Table i.4 Who and What Is Being Securitized?

Nation	Strategy	Who securitizes?	Decision	Frame
Great Britain	Abjection	• "Bottom up" • Media • Elites	Criminalization of squatting legislation	• Criminality • Deviance • Security
Holland	Abjection	Government	Criminalization of squatting	• Deviance • Security
Denmark	Institutionalization	• Elites • Police • Judicial system	Make Christiania part of "official" Denmark	• Criminality
France	Abjection	Government?	Set up camps for Roma	• Criminality

themselves regarding the existence or nonexistence of the problem, as well as their views regarding the legitimacy or illegitimacy of government actions towards squatting. Here we see squatters rejecting the anti-social label and instead questioning existing "knowledge" about squatters. In this way, we can see more clearly the power politics involved in the securitization of squatting, and the way that different epistemic communities have developed different knowledge about the subject.

1 How We Talk about Squatting

The advent of globalization in the late twentieth century has remade the map of the world and as a result has led to the creation of new social, political and economic institutions and patterns. But globalization is, as many analysts have noted, a double-edged sword. It produces new opportunities for democratization, increases in individual and group wealth and increased social and geographic mobility. However, at the same time, it gives rise to new dangers and challenges—from the threat of asymmetric warfare being perpetrated within and upon a society, to the threats of overpopulation and transnational crime.

The challenges posed by globalization—including threats to national identities and the problems of urban security and border control—may seem new to analysts today, but they are in fact merely a reemergence of problems that have existed historically. As Mark Salter argues, the tendency for those in authority to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate movement by individuals within and between states and territories can be traced back to the Middle Ages. In his work on the history of the passport, he suggests that the king—and later the sovereign state—has historically exercised power to regulate, govern and approve of citizen movements outside the kingdom or the state's borders. And as he notes, particularly in periods of great social change—such as the Middle Ages, the period following the Reformation and even the early 1900s prior to World War I—states have been particularly keen to regulate the ways in which their population has left their borders, as well as who has permission to enter their borders. That is, states have also long acknowledged the connection between creating a strong state based on a unified national identity, and policies that regulated who may and may not enter the state or claim its benefits as a citizen.[1]

This context is important as we begin to examine the phenomenon of urban property squatting in Europe today, and particularly the challenge of transnational urban property squatting. As the analysis of legislation to criminalize property squatting shows, today we are seeing two particularly interesting security developments that, though novel, are not new.

First, we can note the decline in the importance of the state as the main architect and guarantor of security today—as regional and even local

governments become involved in regulating and surveilling citizen activities within their territories. At the same time, we can suggest that today the inter-state and state levels are not the only levels of analysis that are important in considering urban security in particular today. Rather, as the case studies presented here show, today it is increasingly difficult to draw a distinction between domestic versus international security regimes and policies.

Immigration, migration and border issues are thus "fractal" within societies. The attitudes of policymakers and citizens towards residents or outsiders of a nation and of a neighborhood can be similar. Methods of defending the neighborhood and the state may parallel one another, and the prejudices that exist against certain societal members at the national level can be found at the local level as well. Thus, it is not surprising to see that security regulations regarding undocumented or unsurveilled persons are increasingly being enacted at both a national and a local level.

Analysts who study security today suggest that we ask a series of questions in order to truly understand the effects of current security policies. First, they ask us to consider what is being secured or the object of securitization. That is, in enacting legislation regarding voter identification, border security or zoning restrictions, we need to consider the threat that citizens and policymakers are reacting to, and the values that might underlie these fears. It is not always obvious what specifically is being defended.[2] Next, we are asked to consider the threat that the object is being secured from. Then, after we have considered how securitization has been constructed, we can begin to ask questions about practices of securitization that stem from that construction. Here we ask how the object is being secured and who is doing the securing.

These four questions—what, how, from whom and by whom—can be answered on several levels of analysis, from the state level to the neighborhood level. In this chapter, I argue that the securitization of property squatting rests on three different discourses of threat—those who fear the property squatter are concerned about threats to their homes (and neighborhoods), to their cities and to their nation. Each of these objects of securitization—the home, the city and the nation—has a resonance that goes beyond mere territory. The home and the city, like the nation, have an importance that derives from history, symbolism and psychological attachment. For that reason, each "territory" (the home, the city or the nation) is one that individuals and groups can be marshaled to defend if it appears to be threatened. Nils Bubandt refers to the overlapping of multiple securities, encompassing local, national and international levels, as "vernacular security," and goes on to argue that securitization practices often serve to build a community—at the local, community, regional or national level. He notes the ways in which the Russian babushka, the Chinese "busybody" and the modern neighborhood watch committee provide surveillance of a neighborhood while simultaneously establishing and building ties between the residents.[3] In building this community, however, securitization language often builds ties within a territory by granting those who live there a common enemy against whom they can unify. Thus, in an era when individuals are particularly concerned about the changing identity of their neighborhoods, cities and states as a result of globalization and increased migration, the property squatter in particular can become a focus of these insecurities, and marshaling forces against him (whether through protests, the founding of community watches or the passage of legislation) can thus serve as a community-building exercise at his expense.

I briefly describe the types of threats to the home that can be identified and the types of threats to the city that can be identified, and then lay out a number of different discourses that have been used both in Western Europe and elsewhere to describe those who threaten both home and city. Here, I suggest that both media reports and statements of official government policy can be sorted into seven different categories. The issue of property squatting has been framed using the following themes: deviance and norm violation; identity politics; citizenship; criminality; security; investments and finances and human rights. In each case, the frame presents an answer to the question "What does the squatter threaten?" or "What is being secured?" in passing national level legislation to address property squatting, which had heretofore been regarded as a local or regional problem.

REALISM: THE MEANING OF HOME

Policy debates about squatting and newspaper coverage of the squatting problem frequently rest on a package of implicit assumptions about what "home" means, and how rituals of living in a home should be enacted. Readers and voters are asked to consider not only whether foreigners and immigrants threaten their nation, but also whether they threaten their neighborhood and community identity, as well as their most basic unit of analysis, their home itself.

In considering what it means to threaten someone's home, one needs first to unpack the many meanings that the term home carries both historically and in modern society. Here, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a house merely as: a building for human habitation, especially one that consists of a ground floor and one or more upper stories (example: *a house of Cotswold stone*). If a house is understood primarily as a physical structure, then it is easy to derive the threats that might exist to that "home." It could be the subject of a natural disaster like fire or flood, for example, and the purchase of flood insurance could thus act to secure the home along with the installation of smoke detectors.

But "home" is actually a loaded term, which carries a variety of meanings. As Andrew Gorman-Murray indicates, "for a house to become a home, it must be imbued with a range of meanings, feelings and experiences *by its occupants*."[4] It may refer to a physical structure (or house), as well as

providing a point for the discussion of a variety of concepts and associations having to do with domesticity and domestic practices.[5] Rapoport suggests that a home is a physical dwelling as well as a place that provides a means of self-expression (through decorating, for example). The home is also associated with one's past or childhood and may feature in memories that an individual has. It can provide a feeling of security, continuity and order—or insecurity, depending on one's circumstances (for example, if one is placed in foster care). It can be seen as an investment, and finally, it can provide one with a particular sense of one's socioeconomic niche. (For example, one can grow up in public housing, on the wrong side of the tracks or in the lap of luxury.)[6] Home thus refers to a physical property as well as the people and objects associated with this property, as well as the relations between all three of these elements.

Finally, Dupuis and Thorns describe home as "an encompassing category that links together a material environment . . . with a deeply emotional set of meanings having to do with permanence and continuity."[7] In their work, they suggest that the home can provide a source of "ontological security," noting that:

> Home is where people feel in control of their environment, free from surveillance, free to be themselves and at ease, in the deepest psychological sense, in a world that might at times be experienced as threatening and uncontrollable.[8]

That is, one's environment affects one's security—including one's health security. People who live in stable housing situations are likely to have access to other resources that help them to stay healthy.[9] Home ownership thus represents, to some degree, the purchase of security.[10] One's feeling of safety might be violated if one was subject to a break-in or home invasion.[11] Here, the "home" can be secured through the use of alarms and door locks.

In addition, Gorman-Murray suggests that the meanings of home and the connection between home and identity are not permanent, but that they can change or evolve over time. In each case, home as a concept is intertwined with concepts of one's own identity and one's own values. Thus, home's meanings may vary by gender, race, class, age, disability and sexuality. At the same time, home may have some universal meanings—such as a connection with privacy, identity and family.[12] As Hauge and Kofstad argue, the connection between home and identity can also be seen as dynamic, rather than static. That is, as the neighborhood evolves (either declining or gentrifying), so might our feelings about it and about ourselves as dwellers in it.[13]

Beyond the physical structure, a home may also be defined as a place of sovereignty, where one is free to do what one wants within one's private space, without answering to others. In British parlance, one is told that "a man's home is his castle." If a home is defined as sovereign territory, then the major threat facing the home dweller is trespassing, and again the physical

territory could be secured by means of erecting fences. Freedom from government overreach is further secured through a constitution.

A home might also be defined primarily as an investment. British English speaks of "climbing the property ladder," with the implication that home ownership is the highest status one can achieve. Those who purchase homes are congratulated on having secured their future. If a home is conceptualized in these terms, then the major threat to the home might come in the form of a drop in property prices or some form of eminent domain law in which the government takes one's property for a below-market price. Here, the best hedge against this threat is to do one's research to ensure that one is buying in a safe and profitable area. Both the home and the neighborhood are also associated with a sense of order and unity. Thus, a threat to this idea of home (rather than one's home itself) might come in the form of some discontinuity within the family group—such as a death or divorce. (One might find oneself facing the threat of a "homewrecker" or the possibility of living in a "broken" home.)

