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BOOK REVIEWS

Human Security and Migration in Europe's Southern Borders by Susana Ferreira. Palgrave Macmillan: Springer Nature, 2018, xvii + 211 pp. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-77947-8

This book demonstrates, the author, Susana Ferreira's several years of intense research in several cities of Italy and Spain, with the aim to offer a deeper insight of the different border regimes and migration management strategies of the European Union (EU). She presents her study in this book through the total eleven chapters, dividing them into three main parts: the first four chapters are dedicated to state of the art about migration governance, border supplies, border management and the challenges to transnational migration. Chapter 5-8, which forms the second part of the book, focuses on the EU's approach to migration and border management, leading to the EU's response to the migration crisis. The last part, consisting of chapter 9 and 10, portrays the case studies that the author did in Spain and Italy in between 2014-2017. Susana finally draws the main conclusion in Chapter 11. She has also used several figures and tables to illustrate her essay which provided immense help.

Introducing the main topic and structure of the book in chapter 1, chapter 2 addresses the concept of governance and its application to migration. Susana states that the main aim of the immigration control strategies is to regulate immigration, facilitating legal migration and detaining illegal flows (p. 16). However, she points out that due to the complexity of the migration flows, the concept of migration management has shifted towards a narrow notion of control and steering to embrace management in a more holistic and inclusive approach (p. 16). Susana identifies three different scopes of management in this chapter: the first one is at the internal level, through the delegation of competences upwards and downwards; the second takes place at the border where both national and international countries have capabilities. Finally, the third is a 'remote border' with the externalisation of procedures (p. 20).

Moreover, there are various fields of interest for migration governance which are inter-related and interconnected. This book focuses on international cooperation and border control along with the varied dimensions of human rights. Therefore, Susana sums up that migration management is a complex web of dimensions, levels and actors interacting with each other (p. 22). She advocates for a set of minimum legal standards against illegal flow of migrants, to certify that migrants in vulnerable situations should be given the basic protections which will safeguard their dignity and control migratory movement.

Chapter 3 deals with the main challenges to transnational migration. Throughout this chapter, Susana shows that the connection between international migration and security plays an important role both in the national and international political agendas which is central to the concept of migration governance. She reviews that international migration faces two levels of security threats: border control and internal impacts.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the issues of the "borders" in the age of human mobility. Susana deconstructs and reconstructs the concepts of borders in the 21st century. Furthermore, she speaks about the different dimensions of human security and its importance to safeguard human rights. Moving to the second part, the author in chapter 5 presents an overview of the EU's immigration policy, since the late 1970s to date, which focuses on its legal and political framework. Chapter 6 deals with the EU's border management strategies. Chapter 7 investigates the EU's approach to migration management in the Mediterranean. Chapter 8 focuses on the narratives of migration at the EU level. In chapter 9, Susana speaks of the main dimensions of migration management in both Italy and Spain. Chapter 10 focus on the specificities of the southern Mediterranean model, by addressing two specific cases: Ceuta and Mellila in Spain and Lampedusa in Italy.



Chapter 11 presents the conclusion where Susana argues that there should be an economic and humanitarian concern based on the migration management strategy. In this sense, she insists that those policies should consider the number of migrants the country needs and their profile, along with the number of migrants to whom the country can offer shelter in case of emergency based on risk, availability and economic capacity analysis. She conceptualised a model named European Migration Minimum Standards which is designed mostly for the EU considering the specificities of the European migration guidelines and strategies and the challenges it will face in the future (p. 195). Its main aim is to ensure the protection and support the irregular migrants upon arrival to the EU territory.

Besides, she claims that border control and surveillance strategies are effective instruments of early detection and monitoring of irregular movements, and also in the dissuasion of other irregular flows. In this sense, those instruments discourage the use of such routes by the potential migrants, while contributing to the work of security agents in the detection and management of the migration phenomenon at the border. She cites the examples of migrant flow in the Strait of Gibraltar and Canary Islands and advocates the adoption of a border management model to deter as well to curb and steer irregular flows to reduce the number of deaths of migrants towards the EU. This should be done in a way which will consider several dimensions of migration and a set of main contingencies in the development of a common strategy.

