
Gypsies as “Marginal Man” in Works by Georg Simmel and Robert Park

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Georg Simmel is today widely viewed as the patron of sociology as science.¹ Together with Max Weber, Rudolf Goldscheid, and Ferdinand Tönnies, he cofounded the German Sociological Association (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie*) in 1909. Around the same time, Robert E. Park, a former student of Simmel became a prominent professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, publishing extensively on the topical issues of the time, namely race and culture.² In two primary texts, “Human Migration and the Marginal Man”³ and “Exkurs über den Fremden,”⁴ by Park and Simmel respectively, the concept of the “Marginal Man” (or *Fremde*) is central and, usually in reference to “the Jew,” directly correlates to the processes of othering German Sinti and Roma, and is crucial in deconstructing the antiziganistic concept “Gypsy.” Furthermore, the explicitly stated exclusion of Gypsies as “Marginal Man” by Park and the more subtle omission of the same by Simmel perpetuate the same framework within which Sinti and Roma are seen as stateless Gypsies, or pariahs in any country. Critical engagement with Park’s and Simmel’s texts here is centered on the creation of the culturally constructed figure of the Gypsy that continues to shape the non-Sinti and Roma’s understanding of an extremely diverse group of people. The two texts exemplify the determinants of the essentializing discourse that leads to antiziganism. The terms Ziganism or Gypsism, as used here, correspond to the mental, verbal, and visual constructs of writers narrating about Sinti and Roma. I am interested in metaphors, ideologies, and fantasies that create a hostile reality that rests on processes of othering.

Simmel’s theory of “nah und fern” interactions always at play between people as expounded in “Exkurs über den Fremden” philosophically clarifies the basis for systematic othering of Sinti and Roma (not-Germans), although Simmel himself does not make such a reference. Theorizing about the concept of the “foreign body” in a society, and more specifically in Germany, Simmel conceives the spatial relations (“fern” and “nah”) as symbols for human relations. “Der Fremde,” Simmel asserts, is an element in the society with a dualistic function, as “der Fremde” is far, “fern,” characterized by unfamiliar or foreign characteristics, “fremde

Eigenschaften,” but is also spatially close, “nah” (“räumliche Distanz”). The two effects, “nah” and “fern,” create a relationship between foreign and familiar, “der Fremde” and “der Einheimische” (509). The foreign(er) not only assimilates into the majority culture, but also introduces foreign elements or characteristics into the established culture.

According to Simmel, the contradictory presumed sedentary and itinerant lifestyles are united in the concept of the foreigner. To a foreigner “das Nahe [ist] fern” and to the established society “das Ferne [ist] nah” (509). In other words, the settled or normative society will anticipate parting, or becoming “fern,” of the presumed foreigner, or “das Fremde” (connected to “das Ferne”), and in return “das Nahe” will never be attainable to the foreigner (will always remain “fern”). Simmel asserts that historically the foreigner has been “der Händler” in the society, traveling from town to town, selling merchandise. A classical example of “der Händler,” according to Simmel, is the Jew. The position of the “Fremde” intensifies if the “foreigner,” instead of leaving attempts to become sedentary. Additionally, in order to become sedentary, “der Händler” must be able to support the existence by some sort of “Zwischenhandel” (510). In his analysis of the particulars of the taxation system in Germany, Simmel points to the Jew as a social construct, not as an individual with personal characteristics.

Während die von christlichen Bürgern gezahlte Beede nach dem jedes Maligen Stande des Vermögens wechselte, war die Steuer für jeden einzelnen Juden ein für allemal festgesetzt. Diese Fixiertheit beruhte darauf, daß der Jude seine soziale Position als Jude hatte, nicht als Träger bestimmter sachlicher Inhalte.... Der Jude aber war als Steuerzahler in erster Linie Jude.... (512)

Although the majority might share commonalities, such as place of living, nationality, or a job with “der Fremde,” the gap between the two will remain intact and “der Fremde” will remain “fern” (512). This, according to Simmel, is due to the fact that the closeness felt toward a person results from a set of very specific shared interests, which is not the case in the relationship to *Fremde*. The spatial organization of “nah” and “fern” remains in place when “[die] Fundamentierung der Beziehung auf eine nur allgemein menschliche Gleichheit liegt” (511).

