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Anti-Gypsyism research: the creation of a new field of study.

> *"Anti-Gypsyism is not a new phenomenon,"*

remarks Kenrick (1998b: 56). Any theoretical charting of its history, however, requires an analysis of how the strengths of Romani culture expose and provoke the pathologies of European culture; that is, a recognition that if we are ever going to transform 'swords into ploughshares', we are going to need smiths. The Roma are one of the very few linked constellations of ethnic groups who have gained definition as a people or *Volk*, without going on to build a nation-state. They might, in the sense that Christoph Türcke (1992: 137) speaks of a Jewish "culture of expectancy", be said to have a culture of 'wait and see', a culture which has given them the strength to survive centuries of migrations and persecution.

Our present-day society, enlightened as it is, has a technological capacity which carries with it a full set of options for self-destruction. The culture that maintains this capacity requires the imposition of industrial-strength discipline. A comprehensive governmental system, usually in the form of the nation-state, has to be built, and once in place its rules have to be enforced, again and again, in an exemplary fashion.

So, day by day, humanity works to strengthen the structures of its own repression, and fails to make use of the possibilities that our productive capacity offers us to reduce poverty, or to overcome hunger and disease. Our niggling awareness of this failure, whether conscious or subconscious, may be the reason why we ostracise those who are not complicit in the modern state, whether because they are marginalised or because they remain deliberately independent in their cultural and social organisation.

The 'Gypsy' life imagined by the majority of people is a constant reminder to them that their chosen lifestyle of profit maximisation is not the purpose of life as such, that things don't have to be that way. The 'Gypsies' are seen as persisting in a state of nature, some atavistic mixture of resignation, lethargy, sensitivity and mobility. To let children be brought up in such a way is such a transgression of the post-Enlightenment requirement for people to be educated above the state of nature, that both the Gypsy culture and those who bear it have to be anathematised.

And yet, at the same time, the 'Gypsies' also represent an idealised state of nature, the Arcadian shepherd's lifestyle of the Romantics. And finally, as a possible third way, the

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[1] This version has been slightly revised in 2007.

socialisation practices of the Sinti and Roma, with their 'wait and see' culture, may indicate 'new', (but actually old) escape routes from a work-oriented society which is slowly driving itself insane, routes that had dropped out of sight in our post-modern society. It is from the coming together of these three self-contradictory imaginations that anti-Gypsyism draws its explosive force. The complex structure of the image of the Gypsy as a threat to society is a key component within our general picture of the stranger as an enemy.

Anti-Gypsyism designates a construct which hypothetically assigns social phenomena (mostly of an undesirable nature) to the minority group who call themselves the Roma. A causal relationship is posited between these phenomena and their presumed cause – the "Gypsies". This presumptive causal relationship is so firmly anchored that it can neither be changed nor nullified by any empirical evidence. Such explanations derived from the long term social construction of reality then give rise to bigotry and prejudice of extreme intransigence.

In this paper, the term "Gypsy" is used either where it is a reference to sources or where the image of "Gypsies" fabricated by the majority and its institutions is meant. The term "Roma" is used to denote the actual members of the minority concerned.

In their seminal work on the persecution of Roma under the Nazis, Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon (1972) documented the long history of anti-Gypsy images and their function in the process of persecution. In the same way as anti-Semitism, anti-Gypsyism constitutes a template justifying the persecution of minorities, and thus explains the resemblances in the history of Roma and Jews (Kenrick 1986). This paper is an attempt to trace the function of these images and the functional transformations they have undergone.

We cannot address the concept of anti-Gypsyism without considering its most extreme form, the extermination of Roma under the Nazi regime, without putting Auschwitz at the centre of our contemplation. Dlugoborski's (1998) bibliography shows that there has in recent years been an increase in the number of works detailing the genocide practised on Europe's Roma, and the question of "How could this happen?" has been supplemented by the question of "Why?" The answer still eludes us. The explanation that the Roma were persecuted for racist reasons is not satisfactory because it is, so to speak, self-referring, or circular.

The explanation must be sought in terms of socio-historical theory which will show what function the persecution and extermination of the Roma minority played for the maintenance of Nazi domination (domination in the sense that Max Weber uses the word "Herrschaft"). It was not, after all, the case that Roma were numerous enough to be physically threatening. We cannot, of course, complete such a theoretical exercise within the confines of this paper, but we can use the existing literature to lay a foundation for identifying the important questions for future researches into anti-Gypsyism. This work started in 1998, the year which saw the formation in Germany of the 'Gesellschaft für Antiziganismusforschung' (Society for Anti-Gypsyism Research), which is systematically investigating the phenomenon of antipathy to Gypsies.

Power and the search for a solution to the "Gypsy Problem"

There is a manifest continuity in anti-Gypsyist ideas, their images and their motives, which have appeared with perennial consistency ever since the Roma impinged on German and

European history. Since at least the middle of the eighteenth century, one can follow the tracks of anti-Gypsyism from the Enlightenment to the Nazi genocide: the Enlightenment's wish to "improve" Gypsies was always aimed at causing the Gypsies as such to disappear. By contrast, the qualitative changes in hostility towards Roma have remained largely unnoticed.

