

# Rethinking (In)Security in the European Union



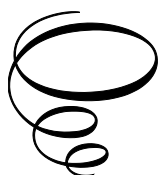
# Rethinking (In)Security in the European Union:

*The Migration-Identity-  
Security Nexus*

By

Claudia Anamaria Iov

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*To my family,*

*Mom and Dad, I could never have done this without your  
love, faith and constant support. Thank you for teaching me  
to believe in myself, in God and to follow my dreams!  
Claudiu, I know, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that I  
am your favourite sister.*

*Granny, grandpa, your memory is a treasure I hold in  
my heart. I'll miss you forever!*



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAF	Caisses d'Allocations Familiales
CC	County Council
INSEE	L'Institute National de Statistique et des Études Économiques
NAR	National Agency for Roma
IFG	French Institute of Geopolitics
EC	European Commission
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
GMI	Guaranteed Minimum Income
HLM	Habitation a loyer modique (social housing)
HRD OP	The Human Resources Development Operational Program
MdM	Medecins du Monde
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OFII	Office Français de l'Immigration et de l'Integration
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PHARE	Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies
SGST	Second Generation of Securitization Theorists
WRC	World Romani Congress

## INTRODUCTION

*Motto: I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up, live out the true meaning of its creed: we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal ... I have a dream that my four little children will one day love in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream ...*

(Martin Luther King, August 28, 1963<sup>1</sup>)

Following the end of the Cold War, the state ceased to be the only security actor, given that non-military issues began to gain ground on the international agenda. Security was no longer exclusively identified with military issues and the use of force. New problems, determined by changes in the international arena – such as interethnic relations, migration, the economy, cultural identity, and the environment – gained ground against traditional security challenges. In this context, the migration-identity-security triumvirate imposed on the international agenda a modern approach to the political-security relationship, with direct consequences on the European integration process (in which the EU plays the role of desecuritization actor).

In the context of globalization, the migration-security relationship takes on new dimensions with ample reverberations in the economic, political, social, demographic, and societal fields.

East-west migration and ethnic minority movement became greater and highly mediatized due to unfortunate events between the immigrant and the majority population within destination countries (for example the Mailat case in Italy, the situation of the Roma in France 2010–12, Northern Ireland 2009, Hungarians in southern Austria, Turks in Germany,

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<sup>1</sup> Martin Luther King, “I have a dream” speech, 1963. With regards to this speech, after more than fifty years we can note that the situation has improved to a rather small extent, the differences continuing to be a reason for suspicion and stigma in society. We still have countries where women walk behind men; and the fear of immigrants and foreigners acquires new meanings against the economic crisis in various parts of the world, the Roma being perceived as citizens of a lower importance because they do not have a state of their own, a recognized leader to protect their rights. See: <http://www.archives.gov/press/exhibits/dream-speech.pdf>.

and the refugee crisis). Policymakers have used these incidents in their struggle for power and financial resources, turning the migration (legal and illegal), refugees, and asylum seekers' issue into a meta-issue, a game of power with comprehensive economic, social, and societal reverberations.

Common threats are rearranged in "a spiral of insecurity" which culminates with the "image of the immigrant," perceived as "a nexus of all fears."<sup>2</sup> In the twenty-first century, with immigration beginning to be seen as a combination of threats to the physical security of the state and societal identity, it has been firmly incorporated into a "security continuum."<sup>3</sup>

Up until the end of the twentieth century, migration had been perceived as part of internal politics, being underrepresented in the international political discourse. Following the September 11, 2001 terror attacks in the United States, the minority issue became a priority on the European agenda, prompting a new way to approach security with a focus on the issues related to society: migration, demography, interethnic conflicts, culture, environment, and economic development.

After the 2001 attacks and their aftermaths in Europe (for example, Madrid 2004, London 2005 and 2017, Oslo 2011, Paris 2015, Nice 2016, and Brussels 2016<sup>4</sup>), the securitization of migration was achieved at an accelerated pace, being connected to certain recurrent themes on the international agenda: organized crime, illegal activities, terrorism, and threats to identity and economic development. Security specialists strive to create an artificial connection between different activity sectors and uncontrolled migration to justify the need for state intervention.

The disappearance of the external enemy (military threat) determined the need for inventing an enemy within the society (e.g. the immigrant, the terrorist), which is more difficult to identify and fought under asymmetric confrontation conditions of low intensity, and with great reverberations in international security.

Amid the economic crisis and political instability, this situation generated an efficient political instrument – "the fear of immigrants." In political discourses, through amalgamation and contextualization, themes such as immigration, foreigners, and asylum seekers are identified as the cause of several internal socioeconomic and security-related issues in an attempt to cover the policymakers' failure in identifying viable measures for the economic, social, or political problems.

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<sup>2</sup> Claudia Arădău, "Migration: the Spiral of (In)Security," *Rubikon E-Journal* 3 (March 2001), 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>4</sup> According to Europol, 205 terrorist attacks (that were stopped, failed, or completed) took place in Europe in 2017, an increase from 142 in 2016.

