



Mullen, A. (2018) 'Race', place and territorial stigmatisation: the construction of Roma migrants in and through Govanhill, Scotland. In: Devine, T.M. and McCarthy, A. (eds.) *New Scots: Scotland's Immigrant Communities Since 1945*. Series: Studies in Scottish and Irish migration. Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh, pp. 205-231. ISBN 9781474437882

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Deposited on 23 March 2018

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‘Race’, Place and Territorial Stigmatisation: The Construction of Roma Migrants in and through Govanhill, Scotland

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INTRODUCTION

‘Object to mass immigration from the EU? Join the Romaphobe club!’

The statement above is not a placard slogan from a far-right protest, nor even a soundbite from one of the many ill-tempered debates that occurred so frequently during the European Union referendum campaign in 2016 (although it may not have seemed out of place in either of these contexts). It is a headline from a newspaper article authored by Tom Harris who, at the time of the article’s writing, was a local Labour MP, bemoaning the ‘influx’ of Roma to Glasgow and warning of dangers to come. Harris’ issues with Roma are many:

filthy and vastly overcrowded living arrangements, organised aggressive begging, the ghetto-isation of local streets where women no longer feel safe to walk due to the presence of large groups of (workless) men, the rifling through domestic wheelie bins by groups of women pushing oddly child-free prams, and a worrying increase in the reporting of aggressive and violent behavior [*sic*] in local schools[.]¹

As the MP for Glasgow South, some of the Romani people that Harris blamed for these problems were in fact his own constituents. Yet he did not appear to recognise them as such: *‘my constituents become angrier and more resentful, because the lives they have worked so hard to build for themselves and their families are being impinged upon by people whose culture, way of life and attitude to authority and those around them are utterly alien’*.² This distinction between these so-called legitimate citizens and Romani residents who have arrived more recently permeates media representations and is central to legitimising

constructions of Roma as a people whose settlement has resulted in the perceived 'ghettoisation' of Govanhill.

This chapter analyses media representations of Roma migrants in Govanhill from 2007 to 2017. It will examine the portrayal of Roma migrants in Scotland as a problematic population, as articulated through the construction of Govanhill as a problem place. As places produce distinctly local forms of inclusion and exclusion, particular racisms are realised through place, and become taken for granted through them being embedded in the routine fabric of the everyday.³ Through a process of 'territorial stigmatisation',⁴ a 'blemish of place' has been produced with a strong connection forged between Roma and the perceived social ills of Govanhill. A consequence of this racialisation of space is the exacerbation of inequalities, the obscuring of common experiences that Romani people share with other residents, and the creation and exacerbation of divisions, in which Roma are simultaneously subject to and blamed for harsh local conditions.

To explore the ways in which processes of racialisation⁵ and place-based stigma intersect and interact, I will begin by describing Romani migration to Scotland, as well as providing a brief sketch of Govanhill. I will then explore early local evidence of the racialisation of Roma migrants in Scotland and how these representations were consolidated through the construction of the 'Govanhill Ghetto'. This will be followed by an analysis of how these ideas have been mobilised by campaigns such as Let's Save Govanhill and amplified by wider political questions in the shadow of the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum. Throughout, I argue that through a process of territorial stigmatisation, Roma and Govanhill have become inextricably linked, to the extent that it has become possible to evoke the Roma 'problem' without naming Roma at all.

SITUATING ROMA

Roma are historically one of the most systematically oppressed and marginalised populations in Europe and have been subject to centuries of state violence across the continent. Roma continue to experience this legacy today, with discrimination and destitution exacerbating the everyday struggle to survive.⁶ The situation of Roma throughout Europe has resulted in concerted political efforts to address the severity of their plight, most notably via the European Decade of Roma Inclusion. Despite such efforts, little in the way of meaningful structural change has been achieved.⁷ As Europe's largest transnational minority, Roma

are often constructed as a homogenous group, yet the category Roma is an umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of identifications that cut across national, linguistic, occupational and cultural lines. The Council of Europe, for instance, adopts the following common definition: ‘Roma, Sinti, Kale and related groups in Europe, including Travellers and the Eastern groups (Dom and Lom), and covers the wide diversity of the groups concerned, including persons who identify themselves as Gypsies.’⁸ In this sense, Roma may be more appropriately considered as ‘a mosaic of small diverse groups’.⁹

There is a longer history of Romani people migrating westwards in Europe from the fifteenth century onwards and perhaps even earlier.¹⁰ Romani migration from Eastern Europe also occurred throughout the twentieth century, including a small number of refugees from the former Czechoslovakia to the United Kingdom during the 1990s.¹¹ However, it is primarily the European Union’s enlargements of 2004 and 2007 that enabled Roma to move more freely and which eventually led to the establishment of migrant Romani communities in Scotland.¹² Reliable figures on their size are not available.¹³ The Scottish Government did,



Figure 9.1 International Roma Day, Govanhill, 2017. International Roma Day is celebrated internationally and has been held in Govanhill every year since 2014 (organised by the local Roma community organisation, Friends of Romano Lav). It is reported to be the first public procession of Roma in the UK. © Andy Neil.

however, conduct a 'mapping study' in 2013 to establish the scale of Roma immigration.¹⁴ It estimated the total Roma population in Scotland to be between 3,804 and 4,946, with the majority, around 3,500, living in Glasgow, most of whom reside across a small number of streets in Govanhill. This area is Glasgow's most diverse neighbourhood, with approximately fifty-two languages spoken within 'one square mile', as the local refrain commonly goes.

Govanhill has historically been a neighbourhood of settlement for Scotland's new migrant communities and owes much of its diversity to influxes of Irish, Jewish, Italian and Pakistani migration from its establishment in the nineteenth century onwards. Its status as a booming industrial economy that was home to 'Dixon's Blazes' (the Govan Iron Works established by the Dixon family in 1837 and closed in 1959) ensured that many seeking work, either via internal migration or from further afield, would set up homes in the tenements which were specifically built to house the industrial labour force.¹⁵ As Suzanne Audrey argues, Govanhill's history is 'inextricably linked to the rise of Glasgow as the Second City of the Empire', and later to the consequences of deindustrialisation.¹⁶ Comparisons are often made between the nineteenth-century reception of Irish migrants and the contemporary situation of Roma; indeed, it is common for Roma migrants in Govanhill to be described as 'the new Irish'.¹⁷ The term is mobilised both pejoratively by those who bemoan the Roma 'influx' and in solidarity¹⁸ by those who appreciate the connections between the contemporary Roma experience and those of their ancestors. The parallels between the two migrant experiences are striking. Audrey describes the conditions that Irish Catholic immigrants in mid-nineteenth-century Glasgow faced as follows:

They were often the least skilled, undertook the least desirable jobs and lived in the worst housing. Negative stereotypes were in abundance: they were a filthy inferior 'race', arriving in large numbers, multiplying at an alarming rate and turning whole areas into slums; they were immoral yet obsessed with their religion; they were lazy and living off charity, yet taking the jobs of others[.]¹⁹

As we will see, many of the stereotypes within this statement are familiar and could easily be read as a commentary about the reception of Roma migrants in Govanhill today, with the caveat that while still constructed as 'filthy' and 'inferior', the language of 'race' is rarely evoked. Instead, racialised conceptions of cultural difference are articulated and often cited as 'legitimate concerns' about immigration, which function to the same effect.²⁰

