed as acceptance of the dominant hegemony, it is also quite subversive in its attempt to alter boundaries.

1) I will examine the various claims of the Hakki-Pikki community into dominant castes, religions and popular culture. I intend to show how communities enable a re-interpretation of self and the also the dominant through claims of belonging.
2) I will examine the engagement of members of the Roma community with popular culture in the form of Hip-Hop and demonstrate its role in contextualizing and reinterpreting stigmatised identities. I will also examine the participation of the members of the Roma in Pentecostal Christianity to demonstrate how the affiliation to Pentecostal Christianity provides physical, community and ideological support in the context of Anti-Gypsyism.

6.1 Hakki-Pikki

6.2 Strategic Belonging through Caste, Religion, and Popular Culture

The Hakki-Pikkis like many of the nomadic tribes have been said to traditionally fall outside the Hindu caste system due to their distances from settled societies (Devy 2004, Werth 1996, Gandhi 2014). As illustrated in the previous chapters, with the attempts to sedentarize, communities such as the Hakki-Pikki have also come to be associated with communities in the lower strata of the caste society. The notions of pollution and purity, central to caste system are applied to evaluate the eating practices, employment, religious and cultural practices of these communities (Olivelle 1998). And as shown, the affirmative action policies of the government have also reinforced notions of caste among such communities.

In this section, I show that despite the marginalization, the hegemonic caste system can also represent inclusion into the mainstream society. In the need to be included, communities like the Hakki-Pikki can make strategic claims into the mainstream values. These claims of "belonging" into the mainstream will be studied in this section.

6.2.1 Strategic belonging through Rituals, Mythology and Public Performances

Although the Hakki-Pikki can be located within the Hindu cosmology, they have their own gods and own ritual practices (Mann 1980). The Hakki-Pikkis are able to include popular Hindu Gods into their pantheon. This is done by using ritualistic practices and marking public celebrations of the mainstream Hindu gods with customs and performances similar to that of the dominant communities. Through this similarities of practices and inclusion of the mainstream Gods, the Hakki-Pikki claim a subscription into mainstream Hinduism. The evolution of these practices was explained when one of the Hakki-Pikki elder's spoke of this in an interview:

> "*The main gods of Hakki-Pikkis is Dadaji… earlier we did not have these customs of processions…but we have in the past few years been able to take out public processions through the various villages with our Gods, just like they (majority caste) do during Ganesha Chaturthi*[18]*. It is a huge celebration and now even other communities have started to look forward to it...we also want to say that we are also just like them and these processions are a way of doing just that…* "

The community points that the processions are a recent development. The practice of taking the gods out on a public procession is a performance which is staged in front of an audience. The processions of the Hakki-Pikki goes through the main street in the town and the neighbourhoods of their settlements. They aim to showcase their gods to the members of the dominant community in a performance ritual similar to mainstream Hindu processions. As Jacobsen (2008, 8) points out: A procession,

> "*Influences the onlookers…often strengthen common beliefs and traditions and engender feelings of unity and identity and therefore also difference marking manifest inter-group relations. Processions make the group visible in public space*"

[18] *Ganesh Chaturthi* Hindu religious festival marked with installation of the deity *Ganesha* clay idols both in homes and in public community spaces. The 10 day festival culminates in the the idol being carried in a public procession with religious chanting and music to be immersed in a water body (Grewal 2009)

The author further points out that the processions are usually aimed at the "other". This is done as a show of 'unity, strength and values important to the group'. However, the procession of the Hakki-Pikki gods have a very different motive – claiming membership through imitation in an environment where caste is closely associated with the kinds of gods and ritual practices (Mahapatra 1976). The Hakki-Pikkis not only use these processions as a show of unity and strength but also to claim commonality. As one of the organisers spoke about the first time they organised this procession,

> "*We wanted to show how we are similar to them, and not as uncivilised as they think. They would see that we also have gods, we also have same rituals, we are also clean and we are also religious and we hoped that they would respect us as equals"*

As shown, the claim here is not just limited to seeking memberships "as equals", but also to be rid of the stigma of being considered 'uncivilized, unclean, non-religious and primitive'. Further, in the interview, one of the community elders speaking about how the Hakki-Pikki places of worship have been reconstructed to dominant standards,

> "*We used to keep our gods where we could find a place, in a tent, in someone's house or under a tree. Then it occurred to us that people will think we are unclean, keeping our gods in unclean places. So with the help of some people, we constructed the temple. Now if you go see it, it is made of bricks and tiles*"

As illustrated earlier, the notion of pollution is central to the concept of caste, with the lower castes being considered unclean. Therefore, the attempt of the Hakki-Pikki can arguably be to demonstrate that they are similar to the majority society in practices of rituals, values of religiosity and cleanliness, and are therefore equals.

Another example is the annual celebration of a Hakki-Pikki settlement. These celebrations are organised in public venues outside the settlement where politicians, officers from the law enforcement, and members of other important organisations are invited to participate in the celebrations. An important part of the event is the Hakki-Pikki awards given to prominent members of non-Hakki-Pikki majority community, for example, well-known literateurs, artists, reporters etc. One of the organisers spoke about why the event was important, he said,

"*you may have seen the Republic Day events or other award ceremonies, ours is also the same, we play our music, dance and then there are speeches from various people on stage and then there are the awards. The event does not just build relationships with important people but also when people from the dominant castes see us and the grandeur of the celebrations, their idea of us like a dirty and criminal people also changes*…"

These publicly staged were seen not only as building relationships but also breaking stereotypes of the community by imitation of such social practices among the dominant.

As illustrated in the previous chapter, some of the members of the Hakki-Pikki identify themselves as descendants of the Rajput King Maharana Pratap[19] – a dominant warrior caste king from the northern part of India. Such assertions can be understood as cultural attempts to connect with the dominant religious myths, marrying the dominant Hindu deities into the Hakki-Pikki cosmology, while still retaining a unique Hakki-Pikki identity. In this negotiation of belonging, through the dominant mythology and icons with the tribal counterpart allows the Hakki-Pikki to perceive an elevated status from that of a stigmatised community.

This is true of all the other public performances of rituals, worship, mythology and history discussed in this section. As illustrated, the community perceives gains from the attempts at elevated status assertions[20]. These assertions are made possible due to the ambiguity of histories and the ability of the Hindu religion that lends itself to many different readings (Malik 1997). The diversity of castes, ambiguity in knowledge about the caste locations of Hakki-Pikki are used strategically by the Hakki-Pikki to potentially construct elevated caste identities through subscriptions to dominant caste beliefs, rituals, and practices.

However, these claims may be overshadowed by the boundaries created in the dominant public discourse in spite of their validity. Therefore sometimes these acts may face stiff resistance from

[19] *Here the attempt is not to test the claims of the community, but merely state that such claims are repeatedly made (Shah 1998,137, Singh 1998, 633). The claim of as being descendants of the Rajput King Maharana Pratap is not without merit as apparent linguistic ties can be made with the region and the languages spoken by the Rajputs, see Mann (1980) and Naik (2002). In addition, references to dominant Hindu deities, such as Sita, along with the Hakki-Pikki god Dadaji was also recorded in Naik (2002*) *anthropological accounts of Hakki-Pikki*

[20] Srinivas (2015) has termed this attempt to rise up through the structures of caste as "Sanskritization".

the members of the dominant. When the Hakki-Pikki community decided to first take out their procession, dominant communities resorted to violence in order to stop the public procession. The caste discourses are quite entrenched in Indian society. Although these claims are strategic, their ability to permeate boundaries of caste and alter stereotypes could be a slow process. On the one hand, the pervasiveness and hegemony of caste discourses force communities to imagine the solutions to discrimination only within the caste order. On the other hand, any resistance to such an order is often alienating not only from the dominant community but also from one's own community.

6.2.2 Strategic belonging in commercial relationships

Another example is the travelling Hakki-Pikki business persons who travel across the country and sometimes to other countries to sell different products such as medicinal oils, imitation products etc. In these instances, individuals travel outside their communities to places where people have very little knowledge about the castes and communities they belong to, which sometimes can determine the success or failure of business transactions[21] .The Hakki-Pikki community was found to strategically use this vagueness of their identities to their advantage in business transactions. Iwatani (2002) points out in her study on a similar Vagri community in the state of Tamil Nadu,

> "*As for the characteristics of their image manipulation, the Vaghri often present themselves as having a distinct culture in order to exploit various social niches. Such a culture thus does not presuppose a collective identity. In order to make the best out of social niches that arise and disappear in a short time span, the Vaghri do not adhere to a singular image of themselves…Vaghri attempt to seek multiple cultural "otherness" in different social contexts."*

Here the author points out that the community does not depend on a single representation of themselves. They alter their identities and thrive in the ambiguity of their identities in order to exploit the 'outsiders' for business. This was also reflected in the interviews with a young Hakki-

[21] The members of the upper caste may not engage in partnerships or collaborate with members of the lower caste. This also drives financial lending and borrowing behaviour (See. Iwatani 2002).

Pikki entrepreneur who sold various medicinal massage oils that were manufactured in the settlement to people both in the country and abroad.

> "*When we go meet customers we tell them that were are tribals, from the forests and show them various newspaper articles written about our being tribals. We show them pictures of the Hakki-Pikki in our traditional costumes, on how we make these oils and the pictures of the forests"*

Here it is important to note how the Hakki-Pikki identity that is stigmatised in the local context is strategically used to claim validity in conducting business. The identity and imagery of the Hakki-Pikki as a tribal race living in the forests, is used to show the knowledge of medicinal herbs and plants. This is seen as helping to build trust with the buyer. Although, in other parts of India the same caste values may still hold good, the Hakki-Pikki select their identities from a plurality of identities and are able to negotiate commercial business. Most of the members of the community reportedly use this strategy in their business trips abroad, where the familiarity of 'caste connotations' of being from the 'scheduled tribe' is limited. Hence, this points to the idea of "belonging" that is constantly negotiated based on situations of commercial gain.

Image 1: Showing the pictures depicting the Hakki-Pikki as forest dwelling Tribals (Raja 2017)

The members of the community are now starting to use this knowledge along with internet technology and organised trade practices like exhibitions and industry shows to market their product. This adaptation to the changing nature of the market economy has been swift but generational, with each generation adapting to the challenges dominant in the society (Bhushan 2016). For instance, when their entry into the forest and hunting game or trapping birds was

restricted, they adapted by selling imitation animal products or different petty wares like soft toys, bangles, flowers, and amulets on the streets. And in recent times, with a fairly educated youth, they seem to have adapted again to the globalised market and the demands for organic, natural remedies and cures. A young Hakki-Pikki who had recently travelled to countries of Senegal and Mali states,

> "*Now there is a way for us to make money. People are tired of using chemicals, tablets etc., they prefer using natural products, not made of chemicals. We Adivasis have deep knowledge of various plant roots and herbs from our forests, we carefully pick and make them and it is very effective… A lot of the Hakki-Pikki, especially the younger people of my age go abroad, through various contacts. It is a matter of pride within the community and even people outside know about this*"

The responses to new arenas of demand in the form of organic and natural products and the opening up of new market places have helped members of the Hakki-Pikki. These commercial responses not only help in financial gains but is also related to self-esteem and acceptance. The negotiating of identities outside their immediate neighbourhood is experienced as empowering and equalizing.

6.2.3 Strategic belonging in Popular-Culture

During my fieldwork in one of the Hakki-Pikki settlements, I came across amateur films made by the Hakki-Pikki youth. These films were amateur productions that attempted to re-create iconic scenes from popular Bollywood blockbuster films like Sholay, Darr, and Dabbang etc[22]*. It was obvious during the film that popular scenes from these films were painstakingly copied 'frame by frame' in cinematography, dialogues, and narrative structures. The only difference was the fact that Hakki-Pikki youth played all the characters in this ingeniously shot film that was shot and edited on a smartphone. Although the film itself can be seen as a parody, it was actually intended to be more serious work. As one of the actors from the movie spoke about the process of making the film,

> "*We started off as wanting to do something fun, but over the time we took to make it, all of us got very involved in it. We wanted to make it look like the movie exactly. We did not use any special equipment but mostly used good camera phones… We planned and shot*

[22] Very popular Bollywood action-thrillers

for a long time… we had to get the dialogues and acting and the camera right…we chose the most popular films because everyone in India knows about them"

The fan films were imitating popular films through its production, imagery and actors. However, the resulting films due to its production values have various layers of meanings and references. As Tryon (2011, 179) points out that in making fan films, 'significant popular culture literacy and knowledge is required, both at a production and at a consumption level'. Then these films made by the Hakki-Pikki, can be seen as a display of technical prowess and a knowledge of popular culture.

This awareness further turns into a strong claim of belonging to mainstream popular culture, in its public screening, within the settlement and outside. Therefore this literacy of pop-culture and all the technical production capabilities of the Hakki-Pikki is demonstrated both among the 'insider' and the 'outsider'. The selection of iconic films show that filmmakers were able to anticipate the awareness of the imagery among the Hakki-Pikki and the Non- Hakki-Pikki audiences. This was evidenced in the public screening of the film where due to the familiarity of the original references, the focus of the audience was shifted to how the actors performed these references, thereby, making the Hakki-Pikki actors the central element of the film. The Hakki-Pikki actors were seen to be wildly cheered by the Hakki-Pikki audience, in the presence of Non-Hakki-Pikki outsiders in a public screening. In this context, these actors seem to emerge as re-fashioned pop stars.

Therefore, these films re-cast the Hakki-Pikki into Bollywood pop-culture as a participant belonging to the dominant social discourse through imitation. Apart from being cultural claims, the resulting film can be viewed as a copy and novelty at the same time. Because of the significant Hakki-Pikki interpretation in these films, the Hakki-Pikki youth are placed at the centre of the action. Due to this participation, the value of the film moves away from being just an imitation to a rendition that these re-imagined actors, the make-shift properties, and the imperfect shooting locations bring to the films.

The Hakki-Pikki youth attempt a symbolic claim towards popular culture by 'strategically refashioning' the motifs of the dominant narratives by replacing all the imagery and actors with

their own. This claim of membership aims to strategically alter boundaries by "remodelling" it to include the Hakki-Pikki within the conceptions of dominant popular culture. Further, in the viewing of these films, stereotypical conceptions of a "stable" and "unchanging" dominant ownership of cultural imagery is challenged (Hall 1990, 111).

However, these productions may not be entirely accepted by the dominant culture. This was also evidenced in the critique of the Hakki-Pikki films as 'imitation and of no value', by a Non-Hakki-Pikki filmmaker who had viewed these films,

> *"not imaginative or creative enough, they are just copies…yes a lot of effort may have gone into making these films and it is amazing they were able to do it with the limited technology they had, but these films do not have a character of their own… they would do better to create stories about their own communities…"*

Such rejection is also observed among critiques of fan-made films, where these films are looked on as, "inferior and seen as borrowing from the popularity of the source text without adding to the original" (Tryon 2011, 178). However, in the case of the Hakki-Pikki fan films, they have been illustrated here to have significant cultural value and play a strategic role in claim-making. Despite the imitation, the youth drew on various elements to make their films novel.