The new dynamic of the European integration process, following the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, has determined the Eurosceptics to express their apprehension regarding the enlargement of the EU towards Eastern Europe (2004–7), perceived as a threat to the “Western identity.”<sup>5</sup> In this context, “culture becomes a security policy”<sup>6</sup> (especially within the EU), imposing the societal security issue on the extended security agenda. Security has always been the goal behind the integration process, which is why the European theorists’ propensity for a diversified security agenda, with a focus on the issues affecting existence and development, is understandable.

The European integration process in this case worked as a security system, leading to a resetting of the role of the state in terms of identity and cooperation. Within the greater debate of enlargement versus European integration in recent years, European identity and security are at the heart of the European integration process. *Security* has always been the purpose of the European integration process, in the states’ attempt to correct the mistakes of the twentieth century, while *identity* was the element that revolutionized the causality relationship migration-(in)security, conferring it flexibility and referential value, at both subnational and supranational levels, determining the emergence of a transdisciplinary research agenda.

Building the Europe of tomorrow cannot however be achieved without getting a consensus regarding the international migration and its effects on the medium and long-term security, social cohesion, welfare state, and identity within EU.

A numerically significant minority but also European citizens, the estimated ten to twelve million Roma scattered all over the European countries have definitively assessed themselves in the public and political agenda of Western Europe in the debate regarding European enlargement versus integration. The fall of Communist regimes in Central Eastern Europe and the violent attacks during the transition period led many Roma to seek asylum in Western European states. After the 2004 and 2007 enlargements, their mobility was further enhanced, this time as EU citizens. Even so, high-profile cases, like Italy (2008) or France (2010–12), provide evidence of increased tensions within host communities and heightened levels of general intolerance towards migrant populations.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Branka Panic, “Societal Security – Security and Identity,” *Western Balkans Security Observer* 13 (April–June 2009): 33.

<sup>6</sup> Ole Waever, “Securitization and Desecuritization,” in *On Security*, edited by Ronnie D. Lipschutz (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 68.

<sup>7</sup> Laura Cashman and E. Butler, “Romani Mobilities in the Context of the New EU - what Could or Should the EU be Doing?” *Romani Mobilities in Europe:*

Since the 2007 enlargement, however, the Roma are more clearly than ever a subject of EU policy. Although there is still concern about the Roma as immigrants, they are now primarily viewed as Europe's largest transnational minority (the largest visible minority) faced with the problem of socioeconomic exclusion – a problem that, according to the emerging consensus (of different origin and destination states), the EU should help to address.

The desire to solve the Roma issue has become a priority on the European agenda, given that following the Grenoble speech and the launch of the “fight against illegal immigration” the discourses and debates on social exclusion, discrimination, and the violation of rights and liberties, together with images of excavators demolishing illegal camps and women with children in their arms, kept making headlines around the world.

The Roma issue in France can be analysed due to its complexity, its stakeholders, and the social and political stakes that surround it, but also because the subject is apparently an exotic one – unique, in fact, and extremely useful for understanding the process of social integration in a multicultural society. Migration is a phenomenon that cannot be fully controlled, and the “zero migration,”<sup>8</sup> at least among the Roma population, is neither a feasible nor desirable project.

From a historical point of view, the control over the immigration phenomenon is practically impossible in a European Union based on the free movement of persons, goods, products, and services, European identity, and economic single-market liberalization, all of which requires friendly borders.

The fact that *l'affaire des roms* is so easily associated with France's security agenda through discursive practice, given that it is primarily a socioeconomic issue, shows the vulnerability of this ethnic group. Amid the election battle, in a time of economic crisis with extensive social and identity reverberations, through the contextualization of the events at Grenoble and Saint-Aignan (2010), President Sarkozy brought the “immigration file” on the French security agenda up for discussion again, an important aspect being the visibility of illegal Roma camps.

The problem of Romanian Roma in France has held the attention of the two states since the 1990s, however the large number of voluntary repatriations and excessive coverage of expulsions in the last five years turned this issue into a European scandal under the presidency of Sarkozy,

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Multidisciplinary Perspectives, International Conference, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, January 14–15, 2010, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 5.

who, through politico-electoral instrumentalization, raised it to a “national program level”<sup>9</sup> (of identity securitization).

After France managed to resolve the situation of the slums (created by the immigrants who came after the Second World War), it did not expect to end up dealing with the illegal Roma camps (after actively supporting Romania’s EU accession).

The failure of multiculturalism management in the welfare state, amid economic recession, must force analysts to rethink the European integration issue on new socioeconomic-identity grounds, in the context of an ongoing process of enlargement to southeastern countries (see the case of Croatia).

This book is the result of a series of studies devoted to assessing the consequences of migration through the perspective of the migration-identity-(in)security causality with a focus on the Roma issue in France. The consequences of migration are analysed on two levels: the political stake (instrumentalized by policymakers in the public discourse to win over electoral capital) and social issues (with a focus on coherent social integration programs, our case study being the Romanian Roma population of France).

The central questions that this work tries to answer are: How did the Roma transform themselves from unwanted immigrants into the most visible minority within the EU? What are the effects of the Roma issue instrumentalization between political stake and social issue in France between 2007 and 2012 in the fight against illegal migration launched by President Sarkozy to obtain a new mandate? Respectively, does the situation in the Hexagon translate as *l’affaire des roms* or *l’affaire rom*? (This last question can be extrapolated to the entire European Union, in the light of recent events and hesitations of policymakers in formulating a coherent political framework.)

