— EVERYDAY ROMA STIGMATIZATION:
Racialized Urban Encounters, Collective Histories and Fragmented Habitus

REMUS CREȚAN, PETR KUPKA, RYAN POWELL AND VÁCLAV WALACH

Abstract

Roma discrimination and stigmatization in Europe are well-documented, with urban scholars emphasizing pervasive prejudices and stereotypes alongside negative policy outcomes. However, the focus on Roma marginality has tended to centre on punitive state and urban governance to the neglect of everyday urban relations. In this article we focus on the micro manifestations of stigmatization—racialized urban encounters—and their neglected longer-term affects for Roma in Czechia and Romania. Ethnographic research and in-depth qualitative interviews with Roma respondents expose a complex, dynamic and multi-layered response to stigmatization that challenges the simplistic binary of resistance versus the internalization of stigma. The concept of fragmented habitus is deployed in capturing this dynamic process and providing a nuanced representation of the urban inhabitation of a long-term stigmatized and racialized position, beyond generic 'Otherness'. We argue for more attention to the specificities and complexities of everyday relations and their affects in capturing the interdependence between urban encounters, the longer-term construction of Roma inferiority, and the heterogeneous, dynamic and ambivalent ways in which Roma inhabit their racialized urban position.

Introduction

Widespread experiences of Roma discrimination and stigmatization are well-documented, with urban scholars providing important insights that further our understanding of 'anti-Gypsyism', or 'Romaphobia', in a range of European contexts (van Baar, 2011; Stewart, 2012; McGarry, 2017). This body of research emphasizes pervasive prejudices and stereotypes in the construction of Roma inferiority and has largely focused on differential treatment and outcomes for Roma groups in terms of socioeconomic positioning and deprivation. These negative outcomes manifest themselves most clearly in labour market exclusion, and educational and residential segregation (O'Nions, 2010; Berescu, 2011, Vincze and Raț, 2013; Filčák and Steger, 2014; Clough Marinaro, 2015; 2017; Picker, 2017; Berescu, 2019; Vincze *et al.*, 2019). However, the policy-centric focus on Roma disadvantage, while hugely important, has tended to centre on relations with state apparatus, institutions and the segregating impact of punitive policies to the neglect of more mundane relations, experiences and interactions, especially within the Anglophone literature (see Pulay, 2015; Tosi Cambini and Beluschi Fabeni, 2017; Grill, 2018, for notable exceptions).

While there is a sizeable evidence base for state discrimination and deprivation, as well as for the shifting mechanisms and techniques of governing Roma migration, which also involve the private and third sector (see Picker, 2017; van Baar *et al.*, 2019; Humphris, 2019; Maestri, 2019), much less is known about the everyday manifestations of stigmatization in contemporary urban settings (Pulay, 2018). Likewise, little attention has been paid to the long-term, intergenerational effects of Roma stigmatization in terms of its emotional impacts, resultant injuries to the self, and its consequences for

habitus formation under conditions of persistent and intense racialization and group stigmatization.

This article addresses this empirical gap by focusing on the micro-sociological dimensions of anti-Roma racism in Czechia and Romania. We focus on the everyday manifestations of Roma stigmatization captured through the notion of racialized urban encounters, and their consequences for Roma habitus formation. We thus move beyond the policy-centric concerns of housing, education and employment to consider the neglected relationship between anti-Roma racism, everyday stigmatization and its longer-term affects. In doing so, we seek to open up a new set of discussions about the processual and affective dimensions of racialized urban encounters. The case of the Roma contributes to these recent debates in two ways. First, it emphasizes the need for an historicized understanding of everyday stigmatization that acknowledges the collective and interdependent histories that shape Roma and non-Roma encounters and manifest themselves in the micro-settings of the urban. Second, our analysis shows empirically the neglected 'darker side' of urban encounters with difference (Amin, 2013), the relative omnipresence thereof, and its effects beyond the ephemeral.

On the basis of ethnographic research and in-depth qualitative interviews within the two nations we expose a diverse, dynamic and multi-layered response to stigmatization on the part of our Roma respondents. Emotional responses are shown to be dependent on material and spatial context and to manifest themselves differently for different actors, depending on their relative position in social space. Both racist responses *toward* Roma (e.g. fear, disgust, contempt) and the emotional responses *of* Roma (e.g. shame, embarrassment, anger) are conditioned by the nature of long-term, interdependent relations between the two groups: collective Roma and non-Roma histories are made interdependently in Czechia and Romania.

These relations are characterized by anti-Roma racism and the perception of group inferiority, which has informed efforts to preserve homogenized, white spaces of privilege and to seclude and separate Roma as a key logic of capital (McElroy, 2019)—non-Roma accrue value from their sociospatial distance from Roma (see Skeggs, 2004; Gibbons, 2018). This racialization of the maligned Roma body frames contemporary urban encounters in terms of the reproduction of symbolic representations at the level of face-to-face interaction, such that Roma are 'haunted by the spectre of judgement' (Skeggs, 2009) from below and above. Through a focus on the intimate micro-politics of the urban encounter and its affects, we articulate a complex multitude of Roma responses that challenge binary understandings of the internalization of stigma versus resistance to stigma (Wacquant *et al*., 2014; see also Brooks, 2012). This focus on micro-politics speaks to the need to decouple the urban margins from such binaries when accounting for the dynamic making and (attempts at) unmaking marginality (Lancione, 2019a; 2019b).

Our data captures the nuanced, dynamic and ambivalent urban modes of inhabiting a racialized position by foregrounding the way in which Roma reflect on the longer-term emotional effects of their urban encounters with others. These reflective accounts lead us to the concept of fragmented habitus (Bourdieu, [1964] 2004) as a theoretical perspective for capturing Roma differentiation and conceptualizing Roma responses. By bringing race and a long-term stigmatized status into dialogue with the notion of fragmented habitus, we address the common critique of habitus as rigid and overly deterministic (Lizardo, 2004; Silva, 2016). Habitus not merely reflects individual and predetermined dispositions, but is continuously (re-)produced relationally and processually, and with a register of adaptations and orientations as variable as the heterogeneity of relations and materialities in which Roma are embedded. This allows for the registering of alternative ways of orienting and inhabiting the city beyond the generic individual positioning of Roma as 'racialized Others', and the collective Roma condition of 'extreme Otherness' and urban marginality (Humphris, 2019; Ivasiuc, 2020).

These findings contribute to our understanding of the ways in which unequal power relations are maintained and transformed over time and shape action (e.g. contribute to separation), but also how they might be contested and negotiated emotionally. In this regard we point, albeit tentatively, toward the generative potentialities of an invisible and collective emotional endurance (neither internalization nor resistance) that potentially enables Roma to manage and negotiate racialized urban encounters, but that appears a long way from the transformative politics emphasized by others (see Darling and Wilson, 2016). Our findings also contribute to debates on fragmented habitus by revealing the contribution of membership of a long-term, stigmatized group to habitus formation. Roma provide a racial and group perspective lacking from these debates, which have tended to centre on individualized class trajectories, particular stages of an individual's life course, and experiences of social im/mobility (Friedman, 2016; Silva, 2016; Schilling *et al*., 2019). We conclude by arguing for more attention to the specificities and complexities of everyday stigmatization; for connecting these to institutional and historical analyses through a 'micro inclusion of habitus' (Blokland, 2019); and for the potential of the concept of fragmented habitus to contribute to our understanding of the heterogeneous, dynamic and ambivalent ways in which Roma inhabit their racialized position.

The remainder of the article is divided into four sections. The section that follows situates our analysis within debates on anti-Roma racism, stigmatization, urban encounters and habitus formation. We then provide details on our methodological approach and its limitations. Third, we present evidence from the two national contexts to articulate the long-term emotional complexities inherent in Roma responses to racialized urban encounters. The final section concludes with a discussion of the wider significance of our empirical findings and the contribution thereof to the conceptual debates we engaged in.