CONSTRUCTIVISM: THE MEANING OF HOME

Thus, the home can be identified—from a realist perspective—merely as territory, as a sanctuary or as something to be defended. It can also—from a constructivist perspective—be seen as a setting for the enactment of particular identities or as a source of identity itself. One's identity may thus rest on the fact that one lives in a wealthy neighborhood, in contrast to poorer neighborhoods nearby. In this way, one derives an identity both from what is within the home and the neighborhood as well as what is outside it, and that exists in contrast to it.[14] Thus, in recent years, housing policy—particularly in Western Europe—has served as a means of addressing and discussing issues of citizenship and community. Thus, disputes about housing tenancy may have nationalist or racial overtones, with people's competing claims about housing often serving as a proxy for larger issues—such as competing claims for citizenship and national identity.[15]

For this reason, a change in the status of a neighborhood, or a change in the relationship with the territories surrounding the neighborhood, might be read as threatening to sociocultural identity on both a personal and a neighborhood level—since, as Gorman-Murray notes, the notion of home is socially constructed within a particular time frame and a particular culture. *Gorman-Murray calls our attention to the ways in which the identity of the home often rests implicitly on a sort of hierarchy established between those who "do home" one way versus those who "do home" a different way.* He suggests that in England, for example, the idealized version of home that appears in the media and in popular culture, including on television, is a heterosexual nuclear family, living in a detached, owner-occupied dwelling, in a suburban location.[16] Changes in family formations or living patterns

that call that hierarchy into question (by, for example, accepting new family formations like cohabitation or gay married couples, which were previously considered deviant) might thus be viewed as threatening to mainstream sociocultural identity.[17]

As Williams writes:

> The concept of societal security is designed to highlight the role that "identity" plays in security relations. Here it is not the territorial inviolability . . . or governmental legitimacy and autonomy . . . that is threatened. Rather it is the identity of a society, its sense of "we-ness" that is at stake and which . . . can become the source of conflict.[18]

Table 1.1 Security Aspects of Home

Meaning	Security threat presented	Object of securitization
Place of privacy	"Home invasion," break-in, crime, peeping toms and surveillance	Physical possessions (jewelry, electronics)
		Personal dignity
Place of continuity, order	Breakup of social structures contained in the home: "a broken home," "a homewrecker"	Sense of family continuity, permanence
Territory	Trespassing, squatting	Borders
Place of identity	"invasion" by those who are different, "there goes the neighborhood" (NIMBY)	National, local, regional, neighborhood identity
	Can be maintained by home owners' associations, condo boards, etc. with rules regarding architecture	Way of life for people like us
Place of safety	Threat to physical safety: reactor leak, natural disaster, NIMBY	Physical possessions Bodily safety, human life, health
	Threat caused by criminality: gang activity in one's neighborhood, etc.	
	Can be covered by insurance, also by gating of communities, etc.	
Investment	Blight, eminent domain	Monetary "safety" or financial security
Physical structure	Fire, natural disaster *Can* be covered by insurance	Physical infrastructure

In considering both the city and the home (or neighborhood) as a sociocultural entity, it is thus possible to construct a narrative of threat in which the object of security (city, home or neighborhood) is threatened by those with different values, those with a different ethnicity or those with a different lifestyle. A narrative can be constructed in which the city or neighborhood is under siege or the threat of invasion from those who are barbaric and do not appreciate the civilization that the pristine enclave or the city itself represents. An alternate narrative can be constructed in which the entity is threatened by those who behave differently—for example, by preferring a nomadic lifestyle to that of settlement. In addition, a narrative can be constructed in which individuals of a different ethnicity and way of living gradually do violence to the identity of the city, causing it to be redefined and vanishing in its original form.

In conceptualizing what it means to defend one's home or one's neighborhood, it is thus necessary to consider each of these definitions. Because home has so many meanings, there are also many different threats to the "home" and different notions of what it means to secure one's home. Some of these are quite mundane, while others are more philosophical. Some exist in every temporal period (routine threats), while others are more likely to be associated with a crisis period and high security (unusual and existential threats). Table 1.1 describes the various threats that can be associated with the home depending on how one defines home.

REALISM: SECURING THE CITY

The language of security is already very much included in urban politics and housing policy. Thus, we can identify certain concepts that have been borrowed from the international relations theory known as realism in particular, as well as some that have been borrowed from the school known as constructivism. Here both realist and constructivist theories can be drawn upon to explain how both state and local officials are predisposed to think about the city as an object to be defended, and constructivist theories can also explain how state and local officials—as well as the general public—think about the home in particular as an object to be defended.

The international relations theory known as realism rests on certain key principles: Realists believe that relations between states are inherently conflictual, with each state interested in maximizing its own power and assuring its own survival. States are not predisposed towards cooperating with one another, and in an anarchic international system there is no mechanism for forcing this cooperation. In the realist model, states are defined as territorial entities, rather than ethnic, linguistic or cultural entities.

Although realism is a theory of interstate relations and of the international system, it is also possible to look at urban politics through the lens of realism. In today's globalizing world, one can see realist principles at work in the state and local government's attempts to defend the infrastructure of

cities from attack through reliance on policing and surveillance. Thus, just as practices of border security serve to protect citizens on a national level, so practices within the city such as increased surveillance protect citizens locally. Here, globalization and its ensuing migration flows can be viewed as a danger not only to the state but also to the newly emerging class of global cities—for populations do not merely flow over and around national borders. They also flow in and out of regions, threatening to overwhelm a city's social services and physical infrastructures. In many ways, the conflicts that are writ large on a state level—between the native-born citizen and the immigrant, between those who wish to have open borders and those who do not—are also played out on a different scale in global cities in Europe, the United States and throughout the world. Thus, the city, like the state, can be seen as the site of both increased opportunities and increased dangers in a globalizing world. And increasingly in the period since September 11, 2001, issues of security and security threats are being articulated not only in national policies, but also on a local level.

Lewis Mumford, an anthropologist writing in the 1960s, called our attention to the particular ways in which mankind has always thought about cities. He tells us that people who live in cities tend to have and to practice specialized skills—and that the city has thus always been associated with civilization and culture, with its ready supply of academics and artists and access to cultural activities and education.[19] Thus, access to the city is desirable, as is a tendency for those who inhabit the city to organize to defend resources they see as theirs from others who might wish to share in them or take them away. Flusty also argues that planning in the urban environment has actually *always* been about security—with our first cities built as forts and places to be defended.[20] Historically, as well, cities have always attracted transient, unsettled, unregistered people. A city's population might include, for example, spies, saboteurs and people who were disloyal to the regime, as well as those who were not well integrated into system. Thus, the city has always been both a target and a place to be defended from security threats—and a generator of security threats. (Pandemics and epidemics are created in cities, as are revolutions.) The city thus, like the state, can exist in a state of complete stability, complete instability or failure or some combination in between. And yet, as Lemanski notes, international relations experts do not tend to recognize actions that citizens and policymakers take to protect the urban environment (such as installing a burglar alarm or putting up lights at a neighborhood park) as securitizing acts because of the mismatch between the international and the local level of analysis.[21]

However, analysts today are increasingly rethinking this narrative—asking instead how the city has been planned and organized and how it might be planned and organized in the future so that the city itself and the resources it contains might be defended.[22] In this more securitized or militarized outlook, the city can thus be viewed as a public good[23] that citizens and their leaders on some level "organize" to defend—through regulating

or licensing citizenship, enacting zoning laws, and enacting regimes of surveillance and policing.[24] Furthermore, wealthy citizens may purchase private security to guard "their" parts of the city from those whom they view as unauthorized, erecting walls and gates and increasingly engaging in practices of surveillance, coercion and security. As Caldeira argues, the modern city is increasingly a site of class and ethnic warfare. She remarks upon the ability of the first and third worlds to coexist side by side in the world's global cities.[25] One can even drill down to an even more microlevel to examine the ways in which particular neighborhoods or enclaves might be secured within the city, even from one's neighbors.[26] In today's globalized world, threats to domestic order and threats to international order may be closely intertwined.[27]

While officials work to protect the city, international actors may seek to undermine urban domestic order—through demonstrations, vandalism, weaponized attacks or even property squatting, and the same types of security measures that are taken against international threats may now be taken against domestic threats as well. As a result, domestic law enforcement personnel and those forces that provide external security may find themselves drawing ever closer. They may begin to view threats in the same way—and their jobs of policing and providing security may begin to look similar as well.[28] Domestic law enforcers may be concerned with threats to internal security from unauthorized or undocumented immigrants, and frameworks that we use to understand external security may be increasingly applied in a domestic framework.

However, the question arises of whether the current emphasis on securing the city is actually justified. As McInnes and Rushton indicate, early writing on securitization theory adopted a positivist perspective, with analysts focusing on whether a threat was "real" or whether it had been securitized.[29] Similarly, Flusty speaks of urban paranoia, suggesting that, for example, the increase in security measures in Los Angeles, in particular throughout the 1990s, was not justified by actual increases in crime rates.[30] He suggests that the environment has not become more dangerous, but that the process of securitization is occurring due to other forces within society, such as a drive towards greater government power over citizens or an increased vigilance and desire to monitor foreigners and strangers in society, regardless of any actual increases in traditional crime. Next, it is possible that what is being "secured" through the erection of fences, new types of architecture and new methods of surveillance is not merely the physical infrastructure of Los Angeles. Rather, the threats to Los Angeles against which forces are being marshaled are somewhat larger and more complicated than merely criminal threats. Here, Setha Low suggests that fear often stems from the unknown. As one's own city changes and begins to seem less familiar—due to an influx of new neighbors of different nationalities, different social and economic classes and different ethnicities—it is possible that one's sense of insecurity might increase as a result of unfamiliarity.[31]

Constructivism: Securing the City

In order to understand the ways in which defense of the city is intertwined with issues of identity, one must consider the international relations theory known as constructivism. Constructivism asks us to think of the international system as based on ideas and identities, rather than merely on territories. Constructivism explains that ideas can create structures—pointing to, for example, the notion of Western versus Eastern Europe, noting that this is a geographical reality that actually rests on an understanding that is created intersubjectively by members of the international community.