The Roma issue has been studied for some time, as it has been arousing interest and curiosity about the lifestyle, traditions, and culture of the minority ever since their arrival in Europe. The novelty of contemporary studies on the Roma is given by the transdisciplinary (i.e. interdisciplinary) approach of this issue and the substantial engagement of researchers and Roma leaders in the Roma identity-construction process. Surpassing the

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<sup>9</sup> Laura Mitran and Aurelia Alexa, “CRONOLOGIE: Problema romilor dintre România și Franța, în atenția Europei de la repatrierile din 2010,” *Mediafax*, September 12, 2012 [TIMELINE: The Roma issue between Romania and France, in Europe’s attention at the 2010 repatriations], <https://www.mediafax.ro/politic/cronologie-problema-romilor-dintre-romania-si-franta-in-atenția-europei-de-la-repatrierile-din-2010-10062359>.

sociological, anthropological, or ethnographic approaches, we find ourselves on the grounds of the geopolitical analysis of the Roma issue.

Being a complex research that harmoniously combines history with international relations and geopolitical analysis, the analysis of the subject area is transdisciplinary, and the approach is multifaceted, with a focus on causality, the actors involved, and the potential scenarios for solving the Roma issue in the EU member states in terms of social inclusion.

This research aims to demonstrate the fact that, in the context of the new European agenda on security and the European Agenda on Migration, following the September 11, 2001 terror attacks, immigrants in general, and the Roma in particular, have found themselves trapped in a spiral of insecurity through which migration has been raised to the level of meta-problem, and they have become scapegoats to various degrees.

To prove this hypothesis there are two levels of analysis: a general one, in the European Union, in which our attention is on how the migration-identity-(in)security relationship appears on the extended EU security agenda; and a particular one focusing on the Roma issue and the manner in which it appears in the spiral of insecurity, analysing several case studies, with special attention to the case of France.

In the case of France, our attention is drawn to the manner in which the Roma issue is used nationally as a campaign theme, while locally the public authorities (for example in Lyon), concurrently with the actions of eviction and expulsion, seek and experiment with (away from the media) various solutions to achieve the social inclusion of the Roma, in both the host and especially the origin state.

It is argued in this book that migration in general, and the Roma issue in particular, in the context of the enlargement versus EU integration debate, reflect a broader political discussion on the EU's identity and social policy. The lack of a common social policy, the democratic deficit, and the failure of the recent reform process emphasize the existence of an identity crisis in the EU. The socioeconomic and security dimension of the "Roms dossier" is a case that may encourage policymakers in Brussels to rethink the EU's social responsibilities towards its citizens, thus giving up the ambiguous attitude regarding migration.

In order to address potential criticism of this book, I must mention that it addresses the migration-identity-(in)security relationship from the perspective of internal mobility between the EU member states, focusing on the Roma mobility after Romania's and Bulgaria's accession (2007), and does not involve an exhaustive analysis of the immigration phenomenon within the EU, which also comprises the migration from tertiary states. The analysis only briefly touches, in the first two chapters,



on the immigration phenomenon issue in the context of the EU's extended security approach. Concerning identity, the analysis is focused on the "Roma identity political project" in the context of the European identity construction amid the enlargement versus integration debate, in which an important role is played by the effects of the economic crisis on the welfare state. Identity innovates the migration-insecurity causality relation, conferring it flexibility and referential value both at subnational and supranational levels, giving rise to a transdisciplinary research agenda. Within the "(in)security spiral,"<sup>10</sup> identity has a dual role – the cause and effect of migration and (in)security.

The book is structured in two parts with five chapters. The first part comprises three chapters and analyses the EU's extended security approach, focusing on the interdependence relationship migration-identity-(in)security. In the context of the changes which accompanied the end of the Cold War, such as the collapse of Communism and the onset of new regional conflicts (see the Western Balkans), the purpose of the first chapter is to emphasize the (r)evolution of security as it appears after moving the centre of analysis from the traditional (politico-military) security to the modern, individual-oriented security, where the concept of *identity*, in the broad sense of the word, plays an essential role. Our attention is drawn to the new perception of "security" as it appears in the interpretation of the Copenhagen and Paris schools.

The first chapter focuses on the new analytical framework of "security," a brief overview of the French geopolitical analysis, and the societal security sector, respectively the tackling of securitization as an act of speech by the theorists of the Copenhagen School and the criticism of its main objectors – the Second Generation of Securitization Theorists and the Paris School. The chapter is intended to formulate an opinion on the new analytical framework of security, certain research concepts and instruments with which we will work throughout our analysis. The formulation of an exhaustive answer to the simple question of "what is security?" proved to be practically impossible given that theorists report on it differently, in terms of both objective (real) and subjective (social construct) dimensions, depending on the purpose of the research. For the present analysis its subjective nature is important, in the context of the migration-identity-security nexus.

