

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Luigi Moccia, Lia Pop (editors), *Migrants & Refugees Across Europe. How to Share the Challenge for a Shared World of Peace*, Bochum: European University Press, 2017, 433 pages, ISBN 978-3-86515-249-7**

*Review by Gabriela GOUDENHOOF*

Drawing attention on the refugee and migrants' crisis in Europe the authors and editors of the book try to evaluate complex implications of the migratory phenomenon not only in terms of security but also on the European identity and on EU institutions 'and policies' credibility affected by the recent evolutions. Values, principles and objectives should be revisited as well as the idea of responsibility, conceived both at national and European level on the future developments.

The idea of shared values generating a common European citizenship assume the prerequisite idea of common European border delimited not only in geographical and cartographical terms of inclusion/exclusion, but it also assumes "a political, institutional, cultural and social attitude to think 'European' in terms of values, principles, interests, regulation, rights and duties" (Moccia, p.12).

The volume edited by Luigi Moccia and Lia Pop, and published by The European University Press Publishing House includes papers of the International Seminar that took place at the University Roma Tre in 27-29 of April 2016.

With an introductory paper on "The 'common' European border and the migration crisis as a 'borderline issue in the future of Europe'", the book has two sections: The first one, I. "Migrants and Refugees across Europe: Issues & Policies", contains eight articles and the second, II. "Migrants and Refugees across Europe: Rights and Experiences", consist of seven articles.

The management of the migration crisis is reflected by several articles from the book in a multifaceted approach, from different perspectives. Fulvio Attinà and Rosa Rossi are analysing the feedback given by the European citizens on the EU

management in time of crisis and how their response is influenced and influences leaders' negotiations and the level of imposed restrictions. Several scenarios were depicted by the authors in their effort of synthesizing institutional actors' management endeavours: the *Conventional response*, *The Mare Nostrum scenario*, *The EU-Turns scenario* and *The Fencing-the –EU scenario*. Analysing the data, keeping in mind that the situation was perceived often by the EU citizens as “a threat to the interest and values of European countries” (p.45), the authors concluded that it wasn't possible a viable interpretation of the migration crisis just because of the convoluted decision-making process and the lack of optimal solutions expected from the EU leaders who were “unable to create a common management in harmony (Attinà, Rossi, p.46).

Also focusing on the management of migration and refugees, Lia Pop is bringing the multilingualism issue towards inclusion as a new challenge of dealing with migratory flows on new routes of migration in Europe after 2015. The author is rising a situation that makes migrants and refugees a more vulnerable category: “the linguistic impossibility of communicating their condition” (L.Pop, p.61). The linguistic vulnerability brings into attention *New Added Languages*, their number being very high due to the new Balkan route of migration, and having political relevance together with *New Rare Languages*, including a lot of versions of Romani language, requiring adequate strategies in the management of new comers.

The linguistic diversity in Europe and the linguistic dimension of the crisis require resources and an immediate focus on the issue.

A valuable recommendation of the paper is to design a new framework of crisis management and as a part of it “to establish a Common European System of Researching the Rare Languages on the grounds of European Values and Culture” (L.Pop, p.92).

In order to facilitate the integration of immigrants Esther Lopating is focusing on the values of the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), the standard tool used in the EU for measuring how well countries are implementing integration policy. The author makes a critical analysis of the MIPEX, showing that it is measuring “implementation policies rather than outcomes” (p.116) and advances the idea of developing a new index of integration for a proper measure of the phenomenon since the old one fail to provide accurate and useful results.

Addressing the risks encountered by the refugees crossing the Mediterranean in search of escape and of hope, Patrizia Palermo is drawing

attention on the human rights connection, on the vulnerability of the right to asylum and implications in situations where one is facing with “violent negation of life” (p.120). The author analyses the legal provisions towards *refoulement* in international waters, laws “on high seas” in the context of Geneva Convention on refugees and the new particularities occurred along the years of refugee crises showing that EU must find instruments to face the “huge mass flows of people fleeing from war zone” because the “refusal of reception, without the possibility of asylum, increases the effects of the conflicts instead of opposing them and undermines any prospect of peace” (Palermo, pp.137-138).

