

Pioneers of European Integration: Citizenship and Mobility in the EU

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Reviewed by Mikael Hellstrom
Department of Political Science, University of Alberta
mikaelh@ualberta.ca

Ever since the economic treaties that facilitated worker migration of the 1960s, free movement of people has been a central part of the political construct that is now known as the EU. Evaluating the consequences of this political framework can therefore be argued to be central for the understanding of the effects of the Union. As such, the study *Pioneers of European Integration: Citizenship and Mobility in the EU* investigates the internal migration in the EU and is thus a welcome contribution to the discussion about European citizenship and belonging.

It primarily focuses on the migration between the five most populous member-states of the EU 15, those members who were a part of the union before the expansion eastwards. It is based on the European Internal Movers Social Survey (EIMSS), presenting evidence from a project funded by the European Commission during the years 2003-2006. The study asks to what extent people move between these countries, who the movers are, why they move, how they experience this move and how the migratory experience affects feelings of belonging to country of origin, country of residence and the European Union writ large.

Traditionally, migration is often said to be motivated by the hope that it is possible to build a better life for oneself or one's children than would have been the possible to achieve in the country of origin. Exploring to what extent EU-mobility conforms to this explanatory model can reveal much about the intentional or unintentional effects of the free movement policies of the Union.

The volume starts with a survey of the demographics of the movers: their educational level, their age at the time of migration and duration of residence. It manages to present four primary categories of movers. The first are the late traditional movers who moved during the earlier eras of free movement in Europe. The second are more recent migrants, moving at a later age, labelled as the pre-retirement movers. The third is the younger middle aged group of movers who have moved while in the early stages of the career, the so called Eurostars. The fourth category of people migrated at a more advanced age and is classified as pure retirement movers. The book then moves on to deal with motivations for moving and identifies three main motivations for migrating during the past 30 years; work-related mobility, moving for affective reasons and the wish to live in a better social and naturalist environment. This finding challenges the traditional explanation for migration.

The study also explores the question of potential social mobility among migrants. It finds that while movers are disproportionately represented in the upper classes, their class origins do not substantially differ from those of stayers, nor can it be said that the action of migrating generally speaking significantly impacts upwards social ability very much for the studied populations.

The experiences of living across cultures in the EU are also probed. It finds that, generally, migrants have bigger personal networks of non-nationals than nationals, but also that many of the movers have acquired good skills in the language of the country of residence. They also seem to be happier than stayers, particularly if they enjoy their place of residence. The author concludes that these migrants are discerning transnationals who do what they can to get the best from both worlds.

Questions about group identification among movers are addressed to inquire about whether migrants feel more loyal towards country of origin, country of residence or the EU, finding that migrating Western Europeans often identify more strongly with the EU than stayers and that they know more about these institutions. This has implications for the future building of legitimacy for the European Union. Similarly, political behaviour is commonly seen as important to the social integration of immigrants and this volume addresses the issue by discussing the voting behaviour among movers. It concludes that these migrants maintain a relatively high interest in politics, leaning primarily to the political left with some antipathy towards economic liberalism, while still being committed to cultural liberalism and universalistic values.

EU as a common information space is discussed, which is interesting given that media markets have become increasingly porous, allowing new waves of migrants unprecedented access to country of origin media outlets. It concludes that movers are using the wide variety of media from several national contexts and cannot be seen as entirely integrated in either the media space of the country of origin, nor of that of the country of residence.

The volume ends with a look at conditions for movers from the newly acceded Eastern European countries, specifically Poles and Romanians. Unlike the others, this chapter is built primarily on a qualitative study using semi-structured interviews, though it asks similar questions about reasons for moving, belonging and social mobility. It finds that interviewees might consider themselves materially better off in the country of residence than in the country of origin, but that they also seem relegated to a position within a secondary labour market in comparison to Westerners. If not addressed in some capacity, this waste of human capital has some serious implications for the long term integration of Europe as an area of free movement.

As mentioned, the volume is based heavily on the quantitative EIMSS database, which means that the methodological questions surrounding any quantitative work can be asked in relation to this effort as well. The accompanying appendix presents a comprehensive discussion of such matters, giving interested researchers insight into the limitations of sampling and fielding procedures as well as how evaluation was conducted, and what implications these matters might have for the interpretation of results.

The volume does present a range of interesting observations that can provide ample fodder for future research questions to the migration patterns in Europe, but also with regards to migratory patterns in an increasingly globalized world writ large. For instance, the study notes that new categories of migrants include those who move for reasons for an improved social or natural environment, which stands out as a markedly different rationale for the traditional narrative of the migrant. Does this imply that contemporary migration can be or even should be studied in terms of materialist or post-materialist values? Are the latter values now gaining increasing salience not only for political choices on a national and global level, but also for migratory flows? If so, could the EU, which was originally organized as an economic community, which stands out as a around relatively a narrow materialist framework of freedom of movement for labourers and goods, now be seen as a project with profound post-materialist implications?

Similarly, the media habits of movers indicate a positioning between the media of the country of origin and the country of residence, which exposes how strong the ties remain between contemporary media and the nation-state frame. This is hardly surprising; many national media outlets were founded as state owned broadcasting services, fitting neatly into the nation-building efforts of the early 20th century and facilitating the construction of that imagined community. However, in a social context where the nation-state becomes increasingly porous and even to some extent questioned in terms of whether it should remain the main platform of identity, it might be interesting to raise questions about the continued relevance of this frame for media services. Indeed, if the EU wishes to continue to build its legitimacy, establishing transnational media outlets might be a way to facilitate the creation of a transnational European identity, if issues such as language could be solved.

Regardless of the answers to these questions, it seems that this strange, and even unique, political entity that is the European Union, continues to give us cause to challenge old assumptions about migration, identity and belonging.