The second chapter analyses the migration-identity-security interdependence relationship with a focus on its effects on the European

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<sup>10</sup> Paul Roe, "The Interstate Security Dilemma," in Claudia Arădău, "Migration: the Spiral of (In)Security," *Rubikon E-Journal* 3 (March 2001), 5.

integration process. This nexus will be reviewed under a triple aspect of its effects on: security, the welfare state, and identity construction within the EU. This analysis aims at demonstrating that the migration security goes beyond Weaver's discursive practices, being an integral part of a complex construct called by Claudia Arădău the "security continuum."<sup>11</sup> In this analysis, migration must be understood and regarded as a spill-over effect, bringing together previous sectors that were studied separately. In the current context, marked by an economic crisis, migration has been elevated to the level of meta-issue,<sup>12</sup> the boundaries between threats to internal and external politics becoming more ambiguous.

The EU's integration capacity was put to the test regarding the last two waves of accession, with states that presented a considerable number of Roma population living in precarious conditions (we refer to the enlargements of 2004 and 2007 – this analysis does not tackle the case of Croatia, which joined in 2013, as the effects of this accession will only be seen in about seven to ten years). These two enlargements were different from the previous ones, both in terms of the large number of solicitants, historic past, population size, or conflicts between the minority and majority populations. In this context, the questions are: what type of stability and security is suitable for such a union, and how important is the political identity project against economic liberalization, given that, after the Maastricht Treaty, the primarily economic European Community entered the path of a political union? It is interesting to see the way in which the European integration process works as a security system, determining a relocation of the state's role in terms of identity and sovereignty within the same system. Security has always been the purpose behind the European integration process, in an attempt by the states to avoid repeating the mistakes of the twentieth century.

This chapter aims to provide a better understanding of the manner in which the migration-identity-security-triumvirate imposed on the European agenda a modern approach of the politics-security relationship, and the way in which it influenced the European integration process (in which the EU plays the role of desecuritization actor), and at the same time the detection of a way to address the consequences arising from this triumvirate.

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<sup>11</sup> Arădău, "Migration: the Spiral of (In)Security," 5.

<sup>12</sup> Dider Bigo, "Migration and Security," in *Controlling a New Migration World*, edited by Virginie Guiraudon and Christian Joppke (London: Routledge, 2001), 121–2.

In the third chapter our attention is retained by the elements comprising the Roma identity – the history, culture, and traditions – in an attempt to separate the myth and folklore from the historical reality. The analysis is not intended to be exhaustive, as it instead reviews key moments and controversial issues in the Roma history and culture which, in time, caused real disputes between the Roma activists/leaders (the constructivist approach) and researchers (the deconstructionist approach). Gradually, our attention is retained by the first certifications on the Roma presence in Europe, the importance and role of nomadism in the history of this group, and the role of the Roma organizations in the shaping and international assertion of the Roma identity project.

The second part of the book contains the following two chapters and is dedicated to the analysis of the situation of the Roma in several EU states, using the instruments and theories discussed in the chapters of the first part of the book, with a special focus on the situation of the Roma in France.

In the fourth chapter, we illustrate and analyse the relation of interdependence between two components – identity and security – focusing on international legislation, the potential interethnic conflict, and the way in which different aspects of the legislative approach regarding human rights and the protection of national and ethnic minorities influenced the relation between state (majority) and minority (the Roma population, considered here as a non-popular minority) in several Central and Southeastern EU countries. The research questions are related to the impact of the accession criteria on policies for the Roma population: how did the accession process influence the legislation on minorities in general, and the relation between state (majority) and the minority (the Roma population) in particular? Was there any important change in the process of social integration made by these countries due to joining the EU? What was the impact of Roma migration (coming from the new EU countries) on the countries of Western Europe? How did the Western countries react?

One can imagine that the constraints (conditionality) imposed by EU on the candidate countries from Central and Southeastern Europe, in our case in the field of the minorities issue, are the “sticks,” and the financial stimuli (pre-accession funds, European Social Fund) the “carrots.”

With regards to the Western European states, our attention will be drawn to the manner in which they managed to cope with the waves of Roma immigrants from the new member states. Measures taken vary from state to state, depending on the extent of the phenomenon, the immigration-security relationship, and the effects on the majority population-immigrants relation and its media coverage.

The fifth chapter analyses the Romanian Roma's situation in France between 2007 and 2012. Our purpose is to complete a complex analysis of the situation in the context of the new European security agenda and the European Agenda on Migration, transcending the strictly theoretical framework of the spiral of insecurity, with a focus on the poverty-migration-security relationship (through social integration). The question that arises here is whether social integration should be encouraged/supported within the host or origin state.

Our main objective is to achieve a coherent outline to facilitate the understanding of the characteristics individualizing the Roma's situation in various illegal camps in France, their relationships with the majority population and NGOs, as well as their future prospects between repatriation/expulsion and social integration.

The conclusions chapter summarizes the main results obtained in the analysis and draws new lines for research, potential scenarios to solve the Roma issue (taking into consideration the actors involved), the extent of the phenomenon, and the severity of this ethnic group's representatives' situation both in the states of origin and the destination.