6.3 The Migrant Roma

6.4 Strategic belonging: Religion, Popular Culture, and The Roma

In this section, I will also examine the subscription into the Hip-Hop subculture by the Roma youth as a claim into popular culture. I will also examine the claims of belonging by the Roma into the mainstream, through the institution of Religion. Using both these examples, I intend to illustrate how claims of belonging can also subvert the dominant discourse.

6.4.1 Roma and Hip-Hop

References were made in the previous chapter to the engagement of the Roma youth in the Hip-Hop subculture in the U.K as being cultural responses to the dominant discourse. The attempt is to illustrate how these subscriptions actually alter the dominant boundaries. The act of imitation itself changes conceptions of boundaries, as illustrated earlier. Hence the Roma youth imitating elements of Hip-Hop subculture in speech, appearances and references create an imagery, similar to youth from dominant communities (Stapleton 1999). However, Hip-Hop and rap culture have

also been studied as a subversive subculture of the marginalised across the world (Ibrahim 1998). This element of the Hip-Hop and Rap culture to have both elements of mainstream culture and subaltern subversion is significant to its adoption by the Roma youth.

In my conversations with the Roma rappers, they spoke of re-imagining the different stereotypes of the community and "*talking about being Roma*" in their songs. The following excerpt of an interview with *Gipsy.cz* a very successful Czech Roma rapper, appearing in Praha (2010) illustrates how the stereotypes of dominant discourses are reinterpreted. Here the rapper explains the context of popular song called "*Tajsa*" in an interview,

> "*Yeah, Tajsa translates as 'tomorrow and' it's a song about hope. It's about two guys who believe they are going to make a final, you know, 'steal' and they go to the street to steal quite expensive cars. And they believe that if they get a chance and they sell them well, they will get a chance to go to school and to live like a normal person. They believe in a better tomorrow. Džas te čorel o tajsa... that translates as go and 'steal your tomorrow'. I wanted to say that sometimes you meet people who are on the street and were born into really bad families and into poverty. But they haven't chosen it, it's not about choice. It's simply like that: they were born into it and they need a chance. They need hope and that's what the song is about."*

The song is seen as contextualising the stereotypes of a 'Gypsy Criminal', explaining the circumstances of the crime. The text empathically examines the choices made by the actor. A claim to reunification with the popular culture of the Non-Roma listener is made through the performance of this song among the Non-Roma. In this re-fashioning, the explaining and contextualising is possibly "an act of imaginary reunification" (Hall 1990, 111).
This analysis finds support in Imre (2008) empirical examination of the role of "Gypsy" music and Hip-Hop that acknowledges the important expressive role of hip-hop, in 're-appropriating stereotypes of Roma' and turning it into a 'critical tool against discrimination and exclusion'.

6.4.2 Strategic belonging of the Roma through the Pentecostal church

In the process of my fieldwork, I was introduced to the emerging movement of Pentecostal Christianity among the migrant Roma in the UK. I was informed about the huge participation of the Roma in the Pentecostal movement from some of the respondents. I visited various "Roma

Churches" in different parts of the U.K including areas around Manchester, Glasgow, and London. I found that this was a rapidly growing movement and quite popular with the migrant Roma which also included the non-Roma. Some of the Roma churches were affiliated with Non-Roma led protestant denominations and even had non-Roma pastors in leadership.

The respondents to my interviews consisted of migrant Slovak, Romanian, and Hungarian Roma, attending worship in churches that were in some cases exclusively Roma or had both Roma and non-Roma worshippers. While it was called a "Roma Church", anyone was welcome to attend any services – an opportunity I used, to learn more about this. In some cases, I found some churches had different services catering to the Roma and non-Roma. The Roma service had more integration of music and singing, including performances by Roma gospel band. The sermons and teachings from the Bible were in English, Eastern European languages, and the Romanese language.

6.4.3 Access to a Community Space

In my visits and interviews, I found that the church was used much like a community center. Some churches even have designated Roma outreach members to address the local needs of the community. The church had various activities planned for the Roma through the week, including English classes, and playgroups for children, health services, and sports for youth etc.
I found through my interviews that the church was valued as a public space by the members of the Roma who saw this as a space to congregate together as a community. For example, one of the respondents stated,

> "*The church is the only place, otherwise there is a lack of other community space for gatherings of the Roma…the church is probably the only place where the Roma gather with their families in significant numbers".*

It was significant that the churches also brought together the Roma and the Non-Roma in the community. Some of the Non-Roma parish members reported that they were actively involved in the Roma related church programs. The church also seemed to galvanize the larger community to lend support to the Roma through organized programs, including various drives for material donations. This was especially true in cases where the Roma church was incorporated under the umbrella of a larger Pentecostal church. But, some limitations in interactions were observed

among the Roma and non-Roma, reported to be caused mainly by language barriers between members.

6.4.4 Moral, Spiritual and Physical values of Belonging

In my interviews, the respondents spoke at length of a "before" and "after" scenario, where the church had made a difference to their personal, interpersonal, familial, and community life. The respondents reported feeling "blessed" and as the church having 'changed their lives'. This was true of almost all interviews, where people made a distinction between an 'immoral' past and a more 'moral' present and attributed this change to the church. In my interviews with the Pastors, they pointed out that they actively promoted healthy "behaviours" in aspects like "abstinence from alcohol and tobacco, gambling etc." A Roma Community Leader who was associated with the church pointed out that the relationship was beyond just spiritual and saw the church as an effective way for a personal and social change.

> "*The Pentecostal church has given the space for the people to pray in the own language and come forward. And this has led to changes…. There is a change in behavior, thinking and community togetherness, members of the congregation have become good citizens, they don't lie or smoke cigarettes, don't cheat or fraud they don't trick the system, but play with the rules and see this as a better way than trying to manipulate the system."*

6.4.5 The Pastor as a community leader and 'fixer'

In cases of a Roma led church, a close relationship between the Roma pastor and the parish was observed. The role of the Pastor in such congregation went beyond just "spiritual" as someone who was looked at within the community as a "leader", "mediator", "counsellor", and 'fixer'. The Roma pastor was said to be "*the go-to person for both matters that are spiritual and otherwise, including resolving issues of discrimination faced by the community*". The Roma pastors were actively connected to various other organizations and individuals in the community including law enforcement, schools, and even local businesses.

These multiple roles can be evidenced in an interview with a Pastor of Romanian origin, who leads a popular majority Roma Pentecostal Church. In the following transcripts, he talks about the issues of discrimination, harassment, and bullying of Roma children and the youth in a particularly hostile neighborhood,

"I normally deal with the spiritual side, but the members of the congregations have no one to approach with their problems, but me. So I have to go the police and the schools. I organize the meetings with the community and we have a discussion together to find peace and resolve this conflict… I know the police, I have visited them many times, the head of the police know me very well and they have visited the congregation on multiple occasions… With the members of my church, we discuss the issues of harassment, discrimination and violence it on an everyday basis. Most times we have to do it in homes of people who experienced an incident and sometimes with the community… at the church I make sure to address the issues and the best way to react to this using scriptures to show how we should not be aggressive and avoid conflict with the other community and try and keep calm."

Here the Pastor assumes leadership within the community where he is approached towards resolution of everyday discrimination and violence. He also plays the role of the negotiator and peacekeeper between communities, in trying to dialogue with law enforcement and other communities in resolving issues. The pastor also further points out that the members of the congregation are hesitant to directly go to law enforcement, school authorities, or council employees because of their general mistrust towards authority, stemming from experiences of Anti-Gypsyism.

In the interview, the pastor also quoted a scripture to substantiate the reason why the members of the community tend to 'mistrust authorities, publically confrontation instances of discrimination'.

"*Thus saith the Lord; Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord*." - Jeremiah 17:5, King James Version (KJV)

He states that the Bible points out that the solutions to any problems that the Roma face today are beyond any man and the members of the church believe that it would be unwise to put their trust in people to resolve it.

However, he points out that education and skills to handle situations of discrimination are necessary. He points out that he is wary of being provocative about these situations so he discreetly tries to talk about these issues.

"*Smuggling some elements of everyday community instances of problems, discrimination in my talks. But largely people are not confident and avoid publicly engaging in anything that could be considered confrontational…even I have to be very cautious not to address it directly in public but people usually know what I am referring to etc."*

6.4.6 Ideological Un-belonging: "No part of the world" and "God's Chosen"

As illustrated above, the church was significant and provided physical and community support to the Roma. In addition to this, I found that the church through its doctrine was able to provide an essential ideological tool to cope with the discrimination as well.

In the interviews with the members of the Church, several of the respondents referred constantly to the Bible when talking about experiences of discrimination. When asked about how they dealt with instances of discrimination they pointed out, that these "ideas" do not influence them because they see themselves as *"not being part of the evil world*". Furthermore, they also reported that the situation in their church was much different from the "*world*". They reported that they experienced a different relationship with their Non-Roma "brothers and sisters" within the congregation. In addition, they repeatedly pointed out differences between them as followers of Christianity and others. They pointed out that 'people outside the church were "*worldly*" and that had "*distanced themselves from God"* and that only some of the Roma had retained this true connection with God by always staying apart from the world'.

In an interview with a Roma Pastor, the scriptural basis for such as belief was outlined.

"*I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil. They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world*."
John 17:15-16, King James Version (KJV)

A response from a churchgoer explained the interpretation of the scripture

"*This is not our world, for the Roma even if they are not religious they know this. The Bible tells us that we should stay apart from the world, this is also been the Roma experience, we have never tried to be a part of the world ...even then we always had the connection only with God, because we have always not been a part of the world. We are truly the God's people and only people who have this connection with God today*"

In trying to make sense of the experiences of exclusion, the church is able to offer a ready ideological and liberating 'ideology' through "*no part of the world*" doctrine. This ideology possibly resonates with the Roma due to their current and historical experiences of exclusion. These ideologies can be seen helping members making sense of the exclusion as being a result of them being different from the world, and as offering the members liberating and offering positive self-affirmation in being "*God's chosen people*". This could be argued as being a significant driver to the popularity of the Church among marginalised communities such as the Roma.

As seen in this section, along with the material support, through the networks, influential allies and leaders, the church enables ideological tools for the Roma to make sense of their everyday experiences of Anti-Gypsyism. It also provides the members of the church with a liberating, positive self-image. One the one hand, the doctrine of the Pentecostal church ideologically attempts to minimize direct confrontation possibilities of certain kinds including political engagement and direct action. On the other hand, it offers a uniquely configured space in mainstream Christianity thereby creating possibilities of altering dominant bordering discourses. However, Yuval-Davis (2011) argues that the church as a provider of physical support has emerged due to the privatisation of the welfare state and shrinking of public entitlements. The author here does not include the psychological and ideological gains that is possible from such a membership. Therefore, through its possibilities for transformation, that is physical, personal, social and spiritual, it is undoubtedly an important space for the "boundary negotiations" between the dominant and the marginalized.

To summarize based on the context of Mathiesen (1965) and Scott (1990)'s theories outlining the strategic use of ideologies as tools, it could be argued that the Roma are using, and being encouraged to deploy religious doctrine as ideological tools against discrimination. The Roma are claiming space within the dominant boundaries through subscriptions into mainstream Christianity, while at the same time altering these boundaries by changing the configurations of the worship (Scott 1990, DuBois 1965, Nandy 1983, xiii).

It must be pointed out that although the members of the Church reportedly try to avoid public and political confrontations; the churches in Europe and in the United Kingdom have collectively

taken a public stand calling attention to the deprivation, "everyday discrimination" of the Roma in Europe and stated that they would "actively work to end hate speech and social exclusion" (Vatican Radio 2016) at an institutional level.

6.5 Conclusion

Using examples of dominant Religion, Caste and Popular Culture across the Roma and Hakki-Pikki communities, I have attempted to explain how these affiliations and subscriptions offer the members of the community a physical and a psychological sense of acceptance, and how it allows them to distance themselves from stigmatised conceptions. This participation, subscription, and reinterpretation of dominant culture illustrate the strategic idea of claiming 'positive values', defined by the majority to change marginalised situations (Yuval-Davis 2006). However, it must be pointed out that the majority also gain validation and support in these processes of claiming memberships, subscriptions, and affiliations (Fanon 1968). Therefore, these strategies may lack the power to substantially and radically coerce the dominant systems to abandon its repression and in that may accept an evolving subordinate status (Freire 1970, Fanon 1968, Scott 1990). The strategies detailed here do not aim to bring in revolutionary changes to the marginalised situation but attempts to subversively work with the dominant conceptions and claim to belong (Scott 1990).

7. POLITICS OF UN-BELONGING AND INSISTENT RESISTANCE

In the previous chapter, I looked at how members of the marginalised groups like the Roma and the Hakki-Pikki strategically subscribe and affiliate with popular culture and institutions, and form strategic relationships with dominant allies. In contrast to the idea of "strategic belonging", this section will seek to situate the concept of "un-belonging" as a psychological response to the discrimination experience.

I will attempt to establish three major arguments:

1) The Psychological Un-belonging refers to the cognitive rejection of dominant normative values of morality and authority.

2) Psychological Un-belonging underlies repeated performances of actions that are stigmatised in dominant public discourse.

3) These repeated stigmatised actions result in empowering positions in boundary negotiations.

I will also,

a) Use analysis of metaphors to analyse "Psychological un-belonging"

b) Use responses drawn from interviews, document analysis, and other studies to support my arguments on Insistent Resistance "repeated performances" and 'Boundary negotiations'

7.1 Roma and "The Matrix" world-view

In this section, I will attempt to explain the "un-belonging" worldview based on interviews with a Roma community leader, about the experiences of discrimination among the Roma and their responses to it. This section draws from interviews with a Roma community leader and the reference to the film The Matrix (Wachowski and Wachowski 1999) as a metaphor. In the interview, the leader articulates how discrimination is understood by members of the community and how that influences decisions made by in their everyday experiences. To help explain this better, I have drawn from the works of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), in trying to understand how a metaphor is used and its relationship with the experienced phenomenon. This has been discussed in detail earlier in the theoretical chapter of this thesis. In general, Lakoff and Johnson (1980)

point to metaphors being more than expressions of thought than language and seeing them as a potential indicator of cognition and potential behaviour of individuals. I analysed the references used in the interviews using the Praggeljaz Group (2007) method and connected the references with the movie "The Matrix" to elucidate the context of the metaphors used in understanding the experiences of discrimination.

7.1.1 Premise of the film, The Matrix

The film "The Matrix" is based on the premise of a world that is taken over by machines and how they cultivate humans for the energy they generate. However, people are unable to recognize this bondage because of an omnipresent, alternate reality that the system has designed for them. But, there are a few people who recognize this oppression and want to destroy the system but are comparatively powerless. There are also people who recognise the reality but choose to ignore it in comfort. The people who are challenging the system want people to see and recognize the truth and expose the matrix. The matrix system itself is kept functioning by "agents" or the humanlike projections of machines that exist to ensure that the matrix is not threatened and everything functions smoothly to keep the revolutionaries at bay (Wachowski and Wachowski 1999).

