

BOOK REVIEWS

Around the book: *Crossing and Controlling Borders. Immigrations Policies and their Impact on Migrants Journeys – 2011*

Review by Lia POP

The book **Crossing and Controlling Borders. Immigrations Policies and their Impact on Migrants Journeys**¹ is a collection of the case studies resulted from a project design to cover the topic underlined in the title: borders regimes and migrants. As consequence, each study is meant to debate a particular aspect of the general topic. Their concrete analyses, as it was assumed by the individual and small collectives of researchers, results from the *Table of Content*².

¹ *** **Crossing and Controlling Borders. Immigrations Policies and their Impact on Migrants Journeys**, Eds. Mechthild Baumann, Astrid Lorenz, Kersin Rosenow (Eds) issued at Budrisch UniPress, Ltd Opladen & Farmington Hills, MI 2011, ISBN 978-3-940755-76-6 and it have 330 pages,

² The **Content** – with all the aspects of the topic covered - is:

Linking Immigration Policies and Migrants Journeys . An Interdisciplinary Endeavor by Mechthild Baumann, Astrid Lorenz, Kersin Rosenow

Part One: Linkages between National and European Migration Policies and their Impacts on Migrants Journeys

Reinventing Europe Borders: Delocalization and Externalization of the EU Migration Control through Involvement of the Third Countries by Sandra Gil Araujo

Success of Second Glance: Regularization of Irregular Migrants in Spain by Axel Krigenbrink

"It 's been the best journey of my life". Governing Migration and Strategies of Migrants at Europe s Borders : Morocco by Gerda Heck

The Senegalese Predicament . Migration From Senegal to Europe: Policies Control, and Implementation by Florence Tsague Assopgoum

Dead End for Migrants? The Europeanization of Ukraine Migration, by Marianne Hasse

I. Some introductory remarks

The volume structure is: an **Introduction**; **Part One: Linkages between national and European Migration Policies and their impacts on migrants journeys**; **Part Two: Experiences from US Migrations Regime**; **Part Three :”Illegally” Discourse and Spaces of Political**; **Part IV: and the Conclusions**. The structure suggests that the book planners had the ambition of a volume with a geometrical architecture in three parts. (The core content is respecting the exigencies of a symmetric formula. It is comprising: Theoretical approaches, Study cases in Europe, Study cases in the US and the political discourse and on “illegal migrants”. It is preceded by an *Introduction* and ends up into *Conclusions*.) The geometry is blurred by too long titles; by the metaphorical titles preferred for *Introduction* and *Conclusions*. It is also a little bit confusing for the reader that the specific part *Conclusions* look like as a subchapter of Part IV.

To reach the real geometrical structure, a deep internal symmetry is requested. At minimum level, the exigencies of such a structure are: a) the *Parts* must prove an obvious equilibrium (at least, comparable parts divisions³); b) the set of the issues raised in the articles - devoted to the same major problem- must be comparable; c) the extent of the articles proposed in each Part must be symmetrical; d) the perspectives in interpreting the reality of migration⁴ must be

Turkey at the Crossroads between the Middle East and the EU: Changing Border Control and Security Policies by Basak Bilecen –Suoglu

Part Two. Experiences from US Migrations Regime

Undocumented Immigration between the US and Mexico: The Complex Development of Militarized Borders and Social Responses by Avital Block and Ma. Alejandra Rocha Silva
Evaluation US Recent Migration Policy. What Mexican Migrants can Tell Us? By Wayne Cornelius

Economic Policies Matter. Incentives that Drives Mexican North Ward by Katleen Staudt and Sergio Garcia Rios

Part Three: ”Illegally” Discourses and Spaces of the Political

Caught into Mobility: An Ethnographic Analysis of the context of Knowledge Production in Southeast Europe by Sabine Hass

The Limits of Hospitality. Undocumented Migration and the Local Arena: The Case of Lampedusa by Heidrun Friese

Unintended Effects of Immigration Policies for Government and Migrants. Conclusions by Mechthild Baumann, Astrid Lorenz, Kersin Rosenow

³ The less sophisticated way of respond to such a requirement is to appeal to equal numbers of studies in each division, and with quite the same extent for each study.