EARLY LOCAL ARTICULATIONS OF RACIALISATION

As Jan Grill argues in his ethnographic analysis of the ‘crystallisation’ of the Roma category in Glasgow, Romani migrants were not identified as Roma in the early years of their migration, but were understood within broader categories such as ‘Slovaks’ or ‘Eastern Europeans’, or misrecognised as ‘asylum seekers’ or ‘refugees’.²¹ This labelling was also reflected in media accounts, but was to change in March 2007. From relative invisibility, Roma migrants were suddenly and dramatically foregrounded in widely publicised accounts of ‘race hate gang wars’.²² The beginnings of the connection forged between Roma and the problems of Govanhill has its roots in a media story that made reference to both. Govanhill was constructed as ‘a playground by day’, where ‘children play unsupervised on busy street corners’, and ‘a battleground by night’, where ‘teenagers hurl bricks and bottles at each other’.²³ These battles were said to be ‘between groups of Eastern European teenagers and white Scots or Scottish Asians’, with violence the response to ‘rising racial tensions’.²⁴ Inter-community tensions were emphasised by the inclusion of quotations from concerned residents, including ‘Scots Asians’, who were alleged to be ‘outspoken about their discomfort with the “Slovakians”’, as well as from ‘Scots’.²⁵ Violent imagery of ‘nail-studded planks . . . spattered with blood’ wielded by Slovakian youths who ‘charged a group of white Scots’ in response to their ‘screaming racist insults’ was woven throughout these texts to dramatise the allegations.²⁶

‘Romany groups’ were described as incoming communities whose ‘cultural differences’ were ‘adding strain’ to the area,²⁷ but they were afforded no voice, other than indirectly through the mitigating comments of anti-racist campaigners. The ‘significant influx of Eastern Europeans over the past 18 months’ and the challenges in ‘integrating Slovakian Romany families, in particular’ became central to the narrative.²⁸ Despite many of the articles acknowledging that fighting had been instigated by Scottish youth and ‘fuelled by rumour and paranoia’, the overarching emphasis was on the migrants’ ‘cultural differences and lack of integration’.²⁹ This was legitimised through an entire article devoted to the ‘huge response’ from readers, which reported that ‘a discussion has raged over the past week about whether there should be more restrictions on migrants from new European Union states to the UK’.³⁰ The article asserted that ‘the Glasgow South Side community risks being torn apart’,³¹ and implied that the mere presence of Roma was the provocative cause.

Allegations of child neglect added to this troubled picture, with unidentified residents reported as claiming that ‘toddlers and youngsters, originally from Slovakia or the Czech Republic, are allowed to roam the streets unchecked for hours on end’.³² This was underscored by the observations of journalists: ‘We watched as children – the eldest looked no more than five – ran in and out of shops and in front of cars in Allison Street, forcing drivers to make emergency stops. A passing woman who spoke to the children was from the Czech Republic. When asked if she knew where the children’s parents were, she pointed to a tenement 50 yards away.’³³

The theme of child neglect and abuse became central in the months that followed, culminating in an explosive story regarding the alleged sexual exploitation of Roma children. Much of this story centred around a particularly graphic eyewitness account, which recounted in horrific detail an allegation of a nine-year-old girl being sexually assaulted in a tenement close.³⁴ Further allegations included the following: ‘Another Govanhill resident, who wished to remain anonymous, claimed he saw an incident in which two boys aged between seven and nine – who *appeared to be of Roma origin* – were engaged in a sex act together in the backyard of his tenement building.’³⁵

Yet crucially, although the article opened with the definitive statement that ‘A child prostitution ring which is sexually exploiting immigrant Roma children as young as nine is operating in Glasgow, the *Sunday Herald* can reveal’, no evidence appeared in the article in support of the headline.³⁶ The police confirmed that they were undertaking an undercover operation based on ‘at least six’ reports ‘involving the alleged abuse of children’ that an unnamed senior police source claimed ‘specified particular areas in Govanhill and related to the Roma community’.³⁷ This story did not feature in any other newspaper and did not appear in the *Sunday Herald* again. The only possible reference to this story was in October 2011 when its sister paper, *The Herald*, reported that ‘senior police officers are increasingly unhappy with a series of what they say are urban myths springing up in Govanhill over child prostitution involving Roma girls’.³⁸ To assume that Roma can be identified by their ‘appearance’, and to foreground ethnicity³⁹ so strongly is irresponsible reporting that plays into wider racialised stereotypes of Roma criminality and specific accusations regarding their exploitation of children.⁴⁰ In a context where dominant discourses ‘simultaneously victimize and vilify Romani children, rendering them incapable of experiencing humane childhoods’,⁴¹ such stories can lead to the stigmatisation of an entire community.

Efforts to pre-emptively address this potential panic fuelled by racist assumptions were made by the police superintendent in charge of the investigation, who stressed that ‘The Roma community would be up in arms itself if the people were aware of these allegations.’⁴² Indeed, in an unusual move that may have been an attempt at providing ‘balanced’ coverage, the author, Neil Mackay, who is the current (2018) editor of the *Sunday Herald*, also published an accompanying piece to the notorious article in the pages that followed it questioning Roma stereotypes and stigma. It included a comment from the police: ‘The mistrust of the indigenous community is simply down to ignorance. One or two incidents lead to rumours and soon you have a crime wave that doesn’t exist. Things get out of proportion.’⁴³ Mackay added that ‘police were keen to stress that this crime, *if it is happening*, must not be used to tarnish the entire community’.⁴⁴ Yet such caution was omitted in the original article itself and indeed was undermined by the inclusion of an unnamed ‘senior’ police colleague’s assertion that there is ‘no smoke without fire’.⁴⁵

CONSOLIDATION: CONSTRUCTING THE GOVANHILL GHETTO

Mutual resentment and fear

The idea of the ‘ghetto’ is a contested concept. Territorial stigmatisation is a necessary condition of a ghetto but is not in and of itself sufficient to constitute one; while definitions vary in emphasis and precise criteria, most focus on ethnic homogeneity as a necessary characteristic, with the caveat that the ‘true’ ghetto is an ideal type and has rarely existed.⁴⁶ As the most ethnically diverse community in Scotland, Govanhill is not a ghetto and indeed might be regarded as its antithesis. Yet the media persistently construct the area as comprised of separate bounded communities united only in mutual resentment and antagonism:

Walking the network of streets in the heart of Govanhill is a primer for the confused and warring nature of race relations in 21st century Scotland. Local white people and those of Asian origin throw the most appalling slurs at the latest incomers to the area – the Roma community . . . But that’s not all. Whites and Asians are daggers drawn at times as well. The word ‘Paki’ is never long out of earshot and white people are told to ‘get back to your white ghettos’.⁴⁷

This latter point was challenged by residents in the readers’ letters that followed in the press,⁴⁸ yet it proved to be a theme that would be maintained throughout many of the accounts.

