Leila Simona Talani (ed.)

# Globalisation, Migration, and the Future of Europe: Insiders and outsiders

The publication of "*Globalisation, Migration, and the Future of Europe*" is the result of the conference held on 14 June 2010 at King's College in London with the title "*Insiders and outsiders*". The introductory chapter, written by Leila Simona Talani, stresses the importance of studying the context in which migrants are integrated within different economic and sociopolitical dimensions in contemporary societies. The underlying question of the book is w*ho are the insiders and who are the outsiders in the EU,* while the central aim was *to* (re)examine this issue from different perspectives in order to develop an interdisciplinary approach and better understanding of the impact of globalization and migratory networks on European societies and the EU as a whole. The book is divided into four main parts and each part into several interconnected chapters or articles written by different scholars.

The main theme of the first part is the impact of globalization on migration and the increased level of securitization in the EU, or more specifically they directly address the question of Muslim migration and its legal and political implications on the European societies. First, F. Cetti deals with the issue of Europe's asylum and immigration regime, which is framed by the discourse of security and the (constructed) figure of the forced migrant being portrayed as the carrier of various global threats for the "European" identity, cultural integrity and internal security. As such, the forced migrant becomes the "global illegal" and the key ideological component of the European security regime in an attempt of creating a "European" cultural and normative identity. The use of deeply embedded narratives of inclusion and exclusion is the response of nation-states to "an increasingly disordered global environment". B. Bruce in Chapter 2 tackles the issue of Muslim migrants and demonstrates how the somewhat problematic presence of a significant number of immigrants from Muslim countries in France and Germany could be resolved through non-government

organizations such as *The French Council of the Muslim Faith* (CFCM) and the German *Islamkonferenz*; or to be precise promotion of belonging and religious institutionalism. The problem is that at the moment local religious groups do not perceive these institutions as their legitimate representatives, but remain heavily dependent on their native governments, which only prolongs their controversial involvement in the internal Islamic religious affairs of France and Germany. T. Marguery concludes this part with the discussion about the significance of the concept of EU citizenship in the fight against terror in the EU, and the establishment of the so-called area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ) in the EU. Marguery argues that the concept of EU citizenship is not that significant because the fight against crime, as currently organized in the EU, affects all individuals regardless whether they are EU citizens or not. Rather, the protection of right in criminal justice is still subject to existing differences between Member states, despite the Lisbon treaty.

The second part of the book deals with the fundamental issue: *Who is an insider and who is an outsider* (in the EU)? Talani opens this discussion with her analysis of the concept of the "Fortress of Europe", and its internal and external dimensions. The fact is that the EU does not have a common migratory policy, however there is an area where internal mobility is promoted while barriers are erected towards countries outside the EU ("Fortress of Europe"). Restrictions of entry to third-country nationals into the EU were justified by economic and security issues. According to Talani, as long as migration is being primarily defined as a security issue (or even a global threat) there is little hope for a more liberal approach to immigration into the EU. Rather, preserving the privileged status of the EU citizens and increasing the number of people willing to work in the EU as illegal aliens is likely to remain. In the following chapter, Takacs gives us an overview of the legal status of third country nationals in the EU, demonstrating how their rights are defined in accordance with different bilateral agreements between the EU and certain non-EU countries (i.e. Switzerland, Turkey or Russia) primarily aimed to develop trade, social, cultural and security links and cooperation. The point is that the legal status (rights) of the third-country nationals varies depending on these agreements. Ucellini's case study of the Romanian migration to Italy demonstrates that the notion of "the outsiders" is not necessarily reserved only for migrants coming from outside the EU. For example, in Italy Romanians are perceived as a

disruptive force and a security threat in the traditional understanding, and not in the broader socioeconomic or cultural sense.

The penultimate part is based on the relation between migration and the construction of a common identity in Europe (EU). First, Edwards reexamines the issue of the European collective identity, focusing on the question of institutional legitimacy and the potential crisis of the "European identity". Using the "discourse of enlargement", and the notion of "transformation through making the journey", Edwards argues that the charge of crisis of institutional identity in the EU is displaced by the construction of the political identity which (re)legitimizes the project with a new civilizational purpose. The problem is determining whether such a civilizational identity is the first glimpse into the construction of a new post-Western identity or it has always been part of the enlargement discourse. Then Vianello, in his three-level discoursive analysis of the case of Romanian immigrants in Italy, observes the issue of the stratification of European citizenship by analyzing the case of Romanian immigrants in Italy (Cittadelle). The argument is that the supranational notion of European citizenship is disaggregated on the national and subnational or local level through various administrative practices. The Cittadelle case demonstrates that city mayors have the discretion to effectively "open or close the gates" of European citizenship for migrants. Fong explores how the development of the European citizenship impacts mainstream international relations, and the analytical (or binary) concept of inclusion and exclusion. The problem here is the fact that European citizenship, unlike other more traditional conceptions, is not based on the general assumption that individuals must be clearly socio-politically located within states.

The final part of the book raises several questions about the future of EU citizenship and Europe in general. De Waele shows how the legal regime underlying the concept of EU citizenship, despite certain problems addressed in previous chapters, due to its unique conception has a significant potential for future evolution and improvements – not just for EU nationals, but also for third country citizens. Margiotta and Vonk address the issue of „dual nationality" in the EU and the tensions arising because of the lack of harmonization in the area of nationality law. They believe that only a minimal harmonization of the nationality law could resolve tensions due to conflicting dual nationality regimes and would lead to

the harmonization in the legal autonomy of EU citizenship. Zarnetske contributes to this discussion by emphasizing the importance of developing better mechanisms of estimation of the number of dual citizens, even though the occurrence of dual US/EU citizenship still appears relatively rare. The concluding chapter, written by Kochenov, gives us the overview of the problems in interrelation between EU citizenship and Member state nationalities. According to Kochenov, the so-called Rottmann case has clearly demonstrated that EU law is gaining more influence in the matter of regulation of nationality issues, which will result in less freedom for Member states in these areas and a more difficult access to EU citizenship for third-country nationals.

The central aim of this book was to examine the effects of globalization and migration on the domestic policies of EU Member states and their impact on the internal and external components of politics and law. The tendency was to develop a broader interdisciplinary approach in order to better understand these phenomena. I feel this was only partially accomplished. The authors have managed to emphasize the importance of "broadening" the discussion about EU citizenship and the increased securitization of the migratory policies in Europe. However, I cannot help but notice that these articles (the book in general) were primarily written for scholars interested in discourse/identity theory and law students. For example, the absence of the political economy perspective is more than evident. Finally, the quality of different articles is not consistent; rather their quality varies depending on the author and the topic. This is not unusual for conferences, however in this case it significantly undermines the overall quality of the book as a whole. I would still recommend this book - just not to everyone.  People generally interested in EU related issues would find it informative, although probably not that compelling. On the other hand, I believe that the discourse and critical theory scholars would find this book to be illuminating and especially worthy of praise.

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