This well-versed book is a combination of in-depth empirical research and existing literature on migration and security which enhances our understanding of migration governance and management in the context of European Union with a special emphasis on Italy and Spain. However, Susana does not reflect on other European border regions. Such expansion on the discussion of migration policies would have enriched this book. Overall, this book is likely to be an important source for policymakers and researchers.

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Borders and Mobility in South Asia and Beyond by Reece Jones and Md. Azmeary Ferdoush (eds.), Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, Netherlands, 2018. PP.277, Price: € 99,00 (Hardback), ISBN: 9789462984547

Border studies have been ‘relatively slow to develop in Asia, even though they are of particular importance in the exceptionally multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic social landscapes that characterize much of Asia’ (van Schendel & de Maaker, 2014, p.3) The book under review is an important publication of ‘the series that explores the social, cultural, geographic, economic and historical dimensions of border-making by states, local communities and flows of goods, people and ideas’. The theme of the book, as stated in the title, is the South Asian borders and human mobility, which allows for a broad range of topics. The volume begins with a fundamental research question: “*In an age of global migration, economic flows, and information exchange, how do borders and restrictions on mobility affect the lives of people from South Asia and beyond?*” (p.13). The overarching themes across the chapters are closely related to the multiple issues of the borderlands, and this collection of papers is dealing with the question of how the South Asian people perceive the opportunities and dangers borders create and how they strategise to advance their own social, economic and political interests in opposition to state interests. Borders are not just territorial lines; they are institutions, discourses, and dynamic mental constructs.

The volume is an enjoyable collection of research that ‘seeks to broaden and deepen the story of migration in the twenty-first century by focusing on the experiences of the people from South Asia who have played a significant role in global migrations, but received less attention in academic and media accounts’ (p.11). Indeed, it is an excellent compilation of studies on South Asian borderlands and migrations studies. The essays are contributed by the leading scholars in the fields of Anthropology, Development Studies, English Literature, Geography, History, Migration Studies, Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology based in Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Croatia, India, Japan, and the United States to answer the overarching question of the book: How do borders and restrictions on mobility affect the lives of people



from South Asia and beyond? (p.21). The chapters are of outstanding quality having been subjected to a peer review process by reviewers besides receiving oversight by an expert team of editorial board members led by Tina Harris and Willem van Schendel from the University of Amsterdam, Netherlands.

In their introduction (pp.11-28), the two editors, Reece Jones and Md. Azmeary Ferdoush, explain elaborately the contribution of this book and they divide it into three sections. The first section of the book focuses on the lingering impact of Partition's borders within South Asia by considering how these lines continue to impact the lives of those who live in the borderlands. The second section looks at longer-distance migrations, both within South Asia and to the Middle East and Europe. The third section considers South Asian diasporic experiences in Africa, Europe, and Fiji through literature and historical memory.

In his well-written chapter 1 (pp.31-58), Reece Jones, based on the extensive interviews with the borderland residents of India and Bangladesh, explains the issues of cross-border movements, sovereign state systems, resistance, and spaces of refusals. He analyses how people interact with, talk about and cross the border in their daily lives (p.32). As a 35-year old Indian taxi driver, for instance, told the contributor, 'A few days ago, someone was crossing the border, and they were fired on. The BSF [Border Security Force] shot them. In the border area, if you cross the border secretly and they shoot you, you can't do anything about it. They can kill you.' (p.46). Shahriar, Qian, and Kea (2019) reveal that over the past 18 years (2000–17), India's border security force (BSF) members have killed a total of 1133 Bangladeshi citizens at the Indo-Bangladesh borderlands. Jones terms these killings as 'exceptional violence' because they happen without warning and consequence for the border guards (p. 46). Research indicates that several states including India have constituted the shoot-to-kill policies at the borderlands and the policies are systematic shooting practices employed by border guards against unauthorized border crossers as an official state policy (Oztiğ, 2018). Again, Jones correctly observes: 'The paradox of the borderlands is that the exceptional violence is done in the name of the state but primarily to conduct activities outside the ambit of the state (p.46).

