

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v16i1.643>

Book reviews

Moix, Yann (2018). **Dehors [Outside]**. Paris: Grasset & Fasquelle (268 pp, ISBN: 978-2246863533).

The title is intriguing and intentionally provocative. The French author Yann Moix, a well-known writer and journalist, directly writes to the current President of France, Emmanuel Macron to evoke the living conditions of exiles, people who left their country of origin, and have been –in 2018– living in France. They are “locked outside” (12), as the author explains and this outside is a “negation of the inside, not its opposite” argues the author (11). This open letter serves not only as a reflection on the author’s personal experience with exiles but as an illustration of the duplicity of French government policy on migration and asylum. It represents a useful reference for citizens and for researchers on migration and refugee issues but also for all of us, as human beings. There are three main dimensions to this important and useful contribution to the current knowledge on this topic.

First, the author, recipient of several literary prizes, purposely and remarkably associates stylistic devices and appropriate semantics with the cruelty of the exiles realities. Anaphors, alliterations, metaphors, and litotes follow each other throughout the book providing the reader with a powerful feeling of truth. The first chapter for instance is dedicated to concepts and their definitions. Yann Moix brilliantly makes the semantic distinction between migrant and exile setting the pace in terms of approach: a “migrant is a policymakers’ concern while an exile is a humanity’s concern”. By heavily relying on personal narratives from exiles coming from Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, Syria, South Sudan or Mali among other countries, the reader is immersed in their parallel reality made of violence and brutality. His dedicated focus on the situation in Calais, a city along the northern French coast often referred to as a jungle camp for the high level of deprivation of his exiled settlers, gives Yann Moix a ground to develop his claim.

Second, the author seeks to demonstrate throughout his argument the duplicity of French migration and asylum policies towards the exiles. He informs the reader and experts about the contrast between President Macron’s public speeches and the policies that have been implemented. Scientists in public policy would naturally raise the political paradox characterized by policies that systematically encompass both the arts of political illusion and duplicity (Parsons, 1995). In economics, it would refer to the recent argument for well-informed policies based on evidence instead of subjective decision-making (Baldwin-Edwards, Blitz and Crawley, 2018). Because of a short-term political cycle, science is often marginalized while taking policy decisions, especially on migration and refugee issues. Therefore, such political duplicity leads to a debate about the effectiveness of legal protection of exiles against human rights violations. To illustrate his claim, the author analyzes selected presidential speeches and discusses them through substantial citations of the French authors André Gide and Georges Bernanos, for whom the President claims his admiration. In particular, Yann Moix evaluates a presidential speech given in Sorbonne, Paris on the 26th of September 2017 entitled Initiative for Europe. Terms like “history”, “identity”, or “future” embrace ideas about “a Europe that unites to protect, to intervene, to save lives” (63). On



the ground, the description of programmes and mechanisms of detentions, disembarkations, relocations and resettlements, criminalization of individuals and of those who give assistance contrasts, to the author, with the President's public announcements.

Third, Moix interestingly adopts a historical perspective of the French migration and asylum policies to explain the current situation. He takes the opportunity to denounce an accumulation of inconsistencies especially when dealing the United Kingdom (UK). The author argues that "between 1989 and 2014 more than ten bilateral agreements" (31) were signed between the UK and France concerning frontier controls, including the Sangatte Protocol and the Le Touquet Treaty, signed in 1991 and 2003 respectively. They mainly introduced checkpoints in Calais and Dunkirk, France rather than in Dover, UK, thanks to subsidization. By syllogism, the author designates France as the "Libya of the UK" (29). However, the reader may wonder if Yann Moix's focus on humanism focuses away or not the reality of strategic interactions across countries and the spillover effects of migration and asylum national decisions not only within the Schengen area, but also in the broader EU's neighbourhood. I would answer that the author succeeds partially in convincing us that the approach of the French President and his government is characterized by such duplicity. Guided first by his emotions, he endeavored to develop a rational argument to show that conducting a repressive and non-humanist migration policy is at least as costly as assisting and integrating people in need in France.