The anti-Gypsyist images so often described were initially located on the level of individual prejudices. At the same time, however, since the Roma arrived in Germany, the number of ordinances, edicts and highly detailed proscriptions directed against Gypsies grew inexorably. These edicts were often ritually re-affirmed on certain occasions, like Imperial Diets. Into the twentieth century, new decrees regularly consist of reminders to implement preceding decrees. The function of these decrees would not appear primarily aimed at persecuting the Roma (although brutal persecution was a recurrent phenomenon), but at manifesting the regulatory powers of the state as such. It must not be forgotten in this context how complicated the legal system of those times was. There were several overlapping legal systems co-existing, with ecclesiastical law providing the only over-arching element; but legal power also resided in the lord of the manor, the feudal nobleman and, ultimately, the emperor. Inequality between free men and serfs, nobles and peasants was taken for granted. At the same time, the minorities, Jews and Roma alike, possessed their own jurisdiction, which was also confirmed to them by the authorities. The question of equality for Roma did not arise until the moment when the emergent nation state demanded equal treatment for all its citizens.

In Germany, the emperor's power was the initial issue: the edicts passed by the Imperial Diets against Gypsies were the first example of a new kind of law, one that applied everywhere in the Empire and to everyone. These edicts enabled the officials of the emperor to arrest a subject even on the land of his feudal lord. The purpose, however, of passing these edicts was possibly not so much actually to see them universally enforced, but rather to draft an initial formulation, a kind of blueprint of laws that could in principle be universally enforced. Fundamentally, the sovereign ruler began in the sixteenth century to assert the claim that he was, by virtue of the divine right vested in him, solely responsible for establishing law and order. The means for maintaining this law and order was (the) police: "Police" was a synonym of "Policy". "Political Economy" was originally termed "Police Economy". It meant that which preserved good order in the state. It was only the enlightened reformers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who attempted to make legislation into a consistently enforceable instrument of governmental action. Previously society's economic and political functioning depended upon the incomplete enforcement of such laws. (The rich fought duels, raped servants, listened to Gypsy musicians and tolerated highway robbery unless they were themselves its victims). In the nineteenth century, however, the policy became that of enforcing existing laws equally, in their entirety, precisely so as to establish social order on a new level of rigour (c.f. Schlumbohn 1997).

Prior to this, records show that at the same period and within the same state cases of extreme persecution of Roma co-existed with situations where both the population and the authorities found themselves able to live peaceably with Roma. The question to be addressed is whether these extreme cases of Roma persecution, where the most draconian punishments were frequently imposed, going far beyond the existing laws, were an early example of the "Gypsy's" function as a surrogate victim, penalised in order to keep in line a population which itself remained largely impervious to discipline.

These atrocities should be seen as more than the outcome of specific local resentments. They were, however inconsistent, an early form of modern state action, taken by duly constituted authority, within its officials' sphere of jurisdiction. That is, the atrocities were presented by those committing them as "due process" not personal malice. While governmental action initially consisted of issuing ordinances (which legitimised the localised atrocities) these ordinances were not consistently enforced until the time of the Enlightenment. From the late eighteenth century onwards edicts and ordinances were not just issued, and then left for lay magistrates to enforce or not as they chose; the state now put in place the bureacracy to apply its laws without restriction. All the state's actions were required to be based on laws, and concomitantly the laws were required to be applied without restriction. This was dependent on defining the population as citizens, that is as legal subjects. For this to work it had to apply even to those who were manifestly still being excluded from the new order, Jews and Roma and Sinte. They also had to become citizens in law, as were the rest of the population. Enlightenment thinkers believed the instrument for this integration was to be education, or, to be more precise, education for work as the precondition for being a "useful citizen". It will be shown that it is precisely the enlightened view that "Gypsies" can be re-constituted by education, and can if necessary be compulsorily moulded into citizens, that opens the door to well-meaning interventionism.

To the extent to which the Enlightenment was linked to a demand for all action to be founded on reason, inveterate prejudices had to be converted into at least acceptable cognitive forms. Traditional anti-Semitism had to be replaced by a version utilising rational forms of argument, which, however, could still carry out the functions of traditional anti-Semitism of providing stereotypes against which the majority could define itself. This does not, of course, mean that modern anti-Semitism was therefore amenable to rational proof or justification, but that it created for itself an internally consistent logical system. This logic meant it could be the basis of a world view which could explain everything for its adherents. Modern anti-Semitism, of the kind which emerged in the 1870s, no longer wanted Jews to be discriminated against, ostracized and persecuted; it simply wanted them to disappear. In the same way, anti-Roma policies were aimed at causing the Gypsies to disappear.

