Human Rights Interventions

Series Editors
Chiseche Mibenge
Stanford University
Stanford, CA, USA

Irene Hadiprayitno
Leiden University
Leiden, Zuid-Holland, The Netherlands
The traditional human rights frame creates a paradigm by which the duty bearer’s (state) and rights holder’s (civil society organizations) interests collide over the limits of enjoyment and enforcement. The series departs from the paradigm by centering peripheral yet powerful actors that agitate for intervention and influence in the (re)shaping of rights discourse in the midst of grave insecurities. The series privileges a call and response between theoretical inquiry and empirical investigation as contributors critically assess human rights interventions mediated by spatial, temporal, geopolitical and other dimensions. An interdisciplinary dialogue is key as the editors encourage multiple approaches such as law and society, political economy, historiography, legal ethnography, feminist security studies, and multi-media.

More information about this series at http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/15595
The Securitization of the Roma in Europe
Exploring the securitization of the Roma in Europe today necessarily makes for a bleak reading of both contemporary minority politics and how discrimination and violence are currently inscribed into European societies. The Roma have been a key target of intensifying xenophobia, racism, economic marginalization, social destitution and the hollowing out of citizenship. They are not the only group of people who have become a battleground for the institutionalization and contestation of who can legitimately and effectively claim which human, civil, social, economic and political rights. However, together with refugees and particular groups of immigrants, they are certainly at the heart of struggles and disputes over the distribution of rights in a Europe that is experiencing a severe crisis of European integration, a continuing marketization of life, increasing precarity and inequality, an intense contestation over the viability of multiculturalism and a revival of geopolitical nationalism. As the chapters in this book show, the Roma have been and continue to be subjected to severe discrimination in this conjuncture. Their rights claims and campaigns for the right to have rights have become very precarious indeed.

Political, socioeconomic and cultural securitizations of Roma play a central role in instituting discrimination and exclusion and the grounds for legitimizing them. One of the major contributions of this volume is its detailed analyses of the multiple processes through which the Roma are enacted as a source of insecurities. However, in this preface, I want to focus on this volume’s contribution to the study of securitization, not just of minorities, but more generally. Although it may seem more comfortable to reflect on the academic question of how to study security than to
engage the—in places—quite disturbing and violent realities that securiti-
izations produce for the Roma, that is not the reason for drawing attention
to the understanding of securitization. The approach to the question of
security is important for a proper understanding of the predicament of the
Roma in Europe, and also for understanding how to critically engage the
processes of securitization.

The term ‘securitization’ was introduced into security studies in the
1990s to study insecurities as the product of discourses which articulate
phenomena as existential threats to a society, state, community, individual
or systemic entity. It refocused security analysis from the actions of those
considered as posing a threat, to the actions of those who claim to defend
against these threats. The latter are considered key for understanding
how issues such as housing policies or border crossings become politi-
cized as matters of security concern. The question is not whether the
Roma are threatening or not, but rather what practices, and by whom, are
framing the Roma as a matter of security, and what are the consequences
of this? Such a take on insecurities creates reflective distance from the
justification of security practices and their effects along the lines of, ‘We
know that security policies are not necessarily the ideal response and have
possible negative side-effects, but we are not the ones posing a threat; we
have a responsibility to defend the community, society, state against the
threat’. By drawing attention to the active involvement of security prac-
tices in the production of insecurities, responsibility for its consequences
shifts significantly to those claiming to defend and protect, whether vigi-
lante, security agencies or politicians. As a result, the politics of security
takes on a broader set of concerns as to how best to protect against a
threat, including whether security methods and representations should
be deployed at all.