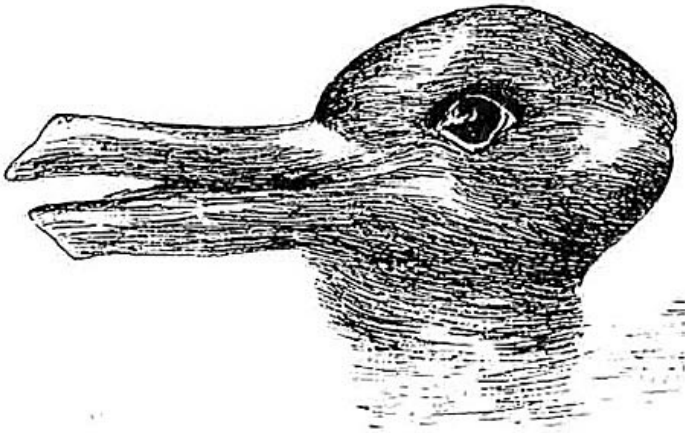
The book belongs to a constructivist approach with a dynamic perspective on the social and societal, where the actors and the system structure are inter-connected, so our interest is retained by the manner in which the theorists from the Copenhagen and Paris schools develop an analytical framework for the understanding and explanation of the interdependence relationship between migration, identity, and security.

In order to achieve the targeted research objective, the project is based on a series of scientific research techniques and methods that are specific to political sciences, international law, international relations, and sociology.

Although we are using methods/instruments that other researchers are also familiar with and we analyse a "trendy" issue for both France and the EU, based on our own expertise, contextualization, and analysis, we are certain that the results will be as expected. As with Kuhn's theory, in which "the ducks existing in the researchers' world before the revolution, are rabbits after it,"<sup>13</sup> the Roma who were initially considered a minor social issue have become, in the context of freedom of movement, an illegal migration phenomenon, visible through excessive media coverage, and a matter of security with ample political reverberations.

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<sup>13</sup> Thomas Samuel Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 122.



Th. Kuhn - "Paradigm Shift"

The subject under consideration demands a multidisciplinary and multileveled approach. Without a complex approach involving political, economic, cultural, ideological, historical, psychological, and geographical implications, a complex geopolitical analysis of the Roma situation in the EU cannot be achieved.

The multiplicity of events also entails a brief diachronic analysis, following the thread of eviction, repatriation, and expulsion actions of the Romanian Roma in France from 2007 to 2012, with a focus on the main moments of tension, the actions of the actors involved, the media echo and the main measures taken to address the situation, and the efficiency of social-inclusion programs or the extent to which they produce sustainable changes within the community, as well as within the relations with the majority.

Achieving the stated research objectives implies the use of *qualitative techniques*, such as the case study, the questionnaire, and the interview, applied to the actors involved in the Roma issue (Roma ethnics, profile organizations, community facilitators, Romanian and French experts), which are necessary to confer a unique character to our approach. There will also be quantitatively interpreted statistical data, given that a part of our research focused on the analysis of a total of 758 articles on the situation of the Roma (originating from Romania and Bulgaria) in four French newspapers (*Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *Libération*, and *Le Parisien*)

monitored over a period of three years, in the months of August to October of 2010, 2011, and 2012.

The case study demanded field research in the Roma communities in both France (Paris, Lyon) and Romania (the counties of Cluj and Bihor). Due to the fact that a part of the research was performed in a foreign state, without previous contacts with the respective authorities, one of the methods used was observation. Due to the reluctance of the Roma community representatives to talk about their situation we opted for the non-participative form of analysis, the activity being mostly based on exterior observation without engagement. For optimum results, we combined this method with open interviews and the application of questionnaires in the context of a previous analysis of statistical data, current legislation, and the media and literature in the field. Fortunately, speaking the Romanian (as well as French) language, we did not encounter difficulties in communicating with them, nor with the NGOs and local authority representatives.

A constraint in this research was however imposed by the Roma's reluctance to provide accurate information about their situation and constant mobility, which required a permanent extension of the research area and the group. We also encountered difficulties due to the lack of openness of the local authorities (Lyon) to provide information on the local Roma community and the problems they are facing.

The conclusions of the case study are the result of the findings and information obtained from the field research (in France and Romania), combined with a prior documentation on the current French legislation, statistics, and press analyses.

The series of interviews with representatives of the Roma community and the local public authorities and NGOs, both in France and Romania, proved to be of utmost importance. The ten unstructured interviews with Romanian Roma from the Grand Lyon community – five from Paris, and two from St. Etienne – give a special note of authenticity to the depiction of the living conditions, social organization, relation with the majority population and public institutions, and the marginal economic activities of the Roma community in the host state, as well as the impulses that lead them towards the West. The painting is harmoniously completed with the information obtained from the representatives of the Roma communities in the northwest region (about seventy representatives, comprising local leaders, experts, and Roma mediators within municipalities) with regards to the living conditions, access to employment and accommodation, the relations with the majority population, labour market opportunities, the “Western mirage,” and the manner in which the public institutions and

NGOs are actively and consistently involved in solving the issues the Roma are dealing with on a daily basis. The representatives of the local public authorities (Lyon, Tinca, Huedin, Zalău, and Mirșid) provided us with an official view on the Roma community problem management, while the representatives of profile NGOs (Sălaj County Centre Association for Education, Development and Social Economy Sălaj, Millennium Social Alternatives, the Ruhama Foundation, Dobrogea Association – the Second World War Deportees League, the Social Services Consultancy and Training in the Social Field Association, the Karma Pro Rromi Association, Medecin du Monde, or La Voix des Roms) made a summary of the main social-inclusion projects and programs. Questions regarding the Roma history and culture were the theme of an unstructured interview applied to a sample of ninety-five people from academia, the state administration, the private sector, and social-protection specialists in Romania. Their answers can be found in chapter three of this paper.