The reference to the film was first made in interviews with a Roma Community Leader about how the Roma view discrimination,

> *" to understand how we view discrimination you have to understand 'The Matrix', and it is exactly like The Matrix, our people today live in this kind of system and that is the reality created by everything around us... 'The Matrix' is always there and we recognize that it is always there, but you must know, that we don't see it as not our system. It's a system that comes from a whole different world, the Gadze world… We are aware of this…and very important for us is that we know that when we enter the matrix, you go there to gain something, and get out… and you don't search for truth in the matrix, not look for reality in the matrix, or your experiences... you go in and you come out to your place, where you have your own people…We realise the problems that the system has created, we are well aware… we know what can happen and also know how best to avoid it... That's how we deal, we understand the nature of the world. When I am being*

discriminated, I am thinking that this is your world, I just want to get what I want to get and I leave…"

7.1.2 Themes and sub-themes

Here the community leader talks about a dichotomy between two experiences, one of a "reality" of the community experiences, and recognition that such a reality is in fact not of their making and beyond their control. Another dichotomy is the differences of experiences in spaces delineated by terms "*your world"* and '*our place'*. There is a rejection of the space in which discrimination occurs, as not being a space that the Roma belong to, seen in the expression *"your world", "not our system", "a whole different world, the Gadze world".* It is perceived as a dominant system, as a "Gadze" system, and as being divorced from experiences of the Roma. In the interview, the hegemonic and unchangeable aspect of the system is said to be recognised by the Roma, observed through the statement, "*We realise the problems that the system has created, we are well aware*". Here a disaffection is expressed against the system, because of the experiences of inequality and discrimination. However, the need to engage in a dispassionate and a strategic manner is also stated seen in the statement, "*we know what can happen and also know how best to avoid it"*. Overall, the experience of discrimination and prejudice is seen as real, but as beyond their control and rules. It is something they have to deal with, strategically. There is an awareness expressed in terms of the unfairness of the system and the experience of living through it by psychological and affective disengagement.

7.1.3 What is "The Matrix"?

In the film, the Matrix (Wachowski and Wachowski 1999, 2003), Morpheus the leader of the revolutionary group has the following conversation with the new recruit, Neo, in trying to explain the concept of the Matrix.

"***Morpheus****: I know what you mean. Let me tell you why you're here. You're here because you know something. What you know you can't explain, but you feel it. You've felt it your entire life, that there's something wrong with the world. You don't know what it is, but it's there, like a splinter in your mind, driving you mad. It is this feeling that has brought you to me. Do you know what I'm talking about?*

Neo: *The Matrix.*

Morpheus: *Do you want to know what it is?*

***Neo**: Yes.*

***Morpheus:** The Matrix is everywhere. It is all around us. Even now, in this very room. You can see it when you look out your window or when you turn on your television. You can feel it when you go to work... when you go to church... when you pay your taxes. It is the world that has been pulled over your eyes to blind you from the truth.*

***Neo:** What truth?*

***Morpheus:** That you are a slave, Neo. Like everyone else you were born into bondage. Into a prison that you cannot taste or see or touch. A prison for your mind."*

In the dialogue, Morpheus speaks of a certain awareness that the Matrix is, in fact, an illusion 'pulled over one's eyes to blind one from the truth'. This is paralleled in the interview as the respondent points to the experience of the system as 'not their own', and in the awareness of the "problems that the system" creates. The Matrix as an omnipresent illusion can be compared with the pervasive dominant discriminatory discourses that are a part of everyday lived experiences of the Roma. Further, the Matrix serves to create and maintain illusions of reality, "a prison for the mind" where hierarchies and 'slavery and bondage' are made to seem natural and fair (Foucault 1983).

7.1.4 Nebuchadnezzar: Safe and Real spaces

In the movie "the matrix" the hovercraft "Nebuchadnezzar" is depicted as a place where the revolutionaries operate from where they plan or launch their campaigns from, or offer support, and socialise. In the interview, as the respondent points out, the foray into "the Matrix" is not seen as permanent and there is a "you go in and you come out to your spaceship where you have your own people". The Hovercraft is also depicted as a safe space, as being hidden from the dominant "gaze of power" (Scott 1990). Similarly, the safe space can be social space experienced when gathered with other members of the community with similar experiences or as a physical space of safety. This is reflected in accounts of the Roma Youth who point out that,

"*We may go out and have a lot of friends but most of the closest friends we have are the other members of the Roma… So that is why the Roma they hang out with other Roma in groups because only then they feel safe"*

The experience of the Roma in this space can be said to be in contrast from the repression experienced in the Matrix, as they experience their space as being friendly, safe, and real. The matrix is viewed as illusory and unreal as illustrated in the statement "*not look for reality in the matrix*".

7.1.5 Strategic Engagement with the Matrix

While there is a distance expressed between community spaces and the "Gadze world", there is also a strategic need to work with the Matrix, to "gain something". This strategic nature is said to be possible if there is awareness of the discrimination but not submitting to it, at least psychologically (DuBois 1965, Fanon 1968). In the excerpt below, the respondent talks further about a certain kind of a thinking process while interacting with the dominant, indicating the need to 'constantly be aware' of interactions, evaluate, pre-empt, and respond strategically.

> *"We are always thinking ahead, I think we are very quick, the logic …everyone does this… but I feel we are very conscious of not only our thought but also yours… always were are trying to evaluate... What you are thinking and how far you are going to get with that… and I know what to tell you now… and more importantly what you want to hear and then think of what you will tell me next… and you learn this when you have to deal with the matrix."*

This is similar to the section on hyper-consciousness and strategic shaping where the respondent is trying to take active control of interactions so that discriminatory questions or conversations can be safely avoided. Further, the Roma leader draws a link between certain strategic actions and the need to distance morality associated with it.

> *"… It is a fake world and you can do what you want, and people link this to morality, but it's not, it is a world of fiction and our action are fictitious in a fake world, so one can do what one wants…It's a way of protecting against all the hatred and discrimination…for example, in some situations, I say that some things gypsies do are bad, what I am implying there is that, I am not like them and that I am critical of them and therefore show myself as an enlightened gypsy, someone who is trustworthy. I need it do it, we all need to deal with the matrix and, selling out is also sometimes a strategy"*

In the excerpt above, the strategic nature of the relationship with the dominant systems is expressed where there is a continually pointing to the distant "Fake world" where morality and

authenticity of actions are unimportant. This includes the example where the respondent speaks of himself as someone who negotiates the matrix and has had to make statements that are critical of the group, when in reality, the respondent may not have believed in it. Scott (1990) explains this as differences of private and public performances where the subordinated may publicly agree with the dominant but in private may not feel the same. This is strategic engagement with dominant systems, where, certain 'negative dominant discourses' are publicly accepted, in the sense of 'telling you "*what you want to hear*"', in order to gain credibility in the matrix. It illustrates the possible experiences of dissonance among 'community representatives' in straddling two worlds. The 'strategic decisions' they need to make and identities they negotiate in order to cope with, suppress, or reject the experience of alienation in their constant hidden endeavour to reshape the matrix.

7.1.6 Cypher and The necessity of Engagement

Further, the need to contend with the hegemonic dominant is also illustrated in the following excerpt from another interview, with another Roma Activist.

> *"Anti-Gypsyism is rooted in the peoples' thinking and we can't just forget it because it is the people's way of thinking because it is more than that, we are killed, assaulted, deprived every day... All gypsy families understand that we have to engage with the outside world and we are trying all the time if we give up there is no other way to survive. And all the alternate, traditional areas have been occupied and there is no way to be a gypsy anymore, so we have to engage".*

Similar paradox is also illustrated in the film, with the character of "Cypher", a member of the revolutionaries fighting the matrix who decides to go back into the oppressive system claiming that being a part of it is easier than fighting it. Thus affirming that despite the knowledge of alienation and experiences of discrimination, sometimes integrating with the matrix is the only option for survival. This view sees the matrix as unchangeable and all-powerful; it may not account for the possibilities of changes in the Matrix through subversive acts.

7.2 Hakki-Pikki and rejection of the Dominant Discourse

In an interview, featured in a recent documentary on the Hakki-Pikki (Raja 2017), one of the community elders, Division, is recorded elaborating on the nomadic way of life through an proverb,

> "*Like the Stork belongs to no lake,*
>
> *The Hakki-Pikki belongs to no place"*

This proverb was repeated often in my conversations with the members of the Hakki-Pikki. Although the reference here is made to the nomadic and the transient modes of life of the Hakki-Pikki, it is generally indicative of the disaffection and the strategic relationship of the Hakki-Pikki to the dominant society that it depends on. Some of these themes will be discussed in the sections below.

In my interviews with some members of the Hakki-Pikki, a dichotomy in the understanding of the discrimination experience similar to that of the Roma was expressed. However, the metaphor used was different (Praggeljaz Group 2007). In an interview, a Hakki-Pikki student speaking spoke of dealing with bullying in school.

> "*… it is because we are from the lower caste, we cannot do anything about it, if we had a school in the settlement like some of the other settlements do, then maybe this would not happen. But the schools are not in the settlement, it is in their area, so it is their rules, we have to follow it… if you go to someone's house, you have to follow their rules, because it's not your house…when you are in your settlement you can do what you like, but not in their house, where you have to keep quiet and deal with it if you want to study".*

Here the respondent speaks of an imaginary distance between themselves and the "house", where a "there" seems to be a natural expectation of discrimination. In addition, they are seen as non-stakeholders in the system and therefore unable to counter these discrimination experiences. Through the statement "*there you have to keep quiet and deal with it if you want to study*" the student points to the strategic nature of engagement, i.e. if one needs to access resources one has to put up with the discrimination.

In another interview, a Hakki-Pikki member speaks of dealing with the upper caste neighbours outside their settlement,

> " *All the people in the neighbourhood think we are lower caste, so they refer to us derogatorily, they would not even offer us water if we are thirsty and don't let us come into their houses, all this is normal for us… It's their kingdom and their reign so I just hear whatever they have to say, get my work done, and come back … it does not matter to me* "

In this interview, one can observe the acceptance of discrimination but also a certain kind of segregation of space, where discrimination is seen and experienced in "*their kingdom and their reign*" and the actors have to get their "*work done and come back*".

In both these examples, different metaphoric expressions are used to denote the same common concepts of un-belonging from the discrimination spaces, safe and real spaces, and the necessity of strategic engagement discussed in the earlier section. In the example, the student uses a metaphoric expression *'their house, their rules*' and in the other example, the metaphoric expression '*their kingdom, their reign*' is used. Both these expressions denote that they have no control over discrimination experiences in certain spaces, experience these spaces as not belonging to them and cannot adequately respond to discrimination experiences. Underlying both these metaphoric expressions is the concept 'that spaces outside the settlement where discrimination is experienced do not belong to us'. Further, the dichotomy between 'safe and real spaces' is continued where settlements are seen as safe spaces. This is illustrated in the references to schools located in some of the settlement are seen as 'belonging to them' and therefore they could respond to discrimination. This was also similar to the understanding of The Matrix as a pervasive and powerful system where the revolutionaries do not have much power.

Further, in some of the responses to other questions on the relationship with the authorities and law enforcement, the members of the Hakki-Pikki community spoke about "maintaining distance" between them and the authorities. They reported that they relied on their own justice systems consisting of community elders in order to resolve issues within the community. The members of the community also responded that, although ineffective, they are more likely to address issues of discrimination or prejudice within the community, than seek help from the police. In most of the responses, the involvement of the law enforcement was believed to be necessary only in "extreme cases or physical violence". Therefore, there is a need for a distance

that is expressed by some of the members of the Hakki-Pikki from spaces and symbols of dominance in authorities and law enforcement.

7.3 Psychological Un-belonging: Conclusion

I started this chapter by furthering the idea of "ideological un-belonging". I drew from post-colonial theories of resistance (DuBois 1965, Fanon 1968, Nandy 1983) who argue the 'necessity of the rejection of dominant systems and its values in effective resistance'.

In analysing these responses closely, I found a psychological disaffection from experiences and the spaces of discrimination. This I termed "psychological un-belonging" or the ability of the members of the discriminated communities being able to psychologically and affectively distance themselves from these exclusionary systems and discriminatory space while still existentially engaging with it. This holds a self-conception of being 'non-stakeholders' in the discriminatory system (Nandy 1983 xiii). The respondents explained that they un-belong to the experiential space and indicated returning to their "safe and real spaces", where they can "feel free", 'away from the gaze of power' (Scott 1990). This is also studied in interpersonal relationships as withdrawal and avoidance responses (Smart Richman and Leary 2009). These responses are said to occur when there is low expectation of reconciliation, the situation of discrimination is pervasive, and relationship is not valued (Anderson and Martin 1995, Dodge, et al. 1987, Campbell 2007, Maner et al. 2007).

In the situation of pervasive discrimination such an un-belonging can in itself be construed as an act of cognitive resistance. However there may be actions that such a cognition of un-belonging could motivate. These actions could resemble the acts of resistance that challenge the idea of "The Matrix". Some of these acts of resistance by the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma will be a focus in the next section.

7.4 Un-belonging underlying Resistance

In this section, I will examine the idea of "psychological un-belonging" from discrimination spaces and dominant conceptions, as influencing acts of resistance[23]. I propose that an "un-

[23] In articulating resistance, I used the definition and position of authors like Fanon (1970) and Nandy (1989), who view non-participation as an epistemic form of resistance. This is also visible also in the Gandhian idea of Swaraj

belonging" cognition of experiences could potentially explain repeated performances of certain stigmatised actions. And I will show how such repeated performances of un-belonging leads to empowering psychological positions, including dominant boundary negotiations.

7.5 Insistent Resistance: The repeated performances of stigmatised actions

In this section, I will analyse responses of members of the Hakki-Pikki community who regularly collect forest produce, continue to hunt small game in the state-regulated forests, and beg in private or public spaces. Further, I will also draw from interviews with members of the Roma community in Sheffield and other areas in the U.K, on socialization on the street corners or in front of shops. I will use both these cases to demonstrate the relentless character of their actions and how these actions play a role in altering the dominant discourse.

7.5.1 Hakki-Pikki and Insistence

The Hakki-Pikki's live in close proximity to the forests; most of the Hakki-Pikki settlements are located on its edges. The members of these communities are legally allowed under the provisions of Forest Rights Act (2006), to collect forest produce. However, they are only allowed into the fringes of the forests. They are prohibited from hunting any game by officials in the forests. But as recalled from the introductory chapter, herbal medicines, hunting and trapping are among the traditional and continuing occupations of the Hakki-Pikkis. Most of the members in the interviews spoke about how the forest was central to their livelihoods, especially to collect herbs and roots that were essential for them to make the oils they sold in the markets. They pointed out that the forest guards sometimes do not even let them near the forests. Under these restrictive conditions, some of the members of the Hakki-Pikki reported that they still managed to evade the forest authorities and collected forest produce and even hunt small game. They were well aware that those forests were under surveillance and that going deeper into the forests was prohibited. As one of the Hakki-Pikki hunters referring to the forest guards states,

> " *they can't be watching all the time, we are always on the lookout for them, yes sometimes they manage to stop us and we have to come back empty handed but mostly we manage to get something*"

and non-cooperation (Gandhi 1939). Therefore, this section seeks to examine and articulate certain non-conforming performances (Butler 2015) of the communities as acts of resistance.