Simmel’s analysis of “der Fremde” in society, although primarily based on the example of the European Jews, is relevant to Sinti and Roma, for as Simmel himself emphasizes, “der Fremde,” if not the Jew, would be someone else: “wenn man nicht zufällig eben dieser Person begegnet wäre, irgendeine andere die gleiche Bedeutung für uns gewonnen hätte” (511). It is of continuous relevance and significance to stress historical and cultural differences between Jews and Sinti and Roma. Having in mind the importance of distinctions in treatment of these

two minorities, especially within the German context, the emphasis here is on their shared experiential discriminatory practices of othering. Aware of the danger of promulgating stereotypes while attempting to deconstruct them, I reiterate the racially prejudiced fantasies imbedded in the very images of wandering Jews and Gypsies. The usefulness of comparison here is primarily for the benefit of deconstructing antiziganistic practices, which is a more recent undertaking in Germany. At times these practices run parallel to anti-Semitism.⁵ Within the image of the *Schausteller* or a performer, used throughout German history in reference to Gypsies, is “der Händler,” for the term *Schausteller*, apropos Gypsies, connotes roaming vagabonds who travel from town to town and whose existence is dependent on petty sales (herbalist, door-to-door salesman, horse dealer, *Galanteriewarenhändler*, *Parfümerie- und Kräuterhändlerin*, *Kurzwarenhändlerin*, tradesman, bear-leader, etc.) and road performances, such as puppetry, tightrope walking, acrobatics, or *Musizieren*.⁶ As presumed salesmen, Gypsies come and go, interacting intermittently with the majority. The same majority anticipates that the Gypsies will leave once their business in the township is finished. The constant tension or dualism between “nah” and “fern,” as hypothesized by Simmel, could be the basis for the antagonistic relationship between *us*, the majority, and *them*, “der Fremde,” in this case the roaming Gypsies. To the present day, the non-Sinti and Roma commonly refer to Gypsies as wanderers *par excellence*. The reference to wandering, often cited at best as a romanticized perception of Sinti and Roma, a comment void of much constructive critique, remains a foremost hindrance to the recognition of the magnitude of the persecution of Gypsies throughout history.

In his book *Zigeunerverfolgung in Deutschland mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Zeit zwischen 1918-1945*, historian Mohammad Gharaati outlines the persecution of Sinti and Roma in Germany. According to Gharaati, between the years 1500 and 1800 the German authorities passed 148 antigypsy edicts preventing Sinti and Roma from acquiring permanent residency and employment (32). Decades before the rise of the Third Reich, German police and various government ministries enacted laws according to which all Sinti and Roma residing in Germany were required to register with the police and unemployment agencies in each district, be fingerprinted and photographed, and have their genealogical data recorded.⁷ From April to December of 1907, a few years after the establishment of the special “Gypsy Affairs Agency” (“Nachrichtendienst in Bezug auf die Zigeuner,” 1899) in Munich under the directorship of the criminal investigator Alfred Dillmann, there were 289 criminal cases filed against Gypsies, the majority of which were for such trivial offenses as camping or driving a defective car (59). The antiziganistic vehemence inherent in such laws, coupled with the general literary descriptions

of Gypsies as Tatars, Turkish spies, Egyptians, carriers of the plague, traitors to Christendom, and invaders in general, speak of the Sinti and Roma as “Fremde” *par excellence*.⁸ By considering the historical data, one sees the injustice and violence targeting Sinti and Roma, and the archetype of the free-wandering and roaming-the-lands Gypsy quickly becomes spurious. Simmel could have suitably substituted “the Jew” with “the Gypsy” in his description of the “Fremde,” and Park’s deliberate exclusion of Gypsies as “Marginal Man” reveals the mendacity inherent in the romanticization of “wandering” Gypsies.