Roma racialization, urban encounters and habitus

Despite scholarly attention to the historical context of Roma stigmatization in Europe (see, for example, Lucassen *et al*., 1998; Achim, 2013; Picker, 2017), it remains true that the 'origins of such marginalization, power relations in particular, historical processes in general … have not been part of the scholarly discourse concerning Gypsies' (Beck, 1989: 54; see also Shmidt and Jaworsky, 2020). There is often a lack of acknowledgement of the very long-term and peculiar 'outsider' status of European Roma in research oriented toward the present condition (Powell, 2016). This downplays the role of collective history and the importance of group identifications in the intergenerational transmission of anti-Roma racism. Acknowledging longer-term relations is therefore an important preparatory step toward understanding the gradual changes in contemporary Roma racialization (Petrovici, 2019), the maintaining of relative separation and the inculcation of a strong group identity.

– 　　Long-term Roma stigmatization and contemporary racialization

While Czechia and Romania share a communist legacy, there are of course many important historical differences. A key aspect is the Roma experience of almost 500 years of slavery within Romania, from the fourteenth to the mid-nineteenth century (Hancock, 1987; Achim, 2013). Such asymmetrical interdependence over an extended period is a crucial consideration in understanding the empirical material discussed here. Beck (1989) argues that Roma slavery and perceptions of inferiority were central to the formation of the state in Romania and the development of a collective national solidarity. Romanian national habitus has been formed in *opposition* to the maligned Roma group, and involves the internalization of a superior 'we-image' and a collective *dis*identification from Roma (de Swaan, 1997).

By contrast, the Roma in Czechia were never enslaved. However, they did face other forms of persecution, including expulsions under the threat of physical

punishments, forced sterilization (as recently as the 1990s) and various assimilation policies (Sokolova, 2008; Donert, 2017). During the second world war, almost all Czech Roma were exterminated in concentration camps. The Roma who live in Czechia today hail mainly from Slovakia, where they were better integrated within the collectivized, agrarian society before the war—this saved them from the 'final solution' scenario adopted in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Despite the absence of Roma slavery, some scholars have argued that Czech national identity was also built upon a sense of superiority over Roma in which whiteness functioned, *inter alia*, to identify with the normative notion of (Western) civilization (Stejskalová, 2012; Shmidt and Jaworsky 2020). These histories are too often neglected in contemporary accounts, but inform our interpretation of the empirical material presented below: collective histories of asymmetrical interdependence deepen our understanding of contemporary urban encounters, their racialized hauntings, and their affective dimensions beyond the ephemeral.

With sensitivity to historical processes, we elucidate the emotional complexities inherent in experiences of long-term group stigmatization and racialization. By racialization we mean 'racist ideological and material practices [as] infrastructure that needs to be updated, upgraded, and modernized periodically' (Gilmore and Gilmore, 2008: 144). Contemporary Roma racialization needs to be understood in terms of the 'long dispossession' characterized by displacement and eviction, which produces ghettoization and a downward trajectory for many Roma in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) (Baršová, 2003; Petrovici, 2019; Vincze, 2019). Some urban scholars have argued that neoliberalism can be seen in its purest form in CEE (Zamfirescu, 2015), with whole areas of social policy jettisoned under a specific 'zombie socialism' (Chelcea and Druta, 2016). For example, recent dynamics of restitution in Romania (see Lancione, 2017) have meant that, in terms of Roma settlements, 'forced evictions and administrative abandonment would be the main characteristics of the last 25 years' (Berescu, 2019: 192). This has been bolstered by the mobilization of anti-Roma racisms for political ends alongside the invisibilization of these racisms in 'colour-blind' discourse and policy (Crețan and O'Brien, 2019; Powell and van Baar, 2019).

Contemporary Roma racialization in CEE, sharing some commonalities with Andrea Gibbons's (2018) historical analysis of race and housing struggle in Los Angeles, rests on the adaptation of long-standing stigmatizing tropes of deviance, incivility, backwardness and group inferiority to fit with contemporary logics that seek to legitimize Roma separation and seclusion (Sokolova, 2008). In a similar vein to the hostile (or indifferent) white residents preserving privileged white space in Gibbons's detailed account of Los Angeles, non-Roma in CEE exhibit an inability to recognize the segregated urban condition that they have created through their strong desire for emotional, social and physical distance from the racialized Roma body. This widespread disidentification from Roma is further legitimized through the denial of diversity and by the dominant framing of Roma as a homogenous group who wish to live separately (Berescu, 2019). In this regard, racialized Roma frameworks are reinforced by the material conditions and social reality of the segregated Roma urban condition. Universal assumptions of Roma segregation, ghettoization and seclusion support homogenized logics of Roma 'backwardness' and their positioning as 'socially unadaptable'—to use the prominent discourse in Czechia. This is further accentuated when Roma are readily equated with landscapes of industrial ruination and inhospitable, polluted environments (Filčák and Steger, 2014).

Where members of the Roma group deviate from this racialized framework, new frames and discourses are required, and this is the constant work of racialization in action (Gilmore and Gilmore, 2008). For example, wealthy Roma who do not fit this expectation of inferiority and live in relatively wealthy neighbourhoods instead are

equated with the 'Gypsy mafia' or 'sex trafficking'—here, old logics of criminality and the sexualized female Roma body are reworked anew (Crețan and Powell, 2018; Crețan and O'Brien, 2019). Furthermore, as Ivasiuc (2020) shows, in some urban contexts the desire for domestic fortification and security from the imagined (and always racialized) Roma threat is so strong it can produce vigilante responses from non-Roma. The racialized logics of segregation and desire for separation also apply to the institutional spaces of schools, workplaces and urban public space, to housing and to the purification of neighbourhood spaces. This segregation ensures relatively limited opportunities for encounters between Roma and non-Roma in many CEE contexts. However, the denser environments and networks of the urban and the integration of many Roma within urban labour markets and economic relations makes encounters inevitable, even where mutual avoidance may be an explicit strategy.

–   Urban encounters and ambivalence

The concept of urban encounters has resonated among urban scholars in theorizing urban engagements and negotiations with difference (Valentine, 2008). We follow Darling and Wilson (2016:1) in taking urban encounters seriously by 'critically attend[ing] to the many complexities, contestations and contradictions of contemporary urbanism, with a specific attention to difference'. Urban encounters are particularly useful here as they not only capture the 'idea of a meeting that goes beyond contact' and the ephemeral, but are also 'deeply charged with emotions' (Simonsen and Koefoed, 2020: 49–50). Our analysis shows that the racialized urban encounters of Roma can produce long-lasting effects and affects, disrupt notions of the Roma self, and impact future urban orientations and practices. This analytical move speaks to notions of encounters that 'resonate beyond their own immediate event, shaping opinions, assumptions' and 'situated within personal and collective histories' (Darling and Wilson, 2016: 10–11). Encounters are far more than 'an empty referent for any form of meeting', they are 'laden with value and worthy of more conceptual scrutiny' (Wilson, 2016: 464). In this respect, historicized urban encounters can tell us something about the consequences of everyday stigmatization for Roma, but also the nuances of longer-term impacts and ways of inhabiting an inferiorized position within racialized urban hierarchies.

However, our evidence diverges from recent geography literature, which has tended to foreground the potentiality of 'entanglements' and 'the folding together of varied temporalities, the constitution of difference and the opening up of transformative possibilities' (Darling and Wilson, 2016: 9; Wilson, 2016). We concur with the idea that much 'writing on multiculturalism tends to ignore [the] darker aspect of everyday encounters of difference, which are always mediated by conflicting vernaculars—one at ease with difference and the other fretful, ready to pounce on the stranger' (Amin, 2013: 5). Yet, for many Roma in CEE racialized, stigmatizing urban encounters and overt expressions of human inferiority have a long, long history stretching much further back than Amin's analysis acknowledges; 'conflicting vernaculars' are often incredibly one-sided, if discernible at all among the noisy space of race talk and the discursive invisibilization and dehistoricization of anti-Roma racism.