⁴ A minimal presentation of the political discourse on migration as a biased discourse - would be appropriate. With such a bit of theory the Part I would be more comprehensive.

also symmetrical – symmetries of the theories of migration –; e) the number of cases collected from the EU and US must be at least comparable, if not similar; f) the political discourses on “illegality” must cover EU as well as US; g) the *Introduction* and the *Conclusions* must be in an obvious equilibrium in contents and formulas (issues raised with the solutions discovered or figured by the researcher); h) the *References* recommended in the *Introduction* (or at least part of them) and also the basic theory proposed by the editors must be a compulsory part of any study.

The printed form of the project - as the *Content* of book - unveils a failure to reach such standards. It also failed in using common literature and common concepts. Foucault is far away from the majority of the case studies.

But, what the collective succeeded is to respond to high standards in conceiving, documenting and writing some of their individual work. Each published study fulfilled epistemological exigencies⁵ of a written academic text.

The fundamentals of the researches are to be welcomed for their specific contribution in unveiling the practical and theoretical damages nurtured in the replacement of the individual actors with an imagined *collective actor* and with an imaginative and biased political discourse (empathy with the migrants position); in the rejection of the drawing of the borders regimes without the field analyzes .

The book thesis is : “*The comprehensive domestic security does not result from the cumulative effects of the strengthening of the borders’ control and with the policies of deterring the migrants to get in the destination countries.*” In spite of the claiming of the current Rightist political discourse , the strengthening the borders control and the deterring the migrants attempts to reach a more promising labor market cause only a more longer and more dramatic journey for the individual migrants. (In some cases, some individual journey became dramatic or even tragic events.)

The theory in **Crossing and Controlling Borders...** is devoted to offer a basis to compare the EU and the US policies in illegal migration management. It provides case studies from EU and US.

The philosophy of methodology is an interdisciplinary one, as the initiators

⁵It is looking for a broader context in defining the problem; it is guided by a central concept; and it is not pushing for a “constructive” solution and imposing resolution, but for an adequate way of understanding the process.

announce⁶ it, at the very beginning .

All the studies are to be remarked by the mastering of the method of a qualitative analysis; by an obvious familiarity with the topics; by a capacity of interpreting the facts in broad perspective . To a reader with philosophical sensitivity , it is obvious that, for at least one of the contributions, the perspective is nurtured in a philosophical culture, with specific devotions to the philosophy of Foucault⁷, to his coined concept of "*conduire les conduites*" . It is the case of the second article.

The concrete methods differs with the type of articles: for the theoretical approach – focused on an in-depth analysis of literature, on the defining basic concepts, on the new hypothesis launched- the methods are appropriate for theory ; for the field studies, they are harmonized with the requested ways of data collections in ethnography . Some of them, open the windows for the appeal to the political and normative frameworks. The field studies make use either of the direct empirical data collected by the authors, either by a secondary empirical data collection provided by prestigious international organizations – as UN or YOM – or by the validated national data.

The *References* of each article are updated, specific, and large. But, not all the articles contain references and pay enough attention to the political and normative framework which regulate the field; they did not comprise the normative and political references, despite the evidences, that the laws and norms on illegal migration management are the main topic in the study.

II. The book *Introduction* and Theoretical approaches on the Immigration Policies to Illegal migrants and the Migrant Journey

A.

In the introductory chapter of the book, the editors build the perspectives of the inquiries (the philosophies). They also precise the topics which are to be scrutinized, and the specific areas of interest. They also select the main concepts and recommend the methods in researches.

The concepts proposed by the editors are designed to fill the theoretical

⁶Mechthild Baumann, Astrid Lorenz, Kersin Rosenow - *Linking Immigration Policies and Migrants Journeys . An Interdisciplinary Endeavor* in the volume **Crossing and Controlling Borders**. ... p. 9.

⁷ Foucault is directly quoted in the first article – p. 23 - with a book *Security, Territory, Populations*. Lectures at College du France 1977-1978.



gap⁸ between two rocks. The first is the field research approach, expressed in multiple descriptions, a non-conceptual story on migration (focused on individual migrants or on their medium and small groups associated as a collective actor). With its focus in a large diversity of cases, the descriptive way of working is creating difficulties in comparing and synthesizing a set of ideas ready to produce practical recommendations for decision makers and for the global society as a whole. The field's researches should direct their conclusions to a conceptual construction, to a Weberian ideal-type of Migrants' Journey in our case, a concept ready to help the policy making process.