Positioned against 'established' communities, Roma were constructed as the archetypal problem neighbour, which was predicated on assimilationist notions of integration. Their socialising on the streets was depicted as intimidating, with Roma men especially perceived as a threat. This gendered aspect of racialisation was articulated through the reported concerns of local women who 'on their own or even a couple of women walking past these groups are feeling a bit uncomfortable'.⁴⁹ Such discourses juxtaposing female safety against threatening males is an old trope, which has its roots in colonial thinking that simultaneously racialised foreign bodies and constructed white women as vulnerable subjects in need of patriarchal protection.⁵⁰ This construction extended to children and intimidation was taken to be self-evident: 'Groups of men and children socialise in the street, chatting in Romanes and gesticulating largely. You can see that is intimidating.'⁵¹ In addition to the stereotype of dangerous Roma men, it encodes everyday interactions with loaded markers of difference and normalises the entitlement of others in the community to feel threatened by their presence. Conversely, racialising constructions can also intersect with gender in more novel ways: 'You see the Roma women at night with flick-knives, tearing open bin bags to rifle the rubbish. You can see why that is intimidating.'⁵² This image inverts traditional gender roles,⁵³ with the animalistic imagery of scavenging through garbage serving to dehumanise. These discourses cast the unfamiliar as foreign and threatening. In this sense, Roma are constructed as disruptive 'bodies out of place'.⁵⁴

Roma were also consistently accused of being a threat to public services. In the context of education, a schoolteacher contrasted the right to freedom of movement with the right to education for all and 'made an impassioned appeal' for restrictions on the number of children who do not speak English in school classrooms. It was a proposal reportedly rejected as contravening 'race relations' legislation.⁵⁵ This involved playing different communities against one another. One newspaper article claimed that 'the NHS may be "ignoring the majority of the population" in Glasgow's deprived Govanhill area, while "a lot of money" is spent on "a very small proportion of the community"', with 'Eastern European Roma gypsy families' benefiting from 'access to better health and well being services' than 'the indigenous population' and 'the Asian population'.⁵⁶ This distinction is worth considering. Much of the so-called 'Asian community' are in fact Scottish, yet are persistently constructed as Other. This distinction would reappear in several articles that claimed a local school had no Scottish pupils, in newspapers including the *Scottish Daily Mail*,⁵⁷ the *Daily Record*,⁵⁸ The

*Scotsman*⁵⁹ and *The Herald* (albeit modified as no ‘indigenous Scots’).⁶⁰ In an otherwise positive article on the school challenging this claim, it was stated that the school’s register ‘might not include a single child born to conventional white Scottish parents’, but that many of the children, ‘a number of whom were born on these shores’, embrace many Scottish traditions and indeed might consider themselves as Scottish.⁶¹ This seems to place a high bar on claims to authentic Scottishness and indicates that despite proclaiming its ‘welcoming’ and ‘inclusive’ nature,⁶² Scottishness remains implicitly wedded to whiteness in the constructions of many commentators. This tension calls to mind Les Back’s idea of ‘neighbourhood nationalism’,⁶³ which Alistair Fraser and Teresa Piacentini argue can result in ‘particular racisms being muted whilst others flourish’.⁶⁴ In this sense, while Govanhill’s Scottish ‘Asian population’ are included within the community aggrieved by the Roma ‘influx’, and are often strategically quoted as such to deflect from allegations of racism, this inclusion is always partial and their construction as ‘Others’ never fully disappears from view.

Overcrowding and infestation

Overcrowding and its effects proved to be a determining factor in the direction that discourses of Roma racialisation would take in the early years when Roma made their homes in Govanhill. This was heightened by the constant rehearsal of claims of their ‘soaring population’.⁶⁵ While there is no means to accurately establish the size of the Roma population, numbers fluctuated across and indeed within the same news outlets, reaching heights of ‘between 6000 and 8000’,⁶⁶ which would double the population and assume around half of Govanhill’s residents to be Roma migrants. As one commentator explains, the reporting and contesting of immigration figures is not a neutral conveying of information, but rather is part of a ‘numbers game’ in which the higher the number, the greater legitimacy that can be afforded to governmental control and ‘increasingly “tough” measures, since high numbers fuel a panic of overcrowding’.⁶⁷

This panic would play out over the decade and continues to do so today. Newspapers reported with horror of ‘up to four families of three generations, or around 20 people, living in two-bedroom flats’, who would ‘operate a “hotbedding” system where beds are shared by two people – one who works a day shift and one who works at night’.⁶⁸ The director of the Govanhill Housing Association described Govanhill as blighted by ‘scenes of poverty comparable to 1960s slums’,⁶⁹ ‘with

conditions in some flats “not fit for a dog”.⁷⁰ While multi-generational family living arrangements are common within Romani communities and families might prefer to live with their relatives, it is important to be wary of assuming this to be exclusively a ‘cultural’ choice, as ‘choices’ are of course subject to economic constraints and the pooling of rent is often the only viable option for families to avoid outright destitution.⁷¹ Romani residents are disproportionately subject to the worst of local housing conditions and the most egregious of landlords, who often refuse to provide essential maintenance or formal leases. Yet their presence within these rundown flats allowed for an association to be formed between Roma and neighbourhood decline, with Roma blamed for the conditions that are produced by exploitative landlord practices.

The predominant link through which this association between Roma and the problems of Govanhill was consolidated was one of infestation, which provided much fodder for voyeuristic accounts of the ‘slums’ from within:

You don’t have to look long in the closes in streets on either side of Allison Street, Govanhill’s main thoroughfare, to uncover pretty squalid conditions. One close is open to the skies, with rain falling on to stairs and down walls, and a group of pigeons in residence on the top landing. Much of the stair is caked with bird excrement. Piles of rubbish, discarded toys and leaking soil pipes are not uncommon in back courts. Some closes have smashed windows all the way up, with stair railings broken and “secured” with plywood. Others have signs up warning that council officers have laid rat poison.⁷²

Another examines a flat rented by an SNP councillor ‘to a family of five Romanian Big Issue sellers’:

Furious locals told them the street has become a dumping ground with rubbish and faeces in the backyards attracting rats and infestations of cockroaches and maggots. Hanif’s flat stands at the top of a dilapidated common close, where the ceiling has gaping holes and the plaster is falling off the walls. All owners share responsibility for the communal entrance. It is infested with flies and has a shooting gallery for heroin addicts on the ground floor . . . there is a strong stench of urine throughout the building. The walls are filthy and daubed with graffiti and the stairs are caked in grime. . . . There is rubbish, including a mattress, piling up in back yards and spilling on to the street. The overcrowding has led to reports of human faeces being found in gardens.⁷³

Further, in an expose of a particularly exploitative landlord, it was reported that:

Conditions in the close leading to it are even worse than when the Evening Times revealed the disgusting living conditions suffered by some of Mr Aslam's tenants last year. The walls of the close in Allison Street are covered in graffiti, from front door to top floor, and through to the rear exit. About half appears to have been written by Roma children, with the rest messages, poems and abuse from Scots youths. . . . cockroaches and other insects swarmed over the walls, inches from a sleeping baby.⁷⁴

Readers online were invited to visually engage with this spectacle through viewing 'a walkthrough video of 221 Allison Street' via an embedded link.⁷⁵ These extracts are worth reproducing at length as exemplars of this affective journalistic style, where the dominant themes of filth, despair and decay are persistently narrated in all of their inglorious gratuitous detail. The effect of this is to produce an archetypal set of representations that would serve as the dominant frames through which accounts of the Roma 'problem' would be reified and sustained.

