

MOBILITY AND POST-SOCIALISM: CROSS-BORDER SHAMING AND UN-BELONGING IN A WHITE EUROPE

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Abstract: In today's Europe, mechanisms of controlling and disciplining bodies presumably transcend the logic and costs of the painful infliction of violence. State-sanctioned practices and bureaucratic categorization offer EU citizens the chance to live as "Europeans" wherever they choose to live in the territory of a member state. However, within the framework of the neo-colonial structuring of power, Eastern European states inhabit not only a geographic border zone, but recreate the periphery of modernity on the continent. In this article I aim to problematize the violence applied to people from Eastern Europe, who are border-crossers, and to reveal the meaning of intra-European bordering practices. I bring to the fore (personal) memories of border-crossing and data from my fieldwork, exposing collective similar experiences. Today, as in the last few decades, EU citizens whose mobility is controlled or forced across Europe, are submitted to forms of displacement, eviction, and deportation, producing the *un-belonging* of the border-crossers. These experiences are accompanied and accounted for by numerous emotions that reveal ways in which state institutions act upon the bodies and minds of non-citizens, a way in which the state is felt, becoming present in people's lives. One of the emotions induced through state institutions and their practices is *shame*, an essential tool of control and a producer of un-belonging. Thus, within the nation-state, following a racist-patriarchal logic, the unaccounted dehumanization and dignity violation of "some" citizens is accommodated, rationalized, and encouraged.

Keywords: Border-crossers; Eastern Europe; shame; un-belonging; violence

Introduction

The collapse of the "Iron Curtain" increased the number of borders, encouraged mass labour migration, and produced endless categories of emotions. The political lockdown engulfing the socialist space translated into a multitude of borders and boundaries with different degrees of porosity. The region was split into post-soviet and post-socialist spaces. In addition, post-socialist Europe started defining itself

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in terms of geopolitical denominations such as Baltic or Balkan states, or in terms of the euphemistic geographies of Central and Eastern Europe, South-Eastern Europe, or even Western Balkans. In parallel, new forms of “cross-border governance networks” (Popescu 2008) were born, regulating the mobility of people, and facilitating a new regional ordering. The “transition”—a neoliberal term encompassing the wide region—hit the post-socialist and post-soviet economies, while deepening the inequalities between the two spaces (Allina-Pisano 2009). Post-socialist identities have been constructed across regional and European borders, while liberal systems have legitimated the processes of “transition” (Bloch 2011; Allina-Pisano 2009).

There is an ample literature that tackles the EU’s Eastern enlargement and its discourse on Europeaness (e.g. Boatcă 2015; Böröcz and Kovács 2001; Zahra 2016), as well as the creation of Europeaness by the countries that the West viewed as candidates for democratization. The EU enlargement process sustained a new claim of the “self-universalization of Europe” (Böröcz and Kovács 2001: 8) with roots in its colonial past. As Boatcă (2013) stated, when the “Islamic threat” replaced the “Communist threat,” Eastern Europe became a “culturally and racialized second world,” where the “morally deficient Eastern European subject” (Dzenovska 2016), as a peripheral subject, had to prove constantly his/her Europeaness.

The discourse on the integration with the European Union structures assigned not only an inferior and “exotic” position to the “candidates” (Böröcz and Kovacs 2001) but also imposed a unique option to these countries: to belong to the European Union, build on “the insistence to see ourselves as part of Europe” and “not as part of the whole world” (Böröcz 2006; Gagy and Pulay 2012). Alongside the discourse of the “goodness” of Europe (Böröcz 2006) that accompanied the process of enlargement, there was a corresponding, parallel process of racialization and “securitization of identities” (Ivasiuc 2017) of those Eastern Europeans crossing the borders in the opposite direction, to the West.

In a counter movement of an enlarging Europe, identity boundaries were erected alongside ethnic, class, and gender lines to justify disparities in civil and social rights between Eastern and Western Europe. The intra-European parallel movement of poor workers to rich countries was received by a multitude of borders and restrictions as part of the politics of (un)belonging. These boundaries were often reinforced by visible and invisible forms of state violence authorized against those who were considered “dangerous” Eastern border-crossers, as they were portrayed in the media. Several authors pointed to the social and affective dimension of these border-crossers (Goluboff 2002; Reifová 2020), tackling feelings of frustration (Carman 2020), shame (Mădroane 2021), or suffering in different forms.