The second rock is that the theories and reflections operate with an artificial concept of migration, migration as a concept for a *collective movement*, coherent and persistent, without peculiarities diverging case by case. According with the mentioned authors, the migration institutions and regimes are based on a such forged concept as collective and invariable movement. (It is – in the main cases - the fundament of the policies in border regimes; it is the core of the norms enforced by the receiving countries.) Or, an effective policy should operate with the reality, in our case with its diversity.

In brief, it is to admit- according to the authors - that the main fault in the process of looking for reasons in projecting migration policies is to define the migration concept. It is relying on the assertion that the migrants are a definite, perpetual and quasi-homogenous group.

In reality, the migration's concept must encompass the individuals' attempts and general flows of people in search for a better life; the movement from the poorest to the richest countries/places in the world; the flexible and increasing number of people with extremely different national and ethnic roots, and directed to very different countries all around the world, with extremely variable political regime of migration. It is also to admit that each of the migrants is individually deciding its own journeys.

The border regime and the other policies against "illegal" migrants instead of being a way to temperate migration flows in correspondence with the social conditions in the destination country, it is only a new obstacle in the migrant

⁸ See the introductory study, signed by Mechthild Baumann, Astrid Lorenz, Kersin Rosenow (Eds) - *Linking Immigration Policies and Migrants Journeys. An Interdisciplinary Endeavor*, in **Crossing and Controlling Borders. Immigrations Policies and their Impact on Migrants Journeys**, (2011) Budrisch UniPress, Ltd Opladen & Farmington Hills, MI 2011, 2011 ISBN 978-3-940755-76-6, ... , p.11.

journeys, not a factor to determinate the renouncement.

In continuity of the authors' thesis, and in order to comply with the reality, it is to accept – theoretically and politically – that a *collective actor* in migration is emerging aside the individual adventures . It emerges in response to the restrictive political institutions, laws, policies and borders procedures (also supported by political discourse on "illegality"). A more restrictive border regime will end up in the new segmentation in the countries of destinations. (The last one could be the segmentations among the people in solidarity – passive or active – with the migrants, and the people in adversity to them.⁹) The new restrictions and rejections will results in much more coherence and persistence in the aggregation and solidarities across the illegal migrants, in their transformation in collective actor with the self coordination and strategy. The worst (dangerous) result will be the entering of the migrants in the networks mastered, directed (even to criminal acts) and exploited by the traffickers.

Refusing to act on the main causes of migrations (of the economic migration)¹⁰ – the extreme poverty at home and the economic injustice at the global scale - will determine new development of the migrants collective actors in the destination and transit countries. In the political field, it could produce new unattended and unintended effects.

The editors test the hypothesis as: a) that the real actors in migrations process are not the definite and homogenous group / groups; b) that the migration is not a social process; and c) that the laws, policies, and public institutions which are operating with such inexistent entities jeopardize their opportunity to be effective in the enforcement process .

The real actors are not abstract entities, but concrete human beings which are acting as individuals, according to their own incentives, interests, preferences. The migration is an individual choice of the migrant, in spite of the attempts to deter him/her . The policies designed to influence / to control migrants' behavior are of limited use, because the migrants take such policies as circumstances/ obstacles which are to be over-passed by new smarter strategies.

⁹ In case of Romania, a movie, *Morgen* by the filmmaker Marian Crisan in 2010, based on a reality case, is illustrating a case of grass root solidarity between a Romanian peasant and Turk peasant illegal migrant, unable to verbally communicating.

¹⁰ The political refugees and the asylum seekers represent a tiny part of the total contemporary migration flows and they are viewed as humanitarian case in the public discourse and in the public opinion.

Commenting the basic thesis, it is to question:

a) if the real actors are individuals hazardously acting in following exclusively individual incentives, interests, preferences ... and¹¹ ... illusions or are they the best responses to promotional campaigns (active recruitments efforts) in the origin countries now or in the other times ...;

or b) if the process of migration does not involve the collective actors as migrants, as the entrepreneurs; as the Unions; as media players; as public policy makers and takers, as the general public as well.