Moreover, the language of ghettoisation transcended the sensationalising accounts of local journalism and everyday street discourses to be given official sanctioning. In a high-profile intervention by the Govanhill Housing Association at the Scottish Parliament, a report was presented to MSPs which claimed 'slum housing' had resulted in 'the area becoming a "breeding ground" for crime, exploitation, poor health and education and cockroaches', with 750 properties 'below tolerable standard' and 131 'in the area bounded by Westmoreland Street, Dixon Avenue, Langside Road and Allison Street – dubbed 'Ground Zero' by residents' where many Roma families live requiring 'comprehensive improvement'.⁷⁶ Overcrowding was described as a problem that produces 'anti-social behaviour and race relations conflicts'⁷⁷ through immigration 'mainly of Slovakian Roma people'.⁷⁸ This framing echoes media representations that suggest a connection between the presence of Roma migrants and the outbreak of tensions, and operates through constructing Roma in opposition to 'the community' and as a burden to long-standing residents. This logic was implicit in the evidence given at Holyrood. It was argued that persistent issues in Govanhill (conceived of here as domestic violence, substance abuse and subsequent overdoses, alcohol dependency and high crime rates) had now been exacerbated by 'the addition of at least another 4000 migrants who had "their own issues in terms of not being employable, not understanding their rights, living in overcrowded conditions and being used by unscrupulous landlords and gangmasters" [causing] problems for the entire community'.⁷⁹ The director of the Govanhill Housing Association was reported to have 'shocked the Holyrood Petitions Committee' by concluding, 'We feel

the south-east of Govanhill has become a ghetto for the Roma migrants and for the community.⁸⁰ As others have put it, 'it is a short step from understanding problems in an area to presenting them as problems of an area and its population'.⁸¹ In the case of Roma and Govanhill, this association solidified to the extent that the 'problem' of Roma would become synonymous with the problems of Govanhill.

LATERAL DENIGRATION AND AMPLIFICATION

As representations of Roma were depicted by their association with the perceived ills of Govanhill, a process of territorial stigmatisation was rendered complete. This was evident in the formation of a range of task forces and working groups, in the establishment of 'a dedicated Hub . . . made up of around 20 agencies' which provided 'a drop-in service for concerned locals',⁸² in 'bad-tempered' meetings between residents, local authority representatives and the police,⁸³ in increased surveillance with the rolling out of twenty-seven 'state of the art CCTV cameras' across a handful of streets,⁸⁴ as well as in the designation of Govanhill as Scotland's first (and only) 'Enhanced Enforcement Area'.⁸⁵ This proliferation of governmental activity is indicative of the portrayal of Govanhill's status as a uniquely problematic place that can only be tackled via a series of targeted interventions and exceptional measures, with some even calling for 'a czar for Govanhill'.⁸⁶ This dominant construction of decline was reflected in the formation of a neighbourhood campaign group, 'Let's Save Govanhill'. This organisation was ostensibly set up to allow all residents to share their concerns about the area and exert pressure on the local authority and elected representatives to make improvements. Even so, its methods and rhetoric remain troubling, with its social media pages often functioning as a vehicle to 'blame high crime rates, sub-standard housing and fly-tipping on the influx of Roma migrants'.⁸⁷

'Saving' Govanhill . . . from what or whom?

This group of angry residents regularly takes to the streets to demonstrate the squalor of the area, with images of discarded mattresses, piles of rubbish, and rats collected on a near-daily basis and posted online. Anonymous social media accounts such as 'Visit Govanhill' also contribute to this circulation and regularly post images of Romani people specifically (and particularly groups of Roma men) without their consent. In line with wider trends within racist discourses, Roma are

rarely explicitly referred to in the ‘official’ statements of such groups and instead are evoked via euphemisms, as made possible via the connections forged between Roma and the ills of the area (although the audiences of such accounts tend to show less restraint in their comments posted in response, which rarely fail to demonstrate that the ‘message’ has been received). This is symptomatic of ‘*lateral denigration and mutual distanciation*’, defined as:

the acute sense of social indignity that enshrouds neighbourhoods of relegation can be attenuated only by thrusting the stigma onto a faceless, demonized other – the downstairs neighbours, the immigrant family dwelling in an adjacent building, the youths from across the street who ‘do drugs’ or are engaged in street ‘hustling’, or the residents over on the next block whom one suspects of illegally drawing unemployment or welfare support[.]⁸⁸

The discursive trope of the ghetto and its associated metaphors and connotations featured heavily in the framing of Let’s Save Govanhill’s activities, including marches, rallies, ‘back court’ hustings and street vigils. Residents fumed about rats ‘as big as cats . . . so fat they were hopping rather than running’, so large they ‘pull the bins down’⁸⁹ – a notion that would go on to become iconic in depictions. The first march held in March 2015 conflated a range of different issues, with attendees reportedly protesting ‘Govanhill’s continuing decline and social issues of crime, rubbish dumping, rat infestations and general upkeep’ as well as ‘bedbugs, cockroaches’ and ‘rape’.⁹⁰ This is reflective of how the interrelation of these themes is understood as given, as almost synonymous, in the eyes of a vocal minority of the residents of the area. The protest was reported to have attracted ‘hundreds of people’ as ‘men, women, and children chanted “let’s save Govanhill” as they marched through the streets, banging pots and pans’.⁹¹ In justifying their plans for further protests, an organiser argued, ‘We are trying to control the tempers of angry residents by organising this march, otherwise there is potential for unrest on the streets.’⁹² This claim to speak on behalf of a silent majority of residents articulated through the exaggerated trope of tensions on the verge of explosion is a familiar aspect of the stigmatisation of Roma in and *through* place, and is frequently deployed in communities where Roma reside in the UK⁹³ and beyond.⁹⁴

Exonerating oneself from place-based stigma may also involve claims to the rightful ownership of space via a reimagining of the past, of what ‘used to be’, through which affective appeals to people ‘like us’ are made. As Stuart Hall argued, for racialising discourses to function effectively, who is *included* is just as salient as who is excluded.⁹⁵ Let’s Save

Govanhill's narratives of a 'once proud working class neighbourhood' where closes were 'immaculate',⁹⁶ the streets safe and the neighbours lived together in harmonious familiarity exemplify this. The irony of nostalgia being put to this use was not lost on one journalist, who noted that 'a glimpse of the auld jelly-piece Glasgow'⁹⁷ is exactly what contemporary Govanhill offers, with children playing in the street, generations of family members living together, and the buzz and variety of the local shops in place of faceless chains. Yet residents' quotes redeployed in headlines such as 'We're sick to the back teeth of living in fear',⁹⁸ describing themselves as 'prisoners in our homes'⁹⁹ who 'refuse to walk down the streets alone',¹⁰⁰ contradicted this. Let's Save Govanhill petitioned police 'to stop gangs of men standing in corners and intimidating our pensioners and other residents'.¹⁰¹ When two elderly residents did have their purses stolen within one week, this was unhelpfully framed in the press as a 'number of muggings', through the suspects' alleged 'Eastern European appearance', and with significance afforded to this occurring in a 'racially diverse area of the city'.¹⁰² In response, Let's Save Govanhill held a street corner 'vigil for all the Govanhill pensioners who have been attacked, battered and robbed on the streets of Govanhill'.¹⁰³ Through the emotive figures of the vulnerable pensioner and the mugger lurking on once-safe street corners, long identified by Stuart Hall as symbolic of a whole range of racialised social anxieties,¹⁰⁴ Let's Save Govanhill was able to tap into a wider racialised fear of crime through mourning for an imagined community now lost. Through this lateral denigration, those affected by the 'blemish of place' were thus most actively involved in its (re)production, albeit through displacement onto 'others'.