In the case of Eastern Europeans, perceptions that they are “dangerous” include moral categorization and hierarchies of inequality between workers in the West and in the East. In the destination country they were portrayed as competitors in the labour market and as exploiting the already-shrinking welfare state. At the same time, these “dangerous” border-crossers not only responded to the labour market needs in agriculture and domestic work, but they were also central in maintaining the wellbeing of many Western families, even if they were received with mistrust and suspicion, as in the case of Romanian caregivers in Italian families (Rugolotto et al. 2017). If the “transition” period was accompanied by mass migration (Țichindeleanu 2011), transforming citizens from Eastern Europe into immigrants in Western countries subjected to different processes of deportations, un-belonging, and evaluation, being part of the EU after the enlargement process changed their status. Even though the common perception of migrants changed, forms of un-belonging were maintained, from viewing them as immigrants to casting them as mobile citizens (Marcu 2015), and the conditions of access to rights, labour markets, and a stable life pushed them into precarious jobs, and from forced immobility, before the accession to the EU, to forced mobility nowadays (Marcu 2015).

While scholars have shown how Roma people from Eastern Europe were particularly racialized (van Baar et al. 2019; Magazzini and Piemontese 2019), the majority of migrants embodied and reflected the category of whiteness. These middle-class and working-class white men and women from the East received lower salaries for Western jobs, many engaging in unskilled jobs, and being induced to forget their previous skills and lives. Perceived as economically poor in comparison with Western citizens, they had to negotiate their class condition, as well as their gender and racial categorization in the host state. They were forced to feel a moral shame in the way that Western societies prescribe it, the regulatory social affect built in patriarchal, racial, and social categorization. Within this context, I view shame as a socially and politically employed affect accompanying the process of mobility and border-crossing.

This article claims that shame sits at the core of the politics of (un)belonging understood as border governance in Europe. The article argues that shame is a rich and fruitful concept that can shed light on state mechanisms of racialization and violence applied to intra-European mobile people. I explain how shame acts as a bordering affect, separating bodies, subjectivities, and territories, but also raising temporary barriers, between one’s memory and one’s present. I highlight how the affective dimension of the politics of enlargement and integration shaped the identities and perceptions of those who dare to cross borders within Europe, exposing how state mechanisms of applied violence are enacted against migrants in ways that go beyond written laws and agreed policies. The practices of state institutions

become an instrument of causing emotional harm and a way of translating laws and migration regulations into lived experiences.

My exploration of the affective dynamics of border enforcement after the actual crossing follows the scholarship on Romanian migration (Ciobanu 2015; Bărbulescu 2019; Bărbulescu and Favell, 2020) and corresponds with my own data collected from several periods of fieldwork conducted in Romania and Spain. I analyse how everyday borders aim to produce not only an exploitable and exposed worker but also a perception of un-belonging facilitated by these shaming state practices. Crossing the border in Europe implies entering a different way of being seen and marked by state interventions, and state action assigns the person who crosses the border a place in the symbolic representation of reality, in a racial and patriarchal hierarchy. In consequence, crossing borders creates and deepens types of ethno-racial identity and ways of (un)belonging.

Following scholars referring to belonging (Davis and Nencel 2011; Yuval-Davis 2011) as experiences shaping the we/they division within the state, I analyse the perception of un-belonging that became a constant in migrants' interactions with state institutions related to migration regimes. I relate shame to un-belonging, examining it from a social and collective perspective. Even if it is felt at an individual level, shame is shaped at the collective level by specific regulations and state performances. The translation of these policies into everyday practice was carried out in a conscious, purposeful way that creates a perception of un-belonging among migrants. Thus, crossing the borders implies remaining trapped in a space between the specific institutions in charge of migration (immigration departments at a national level, local inclusion departments and programmes, border guards) and the rest of the society, a space inhabited by specific emotions, such as shame. Within this space, there are repeated requirements of documentation renewal, even once migrants were residing within a state, restricted and differentiated access to rights, and specific programmes dedicated only to migrants. The state reifies the moment of border crossing, fixing the poor and racialized mobile people in this liminal and controlled space of un-belonging. Within this space, scholars have defined the "politics of un-belonging," drawing from revocation of citizenship (Winter and Previsic 2017) or residency permit to deportation after years of living in a Western state (Brekke et al. 2019).