Roma experiences and reflections in Czechia and Romania point toward the urban encounter as an often asymmetrical and injurious experience, where a sense of rupture more often relates to the disruption of the Roma self and a sense of rejection, rather than a radical urban politics of difference (Lancione, 2019b). Thereby we do not deny the potentialities and possibilities of urban encounters, but acknowledge that for many Roma, the realization of a collective politics of urban transformation—or even a normative orientation toward residential inclusion and assimilation—is often accompanied by hostility, stigmatization and/or indifference. Such experiences can inform avoidance behaviour and separation and be a powerful weapon of maintaining

the status quo of relative separation. The possibility of assembling the city differently is not universal but shaped by interdependent relations of power. For Roma, urban encounters can reaffirm inferior discourses and act against collective solidarities (as discussed below). In this sense, we caution against an overly optimistic reading of urban encounters and their potentialities, instead foregrounding Roma diversity, where differences can *sometimes* hinder collective action (Berescu, 2019), and where the inherent and historical ambivalence of Roma experiences is tied to the wider urban condition (Elias, [1939] 2000).

The strong group disidentification and desire for separation from the racialized Roma body must be located within a long history of group stigmatization, which is both embodied and reflected in the spatiality of the city. Methodologically, foregrounding the collective histories informing racialized urban encounters and attending to their longer-term affects allow us to get to emotions. Emotions, in turn, lead us to the fragmented habitus in contributing to a more nuanced appreciation of the contemporary Roma condition. This approach provides a means of operationalizing emotions and a route to exploring the way in which bodily encounters are 'relived and reformed in their apartness' (Simonsen and Koefoed, 2020: 50). But here we depart further from geographical understandings to articulate the potential of habitus as a means of elucidating the heterogeneity of contemporary Roma responses and adaptations, while also acknowledging historical contingencies and foregrounding ambivalence.

– Habitus and the diversity of Roma positions

Our understanding of habitus draws on the 'post-philosophical sociology' of Bourdieu, Elias and Wacquant, who supplant the false philosophical concept of the *homo clausus* (closed subject) and the dichotomy between the internal and the external world by using 'habitus-in-figurations/fields' (Paulle *et al*., 2012), thus showing how habitus formation takes place interdependently with (and inseparably from) wider social development and urban transformation. Put simply, human figurations are the modes of living together of human beings (Elias, [1939] 2000). Habitus-in-figurations thereby 'direct attention towards shifting patterns, regularities, directions of change, tendencies, and counter-tendencies, in webs of human relationships that are always changing over time ... the term invokes "the individual", "agency", "society", "social change", "power", and "structure" simultaneously, but purposively without being reducible to any of these components' (Dunning and Hughes, 2013: 2). In this sense, longer-term social transformations and psychic changes within individuals are interdependent (Elias, [1939] 2000). Habitus integrates these levels while also foregrounding emotions in terms of the way in which socialization and emotional management are moulded by experiences of shame, embarrassment, and so on (e.g. bodily functions) over the stages of an individual's life course, but also intergenerationally (e.g. social thresholds of shame and embarrassment or repugnance to violence change over time) (Elias, [1939] 2000). Emotions are drivers of individual habitus formation, but collective habitus produced through shared histories, group socialization and identifications also shape emotions.

Emotions are anchored in habitus because they are a form of practice undertaken by the historical body (Scheer, 2012). Emotions are something people do not simply have but rather do. They are not purely physical—in the sense of bodily arousals—but deeply socialized. They tend to be manifested, sometimes on purpose, depending on the sociocultural context. Based on the practical logic of different situations, the body functions as 'a knowing, mindful entity that stores past experiences in habituated, practical processes' (Davison *et al*., 2018: 226). Always embodied, the habitus 'specifies what is "feelable" in a specific setting, orients the mind/body in a certain direction without making the outcome fully predictable' (Scheer, 2012: 205). Habitus generates certain emotional practices; the practices produce the feeling subject.

Far from a rigid and static set of predetermined dispositions, then, habitus is the continuous 'internalization of the externality and the externalization of the internality ... a *multi-scalar construct* [that] enables us to mate the study of the generic ... with a focus on the specific' (Wacquant, 2016: 67, emphasis in original). From this standpoint, Roma and non-Roma relations are indelibly shaped by the past—individual and group history are sedimented in the body and mental structure—but social habitus also adapts to changing social, cultural and historical conditions (Baur and Ernst, 2011). Our evidence develops the concept of habitus which 'invites us to trace empirically, rather than simply postulate, how social structures are translated into lived realities' (Wacquant, 2019: 39), read through racialized urban encounters and their longer-running impacts.

The emotional repertoire in respondent's responses to and discussions of racialized urban encounters among our Roma informants varied, depending upon their specific context. For example, upwardly mobile Roma were sometimes talked about in derogatory terms by other Roma. Relatives and acquaintances who had achieved economic success and left neighbourhoods of relegation, seeking to escape the 'blemish of place' (Wacquant, 2008), were sometimes seen to have abandoned their Roma identity and were 'not Roma anymore'—comments that effectively equate Roma with poverty and marginality. Such individuals faced the potential trauma of being ostracized by their fellow Roma group members, while never feeling truly accepted by non-Roma, and unable to shake off the label of 'socially unadaptable'. We focus on this betwixt-and-between space that emerges from a strong group identification and racialized, stigmatized urban positioning on the one hand and the gradual opening up of ways of being and orientating beyond the Roma family or group on the other.

This leads us to the concept of the *fragmented habitus*, which reveals the internal emotional tensions that abound in the tug-of-war between the pull of the Roma group and familial identification on the one hand, and the widening of social interdependencies, encounters, opportunities, bonds and orientations on the other. This fragmented habitus must be reconciled within the social and political context of overt group stigmatization and the haunting ubiquity of inferior judgements in urban encounters with many non-Roma. Habitus has been criticized both for its rigidity and its plasticity (see Silva, 2016). On the one hand, it provides an over-deterministic framework for understanding individual becoming that lacks explanatory power. On the other, it has led to the creation of a multitude of different forms of collective habitus that can homogenize individuals and detach habitus from its integration with the concept of field (or figuration) and/or social space (Atkinson, 2011; Silva, 2016; see also Wacquant, 2016; 2018a; 2019). However, we suggest that such criticisms are decidedly present-centred and fail to fully grasp the importance of intergenerational transfer and group identifications (and disidentifications) in habitus formation. For habitus is never static and is always a 'multi-layered and dynamic set of schemata' that displays 'varying degrees of integration and tension, depending on the character and compatibility of the social situations that fashioned it over time' (Wacquant, 2016: 68).

Roma represent a particularly novel and insightful empirical case that contributes to these conceptual debates, given their long-term stigmatized outsider status, which has, in turn, cultivated a very strong 'we-image' and group identification—that is, it has 'fashioned' habitus in a particular way. Simultaneously, there is a gradual and discernible orientation away from the extended Roma group, which manifests itself in tensions between I- and we-identities and widening circles of identification (de Swaan, 1995) beyond the patriarchal family (see Oprea, 2012, for an excellent Romani feminist account of this tension). The empirical material below seeks to capture the diverse responses of Roma and their 'divergent ways of being in the world' (Simone, 2019: 14) by going beyond the binary of internalization versus resistance.

