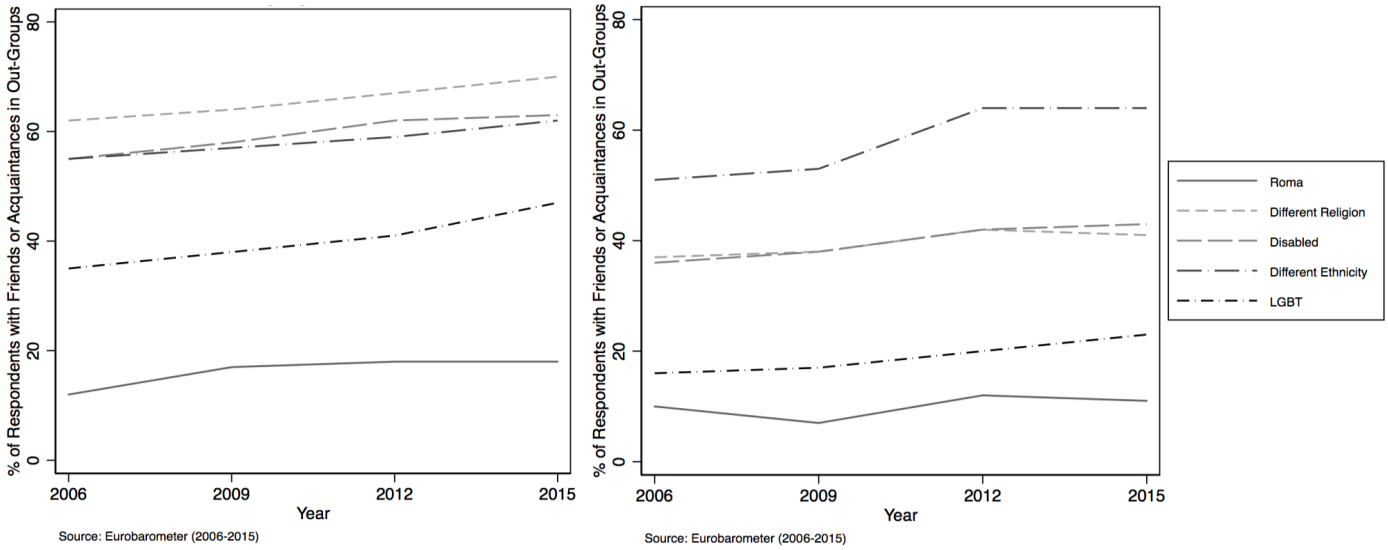
Fundraising for Stigmatized Groups: A Text Message Donation Experiment

Table of Contents

Appendix I. The Roma in Europe and in Greece

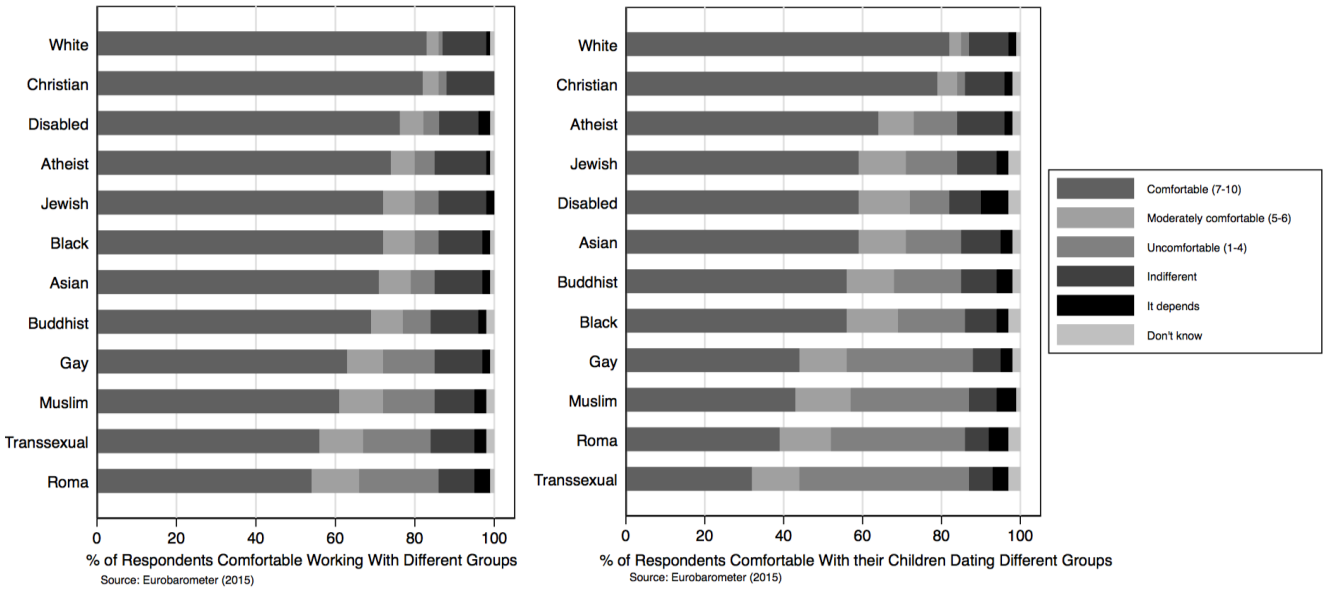
Appendix I Overview: In this appendix, we provide further context on the state of Roma segregation and prejudice across Europe and in Greece in particular. We use survey data from the 2006, 2009, 2012, and 2015 Special Eurobarometers on *Discrimination in the EU* to illustrate descriptive trends. We also map large informal Roma communities across Greece, and provide additional context on the characteristics of these communities.

Figure I.1: Roma Segregation in the EU (left) and in Greece (right)



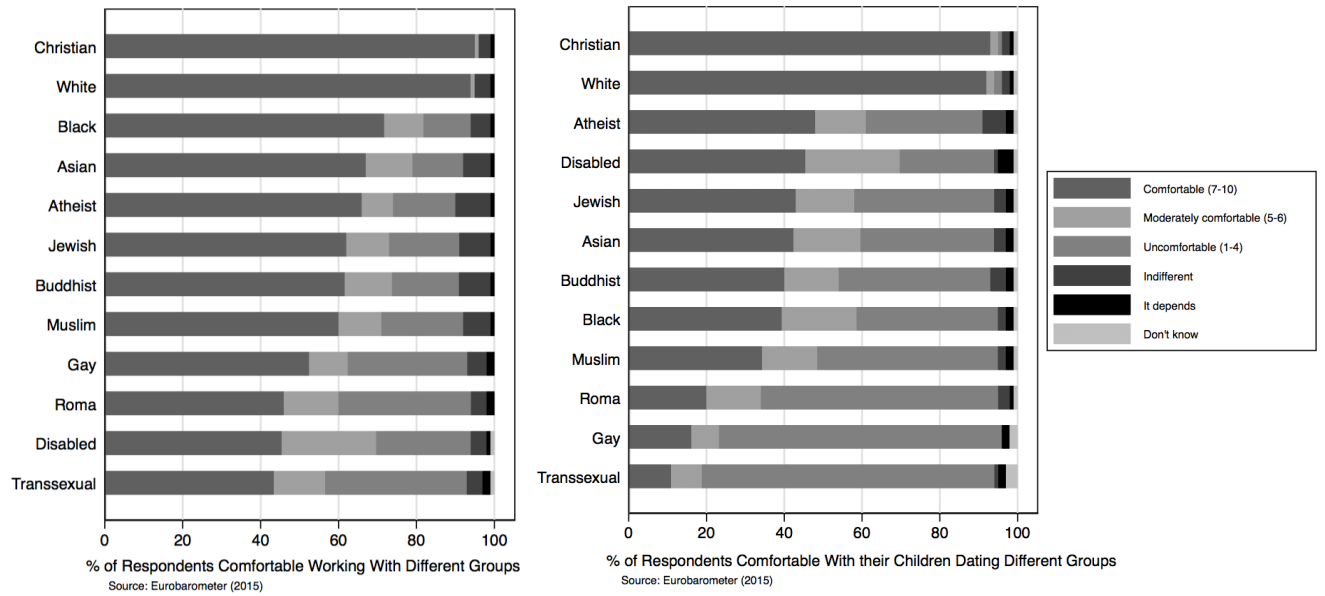
While the 2006-2015 Eurobarometer surveys show that Europeans' social circles are increasingly diverse, the social integration of Roma remains dismal in comparison. The increase in social integration over this period is smallest for the Roma, when compared to other out-groups. Just 18% of Europeans reported having a Roma friend or acquaintance in 2015. According to the same survey data, the Roma are even less integrated in Greece. 11% of Greeks reported having a Roma friend or acquaintance in 2015, up just 1% from 2006.

Figure I.2: Anti-Roma Prejudice in the EU, in Professional Settings (left) and Interpersonal Settings (right)



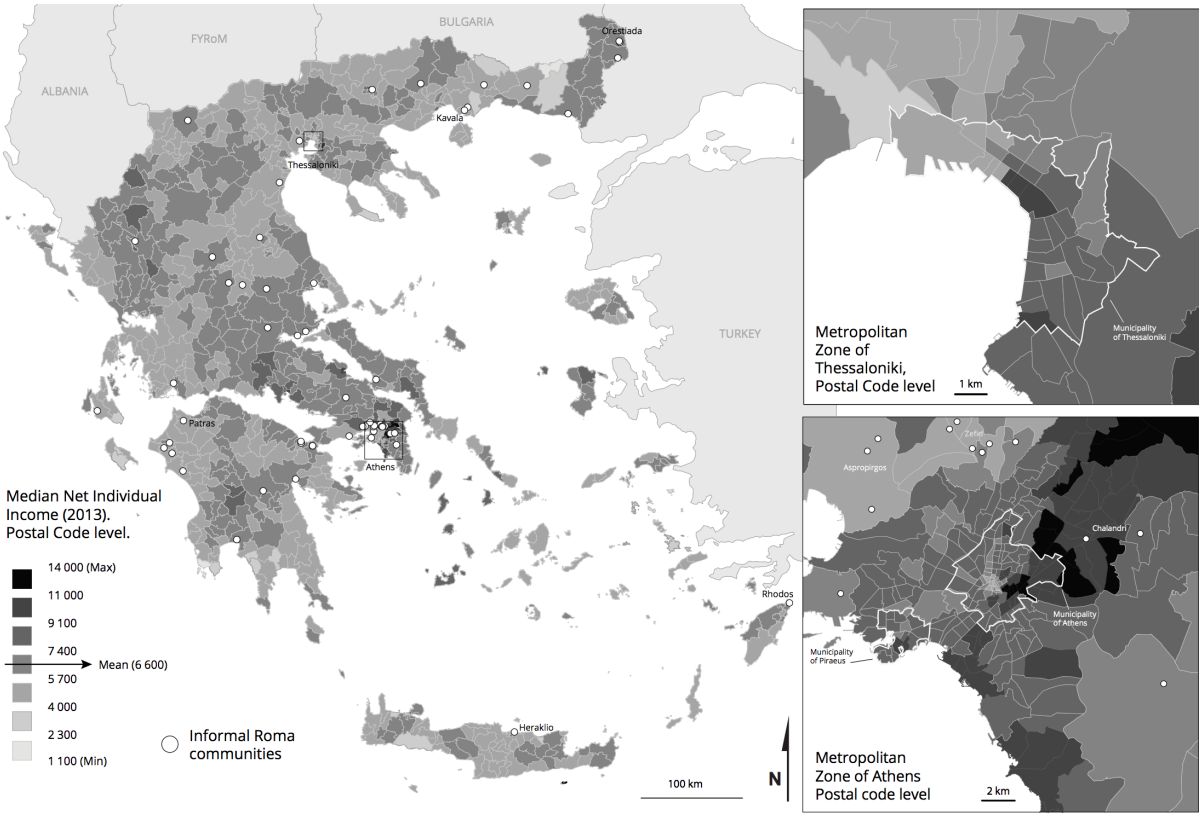
The 2015 Eurobarometer survey shows that comfort with the Roma, compared to other groups, is very low in the EU. In both professional and interpersonal settings, attitudes towards the Roma are much more negative than towards Muslims and blacks.

Figure I.3: Anti-Roma Prejudice in Greece, in Professional Settings (left) and Interpersonal Settings (right)



The 2015 Eurobarometer survey shows that Greeks' attitudes towards the Roma in both professional and interpersonal settings are even more negative than the EU average.

Figure I.4: Map of Informal Roma Communities across Greece



This map locates informal Roma communities in Greece. We use a population threshold of 200 in our mapping to protect the anonymity of smaller, less known Roma communities. As the map shows, informal Roma communities are often situated in low and middle income regions of Greece.

Roma Community Descriptives

Roma community dataset overview: The Roma community dataset was compiled by various Roma associations in Greece for advocacy and regional government planning purposes. To verify all of the information it contains, we confirmed with Greek civil servants within the relevant national ministries and regional governments that this data was consistent with the information they use to develop regional action plans for the Roma. We then worked with a prominent Greek geographer to (a) geolocate all Roma communities listed in the dataset and (b) identify small Roma communities that were proximate to one another so that we could aggregate them as a single community for some analyses. Using this dataset, we identified some Roma presence in over 30% of Greek ZIP codes in our SMS experiment, and more than 100 Roma present in 25% of ZIP codes.

The dataset contains information on two configurations of Roma communities: (1) settlements and (2) neighborhoods. The dataset contains population estimates for each Roma community, as well as information on each community's housing structure, whether they are located within, on the periphery of, or outside of city limits, and whether they are within or outside official city plans.