Sturgeon's Slums

This lateral denigration was given oxygen by increasing coverage in conservative-leaning newspapers. In an article in the *Scottish Daily Express*, which had previously featured on 'The Conservative Women' website, the academic Tom Gallagher asserted after his attendance at a street vigil for pensioners that 'Things started to go wrong almost a decade ago thanks to an abrupt shift in its make-up'.¹⁰⁵ Written in April 2016, it is clear that 'almost a decade ago' refers to Romania's accession to the EU in 2007. Gallagher claimed that while 'Scots, Pakistanis and Irish had got along for over a generation', sharing 'the same rules for living' and 'plenty of cross-ethnic friendships', the social fabric of Govanhill had now unravelled. The implicit premise of these barely coded remarks was then made clear: 'A hardcore element among several

thousand gypsies or Roma, now nearly all from Romania, who have occupied poorer housing in the area have, so far, been unwilling to abide by the rules for amicable urban living.¹⁰⁶ The usual clichés are rehearsed here to support this claim: threatening groups of Roma men, littering, loitering, infestation, dirt, decay and decline. A distinction is also made between ‘Roma, who pursue a disorderly lifestyle here’ and ‘others who wish to improve themselves and put aside medieval ways’.¹⁰⁷ This echoes the familiar ideology of the deserving and undeserving poor and is articulated through representing inequalities as emanating ‘from the perceived possession of distinct sets of cultural values’,¹⁰⁸ as exemplified by the word ‘medieval’.

The article goes on to praise Let’s Save Govanhill as the ‘one thing’ Govanhill ‘has got going for it’ and claims that the founding member’s familiarity with conditions in the USA uniquely equips her to tackle the issues, given that she had witnessed ‘what worked and didn’t work in terms of multiracial living’ across the Atlantic. This narrowly interprets Govanhill’s structural issues as being those of ‘race relations’, although the author notes that the founding member of Let’s Save Govanhill ‘has never framed the problem in ethnic terms but sees it about the unravelling of a once good social and physical environment. She believes a regeneration project is needed involving the cooperation of the Scottish Government and the city council and is confident many Roma in time can adapt to Western cultural ways.’¹⁰⁹

Locating problems within ‘backwards’ Roma culture in the final sentence, contrary to those that immediately preceded it and to the ‘official’ position of the group itself (although it cannot be seriously disputed that this is not what lurks beneath their rhetoric), is indicative of the ‘ventriloquisation’ of the working class. In other words, claiming to speak for the beleaguered ‘ordinary person’ is a discursive strategy deployed to claim ‘a principled rejection of immigration and the defence against the charge of racism at the same time’.¹¹⁰ This strategy is adopted by Let’s Save Govanhill representatives themselves in declaring they speak on behalf of the besieged community who, along with its institutions, are afraid to act ‘for fear of being seen as racist . . . This label has been used to silence people.’¹¹¹ In this sense, perceived institutional neglect is constructed as a symptom of the real problem of Roma and, more specifically, their ‘culture’. This ensures that any ambivalence regarding the underlying problematisation of Govanhill and what or whom it should be ‘saved’ from is eliminated.

Moreover, the framing of this story as indicative of ‘the nats’ ‘neglect’ of Govanhill is significant, with ‘the number of toots from car owners in

appreciation as they drove past' the vigil read as evidencing the likelihood of the Scottish National Party's 'reckoning' to come.¹¹² Conservative newspapers were notably absent in the early years of coverage of Roma in Govanhill, with stories largely appearing in the *Evening Times* and *The Herald* due to their 'local' nature. Yet as territorial stigmatisation took hold, and with increasing attention on Nicola Sturgeon as First Minister, feature pieces on Govanhill and its Roma residents became more prevalent within newspapers hostile to Scottish independence and to the Scottish National Party (SNP) more broadly. Following the *Scottish Daily Express* article discussed above, which referred to Nicola Sturgeon as 'behaving like a negligent parent' and claimed that 'the SNP uses its clout over part of the media and the third sector to discourage any serious assessment of problems',¹¹³ almost every headline featuring the Let's Save Govanhill campaign since¹¹⁴ has been framed in this way. Headlines include the *Scottish Daily Express*'s 'Scotland's first "ghetto" is in Nicola's backyard',¹¹⁵ which featured on the same day as the vigil article and 'GOVANHELL; SQUALOR, RATS, FILTH AND SEX CRIME . . . WHAT IT'S LIKE TO LIVE IN STURGEON'S SLUMS';¹¹⁶ the *Daily Record*'s 'It smells something rotten in Nic's back yard, say her binmen';¹¹⁷ the *Scottish Mail on Sunday*'s 'The MSP for Glasgow Ghetto';¹¹⁸ and the *Scottish Daily Mail*'s 'Squalor of the city ghetto in Sturgeon's back yard', which concluded that 'No wonder those living in the Dickensian nightmare of Govanhill are so angry at the politician supposed to represent them.'¹¹⁹ Throughout this period, Let's Save Govanhill would also exploit this political opportunity to render their campaign more visible. In a protest outside the 2015 SNP conference, Let's Save Govanhill protestors wielded 'a 7ft-tall model rat'¹²⁰ above their heads to symbolise the slum-like conditions in Nicola Sturgeon's constituency. In a further action, a free bus tour of the 'Govanhill Ghetto'¹²¹ was offered at the 2016 SNP conference, with delegates invited to join Let's Save Govanhill in touring the 'squalid slums'.¹²² In this sense, the problems of Govanhill (and implicitly, of a segment of its population) are amplified when constructed as symbolic of failures in SNP governance. 'Race' and place not only intersect to produce specific forms of territorial stigma, but are heightened through connections forged to wider political questions, from which they must not be studied in isolation.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the last decade, Roma have been consistently constructed as a problem people. In the earlier period of their migration to Glasgow

from 2004, Roma briefly enjoyed relative invisibility in being identified within broader national categories, but the 'crystallisation' identified by Grill on the ground was also reflected in media accounts by 2007. Through sensationalising and stigmatising constructions, Roma became associated with a variety of issues which culminated in their representation as symptomatic of and synonymous with the problems of Govanhill. This place-based racialisation has resulted in the problems of an area being attributed to Roma explicitly (and often exclusively) and presented as distinctly 'Roma problems' or as symptoms of *The Roma Problem*. Issues regarding overcrowding, infestation and dirt dominate representations, to the effect that a discursive association has been forged between Roma and a totalising sense of neighbourhood decline and decay in Govanhill. These themes, while particularly pronounced here, are far from unique to Govanhill. As a study of racism in Peterborough argues, 'The repeated association of migrants with overcrowding, the failure to maintain private-public distinctions, and with excessive rubbish . . . builds on racist tropes that have been well established in Britain since the nineteenth century.'¹²³ At times, Roma themselves are discussed as if they are 'matter out of place'.¹²⁴ This is particularly the case for Roma men, whose mere presence on the streets is automatically perceived as threatening. As well as being discursively constituted as the cause of all local problems, Roma are disproportionately affected by such problems materially and blamed for their poverty. Through a process of territorial stigmatisation over time, Roma have thus been racialised through distinctly place-based constructions, while Govanhill has been constructed as a problem place through its association with Roma, such that it has become possible to evoke the 'Roma problem' locally without naming Roma at all.