The field research and the personal expertise and experience within the Romanian Roma communities play an important role in this project, mainly in demonstrating the research hypotheses. The previous experience in the Roma communities in Region 6 Northwest of the last ten years (with the projects Together for a Better Life and “Social Entrepreneurship, a Chance for Roma Communities”) and its transfer to the present paper give this research a note of authenticity.

This book is the published version of a PhD thesis, the product of scientific research conducted during doctoral studies in Romania and France, combined with the experience and expertise gained in the activities developed over the last ten years in Romanian Roma communities. The personal documentation and research effort was carefully supervised and enforced by guidance, advice, and scientific support, which is why I address this to those people who have supported, guided, and coordinated me in this effort. Special consideration goes to the scientific coordinators of the paper, Professor Barbara Loyer (Paris 8 Vincennes-Saint-Denis University), and Professor Adrian Liviu Ivan, and Professor Lucian Nastasă-Kovacs (Babeș-Bolyai University), who were by my side as the original, rather simple idea took shape and turned into a comprehensive, transdisciplinary approach. I would also like to thank the board of teachers from the Department of International Studies and Contemporary History (Babeș-Bolyai University) and the French Institute of Geopolitics (Paris 8 University), who contributed to the theoretical training during my doctoral studies.

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Last but not least, I am very thankful to my family who have supported me throughout the entire scientific endeavour, especially my mother who offered me understanding and moral support during watershed moments in the research.

I close this short introduction by saying that the element of novelty that this book proposes is the multidisciplinary and multileveled approach to the Roma issue in the EU's extended security agenda, harmoniously combining the international relations analysis with a geopolitical approach.



## CHAPTER ONE

# BROADENING THE CONCEPT OF “SECURITY”: CONCEPTS, NEW SCHOOLS, CRITICISM, AND RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

Traditionally, throughout their entire history, people have been preoccupied with ensuring security (be it physical existence, providing a food source, or elements of identity), which is why Maslow’s Pyramid places this need, in terms of importance, immediately after the physiological needs. Despite its age, “security” is an ambiguous and “contested concept,”<sup>14</sup> a kaleidoscope of referent objects, practices, actors, and instruments, being non-reductive to a basic sense or fixed linguistic forms. Thus, the term “security” resembles an “umbrella term” through which a small group of actors (generally the international policymakers) justifies the need for certain exceptional political measures and programs.

The end of the Cold War resulted in moving the centre of gravity of the scientific discourse from “peace” towards “security” and “cooperation to achieve security” in terms of a complex analysis which implies a multifaceted approach of the term as compared to the traditional approach (realism<sup>15</sup>), which emphasized the military (politico-military) threats to the

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<sup>14</sup> The idea appears in Barry Buzan’s *People, State and Fear* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 7, in English as “contested.” Epistemologically, in English, the meaning of the term is much richer (meaning challenged, disputed, questioned), and is unfortunately lost with its (poor) translation into Romanian.

<sup>15</sup> Realism is a traditional approach of international relations that appeared in the 1940s. The states were the main actors in the international arena, the other types of organizations/actors (international organizations, private actors) being considered irrelevant, and of negligible importance. The state maintained a monopoly over legitimate violence, ensuring security for its citizens. Relations between actors were based on the famous “power balance” and the protection of the “national interest,” i.e. maintaining the integrity of the territory, political institutions, and culture. For an exhaustive analysis of this theory see: Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politica între națiuni. Lupta pentru putere și lupta pentru pace* [*Politics Among Nations: the Struggle for Power and the Struggle for Peace*] (Iasi: Polirom Publishing

scientific discourse. The evolution from peace to security (in the broad sense of the term) shows a new manner of relating to the events in the international arena, given the fact that peace requires the lack of an armed conflict, while security requires the lack of threats<sup>16</sup> (with a series of tones specific to the security sector). We are thus witnessing a process of this domain's enlargement and intersection with others, such as the economic, social, cultural, or environmental ones.

Globalization gave rise to an important debate among the international relations theorists on the research and analysis area concerning the security studies,<sup>17</sup> in which the non-military threats (economic collapse, migration, demographic changes, natural disasters, environmental matters, and limited natural resources<sup>18</sup>) have drawn the attention of researchers and practitioners as part of the "extended security agenda."<sup>19</sup> Giddens is one of the analysts who notes the importance of globalization on the extension of the security agenda as "the exacerbation of worldwide social relations

House, 2007); Kenneth N. Waltz, *Omul, Statul si Razboiul* [*The Man, the State and the War*] (Iasi: The European Institute, 2001); Kenneth Waltz, *Teoria politicii internationale* [*Theory of International Politics*] (Iasi: Polirom Publishing House, 2006); Jean-Jaques Roche, *Théories des relations internationales* (Paris: Montchrestien, 2001); Stefano Guzzini, *Realism si relatii internationale* [*Realism and International Relations*] (Iasi: European Institute Publishing House, 2000); Martin Griffiths, Steven C. Roach, and M. Scott Solomon, *Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009); Edward A. Kolodziej, *Securitatea si relatiile internationale* [*Security and International Relations*] (Iasi: Polirom PH, 2007); Peter Houghn, *Understanding Global Security* (London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2004).