Despite some weak points, this book, written on the spot in a month and a half during spring 2018, offers new insights into the recent French government's approach on asylum seekers and refugees.

References

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Kartal, B., and Manço, U. (Eds.) (2018). **Beklenmeyen Misafirler: Suriyeli Sığınmacılar Penceresinden Türkiye Toplumunun Geleceği**. London, UK: Transnational Press London (336 pp, ISBN 978-1-910781-74-6).

The events that began in December 2010 in Tunisia, Egypt, and Yemen with the aim of the toppling of anti-democratic and corrupted regimes, leaped to Syria in March 2011, however, transformed into a contentious civil war along with the regime forces firing on peaceful protestors and the involvement of the regional and global actors to the process. In the civil war that has been ongoing more than seven years, while hundreds of thousands of civilians have lost their lives, 5,6 million Syrian citizens have sought asylum from neighboring countries like Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt. Turkey, by opening its borders to 3.5 million of this number, have become the country which hosts the largest refugee population in the world.

In the recent day, the civil war in Syria's still continuing with all of its violence, therefore, the existing political climate in the country does not seem to allow the refugees' voluntary repatriation



in the short-term, brings mind to the question that what awaits Turkey in the future which face with such a dense asylum movement.

In this sense, “Beklenmeyen Misafirler: Suriyeli Sığınmacılar Penceresinden Türkiye Toplumunun Geleceği”, which is very timely and insightful collection comprises of fourteen chapters and brings together scholars from diverse fields offers those who are interested in migration and refugee studies a sophisticated and wide-ranging analysis of how and to what extent the en masse asylum claim of Syrian refugees from Turkey have affected both the refugees themselves and the natives.

The first chapter of the book, by looking the human mobility theme from Turkey’s perspective touches briefly upon why Turkey is a country of emigration/immigration and transit country and offers introductory information to the readers on the balance sheet of the humanitarian crisis of the Syrian civil war and on the articles that will be discussed in the volume.

In following chapter, the author who assesses Turkey’s legislative and political approach of en masse migration and asylum influxes to itself, claims that although Turkey did not have a comprehensive migration management since its foundation, the aim of harmonizing its migration management with the EU Acquis Communautaire and the arrival of the Syrian refugees, cause Turkey to take real steps in institutional and legislative terms in migration management.

Rather than opening a new discussion, the third chapter aims to inform the readers on the migration and asylum terminology. In addition to the assessment of concepts pertaining to migration and asylum in the national legislation in Turkey, the author also provides in-depth information about the context of the Law of Foreigners and International Protection and Temporary Protection Regulation.

In the Chapter four, the author touches upon the rights that are offered to the Syrian refugees along with the Law of Foreigners and International Protection and Temporary Protection Regulation, and as the focal point of the study, criticizes the perceiving of the asylum-seekers in Turkey are merely consisting of an homogeneous group of Syrians and draws attention to the necessity of concentrating on the issues of the other asylum-seeking groups like Afghans, Iraqis and Iranians.

In the following chapter, while the majority of the studies pertaining to the Syrian refugees focuses on their socioeconomic, political, and cultural impacts on the host societies, this academic work explores the under researched area-the demographic profile of the refugees- which is particularly important in the changes of social structure of the states. The authors who examine the demographic changes in Turkey, Germany and UK which host a considerable amount of refugee population, claim that despite all the cost they bring about, the Syrians who have a young population might bring dynamism to the economy of the states like Turkey which has ageing populations.

Chapter six of the volume scrutinizes the ambiguous notion of “integration” from a theoretical framework and focuses on moving from being immigrant and refugee to being resident. It also suggests that in this sense, the Turkish government has to take steps aimed at the integration of Syrian refugees in Turkey.

In Chapter seven, the author begins with the theoretical overview of the nation of “foreign” claims that, time to time the Syrian refugees own culture and the culture they are subjected in Turkey conflicts with one another and this situation cause their marginalization. Further, in this fieldwork that is conducted in Gaziantep and Kilis, the author sets forth that the gossips and urban legends circulate in Turkish society also stimulates this marginalization and deepens the discrimination of “we” and “the others”.