Based upon fieldwork conducted in the Indian Meghalaya and Tripura, in chapter 2, Edward Boyle and Mirza Zulfiqur Rahman examine how the multi-layered infrastructure of border management and governance affects local community interactions and flows of goods, political processes, and cross-border connectivity. The contributors make an investigation into the formal and informal channels of economic exchanges and interactions among the borderlands people. They have particularly examined the nature of the newly introduced border *haats* and found the multi-layered structure of the border management. These border *haats* are specifically designed to allow the local residents on opposite sides of the border to trade with one another for locally-produced goods, primarily agricultural and horticultural produce; the markets are supposed to consist of an equal number of traders from both sides, utilising either side's currency or bartering for goods. Only those residents within 5 km of the *haats* are permitted to trade, and the value of purchases on any given day cannot exceed the equivalent of US\$50 (p. 67). The contributors have asserted that the newly introduced border *haats* is symbolised as New Delhi's [India's] control of the border in the same manner as the fence (p.72). It is to be mentioned that India has a fencing scheme in operation along the Indo-Bangladesh borders.

In chapter 3, Azizul Rasel explains the neglected "micro-narrative" (p.81) of the Adivasi Lushai people living at the Bangladesh-Mizoram borderlands of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh. He reports that colonialism had a significant impact on the Lushai and other Adivasi groups of the CHT, and there has been a large-scale disruption in their ways of life. The colonisers restricted natives' rights to land and free movement (p.85). The author has explained the arbitrary process of the border demarcation in 1947. The demarcation of the border was a complex task for which Sir Cyril Radcliffe being the chairman of the Boundary Commission was given only six weeks. Radcliffe had no background in Indian administration, nor did he have any prior experience of adjudicating border disputes (Shahriar et al., 2019, p.13). As a result, the Chairman and members of the Boundary Commission did not give much thought to Adivasi people, who were neither Muslims nor Hindus, but mostly Buddhists, Christians, or animist (p.85). Perhaps, Azizul Rasel might not be the first one who made these observations. Similar conclusions are drawn in many studies. The case study of Bangladesh's tribal Garos borderland community, for instance, depicts the painful and traumatic experiences of the partition (Bal & Chambugong, 2014).



Kavitha Rajagopalan, in chapter 4, explores how citizenship, identity and belonging affect immigrants in contemporary South Asia, especially in those countries where there is growing inequality and complex migration landscape characterised by rapid urbanisation, political Islamophobia, and inadequate policies on migration and citizenship (p.101). The contributor provides the thought-provoking evidence on the issue of Bangladesh migration when reported as follows:

“Bangladesh has been one of the world’s leading exporters of people, sending an estimated 8.6 million migrants out into the world to date. Demographers now project that Bangladesh will send at least 15 million so-called climate refugees overseas by 2050. Even these numbers are mere guesses; there are no official data on irregular migration in the world today, and total climate refugee projections range from 50 to 200 million. Between 1990 and 1995, Bangladesh sent 1.2 million migrants into the world, and these numbers more than doubled to some 3 million between 2005 and 2010 – outstripping both China and Mexico by more than one million people during this same period. Approximately half of these migrants made their way to the Persian Gulf, primarily to the UAE and Saudi Arabia, and more than 600,000 crossed over into neighbouring India. But during this same time, more than 280,000 Bangladeshis migrated to Southeast Asia, primarily to Malaysia, and nearly 230,000 landed in Europe – more than 60,000 of whom settled in Italy” (p.110).