I begin by introducing the role of autoethnography in this article and the understanding of shaming related to mobility. In the next section, I describe how state violence is manifested through everyday actions of bordering that make people visible in a specific way through shaming. I explain the racialization of Eastern Europeans, how shaming practices multiply within the white Romanian community and the affective consequences of these embodied experiences, stressing how shaming has become an essential tool of designing un-belonging.

The final section uses contrasting examples of how states apply violence by making people invisible and excluding them from civil and social rights, ignoring them on purpose and without the need to be accountable.

The Role of Autoethnography

I chose to use autoethnography fragments along with two ethnographic notes as it provides a way of answering questions through a story. These experiences are not only inscribed within subjectivity but also offer a clue to understanding the social mechanisms affecting people who have crossed borders, that is, collective experiences. Autoethnography builds meanings of people's experiences as it represents a method "people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them" (Pratt M., in Reed Danahay 1997: 7).

While the regulations and institutions designated to manage migration can be analysed from outside, navigating as recipients within this system and knowing how these institutions work from within gives a different perspective. Encounters with migration institutions, marked by invisible violence are experiences that do not affect all citizens, only border-crossers, so it is quite difficult for their effects on subjectivities to be known and understood from the outside. The autoethnographic approach gives meaning to the emotions lived when meeting with these institutions, and offers a glimpse into the social contexts accompanying them.

The idea of using autoethnography started due to difficulties answering questions related to belonging. After living in Barcelona for twenty years, I am still asked "where are you from," and I have no answer. Covering the Hungarian elections in 2018 for the Catalan press as a freelance journalist, my interlocutors from Budapest considered me Catalan or Spanish. However, my passport is Romanian, while my press card is from the Catalan Journalists' College. I have found myself spending hours explaining the Catalan independence movement and the 2017 referendum on the separation of Catalonia from Spain. As soon as I began this conversation, I had the feeling that I was cheating my interlocutors, and that I was not entitled to talk about this issue, and a sense of shame invaded me. In Barcelona I would not have been able to vote in the referendum for the independence of Catalonia and my opinion would not have mattered to anyone. For my newspaper editors I was an immigrant or a Romanian. Even though I had lived in Barcelona for twenty years and had been following the social and political situation in Catalonia, they considered that I should work only on Eastern Europe. According to their understanding, having been born there would give me the necessary knowledge, even though I had been disconnected from the daily experience of living in

Romania for the past twenty years. I was ashamed when my interlocutors took me for Catalan, but I also let them consider me a Catalan. The autoethnographer's position is that of "not being at home" (Reed Danahay D. 1997) in the social context she is embedded in, as she is watching and living it at the same time, showing an "ability to transcend everyday conception of selfhood and social life" (Reed Danahay D.1997: 4).

In addition, autoethnography shows the practicability of immigration laws and rules, given the autoethnographer's position as a recipient of them. By foregrounding personal, individual stories, I aim to highlight broader processes that are the consequences of border-crossing and encounters with social mechanisms that produce certain emotions, thereby playing a role in controlling and creating this perception of un-belonging. I do so by describing two scenes that happened in 2001 and 2004, when Romania was not yet part of the EU, and one in 2019. In addition, when I decided to cross the border, even though I knew the laws, I could have never anticipated or figured out how these laws would impact my daily life. "Embodied un-belonging" (Bendixsen 2020) can be exposed and understood through autoethnographic accounts since, even though it is a collective experience, it is shaped through individual stories.

Shaming Practices and Social Boundaries

Scholars have analysed the social role of shame in multi-ethnic communities (Borchgrevink 2004; Kaneff 2020). Shame is considered essential to the patriarchal structure (Vrăbiescu 2018) in two ways, on the one hand by controlling the body and sexual life of women, pointing to the effect it has on regulating people's lives according to patriarchal rules and hierarchies. On the other hand, by assigning an affective dimension of human dignity to in-group/out-group relations, states resolve contestations related to inequalities and access to resources. In the particular case of migrant communities, or relations between migrants and majority societies, shame maintains the hierarchies and divisions between people considered citizens and migrants. While exploring shame in the context of Eastern European migration, affect was identified in relation to an expected sexualized behaviour when crossing the border (Cassidy 2017), or to racialized power relations and hierarchies. Whereas affect has been at the core of analysing migrants' experiences (Cover 2013) or the politics of migration, shame pointed especially to disrespect to individual dignity.