Despite his progressiveness on race relations in America, Park sounds speculative to outright racially biased, albeit to a much lesser extent than a majority of his contemporaries, in his analysis of “natural dispositions” and “temperament” of different people.⁹ On the other hand, the same audience, even today, would likely uncritically tolerate his generalizations of Gypsies. Almost exclusively, Park believed in the final resolve of conflict, subsequent assimilation, and favorable coexistence of all races. He did recognize, however, that there will always be certain cultural groups that are “as different as are, for example, those of the American Indian and the European, where, under ordinary circumstances, the two races live together, to be sure, but in more or less complete cultural isolation—in relations that are symbiotic rather than social” (318).¹⁰ In his publications, such as in “The Nature of Race Relations,” Park returns to the symbiotic versus social relations often, as for example when he claims that the relationship of the races of mankind is akin to “plant and animal species occupying the same territory” in as much as it is a “relationship of biotic interdependence, without interbreeding” (4-5). He concludes that, “examples of this sort of symbiosis among human creatures are the gypsies¹¹ of Western Europe or the Wild Tribes of India, particularly the so-called ‘Criminal Tribes’” (5).¹²

In the majority of his articles and papers (published mainly in the *American Journal of Sociology*), Park makes similar sporadic remarks about the Gypsies and never extensively assesses the lack of integration of Sinti and Roma into the larger European society. It seems as if he mentions them only casually when he is tentative about grappling with the *raison d'être* of Gypsies’ perpetual pariah status. One sees that Park’s otherwise systematic and scientifically rigorous writing adjourns in the field of Romany studies. The relative ease with which he makes sweeping generalizations of Gypsies speaks also of the lack of critical rigor he could expect from his readers. Apart from the references to symbiotic co-living of Gypsies, Park’s other frequently referenced sociological concept in relation to Gypsies is of the “Marginal Man.” Importantly, both concepts are central to Park’s writing in general.¹³

The editors of the *Collected Papers* organized the first volume in four parts, the fourth being “The Marginal Man.”¹⁴ Under that heading, one finds four articles, including “Human Migration and the Marginal Man,” “Personality and Cultural Conflict,” “Cultural Conflict and the Marginal Man,” and “Mentality of Racial Hybrids.” Park’s “Human Migration and Marginal Man” divulges his explicit exclusion of Gypsies from the “catastrophic theory of progress,” according to which “migration and the incidental collisions, conflicts, and fusions of people and cultures” are the most important facets which “they [people] have occasioned” (349-350). He draws enthusiastically on Karl Bücher’s theories of wandering, itineration, and migration as signs of all great evolutions in human history. However, his tone turns cautionary when he states that, “migration is not, however to be identified with mere movement,” and reiterates:

The movement of gypsies and other pariah peoples, because they bring about no important changes in cultural life, are to be regarded rather as a geographical fact than a social phenomenon. Nomadic life is stabilized on the basis of movement, and even though gypsies now travel by automobile, they still maintain, comparatively unchanged, their ancient tribal organization and customs. The result is that their relation to the communities in which they may at any time be found is to be described as symbiotic rather than social. This tends to be true of any section or class of the population—the hobos, for example, and the hotel dwellers—which is unsettled and mobile. (350)

What allows Park to make sweeping generalizations about Sinti and Roma is a presumption that his readers have already conceded to the commonly accepted knowledge that Gypsies “bring about no important change in cultural life.” It further acquits his commentary of any ethical objections one might have to such a statement. How can we sympathize with people, even if they face persecution, who choose and maintain of their free will a lifestyle void of any cultural association?

The parallel to the hobos is better developed in Park’s “The Mind of the Hobo: Reflections Between Mentality and Locomotion.” In this article Park comments that mental activity is much like locomotion, in as much as humans make decisions and have goals. Park claims that most men are “moved to act by individual purposes, but in doing so they realize a common end” (93). If this is so, why then is the hobo so different, he laments. “Why, with so wide an acquaintance with regions, with men, and with cities, with life in the open road and in the slums, has he been able to contribute so little to our knowledge of life?” As an answer, he quickly suggests:

The trouble with the hobo mind is not lack of experience, but lack of a vocation. The hobo is, to be sure, always on the move, but he has no destination, and

naturally he never arrives. Wanderlust, which is the most elementary expression of the romantic temperament and the romantic interest in life, has assumed for him, as for many others, the character of a vice.... He has sacrificed the human need of association and organization to a romantic passion for individual freedom.... He [hobo] is not only a "homeless man", but a man without a cause and without a country. (93-94)

The "gypsies" (also as hobos) are characterized as the inferior humans who in reverence to their diabolic cult of individuality forego associations. Park's assumptions are vast, and best in line with an ongoing antiziganism: Gypsies do not want jobs or permanent housing, hence are antisocial; they are romantics addicted to wandering; do not form neighborly or other human bonds, hence are asocial; contribute nothing to our cultural heritage; and in aimlessly roaming the lands are not citizens of any country.¹⁵ In place of critical analysis of anti-Gypsy laws analogous to the time of his writing, Park shows his disregard for the systematic, institutionalized, and cultural antiziganism. Instead, one look at the antigypsy laws around the same time of Park's writing shows a well-organized and premeditated attempt to destroy the last traces of the people who had for six centuries occupied these territories.