Being attentive to place in processes of racialisation reveals departures from as well as convergences with national and supranational constructions of Roma. Common stereotypes of Roma migrants in the UK and throughout Europe often fixate on welfare and the threat of the migrant 'benefits tourist'.¹²⁵ Yet while Roma were certainly constructed as a threat to local public services, benefits rarely featured in these discussions and indeed the only major benefits story was that condemning systematic discrimination that Roma faced at the local job centre.¹²⁶ This is not to suggest that this rhetoric is absent in Scotland but, rather, is less significant within these highly specific place-based accounts where local markers of difference carry much more weight. In this sense, place is not merely a container of 'context' but is deeply *constitutive* in forming particular racisms. Despite its persistent problematisation, it is

important to note that Govanhill is not a ghetto and that many of its residents simply do not recognise its dominant depiction. But this has little bearing on its construction: 'whether or not these areas are in fact dilapidated and dangerous, and their population composed essentially of poor people, minorities and foreigners, matters little in the end: the prejudicial belief that they are suffices to set off the socially noxious consequences.'¹²⁷

On the matter of consequences, territorial stigmatisation often appears as a precursor to gentrification and its devastating effects, acting as a 'convenient alibi for large-scale gentrification and working-class displacement',¹²⁸ to the extent that it is argued that 'territorial stigmatisation and "regeneration" through gentrification form two sides of the same conceptual and policy coin'.¹²⁹ Govanhill has so far escaped relatively unscathed from the most brutal campaigns of gentrification and regeneration experienced elsewhere in the city, yet is certainly not immune to their encroachments.

As I write this chapter, a story which has dominated the local news in September 2017 is Glasgow City Council's planned enforcement of compulsory purchase orders which will force approximately five hundred properties in Govanhill from the hands of 'unscrupulous slum landlords'¹³⁰ to the council. This news has been well-received locally, yet what has been elided in the discussions so far are the consequences for the residents who live there. The presumption is that tenants will be invited to reapply for their homes, yet due to the much stricter occupancy criteria that operate in assessing social housing applications, it is unlikely that the larger Roma families who live there currently can be housed there. While such families often prefer to live together, this is also necessitated by poverty, and exacerbated by welfare restrictions. This seemingly benign and indeed progressive policy may produce homelessness or displacement which will disproportionately affect Romani residents.

If this seems like an outlandish claim, it is worth noting that Glasgow City Council's own equality impact assessment of the Glasgow Housing Strategy 2017–21 spells out this possibility. Under 'raise management standards in the private sector' in relation to potential impacts on ethnic minorities, a potential negative consequence is noted:

if landlords fail to cooperate and improve the quality it may lead to enforcement action to be taken and therefore the numbers of properties available may reduce which could be a negative impact on this group of displacement/homelessness.¹³¹

This document was published in January 2017 by the previous administration prior to the decision to enforce compulsory purchases and it was deemed insufficiently concerning at that time to affect the strategy. This material change in the council's strategy demands urgent attention. The recently established Govanhill Regeneration Group has published its ten-year plan for a 'Better Govanhill' which emphasises that:

Our aspiration is not to deliver the sort of regeneration that leaves existing communities behind but, rather, to work together with all of Govanhill's communities to build on its distinctive strengths and to overcome its weaknesses – not to create a different Govanhill but a Better Govanhill.¹³²

While this is a laudable aspiration, progressive policies often have unintended consequences and are not always benign or evenly distributed in their effects. With many Roma families subject to the harshest of housing conditions locally, at the sharp end of poverty, and disproportionately concentrated within the streets marked for enforcement, it is imperative that Govanhill's territorial stigmatisation vis-à-vis its Roma residents does not provide a 'convenient alibi' for their displacement.

Notes

1. T. Harris, 'Object to mass immigration from the EU? Join the Romaphobe club!', *The Telegraph* (27 November 2013), <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/10477858/Object-to-mass-immigration-from-the-EU-Join-the-Romaphobe-club.html> (last accessed 12 October 2017).
2. *Ibid*; my emphasis. Glasgow South is the neighbouring constituency of Glasgow Central, where Govanhill is located.
3. Sherene Razack, *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002); Satnam Virdee, Christopher Kyriakides and Tariq Modood, 'Codes of cultural belonging: racialised national identities in a multi-ethnic Scottish neighbourhood', *Sociological Research Online*, 11:4 (2006).
4. Loïc Wacquant, 'Territorial stigmatization in the age of advanced marginality', *Thesis Eleven*, 91:1 (2007), pp. 66–77.
5. As a system of signification, racism arbitrarily constructs elements of human variance such as skin colour, mode of dress, religion or 'cultural' attributes as important markers of difference. This differentiation is then consolidated through essentialism: these attributes are imbued with significance and read as indicative of deeper characteristics through stereotypes that are naturalised as inherent to those signified (thus, *essential*). As there is, of course, no such thing as 'races', this relies on a social process of *racialisation*, through which social actors become differentiated, categorised and constructed as 'Others'. See Robert Miles, *Racism After 'Race*

- Relations*' (London: Routledge, 1993) and Colette Guillaumin, *Racism, Sexism, Power and Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1995).
6. FRA (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights), EU-MIDIS II – Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Roma – Selected Findings, 2016, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings> (last accessed 12 October 2017).
 7. See Bernard Rorke and Orhan Usein (eds), *A Lost Decade? Reflections on Roma Inclusion 2005–2015* (Budapest: Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation, 2015); special issue of *European Education*, 49:1 (2017) and editors' introduction: Christian Brüggemann and Eben Friedman, 'The decade of Roma inclusion: origins, actors, and legacies', *European Education*, 49:1 (2017), pp. 1–9.
 8. Council of Europe, 'Council of Europe Descriptive Glossary of terms relating to Roma issues' (18 May 2012), <http://a.cs.coe.int/team20/cahrom/documents/Glossary%20Roma%20EN%20version%2018%20May%202012.pdf> (last accessed 14 October 2017).
 9. Jean Pierre Liégeois, *Gypsies: An Illustrated History* (London: Al Saqi Books, 1986), pp. 49–50.
 10. Judith Okely, *The Traveller-Gypsies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). See 'Chapter 3: Contaminated grounds: disputing the Roma's origins', in Huub van Baar, *The European Roma: Minority Representation, Memory, and the Limits of Transnational Governmentality* (Amsterdam: F. & N. Eigen Beheer, 2007), pp. 77–105, for an overview of the 'origins debate' in Romani Studies.
 11. See Colin Clark and Elaine Campbell, "'Gypsy Invasion": A critical analysis of newspaper reaction to Czech and Slovak Romani asylum-seekers in Britain, 1997', *Romani Studies*, 10:1 (2000), pp. 23–47.
 12. Colin Clark, 'Glasgow's Ellis Island? The integration and stigmatisation of Govanhill's Roma population', *People, Place and Policy*, 8:1 (2014), pp. 34–50.
 13. See Philip Brown, Philip Martin and Lisa Scullion, 'Migrant Roma in the United Kingdom and the need to estimate population size', *People, Place and Policy Online*, 8:1 (2014), pp. 19–33, for a discussion of the problems in estimating the Roma population.
 14. Social Marketing Gateway, 'Mapping the Roma Community in Scotland: Final Report' (26 September 2013), <http://www.migrationscotland.org.uk/uploads/files/documents/mappingtheromacommunityinScotlandreport-2.pdf> (last accessed 10 October 2017). This study was methodologically unconventional and, in the absence of reliable statistics, was based on a series of interviews and focus groups with a range of stakeholders who work with Roma communities. Their estimates were then aggregated to produce lower and upper estimates by local authority and an overall population estimate. This approach has been critiqued on methodological grounds as well as in its tendency to essentialise. See Taulant Guma, 'The