As an evaluative emotion, shame is related to the ways one is seen by others and to certain values that are put into practice to exclude or punish individuals (Reifová 2020; Nussbaum 2004). Being subjected to others' examination (state institutions, bureaucrats) relates shame to a sort of nakedness that annuls

the possibility of any protection. The assessment and self-evaluation imposed by shaming practices leads to a perception of un-belonging. In this sense, shaming implies a selection of individuals and groups by the regulations of state institutions and their practitioners. Along with poverty as object of shame (Reifová and Hájek 2021), the act of crossing the border subjects a person to the scrutiny of these state institutions, activating forms of violence such as detention or violent body checks.

Shame acts in two ways, impacting relations with others and with oneself. One can feel shame as a consequence of a conflict between one's actions, feelings, or thoughts and one's expectations or the expectations that others have of him/her. In this way, the migrant should meet the expectations of the interlocutors at the destination, but also of the interlocutors at the origin. Shame is not enacted only at the border and in the destination countries but equally at the point of departure, since border-crossers become the embodied picture of the place of destination for the interlocutors at the place of origin. As Țichindeleanu (2020) argues, a strong process of self-colonization was in place in Romania regarding the relation between the country and the West, seen as a place of "democratic values" and wealth. Within this context, the failure of the migration project was an individual failure, demonstrating not only the inability to succeed as a good worker but also to adapt to these democratic values. In this case, shame in the context of origin functioned as a way of silencing the migrants' individual experience in the West.

As a collective emotion, scholars refer to the mobility and social presence of shame (Ahmed 2004; Nussbaum 2004) within communities: "Societies ubiquitously select certain groups and individuals for shaming" (Nussbaum 2004: 174). Shame defines groups and hierarchies between groups within the state, being an affect that marks boundaries between these groups.

However, shame is not only related to place, but also to time and one's own memory. Ahmed (2004) writes that the interpretation of the past has been translated into shared perceptions in the present, generating cohesion within a community based on the relationship with the past. On a large scale, during the EU enlargement process, the "transition," the everyday past of people living in different states of Eastern Europe, was read according to discourses of anti-communism, trauma, poverty, and lack of freedom. At that time, shame worked at a collective level: the individual who had lived in socialist times had been a passive victim, and the tactics with which this person navigated and understood the system were put under suspicion (Țichindeleanu 2020). As a consequence, Eastern Europe has been recognized only as a candidate for Europeanness, without "epistemological autonomy" (Țichindeleanu 2020), and people's individual experience, knowledge and understanding of their own lives were denied.

Making People Visible as State Violence

At 5 in the morning, on a large boulevard in front of the Immigration Office, right in the city centre of Barcelona, a queue was taking shape. Some people had slept in front of the building to save their places in the queue. Not far away was the subway station from where the “free” people went to the beach in La Barceloneta. We stood in line, crammed together in order to become invisible to random passers-by. From afar we looked like a crowd. People in the queue came from South America, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe, including countries not yet part of the EU in 2001. We all needed a residency permit. At 9 a.m. the queue became lively, since it was when the authorities started their work. Most of our direct interaction with the immigration officers was watching them going up and down the queue, shouting at us for hours: “Get in line!” Next to them, policemen were riding horses around the queue. This made us visible from afar to the people going to the beach. We were there since 5 a.m. so we could finish the paperwork on the same day, that is, to get an appointment. If one did not manage to enter the immigration office that day, s/he should inevitably come again the next day. People were making friends with fellow queuers: sharing experiences, offering advice, or just killing time with words. Between the tight lines of people, a different world was beginning. One man I met this way was a Palestinian PhD candidate in medicine who started his university degree in Romania. We became friends after queuing together. Twenty years later, and now with his PhD, his application for citizenship was denied and thus he also lost what he had acquired after long queues and years of patience and effort: his residency permit in Spain.