A constructivist thus would consider the city not merely as a territory, but also as a particular type of entity in comparison to other entities, such as the rural area. Here, a defense of the city might focus on identifying and responding to forces that might threaten the identity of the city. A constructivist would thus note that any major world city (like London, Paris, New York or Shanghai) actually represents or stands for a variety of values and ideas. Citizens may also not all agree on what the meaning of a city is, since there are multiple competing visions of what a city is. Some may focus their understanding on the idea of the neoliberal city, characterized primarily as a marketplace and governed by market forces that determine who lives where. Still others may view the city as a sanctuary, place of refuge or a community that takes care of its own, providing human security for its members. Others may view the city as a fortress whose primary function is to protect its members and keep out intruders. Today, there is a great deal of contestation regarding the issues of what a city is, whom it serves and what it is for. These questions may become particularly pronounced during periods of opening or globalization, when issues are raised such as whether all newcomers are welcome, whether some are welcome and the exact nature of the contract between the city and its residents.

The city may have a longstanding identity, and there may be conflict over whether this identity should be kept unchanged, or whether it needs to adapt to a dynamic environment. That is, a city is a place that possesses a political and cultural history. In addition, the city (particularly a capital city) occupies an important position in supporting the nation's political, economic, social and cultural institutions. Thus, in securing the city, officials may enact rules and legislation to secure not only the physical infrastructure, but also the other meanings and ideas that the city represents. Zoning laws may be used to preserve the aesthetic meaning of the city, while residency laws may regulate who may live in the city and under what circumstances. The city's identity may be important for state prestige and power (as Shanghai's is). Thus, the city is more than just a place, and the job of defending the city is thus about more than simply defending the citizens or the physical infrastructure of its territory. Table 1.2 illustrates the range of threats to the city that may be identified today.

In the next section of this chapter, I consider the different discourses that can be identified in the public discussion about squatting. As we will see, these discourses diverge sharply in their visions of which of these meanings of the city are being secured.

Table 1.2 Security Aspects of the City

Meaning	Security threat presented	Object of securitization
Place of commerce	Attack on Wall Street	National and international monetary system
Place of continuity, order	Chaos: threat to government's legitimacy if it cannot control	Norms and regimes that govern city functioning
Physical infrastructure	Fire, natural disaster, terrorist attack	Metro, buildings, etc.
Source of national pride	Symbolic attack on nation, harms credibility	Image of city
Territory (container for citizens)	Threats to human or physical security (pandemic, crime)	Physical possessions Bodily safety, human life, health
Investment	Bankruptcy, failure of financial institutions	Financial security
Civilization	Invasion	City's identity

How Do Squatters Threaten the Home and the City?

In considering the narratives about squatting put forth by politicians, the public, the media and pro- and antisquatting groups, it is thus possible to identify a number of different discourses used to describe squatting and squatters, mainly because participants may differ in terms of how they define the object of security to be defended. Squatting can be seen as a threat to property or one's investment (from a realist perspective), or as a threat to individual, community and national identity (from a constructivist perspective). The squatter can be seen as jeopardizing the health security of others in a neighborhood as well as threatening social order. From an individual perspective, the squatter can be seen as threatening identity, community and property. The practice of squatting is seen as having the potential to reshape the urban environment (through, for example, damaging buildings and property values), as well as the identity and community of a neighborhood or city.

Thus, it is plausible to consider how the squatter has been constructed as a threat to the state, the city, the neighborhood and the home—and the ways in which these understandings have structured state responses to the squatter. The squatter is constructed as a figure through speech acts uttered by officials who make housing policy, through media coverage of the issue of squatting and through judicial and legislative rulings that use language to describe the squatter and the issue of squatting.

In recent years, the irregular resident of the state (which might include the undocumented immigrant, the nomadic Roma people, the guest worker, the homeless vagrant or mentally ill individual, or the property squatter) has

increasingly become the object of securitization. While all of these "types" might previously have been regarded largely as a social problem (or someone who was down on his luck), all of these types have gradually come to be viewed through the lens of state security. In Western Europe in the early twenty-first century, one can identify two narratives that portray the squatter as threatening.

First, the squatter can be viewed as a type of rootless individual who violates established norms that favor being settled over being nomadic. As Aas notes, both the immigrant and the asylum seeker are variants upon the older figure of the stranger, or the one who does not belong. She notes that the words "deviant" and "immigrant" are often linked, as are the notions of immigration and criminality. She asks us to consider how a community's ethic of care for the stranger becomes transformed, so that it seems natural for a community to reject or fear the stranger, rather than embracing him.[32] It is my contention that increasingly, squatters (many of whom are multinational) are seen as strangers rather than members of one's own society and for this reason, the discourse used to describe the squatter is often one that seeks to characterize the squatter as a threat to security rather than as a person like oneself who deserves to be integrated into one's community.

Next, the squatter can be viewed as a type of liminal individual who resides in the interstices of society where he is often uncounted and unsurveilled, sharing an identity here with other types of uncounted and ill-defined individuals, such as terrorists. We shall consider each of these ideas in turn.

Fearing the Rootless

The first narrative is based on the notion of the squatter as a type of rootless individual. This narrative is an ancient one, based upon longstanding stereotypes about those who are settled versus those who are not, and those who are ensconced within the mainstream of society versus those who reside on society's margins or fringes. As Mumford points out in *The City in History* some anthropologists believe that the propensity to store up objects and to then settle down with them is an innate human trait.[33] In this way, being settled is constructed as the default or normal setting, with a nomadic lifestyle constructed in contrast as one that is disorderly, chaotic and deviant. Those who are settled thus occupy the position of an insider within society, while those who do not settle are largely regarded as outsiders.[34]

As Sibley argues, those who do not adopt the norms of a culture but instead rely on alternate social structures and economies end up occupying a peripheral position characterized by social distance between them and the majority. In some cases, the distance between the two groups—the settled and the nomadic or migrant culture—may be based on older ideas regarding the cleanliness or purity of the object being secured (the home) and the dirtiness or uncleanliness of the interloper who seeks to enter the area.[35] As Salter argues, the notion of the barbarian or uncivilized outsider is an old one, which is frequently applied to describe both historic situations and situations in the present day.[36] On an individual level, those who were rootless or transient (including travelers, gypsies, merchants and sailors) were always suspected of disloyalty to their neighbors, their communities and the state. Early historians warned of spies among the Phoenicians and among the Roman troops. Men were urged to be wary of those who were different, or who had recently arrived. The message was already that such individuals could not be trusted, for they were not who they seemed to be. They did not belong and did not assimilate.[37] Here, the normative assumption was that one's proper identity was that of association with his tribe or his village. In contrast, Xenophon, a Greek historian, described the ways in which traveling merchants in the city-states were associated with their trade, rather than their place of origin.[38] And Pow notes that the trope of the dangerous, rootless peasant can be traced back to the Qing Dynasty in China.[39]

The Middle Ages also gives us the trope of the Holy Fool, as well as stories about feral children. In each case, these individuals are described as those who don't belong to decent society, but move from place to place. The rootless are thus seen as not assimilating or adopting the norms of the places where they might dwell temporarily. Their failure to assimilate becomes a danger when their own norms, values and lifestyle threaten to overtake the values of those who already inhabit an area. Here, the irregular resident can present a threat to social cohesion and the national and cultural identity of the neighborhood, city or region in which he resides. The fear is that he will somehow organize to destabilize society. In Voelkner's words, he threatens the "social fabric of society."[40]

Here, the rootless can be said to pose both an active and a passive threat. Rootless individuals and groups may pose a threat of toppling the system not because they are consciously opposed to the system or because they organized against it, but rather simply because they overwhelm a nation's resources by their sheer numbers. As a passive threat, they may also play the role of carriers—in, for example, transmitting a threat like tuberculosis to a wider community. Indeed, the story of the fall of the Roman Empire often features the arrival of "hordes" of Vandals, Visigoths and Huns from Eastern Europe and Central Asia who are said to have overrun or swarmed over Western Europe, barbarically destroying its institutions and values in the process. (Here, as Stolcke points out, European xenophobia and distrust of strangers are an eternal theme.)[41] If one searches even farther back in history, one can point to Genghis Khan, the nomadic ruler who used cavalry to perpetrate torture, rape and death upon unsuspecting settled populations. Thus, as Salter argues, irregular citizens are seen as an outside force that threatens the lifestyle, livelihoods and even lives of those who live inside the community.[42] As Aas has noted, "mobility has been, inevitably, connected to security."[43]

The rootless person is thus often regarded as an agent of disruption, a spreader of unrest and a taker of resources. He may also be both labeled and feared as a "disease vector"—one who brings germs and sickness from one

region and spreads it to other locations that were previously pure, pristine and safe. This understanding, as well, is an ancient one. In the Middle Ages, Jews and peddlers were vilified and accused of bringing plague,[44] while syphilis was known as "the French disease" in Britain in Victorian times, based on the idea that it had been brought to England from abroad by unscrupulous individuals. Today, migrant workers in Shanghai may be accused of carrying and spreading SARS into the pristine enclaves, where Shanghai's wealthiest residents live.[45] This same fear of rootlessness can be found in stories about hobos or tramps in the United States during the Great Depression. These economically marginalized individuals were accused of stealing from the communities they visited—accused of the theft of both property and children.

Thus, as Voelker notes, human security can include both a macropolitics and a micropolitics. In both cases, insecurity is made manifest in situations of uncontrolled circulation—of goods (where it is labeled organized crime), of people (where it is labeled as trafficking) and all the way down to the level of viruses and germs (which are labeled as threats to health security).[46] Thus, the person who circulates outside the rules and norms of order and control imposed by the state is seen as a security threat because of what he does, who he is and what he contains (germs and uncontrolled physical material, including genetic material). Thus, state strategies such as quarantines for newly arrived immigrants, slum clearing and the rounding up of marginalized and migrant individuals in preparation for an event like a coronation or the Olympics are neither new nor novel. Rather, they are part of a long tradition of states and communities reacting to "stranger danger."