Community Type	**Housing Structure**		
	Formal Housing	Informal Housing	Total
Neighborhoods	113	28	141
Settlements	38	133	171
Total	151	161	312

Table I.1: The dataset on Roma communities is comprised of 312 individual Roma locations on which we have information on both community type and housing structure. Roma communities are typically either organized as neighborhooods or as settlements. Most Roma neighborhoods have formal housing structures (80%), whereas most settlements have informal housing structures (78%). There is a similar share of Roma neighborhoods (141) and Roma settlements (171) in Greece, and therefore also a similar share of formal (151) and informal (161) housing structures.

Housing Structure	**Geographic Placement**			
	Urban	Urban Periphery	Rural	Total
Formal Housing	109	24	17	150
Informal Housing	73	54	49	176
Total	182	78	66	326

Table I.2: Our dataset on Roma communities is comprised of 326 individual Roma locations on which we have information on both geographic placement and housing structure. A large majority of formal housing structures are located in urban areas. Informal housing structures are somewhat more evenly distributed, although they are still more likely to be situated in urban areas. Most Roma (80%) reside in urban areas or just outside of them, in the urban periphery.

	No Roma Community in ZIP	Roma Community in ZIP	
	Mean (10th/90th percentile)	Mean (10th/90th percentile)	Difference in Means
Attica (%)	47 (0, 100)	18 (0, 100)	29***
Central Macedonia (%)	21 (0, 100)	10 (0, 0)	11***
Median Income	7559 (5469, 9523)	6391 (5022, 7158)	1168***
Children in ZIP in Poverty (%)	28 (16, 42)	34 (26, 46)	-6***
Small city (20,000-40,000) (%)	14 (0, 100)	16 (0, 100)	-2***
Medium city (40,000-80,000) (%)	28 (0, 100)	47 (0, 100)	-19***
Large city (80,000+) (%)	51 (0, 100)	33 (0, 100)	18***

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table I.3: This table displays demographic characteristics of the 1,051 ZIP codes that received experimental text messages with and without Roma communities. There are significant differences on all demographics. Most importantly, ZIP codes with Roma communities are poorer and more rural. To compare the equality of means, we perform two-sample t-tests with equal variances.

Appendix II. Supplementary Robustness Checks

Appendix II Overview: In this appendix, we run a series of checks on our treatment randomization and then on the predicted probability of donation to different treatments. We detect no problems with our randomization, and find that our experimental findings on donation are robust to a number of model specifications.

To run these robustness checks, we include controls for age, gender, median income, and poverty, because the literature on donations suggests that women tend to give more, as do older people and people from wealthier communities. We also include controls for city size and for the two regions with the two major Greek metropoles (Athens and Central Macedonia) because we expect both generosity and possibilities for ethnic minority-majority contact to depend on urban density.

The age and gender variables are individual-level data we have on each respondent from the mobile phone carriers. The mobile carriers also provided each text recipient's ZIP code, from which we are able to infer if recipients reside in one of the two major Greek metropoles. In our city size controls, we indicate when an SMS respondent falls into one of three categories: residing in a small (20,000-40,000 in population), mid-sized (40,000-80,000 population), or large municipality (>80,000 in population), which we also determine using text recipients' ZIP codes. We also include ZIP code level controls for median net individual income (using 2013 data from the Greek Economics Ministry) and child poverty (using Greek Economics Ministry data on the percentage of children with 2013 household incomes below the 2014 poverty line).

Checks on Treatment Randomization

In this section, we run a series of checks on the treatment randomization. First, we provide summary statistics on demographic characteristics by treatment group. Then, we run a series of one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests to discern any statistically significant differences between the means of treatment groups on each demographic characteristic. Third, using logit models, we assess whether we can predict assignment to particular treatment groups based on individual and ZIP code level characteristics. Finally, we create six dummy variables, one for each treatment condition, then run a multivariate logistic regression with our individual and ZIP code level control variables as our outcome, and five of the dummies as our explanatory variable. We detect no problems with our randomization using these checks.

Checks on the Predicted Probability of Donation

In this section, we first illustrate that Figure 2, which is presented in a simple intent-to-treat (ITT) format (not covariate adjusted) in the main text, is robust to the addition of standard controls. We then illustrate that Figure 4, which is covariate adjusted in the main text (given that Roma community location is non-random), is robust to the removal of these controls (e.g., in simple ITT format). Then, we further test whether our results in Figures 2 and 4 in the main text are robust to a number of model specifications. Our main experimental findings hold across these various models: donations to the Roma out-group are consistently half of donations to the control group and the Greek in-group, and examining proximity to Roma communities at a granular level (ZIP code level), we find that donation rates decline across the board near Roma communities, but the decline is significantly larger in the Roma treatment. This finding suggests that in the context of ethnic segregation, proximity to a stigmatized out-group affects generosity toward them when the out-group is (1) sizeable and (2) living in visibly dilapidated, makeshift housing. This combination of factors may reinforce negative stereotypes (beyond Greeks' baseline level of strong anti-Roma prejudice) and lead to a more severe 'otherization' of the Roma community. This point is further illustrated by testing the equality of predictive margins for each treatment near and far from Roma communities at 9 Roma population thresholds.

Treatment	Greek Child	Greek Rights	Child	Child Rights	Roma Child	Roma Rights	Mean (10th/90th percentile)
Age	39.6	39.7	39.4	39.7	39.6	39.7	39.6 (29, 52)
Male (%)	64.8	64.4	65.3	65.4	65.3	65.5	65.1 (0, 100)
Attica (%)	41.7	41.3	42.2	42.1	41.2	42.3	41.8 (0, 100)
Central Macedonia (%)	19.0	19.1	18.7	18.3	18.7	18.9	18.8 (0, 100)
Median Individual Income	7345	7328	7358	7353	7325	7353	7342 (5339, 9433)
Children in ZIP in Poverty (%)	29.2	29.4	29.2	29.3	29.4	29.2	29.3 (16.9, 43.5)
Small city (20,000-40,000) (%)	14.7	14.6	14.1	15.0	14.6	14.5	14.6 (0, 100)
Medium city (40,000-80,000) (%)	31.7	31.4	32.1	31.7	31.5	31.6	31.6 (0, 100)
Large city (80,000+) (%)	46.9	47.5	47.3	47.2	47.5	47.4	47.3 (0, 100)
Roma Community in ZIP (%)	18.3	18.9	18.4	18.7	18.8	18.4	18.6 (0, 100)

Table II.1: In this table, we provide summary statistics on demographic characteristics by treatment group. The table illustrates that differences in summary statistics between treatments are very small in magnitude, as we would expect when randomization is carried out correctly. To discern any differences between the means of treatment groups on each demographic characteristic, we ran series of one-way ANOVA tests, which did not show any statistically significant differences (Appendix II, Table II.2). We then ran a randomization check to ensure balance across treatment conditions; using logit models, we assess whether we can predict assignment to particular treatment groups based on individual and ZIP code level characteristics (Appendix II, Table II.3). We also ran an additional multivariate regression in Appendix II, Table II.4, with our individual and ZIP code level control variables as our outcome, and five of six treatment dummies as our explanatory variable. The coefficients do not suggest a problem with the randomization.

Variables	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	Prob > F
Age					
Between Groups	669.51	5	133.90	0.74	0.60
Within Groups	14507292.70	79632	182.18		
Male (%)					
Between Groups	1.27	5	.25	1.12	0.35
Within Groups	18097.03	79632	.23		
Attica (%)					
Between Groups	1.48	5	.30	1.22	0.30
Within Groups	19357.92	79596	.24		
Central Macedonia (%)					
Between Groups	.46	5	.09	0.61	0.70
Within Groups	12161.75	79596	.15		
Median Income					
Between Groups	12764639.5	5	2552927.89	0.98	0.43
Within Groups	$2.08e^{11}$	79596	2612770.15		
Children in ZIP in Poverty (%)					
Between Groups	.05	5	.01	0.90	0.48
Within Groups	877.50	79596	.01		
Small city (20,000-40,000) (%)					
Between Groups	.41	5	.08	0.66	0.65
Within Groups	9916.97	79596	.12		
Medium city (40,000-80,000) (%)					
Between Groups	.33	5	.07	0.30	0.91
Within Groups	17217.95	79596	.22		
Large city (80,000+) (%)					
Between Groups	.39	5	.08	0.32	0.90
Within Groups	19843.48	79596	.25		
Roma Community in ZIP (%)					
Between Groups	.48	5	.10	0.64	0.67
Within Groups	12040.27	79632	.15		

Table II.2: This table runs a series of one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests to discern any statistically significant differences between the means of treatment groups on each demographic characteristic found in Table II.1. One-way ANOVA uses measures of between-group and within-group variance on each demographic variable to calculate each F-statistic, which is the ratio of two mean square values. The F-test evaluates the null hypothesis that the means of these groups are equal. If the null hypothesis is true, we expect F to have a value close to 1.0 most of the time. Given that no F-statistic in our results table is statistically significant, we fail to reject the null hypothesis. This provides additional assurance that our experiment was properly randomized.

Treatment	Greek Child	Greek Rights	Child	Child Rights	Roma Child	Roma Rights
Age	1.00	1.00	1.00*	1.00	1.00	1.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Male (%)	0.98	0.96**	1.02	1.02	1.01	1.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Attica (%)	1.00	1.00	1.01	0.98	0.97	1.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Central Macedonia (%)	1.02	1.02	0.99	0.96	0.97	1.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Median Income	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Children in ZIP in Poverty (%)	0.77	1.14	1.15	1.39*	0.99	0.82
	(0.13)	(0.19)	(0.22)	(0.27)	(0.17)	(0.14)
Small city (20,000-40,000) (%)	0.95	1.01	0.96	1.11**	1.03	0.97
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Medium city (40,000-80,000) (%)	0.93	1.00	1.02	1.09	1.03	0.97
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Large city (80,000+) (%)	0.92**	1.01	1.00	1.08	1.04	0.98
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Roma Community in ZIP (%)	0.98	1.03	0.99	1.00	1.00	1.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Constant	0.29***	0.21***	0.14***	0.10***	0.23***	0.26***
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Observations	79,602	79,602	79,602	79,602	79,602	79,602

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

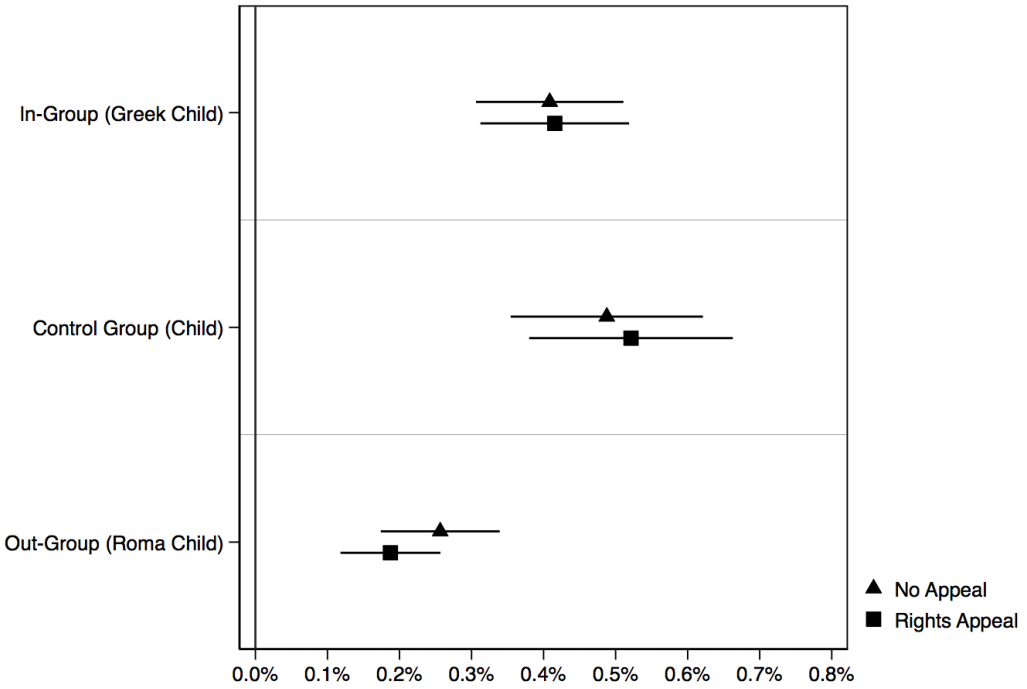
Table II.3: In this table, we run an additional randomization check for Table II.1 to ensure balance across treatment conditions. We use logistic regression to examine whether demographics can predict assignment to particular treatment groups based on our individual and ZIP code level control variables; odds ratios are reported. For data assigned at random, we should expect one coefficient to be significant at the 0.05 level for every twenty tests conducted; in our 60 comparisons, we found three coefficients to be significantly different from the others at the 0.05 level. Specifically, people assigned to the Greek child treatment were slightly (but statistically significantly) less likely to reside in a large city, people assigned to the Greek rights treatment were slightly (but statistically significantly) less likely to be male, and people assigned to the Child rights treatment were slightly (but statistically significantly) more likely to reside in a small city. Because the absolute difference in magnitude is very small, and because we can include gender and city size as controls in our regression models, we are not concerned about the randomization process.

