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Abstract

This paper draws on the theoretical work of Norbert Elias and Loïc Wacquant in seeking to understand the stigmatized and marginalized position of the Roma population within Europe. The paper argues that the persistent persecution of Roma, reflected in social policy, cannot be understood without reference to *long-term social processes*, which shape the nature of the asymmetric power relations between Roma and non-Roma. Elias's theory of established-outsider relations is applied at the intra-state European level in arguing that Roma constitute a cross-border "outsider" group; with their intense stigmatization explained and perpetuated by a common set of collective fantasies which are maintained through complex group processes of disidentification, and which result in Roma being seen as of lesser human worth. Wacquant's theoretical concept of the "ghetto" is then drawn upon to show how the manifestations of stigmatization for the stigmatized are at once psychological, social and *spatial*. The paper suggests that the synthesis of the two theorists' relational, theoretical concepts allows for an approach that can expose the way in which power is exercised within and through group relations. Such an approach emphasizes the centrality of the interdependence between Roma and non-Roma, and the fluctuating power balance that characterises that relationship across time and space. The paper concludes that, while existing research focused on policy and outcomes is useful in understanding the negative contemporary experiences of Roma populations, they need to be understood in the context of wider social processes and historical continuities in seeking to elucidate how these processes shape policies and contribute to social and spatial marginalization.

Key words: Roma; disidentification; stigmatization; marginalization; ghettoization; social integration; Norbert Elias; Loïc Wacquant.

1. INTRODUCTION

The marginal position of Europe's Roma population has received increasing attention in recent years as anti-Roma sentiment, or "Romaphobia" (van Baar, 2011), has more visibly manifested itself alongside a wider anti-immigration rhetoric across the continent (Guy, 2003). In the context of Eastern Europe attention has focused on the marginalization, segregation and ghettoization of the Roma in the post-communist period (Sigona, 2003; O'Nions, 2010; Berescu, 2011; McGarry, 2012; Van Baar, 2012; Vincze and Rat, 2013; Ryder *et al*., 2014; Cretan, 2015). From a Western European perspective scholars have drawn attention to the xenophobic responses of states, and wider society more generally, in terms of the problematization of Roma mobility (Van Baar, 2011) leading to differential treatment, expulsion, harassment and racism directed at Roma migrants in the period post-EU enlargement (Cahn and Vermeersch, 2003; Picker, 2010; O'Nions, 2011, 2014; van Baar, 2011; Clark and Rice, 2012; Nacu, 2012; Cames, 2013). Furthermore, since the 1990s the European Union (EU) has engaged in a concerted effort at attempting to address the socio-economic and political exclusion of Roma and facilitate their integration within wider member state societies, though with limited success (see McGarry, 2012; and O'Nions, 2014 on the contradictions between EU law and its application). Thus, EU enlargement and the increased interdependence of east and west have provided an important sub-text for recent research on the marginal position of the Roma community, with many accounts pointing to a link between the two. For instance, focusing on Hungary and Poland, Fox and Vermeersch (2010) argue that 'nationalism has been redefined and at times reinvigorated in the context of EU enlargement' (p.352) as an unintended consequence of the expansion of the Union. They detail how Roma (along with Jewish communities) have been the target of right-wing groups and political parties in Eastern Europe seeking to realise 'old nationalist ambitions' (Fox and Vermeersch, 2010).

Taken together, this body of research has been crucial in highlighting the recent plight of the European Roma. It has provided a significant evidence base on the negative outcomes for Roma and exposed the role of nation-states in contributing to those outcomes. However, the stigmatization and marginalization of Europe's Roma has a very long history characterised by a remarkably persistent continuity in the shape of hostile attitudes towards them, which have manifested at various times in their regulation, persecution, expulsion and extermination (Lucassen *et al.*, 1998; Mayall, 1988; Brearley, 2001; Matras, 2014). The nature of responses and the techniques of governance and control have fluctuated over time alongside wider social processes; with a constant reframing of Roma at the national and EU level in recent years (Sigona and Vermeersch, 2012; Vermeersch, 2012). Yet attitudes in terms of a widespread perception that Roma are collectively inferior, or of lesser human worth, have remained relatively fixed.[i] This suggests that the heightened fears and collective fantasies that have informed the marginalizing responses of states and societies since EU enlargement are but one short phase in a much *longer-term* and *on-going* process. As Guy (2003) notes, popular ignorance alone is not a sufficient explanation for the level of hostility directed towards Roma. In order to develop an understanding of the position of Roma as Europe's perennial "outsiders" (Vermeersch, 2012; Thornton, 2014), then, a longer-term