By articulating this, we also contribute to developing the concept of the fragmented habitus by applying it to group figurations of stigmatized Roma, while always

approaching habitus dynamically as 'habitus-in-figurations' (Paulle *et al.*, 2012). Previous empirical accounts have tended to centre on individualized trajectories of class im/mobility, either by emphasizing the lack of congruence between individual habitus and the conditions of an individual's life (what Bourdieu conceptualized as 'hysteresis') or by focusing 'on the tensions and contradictions of a strong discrepancy of inhabiting different fields' (Silva, 2016: 178). Where theorizing has been extended beyond individualized habitus formation, it has tended to focus on an institutional collective habitus (Reay *et al.*, 2001). Little attention, however, has been paid to the emotional burden of habitus formation for members of a group long deemed inferior by those dominant in society, nor to how habitus formation and fragmentation may differ in such circumstances. The notion of fragmented habitus provides a lens through which to view the 'temporal and spatial dynamics of assembling resources in ways that do not *necessarily* follow from individual motives, pre-structured dispositions' (Schilling *et al.*, 2019: 1344, emphasis added) and supposed rigid group norms. In this sense, it retains a focus on the inherent tensions in habitus formation, can capture the pull of different collective affinities and orientations (past and present), and provides a nuanced urban reality of an oftentimes ambivalent racialized position. These dynamic concepts—long-term group stigmatization, Roma racialization and fragmented habitus—are integrated in tandem with the empirical material presented in this article. First, we set out our methodological approach.

Methodology

Accounts of Roma stigmatization and marginalization have tended to suffer from methodological nationalism, with scholars emphasizing the heterogeneity of the Roma group and the unique national context within different European nations (Matras, 2014), which serve as a barrier to comparative analyses. Yet, processes of Roma segregation and stigmatization are more or less universal to the nations of Europe (and beyond), though varying in intensity and logics depending on specific historical relations (Beck, 1989; Lucassen *et al.*, 1998; Achim, 2013; Shmidt and Jaworsky, 2020). A methodological focus on urban encounters as ubiquitous can therefore contribute to cross-national and urban comparison. The analysis presented in this article draws from empirical material collected from separate studies in Czechia and Romania. The studies were not co-designed but set out to explore different topics and employed variable methods. Nevertheless, by combining the studies' data sets we provide empirical insights into commonalities across the two nations in terms of pervasive anti-Roma racism and its everyday urban manifestations.

– The Romanian research

The Romanian study explored perceptions of stigmatization among Roma and non-Roma who live in south-western Romania and involved 145 qualitative interviews with 85 Roma and 60 non-Roma respondents (see Table 1). The fieldwork was completed in two stages: June to August 2015 and June to July 2016. Interviews ranged in length from 50 to about 90 minutes. All Roma and non-Roma participants were invited through direct field interaction (snowball sampling). At the start of each interview, participants were given an information sheet that explained the scope of the study and all provided informed consent. The interviews took place in different urban locations of the Banat region. Interviewees were drawn from two major cities (Timișoara and Resita) and two towns (Bocsa and Gataia), which have areas of Roma concentrations where a mix of poorer, middle-class and wealthy Roma live. Most participants were reluctant to have their interviews recorded; in some cases this was explicitly related to rising anti-Roma rhetoric within Romania, so extensive interview notes were made instead. All other interviews were transcribed.[1]

---

1   All interviews in Czechia were conducted in Czech and those conducted in Romania in Romanian. Extracts were translated into English by the authors.

TABLE 1 Roma and non-Roma interviewees by gender, city/town and country

| City/town | Roma | | non-Roma | | |
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Timişoara	11	12	10	12	45
Resita	15	10	10	10	45
Bocsa	15	10	5	5	35
Gataia	6	6	3	5	20
Romania	*47*	*38*	*28*	*32*	*145*
Havířov-Šumbark	34	5	9	24	72
Obrnice	11	5	3	8	27
Ostrava-Kunčičky	8	19	4	3	34
Czechia	*53*	*29*	*16*	*35*	*133*

– The Czech research

For the Czech study, data were drawn from three case studies conducted from 2010 to 2018 in Havířov-Šumbark, Ostrava-Kunčičky and Obrnice. These studies focused on issues of security, crime and victimization. All were located in what are known as 'socially excluded localities'—the state's term for disadvantaged and stigmatized areas where Roma are disproportionately represented. Havířov-Šumbark and Ostrava-Kunčičky are part of larger cities. Obrnice is a small municipality but functions as a residential area for the city of Most. The main method used in the studies was ethnography, involving participant observation, in-depth interviewing and document analysis. In Havířov-Šumbark, we spent approximately 1,100 hours observing in the field and conducted interviews with 72 people living in the area from 2010 to 2014. Male respondents and respondents identifying as Roma represent the majority of interviewees. In Ostrava-Kunčičky, between 2017 and 2018, we engaged in 1,150 hours of observation and conducted 34 interviews. The fieldwork in Obrnice also ran from 2017 to 2018 and involved 275 hours of observation and 27 interviews. Combined field notes consisted of 2,900 standard pages. The majority of interviews were recorded (a minority refused recordings) and all were transcribed. All participants were told about the research and its objectives, and all granted informed consent.

– Analysis

Given the distinct studies we drew upon, we did not formulate consistent lines of questioning on stigmatization or urban encounters and their affects across them. In both cases, the research design was informed by an inductive logic of inquiry based on empirical data. Data from both studies had highlighted a neglected aspect of Roma stigmatization: its everyday manifestations and the complex emotional responses these induced. This aspect was not central to our initial research design but emerged during the research process (in observations and interviews). Participants' reactions to this experience varied. Some were indignant, some annoyed, others resigned, and some reproduced stigma as lateral denigration (Wacquant *et al*., 2014), for example, by complaining about 'new Gypsies' who 'ruined it all'. The data for both studies were then revisited, specifically with these emergent themes in mind. A thematic analysis, centred explicitly on experiences of stigmatization, reflections on racialized urban encounters, and their discernible emotional impacts, was employed. The data presented in this article capture diversity and typify the range of emotional repertoires, trauma and in/actions that were shown to result from everyday stigmatization through our analysis.[2]

2 All names in this article are pseudonyms to protect the identity of our respondents.

We focused on instances of fragmented habitus and long-term affects to support our argument empirically.

The emotional burden of Roma stigmatization

In this section we present empirical material with a focus on racialized urban encounters and everyday experiences of Roma stigmatization. Through this analysis we articulate the hitherto neglected emotional burden of stigmatization for Roma that arises from their relegated embodied position within social space. We highlight the variable consequences thereof, which range from apathy, shame, anxiety, fear and avoidance behaviour to lateral denigration of other Roma, to rejection of Roma inferiority and even to amusement at the strict taboos on social contact that non-Roma adhere to.

–   Group stigmatization, racialization and collective histories

As noted, acknowledging the widespread and persistent nature of anti-Roma sentiment over time is a crucial, but often neglected aspect of understanding contemporary relations. Far more attention has been paid to the outcomes and symptoms of stigmatization than to developing an understanding of it as an historically contingent and interdependent group process. This peculiar long-term perception of human inferiority powerfully structures the nature of everyday relations and urban interdependencies for Roma, but also affects feelings and emotions. As one elderly Romanian man put it: 'I am not a slave anymore, but I *feel* like a slave, enclosed in a town where all people hate us' (Bubu, 66-year-old Roma man, Resita, emphasis added). In the extract that follows, the contemporary workplace setting is shown not to be exempt from the spectre of judgement and overt expressions of Roma inferiority:

> So, she always took from me [part of my snack]. I say: 'I never mind', yeah. I'm not the kind of person who is like: 'I don't give you or like that. Take it!' We went to a town once, and I was with my mom. Mom, when you meet her and look at her, you can see that she's like a Gypsy, yeah. It's darker than me. The next day, I come to work and say hi to her. And she was like: 'Hi, hi', and she was so distanced since she had seen me with my mother ... And I say: 'What's up?' I was making fun of it; it struck me the very day we met in the town, as she was looking so strangely at me. And I say: 'What's up?' [She said:] 'No, I won't be sitting with the Gypsies'. I say: 'Pardon? But every day you had my snack, which a Gypsy made by hand'. I say: 'You liked it daily, didn't you?' And she: 'Well, if I knew you were Gypsies, I would never take it from you'. And it seems funny to me, right. I say: 'You are a person like me. You think your shit doesn't smell like mine?' Then we didn't communicate, she made herself move to another shift (Alena, 35-year-old Roma woman, Obrnice).