Using a mixed method approach in chapter 5, Ananya Chakraborty has provided case studies of the undocumented Bangladeshi women engaged in the informal labour market of Maharashtra in India. The chapter lucidly explains the risks, threats, vulnerabilities, and consequences of the undocumented migration. Some key points could be summarised. First, the female migrants often take greater risks than the male migrants do (p.140). In their workplace, the female faces gendered discrimination. Migrant women face vulnerable situations in the process of migration as well as in their country of destination. Such vulnerabilities are mainly characterized by low and uncertain wages, long working hours, deplorable working conditions, the risk of sexually transmitted diseases, sexual harassment, physical and mental abuse, and susceptibility to human trafficking (p.131). Second, the undocumented working women face gender discrimination in their workplace in Maharashtra. Women work longer hours with fewer breaks and less pay than men. ‘Out of the total sample population, only 28.3 per cent of the workers had received overtime payments. Most women had no control over deciding their wages or work schedule’ (p.134). The women have no access to basic labour rights (p.135). They have limited bargaining capacity and fewer social security provisions. Third, the sense of loneliness was strong among most of the women workers who migrated alone or without their families, and most migrants cannot attend to sudden illnesses or deaths in their families in the villages (p.138). Fourth, some women are the victims of the brokers known as *dalals*. Linguistic and cultural barriers are the two of the main problems faced by migrant women (p.138). Fifth, there are changes in women’s attitude because they enjoy much more freedom than their country of origin. Chakraborty argues that the gender gap at both societal and state levels must be reduced to allow all women to determine and choose their livelihoods.

In Chapter 6, Andrea Wright uses ethnographic and archival research conducted in the United Arab Emirates and India to illustrate how the Indian government developed and implemented emigration policies that viewed women as ‘vulnerable subjects’ at risk of trafficking (p.145). The contributor analyses the way migration of Indians to the Arabic-speaking Persian Gulf happens and looks at how workers find a job in the Gulf. The author observes that the recruiting agents are gendered spaces, and act as middlemen between companies in the Gulf and potential employees who are mostly unskilled or semi-skilled workers (p.147). She details the recruiting process of the poorly educated Indian women to the Gulf, who migrate through illegal means and ‘participate in sex work for financial gain’. (p.149). The study considers the horrific experience of trafficked women as signs of systematic and prevalent abuse (p.153).

Based on life histories and face-to-face interviews, James Weir and Rohullah Amin in their chapter 7 tells the story of Akbar, a young Afghan man who left Kabul during the summer of 2015 to escape war and poverty and in search of a new life anywhere far from Afghanistan (pp.167-168). The contributors document the family’s role in the decision and preparations, Akbar’s experiences in transit, and his circumstances in Germany (P.170). Crossing Iran, Turkey, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary and Austria, it took Akbar 93 days to



reach Germany. Akbar's family narratives nakedly reveal how difficult life they led during the Cold War and the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan.

Akbar's parents experienced the refugee lives during the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan and cold war. In his traumatic journey, Akbar had encountered both financial losses (\$6815, p. 178) and physical torture like beating by the Bulgarian police. The authors find that despite four decades of nearly continuous conflict, there is no indication of a political or peaceful resolution in the foreseeable future (p.173). The authors conclude the chapter by arguing that contemporary Afghan refugees need to be understood in reference to the duration of their national historical experience with conflict and displacement, and provide the warning that the decision to deport large numbers of Afghans from European countries will further destabilise the volatile political circumstances in Afghanistan (p.181).

Marta Zorko, in chapter 8, details how the militarisation, securitisation, and hardening of borders in Europe influenced all types of migration and changed the perception of migrants from many different regions of the world. He also analyses how hardening the regimes of border security led to militarisation; and the securitisation and militarisation of the refugee crisis in everyday discourse (p.200). Explaining the geopolitical patterns of migration, this work concludes that 'the refugee crisis also led to a redefinition of laws, practices, and mechanisms in the European Union' (p.200)

In their ethnographic accounts, Malini Sur and Masja van Meeteren provide a picture of struggles of the Bangladeshi men to integrate into Belgium society. They migrated to Belgium following the World War II. The authors suggest that not only macro demographic demands but also the uncertain circumstances under which people move and are compelled to make a living, make questions of integration critical to the Social Sciences (p.208). The undocumented Bangladeshis are struggling in Belgium for paperwork, by which the author refers to 'the processes that facilitate and impede people's integration in Europe' (p. 209). Initially, the migrants were welcomed as 'guest' (p.210) because of the labour shortages. But since the 1970s, due to the economic downturn, the policies of Belgium changed and with time the immigrants began to lose their status from being a 'guest' to an 'unwanted alien'.

In chapter 10, Riddhi Shah analyses Gunvantrai Poptabhai Acharya's *Dariyalal*, a novel that 'tells us what happened in reality'. It explains the slave trading of the "Siddi community," crossing the Indian Ocean to East Africa. The contributors conclude that by imagining the involvement of the community in the slave trade, Acharya narrates a much more cosmopolitan history of systematic oppression (p.245).