perspective is required which emphasizes the impact of social processes on the nature of interdependent relations (Elias, 1987a, 1987b, 2000). Such a standpoint has been lacking from recent research on Roma in Europe with some critical scholars advocating a break with the prevalent trend of policy-centric research (see van Baar, 2012). We would also add hodiecentric (or "present-centred") to that critique (Liston, 2012; Rostas and Ryder, 2012). That is, policy-orientated research often involves a 'retreat into the present' (Elias, 1987b) on the part of researchers (and indeed research funders and policy-makers), in terms of their neglect of historical processes in accounting for the weak position of Roma in contemporary Europe. This amounts to a lack of recognition of the fact that 'their often marginal position cannot be explained without taking the [historical] repressive policies into account which heavily contributed to the construction of an ethnically defined minority' (Lucassen *et al.*, 1998, p.13). Furthermore, present-centred and static orientations can only inform of *outcomes* for Roma, but disidentification (De Swaan, 1997; Jenkins, 2004), stigmatization and marginalization are dynamic *processes* shaped by the changing social relations through which they are produced. This suggests the need to explore the complexities of these processes *as well as* their effects and outcomes (Powell, 2008). A further deficiency of the policy-centric approach to Roma research is the relative lack of application of theoretical accounts in seeking to understand the social relations between the Roma population and wider society.

This paper seeks to address these concerns by drawing on the figurational (or process) sociology of Norbert Elias in theorizing the stigmatization of Europe's Roma. The theory of *established-outsider relations* (Elias and Scotson, 1994) is applied at the European level, which emphasizes the persistence of significant power differentials between Roma and non-Roma in explaining their consistent stigma and marginality. Loïc Wacquant's (2004b, 2008a, 2012) comparative theoretical concept of the "ghetto" is then drawn upon to show how the manifestations of stigmatization for the stigmatized are at once psychological (symbolic), social *and spatial*. It is argued that the synthesis of the two theorists' relational, theoretical concepts allows for an approach which can expose the way in which power is exercised within and through group relations. Such an approach emphasizes the centrality of the *social interdependence* between Roma and non-Roma, and the fluctuating power balance that characterises that relationship across time and space - a power perspective which has been lacking from recent research and theorizations. We argue that - through their emphasis on long-term processes, group dynamics and power relations - Elias and Wacquant provide researchers with the theoretical tools to enable understanding of: how and why Roma are so vehemently *stigmatized*; how processes of disidentification and stigmatization are *maintained* over the long-term; and how these processes facilitate and perpetuate their social and spatial *marginalization*.

The remainder of the paper is divided into three parts. Firstly, we set out the theory of established-outsider relations with explicit reference to the context of the European Roma. Through this theoretical lens, Roma can be seen as Europe's perennial "outsiders" with processes of disidentification (De Swaan, 1997), stigmatization and marginalization consistent features of governmental and societal responses to them across both time and space. The utilisation of this theoretical approach also enables the elucidation of the

psychological (individual) and *social* (group level) consequences of stigmatization: the way in which stigmatization is itself a powerful force in shaping the response of Roma and, ultimately, maintaining their weak position (see also Powell, 2008). Secondly, drawing on Wacquant's historically and theoretically informed conceptualisation of the "ghetto", we explore the *spatial* consequences of these long-term processes. This section highlights the relationship between social and spatial processes with disidentification and stigmatization key prerequisites facilitating the ghettoization and segregation of Roma populations. The concluding section points to the potential of a *processual* approach in terms of furthering our understanding of the complex issues surrounding social integration/segregation of Roma within European societies, both historical and contemporary.

2. EUROPE'S "OUTSIDERS": LESSONS FROM NORBERT ELIAS' FIGURATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

This section sets out the theory of established-outsider relations (Elias and Scotson, 1994) and positions Roma as Europe's perennial "outsiders" from the early modern period onwards (see Hancock 2002; Mayall, 2004). In doing so it highlights the historical continuities in terms of the treatment of Roma across Europe and their lowly status in the eyes of municipal and state authorities. An appreciation of these continuities exposes the futility of seeking explanations for the marginal social position of Roma in terms of present, contemporary processes and concerns. Rather, it is posited that acknowledgement of historical precedents is crucial to understanding today's social relations between Roma and non-Roma. We suggest that such an approach can help overcome the unhelpful static binaries characteristic of some research on Roma - such as inclusion/exclusion, integration/segregation, social control/social care etc. - through emphasising the dynamism of social relations (including those pertaining to the state) in a constant state of flux (Elias, 2000, 2001).

The theory of established-outsider relations

The Established and the Outsiders (Elias and Scotson, 1994) was developed from the empirical findings from the study of a small community near Leicester in the UK, given the fictitious name of Winston Parva. The study focuses on the relations between two different but very similar groups living in different zones of a housing estate. Crucially, the two groups showed remarkable similarities based on standard socio-economic indicators of class, ethnicity, nationality, religion and so on, with the principal difference between them being the length of residence on the estate: the longer-term residents were the 'established' and the more recently arrived group the 'outsiders'. The stronger internal social cohesion of the established group enabled their dominance of local access to power resources to the detriment of the outsider group. For Elias, this greater cohesion and the nature of the interdependent relationship between the two groups was key to understanding the systematic stigmatisation of the outsiders. The established had sufficient power resources and internal cohesion to treat the outsiders as *collectively inferior* to their own group; and they felt impelled to do so by the threat to their monopolization of power resources, 'group charisma' and group norms. Elias shows how

the 'group charisma' of the established and the 'group disgrace' of the outsiders are perpetuated and maintained through 'praise-gossip' and 'blame-gossip' which draws on collective fantasies:

> 'an established group tends to attribute to its outsider group as a whole the "bad" characteristics of that group's "worst" section - of its anomic minority. In contrast, the self-image of the established group tends to be modelled on its exemplary, most "nomic" or norm-setting section, on the minority of its "best" members' (Elias, 1994, xix)

Gossip and collective fantasises also enable the maintenance of the social boundary between the two groups with the established able to maintain a taboo on social contact with outsiders. That is, established group members would avoid interaction with outsiders due to fears over 'internal group opinion' and the threat of loss of social standing within their own group. Key to these mechanisms of stigma and exclusion was not any difference between the two groups. Rather, it was the way in which the two were bonded together which endowed one group with significantly more power resources than the other and allowed them to treat the weaker group as inferior. Unpicking the nature of established-outsider relations therefore requires a focus on *group dynamics*:

> 'the ability of one group to pin a badge of human inferiority on another group and to make it stick was a function of the specific figuration which the two groups formed with each other…At present one often fails to distinguish between, and relate to each other, group stigmatisation and individual prejudice. In Winston Parva, as elsewhere, one found members of one group casting a slur on those of another, not because of their qualities as individual people, but because they were members of a group which they considered collectively as different from, and as *inferior* to, their own group' (Elias, 1994, xx - our emphasis)[ii].

It is from this perspective that we can begin to appreciate the collective positioning of Roma as an 'inferior, underserving population with whom nobody wants to mingle' (Vincze and Rat, 2013, p.6). Such attitudes are perpetuated and maintained by collective fantasies about Roma and their ready association with criminality and deviance (O'Nions, 2014): *all* Roma are perceived through the lens of the 'minority of the worst' (Elias and Scotson, 1994) - whether wealthy or poor, ghettoized or not (see Cretan, 2015). Public and media discourse plays a key contributory role in the dissemination and maintenance of collective fantasies and stereotypes focused on Roma. This can 'feed fear and paranoia and exacerbate community conflict' (Richardson, 2014). The enduring persistence of stereotypes informing perceptions is vividly illustrated by the recent media attention given to the totally groundless reports of Roma stealing babies in Greece and Ireland, which led to DNA tests being carried out on the legitimate parents of a blonde Roma child in Ireland (Borev, 2013; Richardson, 2014). It is illuminating that mythical thinking of this nature can have such traction in today's media and popular opinion across Europe. The idea that Roma steal babies needs to be situated within a longer-term, "world-wide narrative" with a life of its own that may never be totally eradicated (Hancock, 1997).

Such widespread and deep-rooted perspectives and stereotypes - alongside a relative lack of internal cohesion and a largely oral history (Okely, 1983; Matras, 2014) - make it extremely difficult for Roma populations, activists and advocates to close ranks and fight back. Indeed, the Roma might even be considered as 'a "people without history" in the narratives of the West', evidenced most vividly in the continuing struggle for Holocaust remembrance (Trumpener, cited in van Baar, 2008, p.374). This situation is further accentuated by a lack of state support with Roma often vilified as vehemently in their countries of origin as they are on migration to the west, which underscores their political vulnerability (Guy, 2003). This gives rise to processes of disidentification *from* Roma and stigmatisation *of* Roma as the stereotypes attached to the group shape social perceptions and inform avoidance behaviour (see below), with the imagined and deviant image of the Roma found wanting when measured against the normative 'minority of the best' of the non-Roma population (Elias and Scotson, 1994). The Gypsy is therefore constructed 'as an abject outsider, not valuable enough to enjoy the protection of the state…as the modern nation-state seeks to protect the purity of the life of the nation' (Cames, 2013, p.14).

Elias also stresses the *dynamism* of established-outsider figurations with the balance of power subject to changes over time. As such a static orientation is wholly inadequate as the perception of a 'stationary type of relationship can be no more than a preparatory step' (Elias, 1994, xxxv). For:

> '[O]ver time such processes of exclusion and stigmatization are liable to change as functional democratization[iii] results in equalizing power ratios between groups. In such changed circumstances, outsider groups begin to challenge and contest their lower social position and blocked access to various power resources' (Quilley and Loyal, 2004, p.15)

While many 'outsider' groups in western European societies have benefited from processes of functional democratization and a *relative* lessening of power differentials (for instance other ethnic minority groups, immigrants, religious groups and LGBT groups), the European Roma have arguably seen the least progress in this regard. 'While the misrepresentation of ethnic and social groups is challenged, in the course of time, by members of those groups, this did not happen in the case of Roma' (Hancock, 1997). Indeed, it is our contention that Roma are persistently viewed and treated as collectively inferior and that much recent research on Roma has neglected these continuities. An Eliasian approach can therefore avoid the 'retreat into the present' (Elias, 1987b) apparent in much recent research on Roma. For example, Nacu (2012) convincingly shows how the Roma were framed as a security issue in France in 2010, with the then President Nicolas Sarkozy utilising security discourses for political gain. However, the focus on such short-term episodes and phases of heightened fears and anxieties speak more to moral panic (Cohen, 2002) than an understanding of the underlying, longer-term and deep-rooted processes discussed here. For example, it is argued that:

> 'It is probable that the sheer marginality of the Roma in the French public space made them an easy target for group stigmatisation. Whereas explicit governmental racism

> directed against other migrant or ethnic groups would probably have appeared as blatantly unacceptable, official and direct stigmatisation of Roma/Gens du voyage [indigenous French Travellers] as a group appeared more feasible' (Nacu, 2012, p.1326)

The above quote captures the problems inherent in the 'retreat into the present'. While Nacu's arguments provide a sound narrative of the recent situation and events in France, the complex *processes* of stigmatisation and marginalization are somewhat overlooked. While marginalization and stigmatisation can often be reinforcing, it is our contention that the former is dependent on the latter; with effective stigmatisation made possible by the power balance between Roma and non-Roma. Sarkozy and public discourse may have accentuated these processes and reaffirmed the asymmetric power relationship by mobilizing disidentifications from Roma (see Sigona, 2003; Powell, 2008), but they were always there. The fact that the racism did not appear as 'blatantly unacceptable' as it may with other peripheral groups is a direct reflection of that asymmetric power balance, which results in Roma being seen as of lesser human worth and lacking the internal cohesion and access to the power resources to close ranks and respond.

Historical continuities

It is the persistence of the underlying sensibilities and attitudes towards Roma over time that marks them out as Europe's perennial outsiders, with historical accounts replete with the control, regulation, expulsion, persecution and extermination of Roma evident across Europe (Brearley, 2001; Fonseca, 2006; Hancock, 1997, 2010; Lucassen *et al.*, 1998; Mayall, 1988, 2004). Space constraints do not permit a detailed discussion of these responses or their genealogy, rather, here we seek to illuminate the long history in terms of a dominant European understanding of Roma as an inferior group; and a resultant desire to confine and separate.

Historical accounts enable an appreciation of the long-term continuities in terms of the way in which Roma are perceived as a threat to the established (or to "Europeanness"): from the modern period when masterless and nomadic men were seen to have broken from the 'family, economic, religious and political conventions' of the time (Mayall, 2004, p.58); through to contemporary concerns over immigration, criminality and securitisation discourses (van Baar, 2011; Guy, 2003). Mayall stresses the way in which Romani Gypsies were subsumed within a broad category of nomadic groups which included vagrants, vagabonds and rogues: 'as well as being strangers the Gypsies were also nomads and as such joined a migrant and itinerant population of early modern England that was diverse, fluid and periodically very numerous' (Mayall, 2004). For example as Bronislaw Geremek notes of sixteenth century Rome:

> '[the hospices] numbers rose briefly in 1590, when over a thousand beggars took refuge there…and the streets of Rome were filled with notices ordering the *expulsion* of vagrants, *Gypsies* and the like' (Geremek, 1997, p.214 - our emphasis)

Geremek's detailed social history of poverty and pauperization in Europe also speaks to the contemporary destitution experienced by *some* Roma migrants on arrival in western

Europe (Cames, 2013). With Roma often excluded from formal participation in the labour market and civil society, harsh migratory policies often 'leave little choice but undocumented, low-wage labour and begging' (Cames, 2013, p.6) necessitating a dependence on the grey economy (Braham and Braham, 2003). Geremek also notes how periods of increased migration in the modern period corresponded to changes in the social structure of the countryside - the origin of most migrant populations at that time. In a similar vein it is profound changes in the structure and social organisation of post-communist societies in Eastern Europe that have triggered the contemporary migration of some Roma families from east to western Europe (Matras, 2000; Bancroft, 2001; Cames, 2013; Vincze and Rat, 2013; Levine-Rasky *et al.*, 2014). That is, with the transition to post-communist society came significant changes for Roma populations driven by state withdrawal and 'the end of assimilationist policies of full employment and (relative) job security' (Cames, 2013, p.5), which had served to protect Roma, at least economically.

In addressing the historical treatment of Roma it is important to acknowledge the emergent idea of "Europeanness" in modernity and its relationship to non-European "Others". Van Baar (2011) traces the emergence of specific Romani minority governance to Habsburg absolutist rule in the second half of the eighteenth century. This marked their treatment as a distinct minority population for the first time and led to efforts to "improve", manage and assimilate them.

> '…during the Enlightenment, nineteenth and early twentieth century processes of nation-state formation, and under Nazism, the Roma and their cultures were often considered as non-European, alien, and barriers to "progress" and "civilization" in Europe' (van Baar, 2011, p.8).