What was a perfectly normal and relatively friendly relationship with a work colleague, characterized by exchange and sharing, is immediately undone and all contact is severed once Alena's Roma identity is revealed. This behaviour is met with amusement and a certain incredulity on the part of Alena, who points out its perceived irrationality, but also offers *emotional resistance* rather than passivity or internalization: the encounter is laughed off and she asserts her equal standing ('You think your shit doesn't smell like mine?'). Individual characteristics, personality, generosity or a shared past matter little once membership of the Roma group is exposed. Alena's story reveals the incredible power of group stigmatization in maintaining separation (Crețan and Powell, 2018). The response of the non-Roma colleague is instantaneous, complete and emphatic: she breaks off all communication and avoids further contact by transferring to a different

shift. This hints at the strong internalization of superiority (and Roma inferiority) within the wider Czech population and to related avoidance behaviour reinforced by group sentiment and (mis)representations of Roma. While the media and political discourse reinforce prejudice and serve to mobilize disidentifications, strong aversion to Roma often seems to be in-built and automatic—an intergenerational disposition related to Czech and Romanian national habitus. The next extract illustrates the role of intergenerational transfer in perpetuating and maintaining stigmatization over time, and anger at its persistent pervasiveness:

> That is what, like, your race did. That you play a role and we play another role [he said angrily]. Today, a small kid, six, seven years old, will tell you: 'Hey, there's a Gypsy'. You are walking through town, [and the kid says:] 'Gypsy, Gypsy, you see him, don't talk to him'. He's six years old and this kid knows what Gypsy is. He knows Gypsy is shit, because that's how he has been taught since childhood. The father, the mother: 'The Gypsies? No! Not at all!' Or there are children at a school meeting: 'Gypsy, Gypsy, yuck!' My sister is eight, nine years old and she goes to third grade. 'Gypsy, yuck, you're a dirty Gypsy, you have lice, you have lice'. If she's a Gypsy, she has lice. And the boy or the girl is eight years old. Who is it who teaches you? Why? Tell me the reason? (Jan, 25-year-old Roma man, Havířov-Šumbark).

The socialization of children regarding Roma inferiority and separation takes place at a very early age, and young non-Roma are well-attuned to Roma categorizations and taboos regarding social contact ('don't talk to him'). Such aversions can be shaped by parental sentiments: 'I didn't want their children to play with my child' (Lina, 41-year-old non-Roma woman, Resita). The young kid in the extract knows nothing of Jan or his life, but once he is categorized as a member of the homogenized Roma group, he is assumed to be inferior and reminded of this positioning through verbal insults that are based on long-standing stereotypes. This socialization process contributes to a strong disidentification from Roma as an automatic response in a large section of non-Roma society—a disidentification that is integral to national habitus formation (Beck, 1989). Many young non-Roma are exposed to the assumption of Roma inferiority across symbolic, social and physical space. The next extract provides an example of the dehistoricization of Roma persecution ('exaggeration') and the invisibilization of anti-Roma racism, mediated through the institutional space of the school and the domestic space of the home:

> At school I learnt more about the economic and ideological aspects of Romanian history, more than the social aspects; I found out from my family that Roma feel stigmatized but it is only their exaggeration on how they perceive the past world of Romanian history against them (Dodu, 35-year-old non-Roma man, Bocsa).

When the denial of Roma history and the hostility directed at Roma is accompanied by fascist ideology and symbolism (e.g. graffiti) this can stir up feelings of disgust and revulsion in Roma. For respondents like Petri this denial is tied to a collective history that is at times characterized by barbarism and extermination:

> I feel a sense of disgust, especially when I see drawings on different walls in the town with so many fascist crosses and different inscriptions against us. These are signs against innocent Roma people—who died innocently, who wished to live in a free country, to have a normal everyday life (Petri, 62-year-old Roma man, Timișoara).

The symbolic power of group categorization and its affect is evident in children from a very early age, and teachers and other figures of authority are sometimes instigators of stigma in the classroom. In this case, the children repeated the racist taunts of the teacher:

> [Son] was in [a different town], and there was a teacher who was obsessed with him. In a classroom, there were just boys in the classroom. The [teacher] had an aquarium, [where he] put fish. You know what [son] looks like, hints that he's fat, things like that. Then [he made] insults like that Gypsies make fire in the apartment. Do I seem to you that I am making fire here? He had an aquarium there, and one fish was dark, probably black, just dark. And he told the guys in that class: 'Do you see this fish? That's him …' [Son] got some reprimand, the insults repeated. So I went there and it was a little tense, yeah … it just made me angry that my child was just being bullied. So I say, I will not leave it like that. So I just went there with someone, [teacher] started running … Finally, I agreed with the director that I would just put him [son] away. I'll put him elsewhere (Patrik, 35-year-old Roma man, Obrnice).

Such experiences illustrate that the power differentials Roma face as a result of long-term and widespread stigmatization are so great that everyday injustices often result in *detrimental consequences for Roma victims* (having to change school) rather than reprimand for the perpetrators of racism—a logic of reversal (see Goldberg, 2009). These symbolic logics are powerful because of the way in which the entire heterogeneous Roma group can be conflated with the 'minority of the worst' of that group (Elias and Scotson, [1967] 1994)—a view socialized and internalized to inform sentiments, feelings and actions that perpetuate themselves from one generation to the next—a sedimented habitus.

–   Everyday stigmatization and its affects
      The longer-term context of two interdependent groups locked together in an asymmetrical relation of power shapes all contemporary Roma relations: material, social, spatial and symbolic. In many cases this is experienced as 'normal', as Tomáš reflects:

> Well, we have been living with racism all our lives. To the extent that we find it normal. Every Gypsy lives racism all day, every day. It's our daily bread. To the extent that you don't even notice … To the extent that you say to yourself: 'I would have to kill somebody every day'. It's so normal for us that we rather let it go (Tomáš, 42-year-old Roma man, Ostrava-Kunčičky).

Beyond this self-restraint in the face of such a steep power imbalance, Roma respondents also sometimes internalize stigma and often become complicit in the stigmatization of fellow Roma. This can be viewed as a form of symbolic power that reveals Roma racialization and stigmatization as 'cognitively based violence' (Wacquant, 2019: 37). The extract that follows illuminates how awareness of one's position in social space can affect experiences in public space to inform feelings and thoughts about one's place and therefore one's actions:

> You know, humans are different, and everyone sees it differently. I do not feel inferior, but when I go somewhere among the people, I see that I should not have been here. It's stupid, but I can't change the world. What should I do with it? It's like that and it won't be different (Lukáš, 25-year-old Roma man, Havířov-Šumbark).

Experiences of stigmatization and awareness of the differential treatment of Roma also manifest themselves in the active management and reflexive performance of identity

dependent on social space. In the next case, the respondent's ability to 'pass' as non-Roma in France leads to the mobilization of his Romanian identification and the denial (or concealment) of his Roma group identity as a tactic for getting by:

> I am a Gypsy in Romania, but when I go to work in France I would better say I am Romanian. Why? Because I heard that French police could take us from there and if we would say we are Gypsies they will send us back by airplanes to Romania with a total interdiction to stay in France … I'm lucky my skin is not so dark, so they cannot catch me easily as Gypsy (Cosi, 43-year-old Roma man, Gataia).

In a similar vein, Firica avoids speaking Romani in an attempt to perform a 'more Romanian' identity. In this, she is driven by emotions of shame, which are a direct consequence of stigmatization. The power of stigmatization and its emotional impact informs practices and behaviours aimed at distinguishing oneself from the 'Gypsies you hear about on TV'. In this sense, attempts at managing a racialized positioning and escaping stigma can work against the realization of collective identification and solidarity:

> We are the only Roma family here, the others are Romanians … We feel to be more Romanian, speak mostly Romanian among us, because we are ashamed the other neighbours say that we are 'stinky Gypsies'. We are not those Gypsies who are doing foolish things. We are a respected family, very clean, we do not steal—so we not alike the Gypsies you hear about on TV (Firica, 33-year-old Roma woman, Timișoara).