The chapters in this book draw on this understanding of security, and
share a critical disposition towards deploying security methods and repre-
sentations of the Roma. The book is not, however, simply an application
of securitization analysis to the Roma in Europe. It introduces a distinct
take on the study of securitization. Between them, the chapters put for-
ward the idea that, for understanding the securitization of the Roma,
security studies need to move beyond focusing on security agencies and
political speech. Nobody in this book argues that the latter are not impor-
tant, but the securitization of the Roma involves significantly more than
the application of coercive governmental methods by state security agen-
cies and spectacular security statements by political leaders. The book
multiplies the sites and processes that are significant, including urban
gentrification, regional policies, entertainment culture, local vigilante
groups, social media, social policy, border practices and criminalization.
In doing so, it makes a strong case for understanding securitization as a
more diffuse process that is enacted throughout societies. That may
sound obvious, but analytically it is not so easy to pull off because it
requires recognition that the securitization of the Roma is really multiple
in terms of the kind of actors involved, the processes through which it is
enacted and the differences in experiences at different sites. It also
demands that the analysis retain the heterogeneity of securitization while
nevertheless articulating that these multiple practices are related, but not
necessarily in an aggregative way that would bring the diverse processes
together into a systemic securitization of the Roma. One of the strengths
of the volume is that it is quite careful in seeking to retain the multiplicity
of minor processes—minor not in the sense of small scale or micro but in
the sense of resisting integration into aggregated/aggregating systemic
processes—while nevertheless giving a real sense of resonance between
them in terms of the discriminations, exclusions and violence directed at
Roma people. Although the concept of multiplicity is not explicitly
deployed and developed by the authors, the book makes a strong case for
pursuing methods and conceptual takes that sustain and develop securiti-
zation analyses which take multiplicity seriously.

Analysing the multiplicity of securitizations in itself does not, however,
address a particular issue with securitization studies: as a mode of security
studies, it tends to isolate or home in on the security dimensions of phe-
nomena and practices; as a mode of disciplinary knowing, it always risks
reifying the centrality of security in the processes of governing and politi-
cizing. By approaching security sideways, this volume addresses the need
to avoid that risk. Most of the chapters take as their focal point practices
which are not, strictly speaking, security practices. They look at the mar-
etization of government and social relations, the development logic
enacted in minority politics, visual cultures enacted in reality TV shows
and social media, border practices and policies, the use of governmental
methods reminiscent of colonialism, the enactment of racism, urban gen-
trification and so on. They then analyse how these practices take on secu-
ritizing characteristics, intersect with security practices and sustain
renditions of the Roma as the source of insecurity. However, it is always
clear that the discriminations, exclusions and violence addressed to the
Roma cannot be reduced to securitization. Coming to security sideways
thus guards against explicit or implicit reductive readings. It allows for an interstitial approach to securitization in which the securitization analysis creates interstices between security and various other practices, issues and processes. It opens towards a more complex and heterogeneous understanding of how discrimination against and exclusion and subordination of the Roma are enacted, and the place of security discourses and techniques within that enactment. Taking such an approach leads to a better understanding of how situations are shaped for the Roma and the place of securitization in this process. It proposes a study of security that is not really a security study; indeed, in some places, it leads to analyses in which securitization seems more like a minor theme than a central force, and that is exactly what is valuable about deriving an understanding of the securitization of the Roma from the analysis of the multiple processes of governance and modes of representation and diffusion that are irreducible to security.

Combined with multiplying securitizations, this sideways approach to securitization contributes to a fracturing analysis of the securitization of the Roma and the discrimination, violence and stereotyping to which they are subjected. Rather than pulling all the chapters together into an aggregated statement at a macro-level on the process of securitization of the Roma, which does not really exist, the volume preserves a fractured landscape of securitizations, with the chapters, between them, allowing the reader to glimpse resonances across various sites and processes that do indeed imply a securitization of the Roma in Europe. In my understanding, this is a more accurate, but also more politically astute, approach to securitizations than tracing processes of securitization as such.