Disappearance did not at first mean the physical elimination of the Jews or the Roma and Sinte. The "improvement" of Jews and Roma alike aimed at their complete integration, or more precisely: assimilation. This process, it was thought, might well take several generations, but had to commence immediately (c.f. Grellmann 1787 and Dohm 1781). Until the years immediately prior to the First World War, this position, derived as it was from Enlightenment thinking, dominated much of the political scene. In the "Zeitschrift für Staats- und Gemeindeverwaltung im Grossherzogtum Hessen" (State and Municipal Administration Journal for the Grand Duchy of Hesse) for 1901/02, several articles appeared under the title "On Eliminating the Gypsy Nuisance" (Welcker 1901). In the tradition of classical German criminal law, they demanded that the existing laws should first be enforced: "*Wir glauben, nachgewiesen zu haben, dass die Polizei genügend Mittel hat, den Zigeuner unter das Gesetz zu beugen.*" ("We believe we have demonstrated that the police have sufficient resources at their disposal to subject the Gypsies to the rigor of the law.") In this text only legal (and that meant rational) measures were conceivable, with no tendency towards racist ostracism and extermination. On the contrary, the centuries of expulsion and persecution, and their effects on the "Gypsies'" mindset are cited:

> "*Ein Volk wird durch Jahrhunderte auf Europa von Ort zu Ort gehetzt und den Tieren der Wildnis gleich behandelt. Es werden Gesetze geschmiedet, so grausam, dass selbst die*

Richter, die unter dem Banne der Carolina criminalis stehen, sie zu streng finden und nicht durchführen. Denn jedes Strafgesetz setzt eine strafbare Handlung voraus, dass aber die blosse Existenz eines Volkes eine strafbare Handlung sei, war für diese alten Richter etwas neues." (Welcker 1902)

"A people are hounded from place to place in Europe throughout the centuries, and treated like the beasts of the wilderness. Laws are devised so cruel that even the judges still mesmerised by the Carolina criminalis deem them too severe, and refrain from applying them. For every penal statute presupposes a criminal act, but for these venerable judges it was something new that the mere existence of a people constituted a criminal act."

The state security police in Germany had recently been separated from the municipal welfare police, and since 1870, the police had been exposed to competition from new branches of science: medicine, psychology, social welfare. They were under compelling pressure to modernise (primarily to enable them to combat the internal enemy of the Empire, the Social Democrats.) The liberal, classical tradition of the Enlightenment continued to operate but a new form of modernity took shape. In 1899, almost contemporaneously with the deliberations in Hesse on integrating the Roma, the Intelligence Service for the Security Police in Regard to the Gypsies was established in Bavaria which systematically collected all available data on the Roma and Sinte for the entire German Empire at a central location. This was a new development, since up to then the German provinces and mini-states had jealously guarded their police monopolies. The role of the 'Gypsy Police Department' in the modernisation of German police administration and in carrying out the genocide under the Third Reich has been repeatedly described (Kenrick and Puxon 1972, Fings and Sparing 1992, Heuss 1995). For the first time, total registration and surveillance of an entire category of the population was planned and implemented. The 'Gypsy Headquarters' possessed modern technical equipment. Telegraphy, photography, fingerprint systems, identity cards, the very latest technical innovations were for the first time comprehensively deployed against the Roma and Sinte, so as to subject a comparatively small number of people to what was intended to be total surveillance.

The technocrats' vocabulary did not differ in its essentials from that of the thinkers of the liberal Enlightenment: both spoke of a "Gypsy nuisance" which had to be "finally eliminated". This is often seen as evidence for a continuity of anti-Gypsyism extending from Grellmann (if not from Luther) to Auschwitz. And, indeed we cannot neglect investigation of the origins of anti-Gypsyism in our search for an explanation of the intended extermination of the Roma in Europe, and the actual murder of hundreds of thousands. Anti-Gypsyism alone, however, as we argued above, is as inadequate as racism as an explanation for the Nazi murders. Both concepts are to a certain extent self-referring or circular. (They explain oppression merely by positing a tendency to oppress). They are unsatisfactory as long as they fail to describe the specific nature of the tendencies which constitute the social phenomena designated by these terms. The similar vocabulary must not obscure the fact that concrete social and political conditions determine the direction of developments.

One example of anti-Gypsyism motivated by law and order considerations is that of Wilhelm Leuschner, who in 1929, as Hessian Minister of the Interior, submitted to the provincial parliament a "Law for Combating the Sinister Activities of Gypsies". Wilhelm Leuschner was a resistance fighter against Hitler, and was executed on 29 September 1944. Earlier, as a representative of the prohibited trade unions in the Third Reich, he had been repeatedly

incarcerated in concentration camps. Nonetheless, Wilhelm Leuschner supported the 'Gypsy Act' in the provincial parliament: the aim of the act, he said, was *"die Zigeunerplage (als) dauernde Gefährdung der öffentlichen Sicherheit und Ordnung (einer) einheitlichen Bekämpfung" zuzuführen, (da) trotz energischen Vorgehens eine Ausrottung des Übels bisher nicht möglich war."*(Hesse Parl, Records, 1931, Nos.274,452) (to provide "co-ordinated countermeasures against the Gypsy nuisance, (which is) a permanent menace to public safety and order, (since) in spite of energetic endeavours it has hitherto proved impossible to extirpate this evil.")