Treatments	Age	Male (%)	Attica (%)	Central Macedonia (%)	Median Income	Children in ZIP in Poverty (%)	Small city (20,000-40,000) (%)	Medium city (40,000-80,000) (%)	Large city (80,000+) (%)	Roma Community in ZIP (%)
Greek Child	-0.07	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	-7.74	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.00
	(0.16)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(18.71)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Greek Rights	-0.02	-0.01*	-0.01	0.00	-25.12	0.00*	0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.01
	(0.16)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(18.71)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Child	-0.28*	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	4.96	0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.17)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(20.61)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Child Rights	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01	-0.27	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00
	(0.17)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(20.91)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Roma Child	-0.12	-0.00	-0.01*	-0.00	-27.72	0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.16)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(18.88)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Constant	39.68***	0.65***	0.42***	0.19***	7352.85***	0.29***	0.15***	0.32***	0.47***	0.18***
	(0.11)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(13.23)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

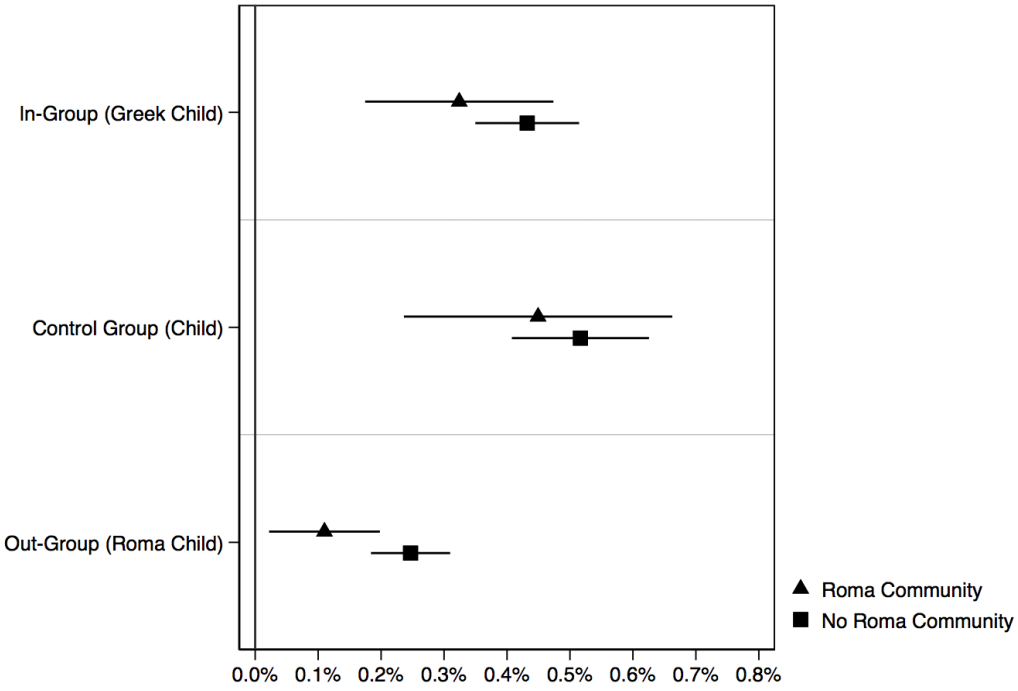
Table II.4: This table uses multivariate logistic regression to perform a randomization check on Table II.1. We created six dummy variables, one for each treatment condition. We ran a multivariate regression with our individual and ZIP code level control variables as our outcome, and five of six treatment dummies as our explanatory variable. The coefficients do not suggest a problem with the randomization. For data assigned at random, we should expect one coefficient to be significant at the 0.05 level for every twenty tests conducted; in our multiple comparisons, we found no coefficients to be significantly different from the others at the 0.05 level. We then use a Wald test to determine whether the coefficients are equivalent. In our test, the F-statistic with 50 numerator and 79596 denominator degrees of freedom is 0.76. The significance level of our F-statistic is .8960, which means the probability our results could have happened by chance is 89.60%—we fail to reject the null hypothesis that our coefficients are equivalent.

Figure II.1: Predicted Probability of Donation by Treatment Condition (with 95% CIs)



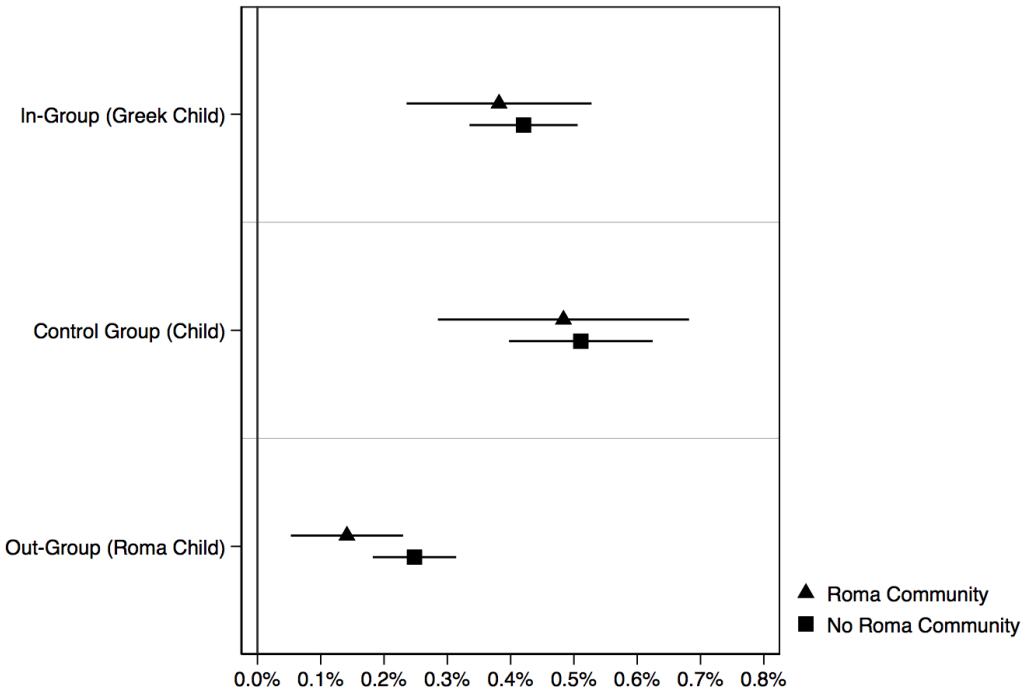
Logistic regression predicting donation based on treatment condition, with controls for age, gender, Attica, Central Macedonia, median income, percentage of children in poverty, and city size. For full specification and additional robustness checks, see Appendix II, Table II.5. This figure demonstrates that Figure 2 is robust to the inclusion of controls.

Figure II.2: Predicted Probability of Donation to Greek Child, Child, and Roma Child Based on Proximity to Informal Roma Communities (with 95% CIs)



Logistic regression predicting donation based on the three pooled treatments and proximity to a Roma community (and their interaction term), presented as a simple intent-to-treat analysis without covariate adjustment. For full specification and robustness checks, see Appendix II, Table II.6. This figure demonstrates that Figure 4 is robust to the exclusion of controls.

Figure II.3: Predicted Probability of Donation to Greek Child, Child, and Roma Child Based on Proximity to All Roma Communities (with 95% CIs)



Logistic regression predicting donation based on the three pooled treatments: In-Group (Greek Child), Control Group (Child), Out-Group (Roma Child), and proximity to the Roma (and their interaction term), with controls for age, gender, Attica, Central Macedonia, median income, percentage of children in poverty, and city size. Roma proximity is a function of ZIP code level Roma presence exceeding a population of 100 residents, any type of housing structure present. To see that these findings are robust without covariate adjustment and to other model specifications, see Appendix II, Table II.7. This figure demonstrates that the predicted probabilities illustrated in Figure 4 in the main text generally hold even without subsetting to informal Roma communities. Appendix II, Figure II.4 further illustrates this with a series of tests on the differences of the predictive margins for SMS treatments.

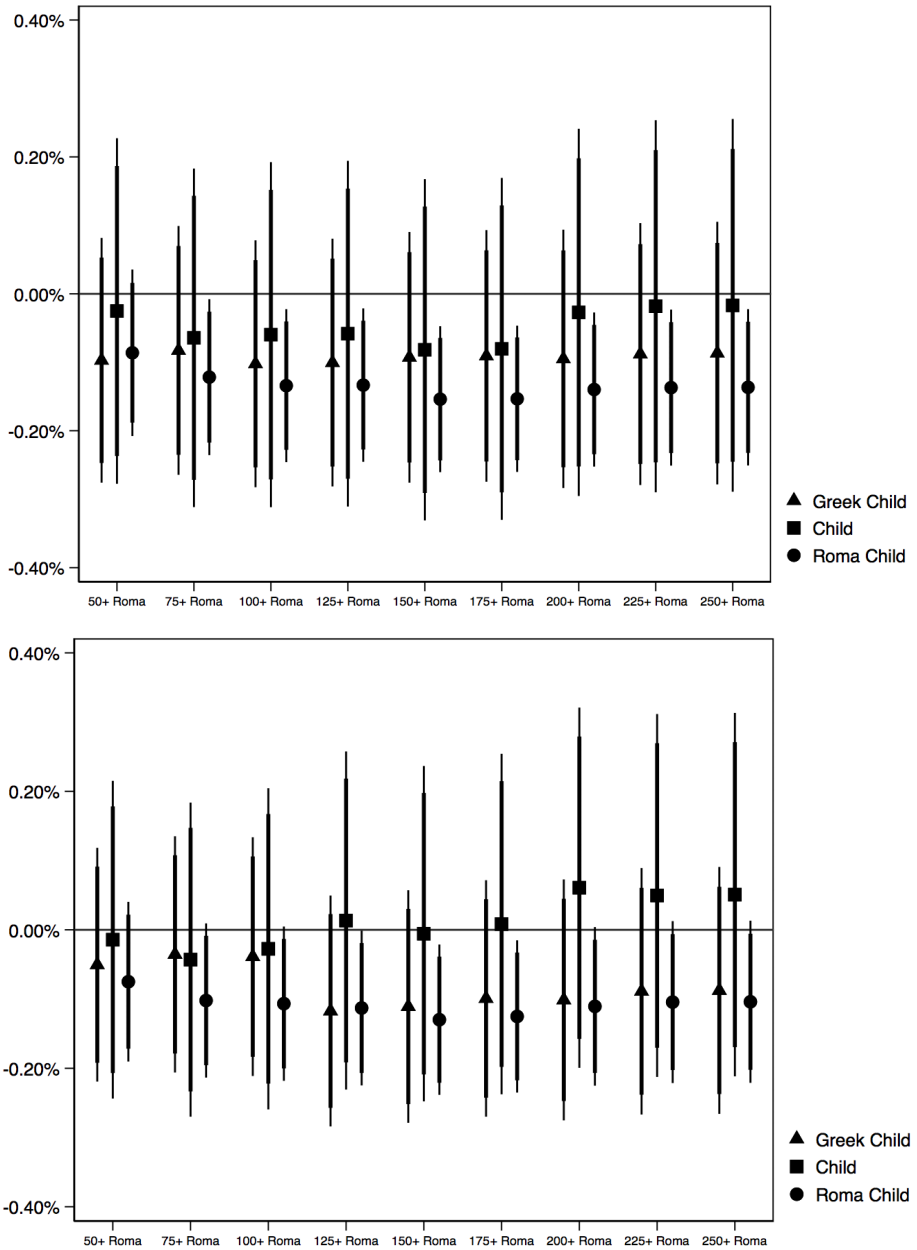


Figure II.4: Differences of the predictive margins for SMS treatments, based on proximity to informal Roma communities (top) and to all Roma communities (bottom) (with 90% & 95% CIs). These figures supplement Figure 4 in the main text and Figure II.3 in the appendix. We test the equality of the subpopulation marginal predictions near and far from settlements using a Wald test. Figure II.4 illustrates the percentage difference between donations to each SMS treatment in proximity/not in proximity to Roma communities, with Roma proximity measured at 9 different population thresholds (ZIP code level). Two observations lend support for the finding that the Roma treatment donations are significantly reduced by proximity to Roma communities: (1) on average, donations to the Roma are lower by 50% compared to the other two treatments, but they decrease by 70% in ZIP codes with Roma communities; and (2) this percentage difference is statistically significant at p=.05 level across 8 of 9 Roma thresholds (75-250) when subsetting to informal Roma communities (top figure), and at either p=0.1 or p=.05 level when including all Roma communities (bottom figure). The differences in donations near and far from Roma communities to Greek & Child treatments are smaller and statistically indistinguishable from 0 at any population threshold. We conclude that once Roma communities reach a certain size (e.g., 75 Roma population), their presence depresses out-group donations from the neighboring community.