In the final chapter, Tana Trivedi attempts to understand the notions of borders, home, and belonging of the Indo-Fijians through the poetry of Sudesh Mishra, a contemporary Indo-Fijian-Australian poet. By investigating the nature of memory, post-memory, and identity in diaspora, Trivedi discusses the British colonial history of the Indian indentured labourer who arrives in Fiji in the late 19th century. The journey was a 'never-ending journey of tyranny, disillusionment, and despair' (p.251). The notions of borders, memories, citizenships, dislocations, diaspora, homes, belongings, and identities are explained through the narration of the poems. As Trivedi has observed, 'When a community becomes diasporic, everything moves, including memories. The memories of a diasporic community also travel with them, becoming displaced from the point of origin and altering with time and space.' (p.260). The stories of dislocations and pain are transferred from the older to newer Indo-Fijians, a process termed by the contributor as the intergenerational transfer of memories (p.254).

In the concluding chapter (267-274), the Editors considers what is seen as the contemporary issues of the border studies and asks how the volume might contribute to the wider debates in the scholarship of borders, history, nations, and States. The editors of the volume restated the research question raised at the outset of the book, and explains the way the book 'sheds light on how people experience and negotiate borders in their daily lives, how borders restrict human mobility, how certain movements are branded as legal, and others are not, and how borders influence the diasporic population of South Asia'. They summarise the main arguments and draw attention to the three answers. First, despite the hardened and violent nature of the borders, the people find new ways to move by often ignoring the rules of the state and border regimes. The hardening of borders is evident in South Asia, where barbed wire fences, floodlights, and aggressive security forces patrol borders (p.269). The cross-border population movements have now become now riskier, more dangerous and challenging. Second, the experience of migration is often gendered as people face different challenges based



on societal norms, beliefs, gender, ethnicity, formal and informal rules, economic gains, vulnerabilities, internal political situations and global externalities. Third, diaspora populations continue their struggle to survive at the global level. In this way, the volume contributes to a growing body of scholarship that demonstrates that bordering and borderwork do not only happen at borders but also at many locations within and beyond the territory of the state (p.269).

What has been left out in the book? I would like to point out to the fact that the volume largely fails to address the issue of the 'stateless' people and their transborder mobilities in and beyond South Asia. The editors could have planned to include a chapter focusing on Bangladesh's Rohingya community because the Rohingya refugee crisis has become a global burning issue. In recent years, more than 500,000 Rohingyas fled from Myanmar to neighbouring countries. In its August 2017 report, the Advisory Commission on Rakhine State, chaired by the former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, provides a comprehensive set of recommendations to achieve lasting peace and prosperity in Rakhine (Annan, August 2017). A total of 33,131 registered Rohingya refugees are living in two registered camps in Cox's Bazar, and up to 80,000 additional refugees are housed in nearby makeshift camps (Milton et al., 2017). The Rohingya problems have significant cross-border ramifications for the South and South-East Asian countries in general, and Bangladesh in particular. The Rohingya have long been the residents (currently about 400–500 thousand) of Myanmar, and now a large in number (about 1.3 million) live in Cox's Bazar, a south-eastern district of Bangladesh. Based on his recent ethnographic fieldwork in Bangladesh, Uddin (2019) examines a group of 'stateless' Rohingya living in Myanmar and Bangladesh beneath the intricate relations of migration, statelessness and vulnerability. There are many dimensions regarding the stateless people in South Asia, especially the Rohingya (Alam, 2018; Fair, 2018; Haque, 2017; Hutchinson, 2017; Kyaw, 2017; A. K. M. Ahsan Ullah, 2011, 2016; A. K. M. Ahsan Ullah & Chatteraj, 2018).

The richness of the volume resides in the very diverse origin of its authors, from a multi-disciplinary as well as from a geographical point of view, and in the capacity of its editors to have allowed for the intellectually fruitful collaboration of committed and young scholars. The editors and the contributors are due to the appreciations of their colleagues for the well-researched work excellently done. It is a highly commendable work. Studies of borderland and mobile people in general are not a priority area in South Asian scholarship. This book will go some way to fill that research gap. In all, this is a fine collection of papers, well put together and with a general thematic coherence. Finally, the editors as well as the contributors deserve to be congratulated.