Fearing the Undocumented and Unsurveilled

The rise of security rhetoric featuring the irregular dweller (or the notion that irregular dwellers are particularly dangerous) is however more pronounced and more common during times of economic unrest and globalization. This is because such time periods may be characterized by a breaking down of traditional barriers—geographic, economic, social and cultural, leading to the increased production of so-called liminal categories of individuals and groups. That is, categories may be in transition until they eventually stabilize. Here, Neumann defines the liminal individual as one who defies easy categorization, as he may not fit neatly into one group or another. He notes that:

> Liminality was a condition of being betwixt and between socially established categories, and not simply the condition of being in the midst of two stages in a ritual. Liminality could also be the condition of being suspended or even trapped between two different sets of role expectations.[47]

In his work, Salter points to a number of categories of "internal others" who often live at the margins of society but who are not fully recognized or absorbed into society. Among such groups he lists historical groups such as working and unmarried women, colonial subjects, criminals, prostitutes and members of

lower classes.[48] In modern times, we may point to such categories as illegal immigrants who are invisible because they lack proper documentation.

As McGuire and Georges argue, those who are undocumented exist in a hierarchy in which they have less power and their needs are seen as less significant than those who enjoy legal status. She notes that "A hierarchy is constructed which privileges the official, insider and places the undocumented invisible person beneath him in social, legal and political interactions."[49]

Today, the irregular dweller may also be viewed as "other" by virtue of his economic status. Rootless people or those who did not have a fixed identity have often been portrayed as parasitical, seeking to take advantage of collective goods such as national defense while simultaneously not paying into the costs of these goods. In ancient times, one can thus point to the activities of the Roman Empire, which conducted a census every fourteen years in order to record the numbers of males who were eligible to pay taxes and serve in the military. Those rootless or nomadic individuals who failed to participate in the census were thus seen as engaging in draft dodging and/or tax fraud.[50] In our own times, the analyst Jeffrey Huysmans suggests that a newcomer in Europe can be viewed either as a "positive asset" who is bringing skills and energy to the collective, or alternately as a "fraudulent profiteer capitalizing on the wealth created by the established."[51] Similarly, legislative initiatives in the United States have focused on limiting services provided to illegal or undocumented immigrants from Latin America and Mexico in particular.

Thus, if one conceptualizes the city primarily as a place of commerce and an economic entity, then the rootless person can be perceived as a risk to economic security since he is seen as wasting the space in the city that he occupies temporarily (since it is not incorporated into the city's economy), as well as wasting any resources that he may take from the city. The transient or squatter is viewed as someone who engages in unregulated economic activity, and who does not invest in the community or himself. As Leitner and colleagues describe the problem, the entrepreneurial capitalist city is a place that provides workfare, not welfare. They portray the city as a type of economic contract between those who seek a place to be productive and the city that provides that site. Here, anyone of any nationality is welcome to visit the city and to participate in it, provided they play the role of a productive citizen.[52]

Fearing the Slum or Informal Settlement

Thus, there is a long history of state suspicion of those who are rootless. There is an equally long history of linkages between informal squatter settlements and threats to security. Security analysts like Mark Sageman have suggested that liminal or ungoverned spaces—like enclaves—present a particular danger to the state.[53] In his work on the Internet, he suggests that this "territory" includes dark spaces or failed spaces, which can serve as sanctuaries or harbors for terrorists. In these dark spaces, terrorists can meet and exchange information outside the gaze of the government. They can come and go at will, and the state is frequently unaware of either the size or the scope of the

problem. Sageman's solution is thus to extend the reach of government and infiltrate cyberspace, so that such failed spaces no longer exist. The informal settlement can also be conceived of as a liminal space—the subject of danger, negotiation and conflict—as different groups with radically different orientations towards the space converge in one neighborhood.[54]

And informal settlements have long been implicated in the generation of threats to health security, in particular. Informal settlements are frequently described as the site where health threats—to include HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, cholera and emerging pathogens—either reside in large numbers or are generated through the practices and/or demographics of the informal settlement members themselves. That is, analysts in international security worry about the possibility that the threats residing in the failed state might somehow overgrow or jump beyond their boundaries, infecting the larger organism of the international system . Meanwhile, analysts in domestic security—including health security—focus energy on considering how the threats resident in the informal settlement might be contained so that they do not spread beyond its borders.[55] Containing the threats that reside in the informal settlement is thus the goal. This may be done by carrying out increased surveillance of the residents of the informal settlement, carrying out programs that aim to change the values and practices of those in the informal settlement or sometimes by containing the members of the informal settlement within the confines of that settlement.

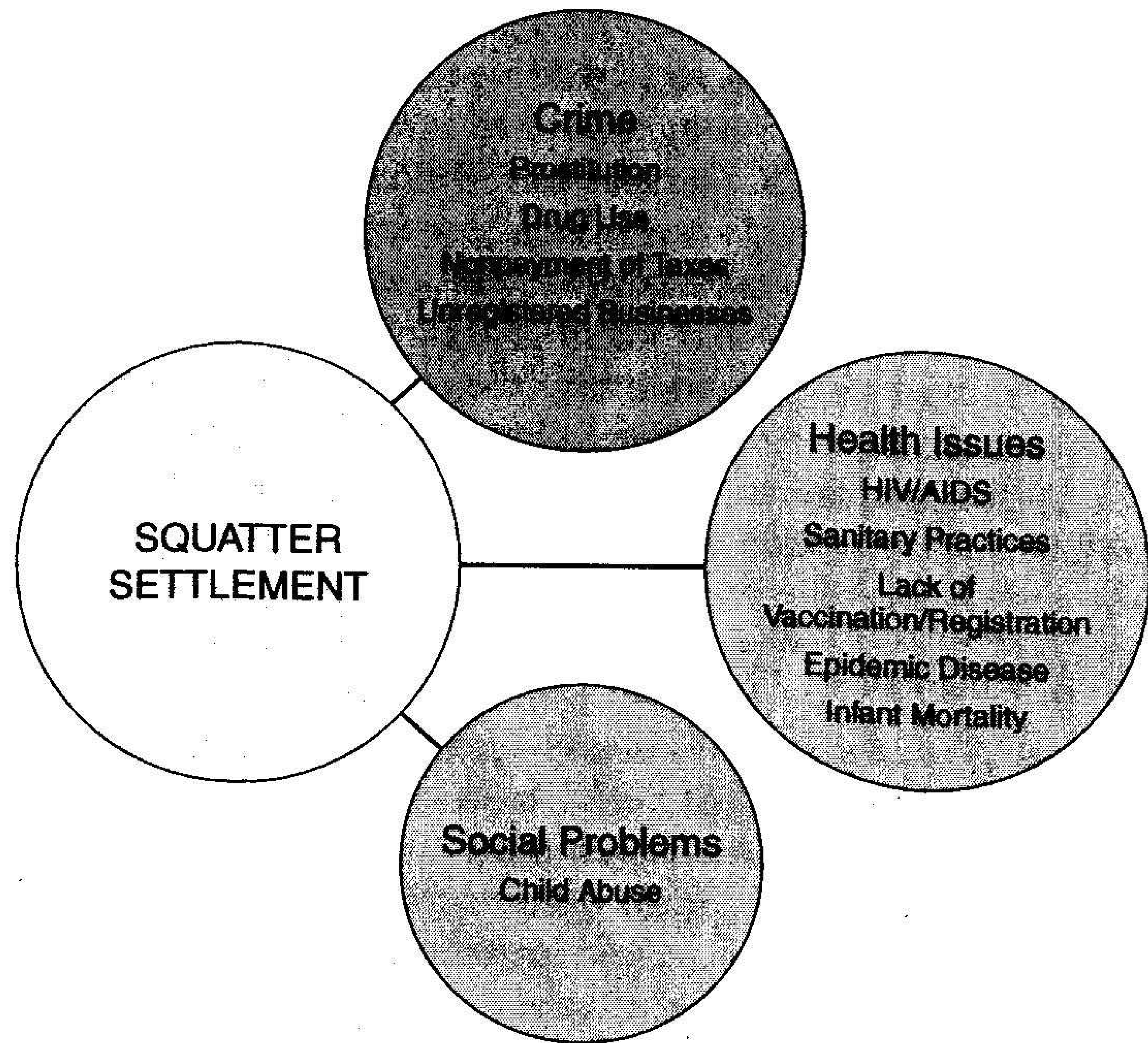

Figure 1.1 Security threats associated with squats.

The danger posed by informal settlements (here the threat of the area and the threat of the individuals who reside in the area are often conflated) decreases the possibility of somehow tearing down the wall between formal and informal settlement or integrating informal settlers and settlements within the standard polity. Figure 1.1 illustrates the varieties of security threats that are often referenced in discussions of slums, informal settlements and squats.

DISCOURSES OF SECURITY AND INSECURITY

The squatter is thus seen to threaten the home, the neighborhood, the city and the state. The squatter is a threat due to his rootless nature and his ability to thrive unsurveilled in a community. But how specifically do policymakers, journalists and the general public talk about this threat? What language do they use?

There are eight different discourses that can be identified in referring to squatting and squatters in Western Europe in the period since 2000. Seven of the discourses or frames are negative, in that they portray squatters and squatting in a negative light. The "improvement frame," in contrast, portrays squatting and squatters as a positive social, economic and cultural phenomenon. All of these frames have been identified through my analysis of mainstream newspaper coverage of squatting in Western Europe since 2000. The frames identified here can be seen as ideal types, with a mixed discourse often arising, which may incorporate elements of several types. The negative frames include: the deviance frame; the barbarism frame; the free-rider frame; the security invasion frame; the criminality frame; the threat to community frame and the foreign frame. Depending on the discourse used, the problem of squatting will be viewed quite differently, as will the policy solutions proposed.

The Home as Economic Good: Discourses of Improvement, Investment, Free-Riding and Crime

The first four frames to be considered all concentrate predominantly on the home, neighborhood and community as an economic good. The squatter and the squat are thus seen to threaten economic values, including personal wealth and the inheritance that a home might represent. Despite the similarities in these frames, however, each gives rise to a different set of policy prescriptions regarding how one should deal with squatters on both an individual and a governmental level.

The Improvement Frame

As noted, not all newspapers or all reporters viewed property squatting predominantly as a negative phenomenon in cities. The improvement frame often features reporting that incorporates the squatter's own voice in the

Table 1.3 The Improvement Frame

Terms indicating improvement frame for squat	Terms indicating improvement frame for squatters
PR savvy	Educated
Culture	Lively
Creative solution	PR-savvy
Enjoyment	
Transform, transformation	

Note: Reporting may also include the quotation of economic figures regarding property improvements.

article. In this way, the property squatter is viewed and presented not merely as the passive subject of policy making or analysis, but is rather as an active participant in the project of squatting, which is often presented as a positive one for the community.