Similarly, within Elias's (2000) civilization process, that same period corresponds to a change in the general function of the term "civilization": it came to express the 'self-consciousness of the west'; of progress with a goal (see Powell, 2011). For the middle-classes of western Europe the process of civilization was taken as a given: it had been completed and forgotten. The task in hand was therefore to "civilize" those yet to "achieve" it: '…the politicians of the eighteenth century had no use for the idea of "civilization". "Civilizing" was what they were after: lifting fellow human beings to a new level of existence' (Bauman, 1985, p.7). This applied equally to the lower strata and "Others" within the territories of western European states as it did to the colonial project. That is, the concept of civilization came to inform the notion of an Europeanness centred on the middle-classes of western European nations and framed in opposition to the "barbaric" or "primitive" practices of those falling outwith normative expectations of European civility.

It is imperative to recount these processes of Europeanization characteristic of modernity, as they point towards the idea of Europe as a project and the formation of a normative Europeanness set against non-Europeanness. This historical context is crucial in understanding the continued stigmatisation of Roma in contemporary European society. While divisions within the migrant population are a constant from the Middle Ages onwards ("good" and "bad"; "honest" and dishonest"), nation-state

formation, the development of poor relief and increasing bureaucratization from the eighteenth century onwards brought a greater emphasis on the demarcation between nationals (Europeans) and foreigners (non-Europeans) (Geremek, 1997; Lucassen et al., 1998). According to Lucassen et al., (1998) the control and bureaucracy that facilitated the refusal of citizenship rights to poor immigrants created the categories of vagrants and Gypsies. The stigmatizing image of Gypsies as workshy, criminal and parasitic was by then firmly established and reinforced the desire to exclude them.

History informs of the perennial outsider status of nomadic and migratory groups in Europe since the Middle Ages; a status that came to be *applied specifically to a distinct Gypsy/Roma population in Europe* from the second half of the eighteenth century on (van Baar, 2011). This history is characterised by displacement, segregation, containment, expulsion, imprisonment and extermination. Geremek discusses efforts to concentrate nomadic groups, beggars and paupers within well-defined areas of Rome in the second half of the sixteenth century, a practice mirrored in other European cities in the early modern era. Presented as a means of facilitating effective aid and alms distribution:

> 'The unspoken intention, however, characteristic of the changing attitudes of the age, was to remove beggars from the city's streets and isolate them from society by creating zones of poverty in which they could be confined. But implicit in this project was also the principle of separation which lay at the root of the phenomenon of the ghetto as a place for the community's outcasts' (Geremek, 1997, p.212).

This *historical* perspective chimes with Wacquant's *contemporary* notion of the ghetto. Although the techniques of governance and associated fears have altered over time, the rationalities in terms of the confinement and seclusion of a category of people viewed collectively as inferior is much the same. It is to these processes of segregation and ghettoization in the contemporary era that we now turn.

3. ROMA SEGREGATION AND GHETTOIZATION

In this section we explore the way in which processes of disidentification and stigmatisation, based on the perspective of the human inferiority of Roma, inform policy and, in particular, the prevalent situation whereby European governments are less willing to provide support to Roma than to other groups. Here we focus on the particular *spatial* processes that are facilitated by these group dynamics, namely ghettoization and educational segregation. Although, other policy areas not covered here, such as labour market discrimination and differential welfare treatment (van Baar, 2012; Cames, 2013; see also Cemlyn and Briskman, 2002), must also be explained with reference to the deep-rooted and powerful processes of disidentification and stigmatization. In short, we link established-outsider relations applied to European Roma with Wacquant's notion of ghettoization as a form of 'neoliberal state-crafting' in developing an historical and relational approach to understanding Roma stigmatization over the long-term.

It is important to acknowledge that European Roma are not a homogeneous and passive group (see Hancock, 1997, 2002; Matras, 2014). Firstly, historical accounts highlight differentiated positions and socio-economic functions and maintain that 'Gypsies and

Travellers have always intermingled with other people, both sedentary and mobile' (Lucassen *et al.*, 1998, p.11) with ample evidence of cases where Roma were tolerated and where coexistence was not problematic. Secondly, in contemporary Europe, Roma existence is not uniformly characterised by poverty, stigma, hostility and segregation. There are different levels of social integration and variable (im)balances of power between Roma and non-Roma in different nations, spaces and contexts. Furthermore, the recent Europeanization of Roma activism, representation and remembrance points towards resilience and a challenge to the construction of the Roma situation as one of passive marginality and hopelessness. That said the continuing neglect of Roma history and memory, despite increasing intervention at the level of the European Union, suggests the road to recognition is a long one (see van Baar, 2008, 2011). The negative construction of Roma as a homogeneous, un-integrated group may risk the promotion of the idea that they are themselves to blame for their outsider position (van Baar, 2011). That is certainly not our intention here, nor is it to deny the diversity within the Roma population. Rather, our focus is on discernible processes of stigmatisation and ghettoization instigated from outwith and shaped by historical relations, but *we do not claim that these processes are uniform* across European spaces or Roma populations.