Today, Hesse's most prestigious medal is named after Wilhelm Leuschner. His views show how the policy of integrating the "Gypsies" was a powerful means of education in citizenship. This law and order policy, which regularly sought to subdue and secure the "Gypsies", was not directed primarily at the Roma, but at the members of the majority, for whom the "Gypsies" were a demonstration of what they could expect if they refused to submit to the constraints of modern society. The integrative power of the "Gypsy" image is exemplified by the fact that this image was made into a link between political enemies, namely the Social Democrats and the conservative/reactionary forces of the Weimar Republic. This function, acting as a connecting link between divergent forces, rendered the figure of the "Gypsy" indispensable in the repertoire of governmental law and order policies.

For the Social Democrats in Germany, in particular, every form of idleness was regarded as theft. For them, every human being's existence was founded on work. A just society was to emerge by putting the Social Democrats in charge of the state, and thus having labour instead of capital governing the body politic. The Social Democrats' policy was aimed at taking charge of the state and they believed that an involvement in or even a take-over of the apparatus of power could be achieved all the more easily the more unequivocally the state deployed force against the non-workers.

The enlightenment and the ideal of work

Besides demonstrating the efficacy of new forms of regulation for 'combating Gypsies', we can from the very beginning discern a dimension which hitherto has been largely ignored by researchers (c.f. Brückner 1998). This was the idea that, if we are to give due respect to the ideal of free work in its modern-day form, it must be presented as the norm through the social ostracism of the "Gypsy". Through the concept of work, which played a special role in the formation of the German nation state, not only was the majority's definition repeatedly re-affirmed, but also (the reverse side of the coin), the ostracism of Jews and Roma was systematised.

In Old High German, the word for "work" means something like: tribulation, hardship, affliction, adversity (Storfer 1935 : 30). For free-born Germans, not working was taken for granted; work was reserved for slaves and serfs. It was only with the Reformation that the concept of work began to be revalued in Germany and linked to a rejection of ecclesiastical or aristocratic idleness and to an anathematisation of poverty. As Conze (1972: 164, our translation) remarks, "When Christian poverty, living from the alms of others, was repudiated, and the beggar regarded as a disreputable phenomenon deserving of elimination, this led to the thought that work was both punishment and discipline/education, and could therefore be enforced by the authorities. This explains the spread of workhouses and penitentiaries, which had been proliferating since the sixteenth century from their origins in the Calvinist nations, particularly Holland."

As the eighteenth century drew to a close, the Enlightenment gave rise to a call for "free work". In Germany, this demand was linked to calls for liberating the peasants (from being tied to the land), for economic freedom, freedom of movement, freedom of competition, and (of course) with calls for emancipation of the Jews. From the start, emancipation was linked to the demand that Jews should then turn to productive work like the rest of the population. This demand was raised both by the pro-Jewish party and by opponents of emancipation, and from the very beginnings of modern anti-Semitism it formed part of its discourse.

For Adolf Stoecker, (cited in Oomen and Schmid, 1978) equality meant that Jews would have to participate equally in productive work:"Für mich gipfelt die Judenfrage in der Frage, ob die Juden, welche unter uns leben, lernen werden, sich an der gesamten deutschen Arbeit, auch an der harten, sauren Arbeit des Handwerks, der Fabrik, des Landbaues zu beteiligen. Weiter sollen wir nichts von ihnen verlangen." ("For me, the Jewish question culminates in the question of whether the Jews living amongst us learn to participate in the totality of German work, in the hard, arduous work of the craft trades, the factory, the farmland. We should not demand from them any more than this.") Wilhelm Marr, (also cited in Oomen and Schmid, 1978) to whom the term 'anti-Semitism' in its modern form is first attributed, did not see religion as the cause of hatred for the Jews: "Die generelle Feindschaft gegen die Juden hatte andere Gründe. Erstens die Scheu vor wirklicher Arbeit." ("The general antipathy to the Jews had other reasons: first among them their distaste for genuine work.")

Christian Wilhelm Dohm (1781: 100), the author of the first publication to urge equal rights for the Jews, also believed that work, or industriousness, was a fundamental value in society. In order to achieve true betterment, he wanted Jews to become craftsmen and farmers: "*In der That ist das Leben des geschickten Handwerkers vielleicht der reinste Genuss, der sich in unserer bürgerlichen Gesellschaft finden mag ... Die starke Arbeit macht ihn gesund, und die Gleichförmigkeit derselben bringt eine gewisse stille Ruhe in seinen Geist.*" ("In actuality, the life of a skilled craftsman is perhaps the purest form of gratification one can find in our civil society ... The heavy work renders him healthy and its uniformity instils a certain calm peace in his spirit.").