In examining the case of Christiania in Denmark, it becomes clear that initially an improvement frame was used to report on developments in the area. The improvement frame is often also used by both British and French reporters to describe so-called culture squats or art squats that have sprung up in Paris and London. The improvement frame may focus on the economic goods being provided to the larger community by squatters—including increased tourist traffic to the neighborhood if the squatters, for example, open an art gallery. It may also focus on the creativity of the squatters and the ways in which they are solving a community problem in a new and novel way. Table 1.3 lists some keywords that indicate the application of an improvement frame to describe squatting.

Free-Rider Frame

In contrast, the free-rider frame presents squatting primarily as an economic crime. Here the main objection to the squatter is his sense of entitlement. In this frame, squatting may be presented as part of a larger critique of the welfare state. This framework that prevailed through the late 1990s and early 2000s was often used to describe situations in which British squatters in particular had won so-called squatter's rights or managed to acquire land (sometimes quite expensive land) through the law of adverse possession. Stories that presented the outcome of legal trials in which the judge had ruled in favor of a squatter often described the individual as having won the lottery or gotten something for nothing. The author might adopt an outraged tone in narrating the events leading to an outcome in which someone was rewarded with land tenure or a house, while others who work hard and pay into system are not similarly rewarded.

Table 1.4 The Free-Rider Frame

Free-rider terms describing a squat	Free-rider terms describing a squatter
A racket	Handout
Rent-free	Windfall
Selfish	Luck
Pocketing the money	Lazy
Serial squatter	Selfish
	"Playing the odds/playing the game"

Thus, "posh squatters" are described in the *Sun* as "rent dodgers," free-loaders and as "dossing in the 30 million pound house belonging to the Duke of Westminster."[56] Here one Swedish squatter noted that he had come to England since laws in the Netherlands no longer permitted squatting.[57] Here, the implication is that squatters are market-savvy individuals who are capable of taking advantage of taxpayers in a variety of different locations, and that if the costs of squatting become too high in one nation, they will simply go to another. In this same article, the comments by readers are very telling. One reader notes that "all you need now is someone with a kind heart to show them the way to the airport and ensure they have their passports and a one way ticket as their holiday at our expense is finished!" Another commenter notes that "I would be more than happy to take care of this lot. Some tear gas will do the job as well as giving them a beating should do the trick! This is what's wrong with this country—people like this!"[58]

In this situation, it is not a particular person or community who is being threatened by the squatter. Rather, the squatter is presented as committing a type of theft through stealing from society. He might also be presented as a type of gambler who took a risk and won (and who therefore violates the Puritan work ethic, a mainstay of European political identity). Table 1.4 presents terms often associated with the free-rider frame.

As Figure 1.2 indicates, this frame declined in usage throughout 2000s, as it was replaced by other frames including deviant, barbarism and security framings. This chart presents numbers of articles in the British press that used the free-rider frame, broken down by year. As it indicates, the frame was most prevalent in the early 2000s, nearly vanishing in 2007–2009, and beginning to reappear in 2010.

The Investment Frame

Both the free-rider frame and the investment frame conceptualize the home as property, and suggest that squatters are committing an economic crime—rather than a violent crime or an act of cultural aggression. Media reports that use the investment frame often describe the physical damage that has

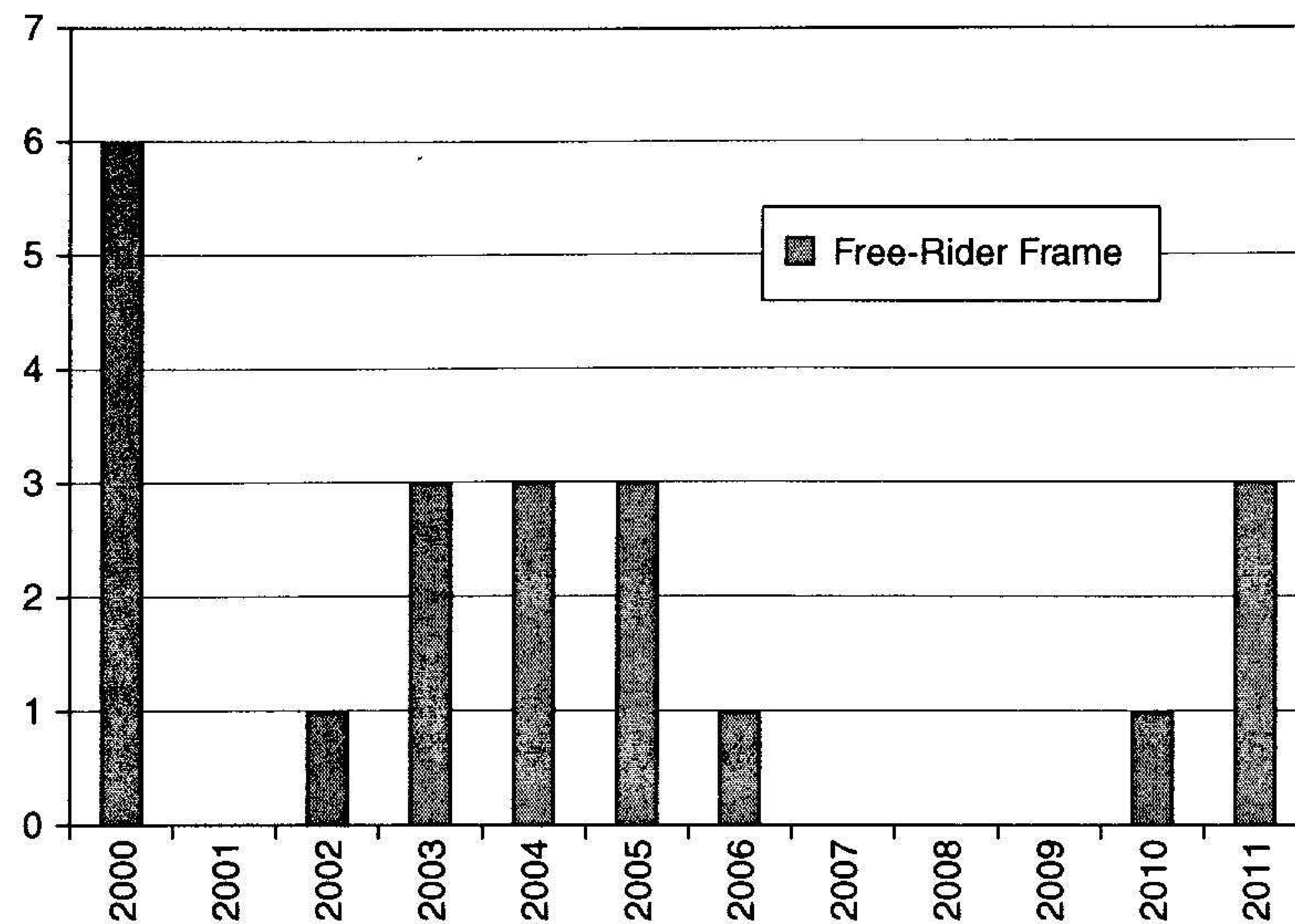

Figure 1.2 Usage of the free-rider frame.

been caused to the dwelling by squatters, describing house as "trashed," detailing damages to property and describing squatters as a "blight." An article in the *Evening Standard* about squatting in Ilford notes that windows have been broken, rubbish piled up and bathrooms "trashed."[59]

Like the free-rider frame, the implication is that squatters somehow steal from the larger community through these actions, in this case through lowering property prices in a community and making everyone else's investment worth less. Craig Gurney suggests that the home provides the homeowner with ontological security. He is secure in his place in the world now that he has secured a "piece of the American dream." Thus, having purchased one's own home means that one's social status and place in the community are now secure.[60] A threat to the value of one's home threatens that ontological security. Ronald, in contrast, describes the way in which a home may be conceptualized as a "family good." It represents real value or an inheritance, and homeowners often think about the ways in which that home and the value of the home may be secured by the homeowner and passed down to the next generation.[61] Thus, a threat to the value of one's home can also be seen as a threat to one's patrimony. Here, it is easy to identify the intertextual connections that can be made between the ways in which interlopers and foreigners might threaten British cultural patrimony, for example, and the ways in which interlopers and squatters in one's neighborhood might threaten one's family's own cultural patrimony.

The investment frame is thus associated with a discourse of "residential exclusion" as homeowners may band together to preserve the value of their investment.[62] They may do so by opposing the presence of certain types of individuals who seek to reside in their communities, or by opposing the siting

of certain types of structures within their neighborhoods and communities. Thus, policy strategies that derive from the investment frame may include restrictive zoning laws based on the "Not in My Backyard" or NIMBY strategy. NIMBYism is defined as "the intense, sometimes emotional and often adamant local opposition to siting proposals that residents believe will result in adverse impacts."[63] Homeowners may also derive strategies that result in the creation of enclaves or gated communities in which physical barriers are constructed to keep unwanted individuals or groups out of one's territory.[64]

However, the investment frame does not always result in a negative portrayal of squatters. Indeed, some in Britain have expressed sympathy for squatters, noting that there are no good jobs for young people, and that young people are thus locked out of their own pursuit of the home ownership dream due to high prices, low wages and the threat of unemployment.