<sup>16</sup> Radu-Sebastian Ungureanu, *Conceptul De Securitate* [*The Concept of Security*], in *Manualul de relatii internationale* [*Book of International Relations*], edited by Andrei Miroiu and Radu-Sebastian Ungureanu, (Bucharest: Polirom Publishing House, 2006), 180.

<sup>17</sup> Branka Panic, "Societal Security – Security and Identity," *Western Balkans Security Observer* 13 (April–June 2009), 29.

<sup>18</sup> For details regarding the first papers announcing the widening of the research area in the security studies domain see Ken Booth, "Security and Emancipation," *Review of International Studies* 17, no. 4 (1991): 313–26; Barry Buzan, "Is International Security Possible?" in *New Thinking About Strategy and International Security*, edited by Ken Booth (London: Harper Collins, 1991), 31–5; Jessica Mathews Tuchman, "Redefining Security," *Foreign Affairs* 68, no. 2 (1989): 162–77; Richard, H. Ullman, "Redefining Security," *International Security* 8, no. 1 (1983): 129–53.

<sup>19</sup> Paul Roe, "The Societal Dimension of Global Security," in *Global Security and International Political Economy* Vol. I, edited by Pinar Bilgin, Paul D. Williams, et al., *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS)*, 113–32.

[caused by] the events in a part of the world [to be] influenced by events occurring in very remote areas.”<sup>20</sup>

In the context of these changes (accompanying the end of the Cold War, the collapse of Communism, and the onset of new regional conflicts, such as those in the Western Balkans), the research purpose is to emphasize the (r)evolution of security as it appears after moving the analysis centre from the traditional (politico-military) security to the modern, individual-oriented security, where the concept of identity, in the broad sense of the word, plays an essential role. The chapter focuses on the new analytical framework of security, a brief overview of the societal security sector, the tackling of securitization as a “speech act” by the theorists of the Copenhagen School, and the criticism of its main objectors – the Second Generation of Securitization Theorists and the Paris School.

This first chapter is intended to formulate an opinion on the new analytical framework of security and explain certain research concepts and instruments with which we will work throughout our analysis.

## 1.1. The Historical Evolution of Security Studies

Security studies, “an Anglo-American invention,”<sup>21</sup> appeared following the Second World War under two different names: Strategic Studies in England and National Security Studies in America. The history of security studies has often been divided into four periods of development depending on the attention they raised for ideologists and their relevance in the interpretation of events in the international arena.

During the first period (1918–55, also known as “a period with little interest in security studies”<sup>22</sup>), security studies was not considered a separate sub-discipline of the international relations. In this period, the term “security” was perceived as a multifaceted and multidisciplinary issue that required the competition of international law, international organizations, and political theory to promote democracy and disarmament<sup>23</sup> in the international arena. Among the theorists analysing

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<sup>20</sup> Anthony Giddens, *Consecințele modernității [Consequences of Modernity]* (Bucharest: Univers Publishing House, 2000), 64.

<sup>21</sup> Paul D. Williams (ed.), *Security Studies: an Introduction* (London and New York, Routledge, 2008), 2.

<sup>22</sup> Pernille Rieker, “Security, Integration and Identity Change,” *Working Paper*, No. 611, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI): Oslo, December 2000, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

the economic and psychological aspects of the war, J. Hertz, A. Wolfers, and Q. Wright stand out.

The second period, known as the “golden age” (1955–85), when “the civilian strategists enjoyed relatively strong connections with the Western governments and their foreign and security policies,”<sup>24</sup> coincided with the creation of an independent security discipline. The topics that dominated this period’s research were nuclear disarmament and its related issues (limited war, and combating the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, for example the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty – SALT I and SALT II). During this period, the security concerns were based on political realism centred on the “four Ss” (states, strategy, the status quo, and science).<sup>25</sup> We notice that, in this period, the hard security issues were still on the front page of international concern due to the political relevance they had for the actors at the forefront of the bipolar system, which resulted in an infusion of funds towards the theoretical studies in this area, leading to the appearance of several prestigious journals.

In his paper *Understanding Global Security*, Peter Hough perfectly sums up the role of the security studies in this period with the statement that: “Security Studies became the military arm of International Relations.”<sup>26</sup>

The situation was about to change with the assertion and enforcement of the economic agendas (especially after the oil crises of 1973 and 1979) and the environmental ones in the international relations, and more and more theorists who denied the limitation of the research/interest area in security studies. Among these voices we can mention Barry Buzan with *People, States and Fear: an Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era* (first edition in 1983, reissued in 1991 with a much greater impact), Robert Keohane with *Neorealism and its Critics* (1986), Arthur Westing with “The Military Sector Vis-à-vis the Environment,” Jessica Matthews Tuchman with “Redefining Security,” and Richard, H. Ullman with “Redefining Security.” This contestation of the narrow

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<sup>24</sup> John Garnett (ed.), *Theories of Peace and Security* (London: Macmillan, 1970); Dan Dungaciu, “Securitate, Relatii Internationale si Studii de Securitate” [“Security, International Relations and Security Studies”], *Revista de Stiințe Politice Relatii Internationale [Political Sciences International Relations Journal]* IX, no. 4 (2012): 6.