A related but distinct method of avoiding reifications of security is to move away from the understanding that securitization is depoliticizing, with depoliticizing understood as a technological or technocratic governing practice or an exceptionalist political practice. Several chapters do emphasize that insecurities and security practices always exist in contestations of rights, disputes over the right to have rights, claims of autonomy, protests, resistance and so on. However, in most of the chapters the bulk of the analysis remains focused on governing processes and modes of representation of the Roma. This is partly because security is primarily understood as securitization rather than as a politics of insecurity. Taking securitization as the driving analytical approach draws attention, in the first instance, to the social, cultural and political forces which structure
situations into security situations. The place of disputes, conflicts, contestations, and appropriations of rights, identities, conceptions of acceptable practices and autonomy that are equally defining of the situation, but in a continuously changing rather than an entrenching way, then tend to be ignored, become an afterthought or are given only secondary attention. Embedding the study of securitizations within an analysis of the politics of insecurity gives these elements a front-row seat in the analysis. It foregrounds categories and methodologies that approach politicizations as fractured and multiple becomings which simultaneously configure and challenge the enactment of insecurities and their consequences. The disruptive claims to rights of the Roma, countercultures, appropriations in everyday life, mobilizations of understandings that rupture reproduced imaginaries and so on then become crucial practices for understanding the renditions of insecurities in relation to the Roma in Europe today. It does not necessarily produce a less depressing picture of the way the Roma are governed and understood, or of the subjugations they experience; it does, however, open towards a world with more possibilities. It introduces an understanding that situations of securitization are not shaped by processes but by disputes, controversies, contestations, struggles and misappropriations, which continuously create new possibilities.

The distinct approach to securitization that this book expresses matters politically. It emphasizes the heterogeneity and multiplicity of securitizing practices, and how discriminations and subordinations are produced at interstices between securitizing practices and various processes that are not reducible to security. If the discriminating processes are inherently fractured, and connect more through resonances than systemic aggregations, then the fractured political acts and possible resonances between them are key to creating possibilities in specific sites for changing the precarious situation of many Roma in Europe today. Such an approach to the securitization of the Roma gives value to minor practices which, from the aggregated level of the state or the EU, appear as insignificant, as not having any bearing on the political process. In doing so, the book opens towards the valuing of a broad array of political actions for challenging securitization and the continuing marginalization, silence and subjugation to which the Roma are subjected in Europe. Combined with the book’s distinct approach to the study of securitization, this makes for a great and timely contribution to both security studies and Roma politics. It sets an example
of how to assemble a study of securitization which captures its fractured but highly consequential reality by drawing together a group of researchers working, from multiple disciplinary angles, on how the lives of a particular group of people are rendered precarious today.

Queen Mary University of London

London, UK

Jef Huysmans
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A book such as this could not have been realized without the support of many people. First and foremost, we wish to express our appreciation for the authors who entrusted their work to this volume, giving it the form and quality of an ongoing and inspiring interdisciplinary conversation. We would also like to thank our colleagues from the research centre Dynamics of Security: Forms of Securitization in Historical Perspective at the Justus Liebig University in Giessen, the Philipps University in Marburg and the Herder Institute for Historical Research on East Central Europe in Marburg. We thank the German Research Foundation (DFG) which has, through grant SFB/TRR 138 (2014–17), financed the inspiring and open-minded context of research which includes our research project ‘Between Minority Protection and Securitization: Roma Minority Formation in Modern European History’.

The vibrant intellectual exchange both within and beyond Dynamics of Security allowed us to engage in a number of very stimulating international debates. We would particularly like to thank Thierry Balzacq, Didier Bigo, Marieke de Goede, Beatrice de Graaf, Mark Duffield and Jef Huysmans for visiting our research centre and for the various inspiring discussions about and beyond security issues. We thank the Justus Liebig University in Giessen for hosting the international conference ‘The Politics of Security: Understanding and Challenging the Securitization of Europe’s Roma’ (1–3 June 2016) which laid the ground for this volume. For their attendance and energizing participation in the discussions, we are grateful to, among many others, Ethel Brooks, Emile Julien Costache, Ulderico Daniele, Harika Dauth, Kenan Emini, Jan Grill, Theodora Müller-Balauru,
Mark Neocleous, Moritz Pankok, Dotschy Reinhardt, Zsuzsanna Vidra and Václav Walach.