The queue was something familiar to many of us. For me, it was like the queue to buy milk in my childhood, but a longer version. In the late 1980s in Romania, in times of bad food shortage, people turned up at 5 a.m. to leave empty milk bottles in a queue. Hours later, when the milk van arrived, a neighbour in charge of guarding the empty milk bottles would call the rightful owners of the bottles to perform their shopping duties: exchange the empty bottles with bottles full of milk, pay for the product and leave quickly so as not to be late for work. For me, the immigration queue in Barcelona was the same, waiting for an undefined time while relying on the friendship of my fellow-queuers. The queues ended for me only in 2006 when my final residency papers were issued. Walking along Passeig de Gràcia that day, I looked at the green file that I was holding, my residency permit with the words “authorized to work indefinitely,” and told myself “That’s all? That’s what held me for years?”

(Tulbure 2007).

The difference between the two experiences of queuing was the feeling of shame, which was absent from my socialist childhood memories. The queues in

the 1980s made me feel angry; in 2001, I felt ashamed. That morning, once outside, I looked around in order not to be seen in these queues by someone who knew me. But where did the shame come from?

Queues during the socialist time were a collective experience of food shortage and rightful anger. We were “all in it together,” citizens powerless and angry with our government, or just simply with Ceaușescu. In contrast, in the 2000s in Barcelona, the queue was a solitary experience: only certain people were subjected to it, producing a sort of sociability and solidarity between them while these experiences were kept separate from the broader society. Even if I knew that I was one of “those people” who had to stay for hours under the sun while being shouted at by police officers, I was part of a crowd, not a community. For the Spanish authorities, we all remained individuals dealt with on a *caso por caso* (case by case) basis to make sure no solidarity could grow between people who could be either admitted or deported.

Shame was the result of individual exposure to the eyes and judgement of a foreign society. As migrants, we were there to learn what we are for the host country. We were assessed, measured, our value weighed according to their principles, rules, and laws, without bothering to have them explained to us. Our body, our anxiety and distress were made public. Even when we, the migrants, shared the same space with the citizens, layers of symbolic power were constructed between us and them. The immigration office building, the street policemen and the bureaucrats helped create a gaze over us, shaping the image of a “needy subject” (Timmer 2010) and encouraging them to look at us with disdain and compassion (Kalir 2019). This interface was produced by immigration procedures: policemen on horses, shouting, an ever-increasing number of documents and coloured files, and endless queues. Promulgating acts of suspicion, showing flamboyant and useless control and discipline while demanding silent submission, this state performance was aimed at making “us” visible to the rest of the population, to “them,” the citizens, in a specific way. This visibility targeting us, the migrants, was neither random nor unconscious but rather part of a master plan to morally distinguish between two fundamentally opposite categories of state subjects: citizens and migrants.

The state makes itself present through an authoritarian performance of translating migration laws into lived experiences with distinctive degrees of violence. We were shamed not only by legal requirements, but above all by state interventions that pushed us to absurd and painful queues and controls or obliged us to suffer humiliating hurdles in order to comply with legal requirements. It is through these rituals that the state became a felt reality: public marking through police raids, queues, or being frisked on public transport become ways in which the state makes visible only certain people. State violence is deployed in a selective way, affecting the ones targeted by the Law on Foreigners’ regulations and the racialized people.

It was precisely this repeated updating of the residence permits that kept people stuck in place, and the paperwork required held us in the space of un-belonging.

Ahmed (2004) raises the question: “what does it mean to claim an identity through shame?” For us in the queue, what united us was precisely being ashamed due to our exposure to the official citizens. Once the border had been crossed, in the new territory of democracy, we were made visible as the Other and this shamed body corresponded to a shaming discourse at a collective level regarding the Easterners in the early 2000s.