While Chapter eight offers wide-ranging overview of the economic state of Syrian refugees, their impact on labor market in Turkey and the issues they experience in the labor market in Turkey, the following chapter, basing on a fieldwork that is conducted in Kilis, critically examines the pushing factors that cause Syrian women to flee from Syria, their assessments pertaining to their existing living conditions and problems in Turkey.

Chapter ten of the volume introduces the in-depth examination of the services that the Turkish government offers to the Syrian children pertaining to education and provides the challenges that the Syrian children experience in accessing these services.

In the next chapter, the author who elaborates the problematic approaches to Syrian refugees in Turkish media states that the approach towards the refugees in both national and local media is not independent from political party ideologies. The author also claims that some opposition parties in Turkey instrumentalize and otherize the Syrian refugees in order to criticize government policies.

In the Chapter twelve of the book, the author, as a result of comprehensive fieldwork he conducted with both natives and the Syrian refugees, examines the mentality templates in Turkish society towards the Syrian refugees and searches for an answer to the degrading discourses that the Syrian refugees are stricken from their own voice.

Chapter thirteen claims that there exists some negative perceptions/judgements in the Turkish society, it presents that why there is not much extremism in these reactions derives from the “neighborhood culture” in Islam. And, in the final chapter of the book, in a nutshell, the author assesses the steps that the Turkish government and the relevant authorities should take for the future of the Syrian refugees in Turkey.

Overall, what makes this book particularly significant and successful in the field of refugee studies is, first, this collection not only sets forth what the Turkish citizens and the refugees experience after the arrival of the Syrian refugees in Turkey in the light of their own narratives, but also goes beyond this, and underlines that the expectation of the Syrians’s returning to their country’s not being a realist and sustainable approach, and thus, the necessity of both the Turkish government and the relevant authorities should start long-running migration policies that will enhance social adaptation, integration, and coalescing different cultures.

Secondly, unlike the stereotyped perceptions about the refugees in the Turkish society, such as they are either “war victims”, “needy”, or “burden”, “traitor”, this academic study reveals that the refugees have also positive impact on Turkish economy and if the favorable living conditions, education and vocational training are provided, and with the human-rights based approaches, effective integration policies would be implemented, this migration issue might be transformed into a positive process. Therefore, many scholars in the volume rather than just lingering on the issues both parties experience, emphasize both the Turkish government and international actors should sideline the expectation that they will return sooner rather than later, and under what circumstances they are, call the international organizations to put their hands under the stone more ever after in order these people to live humanly.

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Deniz E. Utku, K. Onur Unutulmaz, Ibrahim Sirkeci (eds.) (2017). **Turkey's Syrians: Today and Tomorrow**. London, UK: Transnational Press London (254 pp., ISBN 978-1-910781-74-6).

Throughout the past seven years, the world has witnessed the worst humanitarian disaster since the Second World War. The outbreak of civil protests in the Syrian city of Daraa in March 2011, as well as unarmed citizens being fired upon by Bashar al Assad regime forces, served to set into motion a bloody and unending civil war. Since the Syrian crisis began, hundreds of thousands of Syrian civilians have lost their lives, while millions of others have been internally displaced or have become refugees in neighboring countries. As such, policymakers and scholars interested in migration and refugees studies have become preoccupied with the plight of the refugees who have fled a war-torn Syria, and the international responsibility associated with this mass movement of people.

Turkey's Syrians: Today and Tomorrow, which is a valuable volume organized within eleven chapters, provides readers with an in-depth examination of the state of Syrian refugees in Turkey. The volume offers important insight regarding three primary themes. First, it gives a detailed account of the legislative status of the Syrian refugees in Turkey and the problems the refugees have encountered with regard to socioeconomics and access to basic services. Second, the book provides a multi-faceted analysis of the issues the local citizens began experiencing after the arrival of the Syrian refugees to Turkey. Lastly, the book includes recommendations for policymakers, civil society organizations, refugee aid organizations, and academics on how to best serve the Syrian refugees and effectively address their issues.