We particularly want to thank very much Delaine and Damian John Le Bas for allowing us to use their artwork ‘Safe European Home?’ for the cover of this volume, and Damian James Le Bas for providing the photograph of the artwork. It was with great sorrow that we heard that, on 9 December 2017 and shortly before this book went into production, Damian John Le Bas suddenly died, at the age of 54. His death is a great loss for the international Roma art movement, and for the Roma social and civil rights movement generally.

We want to thank the editors of this series for providing us with the opportunity for this cooperation. At Palgrave Macmillan, we would like to thank Anca Pusca, Anne Schult and Katelyn Zingg for eloquently convening the trajectory towards this publication. We are grateful to the anonymous reviewers for their commentaries on the proposal that formed the basis for this volume. We also thank Peggy Birch for her careful and thorough proofreading of the entire manuscript, and Chris Engert for his thorough proofreading of the volume.

Yasmin Feltz, Emmanuel Ametepeh and Laura Kienzle have supported us with their organizational talents through the years; Angela Marciniak has been indispensable for her theoretical and organizational knowledge and her continued support. Last, but not least, we owe Marion Groh a debt of gratitude for the humorous and patient way she has dealt with all the different and unexpected problems which have occurred as we worked together as a team during this time.
# CONTENTS

1. The European Roma and Their Securitization: Contexts, Junctures, Challenges  
   Huub van Baar, Ana Ivasiuc, and Regina Kreide  

## Part I  Mobility  

2. The Securitization of Roma Mobilities and the Re-bordering of Europe  
   Nicholas De Genova  

3. Crossing (Out) Borders: Human Rights and the Securitization of Roma Minorities  
   Regina Kreide  

4. Domestic Versus State Reason? How Roma Migrants in France Deal with Their Securitization  
   Olivier Legros and Marion Lièvre
Part II  Marketization

5  The Invisibilization of Anti-Roma Racisms  
Ryan Powell and Huub van Baar

6  Security at the Nexus of Space and Class: Roma and Gentrification in Cluj, Romania  
Manuel Mireanu

7  The Entertaining Enemy: ‘Gypsy’ in Popular Culture in an Age of Securitization  
Annabel Tremlett

Part III  Development

8  From ‘Lagging Behind’ to ‘Being Beneath’? The De-developmentalization of Time and Social Order in Contemporary Europe  
Huub van Baar

9  Illusionary Inclusion of Roma Through Intercultural Mediation  
Angéla Kóczé

10  Voluntary Return as Forced Mobility: Humanitarianism and the Securitization of Romani Migrants in Spain  
Ioana Vrăbiescu

Part IV  Visuality

11  Sharing the Insecure Sensible: The Circulation of Images of Roma on Social Media  
Ana Țiasiuc
12 The “gypsy Threat”: Modes of Racialization and Visual Representation Underlying German Police Practices 261
Markus End

13 Roma Securitization and De-securitization in Habsburg Europe 285
Marija Dalbello

Index 311
Marija Dalbello is an Associate Professor of Information Science in the School of Communication and Information at Rutgers University, New Jersey, in the USA. Her teaching and publications focus on the history of knowledge and history of the book applied to liminal phenomena and visuality. She has published on digital mediation, visual epistemology and immigrant literacies. She is the co-editor of Visible Writings: Cultures, Forms, Readings (2011) and A History of Modern Librarianship: Constructing the Heritage of Western Cultures (2015).