Shaming others reinforces the superiority of the majority group, since shame has “a moral content” (Nussbaum 2004: 207) and defines the group’s margins and relations between individuals who are part of the group. The exposure of people’s bodies through day-to-day visible bordering practices within the state and employing different levels of violence (police raids, body searches, vigilance systems) represents ways of inducing them to feel shame, guilt, inferiority, and to being undeserving, which in turn produces a different perception of migrants’ place in society. Even though it is through methods of less visible, non-physical violence, being ashamed is felt in the body. Shame links collective and individual perceptions as referents to the social recognition of a person or a collective by others, resulting in a posterior self-recognition (Ahmed 2004: 102). The feeling of shame arising from how the state makes one visible to others is internalized and leads to self-blame. In this regard, shame is related to “self-negation” (Ahmed 2004) and is one of the control tools that is stronger than other forms of physical coercion because it produces a conflict with oneself and one’s recognition. On multiple occasions in 2004 I received from my colleagues or my university teachers in Barcelona a “flattering observation”: “Oh, you are a Romanian, but you don’t look like one.” Ironically, this sentence in fact denotes white privilege. As Eastern Europeans, and Romanians in particular, we faced difficulties entering different markets (labour, housing), although we still have the privilege of being white, and thus we were never targeted by police raids in the streets. Many fellow migrants from Romania internalized the shame and the transformation required by shame, and they desired not to “look like.” They started to avoid other migrants, particularly poor Romanian migrants working in agriculture: “eu nu sunt căpșunar” (I’m not a strawberry picker). In parallel, they took active part in the violent exclusion and racialization of Roma migrants from Romania living in Spain. In this way, the Romanian migrant community in Spain was considered one of the most divided, with individualistic aspirations (Pajares 2006) of recognition, rejecting being part of a community. Repeatedly, they expressed distance from Roma people, affected by violent racialization not only in the destination country, in our case Spain, but also in Romania. The Romanian Government even organized campaigns to “brand the nation” (Kaneva and Popescu 2014), thus producing differences and hierarchies in relation to Romanian Roma.

In this way, many Eastern European migrants became participants in the reproduction of Europe's Other. Proving Europeanness, which was required of Eastern European countries during the EU enlargement process, corresponds at an individual level to the process of proving the deservedness required of people coming from Eastern Europe. Both these processes implied the differentiation from and racialization of Europe's Other, in our case, Roma people coming from Romania.

State violence does not affect all migrants in the same way. There is a hierarchy within the European identity sustained by the design of the Other. Shame was internalized by Romanian migrants causing social and racial divisions between people, and reinforcing racists and classist attitudes already existing among them.

Moreover, Roma migrants faced multiple discriminations in Europe. They were persecuted for being poor, for being of Romani ethnicity, and for coming from Eastern Europe. In Spain, in particular, Roma children were regularly abducted in order to force their "voluntary return" (Vrăbiescu 2017), their houses were repeatedly destroyed, they were subjected to police raids and deportations and they were scapegoated for political interests during local elections (Lopez Catalán 2012).

Some of the agents taking part in the racialization and exclusion of Roma coming from Romania were part of the Romanian community itself: members of the migrant community claim to differentiate themselves from Roma people, thus reproducing violent anti-gypsy discourse and racialization.

When I first met Maria, she avoided me and was distrustful about my intentions, as she told me she has no Romanian friends in Spain. She had lived for five years in Spain, working sporadically as a house cleaner. Her children were entrusted to child protection services since it was considered that she could not ensure proper living conditions for them. As Maria described it:

One day, a policeman came and told me that I should no longer be there because I'd end up having problems with my kids if social services found out. I didn't listen to him back then. Then, they came back one afternoon with cars. I didn't understand what the police was doing there. As if I had committed a crime. [. . .] I want to go back to Romania, but I am worried to go to the Consulate, I need a travel paper as I have no ID, and I don't know if they will help me.

Maria was shamed by the social services and made to feel she was an irresponsible mother who did not care for her children, who were taken into custody by the services. At the same time, she avoided going to the Romanian Consulate to escape being shamed again by Romanian officials since "she presented a bad picture of the community." Being Roma exposed her to deeper violence, not only by the Spanish institutions (she was stopped several times by the police and her children

were taken into care) but also by the Romanian officials who considered her irresponsible. State institutions, in a process of racialization, were monitoring her movements and the presence of her children in the country of origin and the country of destination and she had no documentation in either country. There is a hierarchization and racialization process within the migrant communities themselves in which racialized Roma people were used by members of white Romanian group to secure a better social position for themselves in the destination country, where they occupied a subaltern position.