Dohm asserts (1781: 34) *"Verdorbenheit der Juden eine nothwendige Folge der drückenden Verfassung ..., in der sie sich seit vielen Jahrhunderten befinden."* ("The Jews' debasement is a necessary consequence of the oppressive condition ... in which they have subsisted for many centuries." As a means for overcoming this "debased disposition", Dohm recommended work, which after all, he points out, would do the Jews' constitutions good as well. As an example of enlightened policy-making, Dohm (1781: 87ff) cited the settlement of Roma in Banat under the government of Josef II:

> "*Die Zigeuner sind unstreitig eine sehr verwilderte Nation. Die unmenschliche Politik, mit der man sie in fast allen Ländern zu Verbannten erklärt, ihr Leben sogar jedem Muthwilligen Preiss gegeben, hat sie von allem ehrlichen Gebrauch entwöhnt, und gezwungen, als natürliche Feinde der bürgerlichen Gesellschaften, von dem Raube und Beeinträchtigungen derselben zu leben. Erst unter der letzten österreichischen Regierung hat man angefangen, im Banat Temeswar, wo sie am häufigsten sich aufhalten, ihnen Wohnungen anzuweisen, sie zu Ackerbau und anderen Beschäftigungen anzuhalten. Die Erfahrung lehrt, dass es äusserst schwer sey, sie an diesen festen Aufenthalt und bleibende Beschäftigung nachhaltig zu gewöhnen, und*

*dass sie dem bequemern und ruhigern Leben das unsichere und beschwerliche
Umherstreichen vorziehen. Aber die Kinder der itzigen, zum Theil im Schoosse der
bürgerlichen Gesellschaft geboren, werden gewiss schon besser in dieselbe einpassen.
Sollten aber auch erst die Nachkommen der itzigen Zigeuner nach mehr als einem
Jahrhundert ghlücklichere Menschen und gute Bürger werden; so wird doch dieses
unstreitig die Regierung nicht abhalten, ihre weisen Bemühungen fortzusetzen."*

The Gypsies are incontestably a very rude and feral nation. The inhumane policy under
which in almost all countries they have been declared outlaw, their lives even rendered
forfeit to the whim of any passer-by, has estranged them from all reputable courses,
and compelled them to live as natural enemies of civil societies, which they rob and
injure. Only under the last Austrian government has a start been made, in Banat
Temeswar, where they most frequently subsist, in allotting them dwellings, in
exhorting them to pursue farming and other occupations. Experience has taught that it
is extremely difficult to habituate them lastingly to this fixed abode and continuous
employment, and that they prefer the uncertain and arduous existence of a nomad to
the more comfortable and tranquil life. But the children of the present-day generation,
some of them born in the lap of civil society, will certainly be more conformable to it.
Should, however, a century or more pass before the descendants of the present-day
Gypsies become happier persons and good citizens, this will beyond question not deter
the government from continuing its sagacious endeavours."

Thus from the beginnings of the Enlightenment the Roma were objects of governmental
emancipation policies, without themselves actively seeking emancipation, at least in Germany.
1783 saw the publication of Grellmann's work *The Gypsies*. This book was a success with the
public, and has since been regarded as the beginning of serious academic study of the Roma's
history. Grellmann, who was for some time a member of Lichtenberg's household in Göttingen,
urged (like Dohm for the Jews) education for the 'Gypsies':

*"Jeder Mensch hat Anlagen und Kräfte: der Zigeuner aber eben nicht im geringsten
Masse. Weiss er nun nicht gehörig damit umzugehen, so lehre es ihn der Staat, und
halte ihn so lange im Gängelband, bis die Absicht erreicht ist. Liegt auch gleich beim
ersten Geschlecht die Wurzel des Verderbens zu tief, als dass sie bald anfangs
auszurotten wäre, so wird sich doch eine fortgesetzte Mühe beym zweyten oder dritten
Geschlecht belohnen. Und nun denke man sich den Zigeuner, wenn er aufgehört hat,
Zigeuner zu seyn; denke sich ihn mit seiner Fruchtbarkeit und seinen zahlreichen
Nachkommen, die alle zu brauchbaren Bürgern umgeschaffen sind; und man wird
fühlen, wie wenig wirthschaftlich es war, ihn als Schlacke wegzuwerfen."* (Grellmann
1787: 183)

"Every person has dispositions and talents: and the Gypsy certainly no less than others.
If he is too ignorant to utilise them properly, then the state shall teach him, and shall
keep him in leading reins until the purpose has been achieved. If in the first generation
the roots of debasement are too deep to be extirpated immediately, then continued
efforts will be rewarded in the second or third generation. And now let us imagine the
Gypsy when he has ceased to be a Gypsy, imagine him with all his fertility and his
numerous progeny, all of them transformed into serviceable citizens, and we will
perceive how uneconomic it was to cast him aside as dross."