The Criminality Frame

Squatting may also be portrayed merely as a type of everyday criminal behavior that is no more or no less threatening than other types of criminal behavior. In this frame, the emphasis is not on the existence of a crisis and military metaphors are not used. Rather, incidences of squatting are reported merely in terms of the police actions that they have brought about. In this frame, terms like "illegal" may be used, and the specific actions committed (vandalism, for example) are detailed. As noted, here the emphasis is predominantly upon the possessions and property that have been destroyed, and the monetary damages sustained. In addition, the locations of squats are described as seedy and dangerous, and parallels are made between the bad neighborhoods that the squat occupies (and sometimes help to create) and the activities that take place there. For example, a story about squatting in the *Daily Mail* describes how a site currently occupied by squatters in Soho was previously "a venue for sex orgies and swinger's parties." The report includes the detail that "two years earlier a pensioner was stabbed in the neck there."[65] Meanwhile, government documents have increasingly spoken of the connection between housing and crime. The 2011 UK Housing Strategy notes, for example, that "a neglected home can quickly start to cause problems for neighbors, depressing the value of adjacent properties and attracting nuisance, squatting and criminal activity."[66]

The criminality frame also appears in Danish coverage of squatting issues—as noted in the introduction. In Denmark, the conceptualization of Christiania as a place of crime has paved the way for increased police activity in the region, including the creation of a counterterrorism force that has made armed raids upon the enclave. In addition, it has allowed for the creation of a counterintelligence unit that now engages in preemptive policing, not waiting for an actual crime to occur but rather monitoring and surveying the site on a regular basis in the hopes of deterring crimes before they occur Table 1.5 indicates the specific language which alerts us to the presence of a crime frame when examining reportage on squatting.

Table 1.5 Usage of the Crime Frame

Squat viewed through crime frame	Squatter viewed through crime frame
Ruined possessions	Illegal tenants
Destruction	Intruder
Wrecked belongings	Anti-social behavior
Jail	Drugs
Offense	Violence
Graffiti	Vandalism
Broke in	
Law	
Police	
Prosecute	
Eviction	
Occupation	

Behavior Frames

The next two frames to be considered are the deviance frame and the security frame. Each of these frames is concerned not with the economic value of the home (as the previous frames were) but rather with the figure of the squatter himself and the activities in which he engages. He is seen as behaving strangely and in a threatening manner towards homeowners and citizens in a region. Thus, the emphasis is not on securing the home from financial threats, but rather on controlling the behavior of the squatter himself.

The Deviance Frame

As David Sibley writes, individuals who violate common cultural, social and economic norms are viewed by the mainstream as deviant and in need of correction.[67] The deviance frame rests on the notion that squatting is first and foremost a failure of socialization. Those who squat are regarded as having been improperly socialized into accepted norms of living and being in society and in the community.[68] Squatters of all varieties, but so-called posh squatters in particular (i.e., individuals from wealthy homes who squat not for survival reasons, but rather because they do not "buy into" the capitalist ideological notion that underlies the desire to seek and purchase a home), are seen as having somehow failed to acquire the basics of citizenship that others have acquired. As Gurney indicates, most housing analysts assume that everyone wants to climb the property ladder. Therefore, one who does not wish to participate in a hierarchical striving for success in which he with the biggest house wins is regarded as both strange and perhaps a little

dangerous. They are therefore constructed as "bad neighbors"—often in moral terms that describe them as dirty, slothful and negligent, or in economic terms that portray them as lower class.[69] The policy solution put forth for deviant squatting is thus not to increase social distance (or exclude squatters from society) but rather for the state to do a better job of integrating diverse groups into society.

The lens of deviance is common in the mainstream press—and can be seen in the application of language that describes the squatters, their dwellings and their lifestyles. Articles frequently take note of the deviant family formations in which squatters live—since they may eschew the traditional, heterosexual nuclear family—instead residing either in extended family or nonfamily formations (such as communes). Squatting is furthermore described as an alternative lifestyle, in comparison to a mainstream lifestyle, since squatters may choose not to pursue traditional employment or channel a large percentage of their income towards investment in a home through a mortgage. Parallels may be drawn with other groups that have historically been portrayed as deviant—such as the hippies who created communal living spaces in the 1960s.

In describing the physical structure of the squat itself, the emphasis is on the substandard living conditions found there. As Sibley notes, a related frame—the deprivation frame—can sometimes lead to a call for government action to address underlying issues of inequity. However, in other instances, deprivation and deviance frames can be mixed, with the implication that stigmatized groups choose to live in a deprived state, as a result of lifestyle choices made or underlying deficiencies of character that lead to both deprivation and deviance. In this way, discourse about squatting conforms to common discourse about homelessness, which may focus on one's "career" as a homeless person or one's "slide into homelessness."[70]

As Sibley suggests, the application of a deviance frame can create a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy, which he refers to as "deviancy amplification." Here a group may be portrayed in the press or even in academic writing as strange and different. Analysts may focus on the norm violation engaged in by the group, rather than seeking to understand the group on its own terms. As a result, readers may gain a stereotyped view of the group, which then comes to dominate society's thinking about the group.[71] Deviancy amplification explains why, despite increased press coverage of squatters, for example, readers have over time come not to understand the problem better, but instead have merely adopted a more extreme and prejudiced view of squatters in their society. Social distance has been increased rather than decreased. And more information has actually led to a greater perception of threat rather than a more nuanced view of the problem.

However, squatters have not always been willing to accept this labeling of their activities as deviant. In a recent squatters' blog entry by Lili, Melissa and Pete, they note that power politics allows the dominant group to describe those who are in the minority as deviant. They accuse those in the majority (those who are settled) of both mischaracterizing and misinterpreting the

meaning of their squatting activities, focusing instead exclusively on the ways in which they appear to violate the norms of the dominant group.[72]

The notion of deviance, however, does not only explain how a group of individuals has arrived at the embrace of a particular lifestyle. It also explains the implications of this behavior for others within society. As Foucault has noted, mainstream groups may feel threatened by the existence of a group of individuals who engage in practices and behaviors regarded as deviant.[73] The existence of a deviant group raises the possibility that it is possible to reject mainstream norms and practices, and in some cases even desirable to do so. In this way, the integrity of society itself is threatened—since one can easily ask, "If this group can reject the norms of mainstream society, why can't I do so as well?"

But what specific norms do squatters challenge? First, they violate the normative expectation that one should desire to own a private home. Anarchist squatters in particular make it very clear that they do not accept norms regarding either capitalism or the importance of owning private property. This is problematic because as Ronald points out in his work on the ideology of home ownership, "tenure practices are not benign but support a particular alignment or interaction of social and power relations." That is, in many nations—including the nations of Western Europe—home ownership is tied into citizenship practices. He notes that governments frequently subsidize mortgages or provide tax breaks because homeowners are generally less likely to become disturbers of the peace or insurgents. Once an individual owns a home, he is invested in preserving social stability, which makes him a good government subject and renders his behavior more predictable. He invests in a home and simultaneously becomes invested in society. In this way, home ownership is established by the state as a normative expectation and those who violate the norm become suspect.[74]

In addition, Shubin and Swanson point to the norm of sedentarism, which they contrast with nomadism in their survey of Scottish gypsy travelers. They argue that those who refuse to conform through having a settled lifestyle are automatically suspect and categorized as deviant.[75] Similarly, the residents of the squatter settlement in Christiania, Denmark, prided themselves for many years on their refusal to conform to many Danish norms. The settlement was associated with the embrace of nudity, with free drug use and with a rejection of traditional forms of employment, as well as with an embrace of communal living rather than in the nuclear family. Thus, squatters may be seen as violating economic norms (such as an embrace of private property, mortgages, leases and tenant agreements), cultural norms or norms regarding safety and sanitation (such as the need to have running water). In addition, Gurney has investigated the ways in which UK Government publications speak of home ownership.[76] He argues that government creates a "normalizing" discourse, which implies that homeowners are better and more proper than those who do not own homes, that the desire to seek home ownership is natural and that not to desire this or to seek it is

Table 1.6 The Deviance Frame

Words that frame squatters as deviant	Words that frame squatting as deviant
Caravan	Pit
Junkies	Shack
Camping	Eyesore
Jobless	Dilapidated
Alcohol	Hovel
Unemployed	Derelicts
Derelicts	Raves
Alternative lifestyle	Alternative lifestyle
Serial squatter	Commune

somehow unnatural. He also notes the social construction of a "shameful housing class," pointing to the language used to describe those who have failed at establishing the desired social outcome, who are therefore seen as slackers who do not contribute to society as good parents, good neighbors or productive citizens.

Policies may thus focus on ending deviant practices (like drug abuse), or often increasingly merely on "containing" such practices so that the values and lifestyles of squatters are kept from spreading and infecting the mainstream population. (For example, if large numbers of individuals reject mainstream norms regarding the importance of private property and private investment in housing, this will have implications for society's long-term financial and social stability. Such implications will be felt both on the macrolevel of the nation as a whole and on the microlevel of one's own neighborhood.) For this reason, governments have often sought to further marginalize deviant groups, sometimes using the politics of space to zone territories and move deviant groups far away from the mainstream, where they are less likely to contaminate others. In this way, the "problem" of the deviant group is resolved or solved by the mainstream.

Table 1.6 presents some common words used to signal a deviance frame. The words on the left are used in framing the practices of squatting as deviant, while the words on the right are used in framing the character of the squatters themselves as deviant. Here, overlaps are created between the deviant lifestyle of squatting and other lifestyles that are also regarded as deviant or characterized by deviant behavior (such as alcoholism or unemployment). Squatting is thus seen as a type of deviant behavior that exists within a larger matrix of deviant behavior. It is a practice that coexists with other forms of social deviance—including drug use, unemployment, crime and arson.[77]

Here, it is important to note that the deviance frame creates social distance between the reader and the squatter—but does not portray the squatter as incapable of being rehabilitated or eventually assimilated into mainstream

society. Alcoholics can be cured in some instances, and the unemployed can often be put to work either in the general economy or in a particular controlled setting such as a sheltered workshop. The deviance frame portrays squatting and squatters as a problem that can be resolved, provided the holders of deviant values can be persuaded to abandon them and adopt mainstream values.

The Security Frame

Increasingly, in the years since 2005 language used in the press to describe the squatters themselves and the act of squatting has taken a turn towards the language of security. State and city government workers, as well as journalists, implicitly rely on metaphors of networks, invasion and infiltration when discussing squatting today. The "body politic" of the state or the city is described as threatened by the incursion of these unauthorized individuals. The state is also described as a house, with elected officials like Grant Shapps, UK minister of housing, and others using language in which they refer to shutting the door or slamming the door on squatting.[78] In the media, the homeowner is urged to protect his own house, while the politician promises to protect the larger house, that of the state itself.