- ethnicisation of need: questioning the role of ethnicity in the provision of support and services for post-accession migrants in Glasgow', Policy paper, University of Glasgow and Glasgow City Council (September 2015), http://cadair.aber.ac.uk/dspace/bitstream/handle/2160/44587/media_427566_en.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y. However, as Clark notes, these numbers are broadly accepted by those working with Roma as 'reliable and credible' (see Clark, 'Glasgow's Ellis Island?', p. 40).
15. Suzanne Audrey, *Multiculturalism in Practice: Irish, Jewish, Italian and Pakistani Migration to Scotland*, Interdisciplinary Research Series in Ethnic, Gender and Class Relations (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
 17. Clark, 'Glasgow's Ellis Island', p. 40.
 18. When expressed in solidarity, this is at times ambiguous when offered as an afterthought to contextualise the alleged problems that the Roma communities bring.
 19. Audrey, *Multiculturalism in Practice*, p. 21.
 20. Etienne Balibar, 'Is there a "neo-racism"?', in Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 17–27.
 21. Jan Grill, "'It's building up to something and it won't be nice when it erupts': The making of Roma/Gypsy migrants in post-industrial Scotland", *Focaal*, 62 (2012), p. 42.
 22. 'Crackdown on race hate gang wars', *Evening Times*, 17 March 2007, p. 1. Author unspecified.
 23. C. Musson, 'A playground by day...; Battleground by night; Communities split by racial tensions', *Evening Times*, 16 March 2007, p. 4.
 24. C. Musson, 'Rising tensions spark a huge response', *Evening Times*, 24 March 2007, p. 4.
 25. Musson, 'A playground by day'.
 26. C. Musson and J. McCann, 'Caught in the middle of race hate violence: As taunts spark fury, teenager brandishes nail-studded weapon', *Evening Times*, 17 March 2007, p. 8.
 27. Musson, 'Rising tensions spark a huge response'.
 28. Musson and McCann, 'Caught in the middle of race hate violence'.
 29. Musson, 'Rising tensions spark a huge response'.
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. Musson and McCann, 'Caught in the middle of race hate violence'.
 32. Musson, 'A playground by day'.
 33. *Ibid.*
 34. N. Mackay, 'The child sex scandal on the streets of Scotland; Major police probe as immigrant Roma children exploited', *Sunday Herald*, 5 August 2007, p. 8. This is a story that would be resurrected by *The Times* ten years later, just weeks after this chapter was completed. *The Times* published a four-part investigation that claimed, on the basis of allega-

- tions from unnamed sources and barstool testimonies from a local pub, that Roma children in Govanhill are being prostituted by their parents. See M. Horne, 'Govanhill child sex trade: "there are so many . . . it's easy pickings for child abusers"', *The Times*, 17 November 2017, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/govanhill-child-sex-trade-there-are-so-many-it-s-easy-pickings-for-child-abusers-m2swzc63h> (last accessed 1 February 2018). Many pieces have since been published condemning this.
35. *Ibid.*; my emphasis.
 36. *Ibid.*
 37. *Ibid.*
 38. D. Leask, 'Unit offers support for Roma', *The Herald*, 7 October 2011, p. 26.
 39. Indeed, as Waqas Tufail argues in 'Rotherham, Rochdale, and the racialised threat of the "Muslim Grooming Gang"', *International Journal for Crime Justice and Social Democracy*, 4:3 (2015), pp. 30–43, while coverage of child exploitation in Rotherham and Rochdale was consistently framed through Muslim 'culture', it is difficult to imagine similar extrapolations being made to 'the white community'.
 40. Judith Okely, 'Recycled (mis)representations: Gypsies, Travellers or Roma treated as objects, rarely subjects', *People, Place and Policy*, 8:1 (2014), pp. 65–85.
 41. Mary Christianakis, 'Victimization and vilification of Romani children in media and human rights organizations discourses', *Social Inclusion*, 3:5 (2015), p. 48.
 42. Mackay, 'The child sex scandal on the streets of Scotland'.
 43. N. Mackay, 'Isolated, abused, and victims of decades of persecution; The Rome community in Scotland', *Sunday Herald*, 5 August 2007, p. 10.
 44. *Ibid.*; my emphasis.
 45. Mackay, 'The child sex scandal on the streets of Scotland'.
 46. Ryan Powell, 'Loïc Wacquant's "Ghetto" and ethnic minority segregation in the UK: the neglected case of Gypsy-Travellers', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37:1 (2013), pp. 115–34.
 47. Mackay, 'Isolated, abused, and victims of decades of persecution', p. 10.
 48. One resident responded, 'I accept that Asian residents of Govanhill may be better placed to comment, I have never heard "Paki" used on the streets of Govanhill and I can categorically state that I have never been told to get back to my "white ghetto".' See 'Mail in print and online', *Sunday Herald*, 12 August 2007, p. 40.
 49. 'Stamp out the slums', *Evening Times*, 29 October 2011, p. 6. Author unspecified.
 50. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (Oxon: Routledge, 1995). See also Shannon Woodcock, 'Gender as catalyst for violence against Roma in contemporary Italy', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 44:5 (2010), pp. 469–88, for an incisive discus-

- sion of how this trope plays out to legitimise violence against Roma in Italy.
51. 'Making the Roma at home in our city', *The Herald*, 23 November, 2013, p. 13. Author unspecified.
 52. Ibid.
 53. Floya Anthias, 'Rethinking social divisions: some notes towards a theoretical framework', *The Sociological Review*, 46:3 (1998), pp. 505–35.
 54. Nirmal Puwar, *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place* (Oxford: Berg, 2004).
 55. J. Bynorth, 'Revealed: the 4000 migrant children in our schools who can't speak English', *Sunday Herald*, 31 August 2008, p. 8.
 56. P. Gilbride, 'Migrants are given "better" NHS care; Health experts' warning to MSPs', *Scottish Daily Express*, 31 January 2013, p. 1. See also D. Herbert, 'Anger at health board's £15,000 gypsy project', *Scottish Daily Express*, 3 January 2012, p. 15.
 57. G. Grant, 'Cash appeal by primary with no Scots pupils', *Scottish Daily Mail*, 2 May 2016, p. 19.
 58. 'School with no Scots kids in funds call', *Daily Record*, 2 May 2016, p. 20. Author unspecified.
 59. 'Glasgow school has no "Scottish" students, headteacher reveals', *The Scotsman*, 2 May 2016. Author unspecified; unpaginated (online version).
 60. S. Naysmith, 'Youtube bid to help migrant pupils', *The Herald*, 2 May 2016, p. 14.
 61. P. English, 'Watch as Govanhill primary pupils hit back at "No Scots" claims by singing Flower of Scotland', *Daily Record*, 12 May 2016, unpaginated (online).
 62. See David McCollum, Beata Nowok and Scott Tindal, 'Public attitudes towards migration in Scotland: exceptionality and possible policy implications', *Scottish Affairs*, 23:1 (2014), pp. 79–102, for an analysis of Scottish exceptionalism.
 63. Les Back, *New Ethnicities and Urban Culture: Racisms and Multiculture in Young Lives* (London: UCL, 1996).
 64. Alistair Fraser and Teresa Piacentini, 'We belong to Glasgow: The third-spaces of youth "gangs" and asylum seeker, refugee and migrant groups', in Coretta Phillips and Colin Webster (eds), *New Directions in Race, Ethnicity and Crime* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), p. 64.
 65. D. Leask, 'Violence falling in city hot spot', *Evening Times*, 28 October 2011, p. 16.
 66. 'Making the Roma at home in our city', *The Herald*, 23 November, 2013, p. 13. Author unspecified.
 67. Bastian A. Vollmer, 'Policy Discourses on Irregular Migration in the EU – "Number Games" and "Political Games"', *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 13 (2011), p. 327.
 68. Mackay, 'Isolated, abused, and victims of decades of persecution'.