<sup>25</sup> Dungaciu, “Securitate, Relatii Internationale si Studii de Securitate,” 6; Peter Houghn, *Understanding Global Security* (London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2004), 4.

<sup>26</sup> Houghn, *Understanding Global Security*, 4.

meaning regarding the concept of security during the “golden age” marks the third development phase of security studies (1985–95).<sup>27</sup>

The number of objectors increased with the number of themes inserted into the security agenda (migration, regional interethnic conflicts, cross-border criminality, and cultural, economic, and religious security) and with the growing number and visibility of international actors (those others than the states, namely NGOs, multinational corporations, international organizations, and even the individual), but especially due to the emergence of the new European schools of security (Aberystwyth, Copenhagen, and Paris), which bring together researchers willing to create analytical frameworks adapted to the new security threats. The emergence of several schools of security in Europe challenged the “American leadership”<sup>28</sup> to a high extent in this field, the competition between them resulting in a dynamic approach to security studies from a socio-constructivist<sup>29</sup> perspective, as a counterweight to the realist/neorealist approach, as is well observed by M. C. Williams in *Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and World Politics*: “over the past decade, the field of security studies has become one of the most dynamic and contested areas in International Relations ... it has become, perhaps, the primary forum in which broadly social constructivist approaches have challenged traditional – largely Realist and non-Realist theories on their ‘home turf’, [where] some of the most vibrant new approaches to the analysis of international politics are being developed, and ... in which some of the most engaged theoretical debates are taking place.”<sup>30</sup> The need for a broader approach and a much wider vision in the security studies field (in the context of new international challenges, other than those in the bipolar system period) was also shown in the UN 2003 Report of the Commission on Human Security, “Human Security Now,” which states that: “The state continues to have the primary responsibility for security. But as security challenges become more complex and various, and new

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<sup>27</sup> Pernille Rieker, “Security, Integration and Identity Change,” 2.

<sup>28</sup> Ole Wæver, “Aberystwyth, Paris, Copenhagen: New ‘Schools’ in Security Theory and their Origins between Core and Periphery,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, March 17–20, 2004, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Constructivism is a structural theory of the international system which postulates that the state is the main unit of analysis; the key structures in the states’ system are inter-subjective and not material; and that the state’s identity and interests are founded by these key structures and not as a result of internal policies.

<sup>30</sup> Michael C. Williams, “Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and World Politics,” in *International Studies Quarterly* 47 (2003): 511.

actors attempt to play a role, we need a shift in the paradigm. The focus must broaden from the state to the security of people – to human security.”<sup>31</sup>

The last and current period of security studies (from 1995) is the “profound and extended” security studies period. Although new, they have reunited an important group of guidelines (critical studies, the Copenhagen School, the sociological work of Didier Bigo et al., the Second Generation of Securitization Theorists, and the radical postmodernists of feminist theory), as well as a series of theorists who have made a career in the security studies field (Buzan, Weaver, de Wilde, Huysman, Williams, McSweeney, Krause, Smith, Arădău, Roe, van Munster, Dillon, Bigo, and Balzacq<sup>32</sup>). Their place, role, and contribution to developing the security-studies field represent our further concern in this chapter.

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<sup>31</sup> Suzanne H. Risley, “The Sociology of Security: Sociological Approaches to Contemporary and Historical Securitization,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Montreal Convention Center, Montreal, Quebec, Canada Online, 2006, p. 27; For the role that the concept of human security plays in addressing the wider approach on security see also Mary Kaldor’s *Securitatea Umana: Reflecții asupra Globalizării și Intervenției* [*Human Security: Reflections on Globalization and Intervention*] (Cluj-Napoca: CA Publishing, 2010).

<sup>32</sup> Jef Huysmans, “Security! What do you mean? From Concept to Thick Signifier,” *European Journal of International Relations* 4, no. 2 (1998): 226–55; Ole Wæver, “What is Security? The Securityness of Security,” in *European Security 2000*, edited by Birthe Hansen (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Political Studies Press, 1996); Ole Wæver, *Integration as Security: European International Identity and American Domestic Discipline*, working paper 27 (Copenhagen: COPRI, 1997); Keith Krause and Michael W. Williams, *Critical Security Studies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Michael W. Williams, “Identity and the Politics of Security,” *European Journal of International Relations* 4, no. 2 (1998): 204–25; Jef Huysmans, “Revisiting Copenhagen: Or, On the Creative Development of a Security Studies Agenda in Europe,” *European Journal of International Relations* 4, no. 4 (1998): 479–506; Steve Smith, “The Increasing Insecurity of Security Studies: Conceptualizing Security in the Last Twenty Years,” in *Critical Reflections on Security and Change*, edited by Stuart Croft and Terry Terriff (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 72–101; Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, “Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods,” *Mershon International Studies Review* 40, supplement 2 (1996): 229–54; Keith Krause, “Critical Theory and Security Studies: the Research Programme of ‘Critical Security Studies’,” *Cooperation and Conflict* 33, no. 3 (1998): 298–333; Michael Dillon, *Politics of Security: Towards a Political Philosophy of Continental Thought* (London: Routledge, 1996); Michael Dillon, “Virtual Security: a Life Science of (Dis)Order,” *Millennium* 32, no. 3 (2003): 531–58; Paul