The provision of security against squatters is described as a task of the state, but it is also one that is increasingly being privatized. Bigo speaks of the "managers of unease" who have made a profession of securing individuals and communities from threat, suggesting that in some ways the cycle becomes self-reinforcing. While some purchase security because they genuinely feel threatened, for others the mere presence of such security firms adds to their own sense of unease, so that those who did not previously feel threatened now do largely because of the enacting of the pageant of security that is taking place around them.[79]

In cities throughout Europe, one can point to the rise of security firms with names like Vigilance Properties, who advertise on their web site that their mission is to protect citizens' homes from illegal squatters.[80] These organizations employ military logos on their web sites, and boast of being staffed by ex-marines and ex-military individuals, including Gurkhas. Their logos and their advertisements highlight their use of weaponry in protecting properties. The web site for one of these firms, HG Security and Property Protection, Ltd., advertises that it provides:

> 24 hr response centre
> Only SIA licensed operatives provided
> Leadership team of ex services personnel
> Round the clock personal manned security services and surveillance[81]

The security frame appears in a February 2011 issue of *Time* profiling Kayne Manning and his fiancée, whose home in London was occupied by squatters.

The article notes, "For Manning, however, squatters are nothing more than a dangerous scourge." Readers are informed that "to this day, the couple feels scared in their own home." Manning notes that "That's what squatters are all about: fear."[82] Meanwhile, the populist British newspaper the *Daily Mail* offers its readers profiles of dangerous East Europeans wielding knives who seek to occupy the homes of law-abiding British homeowners, sometimes moving in when the resident has only stepped out to the store to purchase a quart of milk.[83] The same publication tells the story of a neighborhood where the residents have organized their own vigilante police force to protect their homes from squatters.[84] The implication in all cases is that something is under attack—homes, safety and perhaps the British way of life. In an interview in the *Telegraph*, 62-year-old Abu-Taher Ahmed, a British homeowner, is quoted as asking, "Who is going to protect this nation from these invaders? What is the government going to do about it?"[85]

In international relations terms, one may argue that the housing sector is securitized. Citizens are being told that in an emergency situation—like a terrorist threat—where the risks are very great, normal democratic citizenship practices, such as not reporting one's neighbors or sending their picture to the police without their permission, are to be suspended for the good of the community. In other words, it is no longer "business as usual" at one's apartment, house or residential dwelling. Instead, new practices of surveillance and reporting are not only necessary but also encouraged. Here, one can make the argument that the securitization of housing first occurred with the passage in New Jersey in 1994 of "Megan's Law," named for a girl who was killed by a sex offender living in her neighborhood. This law, and other variants that were later passed in all US states, allows each state to maintain a publically searchable database of those individuals who have been convicted of sexual offenses against minors—including fondling and rape. In addition, specific zoning regulations prevent child sexual offenders from living within a certain distance of facilities like schools and daycare centers. Here again, the thinking is that such offenses are so heinous and the dangers that they present to children living in an environment are so great, that it is acceptable to constrain the rights and privacy of individuals convicted of these crimes for the good of the greater community. The presence of a child sex offender thus creates a "state of exception." Similar laws have been passed in England beginning in the 2000s under the name Sarah's Law on both a district and national level.[86]

As a result of the securitization of housing issues, even issues like urban blight or decay are interpreted in a different light. Citizens have always worried about the implications of having a vacant house in their neighborhood—fearing that it might become a "shooting gallery" for heroin addicts, a crack house or a site of prostitution or gang activity. However, today, one can argue that the greatest threat posed by abandoned housing is not that it will become a place where crime occurs—but rather that such places will become a sort of "no mans' land" that exists outside of the official structures

Table 1.7 The Security Frame

Words that frame squatting in security terms	Words that frame squatters in security terms
Invaded by	Gangs
Properties are being targeted	Threat to our society
Council is fighting	Took over blocks of flats
Ransom	An army of squatters
Knives	Revenge
Battering rams	Retaliation

of surveillance, licensing and regulation. In a situation in which citizens are increasingly worried about problems like transnational crime and terrorism, there is less and less space available for unofficial or unregistered activities and the unofficial or unregistered citizens who carry them out. That is, empty homes are no longer viewed only as a waste of economic resources, but also increasingly as sites of danger.

The security frame often uses military language like the words "invasion," "siege" and "under attack." The story appearing in the *Evening Standard* titled "11 Arrested in Mansion Disturbance" notes that "two uniformed officers came under attack when objects were thrown from the roof of the three million pound house."[87] Meanwhile, the first paragraph of a story about Ilford, England, informs the reader that "a community under siege by gangs of Romanian squatters targeting dozens of vacant homes has launched a fightback to reclaim properties there."[88] A woman organizing a petition to demand action by her local council notes that "the gangs have refused to leave occupied properties in the area and sometimes turned hostile when challenged by the owners."[89]

Table 1.7 indicates the phrases that signal the use of a security frame. The connection between housing issues and security is not a new one. Rather, since 9/11, newspapers both in the United States and in England have increasingly begun to rely on the trope of "the terrorist next door"[90] or "the jihadist next door."[91] Coverage frequently invokes a contrast between the peaceful, pleasant and often idyllic surroundings where the residents live and the violence and horror that an offender was contemplating—all while inhabiting these surroundings.

The security frame often emphasizes that the solution to the security issues created is greater communal surveillance and control of a neighborhood or territory.[92] Citizens are exhorted to be responsible and active participants in their neighborhoods, and security is presented as a collective good that all are responsible for maintaining and protecting. (Thus, housing might be private property but neighborhood security is a public, communal task.)[93] Tenant empowerment schemes are, however, in Foucaultian terms,

a type of governmentality.[94] As Cruikshank notes, tenant empowerment is a technology of citizenship in which "the citizen here is conceptualized as an 'instrument' of political power, not simply a 'participant'—with authorities trying to solicit, maximize and facilitate their voluntary engagement in the political process as opposed to procuring their apathy or docility."[95] In an analysis of homeowners as political citizens, Gilderbloom and Markham quote Harvey's notion that "a worker mortgaged to the hilt is, for the most part, a pillar of social stability, and schemes to promote homeownership within the working class have long recognized this basic fact."[96]

Thus, the new securitization paradigm offers the residence dweller a third option for conceptualization of his relationship with the state in relation to housing. In working to secure his dwelling and his neighborhood, he is neither the passive subject of state activity, nor is he an active opponent of state activity. Instead, he is a coenforcer of behavioral and political norms in the space that he lives in. That is, he becomes an arm of the state, imposing the will of the state upon the "othered" passive residents of the dwelling. Here, the metaphor of colonialism seems apt—since the homeowner does not recognize the claims of his fellow dwellers, instead siding with the authorities against them through engaging in practices of surveillance, disciplining and punishing. Those who misbehave are threatened with being removed from the community. In this way, security language can be used to create a movement that builds security not from the top down but from the bottom up.

Identity Frames

As noted in the introduction, squatting issues often bring identity issues and identity conflicts in a society or in a nation sharply to the forefront. These identity conflicts can appear in two different guises—identity conflicts may be produced both as a product of agency and without agency. That is, in some instances, they are presented in naturalistic terms as events that simply happen—a "flood" of squatters arrives and gradually overruns the neighborhood or town by reshaping its character (eroding it, in much the same way that floods of water gradually erode the shorelines that they abut). In other instances, the change that squatters bring about is seen as deliberate. Arguably, anarchist squatters in particular aim to change the character of the spaces they occupy—doing so consciously. In this way, they threaten the existing identities of those whose sense of self relates to the place where they live in its present form.

In this second instance, to use a military metaphor, the implied fear is that the original squatters will establish a beachhead in a neighborhood as they prepare for an eventual invasion of the whole neighborhood. The fear is that squatters and undesirable Others will colonize a neighborhood, changing its economic and moral meaning, thus stealing both the original dweller's property and his or her identity. The new meanings that the squatters might ascribe or bring to the territory differ, depending on the character

of the squatters themselves. New "anarchist" squatters frequently seek to transform the private, guarded spaces of wealthy enclaves—like Hampstead Heath in London—into public spaces that all may visit and enter. Squatting is here a performance that serves to voice a critique of capitalism. Thus, anarchist squatters have sought to take possession of private mansions in order to transform them into (illegal or unregistered) museums or schools in London, Paris, Berlin and elsewhere. The original squatters frequently invite the public into these buildings, once they have taken possession. In contrast to the anarchist squatters, survival squatters—including refugees, the dispossessed and the poor from Eastern Europe, as well as Roma individuals—are accused of transforming space through downgrading its overall quality. These squatters are accused of destroying a once pristine and well-kept home through filling it with livestock and squalling children, and through performing machine maintenance in the backyard or using it as a public toilet. The implication is that squatters are not merely destroying the homeowner's property, but also, through congregating in national groups and carrying with them new values and norms, inevitably changing the character of England's "national house," through forcing change in preexisting national norms and institutions.

Once the squatter is viewed as an Other, it then becomes a straightforward process for citizens to view the squatter as a problem requiring a solution, and to call for the removal of the squatter from their midst. Furthermore, in situations in which the state has decided to prosecute those who engage in property squatting, this decision could be seen as having a political as well as an economic dimension. Thus, the prosecution (and, some might say, persecution) of squatters may be based on variables such as the ethnicity and religion of the squatters (or the amount of social distance seen to exist between the legitimate and lawful residents and those who are regarded as illegitimate and unlawful).[97] The remaining frames—barbarism, nationalism and community—all construct the squatter as an Other who threatens not economic goods or personal safety but something even more precious, personal and collective identity.

The Barbarism Frame

In contrast to the deviance frame, the closely related barbarism frame seeks to portray squatters less as mere outsiders residing on the fringes of society, and more as animalistic and not quite human. Squatters are portrayed as wholly other in relation to the dominant group. They are dehumanized and may be described using the language of purity and defilement.[98]

As Salter notes, the trope of the barbarian as a threat to the dominant group is not new.[99] Rather, states have historically needed to demonstrate their fitness through their ability, in part, to assimilate and come to a rapprochement with those within their borders who were different. The trope of the barbarian rests again on an implicit hierarchy—this time between the

"civilized" institutions and individuals who reside within the mainstream and are portrayed as orderly and settled, and the outsiders or newcomers who may be regarded as violent and dangerous. Here, the danger of the barbarian is that in bringing his disorderly nature and lifestyle to the mainstream, he may infect or upset the orderly practices of the city, the neighborhood and the society that make up each. He is thus a destabilizing element.