VARIABLES	M1	M2	M3	M4
Greek Child	2.184***	2.176***	0.00221***	0.00220***
	(0.499)	(0.497)	(0.000698)	(0.000698)
Greek Rights	2.222***	2.206***	0.00228***	0.00225***
	(0.507)	(0.503)	(0.000698)	(0.000698)
Child	2.610***	2.606***	0.00300***	0.00300***
	(0.615)	(0.614)	(0.000769)	(0.000769)
Child Rights	2.790***	2.782***	0.00334***	0.00333***
	(0.655)	(0.653)	(0.000780)	(0.000780)
Roma Child	1.370	1.371	0.000691	0.000696
	(0.343)	(0.344)	(0.000704)	(0.000704)
Age		1.006		2.39e-05
		(0.00406)		(1.59e-05)
Male (%)		0.373***		-0.00385***
		(0.0448)		(0.000450)
Attica (%)		1.199		0.000749
		(0.209)		(0.000645)
Central Macedonia (%)		0.654**		-0.00120**
		(0.132)		(0.000611)
Median Income		1.000		2.69e-07
		(7.60e-05)		(2.87e-07)
Children in ZIP in Poverty (%)		1.760		0.00242
		(1.954)		(0.00394)
Small city (20,000-40,000) (%)		1.393		0.000792
		(0.494)		(0.00106)
Medium city (40,000-80,000) (%)		1.668		0.00148
		(0.568)		(0.00101)
Large city (80,000+) (%)		1.524		0.00111
		(0.502)		(0.000965)
Constant	0.00188***	0.000830***	0.00187***	-0.000434
	(0.000355)	(0.000775)	(0.000494)	(0.00333)
Observations	79,638	79,602	79,638	79,602

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table II.5: This table corresponds to Figure 2 in the main text. Model 1 is the logit model that forms the basis for the predicted probabilities in Figure 2. This table does not report predicted probabilities, but instead reports odds ratios for all logit models (models 1-2), and regression coefficients for the OLS models (models 3-4). Model 1 uses a logit specification to predict whether an individual will donate (1) or not (0), and includes our main independent variables of interest (each treatment condition, with Roma rights as the baseline comparison). Model 2 also includes the following controls: age, gender, Attica, Central Macedonia, median income, percentage of children in poverty, and city size. Model 3 employs an OLS regression with no controls. Model 4 employs an OLS regression and uses the same controls as Model 2. The rights appeal does not increase donations to either ethnic group nor to the control. Across Models 2 and 4, we consistently find that being male and living in Central Macedonia correlates with lower donations.

VARIABLES	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
In-Group (Greek Child)	1.865***	1.754***	1.746***	1.854***	1.002***
	(0.286)	(0.286)	(0.285)	(0.285)	(0.000551)
Control Group (Child)	2.283***	2.099***	2.096***	2.278***	1.003***
	(0.362)	(0.355)	(0.355)	(0.362)	(0.000611)
Roma Community in ZIP	0.719*	0.445*	0.456*	0.731*	0.999
	(0.121)	(0.191)	(0.199)	(0.136)	(0.000941)
Roma Community in ZIP*		1.683	1.671		1.000
In-Group (Greek Child)		(0.840)	(0.834)		(0.00127)
Roma Community in ZIP*		1.952	1.939		1.001
Control Group (Child)		(0.985)	(0.979)		(0.00142)
Age			1.006	1.006	1.000
			(0.00406)	(0.00406)	(1.59e-05)
Male (%)			0.373***	0.373***	0.996***
			(0.0448)	(0.0448)	(0.000448)
Attica (%)			1.134	1.134	1.001
			(0.202)	(0.202)	(0.000654)
Central Macedonia (%)			0.605**	0.604**	0.999**
			(0.125)	(0.124)	(0.000630)
Median Income			1.000	1.000	1.000
			(7.67e-05)	(7.67e-05)	(2.89e-07)
Children in ZIP			1.822	1.818	1.003
in Poverty (%)			(2.008)	(2.005)	(0.00395)
Small city			1.512	1.513	1.001
(20,000-40,000) (%)			(0.540)	(0.541)	(0.00107)
Medium city			1.879*	1.880*	1.002*
(40,000-80,000) (%)			(0.653)	(0.654)	(0.00104)
Large city			1.626	1.627	1.001
(80,000+) (%)			(0.539)	(0.540)	(0.000975)
Constant	0.00234***	0.00247***	0.00116***	0.00110***	1.000
	(0.000296)	(0.000322)	(0.00107)	(0.00101)	(0.00332)
Observations	79,638	79,638	79,602	79,602	79,602

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table II.6: This table corresponds to Figure 4 in the main text, and presents pooled data for In-group (Greek child), Control Group (Child), and Out-group (Roma Child) treatments. The baseline comparison is the out-group (Roma Child) treatment. Model 3 is the logit model that forms the basis for the predicted probabilities in Figure 4. This table reports odds ratios for all logit models (models 1-4), and regression coefficients for the OLS model (model 5). Model 1 uses a logit specification to predict whether an individual will donate (1) or not (0), and includes the experimental appeal type variable and the Roma community variable (defined as ZIP codes with informal Roma communities exceeding a population of 100). Before adding interactions or controls, it appears that donations fall near Roma communities, and that people in proximity to the Roma donate 30% less across treatment conditions. However, this effect changes in more complex models. Model 2 builds on Model 1 but includes an interaction between the experimental appeal type variable and the Roma community variable. Model 3 includes the following controls: age, gender, Attica, Central Macedonia, median income, percentage of children in poverty, and city size. Model 4 excludes the interaction term. Model 5 employs an OLS regression and uses the same controls as Model 3. In models 2 and 3, donations to the Roma treatment in particular drop by more than half near Roma communities.

VARIABLES	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
In-Group (Greek Child)	1.866***	1.708***	1.699***	1.855***	1.002***
	(0.286)	(0.290)	(0.288)	(0.285)	(0.000574)
Control Group (Child)	2.284***	2.074***	2.067***	2.278***	1.003***
	(0.362)	(0.365)	(0.364)	(0.362)	(0.000637)
Roma Community in ZIP	0.802	0.543*	0.569	0.840	0.999
	(0.115)	(0.187)	(0.199)	(0.133)	(0.000844)
Roma Community in ZIP*		1.599	1.594		1.001
In-Group (Greek Child)		(0.649)	(0.647)		(0.00114)
Roma Community in ZIP*		1.659	1.662		1.001
Control Group (Child)		(0.690)	(0.691)		(0.00127)
Age			1.006	1.006	1.000
			(0.00406)	(0.00406)	(1.59e-05)
Male (%)			0.373***	0.373***	0.996***
			(0.0448)	(0.0448)	(0.000448)
Attica (%)			1.164	1.163	1.001
			(0.206)	(0.205)	(0.000650)
Central Macedonia (%)			0.625**	0.624**	0.999**
			(0.128)	(0.128)	(0.000626)
Median Income			1.000	1.000	1.000
			(7.68e-05)	(7.69e-05)	(2.90e-07)
Children in ZIP			1.841	1.826	1.003
in Poverty (%)			(2.040)	(2.023)	(0.00395)
Small city			1.486	1.487	1.001
(20,000-40,000) (%)			(0.534)	(0.534)	(0.00108)
Medium city			1.806*	1.807*	1.002*
(40,000-80,000) (%)			(0.628)	(0.629)	(0.00104)
Large city			1.602	1.603	1.001
(80,000+) (%)			(0.533)	(0.533)	(0.000980)
Constant	0.00233***	0.00251***	0.00112***	0.00105***	1.000
	(0.000298)	(0.000338)	(0.00104)	(0.000973)	(0.00332)
Observations	79,638	79,638	79,602	79,602	79,602

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table II.7: This table corresponds to Appendix II, Figure II.3, and presents pooled data for In-group (Greek child), Control Group (Child), and Out-group (Roma Child) treatments. The baseline comparison is the out-group (Roma Child) treatment. Model 3 is the logit model that forms the basis for the predicted probabilities in Figure II.3. This table reports odds ratios for all logit models (models 1-4), and regression coefficients for the OLS model (model 5). Model 1 uses a logit specification to predict whether an individual will donate (1) or not (0), and includes the experimental appeal type variable and the Roma community variable (defined as ZIP codes with Roma communities exceeding a population of 100). Before adding interactions or controls, donations do not fall significantly near Roma communities. Model 2 builds on Model 1 but includes an interaction between the experimental appeal type variable and the Roma community variable. It indicates that the donation drop to the Roma appeal is significant at the p=0.1 level. Model 3 includes the following controls: age, gender, Attica, Central Macedonia, median income, percentage of children in poverty, and city size. Model 4 excludes the interaction term. Model 5 employs an OLS regression and uses the same controls as Model 3. These findings are not as strong as when we subset to ZIP codes with informal Roma communities.

Appendix III. Who Donates?

Appendix III Overview: In this appendix, we further contextualize our findings by briefly exploring the donor characteristics of our sample and evaluating these demographics using relevant literatures on charitable giving.

The donation literature suggests that donors differ from non-donors in both their demographic traits and in their belief systems. Women, older people, those with higher income and higher education, and those married and with children are particularly likely to donate (Chrenka, Gutter, and Jasper 2003; Lee and Chang 2007; Winterich, Mittal, and Ross 2009; Shier and Handy 2012). Additionally, individuals who believe that kindness and empathy are important (Lee and Chang 2007; Reed, Aquino, and Levy 2007; Winterich, Zhang, and Mittal 2012) and those with a heightened sense of social responsibility (Bennett 2003; Bekkers 2006; Fong 2007; Wilhelm and Bekkers 2010) donate at higher rates than others.

Table III.1 presents the means of various demographic characteristics for donors-and non-donors in our study, and reveals significant differences between these two groups on many traits. Donors are more likely to come from areas with higher median incomes and lower rates of child poverty than non-donors. This falls in line with extant literature, which finds that those of higher socioeconomic status are more likely to donate to charity (Andreoni, Brown, and Rischall 2003; Bekkers 2010), and also to volunteer (Wilson 2000) and participate in political activities (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Schlozman et al. 2007). Donations were particularly high in the Greek capital region of Attica. In addition, donors are much more likely to be women. This finding is large in magnitude, perhaps because our appeal was focused on children. It is also consistent with studies that find that women are more likely to engage in non-institutionalized political activities, including protesting, donating to campaigns, and signing petitions (Marien, Hooghe, and Quintelier 2010). Table III.1 reports a high variance around each mean, indicating that donors and non-donors are diverse across these demographic characteristics. We anticipate that the technology we used to solicit donations and the low contribution threshold increased the diversity of our donor sample.

The fact that text-to-give campaigns can reach a diverse donor pool has important implications for how NGOs and others can use different fundraising and awareness-building strategies to attract new donors. Prior work on SMS donations in the U.S. also finds that text donors tend to be younger and more ethnically diverse than persons who donate through other means (Smith 2012; Chen and Givens 2013).

	Donors	Non-Donors	
	Mean (10th/90th percentile)	Mean (10th/90th percentile)	Difference in Means
Age	41 (33, 50)	40 (29, 52)	1
Male (%)	41 (0, 100)	65 (0, 100)	-24***
Attica (%)	54 (0, 100)	42 (0, 100)	12***
Central Macedonia (%)	12 (0, 100)	19 (0, 100)	-7**
Median Income	7693 (5659, 9523)	7341 (5321, 9433)	352***
Children in ZIP in Poverty (%)	27 (15, 41)	29 (17, 44)	-2**
Small city (20,000-40,000) (%)	14 (0, 100)	15 (0, 100)	-1
Medium city (40,000-80,000) (%)	36 (0, 100)	32 (0, 100)	4
Large city (80,000+) (%)	47 (0, 100)	47 (0, 100)	0
Roma Community in ZIP Code (%)	14 (0, 100)	19 (0, 100)	-5*

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table III.1: This table displays demographic characteristics of donors vs. non-donors. These demographics show significant differences between donors and non-donors in our sample on a number of traits, including gender, median income, poverty at the ZIP code level, and location. To compare the equality of means, we perform two-sample t-tests with equal variances.

Appendix IV. Experimental Treatment Overview

Appendix IV Overview: In this appendix, we provide additional details about the implementation of our study, including information about study pre-registration and IRB approval, as well as a list of the specific text message treatments sent to Greeks study subjects.

Our text message experiment was carried out in coordination with Prolepsis, a Greek NGO, and a text messaging company that operates with the three major mobile carriers in Greece. The text messages had six experimental variations of a request for a small financial donation to the Diatrofi Program, which provides free lunch to Greece's poorest public schools.

When subjects signed up for their phone service plan, they consented to receiving various inquiries, including donation requests. Under EU laws governing privacy and telecoms, we received very limited information about our subjects from the partner Greek telephone company. Our study was pre-registered with EGAP ID #20160321AA and approved under IRB #2016-03-8553.

Below, we detail the text of our text message (SMS) variants. Individuals were randomly assigned to receive one of these six messages. Notably, in our Roma text message frame, we used the Greek word for "Roma" rather than the commonly used pejorative term "Gypsy."

Version A
Diatrofi feeds 16412 students. Text DIATROFI to 54344 for one Greek child in need. 1.48€ per sms.

Version B
Diatrofi feeds 16412 students. Text DIATROFI to 54344 for one Roma child in need. 1.48€ per sms.

Version C
Diatrofi feeds 16412 students. Text DIATROFI to 54344 for one child in need. 1.48€ per sms.

Version D
Diatrofi feeds 16412 students. Every child has a right to food. Text DIATROFI to 54344 for one Greek child in need. 1.48€ per sms.

Version E
Diatrofi feeds 16412 students. Every child has a right to food. Text DIATROFI to 54344 for one Roma child in need. 1.48€ per sms.

Version F
Diatrofi feeds 16412 students. Every child has a right to food. Text DIATROFI to 54344 for one child in need. 1.48€ per sms.

Appendix V. Qualitative Analysis

Research Design

Aim of Qualitative Study

Our qualitative study examines (1) the nature of intergroup contact across a range of settings that vary in level of Roma integration and (2) how impoverished schools successfully raise donations for their students, particularly when many are from stigmatized out-groups.

We conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with principals from twelve elementary schools across six communities that had at least a small Roma presence. Because of the nature of their position, school principals have first-hand knowledge of Greek-Roma relations in their communities and have direct experience with raising donations for their students. We interviewed elementary school principals because Roma students drop out at high rates after completing their elementary school education (Center for Health and Human Rights 2015). As elaborated in the following section, we also selected communities that varied in terms of socioeconomics and Roma integration.