The domain of research is politics of borders control, in EU and US. It is an applied political science¹² collections of studies, resulted by two consecutive workshops, guided by editors hypothesis, and followed by individual field's researches. As political science product, they are looking to the effectiveness of the public policy in the field. They try to provide some basis to compare the EU strategies and policies the US ones. They criticize the approach for the presumptions far away from the reality itself.

III. Illustrative case-studies

A) EU case' studies

To illustrate the largest part of the volume, **Part two** two articles have been selected. The first one is: Sandra Gil Araujo - *Reinventing Europe Borders: Delocalization and Externalization of the EU Migration Control through Involvement of the Third Countries*¹³.... The second one is Gerda Heck - "It s been the best journey of my life". *Governing Migration and Strategies of Migrants at Europe s Borders* : Morocco.

In the article *Reinventing Europe Borders: Delocalization and Externalization*, the author starts with the thesis that, after the 70s, three main

¹¹ *It is to adapt science to reality and to add to the general locus communis used by scientific literature in explaining the migrant endeavor, new dimensions. At first glance, two pull factors to be added are: the personal and family illusions on the net and endless sustainable benefits of the new individual enterprise of working abroad; and the seductive effects of promotional campaigns of consumerism (done through the telenovelas and other popular movies) on easy and extremely prosperous life for anyone in the wealthy countries.*

¹² The collection - in which the book is issued - is one with the same nature: Political Science.

¹³ Sandra Gil Araujo - *Reinventing Europe Borders: Delocalization and Externalization of the EU Migration Control through Involvement of the Third Countries* published in the volume *****Crossing and Controlling Borders. ...** Eds. pp. 21-44.

transformations were operated in the EU¹⁴ policy: a) weakening the workers status, immigrants workers are also to be included; b) the rise– after the end of cold war – of trafficking, of terrorism, illegal immigration and organized crime as a source of conflicts, c) the measures taken after nine eleven have strengthened the linkages between migration and terrorism. In coordinating immigration policies it was too little progress. There were just some agreements in the “frontier regimes” with the neighboring state.

In the same time, it emerged in EU the increasing externalization¹⁵ of migration control¹⁶ - inventing the “ government at a distance”, from the countries resources of immigrants; integrating the countries of origin(of immigrants) into the EU migration control. The authors provides a summary of the documents that promote the delocalization of migration control and of the EU recent initiatives in migration control. In the end of her article, she is exploring the implication of the regime of migration control, as a sample, of political rationality specific to advanced liberalism¹⁷.

She also underlines, that the normative documents of EU in the migration field, gradually but systematically, succeed to implement the externalization of the frontiers’ control.

Concerned with the delocalization policies, Sandra Gil Araujo is proving that the EU policies in the field of migration implies an advanced control in order to respond to the transnational migration. In terms of management, she quotes the Commission’s points of view¹⁸, namely that the migration is now much more integrated in the EU foreign policy. She finds out that The European Neighborhood Policy is a new technology of government migration .

¹⁴ It is, in fact, the Economic Community functioning before the *Maastricht Treaty, and the European Union after*.

¹⁵ The externalization signs are: the extensions of visas; the setting up of the immigration liaison officers institution; the imposing of *Schengen Regulations* to the non-Schengen countries (the EU candidates countries, and others under the Neighboring Policies – Morocco, or Libya); the readmission agreements (According with such Agreements, the migrants expelled from EU are readmitted in the country of origin); the pressures to transport companies to implement inspections in the ports of embarkment.

¹⁶ Sandra Gil Araujo - *Reinventing Europe Borders: Delocalization and Externalization ... in the volume Crossing and Controlling Borders*. p. 21.