Further, another member points out that these prohibitions do not matter much to the Hakki-Pikki as they have to trespass these laws to survive,

> "*We have been doing this for centuries, there is not much else we know to do…it's not easy for us to stop, just because they tell us or there is a law…they try to stop us and have warned us many times, but we try to evade them as much as possible, and come back when we see them go or when we know they are not paying attention…*"

One can also see a similar parallel in terms of begging. A member of the Hakki-Pikki who sometimes engages in begging, spoke about how she views begging,

> "*Begging is how our forefathers have commanded us to live … in fact it is in our stories that's how we were asked to live. I go begging, if I feel like I need money, I don't go every day, only when I feel like. Many people in our community beg. When you don't have something, what is the problem in asking people who seem to have more? I am not forcing them to give. If they feel like giving they will give, otherwise it is alright… But also, the government should give, they brought us out of the forests, made us settle here in these settlements, they should provide for us, how else are we supposed to survive?...*

Here the respondent speaks of begging as a normalised acceptable routine and rationalises this based on cultural and livelihood explanations. Further, another Hakki-Pikki point to the acts of begging on the streets,

> " *All of us have our begging clothes that we especially wear when we go begging …I know we look strange but we don't really care what we look like or how we act like on the roads… when we come back to the settlement, we are normal again… In case I see a policeman, I usually see what they do, if they appear aggressive or if they are indifferent… usually, they don't care but in some cases, they may catch me they put me in a beggar home…Now that the government has allocated us land titles, while I don't think the begging itself will stop, it may become lesser…maybe the older people and women may continue, the men don't go now and certainly not the next generation…* "

Other members of the Hakki-Pikki who engage in Hawking also recounted similar harassment from the police. However, in all of these accounts, as seen also in the transcripts above, there was an absence of a sense of stigma that is usually associated with begging or hunting in the forests. These acts were justified by many cultural, historical, economical, and mythological explanations, which seem to have de-stigmatised these activities for the Hakki-Pikki. In other

words, this "un-belonging" to the stigmatised mainstream discourses about these occupations can be seen as reasons why these acts are repeated despite censure (Kassah 2008, Stones 2013).
The "psychological un-belonging" from dominant spaces discussed in the previous section was observed in the statement, "*we don't really care what we look like or how we act like on the roads when we come back to the settlement, we are normal again*". This also spoke about distancing of 'safe spaces' from 'dominant spaces', with dominant space being interpreted as spaces where they do not feel 'normal' and therefore are an act. In addition, it is important to highlight the 'performative' nature of these acts, as illustrated, in actors donning specific costumes while performing the acts of begging, or in keeping watch and evading the police in the forests.
This performative aspect and the justifications allow them to repeatedly participate while psychologically distancing themselves from their acts and the spaces.

7.5.2 Roma and Insistence

In the interviews with members of the Roma community, in Sheffield and the greater Manchester area, many spoke about issues with the police due to them congregating in neighbourhood streets with other Roma. In 2013, various newspaper reports and media articles highlighted racial tensions in the area of Page Hall in Sheffield (Richardson 2014). Members of the Roma community who would congregate in the streets of Page Hall every evening reportedly caused this tension. The articles blamed everything including crime, intimidation, panic, the possibility of race riots, waste on the streets on the members of the Roma community (Brooke 2013, Pidd 2013, Shute 2013). Dispersal orders were issued in Page Hall where people could not congregate on the streets after a certain hour. The Member of Parliament of the area also warned the Roma communities not to intimidate the locals and be "more sensitive" (Shute 2013).

Image 2: A police officer enforcing dispersal orders at Page Hall, Sheffield (Pidd 2013)

The police were usually called by the neighbours who did not take kindly to the groups of young Roma men congregating in the street corners in the evenings. I interviewed several of the youth and members of Page Hall. The following is an excerpt from an interview with a local Roma community leader,

> "*They talk about people standing on the streets, but really what were we actually doing? We were only standing on the streets and talking, nothing else, no drugs, no alcohol, maybe people were smoking but that's it. We are Roma, it is in our culture, we are very social we like going out meeting people, and hanging about with friends on the streets, we see no problem with this. We pose no danger, but the neighbours complained, people think we are dangerous because they immediately judge you, based on the looks and the way you dress. In fact, these are the most polite young people, if they are standing on streets in a gang if you ask them to help you, they will… The police here think if people are standing outside in a group they must be planning a crime, an attack and ask us to leave... Most times we reason with them, they usually understand, they know what dangerous people look like, but the thing is they still ask us to move… but we come back as soon as they go…how many times will they keep coming back… they will have to eventually explain to the people who complain that we are not dangerous and that this is our culture… we try to explain our culture to them…One of the reports I read is Sheffield commission report, which says the biggest disease for the people in the area is the isolation of the people, loneliness, and depression. This is not only in Sheffield in other parts also, they created the problem, it's no problem if people stand on the streets, they make it a problem and then blame it on gypsies… the problem is that there are no social*

institutions that Roma own, and there are no social spaces. We have no spaces to gather and that is the number one reason to have these conflicts. We have nowhere to go if we stand on the streets or gather in groups the majority community in this area does not like it."

Here the respondent point to the stereotypes and the prejudice among the Non-Roma and the police. The respondent offers explanations to the Roma congregating on the streets as being part of the culture and points to unfounded and unnecessary nature of the bias against the Roma. It is also pointed out that the policing did not stop the members of the community from coming back on the streets and that they continued to occupy these spaces. A dominant framework in the form of a local commission report is used to justify these actions and also strategically position the positive Roma values of 'socializing' over the out-group values of 'loneliness and depression'. In addition, lack of space for the Roma to socialise and a need for space is alluded to as a solution to this problem.

In another interview, a Roma community member from the Greater Manchester area spoke about a similar incident in the locality,

"*We have some Romanian shops, they get together, exchange information, talk to each other, we have actually more than one, where you go anytime, people are there to have a chat. It's a normal shop where we just drink juice and coffee. People had problems this too, they complained that we were gathering outside shops and that they were feeling intimidated... the police comes and then asks us to disperse… I think the issue is bigger… The local community they have their parties bars and pubs. The Roma community does not do organised parties or social events, they will meet up out here in the corner. Most of them don't drink because they follow the religion, so they don't to pubs or bars. The shops and the streets are a point of meeting, contact point, where you find people who speak your language, it is even a point of making contact and business and therefore a landmark...none of the complaints has worked, if you go even now people will be there… people may leave when asked to but always come back or gather at a different shop*"

Common with the account on Page Hall, this account also records the surveilling and policing of the Roma, neighbours who view the Roma as threatening in public spaces, orders of dispersal and re-congregation. Here the members point to the utility of these shops as spaces for

socialization and exchange and compare it to other common social spaces which are deemed unsuitable for them due to religious reasons. Also, recognising that the public spaces are increasingly consumer-driven, the members are able to use the legitimacy afforded to the economic consumer to their advantage. This was also illustrated in the interview where the respondent spoke about socialising with other Roma in 'ethnic owned shops'. Some respondents said that they would "*act like legitimate customers in the shop or buy a coffee or cigarette before standing on the streets to avoid being asked to leave*".

Both transcripts above raise questions of utilization and ownership of public space, and also highlight the need for social spaces (Butler 2015). Common with the transcripts on begging and hunting seen earlier, cultural, economic, social justifications are offered in explaining these acts. The congregation on the streets is not seen as criminal or a deviance. It is seen as normal and "*part of the culture*" just like the majority community socialising in pubs and bars'. Therefore, these articulations move away from the stigmatised victim narratives and further highlight positive in-group values leading to values of individual and group enhancement (Tajfel 1969). Therefore, in these explanations, the actors reject the morality imposed by the dominant boundary discourse (Nandy 1983 xiii). Further, the acts take on a performative nature of the behaviour reported in the repeated dispersal and re-congregation of the individuals in different spaces.

As seen in these accounts, the actors recognize not only dominance and its hegemonic nature but also the lack of own resources to contest this dominance directly. Therefore, firstly through Psychological Un-belonging to the stigmatised dominant discourses and through performative acts of "insistence", the actors are actually able to transcend stigmatised discourses and claim positive self-images. The dispersing from the spaces at a strategic time in avoiding direct confrontation and in the "repeating" of acts is its 'stated and deliberate character'. These strategically repeated performative acts constitute resistance and are continually constructed over time and as seen in the accounts, appear across different spaces. Therefore, these acts can then be articulated as acts of "Insistent Resistance" implying the sort of resistance that is constructed across space and time, is its incessant assertions, continuous evolution, and subversive character under highly restrictive conditions.

7.6 Insistent Resistance and Boundary Negotiations

It must be pointed out that the argument of "insistent resistance" may seem problematic especially, if the discourse came to a halt in the face of cultural, historical or mythical attributions. However, as observed in the interviews, in almost all cases these explanations were used to further negotiations, for example, a Hakki-Pikki respondent said "*If they want us to stop begging, let them allocate land titles to us"* or in the case where the member of the Roma community connected the 'socialising on the streets' with 'lack of community centres'. Here these repeated acts of resistance are used as a tool to draw the dominant into negotiations.
In the responses above, the respondents connect 'street congregation' to a 'need for social space', 'begging' for 'need for livelihood options', 'hunting and forest gathering' as a need for 'trading certification and license'. These are all strategic, performative, and insistent in nature and aim to alter boundaries through these performances (Butler 2015).

The boundaries as a set of rules are created by the dominant, these rules that allow or restrict certain kinds of behaviour. Like the Matrix is "*built on perfection, as a set of infallible rules*" the societal norms are also based on normative and dominant interpretations of goodness, fairness, and justice (Rawls 2009, Sen 2011). The "exposing of glitches" can undermine the adherence even of the dominant members in The Matrix (Wachowski and Wachowski 1999, 2003, Scott 1977). This is probably the vulnerability that the members of the marginalised communities and their allies are aware of and they seek to alter the boundaries through acts of "insistent resistance" by exposing these vulnerabilities. The defined norms in these frameworks provide the subordinated with the political and cultural logic to point out the 'contradictions', 'impracticality or obsoleteness' and hold the dominant to its own obligations of the moral economy (Mathiesen 1965, Scott 1990,). For example, the entry of the Hakki-Pikki into forests can be negotiated by invoking the Forest Rights Act (2006), or in the case of the Roma, the demand to "fully implement" frameworks of the European Union and the Human Rights Commission can be an example of using dominant frameworks (Vermeersch 2012, Guglielmo and Waters 2005, McGarry 2011, Tesser 2003, Uzunova 2010, Ram 2010). However, it must be pointed out that the repeated performances of these actions can also be used against them towards stricter forms of surveillance, punishment or restrictions. However, it is with the knowledge of this possibility that these social actors operate and that forms the basis to term these as acts of resistance.

7.6.1 Dialectics of dominance and subversion

The focus on these performative acts, only as 'resistance', ignores the mutual interactions between the groups and sets them in a directly oppositional mode (Margolis 2002). The un-belonging from moral ascription in the dominant discourses allow the subordinated to engage in negotiations at least as a morally equal entity, which leads to dominant engaging with the subordinated (Gandhi 1939, Fanon 1968).

This can be compliance evidenced in in the temporary dispersal of the actors from the public space when confronted by police and the police sometimes overlooking the breach of the rules. Although the power is unequally in favour of the policeman or forest guards, there are some concessions made by these entities. Like the performance of stigmatised acts, dominance is equally performative[24]. Therefore as dialectical performances, both these acts negotiate new boundaries. Such negotiations may only be possible through insistent resistances of the marginalised. Therefore, it can be argued that the goal of the marginalised is not the collapse of the dominant framework, but to enter into strategic negotiations as equal and legitimate entity with goals of altering the matrix.

7.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have drawn the theories of DuBois (1965), Fanon (1968) and Nandy (1983) who have articulated the 'necessity of the rejection of dominant systems and its values in effective resistance'. Using this I articulated the idea of "Psychological Un-belonging" as a cognitive tool used by the subordinated to disaffect from dominant value systems while still strategically engaging with it. In contrast to the multi-motive model theory which argues that "social avoidance undermines people's efforts to gain acceptance" (Smart Richman and Leary 2009, 6), I aimed to show that both anti-social response and avoidant behavior can also be useful in resisting and subverting dominant stigmatizing discourses.

In contrast to the multi-motive model theory which argues that, "social avoidance undermines people's efforts to gain acceptance" (Smart Richman and Leary 2009, 6), I have showed in this

[24] in the repeated acts like surveilling, restricting, disallowing, and warning, punishing and detaining (Butler 1988)

chapter that withdrawal and avoidant behaviour can also be useful in resisting and subverting dominant stigmatizing discourses.

Using Butler (2015) articulation of public performances, I articulated the concept of "Insistent Resistance" by outlining, the repeated performances of certain actions deemed "immoral" or "incompatible" in the dominance discourse. Overall, I tried to connect the idea of "Psychological Un-belonging" as the ideology underlying acts of "Insistent Resistance". I also demonstrated how repeated performances of "Insistent resistance" could lead to boundary negotiations and potential material gains. In summation, the Psychological Un-belonging refers to the cognitive rejection of normative values of morality and authority. This explains performances of actions that are stigmatised in dominant public discourse.

8. CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have attempted to examine the understandings and responses of members of the marginalised communities like the Roma and the Hakki-Pikki to situations of discrimination rooted in the dominant bordering discourses.

1) How are the members of the Hakki-Pikki represented in the dominant discourse?

My attempt was to establish the marginalization of the Hakki-Pikki in the popular discourse. This would form the basis of the thesis and also enable comparison with the Roma communities. I included media representation, policy, and governance frameworks as representative indicators of boundary discourses. I found that the Hakki-Pikki communities were represented based on deviance values both in the negative stereotypes and in positive stereotypes. My findings, supported many studies that have found such reification and the stigmatization narratives in the dominant discourse (Nelson, 2009, 294, Melican and Dixon 2008). While this phenomenon was found to be well studied in the case of the Roma, the nature and methods of othering in the case of Hakki-Pikki was found to be different. The Hakki-Pikki were found to be represented in the public discourse through the following narratives.

1) Narratives based on Tribal identities: including stereotypes of primitive, forest-dwellers, barbarians etc.
2) Narratives based on Caste identities: based on idea of pollution in the caste system
3) Narratives based on Criminality: with stereotypes of being dangerous and immoral people and as poachers and beggars

2) How do the members of the community understand and respond to these discourses in their everyday experiences?

I was able the categorise responses based on pro-dominant, anti-dominant and avoidant responses. Overall there was more pro-dominant responses than anti-dominant or avoidant, evidencing that the members of these communities aimed to increase the value of their relationship with the majority society. The anti-dominant responses were largely the responses that the dominant did not seem to regard as legitimate, like opposition to the Romanestan

movement, Street congregation or begging and hawking among the Hakki-Pikki. In terms of avoidant responses, these were seen more at an individual level among the Hakki-Pikki who saw settlement spaces as spaces of safety and no discrimination.