In the book's first chapter, the authors take into consideration Syria's pre- and post-war conditions so as to explore the root causes behind migration from Syria. The study also draws attention to the reluctance of international organizations, such as the EU, to address the Syrian refugees' obstacles and experiences, and it calls for these organizations to assume greater international responsibility.

In the second chapter of the book, which is rooted in a biopolitical examination of Turkish politics, the author looks at the Syrians' experiences to understand what it means to be a refugee in Turkey. The author discusses the ways in which the war has effectively stripped the Syrian refugees of many of their rights, right generally afforded ordinary citizens. Further, the author notes that the rights made available to the refugees in the host country, as well as whether the refugees will be integrated into the new culture and society, are left to the modality of the host state's power.

Chapter three analyzes the framework of Turkey's migration and asylum legislation in order to determine who is identified as an immigrant/refugee and who is identified as an asylum-seeker. In addressing this, the author examines the legal status of Syrians in Turkey. Per the author's assessment, the status of an individual or group who has come to Turkey is based largely on the state's political, national, and moral inclinations.

These two chapters are especially important because both authors draw attention to the fact that the temporary protection status granted to Syrian refugees far from solves their extant issues. For example, this neither addresses the ambiguous nature of their respective futures nor permits the refugees to achieve legal protection that is at least on par with international standards.

The next chapter highlights the importance of civil society organizations in the management of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey, and it examines how different civil society organizations in Turkey have responded to the Syrians' myriad problems. In doing this, the chapter also looks at why Turkish civil society organizations do not yet have an effective means of ensuring that the



Syrians have access to critical services. According to the authors, the Turkish civil society organizations are unable to efficiently and particularly effectively provide these key services to the refugees because they are ideologically and operationally fragmented, which undermines any coordination efforts.

In chapter five, the authors discuss the fact that the Syrian refugees have been in Turkey for longer than anticipated. Per the authors, the continued presence of over 3 million refugees in Turkey places the refugees at the heart of the country's political arguments and even renders the Syrians tools of party propaganda. Upon examining the political parties' varied means of approaching the Syrian refugees, the authors find that the parties' discourses and attitudes regarding the refugees are shaped by and within a number of contexts, including those related to security, ethnicity, and national identity.

Chapter six elaborates on the relationship that exists between the Turkish citizens and the Syrian refugees who share the same outskirts - Önder neighborhood - in the Altındağ region of Ankara. Further, the chapter assesses the impacts the Syrian refugees have had on the local citizens in terms of housing, labor, and cultural and social life.

The next chapter is based on a survey conducted with university students in Ankara and Hatay. Here, the authors introduce a comparative analysis of the public attitudes regarding the Syrian refugees. The findings of the study reveal that, in Hatay, where the refugees outnumber the locals, Syrian refugees are often perceived as a threat to the social fabric of Turkey. Because there are fewer refugees in Ankara, the locals' perceptions of the Syrians are generally more favorable.

Chapter eight provides a wide-ranging analysis of the Syrian refugees' access to education in Turkey. Field work conducted in Mersin, a province popular among Syrians looking to settle in Turkey, permits the author to discuss the reasons why refugees have found it difficult to get education in Turkey. The author concludes the chapter, however, by briefly discussing recent steps taken by the Turkish government in effort to increase participation among Syrian refugees seeking a basic education.

In the chapter nine, the author offers a detailed account regarding the definitions of in-group boundaries in order to explain the natives' attitudes toward the immigrants and refugees. When discussing Turkey specifically, the author claims that civic, cultural, and/or ethnic criteria determine how Turkish citizens identify themselves, and this is worth examination because these self-identifications serve to shape both citizens' perceptions and attitudes as they pertain to the Syrian refugees.