Above all, however, Grellmann sees a dichotomy between work and idleness, which appears to be a fundamental principle for Western civilisation: the creation of work as a social and cultural category, whose enforcement required centuries of lengthy efforts, and which today measures a person's value by his contribution to productive work. Grellmann (1787: 80) singles out the "Gypsies'" idleness as the quintessential disposition of this group:

"Hier entdeckt sich zugleich der Grund, warum Armuth und Dürftigkeit ein so gemeines Loos dieser Menschen ist. Er liegt in ihrer Faulheit, und übermässigen Neigung zur Gemächlichkeit. Sucht man Menschen, die im Schweisse ihres Angesichts ihr Brod essen, so wird man sie überall leichter, als unter dem Volke der Zigeuner finden. Jede Arbeit ist ihr Feind, wenn sie mühsam ist, und viele Anstrengung erfordert."

"Here also is revealed the reason why poverty and indigence is the common lot of these folk. It lies in their indolence and their excessive predisposition to otiosity. If one seeks people earning their bread in the sweat of their brows, nowhere will they be more difficult to find than among the Gypsies. Work of all kind is their enemy, if it is arduous and requires copious effort."

Nor does Grellmann (1787: 162) forget to condemn once again idleness as such, distinguishing it from the rest and leisure that are approved values in Christian tradition: "*Aber diese an sich liebenswürdige Zufriedenheit, ist bey dem Zigeuner so wenig, als bey dem Irokesen, Tugend, und entspringt aus dem Übermaasse seines Leichtsinns.*" ("But this inherently laudable satisfaction is no more a virtue among the Gypsies than among the Iroquois, and springs from their intolerrable lightness of spirit.")

For Grellmann, work constitutes both the purpose of life as ordained by God, and the individual's justification for existence, and it is precisely this assumption that work is both the purpose of and the justification for living, that is fundamentally challenged by the Roma by their continuing to exist. Thus the continued social existence of the Roma signifies the failure not only of the Enlightenment, but of the Enlightenment thinkers themselves.

Grellmann, in common with the other Enlightenment thinkers who supported emancipation for the Jews, thought that the "betterment of the Gypsies ", like the "civic betterment of the Jews", should always be enforced by the state. They shared the argument that the withholding of equal rights had been a significant reason for that "debasement" of the Jews and the "Gypsies" and that every "betterment" would be seen in relation to this "debasement". Grellmann (1787: 70) repeatedly cites the state of nature in which the "Gypsies" are alleged to live: "*Dass der grösste Theil der Zigeuner noch ganz unbearbeitet in den Händen der rohen Natur liege, oder wenigstens kaum auf der ersten Stufe zur Menschwerdung stehe ...*"("The greater part of the Gypsies still lies entirely unformed in the hands of raw Nature, or at least has hardly reached the first step on the ladder to true humanity..."). Gradually, over generations, however, this "raw Nature" can be overcome. This historical/pedagogic approach is likewise encountered in the contemporary discussion on "bettering" the Jews. Coupled to the probation of the emancipees, however, is an injunction to abandon their Jewishness or their identity as Roma. The aim of this development was never the emancipation of the minority, but the erasure of its social existence. Jews were required no longer to be Jews, Gypsies were required to cease being Gypsies, both were required to become useful citizens of the state. The emancipation causes the emancipees to disappear. Thus "to cease being a Gypsy" has very early on been conceived and

enunciated. In Grellmann's case, of course, this cessation does not mean the end of the Roma's physical existence.

Grellmann's position was repeatedly reproduced by various authors. In 1842, von Heister (1842: 26) reiterated Grellmann's position that in all deliberations "*zunächst erwogen werden, dass der Zigeuner keinen grösseren Feind kennt als die Arbeit, wenn diese irgend dauernd und anstrengend seine Kräfte in Anspruch nimmt ...*" ("it must first be considered that the Gypsy knows no greater enemy than work, if this continuously and arduously taxes his strength ...")

The demand for freedom to work meant nothing less than the complete dissolution of the existing economic and social order. The separation of productive and unproductive work revolutionised the traditional values: the feudal ruling classes were now seen as no less unproductive than beggars and play-actors. Praise of work goes hand in hand with the Enlightenment: work was no longer to be a torment and a burden but a means of enjoyment. Work was lauded as the source of all true pleasure, as if it was impossible to live without work, when habituation had enabled its pleasurability to be discovered. For Karl Marx, later on, work was seen to evolve from a necessity into life's cardinal need, at the moment when the 'realm of freedom' arrived. Work became an educational imperative; children at school were required to learn how to work, it was here that a predisposition to work was to be cultivated. This simultaneously entailed the demand that no one should now be permitted to be a useless member of society. It became the citizen's duty to render himself of use to the state through assiduous labour, and conversely, it was the state's task to implement economic rationality, which was unable to tolerate the unemployed or beggars (Conze 1972: 154 ff).