However differing contexts of the respondents threw up some interesting parallels and variances. The analysis of the understanding of the dominant discourses among members of the Hakki-Pikki and the Roma showed that members of the marginalised communities experience discrimination as an everyday reality. The members were found to be hyperconscious about discrimination and as constantly evaluating social interactions especially with members outside the community. The nature of discrimination varied therefore the responses also varied based on geographical, national, caste and class locations of the individuals. Significantly, the individuals reported that they constantly masked and negotiated identities by subscribing to various dominant class, caste, and race indicators.

The communities are seen to ally with various social, political, cultural and religious groups. The Hakki-Pikki were largely organised by quasi-political and cultural associations formed by members of the community. The Roma, on the other hand, were largely found to be organised by various charities and non-governmental organisations. As a result, there was also the relatively higher involvement of Non-Roma as allies. The Hakki-Pikki saw little involvement of local communities because of segregations being informed by notions of caste.

In terms of economic responses, there was a differences in the manner in which the members of the communities approached the neo-liberal system, based on their own contexts. In trying to be a part of the labour market, or in their ability adapt their traditional occupations to the changing economic scenario.

3) What are the various ways in which the members of the marginalized communities accept or reject these dominant discourses?

The members of marginalised communities like the Roma and the Hakki-Pikki strategically attempt to negotiate their marginalised identities through affiliations into dominant institutions and cultures. These subscriptions and ascriptions into dominant institutions of religion, caste, music and popular culture offer the members of the community, a physical and a psychological

sense of acceptance, and also allows them to distance themselves from their former stigmatised conceptions.

I showed how these institutions are also able to offer various ideological and spiritual support to deal with discrimination experience. These ideological and cultural ascriptions were seen in public claims of a higher order of caste, mythology, ritual practices and popular culture. Members of the Roma community were able to a find a positive self-image through ideologies of transformation offered by Pentecostal Christianity and were able to use the ideology to distance them from the discrimination experiences.

In addition, I explored subscriptions into popular culture in the form of Hip-Hop and Bollywood, which empower the youth to contextualize their stigmatised identities and humanize themselves while altering the boundaries of pop culture. I argue that while these strategies of belonging can be useful for members of the marginalised communities, they may lack the power to radically alter the dominant bordering discourses.

In contrast to the various forms of "Strategic Belonging", I articulated the idea of "Psychological Un-belonging" as an ideological and cognitive tool. This is seen to be located in the subaltern worldview helping the members to disaffect from dominant value systems, while still strategically engaging with it. I argued that this Psychological Un-belonging enables repeated performances of certain actions that are stigmatised in mainstream morality. I defined "Insistent Resistance" as the "repeated" performances of stigmatized and restricted actions, especially deemed "immoral" or "incompatible" in the dominance discourse. I used examples to show how the acts of "Insistent resistance" that reject dominant boundaries and conceptions of morality can actually be psychologically empowering and further lead to material gains and boundary negotiations.

To conclude, I found that marginalised groups in their responses to entrenched discrimination can channel different forms of resistance. These responses could actively attempt to accept or resist the dominant discourses, and still subvert it. The actions that are a result of Psychological Un-belonging can be adversarial, and as a result and may offer a more powerful position in negotiation for the subaltern. However, these actions can also be easily curtailed, policed, and repressed by the dominant. However, the repeated and public performance of stigmatised actions is essentially a concrete form of physical resistance. This is show as not only having

psychological gains but also the capability of empowering the politics of the subaltern. This articulation could add to the studies of stigmatised or "negative" behaviour among the subaltern, and understanding the basis for repeated infringements of mainstream norms.

At the outset of the thesis, the question "Can the master's house be dismantled?" was raised based on a statement by black feminist author Audre Lorde. In other words the question, 'can dominance be undone?' was answered by Lorde as "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (Lorde 2003). In this thesis, I distinctly examined two forms of psychological resistances to dominance – one of belonging and the other of un-belonging. Lorde points out that the resistance that seeks to use the master's tools can only at best make room in the master's house and it can "never" dismantle it.

The resistance of belonging may be successful in subverting and altering dominant boundaries, and claiming a space within a dominant conception. Through belonging there is also validation of the authority of the dominant. However, in the resistant acts of un-belonging, has the potential to dismantle the master's house in its possibilities for alternate ideas and engaging with the dominant as an equal.

8.1 Future Research

In this thesis, in order to explain the subaltern perspectives, I have attempted to use various methods such as interviews and analysis of news media, films, imagery, mythology, as combinations of rich data to investigate the experiences of the subject. Personally, this has been an immensely enriching exercise. However, I am of the opinion that there is still huge amounts of research necessary in this area, both from the view of the communities and also from the view of theoretical findings in the thesis.

Substantial anthropological work is necessary to understand communities that form the Nomadic Tribes of India and even the Hakki-Pikki. Research is necessary on the contemporary situations of the criminalised tribes, with a focus on intersections of discrimination. This could reveal some interesting insights into coping with marginality. Research of how young Roma use social media as a participative tool in altering mainstream bordering discourses, could help understand how marginal actors respond to bordering discourses on social media. This is specially made interesting by the ability to map conversations and draw ready user generated data to build a

discourse analysis between various actors. In addition to these, I believe that the idea of Psychological Un-belonging as an underlying public performances of stigmatised acts, can be studied furthered to include other performances and contexts.

As is relevant to this thesis, practitioners and researchers focusing on resistances of the marginalised must be cautious about using research on subversion and covert resistance as they may locate ‘manipulation and mistrust’ within these communities, without providing the context or the complexity of such actions. These actions without context should not be accepted within research; and even this research thesis must be evaluated for the same.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abraham, Susan. 1999. "Steal or I'll Call You a Thief:'Criminal'Tribes of India." Economic and Political Weekly:1751-1753.

Allen, Ricky Lee. 2002. "wake up, neo: white identity, hegemony, and consciousness in" the matrix"." Counterpoints 209:104-125.

Alliance against Antigypsyism. 2016. Antigypsyism–a reference paper.

Alvesson, Mats, and Hugh Willmott. 2002. "Identity regulation as organizational control: Producing the appropriate individual." Journal of management studies 39 (5):619-644.

Amnesty International. 2011. Human rights on the margins Roma in Europe. London: Amnesty International.

Anderson, Benedict. 2006. Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism: Verso Books.

Anderson, Carolyn M, and Matthew M Martin. 1995. "The effects of communication motives, interaction involvement, and loneliness on satisfaction: A model of small groups." Small Group Research 26 (1):118-137.

Anthias, Floya, and Nira Yuval-Davis. 1992. "Racialized Boundaries: Race." Nation 303.

Anthias, Floya, and Nira Yuval-Davis. 1992. "Racialized Boundaries: Race." Nation 303.

Azarian, Reza. "Potentials and limitations of comparative method in social science." International Journal of Humanities and Social Science 1, no. 4 (2011): 113-125.

Asian Development Bank. 2013. "Deepening Divide: Can Asia Beat the Menace of Rising Inequality?. ." Development Asia:24.

Banaji, Mahzarin R, and Curtis D Hardin. 1996. "Automatic stereotyping." Psychological science 7 (3):136-141.

Bancroft, Angus. 2005. Roma and Gypsy-Travellers in Europe: modernity, race, space, and exclusion: Gower Publishing, Ltd.

Barany, Zoltan. 2002. The East European gypsies: regime change, marginality, and ethnopolitics: Cambridge University Press.

Bar-Tal, Daniel, Carl F Graumann, Arie W Kruglanski, and Wolfgang Stroebe. 2013. Stereotyping and prejudice: Changing conceptions: Springer Science & Business Media.

Barth, Fredrik. 1969. Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference.(Results of a symposium held at the University of Bergen, 23rd to 26th February 1967.): Universitetsforlaget.

Bass, James M. 2014. "Exposing the Socially Embedded Undercurrent of Racism in the American Education System." Multicultural Education for Educational Leaders: Critical Race Theory and Antiracist Perspectives:87.

Baumeister, Roy F, and Mark R Leary. 1995. "The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation." Psychological bulletin 117 (3):497.

Bell, H. 2006. "Exiting the matrix: Colonisation, decolonisation and social work in Aotearoa." Unpublished Master in Philosophy in Social Work thesis, Palmerston North: Massey University.

Bendl, Regine, and Angelika Schmidt. 2010. "From 'Glass Ceilings' to 'Firewalls'—different metaphors for describing discrimination." Gender, Work & Organization 17 (5):612-634.

Bennett, Quinn. 2011. "Please Don't Be Our Guest: The Roma Expulsion from France Under European Union Law." Ga. J. Int'l & Comp. L. 40:219.

Benokraitis, Nijole Vaicaitis, and Joe R Feagin. 1995. Modern sexism: Blatant, subtle, and covert discrimination: Pearson College Div.

Besley, Timothy J, Rohini Pande, and Vijayendra Rao. 2005. "Political selection and the quality of government: Evidence from South India."

Bhushan, Madhu. 2016. "The Hakki-Pikki Tales." The Alemaari Trails, 27-05. https://alemaaripeople.wordpress.com/the-landscape/.

Bhushan, Madhu. 2016. "The Train Journey." The Alemaari Trails, 26-05. https://alemaaripeople.wordpress.com/2015/02/.

Bokil, Milind, and Vijay Raghavan. 2016. "Women and Children as Victims and Offenders: The Case of De-Notified Tribes in India." In Women and Children as Victims and Offenders: Background, Prevention, Reintegration, 755-790. Springer.

Bokil, Milind, and Vijay Raghavan. 2016. "Women and Children as Victims and Offenders: The Case of De-Notified Tribes in India." In Women and Children as Victims and Offenders: Background, Prevention, Reintegration, 755-790. Springer.

Bokil, Milind. 2002. "De-notified and nomadic tribes: A perspective." Economic and Political Weekly:148-154.

Bokil, Milind. 2002. "De-notified and nomadic tribes: A perspective." Economic and Political Weekly:148-154.

Bose, Purabi, Bas Arts, and Han van Dijk. 2012. "'Forest governmentality': A genealogy of subject-making of forest-dependent 'scheduled tribes' in India." Land Use Policy 29 (3):664-673.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. "Structures, habitus, practices." The logic of practice:52-65.

Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. 2006. "Using thematic analysis in psychology." Qualitative research in psychology 3 (2):77-101.

Brearley, Margaret. 2001. "The persecution of Gypsies in Europe." American Behavioral Scientist 45 (4):588-599.

Brooke, Chris. 2013. After Blunkett's warning over Roma migrants, residents on patrol in his city: Fears of growing civil unrest as 'angry' locals take action against new arrivals. Mail Online. Accessed 24/04/2017.

Brown, Philip Daniel Allen, Sindy Czureja, Liviu Dinu, Szymon Glowacki, Gabi Hesk, Sylvia Ingmire, Philip Martin, Orsolya Orsos, Maria Palmai , Terezia Rostas. 2016. Supporting Roma Voices. University of Salford.

Brown, Philip, Lisa Scullion, and Philip Martin. 2013. Migrant Roma in the United Kingdom: Populations size and experiences of local authorities and partners, Final Report. Manchester: University of Salford http://www. salford. ac. uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/363118/Migrant_Roma_in_the_UK_final_report_October_2013. pdf.

Brown, Philip, Peter James Dwyer, and LC Scullion. 2013. "The limits of inclusion? Exploring the views of Roma and non-Roma in six European union member states: Executive summary."

Brown, Philip, Peter James Dwyer, Philip Martin, Lisa Scullion, and Hilary Turley. 2015. "Rights, responsibilities and redress?: Research on policy and practice for Roma inclusion in ten Member States: Summary Report."

Brüggemann, Christian, and Eben Friedman. 2017. "The Decade of Roma Inclusion: Origins, Actors, and Legacies." European Education 49 (1):1-9. doi: 10.1080/10564934.2017.1290422.

Bryman, Alan. 2012. Social research methods: Oxford university press.

Buckley, Karen M. 2013. Global civil society and transversal hegemony: The globalization-contestation nexus: Routledge.

Buckley, Katherine E, Rachel E Winkel, and Mark R Leary. 2004. "Reactions to acceptance and rejection: Effects of level and sequence of relational evaluation." Journal of Experimental Social Psychology 40 (1):14-28.

Bullard, Robert Doyle. 2000. Dumping in Dixie: Race, class, and environmental quality. Vol. 3: Westview Press Boulder, CO.

Bullock, Heather E, Karen Fraser Wyche, and Wendy R Williams. 2001. "Media images of the poor." Journal of Social Issues 57 (2):229-246.

Butler, Judith. 1988. "Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory." Theatre journal 40 (4):519-531.

Butler, Judith. 2009. "Performativity, Precarity and Sexual Politics." AIBR. Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana 4 (3).

Butler, Judith. 2011. Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity: routledge.

Butler, Judith. 2015. Notes toward a performative theory of assembly. Vol. 1: Harvard University Press.

Cemlyn, Sarah. 2006. "Human rights and Gypsies and Travellers: an exploration of the application of a human rights perspective to social work with a minority community in Britain." British Journal of Social Work 38 (1):153-173.

Chartrand, Tanya L, and John A Bargh. 1999. "The chameleon effect: the perception–behavior link and social interaction." Journal of personality and social psychology 76 (6):893.

Chetan. 2009. "Passport to quick bucks." MIDDAY 17-Jun-2009, Crime News-National. Accessed 20 feb 2017. http://www.mid-day.com/articles/passport-to-quick-bucks/48820.

Cheung, Rick M, and Curtis D Hardin. 2010. "Costs and benefits of political ideology: The case of economic self-stereotyping and stereotype threat." Journal of Experimental Social Psychology 46 (5):761-766.

Chomsky, Noam. 2002. Media control: The spectacular achievements of propaganda. Vol. 7: Seven Stories Press.

Church, John A, and Neil J White. 2006. "A 20th century acceleration in global sea-level rise." Geophysical research letters 33 (1).

Clark, Colin, and Elaine Campbell. 2000. "'Gypsy Invasion': A critical analysis of newspaper reaction to Czech and Slovak Romani asylum-seekers in Britain, 1997." Romani Studies 10 (1):23-47.

Coates, Rodney D. 2011. "Covert Racism: Theory, Types and Examples." In Covert Racism, 121-140. Brill.

Cohen, Sheldon, and Thomas A Wills. 1985. "Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis." Psychological bulletin 98 (2):310.

Cook, Joanne, Peter Dwyer, and Louise Waite. 2011. "The experiences of accession 8 migrants in England: Motivations, work and agency." International Migration 49 (2):54-79.

Costi, Natassa. 2010. "The spectre that haunts Italy: The systematic criminalisation of the Roma and the fears of the Heartland." Romani Studies 20 (2):105-136.

Costi, Natassa. 2010. "The spectre that haunts Italy: The systematic criminalisation of the Roma and the fears of the Heartland." Romani Studies 20 (2):105-136.

Cresswell, John W. 2003. "Research design." Qualitative and Quantitative approaches.

Creţu, Gabriela. 2014. "Roma Minority in Romania and its Media Representation." Sfera Politicii 1 (22):112-120.

Crocker, Jennifer. 1999. "Social stigma and self-esteem: Situational construction of self-worth." Journal of Experimental Social Psychology 35 (1):89-107.

Crotty, Michael. 1998. The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process: Sage.