School Selection Criteria

In June 2019, an experienced moderator from Prolepsis conducted twelve semi-structured, in-depth interviews with principals in public elementary schools in communities with Roma students. We identified these schools from the list of 162 public schools that participated in the 2016-2017 Diatrofi Program (Dalma et al. 2016), and thus benefit from the donations raised through our experiment. Established in 2012 under the auspices of the Hellenic Ministry of Education, Research, and Religious Affairs, the Diatrofi Program provides free daily meals to students and promotes healthy nutrition in public schools located in underprivileged areas in Greece (Dalma et al. 2018). We selected two schools in each of the six following regions: Thiva, Chalandri, Zefiri, Megara, Aspropirgos, and Agia Varvara.

We also interviewed school principals because we expected the most positive Greek-Roma interactions to occur in the school context. According to the 2011 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) Roma survey on education, in Greece, 44% of Roma above the age of 16 report never having attended school, and 98% of Roma respondents aged 18-24 report leaving education before the age of 16 (EU Agency for Fundamental Rights 2014, 29-33). Because employment in the Greek school system requires a university degree, all principals we interviewed, as well as school educators and administrators more broadly, were ethnic Greek.

We selected schools that varied in the extent to which Roma are integrated in the surrounding community. Because Roma families living in settlements are physically and socially isolated from the broader non-Roma community, we selected four schools that were near either a formal or informal Roma settlement, two schools in communities where Roma were living in integrated Greek-Roma neighborhoods, and six schools in communities that were both near a Roma settlement and have Roma living in neighborhoods alongside ethnic Greeks. We also selected schools near Roma communities that varied in socioeconomic status. Living in a settlement is strongly correlated with other measures of socioeconomic disadvantage, as Table V.1 below illustrates. We also sought variation along the rural-urban dimension.

All schools we selected had at least a small percentage of Roma students. Because Prolepsis serves schools across all low-income communities (and not just the Roma), the Prolepsis employee conducting these interviews had substantive experience in schools with entirely

ethnic Greek student bodies, allowing her to identify similarities and differences in terms of attitudes towards the Roma and the nature of intergroup contact. Additionally, the principals we interviewed were able to evaluate their school relative to others because, due to the nature of civil service in Greece, they have rotated between schools in different communities.

Table V.1 presents descriptive statistics of the regions and schools included in our study. These descriptive statistics consist of the schools principals' estimates of each measure because relevant official statistics are not collected. For confidentiality purposes, we refer to pairs of schools in each region as either 'A' or 'B.' We start by presenting the % of the student body that is Roma, as estimated by the school principal. These numbers reveal that neighboring schools might be heavily Roma or heavily Greek, indicating strong segregation in some communities. While segregation is illegal under Greek and European legislation, widespread discrimination against the Roma at the community level has prevented school administrators from integrating Roma students into Greek-majority schools, leaving many schools de facto segregated (Amnesty International 2015). The column 'Type of residence' indicates whether the majority of Roma live in makeshift structures (i.e. huts constructed by Roma using materials like corrugated metal, wood, and cloth that lack electricity and running water), basic housing (i.e. one or two-floor buildings that have electricity and running water), or modern apartments (i.e. recently renovated, middle-class apartments).

In the list below, we provide more information about each of the six regions, including their population size, geographic location within Greece, economic development, and spatial distribution of Roma families.

1. Thiva: Thiva is located in Viotia about 70 km from Athens. The majority of its 22,833 inhabitants are middle class. Although efforts have been made to distribute Roma students across all schools in the region, ethnic Greek locals have refused to do so. While Roma students mainly attend one elementary school, there is another elementary school that has some Roma students (3% of the student body).
2. Chalandri: Chalandri is located in Attica about 8 km from the center of Athens. The majority of its 74,192 inhabitants are middle to upper class. Chalandri is an important shopping center of Athens and its infrastructure has been significantly developed to include parks and pedestrian and cycling routes. Roma children attend three specific elementary schools close to the Roma settlement; in each school, the percent of students that are Roma is less than 50%.
3. Zefiri: Zefiri is located in the Attica region within the Fili municipality. It is 10 km away from Athens. With a low to middle-income population, Zefiri is one of the most underprivileged areas of Attica. One school in the study has 100% Roma students and is located in the neighborhood where most of the Roma live, while the other school is majority non-Roma.
4. Megara: Megara is located in Attica about 40 km from the center of Athens. The socioeconomic status of its 36,924 inhabitants ranges from lower to upper middle class. Because Roma students in the area are distributed across multiple elementary schools, the percentage of the student body that is Roma in a given school is less than 50%. The school with the highest percentage of Roma students (38%) is located next to the Roma settlement.
5. Aspropirgos: Located in Attica, Aspropirgos is roughly 20km from the center of Athens. It has a population of 30,251 inhabitants, whose socioeconomic status ranges from lower to middle class. Aspropirgos is one of the most significant industrial zones of Greece, making air and water pollution important issues. Roma students attend three specific elementary schools located close to their neighborhoods. The percentage of Roma students in each school is more than 50%.
6. Agia Varvara: Agia Varvara is located in Attica about 7 km from the center of Athens. The majority of its 26,550 inhabitants belong to the lower and middle socioeconomic classes. Around 15% of its population is of Roma ancestry. Agia

Varvara has the highest levels of Roma integration in Greece. The Roma population is not primarily concentrated near Agia Varvara's schools, but they live in all neighborhoods and attend all the schools nearby. However, the school with the largest percentage of Roma (64%) is located in the neighborhood with the largest Roma population.

Table V.1: Descriptive Data

	Thiva		Chalandri		Zefiri		Megara		Aspropirgos		Agia Varvara	
	School A	School B	School A	School B	School A	School B	School A	School B	School A	School B	School A	School B
Student Body												
% Roma	3%	100%	5%	7%	5%	100%	15%	38%	74%	95%	35%	64%
% Greek	92%	0%	80%	92%	93%	0%	70%	50%	26%	5%	45%	46%
% Migrant	5%	0%	15%	1%	2%	0%	15%	12%	0%	0%	20%	0%
Student SE level (%)												
Very low	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	>50%	>50%	0%	0%
Low	0%	50%	0%	0%	>50%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	40%	20%
Middle	>50%	25%	>50%	>50%	0%	80%	>50%	>50%	0%	0%	40%	40%
High	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	20%	40%
Roma student SE level (%)												
Very low	0%	25%	>50%	>50%	0%	0%	0%	50%	>50%	>50%	0%	0%
Low	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	20%	0%	50%	0%	0%	30%	0%
Middle	>50%	25%	0%	0%	50%	80%	>50%	0%	0%	0%	50%	50%
High	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	20%	50%
Roma residences												
Settlement	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Neighborhood	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Type of residence												
Makeshift	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Basic	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Modern apartment	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Region type	Rural	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Urban	Urban	Urban	Urban Periphery	Urban Periphery	Urban	Urban

Interview Structure and Questions

To conduct these interviews, we hired Prolepsis's Head of Qualitative Analysis, who has extensive experience conducting qualitative interviews and focus groups. After identifying the schools, the Prolepsis employee and a research assistant contacted principals and informed them about the purpose and objectives of the study. The Prolepsis employee then asked for their consent to participate in the study. No one refused to be interviewed, and all participants provided written informed consent. Each interview lasted between 30-60 minutes. Although the interviews were semi-structured and all questions were open-ended, the Prolepsis employee discussed the following topics with each participant:

1. Barriers that prevent the social integration of Roma families in the local community
2. Sources of funding for the school, including individual donations
3. Social services and programming that promote Roma social integration in schools and the community
4. Available extracurricular activities and Roma participation in these activities
5. Interactions between Roma and ethnic Greek parents and students both during school hours and outside school hours
6. Ethnic Greek stereotypes against the Roma and Roma stereotypes against ethnic Greeks

Interviews were augmented with field notes when necessary. During the interviews, participants were encouraged to share their personal opinions and experiences through a probing technique, while the Prolepsis employee was cautious not to provide direct answers and/or express approval or disapproval of participants' responses.

Qualitative Analysis of Interviews

The Prolepsis employee and research assistant transcribed the in-depth personal interviews verbatim and removed participants' personal identifiers to maintain anonymity. Transcripts were analyzed using the long-table approach (Krueger and Casey 2000), adjusted for use with word processing software rather than hand-written copies. This approach generated relevant themes from interview content, rather than developing themes in advance and coding them as such. Moreover, the use of word processing software rather than hand-written copies allowed for direct comparisons between the interviews. Initially, each of the six regions was analyzed based on the similarities and differences between pairs of schools in each region. The Prolepsis employee conducted additional analysis to compare similarities and differences across all schools. Two researchers analyzed the data. To enhance accuracy, a third researcher who was not involved in the data collection checked the study outcomes for discrepancies.

Once themes were identified, we assessed the surrounding discussions from which they arose to ensure that the statements were not interpreted out of context. We also identified indicators crucial for understanding variation across schools, such as type of areas (urban, urban-periphery, rural), the socioeconomic status of Roma students (very low, low, middle, high), and the percentage of the student body that is Roma (greater or less than 50%).

Findings

Social Isolation and Integration

We coded a variety of different measures of Roma social integration, including the frequency of Roma-Greek parent and student interactions in school and outside school hours; Roma student participation in extracurricular activities, the presence of Roma parents on the schools' Parents' Associations; and Roma student attendance and dropout rates. Below, we describe the variation across these measures.

Roma-Greek Interactions

In this section, we describe the nature of interactions between (1) Roma parents and school administrators; (2) Greek and Roma parents during and outside of school; and (3) Greek and Roma students during and outside of school. First, principals in seven schools reported that the frequency of Roma parents' interactions with school administrators are low; principals in the other five schools reported that the frequency of their interactions with Roma parents was normal. Participants reported that the presence of

social workers—particularly their personal calls to Roma parents—increased Roma parents' contact with the school. The majority of parents in the seven schools who do not maintain regular relationships with school administrators have a very low socioeconomic status and do not attend school events and meetings.

> *"No, they are not involved in school life, although we call them." (Thiva, school B)*

> *"There are Roma parents who come once to get information about their children, but many do not return again. However, the majority of Roma parents do not come." (Chalandri, school B)*

> *"Few Roma parents come. We have never seen most of them." (Aspropirgos, school A)*

> *"Many Roma parents find it very difficult to come to our school. We do not see them." (Zefiri, school B)*

> *"About 20% of Roma parents come whenever we invite them. They come to receive updates about their students and their grades from teachers and ask questions." (Megara, school A)*

Interview evidence indicates that Roma parents with middle to high socioeconomic status—such as those living near both schools in Agia Varvara—and Roma parents who themselves were former students at the school maintain regular contact with the school because they want their children to be educated and/or are alumni themselves.

> *"We have excellent relationships with parents. They trust us, their children study regularly. Only two children stopped coming, unfortunately. We were very sad because they got married. Roma are in a different financial situation in the region. They have money, they are integrated compared to other areas. And the school treats them differently." (Agia Varvara, school B)*

> *"The majority of parents come. Parents come to school to get their children's grades, at holidays, whenever we call them. Of course parents who do not send their children to school do not come." (Agia Varvara, school A)*

> *"The few Roma parents who do come consistently visit. These Roma parents are better off financially than others. And they consciously send their children to school for a better future." (Thiva, school A)*

> *"Over the years, we see that Roma parents who were previously students at our school regularly come to check on their children and ask about grades. They are generally cooperative." (Zefiri, school B)*

Interview evidence also indicates that the presence of a social worker provided by the municipality also plays a critical role in facilitating contact between Roma parents and school administrators.

> *"It has saved us that we have a social worker at the school. It has literally saved us. When there are problems with Roma students, their behavior, or their schooling, the social worker contacts the parents. He's got the way and has really done a great job. All of this helps in the school-parent relationship."*

(Zefiri, school B)

"This year we had a social worker at school and she helped us a lot. She contacted Roma parents and informed them about their child. Through her work we saw a greater turnout of parents at school." (Thiva, school B)

In the same vein, some schools organize monthly staff visits to Roma mothers' houses to build trust through discussions on issues related to children and women (i.e. domestic violence).

"We have established a team of teachers to make regular home visits. When we speak with them in their own home, they find it much easier to discuss things than when they are at school because they are more confident in their own environment. Knowing that teachers accept them helps improve Roma women's self-image. We tell them that we don't want anything, just a visit just to make talking easier. But of course they have laid out the best tablecloth and chairs and have made preparations. They consider it a great honor. We do it once a month and go to all areas. We tell them 'we will bring the coffee' because I don't want to overburden them. This is very good because we gain their confidence to send their children to school." (Aspropirgos, school B)

Another dimension of contact between Roma parents and school administrators are Parents' Associations. Although Parents' Associations are found in most Greek-majority schools, Parents' Associations are absent from all Roma majority schools in our sample except Agia Varvara school B. Roma parents generally do not participate in Parents' Associations, even when they are invited by Greek parents (Chalandri school B). However, there are some notable exceptions: in Megara school B, where a Roma mother is a member of the Parents' Association, but the principal described her role as passive. In Agia Varvara schools A and B, Roma parents vote in Parents' Association elections. In Aspropirgos school B there is no Parents' Association, but two Roma parents contribute by helping prepare students for sporting events.