Also focusing on the Mediterranean route of the refugees, Stefania Panebianco put on the balance the humanitarian approach versus border security as two goals which are entrapping the European Union. From data analysis, with a special focus on Mare Nostrum Operation (MNO) results there is a massive and continuing pressure on the EU external borders and this situation requires a rapid intervention but also a better coordination and cooperation at EU level, because EU appears unprepared to face the humanitarian crisis (Pannebianco, p.147). Overlapping migration to insecurity the door was opened to tackle hyper security and for the discourse of the populist and extremist parties with a strong anti-immigration profile at the expense of the humanitarian approach. The legitimate question is how to redress the persistent imbalance and the tension between humanitarian intervention and EU border control?

Exploring the concerns and even fears of European citizens towards refugees, asking about their true hidden aims: *Are they really refugees? Are not immigrants? Are not they terrorists?* Stefan Messmann is drawing attention to an amplified phenomenon: xenophobia in the context of a huge number of displaced people, “around 65.3 million in 2015 across the world” (p.170). The refugee problem depicted in vivid colors by media, but also present in literature, reports, movies and even sports<sup>1</sup> is affecting our daily life and creates a new perspective of approaching European issues.

Migration, with its social function it’s still a question of integration for immigrants and for the authorities and it isn’t an easy undertaking, all the more so as the issue is for the political community to choose for the future whether to be pro or against migration. Of course the reception of refugees requires

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<sup>1</sup> The Olympic Committee decided that the XXXI Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro will be named the *Refugee Olympic Athletes* (ROA) (Messmann, p.173)

consideration of multiple perspectives: political, humanitarian, responsibility, policy and law. The reception of refugees is costing a lot and require new financing sources as new taxes, affecting more the European citizens' life. So the management of reception and integration (they are expected to work and to cover the labor shortage where it is needed on the European markets) is to be a smart one and in proportion of the countries' economic strength.

Refugee's crisis dimension has brought changes in EU foreign policy migration inducing a strong connection between the need of internal security and external action. Loredana Teodorescu is focusing on the "external dimension of the European migration policy referring to the integration of migration policies in the EU's external relations. The main framework for cooperation in the area of migration and mobility between EU and its partners, including third countries, is represented by mobility partnerships, an instrument having the peculiarity that "aims to include the four pillars of the Global Approach" (Teodorescu, p.213). The complexity of the situation and emphasized by the Global Approach is given by many factors, embracing soft and hard law tools, binding and non-binding instruments, facing implementation's difficulties, a shared competence in the area of migration between EU and Member States, the need of balancing the different components in the migration policy and last but not least the multiplication of involved actors in the external policy of migration.

The second section of the book is addressing the rights and experiences perspective towards migrants and refugee problem. A particular social group and also a vulnerable one targeted within this topic is the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender individuals (LGBTI) as refugee, requiring a special attention. Emanuela Prisciani and Denise Venturi take a look at the relevant legislation as to whether the EU provides for this group an adequate protection in alignment with international standards, besides the Court of Justice of the EU interpretation on the Qualification Directive regarding the inclusion of the LGBTI people under the Refugee Convention. The authors explain that the CJEU interpretation "is in some respects, flawed and at odds with a rigorous legal interpretation of International Refugee Law" (p.259) addressing the risk of creating "an inconsistency within the realm of global refugee's protection regime, which may well result in a lower standard of protection for LGBTI asylum seekers in the EU" (p.260).

Andrea De Petris article is focusing on the Germany strategy in refugee's integration as an affordable model to be generalized as a good practice, starting

from measures operating at two levels: disciplining residence permits and grants of asylum and trying to provide adequate instruments for the successful integration in the German social context (p.268).

A required solidarity, regardless its particular extent as “solidarity between Member States, solidarity among peoples, solidarity between generations, and solidarity between the European Union and Member States” or solidarity referring to “different areas of European laws such as: migration, border checks, energy, and the fight against terrorism, humanitarian aid, security and external relations” (De Dominicis, p.289) is needed including a legal basis for the EU legal order. Emphasizing the importance of solidarity, Nicola De Dominicis, is analyzing the relevance of the article 80 of the TFEU, introducing the principle of solidarity and fair sharing responsibility between Member States in the field of border checks asylum and immigration, showing that “solidarity is not only a principle, a spirit or a duty to cooperate for the European Union and Member States; it is also a specific legal basis for adopting European measures to give effect to the principle of solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility, including its financial implications, within the EU migration policies” (p.299).

