

**IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca
Lucca, Italy**

**State, space and security:
the treatment of deviant groups in times of crisis**

**PhD Program in Political Systems
and Institutional Change
XXIV Cycle**

**By
Maria Gkresta
2013**

The dissertation of Maria Gkresta is approved.

Programme Coordinator: Prof. Giovanni Orsina, Luiss-Guido Carli University

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Bernd Belina, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a.M.

Tutor: Prof. Stefano Gattei, IMT Lucca

The dissertation of Maria Gkresta has been reviewed by:

Dr. Andrea Borbíró, Eötvös Loránd University

Dr. Deborah Talbot, The Open University

IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca

2013

Table of contents

I. Introduction	vi
Methodological considerations.....	4
II. Urban spatial strategies before and after the financial crisis	9
III. Theoretical considerations	19
IV. State, space, crime and security in the city	19
The state as a social relation	22
The State and the Production of Space	30
The spatial strategies of the state.....	34
Globalization and Global Cities.....	40
Gentrification.....	49
Crime and deviance.....	54
Critical Security and the social construction of threats.....	63
Conclusions	72
V. Social housing and the undeserving: the case of Cluj, Romania.....	76
Introduction.....	76
Social housing and Romania's undeserving.....	77
The people and the policies.....	77
The place and the policies	83
The story	86

Concluding remarks.....	99
VI. Criminalizing homelessness in Budapest.....	103
Introduction.....	103
State and urban spaces.....	106
Budapest	108
Criminalizing homelessness in Budapest	111
The Logics of Homeless Governance in Budapest.....	118
“The City is for All”	127
Conclusions	138
VII. The Case of the Seropositive Persecuted Women in Greece.....	141
Introduction.....	141
The chronicle of a castigation.....	147
Security and AIDS	161
Crime and AIDS.....	166
Risk and AIDS.....	171
Conclusion	176
VIII. Analysis: the spatial configurations of deviance.....	178
IX. Concluding remarks.....	185
X. References	189
Articles and books cited.....	189
Webpages cited	206

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Bernd Belina, for his valuable input, support, patience and for giving me intellectual freedom in my work.

I am indebted to Dr. Andrea Borbíró, my supervisor for the research period I spent at the Department of Criminology of Eötvös Loránd University. Her guidance helped me overcome practical difficulties, and she contributed greatly to shaping the direction of the work with her careful and instructive comments.

I am grateful to Dr. Deborah Talbot, for accepting me under her tutelage as a visiting student at the Department of Social Policy and Criminology of the Open University at a critical stage of my PhD. I warmly thank her for her advice and constructive feedback.

I would also like to thank my family for their sincere encouragement and constant support. I take this opportunity to acknowledge all the people in Cluj, Budapest and Athens who have, knowingly and unknowingly, helped me throughout this project.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank Manuel Mireanu, without whose love and inspiration I would not have been able to complete this project. Every result described in this thesis was accomplished with his help and support. I doubt that I will ever

be able to convey my appreciation fully, but I owe him my eternal gratitude.

For any errors or inadequacies that may remain in this work, the responsibility is entirely my own.

Vita

- February 18, 1983 Born, Athens, Greece
- 2006 Degree in Italian and Spanish Language and Literature
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece
- 2008 M.A. in Expert in European Affairs For Local Government
Final Grade: 110/110
University of Trento, Italy
- 2011 M.A. in International Relations and European Studies
Central European University
Budapest, Hungary
- 2012 Research Grant
Eötvös Loránd University
Budapest, Hungary

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

M. Gkresta (2013) *Social Control in Times of Crisis: The Case of the Seropositive Persecuted Women in Greece*. Paper presented at the 8th Pan-European Conference on International Relations, Warsaw, Poland.

M. Gkresta (2012) *Social Control in Times of Crisis: Criminalizing homelessness in Budapest*, *Der Donauraum* 3/4.

Abstract

The project explores the spatial strategies employed by the state during the ongoing financial crisis in regards to the treatment of perceived as deviant groups in Cluj-Napoca, Budapest and Athens. In the current context, groups such as the Roma, the homeless and seropositive women face extreme discrimination and are pushed in the margins of the society. An interpretative approach is adopted in order to steer the thesis towards a critical assessment of the everyday practices of the state and its apparatuses, as well as towards an analysis of the discourses that legitimate these practices. In the process of securitizing and excluding deviant groups, certain spaces become the targets of preferential investments in built environment and infrastructure, while others become stigmatized and criminalized. The three cases outlined show three stages of this differentiation, in which deviant groups play the key role. The case of Cluj illustrates a strict dichotomy between the city and the periphery, where Roma people are exiled. In Budapest, the entire territory of the city can be seen as a patchwork of centres and marginal areas, where homeless people are banned in certain spaces, but tacitly allowed in others. Finally, in the case of the seropositive women, it is argued that in Athens there are no spaces relegated to deviance, just as there are no spaces that are completely purified of it. Instead,

deviance is ubiquitous, through the creation of an
overarching discursive climate.