"In the Parents' Association we had a Roma mother who was involved, but she did not have an active role." (Megara, school B)

"The Parents' Association puts on traditional dances. The Parents' Association also works with a theatrical group, which is made up of parents who happen to be actors, to stage plays for adults and students. Roma students participate in all of these activities at similar rates as Greek students. Unfortunately, we don't have any Roma parents in the theater group." (Agia Varvara, school B)

"There are no Roma parents in the Parents' Association. We would love to have them. They vote in the elections but do not run for positions on the board." (Agia Varvara, school B)

"We do not have a Parents' Association. However, this year I had two Roma parents help me prepare the students for a football match with other schools in the city. We took third place and got the cup for good sportsmanship." (Aspropirgos, school B)

The lack of Parents' Associations in Roma majority schools, when coupled with low Roma participation in Parents' Associations in Greek majority schools, suggests that Roma parents may be unfamiliar with this type of engagement due to lack of adequate

social integration. Moreover, the lack of Roma participation in Parents' Associations in Greek majority schools may also be caused by Greek prejudice against the Roma that hinders collaboration.

> *"The Parents' Association is not Roma. This is not because other parents didn't vote for them but because Roma parents do not appreciate the school. And when I say they do not appreciate the school, I mean that they do not appreciate the importance of school. They do not understand their obligation, they do not understand anything about school." (Agia Varvara, school A)*

> *"It's not part of their culture. You know during my postgraduate degree, I worked a lot on the subject. The school system does not fit Roma habits or culture. They consider it a foreign system." (Agia Varvara, school A)*

In school settings, relationships between Greek and Roma parents were described as perfunctory. Interactions between Roma and Greek parents were non-existent outside of the school context. The lack of interactions stems from Greek stereotypes against the Roma, Roma stereotypes against Greeks, cultural differences, and the fact that some schools have no Greek students.

> *"There is a gap, a wall. There are no social relations between Roma and Greek families. At school they only exchange pleasantries." (Megara, school B)*

> *"Parents do not have meaningful, friendly relationships. They just get along and accept their children's friends, but that is it." (Agia Varvara, school A)*

> *"They avoid dating each other." (Aspropirgos, school A)*

> *"No, I haven't noticed any relationships between Greek and Roma parents. Not even when they are waiting for their kids outside school. I'm trying to remember but no, I haven't seen any conversations. Nothing like that. I don't think there are any relationships." (Chalandri, school A)*

> *"There are stereotypes. I have heard three Greek parents saying a slur against the Roma, a word that is inappropriate both for the level of the parent who is supposed to be educated but also for our time." (Chalandri, school A)*

> *"Parents of Roma children do not want contact with non-Roma parents, even if their children are friends." (Megara, school A)*

There are several notable exceptions. In Aspropirgos school B, Greek parents were willing to testify on behalf of their Roma neighbors in court, and Roma shop in Greek-owned stores located in their neighborhood. In Agia Varvara school B, Greek and Roma parents collaborate to implement school activities. In Agia Varvara school A, Roma and Greek parents invite both Roma and Greek students to birthday parties. However, even in those schools, principals stated that relations between the Roma and Greek parents could improve. Generally, there are no cases of hostility observed between Roma and Greek families despite cultural differences and stigmas held by both groups.

> *"There are relationships. Roma parents go to a mini-market owned by a Greek lady. They have a good relationship with their neighbors; that is to say that if Roma need to go to court, their Greek neighbors will testify on their behalf.*

However, some do not have good relationships because they don't follow the rules of conduct." (Aspropirgos, school A)

"Although Roma and Greek families have harmonious relationships, we would like to see them hang out together or visit each other at home." (Agia Varvara, school B)

Principals' description of interactions between Roma and Greek students during school were mixed. While the principal of Aspropirgos school B reported a few fights and the principal of Aspropirgos school A reported intense episodes of violence, no other principal reported hostility between Roma and Greek students.

"While Greek and Roma students do hang out on a regular basis, sometimes there are fights." (Aspropirgos, school B)

"There is hatred. That is to say, Greek students will sometimes deliberately cause trouble with Roma students." (Aspropirgos, school A)

"The students in our school are not segregated. Roma children participate in school activities normally. We do not have racist behavior." (Zefiri, school A)

"I want to tell you that there has never been an incident of racism reported at school. However, disagreements can happen between any child. They happen but are not characterized as racist." (Agia Varvara, school A)

However, in four schools where less than 50% of the student body is Roma, principals reported cases of self-segregation, with Roma and Greek students primarily socializing amongst themselves (Megara school A, Chalandri schools A and B, Thiva school A). Reasons for self-segregation include Roma parents passing stereotypes against Greeks to their children, Roma students feeling more comfortable amongst themselves; and low school attendance rates that stymie the integration of Roma students.

"The Roma students themselves, probably because they receive commands from home, do not want to mix with other students. They keep their distance. Most importantly, Roma students talk to each other in their own dialect at school and flatly refuse to learn another language. Whenever we tell them to play together, they do – it is the parents themselves that force them to not associate with others." (Megara, school B)

"Yes, Greek and Roma students hang out with each other and treat each other acceptably. The Greek students approach me to say so, but what I see is that the Roma students themselves prefer not to hang out with the Greek students. Often they play alone." (Chalandri, school A)

"Children separate themselves into groups. I think Roma students feel more comfortable with each other. It's like when Greek students study abroad, they feel more comfortable making friends with other Greek students. That's what I believe." (Thiva, school A)

"There are some Roma children who do not regularly receive schooling because of poor attendance. The other students are not familiar with them and have not developed a bond with them because of their absence, not because they are racist." (Agia Varvara, school A)

Principals reported few instances of interactions between Roma and Greek students outside of school. Most of these instances involved Greek and Roma boys playing football informally amongst themselves (Megara school B, Chalandri school B) or attending formal football classes (Thiva school B). Other than that, only the principals in Agia Varvara schools A and B (the area with the highest Roma socioeconomic status and social integration) reported that Greek and Roma students invited each other to birthday parties.

> *"Yes, Roma and Greek students have good relationships at school but they do not visit each other in their homes. Of course, they will play football in the square together. And older children also attend classes to play football. But it is mostly the boys that interact outside of school – we do not see girls interacting." (Megara, school B)*

> *"The boys mostly play on the field. We have a field here and both Roma and Greek students go and play together." (Chalandri, school B)*

> *"Roma and Greek children are very familiar with each other. There is no segregation at their parties or at their events." (Agia Varvara, school A)*

> *"It goes without saying that when there is a birthday party, Roma students invite all children and vice versa." (Agia Varvara, school B)*

In five schools, principals reported that there were tensions among Roma students due to racial/tribal differences or family-instigated violence (Aspropirgos school B, Zefiri school B, Megara school A, Thiva schools A and B). Intra-Roma violence poses integration challenges for school administrators because certain Roma students avoid interacting with other Roma students of different tribal backgrounds and frequently fight each other. Additionally, principals emphasized that violence is a cultural norm for Roma.

> *"When Roma parents quarrel, of course, it transfers to their children. For example, if Roma children's parents have fought, they are forbidden to communicate or exchange messages." (Aspropirgos, school B)*

> *"Our biggest problem is the tensions between the Roma themselves. Roma children do not hang out with each other. They are divided into factions. This is the same with their parents. This is from the parents." (Zefiri, school B)*

> *"The Roma themselves are not a race. In Megara alone we have seven different Roma tribes with very serious differences between them. They are enemies and do not want to get involved with each other. They hurt and fight each other." (Megara, school A)*

> Extracurricular Activities and Roma Participation

Three groups organize extracurricular activities, including Parents' Associations, school administrators, and municipality governments. The Parents' Associations and municipalities organize evening programs in schools, while the school organizes in-school programs and sometimes evening activities. In-school activities occur during school hours and on school premises. Evening activities refer to programs that occur outside school hours and may or may not occur on school premises.

The six schools that have Parents' Associations organize evening activities for students,

including literature workshops, folk dancing, theater, and robotics (Zefiri school A, Agia Varvara schools A and B, Megara school B, Chalandri schools A and B). Although Megara schools A and B and Agia Varvara school A have Parents' Associations, the municipality organizes extracurricular activities. Participants have to pay a small fee to participate in these programs, but school administrators usually cover or heavily subsidize the cost for children in need. Majority Roma schools do not have a Parents' Association (except Agia Varvara school B).

Across all schools with Parents' Associations, Roma student participation in Parents' Association-organized evening activities is considered close to zero. A principal in Chalandri suggested that low Roma participation may be due to scholarships offered to Roma students by the municipality for attending evening classes elsewhere. The situation is not the same for Agia Varvara school B, where Roma student participation is relatively high due to their higher socioeconomic status as well as higher than usual levels of Roma integration in the local community.

> *"No, unfortunately Roma students were not interested in these activities." (Zefiri, school A)*

> *"The Parents' Association constantly reaches out to us because it's doing so many events. For example, for sixth grade students, the Parents' Association organizes activities like plays, traditional dances, and aikido. However, no Roma child ever participates." (Chalandri, school B)*

> *"The Parents' Association does a lot of activities for the kids in the afternoon. They do plays, traditional dances, robotics, and more. But the Roma do not participate." (Chalandri, school A)*

> *"The municipality helps the Roma a lot by giving them scholarships to attend football classes, English classes, and tutoring classes." (Chalandri, school A)*

> *"I think because the Roma receive scholarships from the municipality they do not participate in after school activities organized by the Parents' Association. We as a school always have an amount to cover students who cannot participate in excursions." (Chalandri, school A)*

> *"The Roma at our school are in a different financial situation. They have money and they are more integrated relative to other areas. School administrators also treat them differently." (Agia Varvara, school B)*

The municipal governments also organize evening activities like chess, theater, and sporting events in three schools (Agia Varvara school A, Megara schools A and B). Roma student participation in these activities varies by school. For example, while there is no Roma student participation in municipality-organized activities in Megara schools A or B, Roma students enthusiastically participate in Agia Varvara school A's evening activities. Although both schools in Megara offer financial support for student participation, Roma participation remains close to zero because of different cultural norms, the distance they live from the school, and the fact that Roma are socially isolated because they reside in the settlement. At Agia Varvara, we assume that students' higher socioeconomic status as well as higher Roma social integration in the local community boosts Roma student participation.

> *"The municipality offers extracurricular activities in all schools in Megara. Roma students stay away from these activities. Because of the divide that has been made by the directorate, many Roma students go to schools far*

away from their neighborhood. Because of the distance Roma children will not come to activities in the afternoon." (Megara, school A)

"It's the culture of these people, not whether they have the money. We always cover the costs for these students to participate in these activities, but these people are in their own world. They live in their village and do their own thing. And coming to school in the morning is a lot for them. They will not come back in the afternoon. And even though we insist and try and tell Roma parents to bring their kids in the afternoon, there is no response." (Megara, school B)

"The municipality provides dance, basketball, and volleyball activities for the students. Roma children normally participate in these activities. They are integrated into the school. And they really want to get involved too." (Agia Varvara, school A)

Additionally, school staff organize activities both during and after school hours. There are differences in the variety and number of activities offered by schools depending on the school principal, namely their years of experience with Roma students and the extent of their dedication to their students.

"The school organizes activities like sporting events. We also have a very good choir. These are done within the school curriculum with the participation of all students. Such things help our students develop good relationships. Things go smoothly for us through our school curriculum without doing anything special for the Roma. In this case it would be weird because they would understand that we are doing something special for them. We do not stress differences between student because that would lead them to separate." (Megara, school B)

"We do a lot of things for our students. We arrange programs for the environment, healthy eating, recycling, and excursions. The Roma who come to school are involved in all of these activities." (Thiva, school A)

"Outside of school hours there are extracurricular activities like educational visits, tree planting, and picking up garbage which build on the class they had taken about the environment. Activities we offer vary by year." (Thiva, school B)

"We arrange field trips for students as well as various other activities." (Aspropirgos, school B)

"We stopped organizing field trips because there is no participation. They pay and they do not come." (Aspropirgos, school A)

Some Roma majority schools offer in-school and evening extracurricular activities aimed at integrating Roma students. For example, Thiva school B offers personal hygiene and social skills programs for its students.

"We primarily deal with hygiene and social behavior issues; we have to start from zero and teach the students." (Thiva, school B)

The administrators in Agia Varvara schools A and B and Aspropirgos school B have also established several initiatives that aim specifically at Roma integration. These initiatives include transition programs from kindergarten to elementary school and from elementary to high school, programs in which Roma and non-Roma sixth-grade students mentor each other, journalism programs where students interview neighborhood residents, and an environmental research program with Roma and non-Roma students. There is a strikingly high Roma student participation in these activities.

> *"For Roma and Greek students it is a life-changing experience what we do with football. For the first time, especially when the little ones go on the lawn, they go crazy because all are in one group." (Aspropirgos, school B)*

> *"This school has done a lot of integration programs like transition programs from kindergarten to elementary school, transition programs from elementary school to high school, and mentorship programs for sixth grade kids. In this program we don't put the Roma with the Roma and the Greeks with the Greeks. The opposite. We mix them." (Agia Varvara, school B)*

> *"Our mentorship program is an excellent way of tackling school violence." (Agia Varvara, school B)*

> *"We have implemented the 'little journalists' program with the aim of getting the kids out to reflect but also to see the wider society. Similarly, we want to show society that Roma students are nothing but intelligent, dynamic children." (Agia Varvara, school B)*

In Roma majority schools like Aspropirgos school A and Zefiri school B, school administrators did not implement any specific integration activities for Roma students. In Aspropirgos school A, this may be due to the principal's lack of experience in Roma schools (two years). In Zefiri school B, administrators arranged evening swimming lessons for Roma students, but discontinued the classes due to low attendance.