Loïc Wacquant's conceptualisation of the ghetto

Wacquant (2008a, 2008b) has argued that there is no convergence between Europe and America along the model of the black ghetto but instead neoliberalism has produced a "new urban poverty" of *advanced marginality,* characterised by the fragmentation of wage labour alongside state retrenchment and the shrinking of welfare, which applies equally to the European context as it does to the American. This relates to ongoing processes of economic deregulation and the privatisation of welfare that have taken place against a backdrop of increasing job scarcity. More recently however, in developing his relational concept, Wacquant has suggested that the Roma of Eastern Europe may constitute a European exception in the sense that while other ethnic minority groups tend towards *desegregation* the trajectory of the Roma is towards *ghettoization* (Wacquant, 2012; Vincze and Rat, 2013). As mentioned above, it is the asymmetric power relations detailed by Elias and Scotson (1994) which account for this different trajectory, with Roma very much at the bottom of the class ladder. Thus their weak position, perpetuated and maintained through stigmatisation, shapes their spatial seclusion and marginalization. That is, 'territorial stigmatization not only undermines the capacity for collective identification and action of lower class families; it also triggers prejudice and discrimination among outsiders' (Wacquant, 2008a, p.116). In this sense the ghetto is 'a cultural and cognitive constellation (values, mindset, or mentality)' (Wacquant, 2012, p.1).

It is also important to note that the ghetto can be an ambivalent spatial formation for its inhabitants. Recognising the fact that the ghetto is an instrument of power wielded by dominant groups is necessary to understand the dual function that it serves for the two collectives: as a device of confinement and control for the 'established' group; and as an integrative and protective device for the 'outsider' group (Wacquant, 2004b, 2008a, 2010, 2012). That is:

'Enforced isolation from the outside leads to the intensification of social exchange and cultural sharing inside. Ghettos are the product of a mobile and tensionful dialectic of external hostility and internal affinity that expresses itself as ambivalence at the level of collective consciousness' (Wacquant, 2004b, p.3).

Despite the sometimes ambivalent nature of the ghetto we should not lose sight of the fact that the "Gypsy ghetto" 'dishonours and dehumanizes Roma identity, associating it with an *inferiorized* "racial physiology"' (Vincze and Rat, 2013 - our emphasis). For Wacquant 'a ghetto is an ethnically homogeneous enclave that contains all the members of a subordinate category and their institutions, and prevents them from fanning into the city' (Wacquant, 2008a, p.114). Thus, as with Geremek's historical account, the goal is separation. Wacquant (2008a; 2012) details specific characteristics of the black American ghetto including: ethnic homogeneity; spatial confinement; shared cultural identity; mutual distancing; a retreat into the sphere of the family; the loss of economic function; the development of parallel institutions; and state retrenchment. While Powell (2013) has argued that Gypsy-Traveller sites in the UK share *some* of these characteristics, and cannot therefore be regarded as ghettos[iv], there is growing evidence to support the existence of Roma ghettos in line with Wacquant's schema in Eastern Europe (Berescu, 2011; Vincze and Rat, 2013). In the following section we briefly sketch out several of Wacquant's ghetto characteristics in application to the Roma situation focusing on: the loss of economic function in post-communist nations; mutual distancing; shared cultural identity; the retreat into the family; and the parallel development of educational institutions. We take Wacquant's other ghetto attributes relative to Roma as a given: ethnic homogeneity[v]; spatial confinement; and state retrenchment (see also Powell, 2013). The intention here is to illustrate how long-term processes of disidentification and stigmatisation, characteristic of established-outsider relations, inform and facilitate the spatial segregation of Roma.

Roma ghettoization

Maloutas (2009) makes reference to Romani groups in the context of southern European cities but dismisses their conditions as 'advanced marginality' (Wacquant, 2008b) due to the absence of a history of industrial waged labour and therefore processes of deproletarianization. Instead he refers to the marginal status of Romani groups in southern Europe as 'a case of traditional, constant and severe ethno-racist segregation usually attributed to cultural difference' (Maloutas, 2009, p.832). However, recent experiences in Eastern Europe in the post-communist period suggest a different process at play there:

'Under the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe, hostility towards the Roma was, relatively speaking, suppressed. However, this came at a significant cost as Roma were forced to abandon their livelihoods and homes in order to conform to the Communist system. Today, most Roma have abandoned their traditional way of life and are concentrated in low-income housing developments or outright ghettoes [sic] throughout Europe' (Levine-Rasky *et al.*, 2014, p.72)

Similarly, Will Guy argues that 'Roma enjoyed far greater socio-economic security in Eastern Europe during the communist era' (Guy, 2003). In this sense the *loss of economic function* is apparent in post-communist spaces where Roma were used as an exploitable labour force in a similar vein to the residents of the black American ghetto (Wacquant, 2008b). It is also worth noting that recent evidence suggests that the Roma are still being exploited as cheap labour in Eastern Europe albeit under the auspices of western style workfare programmes as opposed to communism (van Baar, 2012). Indeed, the loss of economic function and the accompanying rise in hostility towards Roma in post-communist nations are seen as key triggers of migration to western and northern Europe (Matras, 2003).