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Migration, Refugees and Human Security in the Mediterranean and MENA edited by Marion Boulby and Kenneth Christie, Palgrave Macmillan (2018, ISBN: 978-3319707747).

The intensification of political, social, and economic problems at the regional and global level has displayed the necessity of adopting a people-centred approach to security, i.e. human security while emphasising on human rights and interests which are severely undervalued by the international community since the 1990s. The need for human security has remained to grow in the 21st century, especially after the Arab Spring, which has been initiated with the demands for political transformation and reforms in Tunisia and spread out to other countries in the region, has resulted in increasing insecurity and violence in the region as well as displacement of substantial amount of people by creating a dramatic humanitarian crisis.

This edited book aims at analyzing the migration and refugee crisis occurring in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region in the post-Arab Spring period on the basis of the concept of human security while dealing with how these events have affected the receiving states such as Jordan and also increased the anti-immigrant sentiments as well as human rights violations. In order to do so, the book addresses three significant questions such as what are the human security implications for refugees and immigrants regarding the migrant and refugee crisis while taking into account differences of the current crisis from the former ones, what are the pull/push factors of immigration and also how have the conflicts in the countries in the region impressed the crisis as well as national and regional policies on immigration. While dealing with these questions above, the book is separated into three parts in which authors assess migration and human security in the 21st century, analyses case studies and specifies the future of migration and human security in the region.

The theoretical framework of the book is based on the concept of human security. In the first chapter, the author builds the theoretical framework of the book while mentioning the development of the concept as well as offering a brief overview of the crisis while taking into account the impact of the Arab Spring in the MENA region. In the second chapter, the author discusses ad hoc policies of some countries in the region such as Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan while paying special attention to the Syrian crisis and neighbouring countries' and the EU's responses. Before starting her analysis of her selected countries, she reviews the emergence of the Middle East region as a conceptual space and offers a brief insight into the internal dynamics of the region. Furthermore, she presents substantial information about the legal aspect as well as statistical data about countries, which illustrates that the displacement of people has been one of the most important problems emerging in the region.

Moreover, she puts forward significant knowledge about Turkey as a country hosting the largest amount of Syrian refugees while giving information about the historical background and also the country's response to the crisis. In chapter 3, Manion presents a global overview of the vulnerability of children and youth throughout the different stages of a crisis such as pre-departure, during the journey and in-transit, in resettlement, and at the time of return. She also analyses international legal provisions and international



society engaged in the protection of child refugees while indicating her opinions for bolstering the effectiveness of these systems.

In the second part Chapter 4, Perham argues that pull and push factors as well as dynamics of forced displacement. In this chapter, the author also examines how global response to the crisis has been quite weak as negative perceptions towards refugees and immigrants have increased in some countries in Europe such as Hungary and Bulgaria and how they have pursued restrictive policies and practices. Taking Uganda as an example, she put social cohesion forwards as a new solution for alleviating the crisis since it is perceived as more self-reliant and empowering (97-8). In chapter 5, Rutz introduces the “bottom-up” approach to human security and looks into the role of non-state actors for underpinning human security and their interaction with other non-state actors regarding their aims of fulfilling the needs left by states. Accordingly, the author examines the occupied Palestinian Territories as a case study while addressing issues of emigration, bad governance, and the involvement of substantial non-state actors. In the next chapter, the author analyses the legal/humanitarian dilemma regarding “the right to intervene” and “the responsibility to protect” in the example of the Syrian crisis. Köprülü indicates that international actors mainly choose to follow the principle of non-intervention while complying with the right to sovereignty, but this attitude might not hinder crisis from happening as it happened in Syria (150). While mentioning the regional and global implications of the crisis, she evaluates responses of the EU and the UN and their limitations concerning their failures to pursue effective policies guaranteeing human security.