The key *modus operandi* governing the persecution was the emphasis on the existence of "Gypsy hordes." As if it were not hard enough for Sinti and Roma families to live legally in an area for a certain time period, the "Gypsy Laws" of the 1920s forced them to disperse and only single families with possibly married children, or two families could live and move together. According to the "Bayerische Zigeuner Arbeitsscheuengesetz," a law from 1926, Gypsies are not to travel in extended families; "legitimate" families included only married couples and their children.¹⁶ Next, the 1926 Bavarian law "Combating Gypsies, Vagabonds and the Work Shy" outlining measures for combating Gypsies, emphasized that all Gypsies were by nature opposed to work and expressed urgent measures for the forced labor of Gypsies. The law required the registration of all Gypsies with the police, registry office, and unemployment agencies. As mentioned previously, in 1899 an information agency, "Nachrichtendienst in Bezug auf die Zigeuner" had been established under the direction of Alfred Dillmann. The agency obtained photographs, fingerprints, and other genealogical data relating especially to criminality.¹⁷ The enthusiasm of those portraying Gypsies as criminals was matched by those in power advocating incarceration. Dillmann's book, *Zigeuner-Buch* demonstrated the effectiveness of the newly established agency. At the time the book was published, six years after the first days of the agency, Dillmann was able to compile 3,350 names and personal records of Sinti and Roma. Paradoxically, the vast majority of Sinti and Roma,

according to Dillmann's own findings, had a job or an occupation. Some of the most frequently listed occupations were: door-to-door salesman, horse-dealer, musician, tradesman, knife grinder, actress, grinder (or cutter), sieve-maker, dry-goods tradeswoman, varnisher, tin-maker, artist, pest controller, businessman, violin-maker, fashion designer, veteran, agricultural worker, chimney sweeper, tailor, wood carver, porcelain tradesman, and manufacturing worker. It is noteworthy that these occupations were fairly equally distributed among men and women, proof that not only did Sinti and Roma men work, but their sisters, daughters, wives, and mothers did as well. Additionally, most of the individuals in Dillmann's book list more than one occupation, and rarely was an occupation missing from an entry. However, Dillmann's enthusiasm to prove antisocial and asocial behavior of all Gypsies resulted in vast imprisonments of Sinti and Roma, and provided his epigones with invaluable police records used for expulsion of Sinti and Roma from Germany. Dillmann's and by extension Park's antiziganism rests on the notion that all Gypsies are antisocial and asocial wanderers. Gypsies will come, and must, under all circumstances, go.

Philosophically, the established assumption of the concept coming (or becoming close) and leaving (or becoming far) is well captured by Simmel, although strictly speaking not in reference to Gypsies but rather to the all-encompassing "der Fremde." According to Simmel, the crux of the problem preventing the lasting positive relationship with "der Fremde" is the "nah" and "fern" dualism. When "der Fremde" becomes too "nah," as in sedentary (settling in one region), the relationship towards "der Fremde" is solely based on the anticipation of "fern": "die Beziehung zu ihm [dem Fremden] ist Nicht-Beziehung, er ist das, als was er hier in Frage steht: ein Glied der Gruppe selbst. Als solches vielmehr ist er zugleich nah und fern, wie es in der Fundamentierung der Beziehung auf eine nur allgemein menschliche Gleichheit liegt" (511). The so-called constructive assimilation or coexistence is further complicated by the dichotomy "us" and "them." Following this line of thought, typifying all Gypsies as "Fremde" or "them" allows for the discrimination against the entire group. Simmel's distinction between the "individual" and "a type" is beneficial for understanding the process of othering "der Fremde"; "Darum werden die Fremden auch eigentlich nicht als Individuen, sondern als die Fremden eines bestimmten Typus überhaupt empfunden, das Moment der Ferne ist ihnen gegenüber nicht weniger generell als das der Nähe" (512). Although Simmel asserts that this dualism could be a positive experience with optimistic outcomes for the entire community, alluding to the possibility for constructive assimilation whereby all groups benefit from each other, he also expresses doubts that such assimilation would be realistically possible.