As noted above the taboo on social contact with members of outsider groups is maintained through complex psychological and group processes. That is, 'what stands out most graphically is the way in which the self-regulation of a member of an established group is linked to the internal opinion of that group' (Elias, 1994, p.xli); with self-regulation applying to both conduct *and* sentiment. This group regulation is internalised to operate as self-regulation and ensures the avoidance of Roma on the part of non-Roma, a key sentiment contributing to their enforced seclusion in the ghetto. On the other hand, Roma groups often adopt 'a protective strategy of avoidance' (Guy, 2003, p.71) informed by experiences of harassment, racism and fear. This fear also extends to authorities as well as everyday social relations and is perhaps unsurprising given the long history of stigmatization. Perhaps perversely then, the ethnic homogeneity of the Roma ghetto, a "no-go area" for many non-Roma, ensures *mutual distancing* and underscores the ambivalence of this peculiar urban form (Wacquant, 2004b).

Linked to this ambivalence are two other characteristics of Wacquant's ghetto: the shared cultural identity of inhabitants and the *retreat into the sphere of the family*. In the case of Roma groups the greater propensity for intergenerational mixing and the traditional approach to learning through family and community participation and socialization (Okely, 1983; Liégeois, 1987; Vanderbeck, 2005), coupled with external hostility, suggest a stronger familial and group identification (Powell, 2013). Or in Eliasian terms a "we-I balance" in favour of the "we" (Elias, 2001), which suggests a different individualization process among Roma groups to that prevalent across much of western European society (see Powell, 2011). Whereas the dominant trend has been one in which 'individuals, workers, and citizens, become less linked to national communities, to form their own individual entity in a late modern European world where borders and collective categories are becoming less obvious' (Van Gerven and Ossewaarde, 2012), the group identifications of Roma and wider *dis*identifications *from* them ensure the persistence of a strong "we-image" (Elias, 2001). That is, Roma have been able to maintain their *shared cultural identity* and customs in the face of wider pressures to conformity with the ethnic homogeneity of the ghetto reaffirming that shared and oral history expressed through language and customs. The final key characteristic in Wacquant's ghetto conceptualisation relates to the *development of parallel institutions* and here we focus on the educational segregation of Roma as an exemplar of this process.

Roma educational segregation

Before the monumental political changes in Europe in 1989, Roma children in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) were exposed to the realities of the communist educational system for more than half a century (Igarashi 2005). The systematic aim was to provide access to education for all children. However, while compulsory schooling significantly increased enrolment amongst Roma children and improved literacy (Canek 1999), the communist notion of *'equality'* implied that all children would receive a comparable education and individual difference was therefore defined as a deviation from the norm. In this context, standardisation had a direct impact on educational content and discipline, which in turn affected attitudes, beliefs and behaviour. The inherent focus on individual difference – often seen as defects or deficiencies of character – was profound and was a significant factor in the creation of *'highly segregated institutions'* (Igarashi 2005). Ringold (2000) suggests that this damaging socialist legacy is one of the major factors in the ongoing exclusion of Roma children in educational systems across the region.

Since 1989, despite significant developments in EU policy, diverse groups of Roma from across CEE have been subjected to external social and spatial constraints that have made it all but impossible for them to access key public services in health, housing and education (Lever, 2012). In some parts of CEE, Roma children have had no access to mainstream education. In others – where they have access, including Slovakia and the Czech Republic – Roma children are still often seen to be in need of corrective treatment; and much as they were under communism, are still placed in schools for pupils with special educational needs (Equality 2010; O'Nions 2010). This policy reinforces a long-term process of exclusion that has a significant impact on the position of Roma as 'outsiders':

> 'Separate schooling for Roma pupils usually means lower educational standards and a reduced curriculum, which in turn reinforces the view that Roma pupils are educationally *inferior*' (O'Nions, 2010, p.3 - our emphasis)

There are separate schools for Roma children across CEE (Santiago and Ostalinda 2012).[vi] In some places, Roma are deterred from enrolling their children in mainstream schools by educational authorities, though segregation also emerges through *'white flight'* when Roma do enrol (OSI, 2007). Both cases reflect a desire for separation driven by group stigmatisation. The quality of teaching and infrastructure in "Roma only" schools is often sub-standard and this only serves to reinforce their position as 'outsiders':

> 'Ghetto schools are mainly the result of residential patterns; withdrawal of non-Roma children from school; or other demographic changes as well as the school authorities' actions. The ghetto schools have a poor physical infrastructure and the quality of teaching in these schools is usually extremely poor' (Ryder *et al.*, 2014, p.522)

It follows that ghettoization 'serves to reinforce prejudice and disadvantage experienced by the Roma pupil' (O'Nions, 2010, p.3). In this sense *the social organisation of the school mirrors that of wider society* with the demarcation of separate educational and residential spaces for Roma designed to contain them. Even when Roma pupils are educated in an "integrated" school or classroom their position as 'outsiders' is often

maintained through a lack of teaching materials incorporating Roma culture and history (Council of Europe 2000; O'Nions 2010). As has been noted:

> 'All this prepares for and conditions methodological, pedagogical and didactic assumptions which place Gypsy students in an *inferior* position, denigrate them and show contempt for them' (Gypsy Council for Education, Culture, Welfare and Civil Rights, 1994, cited in O'Nions, 2010, p.7 - our emphasis)

Segregation can also be maintained *within* "integrated" schools however. For example, O'Nions (2010) provides an account of a Hungarian primary school which excluded Roma pupils from communal spaces. The fact that this segregation was imposed at the behest of the parents of non-Roma pupils resonates clearly with established-outsider relations: the 'established' denying access to 'outsiders' through their monopolization of power resources - in this case pertaining to the governance of space within a supposedly universal educational institution.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has argued that Roma represent Europe's perennial outsiders with reference to the theoretical works of Elias and Wacquant. The emphasis on historical group relations has been deployed to critique the 'retreat into the present' characteristic of much research on Roma marginalization. We have argued that a sole focus on the present and contemporary outcomes for Roma can blind scholars to the historical continuities in terms of the collective treatment of Roma as an *inferior* group, which is central to understanding their constant and severe stigmatisation. Rather, the long history of Roma marginalization from the modern period onwards (firstly as part of a wider grouping of nomadic populations, then as a distinct Gypsy/Roma category from the eighteenth century) suggests much deeper and long-standing processes of disidentification and stigmatisation, shaped by collective fantasies and maintained though complex group processes, which inform public attitudes and sentiments and shape public policy. Synthesizing Elias' theory of established-outsider relations with Wacquant's relational concept of the ghetto we have sought to show how the widespread and effective stigmatisation of Roma enables policies of control which 'take the form of dispersal or containment, or better yet combine the two approaches' (Wacquant, 2008a, p.117). Thus Roma are 'hyper-ghettoised in Eastern Europe and expelled from Western Europe' (Cames, 2013, p.24) with the differential treatment they experience in comparison to other minority groups attributable to their weak position and lack of power making stigmatization extremely difficult to counter; and itself a powerful force in maintaining the status quo.

The precise nature of marginalizing responses has been shown to vary across time and space, with different experiences evident still in southern Europe, (Maloutas, 2009) but it is invariably dependent on asymmetric power relations and the effective construction of Roma as an inferior group. This suggests the need to look beyond present-centred policy spheres of housing, education, labour markets etc. in conceptualising Roma stigmatization. For it must be understood as a much broader, longer-term, European-wide process, albeit with different outcomes in different localities. While we have only

been able to scratch the surface within the confines of this paper, we would suggest that the theoretical, historically informed and relational frameworks of Elias and Wacquant offer much potential for furthering our understanding of the position of Roma within Europe.

From this standpoint the heightened fears and sensibilities regarding Roma migration, evident since EU enlargement, are discernible as a short phase in a much lengthier, on-going process. The task in hand is therefore to develop an understanding of the deep-rooted processes of disidentification and stigmatization; how they have changed over time alongside wider social transformations; and how they inform and are reflected in policies which have social *and* spatial consequences in the form of ghettoization, segregation and marginalization. Put simply, why have Roma not been party to the *relative* progress of other minority and "outsider" groups in Europe? Why are European governments still less willing to provide for the well-being of Roma populations within their territories? This is no small task but until we begin to appreciate and understand the nature of disidentification and stigmatisation processes and their relationship to the power differential which characterize Roma and non-Roma relations - that is, until we are better able to more accurately diagnose the dynamics giving rise to marginalization - then it is likely that policy will continue to produce unintended and undesirable consequences such as the "backdoor nationalism" detailed by Fox and Vermeersch (2010).

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Notes

[i] These sentiments were most vividly symbolised by an incident on a beach near Naples in Italy in 2008 when two Roma girls drowned: 'Questions about the attitude of Italians to their Roma minority were again being asked yesterday after photographs were published of sunbathers continuing as normal with a day at the beach despite the bodies of two Gypsy girls who had drowned being laid out on the sand nearby' (Hooper, 2008).

[ii] As van Baar (2008, p.384) notes of the treatment of Roma under Nazism in Europe: 'it would appear that their segregation was not due to socioeconomic and cultural mechanisms of exclusion, but simply to a group characteristic' (our emphasis).

[iii] Functional democratization refers to the 'long-term, unplanned process of the lessening of the power gradients and social distance between interdependent groups in societies that have become increasingly differentiated' (Kilminster, 2006, p.151).

[iv] Powell (2013) argues that key differences between the black American ghetto and the Gypsy-Traveller site in the UK relate to the loss of economic function, parallel institutionalism and state retrenchment.

[v] Ethnic homogeneity here refers to the shared history, experiences and cultural identity of Roma, which also informs the perception of them as a collective group in the eyes of non-Roma.

[vi] Santiago and Ostalinda (2012) suggest this practice is becoming increasingly common in Western Europe, perhaps more so in the age of austerity.