Cuddy, Amy JC, Susan T Fiske, and Peter Glick. 2007. "The BIAS map: behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes." Journal of personality and social psychology 92 (4):631.

Deepak, S Jagadeesh, and M Gowda Sindhu. "ANALYSIS OF SOCIO ECONOMIC PROFILE OF HAKKI-PIKKI TRIBES OF KARNATAKA."

Devy, Ganesh N. 2006. A nomad called thief: Reflections on Adivasi silence: Egully. com.

Devy, Ganesh. 2000. "For a nomad called thief." India International Centre Quarterly 27 (2):51-60.

Devy, GN. 2004. "For a Nomad called Thief." Towards a Transcultural Future: Literature and Human Rights in a'post'-colonial World 8:281.

DeWall, C Nathan, and Roy F Baumeister. 2006. "Alone but feeling no pain: Effects of social exclusion on physical pain tolerance and pain threshold, affective forecasting, and interpersonal empathy." Journal of personality and social psychology 91 (1):1.

Dodge, Cynthia S, Richard G Heimberg, David Nyman, and Gerald T O'Rien. 1987. "Daily heterosocial interactions of high and low socially anxious college students: A diary study." Behavior Therapy 18 (1):90-96.

Dorling, Danny. 2016. "Brexit: the decision of a divided country." : i3697.

Downey, Geraldine, and Scott I Feldman. 1996. "Implications of rejection sensitivity for intimate relationships." Journal of personality and social psychology 70 (6):1327.

Dubois, William Edward Burghardt. 1965. Three Negro Classics: Up from Slavery. The Souls of Black Folks. The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man. New York, NY: Avon Books.

Dumont, Louis. 1980. Homo hierarchicus: The caste system and its implications: University of Chicago Press.

Dyer, Caroline. 2010. "Education and social (in)justice for mobile groups: re-framing rights and educational inclusion for Indian pastoralist children." Educational Review 62 (3):301-313. doi: 10.1080/00131911.2010.503601.

Eckstein, Harry. 2000. "Case study and theory in political science." Case study method:119-164.

Eisend, Martin. 2010. "A meta-analysis of gender roles in advertising." Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science 38 (4):418-440.

Enteman, Willard F. 1993. Managerialism: The emergence of a new ideology: Univ of Wisconsin Press.

Erjavec, Karmen. 2001. "Media representation of the discrimination against the Roma in Eastern Europe: The case of Slovenia." Discourse & Society 12 (6):699-727.

ERRC. 2014. "Going Nowhere? Western Balkan Roma and EU Visa Liberalisation." Roma Rights: Journal of the European Roma Rights Centre.

EU MIDIS. 2009. European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights.

EU-MIDIS, II. 2016. "Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey Roma–Selected findings."

European Commission. 2004. The Situation Of Roma In An Enlarged European Union. United Kingdom.

European Commission. 2007. Report on Social Integration of Ethnic Minorities and their Full Participation in the Labour Market Brussels: ENAR

European Commission. 2010. Improving the tools for the social inclusion and non-discrimination of Roma in the EU. Luxembourg:.

European Commission. 2010. The social and economic integration of the Roma in Europe. In Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions edited by European Commission. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission. 2011. "An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020." Brussels, European Commission.

Eyssel, Friederike, and Xanthula Ribas. 2012. "How to be good (or bad): On the fakeability of dehumanization and prejudice against outgroups." Group Processes & Intergroup Relations 15 (6):804-812.

Fanon, Frantz. 1963. The wretched of the earth: Pref. by Jean-Paul Sartre. Transl. by Constance Farrington: Grove Press.

Fanon, Frantz. 1968. Black Skin, White Masks. Translated by Charles Lam Markmann: New York: Grove Press.

Fanon, Frantz. 1970. Black Skin, White Masks (by) Frantz Fanon: Paladin.

Fanon, Frantz. 2008. Black skin, white masks: Grove press.

Fekete, Liz. 2014. "Europe against the Roma." Race & Class 55 (3):60-70.

Fiske, John. 1998. "Surveilling the city whiteness, the black man and democratic totalitarianism." Theory, Culture & Society 15 (2):67-88.

Fiske, Susan T. 2000. "Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination at the seam between the centuries: Evolution, culture, mind, and brain." European Journal of Social Psychology 30 (3):299-322.

Fortier, Anne-Marie Fortier. 2000. Migrant belongings: memory, space, identity: Berg.

Foucault, Michel. 1977. "Language, counter-memory." Practice 221.

Foucault, Michel. 1977. "Language, counter-memory." Practice 221.

Foucault, Michel. 1979. Panopticism: na.

Foucault, Michel. 1980. Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977: Pantheon.

Foucault, Michel. 1980. Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977: Pantheon.

Foucault, Michel. 1984. The foucault reader: Pantheon.

Fox, Jon E., Laura Moroşanu, and Eszter Szilassy. 2012. "The Racialization of the New European Migration to the UK." Sociology 46 (4):680-695. doi: 10.1177/0038038511425558.

FRA. 2009. The situation of Roma EU citizens moving to and settling in other EU Member States. Vienna: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights.

Fraser, Angus. 1995. The gypsies: Wiley-Blackwell.

Freire, Paulo. 1970. "Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York." Continuum 72.

Fremlova, Lucie. 2009. The Movement of Roma from New EU Member States: A Mapping Survey of A2 and A8 Roma in England: Patterns of Settlement and Current Situation of New Roma Communities in England: a Report Prepared for DCSF.

Gandhi, Mahatma, and MK Gandhi. 1939. Hind swaraj, or, Indian home rule: Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad.

Gandhi, Malli. 2014. "An Appraisal of the Nomadic, Semi-Nomadic and Denotified Communities of Karnataka." Local Government Quarterly:110.

Geertz, Clifford. 1994. "Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture." Readings in the philosophy of social science:213-231.

Gentner, Dedre. 1983. "Structure-mapping: A theoretical framework for analogy." Cognitive science 7 (2):155-170.

Goffman, Erving. 1963. "Stigma: Notes on a spoiled identity." Jenkins, JH & Carpenter.

Goffman, Erving. 1970. Strategic interaction. Vol. 1: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1974. Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience: Harvard University Press.

Goodwin, Matthew J, and Oliver Heath. 2016. "The 2016 Referendum, Brexit and the Left Behind: An Aggregate-level Analysis of the Result." The Political Quarterly 87 (3):323-332.

Goodwin, Morag, and Roosmarijn Buijs. 2013. "Making Good European Citizens of the Roma: A Closer Look at the EU Framework for National Roman Integration Strategies." German LJ 14:2041.

Gounev, Philip, and Tihomir Bezlov. 2006. "The Roma in Bulgaria's criminal justice system: from ethnic profiling to imprisonment." Critical Criminology 14 (3):313-338.

Government of India 2006. The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act. edited by Parliament of India. New Delhi: Ministry of Law and Justice.

Government of India 2008. National Commission For Denotified, Nomadic And Semi-Nomadic Tribes - Report. New Delhi: National Commission For Denotified, Nomadic And Semi-Nomadic Tribes.

Government of India 2016. Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes: A Search for New Hope. New Delhi: Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment

Government of India, 2016. Status of Inclusion of Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes among Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes (Provisional). New Delhi.

Grabe, Shelly, L Monique Ward, and Janet Shibley Hyde. 2008. "The role of the media in body image concerns among women: a meta-analysis of experimental and correlational studies." Psychological bulletin 134 (3):460.

Grabe, Shelly, L Monique Ward, and Janet Shibley Hyde. 2008. "The role of the media in body image concerns among women: a meta-analysis of experimental and correlational studies." Psychological bulletin 134 (3):460.

Greenberg, Jerald, and Jason A Colquitt. 2013. Handbook of organizational justice: Psychology Press.

Grewal, Royina. 2009. The Book of Ganesha: Penguin Books India.

Grill, Jan. 2012. "'Going up to England': Exploring Mobilities among Roma from Eastern Slovakia." Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 38 (8):1269-1287.

Gudavarthy, Ajay. 2012. "Can We De-Stigmatise Reservations in India?" Economic and Political Weekly 47 (6):55-62.

Guest, Greg, Kathleen M MacQueen, and Emily E Namey. 2011. Applied thematic analysis: Sage.

Guglielmo, Rachel, and Timothy William Waters. 2005. "Migrating towards minority status: Shifting European policy towards Roma." JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 43 (4):763-785.

Guruprasad, SL, N Ningaiah, SL Mamatha, and Vijaylaxmi Aminbhavi. 2015. "Indigenous Knowledge on Medicinal Plants and their Socio-Economic Condition of the Hakkipikki Tribal Population of Western Ghats Areas, Karnataka, India." Antrocom: Online Journal of Anthropology 11 (1).

Hall, Stuart. 1989. "Ideology, Kultur, Medien: Neue Rechte, Rassismus." Hamburg: Argument.

Hall, Stuart. 1990. "Cultural identity and diaspora."

Hammarberg, Thomas. 2012. "Human rights of Roma and travellers in Europe." Commissioner for Human Rights, Council of Europe.

Hancock, Ian. 1987. The Pariah Syndrome: An Account of Gypsy Slavery. Ann Arbor, Mich: KaRoma Publishers.

Hancock, Ian. 2000. "The emergence of Romani as a koine outside of India." Scholarship and Gypsy struggle: commitment in Romani studies (essays in honour of Donald Kenrick on the occasion of his seventieth birthday). University of Hertfordshire Press, Hatfield, UK.

Hancock, Ian. 2008. "The “Gypsy” stereotype and the sexualization of Romani women." In “Gypsies” in European Literature and Culture, 181-191. Springer.

Hardin, Curtis D, and Terri D Conley. 2001. "A relational approach to cognition: Shared experience and relationship affirmation in social cognition."

HATCH, Mary Jo, and AL CUNLIFE. 2006. "Organization and environment." Organization theory: modem, symbolic and postmodem perspectives. New York: Oxford University Press.

Henry, Frances, and Carol Tator. 2002. Discourses of domination: Racial bias in the Canadian English-language press: University of Toronto Press.

Herbert, Mrudu. 2012. "A study of the child rearing practices in hakkipikki tribal community."

Holahan, Charles J, and Rudolf H Moos. 1985. "Life stress and health: Personality, coping, and family support in stress resistance." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 49 (3):739.

Ibrahim, Awad El Karim M. 1999. "Becoming black: Rap and hip-hop, race, gender, identity, and the politics of ESL learning." TESOL quarterly 33 (3):349-369.

Ignăţoiu-Sora, Emanuela. 2011. "The discrimination discourse in relation to the Roma: its limits and benefits." Ethnic and Racial Studies 34 (10):1697-1714. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2010.539242.

Imre, Anikó. 2008. "Roma music and transnational homelessness." Third Text 22 (3):325-336.

Iwatani, Ayako. 2002. "Strategic “Otherness” in the Economic Activities of Commercial Nomads." Minamiajiakenkyu 2002 (14):92-120.

James, Zoë. 2014. "Hate crimes against Gypsies, Travellers and Roma in Europe." The Routledge international handbook on hate crime:237-248.

Jha, Prabhat, Maya A Kesler, Rajesh Kumar, Faujdar Ram, Usha Ram, Lukasz Aleksandrowicz, Diego G Bassani, Shailaja Chandra, and Jayant K Banthia. 2011. "Trends in selective abortions of girls in India: analysis of nationally representative birth histories from 1990 to 2005 and census data from 1991 to 2011." The Lancet 377 (9781):1921-1928.

Johnston, Lucy C, and C Neil Macrae. 1994. "Changing social stereotypes: The case of the information seeker." European Journal of Social Psychology 24 (5):581-592.

Jost, John T, and Orsolya Hunyady. 2005. "Antecedents and consequences of system-justifying ideologies." Current directions in psychological science 14 (5):260-265.

Jost, John T, Mahzarin R Banaji, and Brian A Nosek. 2004. "A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the status quo." Political psychology 25 (6):881-919.

Kaarbo, Juliet, and Ryan K Beasley. 1999. "A practical guide to the comparative case study method in political psychology." Political Psychology 20 (2):369-391.

Kalyan, J L. 2002. "An anthropological study of sin and crime among the Waddars of Hubli Dharwad." PHD, anthropology, Karnatak University (95725).

Karlsen, Saffron, and James Y Nazroo. 2002. "Relation between racial discrimination, social class, and health among ethnic minority groups." American journal of public health 92 (4):624-631.

Karnataka, Government of. 2006. Karnataka: Human Development Report. Bangalore: Government of Karnataka.

Kemmis, Stephen, and Robin McTaggart. 2005. Participatory Action Research: Communicative Action and the Public Sphere: Sage Publications Ltd.

Kennedy, Randall. 1994. "The state, criminal law, and racial discrimination: A comment." Harvard Law Review 107 (6):1255-1278.

Kenrick, Donald. 2004. Gypsies: from the Ganges to the Thames. Vol. 3: Univ of Hertfordshire Press.

Khan, Laiqh. 2015. "Seizure of fake tiger skin underlines need for vigil against trade in wildlife products." [Online]. Hindu, accessed 03-04. http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/seizure-of-fake-tiger-skin-underlines-need-for-vigil-against-trade-in-wildlife-products/article7312006.ece.

Khanna, Bosky. 2014. "225 families of Hakki-Pikki tribe refuse to vacate 'occupied' BNP land." Deccan Herald, Feb 5, 2014. Accessed 20 Feb 2017. http://m.deccanherald.com/articles.php?name=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.deccanherald.com%2Fcontent%2F384776%2F225-families-hakki-pikki-tribe.html.

Kidd, Sean A. 2007. "Youth homelessness and social stigma." Journal of youth and adolescence 36 (3):291-299.

King, C Richard, and David J Leonard. 2006. "Racing the Matrix: Variations on white supremacy in responses to the film trilogy." Cultural Studies↔ Critical Methodologies 6 (3):354-369.

Kocka, Jürgen. 1980. White collar workers in America, 1890-1940: A social-political history in international perspective. Vol. 10. Sage Pubns.

Kothari, Rajni. 1995. Caste in Indian politics: Orient Blackswan.

Kothari, Rajni. 1995. Caste in Indian politics: Orient Blackswan.

Kroon, Anne C, Alena Kluknavská, Rens Vliegenthart, and Hajo G Boomgaarden. 2016. "Victims or perpetrators? Explaining media framing of Roma across Europe." European Journal of Communication 31 (4):375-392.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 2008. Metaphors we live by: University of Chicago press.

Lane, P, S Spencer, and A Jones. 2014. Gypsy, Traveller and Roma: Experts by Experience. Cambridge: Anglia Ruskin University.

Leary, Mark R, Ellen S Tambor, Sonja K Terdal, and Deborah L Downs. 1995. "Self-esteem as an interpersonal monitor: The sociometer hypothesis." Journal of personality and social psychology 68 (3):518.

Liégeois, Jean-Pierre. 1994. Roma, gypsies, travellers: Council of Europe.

Liégeois, Jean-Pierre. 2012. The Council of Europe and Roma: 40 years of action: Council of Europe.

Lorde, Audre. 2003. "The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house." Feminist postcolonial theory: A reader 25:27.