In the third part Chapter 7, Boulby explores challenges to human security experienced by Syrian refugees residing in Jordan. To comprehend those challenges, she reviews restrictive measures carried out by the regime such as border closure, forced repatriation, and encampment and also regime policies which are perceived as mainly driven by security interests of the state rather than the protection of refugees. As she discusses the EU’s and the US’ policies by taking into account their aims of supporting the country’s stability and security in the region, she points out the need for a new approach encouraging protection of refugees and immigrants. In the next chapter, the author delves into the connection between the private sector, human trafficking, and refugees in the MENA region. While dealing with the question of how private sector could hinder proliferation of forced labour in the region, he asserts strategies and recommendations for upholding human rights and following anti-human trafficking policy to handle issues of human trafficking and smuggling. In Chapter 9, Baptista examines the EU’s policy responses to the crisis and offers a general overview since 2015. She criticises the EU’s policies as a systemic failure and considers them as ineffective for failing short to protect the security of refugees but instead focusing on hindering the refugee influx and preserving the security of the EU and its member states.

Authors in this edited book acquire to put forward substantial information about national and regional policies changing due to the refugee and migration crisis in the region. Especially, chapters seven and nine focusing on two substantial actors, i.e. Jordan and the EU, offer significant insight into these two cases while analysing how their responses have transformed over time. However, even though the second chapter discusses policies of selected countries such as Egypt, Lebanon, and Turkey, it might be better to put more focus on Turkey and Lebanon as two prominent actors hosting almost 4.5 million refugees in their countries so as to present a more elaborate picture of the issue. In this way, the book might provide more information about how the EU’s responses have changed over time based on its relations with these countries, especially with Turkey while paying attention to the EU- Turkey deal of 2016.

The book makes a significant contribution to the analysis of human security challenges as well as implications for immigrants and refugees in the MENA region in the post-Arab Spring period. Authors attain to present a general overview of responses of regional countries and the EU as well as the international community while also paying attention to the relevance of non-state actors for ensuring the security of refugees and immigrants.

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21 Lessons for the 21st Century by Yuval Noah Harari. New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2018, 372 pp. ISBN: 978-1787330672.

Typically, book reviews describe and discuss a complete manuscript, be it authored or edited. Such reviews focus on books that have a central theme which is explored from complementary perspectives, by means of case studies from specific countries or areas, or by applying different research methods. These reviews may at times be critical or supportive of the entire book or evaluate its various parts in different ways. In any case, they provide readers with comprehensive information on the entire contents of the work in question.

Occasionally, however, there is a justification to share with students of a given scientific discipline a review of a single chapter or only part of a voluminous book that looks at the *longue durée* of world history or discusses wide social, economic, and political issues. This is especially true if the author is a world-renowned historian and intellectual. Such a person is Yuval Noah Harari, he of *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind* and *Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow* and such a book is his recently released *21 Lessons for the 21st Century*. One of the topics that Harari has chosen to tackle in his new work, meaning that he considers it of significant importance, is immigration. Over some twenty pages, Harari presents his thoughts on the sociocultural and identity challenges of host societies, mainly European, and of immigrants as individuals and groups who wish to settle permanently in their new countries.

Harari concerns himself with three major components—what he calls “conditions” or “terms”—of immigration: immigration policy, immigrants’ acculturation, and citizenship. To a large extent, the stance of members of the host society toward immigration policy generates expectations and assessments of the other two components. One stance endorses free, legal, and non-selective immigration; it rests on a liberal worldview, pan-human solidarity, and the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of controlling migration. The other stance is antipodal: with the exception of refugees from cruel oppression and mortal peril, immigration should be restrained by cramped quotas, tidally implemented and accessible only to people whom the country wishes to host. This perception recognises every country’s right to maintain its national or religious identity. Countries may sometimes adopt an intermediate policy of opening its borders to foreign workers whom the local economy needs while denying them legal status.