69. S. Naysmith, 'The European workers paying GBP650 a month to live in a Glasgow slum', *The Herald*, 1 April 2008, p. 16.
70. B. Currie, "'Govanhill flats are not fit for a dog": City scheme is being turned into ghetto MSPs told', *Evening Times*, 8 October 2008, p. 7.
71. Philip Brown, Peter Dwyer and Lisa Scullion, 'The Limits of Inclusion? Exploring the views of Roma and non Roma in six European Member States' (Roma Source: University of Salford, March 2013), http://usir.salford.ac.uk/35826/1/Roma_full%20report.pdf (last accessed 12 October 2017).
72. Naysmith, 'The European workers paying GBP650 a month to live in a Glasgow slum'.
73. A. Brown, 'Exposed: Housing campaigner who is slum landlord; Exclusive Nat's £500-a-month flat in "Ground Zero" street', *Daily Record*, 11 July 2008, p. 12.
74. J. McCann, 'Slum landlord to fight council ban: Legal appeal means he can again charge tenants in his flats; Exclusive', *Evening Times*, 23 January 2009, p. 19.
75. Ibid.
76. B. Currie, 'Govanhill's a breeding ground for exploitation, crime, poor health . . . and cockroaches', *Evening Times*, 7 October, 2008, p. 19.
77. Ibid.
78. Currie, 'Govanhill flats are not fit for a dog', p. 7.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Neil Gray and Gerry Mooney, 'Glasgow's new urban frontier: "Civilising" the population of "Glasgow East"', *City*, 15:1 (2011), pp. 4–24.
82. C. Stewart, 'Residents in talks to solve area's issues', *Evening Times*, 15 November 2013, p. 23.
83. P. Swindon and C. Stewart, "'We're sick to the back teeth of living in fear"', *Evening Times*, 30 May 2014, p. 4.
84. P. Swindon, 'Council's CCTV privacy pledge', *Evening Times*, 27 July 2015, p. 7.
85. D. Herbert, 'Squalor of the city ghetto in Sturgeon's back yard', *Scottish Daily Mail*, 3 June 2017, pp. 22–3.
86. P. Swindon, 'Residents demand action to clean up "filthy" district', *Evening Times*, 6 June 2015, p. 11.
87. Stewart, 'Residents in talks to solve area's issues'.
88. Wacquant, 'Territorial stigmatization in the age of advanced marginality', p. 68; original emphasis.
89. C. Woollard, 'Residents up in arms over rubbish left in city streets', *Evening Times*, 18 March 2015, p. 18.
90. C. Woollard, 'Hundreds turn out in Govanhill protest', *Evening Times*, 23 March 2015, p. 11.
91. Ibid.

92. P. Swindon, 'Residents back safer streets call', *Evening Times*, 30 July 2015, p. 5.
93. See Grill, "It's building up to something and it won't be nice when it erupts", and Jo Richardson, 'Roma in the news: an examination of media and political discourse and what needs to change', *People, Place and Policy*, 8:1 (2014), pp. 51–64.
94. Giovanni Picker, "That neighbourhood is an ethnic bomb!" The emergence of an urban governance apparatus in Western Europe', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 23:2 (2016), pp. 136–48.
95. Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, (London: Sage/Open University, 1997), p. 56.
96. Herbert, 'Squalor of the city ghetto in Sturgeon's back yard'.
97. P. Ross, 'Govanhill: Glasgow's Ellis Island', *Scotland on Sunday*, 10 February 2013, unpaginated.
98. P. Swindon and C. Stewart, 'We're sick to the back teeth of living in fear'.
99. C. Woollard, 'Hundreds turn out in Govanhill protest'.
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101. Swindon, 'Residents back safer streets call'.
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103. P. Swindon, 'Appeal after pensioner's purse taken', *Evening Times*, 28 March 2016, p. 7.
104. Stuart Hall, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke and Brian Roberts, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, first pub. 1978).
105. T. Gallagher, 'Nats will pay for neglect', *Scottish Daily Express*, 3 April 2016, unpaginated. The author, Professor Tom Gallagher, is not a regular *Express* journalist but is Emeritus Professor of Politics at the University of Bradford.
106. Ibid. Although precise numbers are not available, this assertion that Roma in Govanhill are 'nearly all from Romania' is almost certainly inaccurate. At the last estimate in 2013, the local Slovakian Roma population was approximated to be double that of Romanian Roma (2,000 to 1,000). While Romanian Romani migration has increased since then, there remains an established Slovak Romani community.
107. Ibid.
108. James Rhodes, 'Stigmatization, space, and boundaries in de-industrial Burnley', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35:4 (2012), p. 701.
109. Gallagher, 'Nats will pay for neglect'.
110. Anita Biressi and Heather Nunn, "Are you thinking what we're thinking?": Class, immigration and belonging', in Anita Biressi and Heather Nunn, *Class and Contemporary British Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 148.

111. B. Borland, 'Scotland's first "ghetto" is in Nicola's backyard', *Scottish Daily Express*, 3 April 2016, p. 7.
112. Gallagher, 'Nats will pay for neglect'.
113. Ibid.
114. There have been ten articles featuring Let's Save Govanhill since the *Scottish Daily Express* article between April 2016 and September 2017. Of these, nine frame their stories with reference to the SNP or Nicola Sturgeon. The exception is an article on Let's Save Govanhill's critique of the recent Govanhill Against Racism concert and Govanhill International Carnival, which were described as 'psychological abuse' while the streets remained dilapidated.
115. Borland, 'Scotland's first "ghetto" is in Nicola's backyard'.
116. B. Borland, 'Govanhell; Squalor, rats, filth and sex crime . . . What it's like to live in Sturgeon's slums', *Scottish Daily Express*, 9 October 2016, pp. 1, 6, 7.
117. S. Hind and C. Clement, 'It smells something rotten in Nic's back yard, say her binmen', *Daily Record*, 13 October 2016, p. 9.
118. H. Macdonell, 'The MSP for Glasgow Ghetto', *Scottish Mail on Sunday*, 16 October 2016, p. 41.
119. Herbert, 'Squalor of the city ghetto in Sturgeon's back yard'.
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123. Umut Erel, 'Complex belongings: racialization and migration in a small English city', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34:12 (2011), p. 2059.
124. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966).
125. Nira Yuval-Davis, Viktor Varjú, Miika Tervonen, Jamie Hakim and Mastoureh Fathi, 'Press discourses on Roma in the UK, Finland and Hungary', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40:7 (2017), pp. 1151–69.
126. B. Briggs, 'Revealed: Abuse of Roma at Glasgow job centre routine', *Scotland on Sunday*, 19 May 2012, unpaginated.
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