Park would, to a great degree, agree with Simmel's reservations about constructive assimilation and would add, as in "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," that due to the high level of existing race consciousness "particularly where peoples who come together are of divergent cultures and widely different racial stocks" the process of assimilation is at best arduous (353). He is intuitive in his recognition that "the chief obstacle to the cultural assimilation of races is not their different mental, but rather divergent physical traits" (353). Here, Park has specifically the Japanese (as well as other "Orientals") and the Blacks in mind. Unlike the Irish who can be seen as an individual (Simmel's "Individuen"), "the Japanese, like the Negro, is condemned to remain among us an abstraction, a symbol—a symbol not merely of his own race but of the Orient" (353). Park reiterates this belief throughout much of his writing, and in an earlier paper, "A Race Relation Survey," asserts that both of the above-mentioned races, (the Oriental, the Negro), "wear[s] a racial uniform which he cannot lay aside" (159). In conclusion, Park maintains that as such, "the Oriental" (or any other similar group) is "invariably regarded as a representative of his race" (or Simmel's "Typus") and that "outside of his own racial group, he almost ceases to be a person: he is likely to be regarded as another example of the species" (159-160). Lastly, in "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," Park argues that beyond the "type" and an "individual" there is a third type of personality, "a cultural hybrid," namely a Jew, or "a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples" in the two societies (ghetto and non-ghetto) "which never completely interpenetrated and fused" (354). Park references Simmel, "himself a Jew," who "has described with such profound insight and understanding" this "stranger" "par excellence" (354). According to Park, all the characteristics of the Jew, "pre-eminence as a trader and his keen intellectual interest, his sophistication" are an indication of the "cosmopolite," also the marginal man (354-355). Although somewhat ambiguous in his portrayal of the Jew, Park shows regrettably little of this type of insight in his depiction of "gypsies."

The homogenization and permanency of which Park spoke resonates well with the ongoing homogenization of Gypsies, intrinsic to the process of othering, and as evident in the long history of persecution of Gypsies in Germany. The rhetoric that repeatedly attempts to categorize Gypsies as fundamentally different from the rest of the Germans, as a "Typus" rather than "Individuen," whose customs and traditions are at odds with those deemed as *German*, still persists today.¹⁸ The characterization of Sinti and Roma's culture as homogenous, allows the antiziganists to generalize firstly against all Sinti and Roma and secondly to analyze Gypsy-like behavior, customs, and traditions. The totalizing nature of the discourse is arresting.

By homogenizing the entire group it becomes easier to fashion general assumptions about Sinti and Roma, which in time acquire the status of universals, or become common knowledge. Such knowledge, discriminatory in nature, leads non-Sinti and Roma to believe that Gypsies are natural-born wanderers, incapable and disinclined, both physically and mentally, to conform to basic social norms. Typecasting Sinti and Roma as Gypsy nomads, entertainers, and criminals fashions the Gypsy tropes, which inform of the antiziganism inherent to all present-day modern societies.

Park's and Simmel's concepts of the "Marginal Man" and "der Fremde" respectively are instructive in deconstructing the antiziganistic concept "Gypsy," as they perpetuate stereotypes of Sinti and Roma as stateless Gypsies, or pariahs in any country. In varied degrees, the two texts are examples of the essentializing discourse that leads to antiziganism. Both authors narrate along the lines of othering rooted in the racially prejudiced ideologies of wandering Gypsies (also Jews), stateless vagabonds, asocial and antisocial elements in the society, and intrinsically not-German (or not-American) people. Simmel's more nuanced theory of "nah" and "fern" as the basis of the relationship between "der Fremde" and not "der Fremde" is helpful inasmuch as it offers a theory of processes of discrimination. However, it falls short in exposing stereotypes necessary for such relations, and at best it recycles already imbedded racial biases. Park's race-based writing is much more overt, and his antiziganism is disconcerting. The persistence of the discriminatory rhetoric that likens Sinti and Roma to hobos and stateless criminals is arresting. Simmel and Park fail to grapple with the essentializing antiziganistic discourse at the heart of the established binaries of "them" versus "us," or "type" versus "individual/person."