Some Roma respondents were more explicit and overt in their denigration of other Roma. Members of this group invariably tended to live in less deprived material circumstances and oriented themselves more toward the behavioural expectations of non-Roma. These respondents expressed feelings of shame based on the behaviours non-Roma expected or assumed of their Roma peers. The extract that follows seems contradictory, but perhaps gives a clue to the emotional consequences of managing a spoiled Roma identity and the potential shame and embarrassment that might ensue:

> I don't want to live among such Romani people. For me, it is not a shame, but it is unpleasant, like. I just don't want to live among the Roma. No problem, they are not annoying or so. But I am ashamed when people from the bus arriving look at people sitting in front of their houses and drinking coffee. Or I would be ashamed when I take someone to this area (Gustav, 22-year-old Roma man, Ostrava-Kunčičky).

Roma respondents often reproduced the very same discourses and stigmatizing tropes that emanated from the wider population, and from political and media sources:

> Gypsies are hedonists. Gypsies are terrible hedonists. I want sneakers, for example. These sneakers cost five thousand [CZK] and I want them. What now, dude? I will have to do something. I'll make some money and don't think what's gonna be next. But Gadjo [non-Roma] wouldn't do that. Do you know what Gadjo would probably do? He would save 500 every month and will buy it in 10 months. Gadjo can save his money. But Gypsy wants something else in 10 months. And he wants it twice (Tomáš, 42-year-old Roma man, Ostrava-Kunčičky).

Here Tomáš makes a clear distinction between the virtues of deferred gratification, restraint, work ethic and thrift that he attributes to the Gadjo community, and the

exaggerated, 'hedonistic' lack of self-restraint, foresight and rationality associated with members of the Roma group. These assumptions homogenize and essentialize the two groups to the extent that the respondent has internalized the non-Roma propensity to equate *all* Roma with the 'minority of the worst', and all non-Roma with the 'minority of the best' (Elias and Scotson, [1967] 1994). This logic is also apparent in the next extract, in which the speaker ties lateral denigration to common tropes of welfare dependency and a misplaced notion of 'Gypsy exceptionalism':

> We are maybe the worst nation in the world … But Gypsies are able to adapt themselves to everything everywhere in the world. That's what we have. We have one great trait—an adaptability. We are completely adaptable to the system. We are able to find a gap in the system. Gypsies—speculators. We can find a gap in every country … Only Gypsies found a way to draw money from English system … Only the Gypsy can do that! (Tomáš, 42-year-old Roma man, Ostrava-Kunčičky).

– Fragmented habitus

Roma are a diverse group and our sample included various respondents whose lives were characterized by social mobility and differing degrees of separation from and interaction with non-Roma. Roma who had progressed further educationally and/or had lived outwith the Roma 'ghetto' had wider access to non-Roma networks and more frequent interactions and more positive relations with non-Roma. A small minority seemed able to maintain a stable sense of national identification in tandem with their identification as Roma. The next respondent expressed his social distinction from other Roma through spatial reference to the Roma 'ghetto'. He noted how he 'switches' between Gypsy and non-Gypsy, and how a 'different' upbringing enabled his stable and unified habitus formation:

> I have been raised differently and I grew up differently. That's what's going on here in Ostrava, haven't been in Havířov. There were no such ghettos. There were three (Gypsy) families in the whole neighbourhood. I actually had my family, my grandma and so, here. So, when I came here, I switched and I was a Gypsy. And when I got back home, I switched again and I wasn't Gypsy. That always distinguished me from the others. Because, how to say … the school made me smart a bit. The language, the expression, the vocabulary, it all builds upon itself. And when you go with Gypsies you got respect from them (Tomáš, 42-year-old Roma man, Ostrava-Kunčičky).

For many in this group, however, there was discernible tension between their identification with the nation and their Roma origin. This emerged in our analysis as a type of fragmented habitus:

> I am a Gypsy, but I do not feel like a Gypsy. I always feel like a Czech because I live in the Czech Republic. Then, as I was older and saw that they tar with the same brush, I read in the news this and that, I thought to myself: dude, I thought I was Czech. I might have been of Roma origin, but I was Czech (Vincent, 31-year-old Roma man, Havířov-Šumbark).

For Vincent there was no problem with his identification as Czech in his childhood, but as he became aware of the extent of the vilification and homogenizing effects of Roma stigmatization ('they tar with the same brush'), this caused a rupture in his sense of self. Identification with the nation is called into question by his growing realization of the

way in which the Roma habitus is consistently framed in opposition to, and as distinct from, Czech national habitus. His awareness that he, too, is perceived in this way based on his Roma group membership disrupts his national affiliation. This biographical process of habitus fragmentation and the trauma it can induce is articulated clearly and emotively by Klára:

> A teacher came into the classroom and asked what had happened and who had started the fight. He was crying and said: 'That black Gypsy did it!' That's how it started. 'But I am not a Gypsy', I told myself. My lifelong trauma being Roma started there. I had thoughts like: 'Why I was born to Gypsy family? Why I was not born to different one?' I came home crying … It got me. I started to shun even my bros. I couldn't stop crying. [Mum] tried to make me feel better because she knew I loved going to school. It seems that it has been disrupted here. My personality was disrupted. I feel it like that and I started to be against everyone, including my mother (Klára, 42-year-old Roma woman, Ostrava-Kunčičky).

A 'personality disrupted' illustrates the psychological difficulties of the fragmented habitus, which Klára states is a 'lifelong trauma'. The onset of this trauma was a classroom encounter and the realization that she is a member of the maligned group, which has long-term effects and causes her to shun her family. This conflict also played out in relation to a Roma-versus-non-Roma binary akin to a fragmented habitus, whereby tensions arise from inhabiting different fields. In the next extract, Klára articulates the state of betwixt-and-between and potential trauma that result from the ever-present feeling of being an outsider—'neither Roma nor Gadjo'—by expressing her perception that her Roma siblings and nieces are nervous around her and avoiding certain topics of conversation:

> When I visit my family, I perceive that my siblings and my nieces are nervous of me. That someone respectable, someone important came into the house, so they pay attention to what they are saying. Whether to chat about kids or cooking. They are not speaking about other issues to prevent me reacting. I feel like I am between a rock and a hard place so that sometimes I feel neither Roma nor Gadjo (Klára, 42-year-old Roma woman, Ostrava-Kunčičky).

Conclusions

Our analysis of everyday stigmatization and the fragmented Roma habitus makes three contributions. First, we shed empirical light on the under-researched, darker side of everyday urban encounters with difference (Amin, 2013). By extending our analysis beyond the state we address the micro-sociological aspects of Roma stigmatization as a powerful and complementary force to dynamic racializing frameworks emanating from above. In this sense, our conceptual focus on habitus offers the potential for integrating the micro and macro aspects to avoid false dualisms, while retaining a focus on group dynamics and collective histories to counter overly individualized and present-centred accounts of stigmatization. Second, we provided evidence of the hitherto neglected affective dimensions of group stigmatization for many Roma, which results from their long-term marginalized position within social space and tensions in habitus formation. Third, we articulated the potential of the fragmented habitus to provide a more nuanced account of the ways in which Roma inhabit a racialized urban position, which goes beyond generic notions of extreme 'Otherness'. A historicized understanding of the urban encounters of Roma calls into question overly optimistic readings of their transformative potential. Some respondents indicated that they had

experienced a fairly integrated Czech or Romanian Roma habitus in their childhood, which was undermined and disrupted by injurious racialized encounters and a realization of their relative (and collective) positioning within social space. Although stigmatization by the state, in the media and through political discourse seems ubiquitous, everyday experiences of racism in face-to-face urban interactions with non-Roma are arguably more significant and emotionally burdensome, particularly if these are carried into future orientations and practices (namely where habitus produces avoidance behaviours, and leads to maintaining and adhering to logics of separation).