Markus End is an independent scholar from Berlin, Germany, and the Chairman of the Gesellschaft für Antiziganismusforschung (GfA). He was awarded his Ph.D. in Education from the University of Bielefeld in Germany in 2017 and has published widely in the field of antigypsyism. He is the author of Antiziganismus in der deutschen Öffentlichkeit (2014) and the co-editor of Antiziganistische Zustände: Zur Kritik eines

**Jef Huysmans** is a Professor of International Politics at Queen Mary University of London. After finishing his Ph.D. at the University of Leuven, Belgium, he was a Lecturer in International Relations and European studies at the University of Kent in Canterbury. Later, he moved to the Open University in Milton Keynes, where he taught politics and international relations and was Director of the Centre for Citizenship, Identities and Governance. He has published several books, including *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU* (2006), *Security Unbound: Enacting Democratic Limits* (2014) and, with Xavier Guillaume, *Citizenship and Security: The Constitution of Political Being* (2013).

**Ana Ivasiuc** is an anthropologist and a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Political Science of the Justus Liebig University in Giessen, Germany, where she is carrying out research on the securitization of the Roma in Italy within the project *Dynamics of Security: Forms of Securitization in Historical Perspective*, funded by the German Research Foundation (2014–17). She was awarded her Ph.D. in Sociology from the National School for Political and Administrative Studies in Bucharest, Romania. She is the co-editor of *Roma Activism: Reimagining Power and Knowledge* (forthcoming in 2018).

**Angéla Kóczé** is an Assistant Professor of Romani Studies and Academic Director of the Roma Graduate Preparation Programme at Central European University (CEU) in Budapest, Hungary. Previously she was a Visiting Assistant Professor in the Women’s, Gender and Sexuality Studies Program at Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem (North Carolina), the USA (2013–17). She was the principal investigator of the research project ‘Institutionalization of Romani Politics After 1989 in Hungary’, funded by the Hungarian Social Research Fund (2013–16). She is the co-editor of *The Romani Women’s Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe* (forthcoming in 2018).

**Regina Kreide** is a Professor of Political and Social Theory and the History of Ideas at the Justus Liebig University in Giessen, Germany. She is the co-director of the Collaborative Research Centre *Dynamics of Security* and, together with Huub van Baar, leads the research project

**Olivier Legros** is a geographer and senior lecturer at the University of Tours in France. Since working on the articulation between urban policies and social dynamics in the informal neighbourhoods of southern cities (e.g. Tunis, Dakar), he has focused his research on the policies towards Roma migrants in precarious situations in France. Legros is a founding member of URBA-ROM, the observatory of policies towards groups referred to as Roma/Gypsies. He oversees the Marginalization/Inclusion (MARG/IN) research programme devoted to policies aimed at Roma migrants and their effects on target populations in France, Italy and Spain. The French National Research Agency (ANR) finances this programme.

**Marion Lièvre** is a researcher at the Paul-Valéry University, Montpellier 3 in Montpellier, France. Previously, she was a postdoctoral researcher (2015–17) at the University of Tours, France, where she participated in the framework of the MARG-IN research programme, financed by the French National Research Agency (ANR). In 2013, she completed her Ph.D. thesis, entitled ‘Ethno-Cultural Nationalism and its Relation to the Culture of Roma in Post-Communist and Multicultural Romania’, at the Paul-Valéry University, Montpellier 3. Her research is dedicated to the analysis of the relationship between Roma migrant practices and public policies, with a specific focus on the role of the ‘new social worker’.

**Manuel Mireanu** was awarded his Ph.D. in International Relations from Central European University (CEU), Budapest, Hungary, in 2015. He has conducted research on the security practices of vigilante groups in Europe. He is conducting research autonomously in Romania.