The agreements and processes regarding the relocation of reception centers in the European Union and also the problem of outsourcing border controls is the subject developed by Marco Omizzolo and Pina Sodano in the light of two important goals of the EU: security and integration. Borders and “meta-borders” are nowadays issues since the flow of migration is increased and new routes, such as the Mediterranean one lead to new patterns in contemporary migratory scenarios, including “turbulent migrations” (p.316). “The European Union’s borders are rapidly moving beyond the geographical borders of the Members States. With the development of the “external dimension” of migration policies, control functions are transferred to private entities, such as transport companies, states outside the European space, candidate for EU membership, or simply locations chosen due to their strategic location on the migration routes directed to Europe” (Omizzolo and Sodano, p.323). The authors noticed that the outsourcing of borders and checks tends to coincide with their relocation, creating “extraterritorial spaces”, moving in the same time the rights at the extent of external collaboration. Reviewing the Rabat process, the Khartoum process, the Partnership Agreement for Malta, the EU – Turkey Agreements and the latest dynamic of migration routes the authors have found there is a profound

contradiction in the relationship between EU origins and desire for advanced security measures and draw attention of the risk of betraying the very founding values of the EU by making weak artificial distinction between economic and forced migrants and possibly generating new conflicts and dramas. They are pleading for a new European ruling class capable of managing the situation and able to transform the EU in a beneficial way for all parties involved.

Irina Pop is illustrating how not only the management of the refugee crisis is important but also the political communication of issue is. The case study is the Romanian policy on refugee and on the messages released through media facing the risk of increasing the political and social extremism by inflammatory representations of refugees. The author points out that the official position toward migrant flow in Romania was very little visible and difficult to decipher in terms of the acceptance or rejection of the refugees, especially because of the political instability in the reference period and highlights a sort of incoherence in messages, contributing to a low public culture of tolerance. She pleads for the necessity of the political communication improvement so that official communication not to be “directed to elites alone but towards ordinary people also” (Pop, p.358), enough to distinguish for example between the new-comers from third countries and understand the drama and the need for protection of the war refugees.

In order to help in improving the management of the current migration flow, Erminio Fonzo, uses the history and memory of emigration in Italy, as long as political choice is limited to stereotypical knowledge, accepting that “history and memory, moreover, could also play an active role regarding refugees, as several occasions – in particular during the two world wars – Italians have experienced the tragedy of exile” (p.372) and more than this, today, about 60.000.000 Italian natives live abroad. Fonzo noticed that local remembrance prevails the national one and in the same time “the regional administrations are more active than the State in strengthening ties”, so there we can find clues and possible strategies to face the issue of negative perceptions and stereotypes against refugees and migrants. Migrants can represent an important contribution both to country of origin and for country of destination, referring not only at migrants remittances, but also by enhance intercultural dialogue, sport etc. and the history of Italian emigration proved it.

Also on Italy is focusing the last article of the book, where Filomena Riccardi presents the idea of new socio- cultural spaces and geographies by

approaching the issues of a new migrant community in Italy, the Chinese, a vulnerable group, in terms of public school actions and educational policies. The author analyses the “conflictual aspect in the patterns of socialization” (p.399), “emerging from the meeting and clash of European culture with different cultures and values of immigrants’ communities” (p.411). The Italian education system, following EU educational policies is financing inclusive education in order to protect the right of education for migrant children, incrementing the differentiated didactic activities, financing special projects, for children with special needs, assisting migrant children in preparing State exams etc. Though, local communities are facing difficulties in facing interaction between migrants an understanding their special needs and this is the reason why migrants are feeling abandoned by the Italian community and local services, the most vulnerable and expose from those migrants being women and children. The author makes useful suggestion in terms of public policies and measures of improving the situation of Chinese migrants in Italy.

All the above mentioned issues highlighted by the scholars whose works were hosted by this book can be read in the sense of a question addressed by one of the editors, Lia Pop: “Which is the appropriate philosophy – The classical one, a reshaped philosophy of treasuring diversity or a new one?” (p.84), and also answered by the other one, Luigi Moccia: “... to stay united by interests and policies, as well as by values, rights and duties, shared in common in the so called area of freedom, security and justice” (p.15).