The realization of their categorization as a member of a maligned, inferior group that is largely at the urban margins and often at the bottom of the social hierarchy in the distribution of material resources affects Roma in very different ways. A small minority seem to manage to flit between Roma and non-Roma social contexts fairly well. This resonates with the notion of 'fluid identifications' (Truong, 2019) and a more malleable habitus. But attempts to widen one's circles of identification beyond the Roma group can sometimes be a painful experience. The emotional costs are perhaps most acute for those whose fragmented habitus is the result of a rejection of their claims to national identification on the part of non-Roma during face-to-face urban encounters, backed by long-standing media and institutional discourses (e.g. Roma 'unadaptability' and 'ineducability'—see Shmidt and Jaworsky, 2020). Others seem to suffer from a fragmented habitus, manage their spoiled identity through lateral denigration of Roma peers they deem subordinate, and/or retreat into the family sphere to avoid contact with non-Roma. All Roma respondents in our sample expressed some form of emotional pain or trauma as a result of their long-term, racialized outsider positioning. The emotional burden of stigmatization manifests in very real consequences for in/actions and orientations. Stigmatization and its affects are themselves powerful forces that act against interaction and 'integration', enforce separation and hinder collective actions. These variegated responses are far more complex than a simple binary conceptualization of apathy and internalization of stigma on the one hand, and resistance to stigma on the other.

By highlighting instances of fragmented habitus in our research, we foreground collective urban histories and allow for a fuller appreciation of the complex dynamics and affective dimensions underpinning the *process* of Roma segregation, as opposed to its outcomes. Maintaining separation and desiring social distance is based not on Roma poverty, 'insularity' or 'unadaptability', but rather on the everyday stigmatization that emanates from the non-Roma Czech and Romanian populations alongside state policies of confinement and separation reflecting and exploiting national sentiment. Anti-Roma sentiment is reproduced intergenerationally, and urban practices and encounters form a neglected part of that socialization process. Our evidence shows quite markedly how, contrary to dominant perceptions of Roma as 'unwilling to integrate', Roma can often be the instigators of potentially meaningful interactions and integrative bonds. Where these relations became unstuck or soured, this was invariably as a result of hostility on the part of non-Roma, who universally fell back on long-standing tropes and stereotypes to reassert their social and psychological distance from the maligned Roma body. That Roma belong to a group labelled as such is often sufficient in itself to precipitate what might ordinarily be deemed peculiar avoidance behaviours in other urban encounters with difference. This automatic response operates within some non-Roma individuals from a very early age and is sedimented within the national Czech and Romanian habitus. Distance from Roma—psychological, social, spatial—conveys value, which can only be understood through a longer-term perspective.

We suggest that the concept of the fragmented habitus offers theoretical potential for an historicized understanding of everyday stigmatization (as an ongoing process) and its affects in the context of a long-term racialized and inferiorized group.

Conversely, the reflective accounts of Roma oscillating between different group norms and the behavioural expectations of segregated Roma and non-Roma urban spaces challenge the notion of habitus as rigid and deterministic. In the context of long-term group stigmatization and overt denigration, habitus adapts to shifting dynamics and affordances of complex urban figurations to underscore the divergent ways in which people inhabit a racialized position beyond a generalized, marginalized 'Otherness'. Recognition and acknowledgement of the varied, dynamic and multi-layered ways of orienting and acting within social space opens up a wider register of Roma possibilities for inhabiting a racialized position and for *potentially* challenging and disrupting stigmatizing and homogenizing discourses and logics. Such acknowledgement points to a highly complex, ambivalent emotional endurance that transcends a simplistic apathetic–resistant binary and adds to our 'appreciation of actions [from the margins] that are something else besides these things' (Simone, 2019: 14).

Remus Crețan, Department of Geography, West University of Timișoara, Vasile Parvan no 4, 300233 Timișoara, Romania, remus.cretan@e-uvt.ro

Petr Kupka, Department of Anthropology, University of West Bohemia, Sedláčkova 15, 301 00 Pilsen, Czech Republic, petr.kupka.jr@gmail.com

Ryan Powell, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, University of Sheffield, Western Bank, Sheffield S10 2TN, UK, r.s.powell@sheffield.ac.uk

Václav Walach, Department of Political Science, Charles University, Voršilská 144/1, 110 00 Prague, Czech Republic, vaclav.walach@gmail.com

References

Achim, V. (2013) *The Roma in Romanian history*. Central European University Press, Budapest.

Amin, A. (2013) Land of strangers. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 20.1, 1–8.

Atkinson, W. (2011) From sociological fictions to social fictions: some Bourdieusian reflections on the concepts of 'institutional habitus' and 'family habitus'. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 32.3, 331–47.

Baršová, A. (2003) Enhancing the effectiveness of the non-judicial human rights protection mechanisms in the Czech Republic [WWW document]. URL http://www.policy.hu/barsova/final_research_paper.pdf (accessed 21 July 2021).

Baur, N. and S. Ernst (2011) Towards a process-oriented methodology: modern social science research methods and Norbert Elias's figurational sociology. *The Sociological Review* 59.1, 117–39.

Beck, S. (1989) The origins of Gypsy slavery in Romania. *Dialectical Anthropology* 14.1, 53–61.

Berescu, C. (2011) The rise of the new European Roma ghettos: a brief account of some empirical studies. *Urban Research and Practice* 4.3, 344–52.

Berescu, C. (2019) How many ghettos can we count? Identifying Roma neighbourhoods in Romanian municipalities. In E. Vincze, N. Pertovici, C. Raț and G. Picker (eds.), *Racialized labour in Romania*, Palgrave, London.

Blokland, T. (2019) 'We live like prisoners in a camp': surveillance, governance and agency in a US housing project. In J. Flint and R. Powell (eds.), *Class, ethnicity and state in the polarized metropolis: putting Wacquant to work*, Palgrave, London.

Bourdieu, P. ([1962] 2004) The peasant and his body. *Ethnography* 5.4, 579–99.

Brooks, E.C. (2012) The possibilities of Romani feminism. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38.1, 1–11.

Chelcea, L. and O. Druta (2016) Zombie socialism and the rise of neoliberalism in post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe. *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 57.4/5, 521–44.

Clough Marinaro, I. (2015) The rise of Italy's neo-ghettos. *Journal of Urban History* 41.3, 368–87.

Clough Marinaro, I. (2017) The informal faces of the (neo-)ghetto: state confinement, formalization and multidimensional informalities in Italy's Roma camps. *International Sociology* 32.4, 545–62.

Crețan, R. and T. O'Brien (2019) 'Get out of Traian Square!' Roma stigmatization as a mobilizing tool for the far right in Timișoara, Romania. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 43.5, 833–47.

Crețan, R. and R. Powell (2018) The power of group stigmatization: wealthy Roma, urban space and strategies of defence in post-socialist Romania. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 42.3, 423–41.

Darling, J. and H.F. Wilson (eds.) (2016) *Encountering the city: urban encounters from Accra to New York*. Routledge, London.

Davison, K., M. Jalava, G. Morosini, M. Scheer, K. Steenbergh, I. van der Zande and L. Fetheringill Zwicker (2018) Emotions as a kind of practice: six case studies utilizing Monique Scheer's practice-based approach to emotions in history. *Cultural History* 7.2, 226–38.

de Swaan, A. (1997) Widening circles of disidentification: on the psycho-and sociogenesis of the hatred of distant strangers. Reflections on Rwanda. *Theory, Culture & Society* 14.2, 105–22.

Donert, C. (2017) *The rights of the Roma: the struggle for citizenship in postwar Czechoslovakia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Dunning, E. and J. Hughes (2012) *Norbert Elias and modern sociology: knowledge, interdependence, power, process*. A&C Black, London.

Elias, N. ([1939] 2000) *The civilizing process*. Blackwell, London.

Elias, N. and J.L. Scotson ([1967] 1994) *The established and the outsiders*. Continuum, London.