**Ryan Powell** is a Reader in Urban Studies in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at the University of Sheffield in the UK, where he is also the Department’s Director of Research. He previously worked at the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) at Sheffield Hallam University. He has diverse research interests spanning urban marginalization, urban governance, citizenship and the stigmatization of ‘outsider’ groups.
Annabel Tremlett is a Senior Lecturer in Social Inclusion at the University of Portsmouth in the UK. Since gaining her Ph.D. in Cultural Studies from King’s College London (2008), she has been awarded two external grants to continue her research into visual representations. Her research interests include investigating the differences between public and self-representations of minority or marginalized groups. She is particularly interested in how to challenge misleading representations to bring about social change and has extensive expertise in ethnographic and photo elicitation research.

Huub van Baar is an Assistant Professor of Political Theory at the Justus Liebig University in Giessen in Germany and a senior research fellow at the Amsterdam Centre for Globalisation Studies (ACGS) and at the Department of European Studies of the University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands. Together with Regina Kreide, he leads the DFG-funded research project ‘Between Minority Protection and Securitization: Roma Minority Formation in Modern European History’. He is the author of The European Roma: Minority Representation, Memory, and the Limits of Transnational Governmentality (2011) and the editor of Museutopia: A Photographic Research Project by Ilya Rabinovich (2012).

Ioana Vrăbiescu is a postdoctoral researcher in the ERC project SOLIDERE: The Social Life of State Deportation Regimes, at the University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands. She was previously a Roma Initiative Office Fellow at the Open Society Institute (OSI) and a visiting scholar at the University Autonoma of Barcelona in Spain. She holds a Ph.D. in Political Science and has an academic background in gender studies and international relations.
List of Figures

Fig. 11.1 The iconic stranger. (Source: Facebook) 237
Fig. 11.2 ‘Bad people walking up and down’. (Source: Facebook) 238
Fig. 11.3 Rooting through containers. (Source: Facebook) 239
Fig. 11.4 Disposable body. (Source: Facebook) 241
Fig. 11.5 ‘Gypsy vans’. (Source: Facebook) 242
Fig. 11.6 ‘Abusive market’. (Source: Facebook) 243
Fig. 11.7 Smoke. (Source: Facebook) 244
Fig. 11.8 The protected ‘Territory’: condominiums. (Source: Facebook) 248
Fig. 11.9 The protected ‘Territory’: shops. (Source: Facebook) 249
Fig. 11.10 ‘Suspicious van’. (Source: Facebook) 250
Fig. 13.1 Zigeunermädchen (von Ihrer k. und k. Hoheit Erzherzogin Maria Dorothea). Gypsy Girl. Creative Commons licence by Austria-Forum (Bilder: Kronprinzenwerk, Band 23: 565). (Note: The painting is autographed ‘María’ and the engraving is signed ‘Morelli G.F.I.’) 295
Fig. 13.2 Wanderzigeuner (von Johann Greguss). Nomadic Gypsies. Creative Commons licence by Austria-Forum (Bilder: Kronprinzenwerk, Band 23: 567). (Note: The engraving is signed, ‘Pásztori’ (a personal name or a location in the Győr-Moson-Sopron area)) 296
Fig. 13.3 Zeltzigeuner und Zigeunerin (nach Photographien in der Alcsuther Sammlung Seiner k. und k. Hoheit Erzherzog Josef). Tent Gypsy man and woman. Creative Commons licence by Austria-Forum (Bilder: Kronprinzenwerk, Band 23: 571). (Note: The engraving is signed, ‘Morelli G.F.I.’) 297
Fig. 13.4  *Lager von schnitzenden Zigeunern* (Johann Greguss). *A settlement with Gypsies carving.* Creative Commons licence by Austria-Forum (Bilder: *Kronprinzenwerk*, Band 23: 573).
(Note: The engraving is signed ‘Morelli G.F.I. Mésés K sc.’) 298

Fig. 13.5  *Zigeunerhütten am Dorfende* (Johann Greguss). *Gypsy huts at the edge of town.* Creative Commons licence by Austria-Forum (Bilder: *Kronprinzenwerk*, Band 23: 574), unsigned 298