The tenth chapter of the book examines the trends and changes that have occurred or will occur with regard to Syria's population; the periods under investigation include 1950-2015 and 2015 to 2100. Trends specific to Turkey are compared to those associated with Germany and United Kingdom, as these are all places with large refugee populations. By making this comparison, the authors aim to demonstrate how the demographics of those entering into the countries under study affect the host countries. Analyzing the case of Syrian refugees in the Turkish context, the authors claim that the Syrian refugee population, which consists predominantly of young individuals, may contribute to Turkey's economy in terms of the considerable labor it provides, but the authors also note how this refugee population has placed a considerable strain on Turkey's public services.

In the book's final chapter, the author stresses the importance of reviewing successful integration policies that have been applied to various asylum contexts as a means of formulating a model that can be applied to the context of the Syrian refugees in Turkey. Although the author acknowledges the numerous concerns shared by Turkish policymakers and citizens alike (i.e.,



concerns rooted in ethnicity, culture, nationalism, and security), it is apparent that it has become necessary and beneficial to all parties to integrate the Syrian refugees into Turkish life.

Overall, the book does an excellent job of introducing an in-depth and multi-dimensional analysis of the legal and socioeconomic statuses of Syrian refugees in Turkey as well as how the continued Syrian presence affects Turkish citizens. Case studies serve to enrich the arguments put forth here, and they also allow readers to visualize what both the Turkish citizens and the Syrian refugees have experienced as a result of the mass movement of Syrians into Turkey. One additional strength of the book has to do with the fact that it legitimizes the key role of civil society organizations in managing this ongoing refugee crisis.

The book does suffer from one minor shortcoming. Although the authors discuss the problems the Syrian refugees experience in general, the volume does not do much to give voice to the Syrians' lived experiences. Allowing for the refugees to provide narratives regarding their problems and experiences would have enabled readers to better comprehend what these people are going through as they attempt to navigate unfamiliar contexts. Despite this, academics of all levels who are interested in refugee studies will find this timely volume absorbing and informative.

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I. Sirkeci, E.L. de Freitas Castro, and Ü.S. Sözen (2018). **Migration Policy in Crisis**. London: Transnational Press. (166 pp, ISBN 978-1-910781-85-2).

Since the 2015, the complicated and often confusing issue of migration in Europe which has been labelled the 'refugee crisis' has been educational and puzzling. This book has made attempts in answering the numerous questions which have been arising for the 'crisis' from disparate and, at times, mutually hostile perspectives. *Migration Policy in Crisis* is a hard-hitting book which gives a critical analysis of an array of issues which have been baffling to policy makers in Europe. From the issues of humanitarianism securitisation of the 2015 'migration crisis' to the internal policies aimed at dealing with the crisis by different European Union (EU) Member Countries, this text unpacks a number of issues which have been of critical importance in the migration crisis. The book will be welcome reading to anyone who has been concerned that how the migration crisis should be dealt with through the creation of 'sound policies' which are not in breach of the cardinal issues encapsulated in various conventions (such as the 1951 Refugee Convention, the European Union Charter for Fundamental Rights, the European Union Human Rights Convention) which bind the EU.

Following the lead of Marin (2011); Pallister-Wilkins (2015); Miltner (2015); among others, Maciej Stepka investigates the issue of humanitarianism and security in the EU policy frames on operational involvement in the Mediterranean. Maciej Stepka focuses on the nature of the humanitarian framing of the crisis within the EU policy discourse and its relation to the development of operational and militarized responses to increased migratory flows. Through taking this approach, Maciej Stepka does not treat humanitarianism and security as opposite or mutually exclusive. Rather Stepka focuses on the manner in which these two issues concur and entwine in the framing process. From this standpoint, Stepka contributed to the scantily investigated subdivision of securitization through analysing how "human referent object and the idea of humanitarianism



changes and/or prevails when confronted with security and how this dynamic has been unravelling in the course of the ‘migration crisis’” (p. 10). Axel Kreienbrink offers an investigation into how and which legislative and administrative changes were put in place in Germany in a bid to manage the ‘influx’ of refugees. Kreienbrink traces the restrictive laws on foreigners in Germany rooted in the mantra “foreigners should be controlled for reasons of public security and permanent immigration should be avoided” (Schönwälder, 1999) since 1965. Kreienbrink notes that although accommodative changes have been introduced through the so-called “asylum compromise” in 1992 and the amendment of the Basic Law introducing the concept of safe third countries and safe countries of origin, a separate right to benefits for asylum seekers was created, the Asylum Seeker Benefits Act (AsylbLG), which contained reduced benefits compared to social assistance and a restrictive pattern continues in the course of the recent ‘refugee crisis’. Johanna Günther analyses the German Government’s assessment of the role of the