The shaming process affects not only the shamed subject but also the ways that others perceive and relate to this subject. The presence that disrupts a certain social and moral order must be tamed and introduced into this order. And it is precisely the shaming of racialized people that maintains and reinforces this order. “Looking like” corresponds to a certain visual order in which border-crossers already have an assigned place.

As Ahmed (2004: 103) argues, “shame also involves the de-forming and re-forming of bodily and social spaces.” Shaming connects and disconnects not only subjectivities from social spaces, but also suggests that the rejection of the Other or of certain groups is embodied, is marked on the body, hence the visibility of the act is destined to produce the shaming of a person or a group. Racialization and segregation within the state involves daily emotions, which install hierarchies of bodies and perceptions in racial and class spaces that multiply. Shaming produces a sort of visibility that covers up the person or the group in their interactions with others.

In Maria’s case, shaming was consciously perpetrated by the Spanish institutions and Romanian officials with “deterrent effects” (Nussbaum 2004: 228), and she finally decided to leave Spain: the child protection services agreed to give her back custody of her children with the condition that she returned to Romania. Shame has the power of marking and differentiating an individual or a group from others, whereby the individual disappears under a broader racial order.

Making People Invisible as State Violence

State violence is not only manifested by making its subjects visible, but also by rendering them, or their demands and aspirations, invisible. The relationship of “waiting-shame-waiting” (Pardy 2009) is connected to a permanent evaluation, suspicion, and denying of recognition in a place and in a precise moment, reinforcing un-belonging through a “law-administrated humiliation” (Nussbaum 2004: 223). The implementation of migration regulations actively perpetuates shame because it is the way in which a border can be internalized. In 2008, according to the Spanish Statistics Institute, Romanians represented the first foreign community in Spain. Although restrictions on movement were lifted in 2007, it was not until

2014 that they could work in EU countries without restrictions on work permits. In Spain, the restriction of work permits was voided in 2009. But even if they have the right to move and live in Spain, it does not imply having access to rights, since holders of work contracts must be granted residence, the official recognition and the gateway to rights in Spain, and finally citizenship.

Beyond the public marking of racialized bodies through the public exposure of suffering (police raids, physical body searches), there is another way in which the state controls people: putting their lives on hold. Consequently, being ignored without a reason is another way in which the state becomes present. For instance, a Romanian citizen needs ten years of residency with a valid work permit to apply for Spanish citizenship.

Dan's case provides an illustration of this process. With all his paperwork in order, Dan waited for an answer for five years, checking the webpage of the Ministry of Justice on a weekly basis. In order to be involved in politics he needed to be recognized as a Spanish national, which was why he applied for Spanish citizenship. The website showed the very same answer for years: submission proceeding. After more than four years, the answer changed: denied. Dan had to start the procedure all over again.

In fact, it always said the same thing: nothing at all. Registered documents, review documents, process documents, validation documents. I mean, these words never tell you anything about whether the paperwork is completed or not. It is at the very end that they tell you that some documents are missing. The problem is that the documents that you used have their expiry date, such as the language or integration test. I waited over four years and these documents expire after four years. So, I must pass the exam again, this also means paying again for the exam. But you can't do it quickly after receiving a negative answer. You must wait another six months to start a new application because the old application is still active. Well, they requested me (to have) ten years with a work permit residency in order to apply. I have waited five years for a negative answer; if I apply again, I think the whole procedure will last ten more years. Of course, there is a phone number you can call, but you will never get a real answer, just "processing file" until the final answer. According to the law, in six months you have an answer, but in fact you are just tilting at windmills.

Ignoring someone is another way in which the state marks its relationship with people: first, you are subjected to strict paperwork, and then, when you manage to gather the documents, you are ignored. As Salecl (2020) puts it, there is a relation between "power and ignorance." Ignoring, not wanting to see you, becomes a practice of shaming and weakening the unwanted citizen, neglecting the rights to which these unrecognized citizens should have access.