Very different sections of society thus found common ground in this idealisation of work, despite (or even perhaps because of) the radical changes in the nature of work as more modern industrial forms of work were enforced. For the liberal forces, work and freedom were at first inseparably linked but the state was soon to set limits to the freedom of liberal capitalism. Protection of work was part of Bismarck's policy. The conservative middle class was able to claim work for its own, and demanded from the state not only protection for both the workers and the unemployed, but also an imposed obligation to work. The early socialists based their demand for equality and general, equal prosperity on the safeguarding of this affluence by an obligation to work within the community. Finally, the Social Democrats in Germany wanted to replace the state of capital with a state of work. Their aim was not power in society but rule over society, by taking over the apparatus of state control. The internal logic of this policy meant that participation in governmental power could be attained all the more easily when the non-workers, here embodied and exemplified by the "Gypsies", could be countered by the state's use of force. At the same time, the Social Democrat leadership could publicly proclaim that it supported the principle of state enforcement. Here we find a reason for the remarkable commitment of Social Democrats to enforcing "Gypsy legislation".

The enforcement of work was always regarded as a political/pedagogic task, ultimately to be handled by the state. It was only under National Socialism that the concept of work was radically redefined, by being anchored in the racist context of Nazi policies. Hitler himself developed his anti-Semitism from the concept of work. While work was performed by Aryans for idealistic reasons, work performed by Jews was solely selfish in nature; accordingly, Aryans' work was 'culture creation', while Jewish work was 'parasitism'. "*Ariertum bedeutet sittliche Auffassung der Arbeit und dadurch ... Sozialismus, Gemeinsinn, Gemeinnutz vor Eigennutz – Judentum bedeutet egoistische Auffassung der Arbeit und dadurch Mammonismus und*

Materialismus, das konträre Gegenteil des Sozialismus." (Hitler, 1968) ("Aryanism signifies a moral conception of work and thus ... socialism, a sense of community, the common good over self-interest; while Jewishness signifies a selfish conception of work, and therefore mammonism and materialism, the diametric opposite of socialism.") In line with the evolution and radicalisation of the Nazis' persecution policies, Jews were here, like Roma, no longer ostracised as individuals, but as a group, as an entire minority. The task of research on anti-Gypsyism is to trace and if possible to understand this development, which solely on the grounds of their ethnic affiliation first ostracised the members of the Jewish and Roma minorities and deprived them of their rights, before then deporting and exterminating them.

Towards a Methodology for Anti-Gypsyism research

Anti-Gypsyism research must not be primarily read as an attempt to explain existing patterns of violence. Their causes lie beyond both the Roma themselves and the image of "Gypsies" created by the majority. Anti-Gypsyism research must not posit the existing structures of prejudice as the primary cause for the persecution of Roma, or else they will retrospectively rationalise the irrationality of the historical forms of these antipathies. This also means that a historical continuity of anti-Gypsyist stereotypes cannot be unconditionally postulated. That the image of "Gypsies" remained the same over the course of centuries does not necessarily mean that the function of this image did not change. The image of the "Gypsy" had a different function under feudalism from under the Weimar Republic, and a different one there from in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Bavarian Gypsy Act of 1926 is often cited as an example of how the Wilhelmine Empire's policies were intensified and radicalised. Under this law, Roma could simply be sent to a workhouse, or even sentenced to a term in prison. But until now no case has been found in the Bavarian archives of any Roma sentenced under this law. Committal to workhouses was already possible under existing legislation. The project of passing a 'Gypsies Act', was pursued with considerable energy over the course of years. But even when finally achieved, it did not at first have any practical consequences. The crucial new element in this law was the introduction of a new category, that of race, in the legislation of the German provinces. The ministerial resolution for implementing the law includes the words: *"Der Begriff 'Zigeuner' ist allgemein bekannt und bedarf keiner nähreren Erläuterung. Die Rassenkunde gibt darüber Aufschluss, wer als Zigeuner anzusehen ist*." ("The term 'Gypsy' is generally known and requires no further explanation. Racial studies provide information on who is to be regarded as a Gypsy.") It would be superficial to interpret this merely as a manifestation of racially motivated anti-Gypsyism, anticipating the Third Reich. The aim of enforcing the Gypsy laws in Germany was not primarily to provide a legal breakthrough for some form of anti-Gypsyism. The primary consideration was not to combat imaginary "sinister Gypsy activities", but rather to implement a change in the function of the police. It was now possible for the police not only to prosecute offenders, following the commission of a criminal offence, but also to take independent preventive action. "*Nicht mehr die Verfolgung begangener Straftaten, sondern die planmässige Bekämpfung des Verbrechertums ohne Beziehung zu einer bestimmten Straftat ist das hauptsächliche Arbeitsgebiet der Polizei.*" (Reich, 1926: 834 ff). ("The main work of the police is no longer the investigation of offences committed, but the systematic combating of criminality without reference to a particular criminal offence.")