European Court of Human Rights in the refugee issues. Günther analyses the role case-law of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR; Court) has played in the decision-making processes of the the German government on migration matters following the comparatively higher levels of asylum applications in the EU. The chapter is anchored on trying to understand how relevant the German government consider the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights and its asylum policy. In other words, efforts are made in trying to understand the practical relevance the German government attributes to norms promoted by the ECtHR.

Barbora Olejárová evaluated the legal and political implications of the Slovak government’s policy reactions to the migration crisis. This was done in the context of Slovakia’s rejection of the mandatory quota and relocation system as proposed by the EU; as well as introduction of the ‘effective solidarity concept’. Barbora Olejárová aimed to give evidence of how intensively can migration waves affect even those countries that are neither source countries nor transit or final destination countries for the migrants such as Slovakia. Thus, by means of the SWOT analysis, Barbora Olejárová confronts different perspectives on political accuracy and legality of the Slovak government’s policy reactions to the migration crisis.

Vasiliki Kakosimou under a chapter termed: Asylum under pressure: International deterrence and access to asylum makes an in-depth analysis of the receiving states after facing the refugee crisis have been responding to the increase in the number of migrants by increasing border surveillance and reinforcing migration controls. The major aim of this chapter is to understand how the deterrence policies do not comply with the nonderogable principle of non-refoulement and violate the right to have access to protection from persecution, torture, degrading or other inhuman treatment.

The chapter by Katarzyna Morawska is of critical importance in elucidating the Mobility Partnerships under the European immigration policy as well as the analysis of their assumptions contained in the documents of the EU institutions. The chapter unpacks the non-binding nature of the partnerships which are concluded between the Member States of the European Union and third countries, the purpose of which is broadly understood cooperation in the field of migration management. The chapter is article notably concerned with mobility that supports the legal migration, including circular migration of third-country nationals to the EU. The chapter made it possible to evaluate the adopted Mobility Partnerships and proposed recommendations. Maria Psinos and Orna Rosenfeld looks into the issue of refuge integration and housing in the EU. Maria Psinos and Orna Rosenfeld’s chapter became very instrumental in the clarification of the term ‘integration’ so that this can be realistically linked to the housing sector. The chapter aimed to explore recent developments and aspects of the concept of ‘integration’ and examine critically how



these aspects can be implemented in existing housing strategies for migrants. The chapter ultimately gave insights to a better monitoring and understanding of migration and integration processes and also to a greater effectiveness of these aspects of practices (and wider policies) in the housing sector.

Before the adrenaline rush subsides, however, one cannot help noticing that throughout Europe in recent years, a considerable number of ‘extreme-right’ parties, have been gaining popularity and influencing the formation of public opinion. Panagiotis Chasapopoulos, Arjen van Witteloostuijn and Christophe Boone leaves us with a picture of the impact of international immigration on political outcomes in Europe using the Netherlands as the case study. Precisely, these authors investigate how the stock of immigrants and the immigrant inflows to Dutch municipalities affect electoral support for the radical right parties in the country. The chapter contributes to the growing literature on immigration and political preferences by providing empirical evidence from the Netherlands.

At this juncture marked with relatively rapid development of migration literature, it is perhaps inevitable that activist scholars cannot translate their abstract hopes for change into concrete suggestions. These works move us closer to that realisation. In brief, the book covers the latest developments in the discipline of migration and refugee policies, using different global case studies of countries experiencing or emerging populist governments in Europe and beyond. It brings together scholars who provide fresh insights drawing on various cases and connects theory and practice.

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