In general, it is impossible to offer one straightforward solution for the elimination of the persevering bias, prejudice, and general global intolerance against Sinti and Roma. The right approach cannot be to write an alternative cultural history of Sinti and Roma, as such a project is impossible due to the centuries-long disproportionate power relations and hegemonic discourse of non-Sinti and Roma. Even if we were to presume that the alternative history assumes a positive account of Sinti and Roma's cultural coexistence with other Germans then such a project could not be entrusted to voices emanating out of the same structures that epitomize Sinti and Roma as Gypsies. Additionally, such an undertaking, while attempting to reevaluate or rewrite the antiziganistic discourse, might even further obscure the presence of Sinti and Roma voices within the same narratives. The counter-model to antiziganism must survey the old discursive practices of discrimination and pinpoint the tools and methods of Gypsologists that make Gypsies out of Sinti and Roma. It must also find spaces of positive identification of

Sinti and Roma within German discourse. This means doing something beyond “positive images,” such as re-evaluating the silence of the unwritten and assigned agency to Sinti and Roma.

Ethnicity and identity, as cultural constructs with stakes in national politics, continue to raise conflict. These multi-faceted concepts can be multi-layered and often even misleading. However, the very instability (the lack of fixity and continuous production of meaning) and uncertainty (impossibility of finite conclusions) of cultural signs can counter the homogeneity of the constructs “Gypsy,” “nomad,” or “Gypsy musician.” Recognizing the fluidity of identity, language, and ethnicity can open up a space, a place of racial, cultural, and linguistic hybridity. Naturally, hybridity is not the only model of resistance to homogenizing ideologies. Many cultural critics have warned against the fashionability and marketability of the very term “hybridity.”¹⁹ Certainly the focus of any theory must be to contest successfully the discrimination that Sinti and Roma face daily (racial discrimination, lack of access to education/jobs, inadequate housing, etc.). The primary goal of theory and practice (state and national organizations) must be to implement and safeguard the status of Sinti and Roma as national minority with legal protection of human rights.

Notes

¹ Surprisingly, Simmel never held a chair in sociology, but rather philosophy, at Strasbourg University (see Frisby 32-33).

² Although Park spent only a few semesters attending Simmel’s lectures in Berlin, the impact Simmel had on Park’s subsequent writing is expansive, as illuminated later in this article.

³ First appearing in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Park’s “Human Migration and the Marginal Man” also appears in his work, *Collected Papers of Robert Ezra Park*.

⁴ Simmel’s article appears in his *Soziologie. Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*.

⁵ Based on the similarities between things attributed to Gypsies and Jews one could further investigate the interrelatedness of the discrimination (e.g., are Roma othered because they are, among other things “like Jews” or are Jews othered because they are “like Gypsies”).

⁶ The German term *Schausteller*, roughly translated in English as a fairground showman, refers to a profession, and simultaneously assigns a specific lifestyle to those whose job is to entertain other people. In reference to Gypsies, it is a general term that has broad meaning, so that it can connote fairground showmen, *Jahrmarktsleute*, or street performers, such as bear trainers, *Bärenreißer*. The term fairground showman covers a wide range of occupations, from musician, gymnast, craftsman, actress/performer, tightrope walker, ventriloquist, magician, artist (*Schlangenschwinger*) to Kasperl-theater and marionette-theater owners, and *Jahrmarktsleute*. Additionally, *Schausteller* as it applies to Gypsies also connotes substandard entertainers in general, so that the terms entertainer and *Schausteller* are interchangeable. Examples in German

anthropological and ethnographic works abound with the common consensus that the Gypsy *Schausteller* as traveling showmen have an essence (because they are Gypsies they are substandard performers, and because they are inessential performers they must be Gypsies) tangle in their type of their trade. The book *Fabrendes Volk*, by a Gypsiologist Arnold Herman, contains the clearest articulation of a belief that being a Gypsy entertainer, either a street or fairground performer, directly corresponds to *being a Gypsy*.