Once they have entered their new country, immigrants embark on the second phase of adjusting to local social and cultural patterns. The extent of this process and its interplay between concession and maintenance of particular traditions, however, are still negotiated. Proponents of immigration postulate that Europe’s human diversity and its ideals of liberalism and tolerance should be extended equally to newly arrived immigrants, who should, therefore, enjoy far-reaching cultural freedom provided they do not breach nonimmigrants’ rights and threaten their safety. Opponents of migration emphasise the shared national and cultural values that mould a group of people into a defined nation, be it German, Swedish, or British. Adducing from this given, they argue that immigrants, especially in large numbers, who do not embrace the customs of the host society threaten the local collective identity particularly and the European one generally. Notably, by affirming the possibility of change in mentality and behaviour, be it at a modest or a strong pace and voluntarily or by pressure, they assume that differences between people are not biological but cultural.

Be this as it may, if immigrants make sincere efforts to acculturate to the local culture, it follows that the host country should grant them equal rights. Yet the adjustment may be gradual and lengthy. The timescale varies commensurate with the strength of one’s support or rejection of immigration; hence it may last for years or even generations. Moreover, immigrants and host societies have different concepts of time (“personal” time and “collective” time, respectively), creating the potential of frustration and tension. Especially dire in this respect is the plight of immigrants’ second- and third-generation offspring—who were already born in the host country, socialised among peers whose ancestors have been in the country for generations, but still viewed by their surroundings as strangers.

Not only do the two parties, the host country and the immigrants, disagree about the terms of the deal, they also dispute the extent to which each side fulfils them. Anti-immigrationists tend to argue that as immigrants do not make real attempts to integrate into the new environment (Term 2), host countries should



not grant them equal rights and citizenship (Term 3). Under such circumstances and in light of this unsuccessful experience, they continue, the country should weigh the option of barring immigrants (of given origin or ethnic background) *ab initio* (Term 1). Pro-immigrationists, affirming that the newly arrived do make sincere attempts to adjust, hold the host country at fault for breaching the agreement and continuing to discriminate against newcomers. Those of this school then conclude that European countries should continue to allow immigration (Term 1), paving the way for the newly arrived to adjust to the local culture one way or another (Term 2) and imploring the host population to try harder to treat them and their children as equal citizens (Term 3). They suspect host societies of imbalance in judging immigrants' success in fulfilling the terms, especially in the weights that these societies use in finding immigrants in compliance or violation of the law. Namely, a deviation from respectable and law-abiding behaviour by one immigrant or a small number of immigrants, particularly in an extreme way (as in an act of terrorism), may be interpreted by some in the host society, although not by all, as a collective violation of the terms of the deal by all immigrants. Similarly, a single incident of discrimination or hatred of a local toward an immigrant may be viewed by immigrants as reflecting rejection by the entire host society.

Perhaps unintentionally Harari portrays a testing framework to which demographers and sociologists may apply quantitative data. Such a model would view immigration policy as the paramount explanatory (independent) factor in immigrants' acculturation into the host society (the dependent variable). Harari, in my judgment, sees "policy" not only as the host country's philosophy or official juridical stance toward immigrant absorption (among options, in the scientific literature on migration and ethnicity, of assimilation, multiculturalism, and separation, or a continuum from hostility to support) (the contextual macro level), but also as local inhabitants' subjective attitudes toward the absorption of foreigners. A regression model of a survey aimed at assessing the integration of immigrants and their children would have to incorporate external measurements of immigrant integration policy such as those of MIPLEX, as well as data from independent surveys among the local population on their views toward immigration to their country. Since Harari suggests that a given country's receptivity environment is likely to vary according to the immigrants' origin country or religio-ethnic affiliation, it is important to introduce these immigrant characteristics as control variables. In the second phase, in addition to immigration policy variables, immigrants' adaptation should be introduced as an explanatory factor for a new dependent variable: the extent to which immigrants feel at home in their new country and their subjective perception of enjoying equal rights. According to Harari, an important determinant of such feelings is veterancy—the length of stay—in the destination country. Thus, this variable should be included on the left side of the multivariate equation. Interaction terms of policy with veterancy should yield insights on the nexus that Harari proposes between support/rejection of immigration and the time that immigrants need to gain acceptance as ordinary full citizens.

Harari, a historian, seeks in this book to clarify some of the grand challenges of our time. For scholars of international migration, he provides much more than that in a rather short but well-structured and coherent chapter. It is incumbent on us to confront this scheme, examine it empirically, and try to answer some of the important questions that it raises for our discipline.

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