Lott, Bernice Ed, and Diane Ed Maluso. 1995. The social psychology of interpersonal discrimination: Guilford Press.

Mackie, Diane M, Angela T Maitner, and Eliot R Smith. 2009. "Intergroup emotions theory." Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination:285-307.

Macrae, C Neil, Charles Stangor, and Miles Hewstone. 1996. Stereotypes and stereotyping: Guilford Press.

Mahapatra, LK. 1976. "Gods, kings and the caste system in India." The realm of the extrahuman: Agents and audiences:51-72.

Mahoney, Diana E. 2011. "Expulsion of the Roma: Is France violating EU freedom of movement and playing by French rules or can it proceed with collective Roma expulsions free of charge." Brook. J. Int'l L. 37:649.

Malik, Sonia, and Sanjoy Roy. 2012. "A Study on Begging: A Social Stigma—An Indian Perspective." Journal of Human Values 18 (2):187-199.

Maner, Jon K, C Nathan DeWall, Roy F Baumeister, and Mark Schaller. 2007. "Does social exclusion motivate interpersonal reconnection? Resolving the" porcupine problem."." Journal of personality and social psychology 92 (1):42.

Mangen, Steen. 1999. "Qualitative research methods in cross-national settings." International Journal of Social Research Methodology 2 (2):109-124. doi: 10.1080/136455799295087.

Mann, Rann Singh, and K Mann. 1989. Tribal cultures and change: Mittal Publications.

Mann, Rann Singh. 1980. Hakkipikki, Trapper and Seller.

Margolis, Abby. 2002. "Samurai beneath blue tarps: doing homelessness, rejecting marginality and preserving nation in Ueno Park." thèse de doctorat d'anthropologie, University of Pittsburgh.

Marinaro, Isabella Clough. 2009. "Between surveillance and exile: biopolitics and the Roma in Italy." Bulletin of Italian Politics 1 (2):265-87.

Marriott, McKim. 1968. "Caste ranking and food transactions: A matrix analysis." Structure and change in Indian society:133-71.

Martin, Philip, Lisa Scullion, and Philip Brown. 2017. "“We don’t rely on benefits”: challenging mainstream narratives towards Roma migrants in the UK." Social Policy Review 29: Analysis and Debate in Social Policy, 2017 29:199.

Mathiesen, Thomas. 1965. The defenses of the weak: A sociological study of a Norwegian correctional institution: Tavistock London.

McGarry, Aidan. 2011. "The Roma voice in the European Union: Between national belonging and transnational identity." Social Movement Studies 10 (3):283-297.

McGarry, Aidan. 2014. "Roma as a political identity: Exploring representations of Roma in Europe." Ethnicities 14 (6):756-774.

Melican, Debra Burns, and Travis L. Dixon. 2008. "News on the Net." Communication Research 35 (2):151-168. doi: doi:10.1177/0093650207313157.

Melican, Debra Burns, and Travis L. Dixon. 2008. "News on the Net." Communication Research 35 (2):151-168. doi: doi:10.1177/0093650207313157.

Menon, Soumya and Bosky Khanna. 2008. Dog-triggered blast sheds light on Hakki-Pikki trade. www.dnaindia.com: Diligent Media Corporation Ltd.

Menon, Soumya and Bosky Khanna. 2008. Dog-triggered blast sheds light on Hakki-Pikki trade. www.dnaindia.com: Diligent Media Corporation Ltd.

Meshack, Daniel, and Chris Griffin. 2002. "Displacement and Forced Settlement." Conservation and Mobile Indigenous Peoples: Displacement, Forced Settlement and Sustainable Development 10:261.

MIDIS, EU. 2009. European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights.

Miller, Joshua, and Ann Marie Garran. 2007. "The web of institutional racism." Smith College Studies in Social Work 77 (1):33-67.

Miller, Joshua, and Ann Marie Garran. 2007. "The web of institutional racism." Smith College Studies in Social Work 77 (1):33-67.

Ministry of Social Justice & empowerment, Government of India. 2008. National Commission For Denotified, Nomadic And Semi-Nomadic Tribes Report.

Misra, PK, and N Prabhakar. 2011. "Non-Pastoral Nomads: A Review." The Journal of the Anthropological Survey of India:165-215.

Misra, PK, and N Prabhakar. 2011. "Non-Pastoral Nomads: A Review." The Journal of the Anthropological Survey of India:165-215.

Morris, Marley. 2016. ROMA COMMUNITIES & BREXIT. London: IPPR.

Morris, Rachel. 2000. "Gypsies, Travellers and the Media: Press regulation and racism in the UK." TOLLEYS COMMUNICATIONS LAW 5 (6):213-219.

Moser, Karin S. 2000. "Metaphor analysis in psychology—Method, theory, and fields of application." Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research.

Motley, Carol M, and Geraldine Rosa Henderson. 2008. "The global hip-hop Diaspora: Understanding the culture." Journal of Business Research 61 (3):243-253.

Munk, Veronika. 2007. "Play to Me Gypsy! How Roma Stars' Image Change in Hungarian Media." History of Stardom Reconsidered, Turku: International Institute for Popular Culture.

Naik, Vinod H. 2002. "A socio economic study of hakkipikki a scheduled tribe of Karnataka with special reference to Shimoga district."

Nandy, Ashis. 1989. Intimate Enemy: Oxford University Press Oxford.

National Commision for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes. 2008. Draft list of Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes. New Delhi: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment.

National Commitees for Research Ethics in Norway. 2006. Guidelines for research ethics in the social sciences, law and the humanities. 22.

Nelson, Todd D. 2009. Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination: Psychology Press.

Newman, David. 2006. "Borders and bordering: Towards an interdisciplinary dialogue." European Journal of Social Theory 9 (2):171-186.

News Karnataka. 2016. "Hakki-Pikkis missing from jail brings cops to learn shocking truth about community " [Online Article]. News Karnataka,, accessed 03-03.

http://www.newskarnataka.com/udupi/hakki-pikkis-missing-from-jail-brings-cops-to-learn-shocking-truth-about-community.

News Karnataka. 2016. "Hakki-Pikkis missing from jail brings cops to learn shocking truth about community " [Online Article]. News Karnataka,, accessed 03-03. http://www.newskarnataka.com/udupi/hakki-pikkis-missing-from-jail-brings-cops-to-learn-shocking-truth-about-community.

News9. 2010. Fake Nagamani. Bangalore: News9.

Nicolae, Valeriu. 2003. "A Problem Brewing: Media Coverage of Roma in Romania." Brussels: Media Diversity Institute.

O'Nions, Helen. 2010. "Different and unequal: the educational segregation of Roma pupils in Europe." Intercultural Education 21 (1):1-13.

O'Nions, Helen. 2011. "Roma expulsions and discrimination: The elephant in Brussels." European Journal of Migration and Law 13 (4):361-388.

Okely, Judith. 1997. "Non-territorial culture as the rationale for the assimilation of Gypsy children." Childhood 4 (1):63-80.

Olivelle, Patrick. 1998. "Caste and purity: A study in the language of the Dharma literature." Contributions to Indian sociology 32 (2):189-216.

Orta, Lucy. 2010. Mapping the invisible: EU-Roma gypsies: Black Dog Publishing.

Osborne, Evan. 2001. "Culture, development, and government: Reservations in India." Economic Development and Cultural Change 49 (3):659-685.

Parry, Glenys, Patrice Van Cleemput, Jean Peters, Stephen Walters, Kate Thomas, and Cindy Cooper. 2007. "Health status of Gypsies and Travellers in England." Journal of epidemiology and community health 61 (3):198-204.

Perera, Jayantha. 2009. "Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2006: A Charter of Forest Dwellers' Rights?" Land and Cultural Survival.

Pickett, Cynthia L, Wendi L Gardner, and Megan Knowles. 2004. "Getting a cue: The need to belong and enhanced sensitivity to social cues." Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 30 (9):1095-1107.

Pickett, Cynthia L, Wendi L Gardner, and Megan Knowles. 2004. "Getting a cue: The need to belong and enhanced sensitivity to social cues." Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 30 (9):1095-1107.

Pidd, Helen. 2013. Slovakian Roma in Sheffield: 'This is a boiling pot ready to explode'. The Guardian. Accessed 31-04-2017.

Pitre, Abul, and Tawannah G Allen. 2014. Multicultural education for educational leaders: Critical race theory and antiracist perspectives: Rowman & Littlefield.

Poole, Lynne, and Kevin Adamson. 2008. Report on the situation of the Roma community in Govanhill, Glasgow: Oxfam Galsgow.

Powell, Ryan. 2011. "Gypsy-Travellers and Welfare Professional Discourse: On Individualization and Social Integration." Antipode 43 (2):471-493.

Pragglejaz Group. 2007. "MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse." Metaphor and symbol 22 (1):1-39.

Praha, Radio. 2010. "GIPSY.CZ – A PHENOMENAL MIX OF HIP HOP, RAP, R'N'B AND TRADITIONAL GYPSY MUSIC." Radio Praha, accessed 21-Apr. http://www.radio.cz/en/section/music-express/gipsycz-a-phenomenal-mix-of-hip-hop-rap-rnb-and-traditional-gypsy-music.

Prithviraj, Lucky , and Shikari HP Ramu. 2008. Pardhi. Hampi: Chalawadi, Ashok N.

Probyn, Elspeth. 1996. Outside belongings: Psychology Press.

Radhakrishna, Meena. 2001. Dishonoured by History:" Criminal Tribes" and British Colonial Policy: Orient Blackswan.

Radhakrishna, Meena. 2008. "Laws of Metamorphosis: From Nomad to Offender." Challenging the Rules (s) of Law: Colonialism, Criminology and Human Rights in India, Sage Publications.

Ragin, Charles C. 2014. The comparative method: Moving beyond qualitative and quantitative strategies: Univ of California Press.

Raja, Vinod. 2017. Bird trapper or Beggar. Bangalore, India.

Ram, Melanie H. 2010. "Interests, Norms and Advocacy: Explaining the Emergence of the Roma onto the EU's Agenda." Ethnopolitics 9 (2):197-217.

Rana, Subir. 2011. Nomadism, ambulation and the 'Empire': Contextualising the criminal tribes act XXVII of 1871. Transcience.

Rao, Kavitha 2013. "TRAPPED TRIBE:A community trapped between two worlds. One is disappearing, the other unwelcoming." Development Asia, April 2003, 29.

Rath, Govind Chandra. 2006. Tribal development in India: The contemporary debate: Sage.

Rawls, John. 2009. A theory of justice: Harvard university press.

Reeves, Byron, and Clifford Nass. 1996. "How people treat computers, television, and new media like real people and places." CSLI Publications and Cambridge.

Registrar General, India. 2011. "Census of India 2011: provisional population totals-India data sheet." Office of the Registrar General Census Commissioner, India. Indian Census Bureau.

Rhoades, Robert E. 2000. "Participatory watershed research and management: where the shadow falls."

Rich, Camille Gear. 2004. "Performing racial and ethnic identity: discrimination by proxy and the future of Title VII." NYUL Rev. 79:1134.

Richardson, Jo. 2014. "Roma in the News: an examination of media and political discourse and what needs to change." People, Place & Policy Online 8 (1).

Richardson, Joanna, and Richard O'Neill. 2012. "'Stamp on the Camps': The Social Construction of Gypsies and Travellers in Media and Political Debate." Gypsies and Travellers: Empowerment and Inclusion in British Society:169-186.

Richardson, Joanna, and Richard O'Neill. 2012. "'Stamp on the Camps': The Social Construction of Gypsies and Travellers in Media and Political Debate." Gypsies and Travellers: Empowerment and Inclusion in British Society:169-186.

Rohith. 2015. Collegian adopts village in Bengaluru, drives in change. Times of India. Accessed 03-05-2017.

Rohith. 2015. Collegian adopts village in Bengaluru, drives in change. Times of India. Accessed 03-05-2017.

Roy, Subarna, Harsha V. Hegde, Debdutta Bhattacharya, Vinayak Upadhya, and Sanjiva D. Kholkute. 2015. "Tribes in Karnataka: Status of health research." Indian Journal of Medical Research 141 (Jha et al.):673-687.

Ryder, Andrew, and Sarah Cemlyn. 2014. Hearing the voices of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities: Inclusive community development: Policy Press.

Sarker, Debnarayan. 2011. "The implementation of the forest rights act in India: critical issues." Economic Affairs 31 (2):25-29.

Satish, G.T. 2016. "Caste clash for want of a toilet in village." [Online]. Bennett Coleman and Co., accessed 03-05. http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bengaluru/Meet-Mr-Court-of-the-Hakki-Pikki-tribe-whos-nephew-of-late-Japan/articleshow/49947767.cms.

Sayer, Andrew. 2005. The moral significance of class: Cambridge University Press.

Schmitt, Michael T, and Nyla R Branscombe. 2002. "The meaning and consequences of perceived discrimination in disadvantaged and privileged social groups." European review of social psychology 12 (1):167-199.

Schuchardt, Read Mercer. 2003. "What is the Matrix?" Taking the red pill 15.

Schwarz, Henry. 2010. Constructing the criminal tribe in Colonial India: Acting like a thief: John Wiley & Sons.

Scott, James C. 1977. The moral economy of the peasant: Rebellion and subsistence in Southeast Asia: Yale University Press.

Scott, James C. 1990. Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts: Yale university press.

Sellers, Robert M, and J Nicole Shelton. 2003. "The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination." Journal of personality and social psychology 84 (5):1079.

Shackley, Simon, and Brian Wynne. 1996. "Representing uncertainty in global climate change science and policy: Boundary-ordering devices and authority." Science, Technology, & Human Values 21 (3):275-302.

Shah, Arvinbhai Manilal. 1998. The family in India: Critical essays: Orient Blackswan.

Sharma, Smriti. 2012. "Hate crimes in india: An economic analysis of violence and atrocities against scheduled castes and scheduled tribes." Journal of Economic Literature 209.

Shelton, J Nicole, Jennifer A Richeson, and Jessica Salvatore. 2005. "Expecting to be the target of prejudice: Implications for interethnic interactions." Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 31 (9):1189-1202.

Sherman, David K, and Geoffrey L Cohen. 2006. "The psychology of self-defense: Self-affirmation theory." Advances in experimental social psychology 38:183-242.

Shivakumar, MT. 2017. A fresh beginning for evicted Hakki-Pikki families at Channahalli. The Hindu.

Shubin, Sergei, and Kate Swanson. 2010. "“I’m an imaginary figure”: Unravelling the mobility and marginalisation of Scottish Gypsy Travellers." Geoforum 41 (6):919-929.

Shute, Joe. 2013. Roma in Sheffield: 'When it goes off, it will be like an atom bomb here’. The Telegraph. Accessed 25-04-2017.

Sibley, David. 1995. "Geographies of exclusion Routledge." London and New York.

Sidanius, J, and F Pratto. 1999. "Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression. 10.1017." CBO9781139175043.

Sidanius, Jim, and Felicia Pratto. 2001. Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression: Cambridge University Press.

Sigona, Nando, and Nidhi Trehan. 2009. "Introduction: Romani politics in neoliberal Europe." In Romani Politics in Contemporary Europe, 1-20. Springer.