> *"We took the initiative as a school and arranged swimming lessons. The parents paid a low, 'symbolic' amount of money for the class. The children liked it very much. Unfortunately, we had to stop offering the lessons because the students were not coming." (Zefiri, school B)*

Additionally, the Ministry of Education provides academic support classes in most schools that are compulsory for under-performing students, the majority of whom are Roma. These classes decrease the academic gaps between Roma and Greek students. In cases of regular school attendance, academic performance and extracurricular participation in Roma students' in-school activities was similar to Greek students' participation.

> *"We put many Roma students in the reception class, which helps the students make-up their academic gaps. It's not a problem for our school." (Agia Varvara, school A)*

> *"As a school, we are trying to support Roma children through supportive teaching. The results are very good. They read, they write." (Megara, school B)*

Roma Student Attendance

The Greek government offers financial incentives to Roma families for every child that attends schools. While this has slightly increased attendance rates, all schools report high rates of dropouts and lower attendance among Roma students, particularly among older Roma children. Some schools had higher Roma dropout rates than others, such as in Thiva school B. This school's Roma students face social problems, extreme poverty, and social isolation.

> *"Roma girls stop coming to school because they get married at a very young age. And that's a problem because girls don't want to go to high school. They generally want to stay at home." (Thiva, school B)*

> *"We have never sent a little girl to high school, they never let her go to high school. From our area no Roma girl has ever gone to high school, they don't want to go. And most often in sixth grade, they start to attend part-time and then stop. That's the boys too." (Aspropirgos school B)*

> *"In recent years, Roma parents receive benefits from the government when their children go to school. So we see more Roma children coming to school." (Megara, school A)*

> *"The big problem with our own Roma students is their lack of attendance. They give various excuses like 'we went on a vacation.' The most frequent excuse is 'we went on a trip and had nowhere to leave the kids.'" (Megara, school B)*

> *"After Christmas, Roma students are frequently absent from school. They may come some days in the week for a month or two and then they don't come at all. The answers we get from the kids themselves are that 'we had to go to a feast' or 'we are bored of coming,' and they are not being pressured by their parents. School is not in their culture." (Chalandri, school A)*

> *"Roughly 30% of Roma students attend school part time. This is observed throughout the classroom." (Aspropirgos, school A)*

> *"Two kids stopped coming because they got married." (Agia Varvara, school B)*

In addition to government incentives, there were several initiatives in schools that seemed to encourage Roma attendance. In schools where Roma socioeconomic status is very low, provision of basic supplies by the school seemed to motivate attendance (e.g. Thiva school B). In Agia Varvara school B, an educator personally reaches out to Roma parents whose children do not attend school regularly. The same initiative is implemented by Megara school B and Zefiri school B. In Agia Varvara school A, the University of Athens provides social mediators who encourage attendance. In Chalandri schools A and B, social workers from the municipality do the same.

> *"When Roma students know we are going to give gifts, they come. On holidays. When we have food. There must be such incentives to increase school attendance." (Thiva, school B)*

"I consider it a success when 15 students come regularly. This was greatly helped by the municipal social worker from the Special Roma Service who went to the settlement every day and monitored the situation." (Chalandri, school B)

"Having a mediator was very important. The mediator goes door to door and asks what happened when a child does not show up. However, we still had school dropouts and many absences." (Agia Varvara, school A)

"Once the children are enrolled in school, they come for two or three months and then they stop." (Megara, school A)

Principals stated that the main reason for Roma student dropouts and lower rates of school attendance are cultural differences. Generally, Roma culture does not prioritize school because it interferes with their norms and customs. For example, Roma travel frequently, tend to marry at a young age, hold long celebratory feasts for their marriages, sleep until late hours, and children help their parents at work. In schools where Roma are a minority, they feel ostracized and often self-isolate.

"School attendance is influenced by seasons and events. They will not come because they have a funeral or a wedding. Police may raid the settlement or parents may use their children as laborers in their business, increasing dropout rates." (Thiva, school B)

"It's a matter of culture. We have done everything to encourage them to attend. They have different perceptions, live differently, and cannot follow the rules of the school. For example, they do not arrive on time in the morning. They wake up slowly. If a wedding or funeral takes place, the children will sleep until late. Then there are the marriages. Boys and girls stop school because they get married. Especially in the older classes. Many also are absent because they work with their parents." (Zefiri, school B)

"Roma students who are at a low socioeconomic level come to school just to get a certificate of social solidarity allowance and then go away. After their children are enrolled, they come two, three months in the beginning and then are gone." (Megara, school B)

Principals reported that low attendance hinders Roma integration as it depresses their academic performance, reduces their socialization with non-Roma, and makes them less likely to abide by school rules when they do attend. Students who did not attend school regularly were less likely to integrate socially and tended to self-segregate themselves more than Roma who attended regularly.

"There are some Roma children who do not attend school regularly. The other children are not familiar with them and have not developed a bond or relationship with them." (Agia Varvara, school B)

"We see changes in Roma children attending school often. They learn the rules of the school and are in a better state than those that do not." (Thiva, school B)

"There are Roma children with abilities but they must frequently attend. They progress in the courses when they frequently attend." (Thiva, school B)

However, there are some Roma parents who prioritize their children's education. These examples were largely in schools in middle-income areas.

> *"Those who come to school regularly are very interested. These parents want their children to learn letters. Although they cannot help at home because they themselves are illiterate. The results on the daily basis are very good. They can read and write." (Megara, school B)*

> *"The Roma who come here are economically well off. I believe that their parents also want their children to be educated." (Zefiri, school A)*

> *"The few Roma who come have parents who are better off financially. I don't know what they are doing but they are better off than others. And they send their children consciously. For a better future." (Thiva, school A)*

Table V.2. summarizes various additional measures of interactions between ethnic-Greek and Roma parents and students.

Table V.2: Additional Measures of Greek-Roma Interactions

School Name	Region	Roma Student Attendance Rates	Roma Student Drop-Out Rates	Roma Participation in Extracurriculars	Roma Parent Interactions with School Staff
Settlements Only					
School A	Thiva	Very Low	High		Very Low
School B	Thiva	Very Low	High	Very Low	Very Low
School A	Chalandri	Low	High	Very Low	Very Low
School B	Chalandri	Low	Low	Very Low	Very Low
Settlements and Neighborhoods					
School A	Zefiri	Very Low	High	Very Low	High
School B	Zefiri	Very Low	High	Very Low	Low
School A	Megara	Very Low		Very Low	Low
School B	Megara	Very Low	High	Very Low	Low
School A	Aspropirgos	Very Low	High	Very Low	Very Low
School B	Aspropirgos			High	High
Neighborhoods Only					
School A	Agia Varvara	Medium	Low	High	High
School B	Agia Varvara	High	Very Low	High	High

Prejudice and Stereotypes against the Roma

We found that several negative stereotypes against the Roma are present across all communities. First, seven principals stated that either they or Greek parents believe that Roma do not care about school (Zefiri schools A and B, Agia Varvara school A, Megara

schools A and B, Thiva school B, Chalandri school A). Similarly, in five schools, principals reported that ethnic Greek parents refuse to send their children to their schools because of the substantial portion of the student body that is Roma (Aspropirgos school B, Zefiri school B, Agia Varvara school B, Megara school B, Thiva school B).

In cases where Greeks live in the same neighborhood as the Roma, they do not send their children to nearby schools because they believe that their children's learning will be adversely affected. This attitude leads to the downgrading of schools located near Roma neighborhoods and the high concentration of Roma students in specific schools, where Roma student percentages can be at or near 100% (Zefiri school B, Aspropirgos school B, Thiva school B). For example, many Greek parents living nearby Megara school B—which is located near a Roma settlement and has a higher percentage of Roma students—refuse to send their children there. In Thiva, Greek parents refused to accept the redistribution of Roma students—currently concentrated in one school—to the other primary schools in the area. Similarly, although Aspropirgos school B received awards for their educational and extracurricular programs, Greek parents still refuse to enroll their children because they fear their performance will suffer. Even in Agia Varvara, where Roma have the highest socioeconomic status and social integration, a few parents refused to send their children to school B, as it is located in the neighborhood with the largest Roma population.

> *"Parents don't want to bring their children here because the students are Roma. We have suggested that pupils be dispersed in all schools. Now we are in this phase, we will see. There are negative reactions from residents and parents in other schools." (Thiva, school B)*

> *"The Greek parents do not want to send their children here, even though they know we do a good job because we get many awards and implement many programs for students. They are afraid their children will be left behind in learning because children Roma show problems." (Aspropirgos, school B)*

> *"I'll tell you the dark truth about our school. The neighborhood itself has downgraded the school. That is, the Greeks of the neighborhood. It has been rumored that there are many Roma children in school; many do not want to send their children to this school. And they find ways of sending their children to other schools in the area." (Megara, school B)*

> *"And I am not hiding that four to five Greek parents a year try and take their children to another school that has no Roma. However, our school has done an incredible job and most parents in the neighborhood are sending their children here." (Agia Varvara, school B)*

Additionally, five principals stated that Roma parents believe integration implies a loss of cultural heritage (Aspropirgos schools A and B; Megara schools A and B; Chalandri school A). Principals also reported that Roma parents prohibit their children from mixing with Greek students or with Roma students from different ethnic tribes (Megara school B).

A related stereotype is that Roma parents do not value school and attendance. High rates of Roma student dropouts and low attendance are observed in all schools regardless of the percentage of students that are Roma, their socioeconomic status, or region. These problems are more prominent in older Roma children and Roma girls, mainly due to their marrying at younger ages. To wit, three principals reported that the Roma refuse to follow school rules due to cultural differences (Agia Varvara school A, Megara schools A and B). Five principals stated that Roma are afraid they will lose their cultural identity if they integrate (Aspropirgos schools A and B, Megara schools A and B, Chalandri school A).

"Roma see schools as an invasion of their culture. They do not accept the institution because they believe it will offend their own stereotypes, their own family values, the hierarchy within the family." (Aspropirgos, school A)

Third, eight principals stated that ethnic Greeks blame the Roma for crime and violence in the local community (Aspropirgos school A, Zefiri schools A and B, Agia Varvara schools A and B, Megara school B, Thiva schools A and B). Similarly, four principals stated that violence is considered normal in Roma families (Aspropirgos schools A and B, Megara school A, Thiva school A). In Aspropirgos schools A and B, many Greek families living in the neighborhood had to sell their homes and move to different areas because of robberies, shootings, drug dealing, and other delinquent acts committed by Roma. Parents in both schools in Thiva stated that Roma robbed residents by stopping cars at a hub of the city. In Megara, a shooting in the Roma settlement lasted for a whole day. In Zefiri, Roma are associated with illegal drug trading. In Agia Varvara, Roma are associated with stealing and dealing drugs (Agia Varvara school A).

"Well, as the day goes on there are a lot of... shootings, thefts, petty thefts, drug-dealing, and minors are involved in thefts. High rates of delinquency, very high... The stereotype is reality." (Aspropirgos, school A)

"And the school has been robbed multiple times. We come in the morning and find the offices looted. They steal petroleum and much more." (Aspropirgos, school A)

"There is a bridge here where Roma are throwing rocks, stopping cars, stealing them, hitting the passengers. Because of this happening on the bridge the residents are very negative. They are very negative towards the Roma because they have seen many thefts and attacks. They are scared." (Thiva, school B)

"Around spring last year, shootings had begun down in the settlement. And they were shooting all night and day into the walls, into the soil, into the air. We had to put the kids in because you don't know what is going on, the settlement is next to the road. We called the police, they told us they were patrolling but could do nothing." (Megara, school B)

"There are stereotypes. Clearly there are. Rumors in the area are that Roma are involved in illegal trade [drugs are implied]." (Zefiri, school, B)

There were several other negative Roma stereotypes that were mentioned in several, but not all, schools. For example, principals from Aspropirgos school B and Megara school A reported that many ethnic Greeks were frustrated that Roma receive extensive social benefits, while Greeks receive none. These principals noted that Greeks felt it was unjust and unfair that Roma parents receive social services and incentives to send their children to school, but ethnic Greeks are not given the same resources. During the economic recession in Greece, there were large cuts in social welfare and the living standards of many Greeks changed dramatically.

"There is widespread discontent because the Greeks have become poor and the government does not support them, while the Roma receive a lot. This creates tension." (Aspropirgos, school B)

"The Roma are not attending school and no one is telling them that this is wrong. Instead, they give the Roma a bonus. So is it fair that the legislation for the Greeks divided into Roma and non-Roma?" (Megara school A)

Several principals also reported that many ethnic Greeks felt that Roma culture and lifestyle are antithetical to Greek culture. In Zefiri school B and Agia Varvara school B, the principals noted that Roma living in the neighborhood did not respect official quiet times and overreact to common occurrences. Additionally, their culture and customs include time-intensive and boisterous events, such as multi-day weddings and loud music that "annoy" their Greek neighbors.

> *"There are no relationships. The Greeks have a problem because the Roma are making a lot of noise. They make music very loud, when they have weddings, the celebrations last for three days. All this makes the situation worse." (Zefiri, school B)*

> *"They exaggerate all negatives. If the baby is sick, then they believe the baby will die. It's true the Roma exaggerate." (Agia Varvara, school B)*

> *"Roma are racist towards the Greeks. That is, they have developed what is scientifically referred to as reverse racism. They feel that as they come closer to the wider society their cultural identity will be altered." (Aspropirgos, school B)*

Additionally, these stereotypes seemed to influence local government policy. In Aspropirgos schools A and B, the principals reported that the mayor is explicitly anti-Roma.