A functional analysis of the laws passed against Roma in the Weimar Republic has to begin with precisely this transformation in the development of the overall legal framework. In

Germany, the incipient modernisation of the police had long been pioneered by its operation towards Roma and Sinte. The centralised, nationwide records maintained since 1899, were followed by the introduction of identity cards as predecessors of the internal passports introduced in the Third Reich, and the registration of all Roma fingerprints without reference to any criminal offence. This modernisation process made use of all the newest technology and aimed to overcome problems presented by the provincial boundaries inside the German Empire. It was, however, fundamentally constrained by the German federal constitution, which made it difficult to centralise data. This obstacle of internal borders was overcome for the first time by the institution of comprehensive surveillance of the Roma. The constitution and the criminal law of the Weimar Republic guaranteed that everyone was presumed innocent until proved guilty. With the introduction of the 'race' category in the Bavarian Gypsy Act, which was then adopted in provincial legislation elsewhere, there was for the first time an option for prosecuting, and even imprisoning, people solely on the grounds of their ethnic affiliation without any connection to a specific criminal offence.

For as long as the Weimar Republic existed, and basic rights were guaranteed under the constitution, Roma were discriminated against and ostracised, but their existence as such was not put in question. When the Nazis came to power, however, the situation changed once again, fundamentally and radically. While in the Weimar Republic a biological paradigm shift to a racially based form of legislation emerged with the Bavarian Gypsy Act, the Third Reich went much further to make racial studies the direct basis of governmental practice. The state made new laws not merely mentioning race, but setting up institutions where 'racial scientists' researched genealogies, took tissue samples and made decisions about the fate of individuals and groups. Racism was no longer just an idea but was organised to put policy into practice. This change meant that the traditional inconsistent and intermittent ostracism became total. At the moment when the Nazis made the race concept the foundation of the state, even the physical existence of the Roma was fundamentally put into question.

Meticulous investigation of the interaction between the race-science and National Socialist institutions, as exemplified by the persecution and extermination of the Roma, may show how and why this minority, which played no role in National Socialism's political vision, became a focus of the regime's extermination policies. In this context, it is within the institutional framework of the human sciences themselves that we see the development of the inhuman objectives which were both expected and acted on by the National Socialist regime. The Racial Hygiene Research Institute at the Reich Health Department, which played a crucial role in preparing and legitimising, as well as planning and implementing the persecution and extermination of the Roma, used its racial hygiene (ethnic cleansing?) theories as a basis for advising the Third Reich's legislators and its administrative agencies. Although the image of the Gypsies, the antipathies towards them, remained the same, the context had altered radically.

It will be one of the tasks of anti-Gypsyism research to reconstruct these changes in context, each of them entailing a functional transformation in anti-Gypsyism. A comparison with anti-Semitism will have to play a major role in this context, not so much for the obvious resemblances as for the differences involved. Anti-Semitism, for instance, had since the Enlightenment been still firmly rooted in German society (and even developed its new form of political anti-Semitism), and in the Wilhelmine Empire was not even firmly embedded in the state's legal system. In the same way it is difficult to point to popular, socially rooted manifestations of anti-Gypsyism (for example, there has been no political anti-Gypsyism), as opposed to an anti-Gypsyism which was anchored directly in the institutions of the state itself.

The Roma themselves had almost never put forward any demands of their own for emancipation, any more than the German state had ever seriously endeavoured to bring this about. Thus there were no popular spontaneous socially organised anti-Gypsyism either reacting to new laws.

However, in the context of the "Gypsy" issue, disparate forces found no difficulty in concurring, even forces which in the context of anti-Semitism appeared to belong to opposing camps (c,f. Volkov 1990). While 'emancipation' and 'anti-Semitism' are terms symbolising two different political camps, the example of the "Gypsies" illustrates that enlightened liberals and conservative anti-modernists both utilised anti-Gypsyism, and indeed it constituted a bridge between these camps. The demand for ostracism, for expulsion of the "Gypsies", was one which every social group could support, particularly those who were otherwise in favour of emancipation. The anathematisation of anti-Semitism among progressive and liberal circles, in particular, could be sidestepped by an anti-Gypsyism which presented equally as scientifically based racial studies and as a social-cleansing response to the "social question". Anti-Semitism as a world view ultimately created a mass basis for National Socialism, and was recurrently employed to re-affirm the loyalty of the masses to their Führer, whereas anti-Gypsyism can be understood as a directly practical instrument for integrating divergent forces within the national community, and also in the unmediated sense that anti-Gypsyism repeatedly recommended and legitimised action taken by the National Socialist regime. Anti-Semitism supplied the simplistic, overarching explicatory model that everything was the Jews' fault; anti-Gypsyism simultaneously created and sharpened the cutting edge of the system of social ostracism based on racist criteria.

The almost invisible social organisation of anti-Gypsyism does not mean that it has been less effective thereby. On the contrary: the way in which antipathies against "Gypsies" have repeatedly been revived by the state as a matter of course without ever needing a specific reason is evidence for the cross-class efficiency of anti-Gypsyism. Finally, the work of building the scientific basis for anti-Gypsyism provided the radicalising arguments which shaped the modernissation process of both the state and society as a whole. These arguments were ultimately to transform the social question into a race question, to which the practical policy answer was the extinction of all persons not members of the national community.

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