Sigona, Nando. 2005. "Locating ‘the Gypsy problem’. The Roma in Italy: Stereotyping, labelling and ‘nomad camps’." Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 31 (4):741-756.

Simhadri, Yedla C. 1991. Denotified tribes, a sociological analysis: Classical Pub. Co.

Singh, Kumar S. 1998. People of India: Rajasthan: Popular Prakashan.

Singh, Shashi Bhushan. 2005. "Limits to power: Naxalism and caste relations in a south Bihar village." Economic and Political Weekly:3167-3175.

Skocpol, Theda.1979. States and social revolutions: A comparative analysis of France, Russia and China. Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Slavkova, Magdalena 2014. "Prestige and Identity Construction among Pentecostal Gypsies in Bulgaria." In Romani Pentecostalism: Gypsies and Charismatic Christianity, edited by A. Marsh Thurfjell D., 268. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien.

Slavkova, Magdalena. 2007. "Evangelical Gypsies in Bulgaria: Way of life and performance of identity." Romani Studies 17 (2):205-246.

Smart Richman, Laura, and Mark R Leary. 2009. "Reactions to discrimination, stigmatization, ostracism, and other forms of interpersonal rejection: a multimotive model." Psychological review 116 (2):365.

Smith, David. 2016. "The political context of migration in the UK: The case of Roma Gypsies." Handbook of research on the impacts of international business and political affairs on the global economy:367-380.

Snyder, Mark, Elizabeth D Tanke, and Ellen Berscheid. 1977. "Social perception and interpersonal behavior: On the self-fulfilling nature of social stereotypes." Journal of Personality and social Psychology 35 (News9):656.

Somers, Margaret R. 1994. "The narrative constitution of identity: A relational and network approach." Theory and society 23 (5):605-649.

Spiegel, David. 1994. Dissociation: Culture, mind, and body: American Psychiatric Pub.

Srinivas, G.S. 2015. "Tumakuru: Rent babies to beggars for a price!" Deccan Chronicle, National-current affairs. Accessed 20 Feb 2017. http://www.deccanchronicle.com/151128/nation-current-affairs/article/tumakuru-rent-babies-beggars-price.

Srinivas, G.S. 2015. "Tumakuru: Rent babies to beggars for a price!" Deccan Chronicle, National-current affairs. Accessed 20 Feb 2017. http://www.deccanchronicle.com/151128/nation-current-affairs/article/tumakuru-rent-babies-beggars-price.

Stangor, Charles, and Mark Schaller. 2000. "Stereotypes as individual and collective representations." Stereotypes and prejudice: Essential readings:64-82.

Stangor, Charles, Janet K Swim, Gretchen B Sechrist, Jamie Decoster, Katherine L Van Allen, and Alison Ottenbreit. 2003. "Ask, answer, and announce: Three stages in perceiving and responding to discrimination." European review of social psychology 14 (1):277-311.

Stapleton, Katina R. 1998. "From the margins to mainstream: the political power of hip-hop." Media, culture & society 20 (2):219-234.

Steele, Claude M. 1988. "The psychology of self-affirmation: Sustaining the integrity of the self." Advances in experimental social psychology 21:261-302.

Streeck, Wolfgang. 1995. "Neo-Voluntarism: A New European Social Policy Regime?" European Law Journal 1 (1):31-59.

Sushilappa, Kumuda B. 2015. Hakki-Pikki. Bangalore: Kannada Pustaka Pradhikara.

Tajfel, H, and JC Turner. 1986. "The social identity theory of inter group behavior in S Worchel & WG Austin (Eds) Psychology of intergroup relations." Chicago: Nelson.

Tajfel, Henri, and John C Turner. 1979. "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict." The social psychology of intergroup relations 33 (47):74.

Tajfel, Henri, and John C Turner. 2004. "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior."

Tajfel, Henri. 1969. "Cognitive aspects of prejudice." Journal of Biosocial Science 1 (S1):173-191.

Tajfel, Henri. 2010. Social identity and intergroup relations: Cambridge University Press.

Tangam, M.S. 2012. "ISSUES OF LEGITIMACY: Entrepreneurial Culture, Corporate Responsibility and UrbanDevelopment." Mostra d'Oltremare, Naples, Italy, 10 september 2012.

Taylor, Shelley E. 2007. "Social support." Foundations of health psychology 145171.

Tesser, Lynn M. 2003. "The geopolitics of tolerance: Minority rights under EU expansion in East-Central Europe." East European Politics & Societies 17 (3):483-532.

The Hindu. 2017. Hakki-Pikki people demand land for cultivation. The Hindu.

The Hindu. 2017. MLA protests against allotting land to evicted Hakki-Pikki families.

Tortajada, Iolanda, and Cilia Willem. 2009. "Looking beyond the B-side from the G-side: the under-and misrepresentation of the Roma in the media." Catalan Journal of Communication & Cultural Studies 1 (1):29-46.

Tuchtenhagen, Ralph. 2006. "Imagined Communities and Asymmetric Distribution of Power. Some Abstracting Remarks."

Turner, John C. 1999. "Some current issues in research on social identity and self-categorization theories." Social identity: Context, commitment, content:6-34.

TV, Prajaa. 2015. Living in hell like conditions. Prajaa TV.

Twenge, Jean M, Roy F Baumeister, C Nathan DeWall, Natalie J Ciarocco, and J Michael Bartels. 2007. "Social exclusion decreases prosocial behavior." Journal of personality and social psychology 92 (1):56.

Twenge, Jean M, Roy F Baumeister, C Nathan DeWall, Natalie J Ciarocco, and J Michael Bartels. 2007. "Social exclusion decreases prosocial behavior." Journal of personality and social psychology 92 (1):56.

Uzunova, Iskra. 2010. "Roma integration in Europe: Why minority rights are failing." Ariz. J. Int'l & Comp. L. 27:283.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 1992. Denying racism: Elite discourse and racism. Blackwell Publishers Ltd Malden, MA.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 1995. "Power and the news media." Political communication and action 6 (1):9-36.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 1996. "Discourse, power and access." Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis 84104.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 2015. "Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach." 2015). Methods of Critical Discourse Studies:63-74.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 2015. "Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach." 2015). Methods of Critical Discourse Studies:63-74.

Van Houtum, Henk, and Ton Van Naerssen. 2002. "Bordering, ordering and othering." Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie 93 (2):125-136.

Vermeersch, Peter. 2012. "Reframing the Roma: EU initiatives and the politics of reinterpretation." Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 38 (8):1195-1212.

Vermeersch, Peter. 2012. "Reframing the Roma: EU Initiatives and the Politics of Reinterpretation." Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 38 (8):1195-1212. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2012.689175.

Vermeersch, Peter. 2017. "How Does the EU Matter for the Roma?" Problems of Post-Communism:1-9. doi: 10.1080/10758216.2016.1268925.

Vidra, Zsuzsanna, and Jon Fox. 2014. "Mainstreaming of racist anti-Roma discourses in the media in Hungary." Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies 12 (4):437-455.

Wachowski, Andy, and Larry Wachowski. 1999. "The matrix [film]." USA: Warner Brothers Pictures.

Walker, Iain, and Heather J Smith. 2002. Relative deprivation: Specification, development, and integration: Cambridge University Press.

Walters, Grace. 2015. "Threats, Parasites and Others: The Visual Framing of Roma Migrants in the British Press." MSC, Global Media and Communications, London School of Economics and Political Science (70527).

Walters, Grace. 2015. "Threats, Parasites and Others: The Visual Framing of Roma Migrants in the British Press." MSC, Global Media and Communications, London School of Economics and Political Science (70527).

Watts, Roderick J, and Robert T Carter. 1991. "Psychological aspects of racism in organizations." Group & Organization Management 16 (3):328-344.

Werth, Lukas. 2000. "Kinship, Creation, and Procreation among the Vagri of South India." Culture Creation and Procreation, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Whitley Jr, Bernard E. 2009. "Religiosity and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men: A meta-analysis." International Journal for the Psychology of Religion 19 (1):21-38.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2008. "The making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries: A multilevel process theory." American journal of sociology 113 (4):970-1022.

Wolf, Eric R. 1999. Envisioning power: Ideologies of dominance and crisis: Univ of California Press.

Worth, Sol, and Larry Gross. 1974. "Symbolic strategies." Journal of communication 24 (4):27-39.

Yin, Robert K. 2013. Case study research: Design and methods: Sage publications.

Yuval-Davis, Nira, Georgie Wemyss, and Kathryn Cassidy. 2017. "Introduction to the special issue: racialized bordering discourses on European Roma." Ethnic and Racial Studies 40 (7):1047-1057. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1267382.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. "Belonging and the politics of belonging." Patterns of prejudice 40 (3):197-214.

Žižek, Slavoj. 1999. "The Matrix, or, Malebranche in Hollywood." Philosophy Today 43 (Supplement):11-26.

Zukin, Sharon. 1998. "Urban lifestyles: diversity and standardisation in spaces of consumption." Urban studies 35 (5-6):825-839.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Roma: Request for participation in research project

Challenging Durable Discrimination: Comparative study of community struggle against prejudice and discrimination

Background and Purpose:

The project aims to explore your everyday experiences as a member of the Roma community or your experiences working with the Roma. This project is interested in looking at the issues of discrimination in the community and ways in which one can respond to it. It looks to also explore the role of community intermediaries like NGO's, Community leaders etc. in this process. This is part of my master thesis project at Oslo & Akershus University College of Applied Sciences in co-operation with University of Salford.

You have been selected to participate, because your name was suggested by members of Supporting Roma Voice Project at the University of Salford or because you identify as a member of the community. Given each member of the community has different experiences, it would be interesting to understand your views on issues affecting the community and ways to respond to them.

What does participation in the project imply?
The project requires that you participate in an interview or a focus group discussion for a duration of 30-45 minutes approximately. The questions will concern your views on the experiences of discrimination within your community, its impact and responses and this interview will be audio recorded.

What will happen to the information about you?
All personal data will be treated confidentially. The audio recordings and data will only be accessible to the student and the supervisor and personal data stored will be password protected. You as a participant will not be recognized in the publication.

The project is scheduled for completion by 31/07/2017. All personal data will be deleted by then.

Voluntary participation

It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be made anonymous or deleted. Participating in this project will not affect your relationships with University of Salford and Supporting Roma Voice, if you do not want to participate in the project, or if you at a later point decide to withdraw.

If you have any questions concerning the project, please contact Dr. Philip Brown, Director, Sustainable Housing & Urban Studies Unit, The University of Salford, Tel: 0161 295 3647, Email: p.brown@salford.ac.uk

The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

Consent for participation in the study

I have received information about the project and am willing to participate

---

(Signed by participant, date)

Appendix 2: Hakki-Pikki: Request for participation in research project

Challenging Durable Discrimination: Comparative study of community struggle against prejudice and discrimination

Background and Purpose:

The project aims to explore your everyday experiences as a member of the Hakki-Pikki community or your experiences working with the Hakki-Pikki. This project is interested in looking at the issues of discrimination in the community and ways in which one can respond to it. It looks to also explore the role of community intermediaries like NGO's, Community leaders etc. in this process. This is part of my master thesis project at Oslo & Akershus University College of Applied Sciences in co-operation with University of Salford.

You have been selected to participate, because you identify as a member of the community. Given each member of the community has different experiences, it would be interesting to understand your views on issues affecting the community and ways to respond to them.

What does participation in the project imply?

The project requires that you participate in an interview or a focus group discussion for a duration of 30-60 minutes approximately. The questions will concern your views on the experiences of discrimination within your community, its impact and responses and this interview will be audio recorded.

What will happen to the information about you?

All personal data will be treated confidentially. The audio recordings and data will only be accessible to the student and the supervisor and personal data stored will be password protected. You as a participant will not be recognized in the publication.

The project is scheduled for completion by 31/07/2017. All personal data will be deleted by then.

Voluntary participation: It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be made anonymous or deleted. If you have any questions concerning the project, please contact Dr. Philip Brown, Director, Sustainable Housing & Urban Studies Unit, The University of Salford, Tel: 0161 295 3647, Email: p.brown@salford.ac.uk

The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

Consent for participation in the study

I have received information about the project and am willing to participate

---

(Signed by participant, date)

Appendix 3: Interview schedule

In-depth Interviews- Community members

My name is Partha Bopaiah and I am a student at Oslo & Akershus University College, and I am interested in the issues of the Roma community here in the U.K and the Hakki-Pikki community in India and thought it would be a good idea to interview you, to understand your views and learn from your experience.
I would like to ask you some questions about your background, your experiences, and ideas your may have and I hope to use this for my research on issues affecting the Roma community. The interview should take about 60 minutes. All the information you share is confidential and you can stop the interview anytime if you choose to do so.

Let us start by talking a little about you

1. Identity & Relationships (PN)
    a. How would you identify yourself? Can you describe your community?
        i. Who is a Roma/Hakki-Pikki?
        ii. Relationship with non-community members
        iii. Relationship within the community

Now, let us look at the challenges of being Roma/Hakki-Pikki today and your views on it…

2. Understanding & Response to Prejudice
    a. Do you think Roma/Hakki-Pikki are looked at or treated differently by people in the society? Why do you think that happens?
        i. Community Perceptions/ Community role
        ii. Are there members of the community who are treated differently
    b. Can you recall an instance of when you were treated differently or not being treated at par with others? What happened? How did you respond?
        i. Who do you approach?
    c. When you find out that this issue of unfair treatment is not just your experience but also the members of the community? What are things you could do?
        i. Challenges/ Barriers

Thank you for sharing these experiences, can we look at how one can respond to these issues

3. Solidarity and Resistance
    a. How do you think can one fight against discrimination?
        i. Can you recall an instance when you came together with other members of the community to address issues of discrimination?
        ii. What mechanisms, you think, are available today to address issues of discrimination?
            1. Do you..Vote/Attend Political Meetings/Organise/Campaign/Disseminate information/Petition/Protest/Demonstrate
    b. Do you think the issues of the community are relevant to the, political leaders, state and institutions? Do you think that politicians care what people like you think? How do they see issues of Roma/Hakki-Pikki people?
    c. What do you think about the Roma/Hakki-Pikki leaders who are representing the community today?

i. Who would be the ideal leader for your community? What qualities should they have? Do you have any examples in mind?

d. Can you imagine a Roma/Hakki-Pikki political leader, representing your community in the parliament?
    i. What is required for this to happen? Barriers?
    ii. Who do you see as a potential political representative of your community?

e. What is your view on the various organisations working on the Roma/Hakki-Pikki issue? What role should they play?
    i. Religious
    ii. NGO's
    iii. Academic Organisation

That was quite interesting, let us look at the opinions of the larger society on Roma/Hakki-Pikki

4. Dominant Narratives
    a. How do people outside the community view the Roma/Hakki-Pikki?
        i. Are you aware of how the media portrays Roma/Hakki-Pikki? What do you think?
    b. The larger society sometimes has a problem with how the Roma live their lives. For example, standing on the streets or ways of earning a livelihood off the streets? Do you think they are right? How would you respond?
5. To what extent are you content with your life today? What is something you would hope to change about it? How do you see the future playing out for you?