> *"Let's go to the local government, which affects us and the whole local community. The mayor publicly calls Roma 'the gypsies' and he doesn't want to hear you talk about the Roma being a vulnerable social group." (Aspropirgos, school B)*

Several school principals did provide examples of positive Greek-Roma interactions that counter these stereotypes. For example, in some schools in urban areas (Agia Varvara, schools A and B; Zefiri school B), there are Roma students pursuing higher education in universities.

> *"We have a student of ours who is really a role model. He finished high school and went to university." (Zefiri, school B)*

> *"Right now, I have a Roma student at university and I'm very proud of her. Another Roma student of ours participated in university research. I have such children in the neighborhood." (Agia Varvara, school A)*

> *"The local community should understand that only by educating the Roma will their living standards change and integration into society become possible. Now they live on the edge of town excluded by their own culture." (Megara school B)*

Moreover, at Aspropirgos school B and Agia Varvara school A, the principals mentioned that a young Roma man became a taxi driver and a Roma ex-student returned to school with a lost mobile phone, respectively.

> *"Some have advanced and are a role model for others. I have a student who used to say 'I don't want to live with the benefits, I want a job.' And he graduated from a second chance school and now he's a taxi driver." (Aspropirgos, school B)*

"Another stereotype is that Roma are thieves, generally violators. I'll give you an example though. After the parade on October 28, a 20-year-old Roma man knocks on the door, tells me 'I found this mobile after the parade', an expensive mobile phone more then 600, 700 euros." (Agia Varvara, school B)

Funding Sources and Services for Roma Students

To assess levels of generosity across these six communities, we asked principals to report their school's sources of funding. We find that the vast majority of additional support to needy schools with large Roma student populations does not come from local fundraising efforts, or from Roma-specific NGOs, but instead from national and international governmental and non-governmental organizations with broad aims. Additionally, despite low levels of intergroup contact, ethnic Greeks that live near informal Roma communities make in-kind donations to Roma-majority schools due to objective evaluations of need. This indicates that broad-based appeals made to geographically broad audiences may be most effective in raising funds for stigmatized groups. A focus on need-based appeals may be similarly effective.

Almost all schools in the sample received financial aid from the EU and the Greek government. In our sample, several Greek municipal governments provide social services specifically for the Roma, including community centers that have Roma-specific medical, social, legal, and employability programs aimed at integrating them into the wider community. These centers are funded by the European Structural Fund (ESPA). However, discrepancies exist among different municipalities regarding the quality and type of services provided. They do not seem to be based on location type (urban, urban-periphery, rural), socioeconomic status of the Roma student body or on the number of Roma students in schools. For example, in Aspropirgos, it is only mentioned that the Community Center offers a referral system for social services in schools. In Zefiri, the municipal government aids in bureaucratic issues but not in social and employment services. On the other hand, in both schools in Megara and Thiva, the Municipality Center offers "health services, vaccinations, social benefits, legal issues, and social support." The Municipality Center also connects Roma to employment centers, in addition to the referral system. Based on the principals' testimony, lack of variety in service provision in Aspropirgos is due to anti-Roma stance of the Mayor and the wider society.

"The municipality has a Community Center with specific social programs for Roma families. Roma are able to access health services and legal support. Most are illiterate so this service helps them a lot." (Megara, school B)

"The municipality's Community Center provides the Roma access to a social worker and psychologist. They also receive bureaucratic assistance so they can receive health services among other benefits. The municipality recently had a program and put many parents to work for eight months in cleanliness." (Thiva, school B)

"In our own municipality they are mainly providing Roma with allowances and such. It is not a community center that provides comprehensive services like finding them employment or have easy access to a social worker. Other municipalities use the funds differently." (Zefiri, school B)

"Other Municipalities have implemented social programming and hire Roma in the municipality. I tell them to implement it here too, but no one wants Roma in the area." (Aspropirgos, school B)

In school B in Chalandri, the principal mentioned that the municipality provides scholarships for Roma students to participate in extracurricular classes like football.

"The municipality helps the Roma a lot. It gives scholarships to participate in football, English, and tutorial classes. It helps them a lot." (Chalandri school A)

Additionally, the European Social Fund provided financial support to the University of Athens to implement an evening arts and crafts and learning support program for Roma students as well as a Greek language class for Roma parents in Aspropirgos school A and in Zefiri school B. However, these programs were discontinued in both schools due to low participation.

"We are working with the University of Athens. They also implement a program of supportive teaching for children, afternoon at school and learning Greek and counseling for moms. Both began to materialize but attendance was insufficient. They weren't coming. That's how they stopped." (Zefiri, school B)

"Yes, we tried to do something after school in collaboration with the University of Athens but there was a problem with the participation of the children. That is, we had to keep them here for another two hours to do a program but we could not finally have the opportunity for the parents to wait for their children to arrive a little later." (Aspropirgos, school A)

Two schools are participating in EU funded programs (Erasmus), to expand their extracurricular activities and promote social integration of Roma students. These programs are voluntary and pursued by an active and dedicated principals. The percentage of Roma is high in both schools. Moreover, they are located in urban periphery and urban areas (Aspropirgos school B; Agia Varvara school A) and Roma have either very low or high socioeconomic status, respectively.

"The Erasmus program allows students to communicate with schools abroad through skype and mail. We send them things and they send us things. The English teacher did it with a school in Turkey. The students spoke in English, sang songs, and presented things. We celebrated after the program – it was an excellent job. Our students also received the second prize in the Nationwide Competition of French Culture held by the French Institute. Our students learned about French culture like clothes and created a play." (Aspropirgos, school B)

"We have done extracurricular activities and traveled outside of Greece through the Erasmus programs. We also had students publish their own books – at home, the students conduct a study of the public services in the neighborhood. We have been doing this for 3 or 4 years and have received awards. It is a program that divides children into mixed groups, Roma and non-Roma. Our aim is to bring these children into the wider community and set an example, to act educatively for the whole of society." (Agia Varvara, school B

In addition to municipal services and EU funds, the Ministry of Education administers government-funded programs in schools. The Ministry provides educators in most schools with academic support classes. These classes are taught during school hours, on school grounds, and are compulsory for under-performing students. Although these classes are for all students, the majority of those enrolled are Roma, which highlights the academic gaps between Roma and Greek students. Implementation of this program is found in all regions and in schools with students of varying socioeconomic statuses and ethnicity.

"We have an inclusion class which means that students who are behind the other children are receiving academic support. Of course, Roma students also participate in this class. I would say many Roma students." (Megara, school A)

"Yes, we have and integration class. It is essential for our school. Many children need additional academic support." (Thiva, school B)

"Of course we have an integration class and it does a great job. It helps a lot for these children to improve in school." (Agia Varvara, school B)

The Ministry of Education also provides social workers to certain schools to mediate communication between school staff and parents whose students have behavioral difficulties. Similar to academic support programs, social worker services are heavily used by Roma families. Several principals reported that, because beating each other is considered a joke in Roma culture but is intolerable in a school setting, social workers may intervene to prevent this type of behavior in schools. Implementation of this program seems to depend on the number of Roma students present in schools, regardless of region type or Roma student socioeconomic status. Schools with higher percentages of Roma Students have a social worker present on school grounds. Schools with a lower percentage of Roma students provide social workers through a Municipality referral system. The higher use of Roma for social workers may indicate a lack of integration/cultural rift between Roma and Greek cultures.

"It has saved us that we have a social worker within the school. It has literally saved us. Where there are behavioral problems, the social worker contacts the parents. He's really done a great job." (Zefiri, school B)

Certain schools also participate in the Ministry of Labor's school meal program. Specifically, the Ministry of Labor provides meals to all students in participating schools. This program is found in Megara, Aspropirgos, Zefiri, Agia Varvara, and Chalandri. The majority of schools where the program is administered have Roma students whose socioeconomic status ranges from 'Very Low' to 'Low.' It seems that this program targets schools in areas with low socioeconomic status irrespective of the region where the schools are located or the percentage of Roma in the student body.

"The Ministry meal program is very good for our school. It helps a lot of all our students, and everybody is involved in it." (Megara, school B)

"We participate in the Ministry's meal program. And that is good for all students, not only the Roma." (Chalandri, school A)

In terms of funding from NGOs, school principals reported that the vast majority of NGO funding comes from international NGOs. For example, three principals reported that their schools collaborate with the Red Cross, Solidarity Now, the British Council to run extracurricular activities. These activities target the entire student body and not just the Roma. These schools are either Roma majority or minority, but all are in urban areas high (Agia Varvara schools A and B, Zefiri school A). Private foundations, including the Open Society Foundation, also contribute to these efforts, and are politically progressive and seek to alleviate Roma poverty and inequality in Europe (Open Society Foundation 2011). The only local Greek NGO providing these schools funding and programmatic support was Prolepsis, which does not explicitly focus on the Roma, but all low income communities in Greece. We expect that these international, non-governmental funding sources sustain the programming of Roma-majority schools in Greece.

"This year we did a pilot project with the British Council and Solidarity Now to put on a play with students in the fifth and sixth grades in English." (Agia Varvara, school B)

"We are open to partnerships with other agencies. For example, this year we conducted a first aid seminar with the Red Cross for sixth-grade students."(Zefiri, school A)

Less funding comes from community members, like churches and individual donors. However, in some schools, churches and community members provide basic necessities such as meals, clothing, school equipment, and footwear. The contribution of churches only takes place in two schools (Megara school B and Thiva school B), that are located in non-urban areas with a large number of Roma students that have a very low or low socioeconomic status.

"We take care of our students. We have programs and partnerships with bodies and individuals and the church. We find them shoes, clothes, school supplies." (Thiva, school B)

"The church helps them a lot. They provide groceries, medicine, and tutoring that some students go to." (Megara, school B)

Individual donors are ethnic Greek and live either in the same area as the school or elsewhere. They provide aid in three schools that have a large percentage of Roma students and are near informal Roma settlements (Zefiri school B, Aspropirgos school B, Thiva, school B). Donations are collected through different means: one school relies on the principal's connections to reach out to donors, while one school's educators inform their friends about student needs and encourage them to donate. Given that these donations provide students with necessities, one principal observed that they were motivating students to attend school. Private donations or church assistance seem to be absent from schools with a low percentage of Roma students or schools with a Roma student body that has middle-high socioeconomic status (Aspropirgos, school A). The school community provides financial assistance to cover the cost of extracurricular activities for students in need. Two schools mentioned this practice (Chalandri, school A and Megara school B), but it is likely that this occurs in other schools because it is a common Greek practice in schools located in areas of low socioeconomic status (this argument comes from the researcher's qualitative experience evaluation of the Diatrofi Program that included focus groups with principals in hundreds of schools throughout Greece over the past eight years).

"We cover everything, food, including clothes and shoes. Every year we make sure students have free bags, pencils, and anything else they need. We are in contact with individuals and organizations that provide such things. We have been involved in it for 6 years." (Aspropirgos, school B)

"Some of the people who support us live here in the area, others do not. But everyone knows that we have Roma students in this school." (Aspropirgos, school B)

"School teachers help us with things like clothes and things when there is a need." (Zefiri, school B)

"When students know we are going to give gifts, they come. On holidays. When we have food. That is, there must be such incentives to increase school attendance." (Thiva, school B)

"We as a school always cover students who cannot participate in excursions and things like that." (Chalandri, school A)

As highlighted by these interviews, the school administrators' main reason for soliciting donations was to provide basic necessities to students in need. The schools that did not receive donations from individual community members varied substantially in terms of their Roma and ethnic Greek students' socioeconomic status. In five of the nine schools that did not receive donations from individuals in the local community, Roma students were overwhelmingly middle class (Agia Varvara schools A and B, Megara school A, Thiva school A, Zefiri school A). In the other four schools that did not receive individual donations, the majority of Roma students had low or very low socioeconomic status (Aspropirgos school A, Megara school B, Chalandri schools A and B). Notably, there were schools in our sample whose student body was majority ethnic Greek and had a low socioeconomic status, but did not receive donations from community members (Zefiri school A).

Although ethnic Greeks' perceptions about the neediness of the Roma may boost their willingness to donate in-kind goods to Roma students, no ethnic Greeks in the local community made a financial donation to Roma-majority schools. It is possible that ethnic Greeks' perceptions about Roma deservingness decreases their willingness to donate money rather than in-kind goods. Indeed, our interview evidence suggests that actual and perceived discrepancies in support and services available for Roma and ethnic Greeks has increased tensions between these two groups. In two schools, principals reported that ethnic Greek parents expressed frustration at the fact that Roma receive aid but they do not, even though they are similarly needy (Aspropirgos school B, Megara school A).

"There is widespread discontent because the Greeks have become poor and the government does not support them. Comparatively, the Roma receive a lot, creating tension." (Aspropirgos school B)

"The Roma have rights and privileges, but the ethnic Greeks do not. There is no support structure for a Greek in need." (Megara school A)

In conclusion, we find that intergroup contact between ethnic Greeks and Roma is very limited, and discouraged by both groups. In addition, ethnic Greeks stereotype the Roma as having low educational and labor force attainment. This suggests that the racial threat response we observe in our experiment is not explained by intergroup competition for economic or social status. We also find that most financial support for impoverished Roma schools comes from national and international governmental and non-governmental sources, rather than from local groups. This lends support for our assertion that broad-based appeals to a diverse geographic pool of donors may be most effective for fundraising for stigmatized groups.

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