⁷ Despite the terms of Article 108 of the National Constitution of the Weimar Republic (ratified in 1919 and 1921) which guaranteed Sinti and Roma full and equal citizenship rights, antiziganism throughout the German-speaking lands was widespread and on the rise in the beginning of the twentieth century. The similar registration of Jews in Germany was mandatory during the Third Reich. As non-Sinti and Roma citizens were also required (and still are) to register upon leaving and acquiring a new address (*Anmeldung* and *Abmeldung*), they were not fingerprinted, photographed, and their genealogies were not recorded.

⁸ For the chronology of the depiction of the literary figure “Gypsy,” see Ehardt.

⁹ In his book *Race and Culture*, and in reference to the Blacks in the American South, he is concluding at one point that the black man is “by natural disposition, neither an intellectual nor an idealist, like the Jew; nor a brooding introspective, like the East African; nor a pioneer and frontiersman, like the Anglo-Saxon. He is primarily an artist, loving life for its own sake. His *métier* is expression rather than action. He is, so to speak, the lady among the races” (280).

¹⁰ First published as “Education and the Cultural Crisis” in the *American Journal of Sociology*, the piece also appears in *Collected Papers*. In addition, as much as Park believed the groups were different, he maintained that some cultural interchange is inevitable.

¹¹ Interestingly, Park refers to Sinti and Roma exclusively in a small letter “g.”

¹² See Thompson.

¹³ Park’s concept of the “Marginal Man” has thereafter been further developed by different authors. See Stonequist.

¹⁴ *The Collected Papers of Robert Ezra Park*. Volumes I, II, and III. Everett C. Hughes, et al. eds. New York: Arno Press, 1974.

¹⁵ A 1992 poll conducted by the Allensbach Demoscopic Institute indicates that “64 percent of Germans had an unfavourable opinion—a higher percentage than for any other racial, ethnic or religious groups” (“Written Comments of the European Roma Rights Center”; cf. Strauss). An EMNID Institute survey conducted two years later indicates even more resentment: 68 percent of Germans did not want Romani neighbors (Abdikeeva; cf. “The Situation of Roma in Germany”). For the recent attacks on Sinti and Roma, see *OSI Report* (page 167 for attacks in schools; 171 for discrimination in employment recruitment; 176 for Romani refugees; 172-182 for public and commercial housing; 185-186 for discrimination in public sphere, e.g. swimming pool; 189 for ethnic profiling; 191 for criminal justice; 193 for racially motivated violence; 195 for violence by private individuals; 199 for violence by public actors).

¹⁶ “Die Begründung des Bayerischen Zigeuner—und Arbeitsscheuengesetzes vom 16. Juli 1926 wandete sich gegen das fahrende Volk der Zigeuner ausdrücklich als gegen einen schädlichen Fremdkörper in der deutschen Kultur” (qtd. in Hohmann). A more recent analysis of this particular law can be found in Marion Bonillo’s *Zigeunerpolitik*.

¹⁷ This agency officially closed down in 1970.

¹⁸ See “The Situation of Roma in Germany.” The report evaluates the current living and social conditions of Sinti and Roma. It covers recent changes in the minority laws in Germany, education, employment, housing, public services, and the results of public opinion polls, which are mostly indicative of racial discrimination. This 83-page document reveals that German Sinti and Roma continue to live in precarious conditions, including inadequate housing and schooling, that they are victims of recurring racially motivated violence, and that they experience general contempt from their non-Sinti and Roma neighbors who continue to regard them as *foreigners*.

¹⁹ Cultural critics Peter von der Veer and John Hutnyk caution that hybridity is becoming a new academic fad that could thwart political work by ignoring resistance to specific structural and institutional crises. See von der Veer’s analysis of Salman Rushdie’s *Satanic Verses*. “It is ironic, therefore, to find that migrants who are at the vanguard of political resistance to the assimilative tendencies of the nation-state [Britain], who have their own cultural project for living hybrid cultural lives in a non-Islamic nation ... are condemned, while the postmodern hybrid novelist [Rushdie] is celebrated by liberals and the state, extolled for his struggle against that very oppositional resistance, against the supposed ‘backwardness’ of the ‘fundamentalist’ British Muslim community” (Hutnyk 102).

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