ALTERNATIVE

Developing alternative understandings of security and justice through restorative justice approaches in intercultural settings within democratic societies

Theoretical report on the main concepts in the communities: Securitisation and minorities

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Executive summary

The notion of security has gained prominence in recent decades and has come to have a great impact on our social and economic decisions. Thus security is at the centre of the first part of the report, where securitisation – the discursive construction of security – is examined from a number of perspectives drawing first on a literature review of related theoretical works and critical approaches contesting the very idea of "security" in the field of politics and in relation to immigration.

The report tracks the evolution of non-military phenomena, such as immigration, becoming an issue of national security. Concerns over border control, over civilization and culture and the absorptive capacity of states were raised from the 1980s, leading to policy changes. Immigration has only recently come to be represented as a security threat, the securitisation theory suggests, and the change in the representation cannot be put down to changes in migration patterns, i.e. in objective circumstances. Thus "securitization" of migration is a construct coming from above: from politicians, or policy and security experts.

The Copenhagen school considers "securitisation" as a series of speech acts, drawing on Austin's theory, without any prior foundation in the external reality and security issues are regarded as the political outcome of the illocutionary force of security agents. Immigrants are constructed increasingly as a security issue, and are instrumentalised in order to perpetuate the "state of emergency" and the use of extraordinary measures, as opposed to 'normal politics' and are the object of increasingly coercive measures. All this is performed in a naturalising political discourse with

"ethnic compatibility" or "cultural distance" featuring as key concepts, together with the essentialist construction of different cultures, which automatically creates the feeling of threat and danger presented by foreigners with supposed different culture. A number of approaches are suggested for scholars to counter the securitization of migration: the objectivist approach presenting hard facts contrary to what has been claimed, a constructivist response can be highlighting social and political causes behind the phenomenon of immigration, along with the processes of securitisation, or the reframing of minority claims in terms of justice/fairness rather than loyalty/security (deconstructivist strategies).

Another approach, rooted in Foucault's notion of 'governability', renders risk as an instrument of governance, rather than the installation of the 'state of emergency': risk is treated as a means for ordering reality, as "a way of representing events in a certain form so they might be made governable in particular ways, with particular technologies and for particular goals" (Dean 1999). Immigration is governmentalized as well, which creates a discursive relationship between refugees and crime, and even refugees and terrorists.

Critiques of the Copenhagen school call for more emphasis on the context of the securitising discourse and suggest that media coverage and visual representation related of immigration should be analysed in order to highlight the context more thoroughly, and to observe security claims in the making. A related theory is that of 'moral panics', which highlights how the media becomes an essentially moral actor, and not only in the sense of reinforcing the integration of a given community or of

enhancing conformity, but equally in influencing the criminal justice system and also political decisions. The media acts also according to political motivations as a moral entrepreneur that strives to wage battles against socially or culturally defined groups and is capable of creating social problems and criminal groups.

Roma from Eastern Europe highlight the links between the diverse analytical categories of immigrants: ethnic minorities, refugees, and legal migrants/travellers. Three case studies are included in the report illustrate the discourse of securitization. They also demonstrate the roles prescribed to minorities in this discourse, also shaped by media representations, as well as by the actions undertaken against them.

Gypsy criminality, the recently coined term is an eminent example of the securitization of the Roma - a popular but also highly contested in Hungary. In addition to this marginalizing practice implying collective criminality, other recurring topics in negative discourses on the Roma concern educational attainment, labour market activity and demographic growth. The report cites empirical evidence to counter the negative discourse that blames exclusively the Roma for their marginalized status.

Case of Romanian Roma in Berlin illustrates the intertwining of diverse minority situations: the Roma ending up in Gorlitzer Park, Berlin, are EU citizens and as such did not have the right for subsidies, nor could they claim refugee status, as they entered the country as tourists and exercising their right to free movement as EU citizens. All these statuses are mixed up, EU citizens, tourists, homeless and refugees wanting political asylum, and at the same time, they can enjoy none of them.

The Mailat case concerning Romanian Roma in Italy highlights the working of securitazion discourse. A crime committed by a person of Romanian Roma origin gave rise to the massive stigmatization of the Roma as a community in the media. A state of emergency was declared - therefore, the suspension of "normal politics" became a reality and eventually ended in the mass expulsion of the Roma from Italy, despite their right as EU citizens to be in another EU

country: they wer treatede as illegal immigrants, because in official and media discourses they were distinguished from their Romanian co-nationals. As an ethnicised collectivity, they were symbolically and then practically dispossessed from their European citizenship.

Expulsion of the Roma in France in 2010 was very similar: local conflict between French citizens from the group called 'gens du voyage' and the police gave the occasion for Sarkozy and his government to construct the ethnic but 'universal' Roma, along with all the stereotypes usually attributed to them. Using the action of French Gypsies' as a pretext, who assaulted a police station, they promised to expulse Romanian and Bulgarian Roma. Roma were presented as threats to the 'republican order' that can legitimate exceptional measures.)

Finally, the authors present experiences related to conflict resolution in intercultural settings in Hungary. Mediators who were interviewed assessed the effectiveness of mediation in relation to Roma issues as limited. A key factor in this respect is that mediators do not have sufficiently thorough knowledge about the specific characteristics and life of various Roma communities, neither about the social and economic background of the discourses in relation with the Roma. The authors conclude by promoting better cooperation of Hungarian minority mediation profession with professionals of other fields.

Action research in ALTERNATIVE and conflict resolution in intercultural settings in Hungary: research questions and directions

- understand who is considered Roma in a community and what is the basis of such a classification, to explore and identify the types of discourses that bring closer/isolate the Roma and the non-Roma populations,
- explore the location, the content and the function of segregation in the village,
- explore the relationship networks and identify their characteristics,
- explore the means of access to economic resources.

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