The barbarian frame, perhaps not surprisingly, is applied more often in describing nonnative squatters who come from elsewhere. Migrant workers who squat are thus often described using the language of barbarism. The barbarism framing thus does not hold out the possibility for rehabilitation or assimilation of the squatter. Instead, it may rely on intertextuality, creating implicit parallels with other, older tropes about race and ethnicity, some of which may date back to British colonial stereotypes about "natives." Thus, the barbarian is described as being unlike others in his society, and is thus seen as incapable of being assimilated.

The barbarian squatter also poses a different set of threats to the city and the neighborhood than the deviant squatter. While the deviant frame presents the possibility that norm violation will become acceptable, the barbarian frame presents the threat that the chaotic habits and lifestyles of the barbarian squatters will threaten and undermine the orderliness and calm of the neighborhood or the city.[100] In his work on barbarism, Salter notes that from the earliest days of colonialism, colonial overlords were bothered by the untidy, uncontrolled cities that awaited them in the developing world. In describing these cities he notes that not everyone in the colonies was controlled, charted and surveilled. There were a lot of these barbarians who were invisible because of the ways they could hide in this messy environment. Salter writes that:

> The unsurveilled, the uncharted, the uncatalogued were not under the control of the empire, and were thus a source of disorder. The notion of barbarians being invisible accompanied this. Portrayed as wild and uncivilized, the colonies were not safe if the barbarian could not be seen.[101]

We can identify the barbarian frame in newspaper coverage that uses terms like filthy, unkempt and savage to describe squatters and their locations. The final scene of the British television show *Home Nightmares* (a weekly extravaganza that features law-abiding homeowners who have been victimized by shoddy construction engineers both at home and in "holiday homes" abroad, unscrupulous landlords and squatters) shows the original owners returning to their London home after the squatters have finally been forced out. The male character pokes at the wood around the fireplace, which has been scarred and ripped off the wall by the squatters, noting that "these people" don't respect architecture, traditions and the history of Britain. Like the terrorist, the squatter is constructed as an Other, someone who does not share values, norms or a common humanity with the average citizen or residential

dweller in London, Paris or Amsterdam. Press reports include details such as the fact that squatters are "dirty," leaving excrement-stained apartments, dirty mattresses and drug needles behind after they are evicted.[102] The barrier between the lawful citizen of Britain and the unlawful foreign squatter is thus clearly defined. The squatter is described as barbaric—with coverage frequently focusing on the weapons wielded by the squatters—screwdrivers, hammers and knives. Homes are described as being "like a refugee camp" and neighbors frequently complain that the dwellers have "loud squat parties."[103] In short, the homeowner is civilized while the squatter is uncivilized. Squatters themselves are described as taking drugs, jobless and dirty (littering the floor with rubbish). Many are "on the dole."

The viewer or reader is thus invited to view the squatter as something less than fully human, or like an animal. A web site for property owners offers tips for keeping out squatters that sound remarkably similar to those one might offer to homeowners plagued by squirrels or other wildlife living in their homes. They are urged to seal off windows, put up fences and monitor the situation carefully[104]—much as one does in coping with an invasion of ants or termites. Another insurance site notes that they are "awkward and difficult to get out—once they have become ensconced in a property."[105]

In addition, the barbarian frame may use the language of time to refer to squatters as being backward or from an earlier era when they lacked modern conveniences and sanitation. Words like tribe may also be used to make sense of the seemingly chaotic squatter camps, while simultaneously drawing lines that separate squatters from those in more traditional urban housing. The language of barbarism is invoked in descriptions of the French squatter camp known as "the jungle" located in Calais, France. Stories of rapes and fights occurring there, as well as the descriptions of those who have come from Africa, serve to establish a discourse that separates the developed from the developing world. Most of the squatters in this camp are from former French colonies, and readers can thus draw intertextual connections between other narratives they may be familiar with that describe former French colonies. Table 1.8 indicates phrases—drawn from British newspapers—that establish the barbarism frame.

Table 1.8 The Barbarism Frame

Words that frame squatting as barbaric	Words that frame squatters as barbaric
Dirty	Dreadlocks
Living like urban wolves	Hobo
Dogs fouling on floor	Tramp
	Hippies
	Hasn't had a bath in years
	Drums

The Nationalism Frame

While the barbarism frame sets up an opposition between the modern and the primitive, and between the human and the subhuman, the nationalism frame sets up a more straightforward opposition between the native-born French, British, Dutch or Danish citizen and the nonnative individual who might find himself squatting in one's home country. The use of a nationalism frame is identified by the presence of enumerative statistics that focus on the nationalities of those engaged in squatting activities. Newspaper copy might stress the nationality of squatters as well, as is the case in a *London Evening Standard* article that refers to "a community under siege by gangs of Romanian squatters."[106]

In this frame, reporters and politicians might mix their discussion of transnational squatters together with other discussions about migrants, immigration and the politics of race. As Phil Hubbard notes, it is often common for those who seek to other a group to present them as a monolithic, undifferentiated mass. Thus, even politicians may fail to flesh out distinctions between, for example, refugees and other types of immigrants.[107] In exploring the discourse of squatting, we can identify a similar tendency by British Tory politicians, for example, to fail to distinguish between the various types of squatters—instead aggregating both West European lifestyle squatters and East European survival squatters together as "foreign."

The nationalism frame rests thus on a binary opposition between "we French" and "those non-French" people, and for this reason we can often find strong support for antisquatting initiatives by extreme right-wing parties in Britain, France, the Netherlands and Denmark. In this way, antisquatting legislative initiatives and sentiments can fit into a larger nationalist discourse. In each case, what is threatened is national identity, and squatters are viewed as inadequately socialized both into housing norms and into larger national norms regarding behavior. Policy solutions might thus stress the importance of increased border security and tracking of immigrants within one's society[108] in order to reduce both the problems of property squatting and the larger problems of nonnative presence within one's society. The problematic of property squatting can also be situated within a larger discourse about the failure of multiculturalism as a strategy within the Netherlands and Britain. International property squatters might thus be portrayed as both incapable of ever becoming Dutch[109] and also incapable of ever becoming "proper homeowners" who obey, understand and conform to norms about what it means to be a Dutch homeowner. This description may take on heavy moral overtones as well.

In addition, Innes suggests that current constructs of asylum seekers in Britain today rest on the assumption that every foreigner is devious and therefore a potential criminal if not an actual criminal.[110] In this way, a case is again made for a strong policy of preemptively policing those (foreigners) who have the potential to become criminals so that their criminal careers

may be halted before they begin. The nationalist discourse of squatting thus blurs the lines between legitimate and illegitimate foreign dwellers in Britain, as well as the lines between squatters and other types of criminals.

This frame thus leads to the adoption of exclusionary policies. Foreign property squatters are not seen as having the necessary values or skills to ever become legal, respectable homeowners in the culture—and for this reason, the frame may lead to policy support for strategies such as the repatriation or deportation of international property squatters.

The Community Frame

Finally, we can identify a community frame in the discourse of squatting. Here, as Table 1.9 indicates, this frame overlaps to some degree with the investment frame. However, stories using a community frame argue not merely that the neighborhood has lost value but also that it has lost its unique and special status. For example, we can identity this frame in news stories about so-called posh squatters moving into expensive neighborhoods that they are seen as not having earned and therefore not entitled to. In addition, stories using the community frame may focus on the ways in which squatters use public goods belonging to the neighborhood. For example, in Britain newspaper reports have noted that squatters have taken up residence in such properties as a community center or a scout headquarters, thereby denying the use of the facility to the rightful owners and the community.[111]

In the following chapters, I will illustrate how each of these frames has appeared in the press and policy discussions of a specific nation, as well as showing how the use of policy frames has evolved over time.

Table 1.9 The Community Frame

Squat in community terms	Squatter in community terms
Nuisance	Neighbors from hell
Juxtaposition (quiet, tranquil streets versus loud, noisy tenants)	Next door
References to character of home or neighborhood (posh, sought-after, expensive)	Nuisance
Blight	

2 Squatting and Antisquatting in Britain

In this chapter, I examine the ways in which over time the meaning of squatting has changed in Britain. In the post–World War II period in Britain squatting was seen largely as an economic problem rather than a problem of anti-social behavior or security. Thus, until the early 1990s, government policy towards urban squatters was often cooperative, with government overtures aimed more at addressing problems of housing use than at either punishing squatters or ending the practice. However, in the post–9/11 era, the discourse used by residents, politicians and the media in describing and analyzing squatting has changed. What was previously viewed as a problem of market imperfections has come to be viewed as part of a much larger problem, and it is now being discussed within a different set of circumstances. Particularly since the introduction of legislative initiatives in 2011 aimed at criminalizing squatting, there has been a tendency for the squatting conversation to now include a new set of questions, such as: Who belongs in Britain? (Who may reside there?) Who does not? What kind of threat is presented by squatting and what does it threaten? And how might globalization change local institutions and structures, and can these changes be prevented or are they inevitable?

In this chapter, I begin by laying out the institutional and historical context of the housing market in Britain. Here, I show how housing issues—including those related to housing the homeless as well as those requiring social support—have traditionally been handled on the local level. However, I also indicate the ways in which housing issues in general and squatting issues in particular exist in a web of other related issues—such that a conversation about the construction and occupation of housing also becomes a conversation about poverty, the role of government and the ways in which housing can create or destroy community. In this way, local issues like who lives in social housing and what is expected of these individuals also become part of a larger national conversation encompassing questions about rights of citizens and the politics of belonging in Britain.

In the second section, I describe the cultural and historical context of squatting itself, explaining what the practice has traditionally meant in the story of Great Britain. In the third section I describe legislative attempts to "crack