Filčák, R. and T. Steger (2014) Ghettos in Slovakia: the environmental exclusion of the Roma minority. *Analyse and Kritik* 36.2, 229–50.

Friedman, S. (2016) Habitus clivé and the emotional imprint of social mobility. *The Sociological Review* 64.1, 129–47.

Gibbons, A. (2018) *City of segregation*. Verso, London.

Gilmore, R.W. and C. Gilmore (2008) Restating the obvious. In M. Sorkin (ed.), *Indefensible space: the architecture of the national insecurity state*, Routledge, New York, NY.

Goldberg, D.T. (2009) *The threat of race: reflections on racial neoliberalism*. John Wiley & Sons, New York, NY.

Grill, J. (2018) 'In England, they don't call you black!' Migrating racialisations and the production of Roma difference across Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44.7, 1136–55.

Hancock, I.F. (1987) *The pariah syndrome: an account of Gypsy slavery and persecution*. Karoma Publishers, Ann Arbor, MI.

Humphris, R. (2019) *Home-land: Romanian Roma, domestic space and the state*. Policy Press, Bristol.

Ivasiuc, A. (2021) Race matters: the materiality of domopolitics in the peripheries of Rome. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 45.6, 1047–55.

Lancione, M. (2017) Revitalising the uncanny: challenging inertia in the struggle against forced evictions. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 35.6, 1012–32.

Lancione, M. (2019a) The politics of embodied urban precarity: Roma people and the fight for housing in Bucharest, Romania. *Geoforum* 101 (May), 182–91.

Lancione, M. (2019b) Radical housing: on the politics of dwelling as difference. *International Journal of Housing Policy* 20.2, 273–89.

Lizardo, O. (2004) The cognitive origins of Bourdieu's habitus. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 34.4, 375–401.

Lucassen, L., W. Willems and A.M. Cottaar (1998) *Gypsies and other itinerant groups: a socio-historical approach*. Palgrave, London.

Maestri, G. (2019) Bringing the third sector back into ghetto studies: Roma segregation and civil society associations in Italy. In J. Flint and R. Powell (eds.), *Class, ethnicity and state in the polarized metropolis: putting Wacquant to work*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Matras, Y. (2014) *I met lucky people*. Penguin, London.

McElroy, E. (2019) Digital nomads in siliconising Cluj: material and allegorical double dispossession. *Urban Studies* 57.15, 3078–94.

McGarry, A. (2017) *Romaphobia: the last acceptable form of racism*. Zed Books, London.

O'Nions, H. (2010) Different and unequal: the educational segregation of Roma pupils in Europe. *Intercultural Education* 21.1, 1–13.

Oprea, A. (2012) Romani feminism in reactionary times. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38.1, 11–21.

Paulle, B., B. van Heerikhuizen and M. Emirbayer (2012) Elias and Bourdieu. *Journal of Classical Sociology* 12.1, 69–93.

Petrovici, N. (2019) Working status in deprived urban areas and their greater economic role. In E. Vincze, N. Pertovici, C. Raț and G. Picker (eds.), *Racialized labour in Romania*, Palgrave, London.

Picker, G. (2017) *Racial cities*. Routledge, London.

Powell, R. (2016) Gypsy-travellers/Roma and social integration: childhood, habitus and the 'we-I balance'. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung* 41.3, 134–56.

Powell, R. and H. van Baar (2019) The invisibilization of anti-Roma racisms. In H. van Baar, A. Ivasiuc and R. Kreide (eds.), *The securitization of the Roma in Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Pulay, G. (2015) 'I'm good but also mad': the street economy in a poor neighbourhood in Bucharest. In M. Brazzabeni, M. Ivone Cunha and M. Fotta (eds.), *Gypsy economy, Romani livelihoods and notions of worth in the 21st century*, Berghahn Books, Oxford.

Pulay, G. (2018) Crises, securitization and the Europeanization of Roma representation. *Intersections* 4.3, 180–94.

Reay, D., M. David and S. Ball (2001) Making a difference? Institutional habituses and higher education choice. *Sociological Research Online* 5.4, 14–25.

Scheer, M. (2012) Are emotions a kind of practice? (And is that what makes them have a history?) A Bourdieuian approach to understanding emotion. *History and Theory* 51.2, 193–220.

Schilling, H., T. Blokland and A. Simone (2019) Working precarity: urban youth tactics to make livelihoods in instable conditions in Abidjan, Athens, Berlin and Jakarta. *The Sociological Review* 67.6, 1333–49.

Shmidt, V. and B.N. Jaworsky (2020) *Historicizing Roma in Central Europe: between critical whiteness and epistemic injustice*. Routledge, London.

Silva, E.B. (2016) Unity and fragmentation of the habitus. *The Sociological Review* 64.1, 166–83.

Simone, A. (2019) Muslim hoedowns, tenuous language and the uncertain lives of an urban majority. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 43.6, 1193–208.

Simonsen, K. and L. Koefoed (2020) *Geographies of embodiment*. Sage, London.

Skeggs, B. (2004) *Class, self, culture*. Routledge, London.

Skeggs, B. (2009) Haunted by the spectre of judgement: respectability, value and affect in class relations. In K.P. Sveinsson (ed.), *Who cares about the white working class?*, Runnymede, London.

Sokolova, V. (2008) *Cultural politics of ethnicity: discourses on Roma in communist Czechoslovakia*. Ibidem, Stuttgart.

Stejskalová, M. (2012) Vylučujúca povaha utvárania českej národnej identity v súvislosti s rómskym obyvateľstvom [The exclusive nature of the construction of the Czech national identity in relation to the Roma population]. *Sociální Studia* 9.4, 45–65.

Stewart, M. (2012) *The Gypsy 'menace': populism and the new anti-Gypsy politics*. Hurst & Co., London.

Tosi Cambini, S. and G. Beluschi Fabeni (2017) Antiziganisms: ethnographic engagements in Europe. *ANUAC* 6.1, 99–117.

Truong, F. (2019) Fluid identifications in the age of advanced marginality. In J. Flint and R. Powell (eds.), *Class, ethnicity and state in the polarized metropolis: putting Wacquant to work*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Valentine, G. (2008) Living with difference: reflections on geographies of encounter. *Progress in Human Geography* 32.1, 323–37.

van Baar, H. (2011) Europe's Romaphobia: problematization, securitization, nomadization. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29.2, 203–12.

van Baar, H., A. Ivasiuc and R. Kriede (eds.) (2019) *The securitization of the Roma in Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Vincze, E. (2019) Ghettoization: the production of marginal spaces of housing and the reproduction of racialized labour. In E. Vincze, N. Pertovici, C. Raț and G. Picker (eds.), *Racialized labour in Romania*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Vincze, E. and C. Raț (2013) Foreword for the Special Issue on Spatialization and racialization of social exclusion: the social and cultural formation of 'Gypsy ghettos' in Romania in a European context. *Sociologica* 58.2, 5–22.

Vincze, E., N. Pertovici, C. Raț and G. Picker (eds.) (2019) *Racialized labour in Romania*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Wacquant, L. (2008) *Urban outcasts*. Polity, London.

Wacquant, L. (2016) A concise genealogy and anatomy of habitus. *The Sociological Review* 64.1, 64–72.

Wacquant, L. (2018a) Bourdieu comes to town: pertinence, principles, applications. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 42.1, 90–105.

Wacquant, L. (2019) Class, ethnicity and the state in the making of urban marginality. In J. Flint and R. Powell (eds.), *Class, ethnicity and state in the polarized metropolis: putting Wacquant to work*, Palgrave, London.

Wacquant, L., T. Slater and V.B. Pereira (2014) Territorial stigmatization in action. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 46.6, 12–80.

Wilson, H.F. (2017) On geography and encounter: bodies, borders, and difference. *Progress in Human Geography* 41.4, 451–71.

Zamfirescu, I.M. (2015) Housing eviction, displacement and the missing social housing of Bucharest. *Calitatea Vieții* 2, 140–54.