Making them invisible to the state when the border-crossers demand their rights is a form of arbitrary selection fulfilled by the state, in parallel with the “making visible” strategy through shaming. Dan waited in line in the visible queues in 2001, and later in 2019 he was still waiting for an answer from a website which never reacted. The same lack of accountability characterizes these banal delays that influence people’s lives. Dan was useful to the Spanish state as long as he remained a worker, a migrant worker, having his rights to access citizenship conditioned by the work permit and the payment of his social security taxes. Citizenship was related to being a useful worker, as the main proof required is the number of working years. The naturalization procedures produce “social relations which are premised on a citizen/non-citizen binary and on multiple differentiations between non-citizens” (Anderson and Hughes 2015: 48). Crossing the border implies becoming “seen by the state” (Scott 1998), in our case the host state. The state will choose a type of visibility for this group of people through the planning of the “abstract citizen” (Scott 1998), the migrant, who is seen as a productive future worker, in order “to diminish the skills, agility, initiative” (Scott 1998: 349) of the individuals, and facilitate the extraction of labour.

Once Dan asked to become a full member of Spanish society and to be recognized by the state as a citizen, the Spanish authorities did not acknowledge him, and a labyrinth of evaluations started. His case is neither isolated, nor an accident. Both forms of shaming, through exposure and through ignorance, work on the same principle of denying rights or access to a certain person or group while configuring a less visible order based on perceptions of belonging and un-belonging. In this way, access to citizenship is subjected to an evaluation process (the language and integration tests) but at the same time to long years of waiting and shaming, driven not only by the Immigration Law itself, which requires ten years of residence as a worker in the Spanish state, but also in the way in which the law is put into practice, contributing through selection and a continuous evaluation to a construction of “what being Spanish means” (Barbero 2016).

Shame in this case becomes a regulatory emotion at a social and political level, referring to how an individual or a community recognizes itself and its place as an “understanding of its place in the world” (Cassidy 2017: 60).

Crossing the border meant that a person was shamed not only in the present through the representation of his/her body and his/her demands, but also that his/her past was not recognized. Un-recognition means being stripped of all one’s previous life and knowledge. For Dan, crossing the border meant appearing without a past life or past knowledge and being reduced to a body. His previous jobs and skills were not recognized by default; his degree certificates had to be officially accepted through an examination procedure in the destination country. Later, in order to have access to citizenship, he had to demonstrate how many

years he had worked; his skills and contributions were not only unrecognized, since they had to be evaluated again through the application, but they were also ignored when he received a negative answer.

His demand for citizenship had been denied because he fell a few days short of the requirement of ten working years. This process of evaluation and shaming is individual, but it is simultaneously collective by reducing people to a workforce. Therefore, ignoring and feeling shame about the past, understood as lived experiences, and knowledge becomes a regulatory method that helps to create a compliant and disposable workforce. As an invisible and deliberate method of violence, ignoring someone has the effect of deterrence, keeping people in the same space of un-belonging between the border and the full citizenship rights, forcing them to permanently remain a candidate even when they fulfil the strict demands imposed by immigration law.

Conclusion

This article has focused on the perception of border-crossing, referring to the relationship with oneself and others arising from the act of crossing the border. The territory is accompanied by symbolic orders and state-enabled mechanisms which induce certain emotions that influence a reconfiguration of the border-crosser, in both the origin and destination countries. In this sense, I have spoken of shame as an affect with the capability to regulate and discipline the border-crossers in both the place of origin and destination, where a constant evaluation of the border-crossers is enacted through being shamed and shaming.

Correlated to this evaluation is the creation of un-belonging, understood not only as a perception of oneself or one's group within the destination state, but as a space governed by immigration laws, a liminal space between the border and the access to citizenship rights, where border-crossers are maintained as citizens-in-waiting for their rights, subjected to different levels of violence, and where members of white migrants' community reproduce racialization and exclusion, as in the case of Romanians and Roma people in Spain. I have presented ethnographic and autoethnographic vignettes so as to go beyond individual subjectivity towards the understanding of the consequences of encountering the borders.

The spectacle of violence in the margins of the state or in the street (deportations, evictions, police raids), the visibility of violence that is watched but not contested, allows the development and functioning of a more invisible state violence based on bureaucratic procedures. Being ignored without reason is another way in which the state becomes present. To conclude, I emphasize the role of shame in the functioning of visible and invisible mechanisms of state violence, claiming that shame reinforces the formation of Europeaness and racialization and acted as a regulatory

mechanism for the *longue durée* intra-EU differential access to rights in order to limit and reduce the number of Eastern European migrants.

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