¹⁷ The meaning of advanced liberalism is established following the literature of Foucault, of Nicolas Rose - ()

¹⁸ The quotation is from the Commission document: An evaluation of The Hague Program and Action – 2009 – Communication to Consillium and to European Parliament (2. Com. 263. final)

Sandra Gil Araujo is also analyzing the Instruments of Government at a Distance. According with her analysis, the general trend of the new policy is Externalization through Prevention. The prevention means, practically : economic transfers in the countries of origin; assistance of the countries ready to enforce the EU policy; early warning systems; humanitarian aid; the creation of safe zones in the vicinity of conflicts, or the detriment of the third countries as "Safe countries" vs" "Unsafe countries". In the process of establishing the new space of control, besides the traditional level and forms of managing the migration countries, new actors emerged: private actors, as business, or international and supranational companies.

The Conclusions of the study are:

- a) the trends of policies in migration's control can be seen as an example of the political rationality and of technology of government that are characteristics of advanced liberalism¹⁹;
- b) "the North-South migration is a structural component of colonial power still in force"²⁰, as consequence, there is a connection between the colonial order and migratory order...;
- c) the borders have not disappeared, but they are displaced, mutated and multiplied²¹ and the borders control is redefined;
- d) the freedom of movement is attained by one class, is complementary to the other class immobility;
- e) "While the national borders are being abolished for the EU citizens, the walls of migration control, immigration law, readmission agreements, external detention camps, internments centers, security policy, and integration exams and contracts against postcolonial migrants are on the rise and are multiplying."²²

The References part is extremely large. In a way, it is excessive. It does not separate in Reference the normative and political literature (as *Directive ...*, *Recommendation*, *Laws*) by the Report on Implementation of a Document)

¹⁹ Sandra Gil Araujo - *Reinventing Europe Borders: Delocalization and Externalization ...* in **op. cit.** p. 40.

²⁰ Sandra Gil Araujo - *Reinventing Europe Borders: Delocalization and Externalization ...* in **op. cit.** p. 40.

²¹ Sandra Gil Araujo - *Reinventing Europe Borders: Delocalization and Externalization ...* in **op. cit.** p. 40.

²² Sandra Gil Araujo - *Reinventing Europe Borders: Delocalization and Externalization ...* in **op. cit.** p. 40.

analyzed, as it does not separate the institutional analyses of internal evaluations by the interpretations, coming from academic literature. From the perspective of this study, the distinctive chapters in References, it seems to be useful and clarifying.

Commenting the study, it is to appreciate its broader perspective, the courageous thesis and conclusions. It is also to take a distance from the idea of mixing different types of literature, which is an obstacle, in formulation recommendations of a desirable regime of borders control.

To illustrate the same **Part two** of the volume, the second study chosen – as already was pointed out - is the presentation: *"It 's been the best journey of my life". Governing Migration and Strategies of Migrants at Europe s Borders : Morocco*²³ by Gerda Heck²⁴

The article on migration to Spain from Morocco, is one of the best in responding to the main question of the volume: " Does the border control policies affect the migrants' journey?"

She is describing which are the changes in the EU migration policies to the situation of the sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco – as a country of transit to EU and she illustrates the migrant strategies - in the period 2006-2009 – to cross the fence in Ceuta and Melilla. It is a field research done with the tools of an ethnographer: interviews, direct observation.

Morocco is a country of emigration, transit and immigration. According with estimations done by researchers there are 2,5 millions of Moroccans in the EU; there are (in 2007) around 10.000 of sub-Saharan migrants trying to cross the borders to EU.

The migrants' lives are deeply influenced by the European policies in managing migrations²⁵ and to limit the illegal migration.

The most influent was the policy of governing at distance. In 2003, by collaboration with EU, Morocco was adopting a law for foreigners. It was an effective tool to obstacle the migrants and a piece in The EU and African Plan, to

²³ Gerda Heck - *"It s been the best journey of my life". Governing Migration and Strategies of Migrants at Europe s Borders: Morocco*, article published in the volume **Crossing and Controlling Borders ...** pp. 73-87.

²⁴ Gerda Heck is a Ph.D. Researcher in the Institute for Cultural Studies in Cologne (Germany).

²⁵ The author notes that after 2005, the EU changed the name of policies related to migrants from "controlling borders" to "managing migrations". p. 75; p.79 ...



fight illegal migration²⁶.

Morocco as a transit country, with special mission in fighting illegal migrants, received , 67 millions EU in 2007, from a total of 600 millions offered by the European Commission²⁷, in exchange for its major contribution to borders security.

EU is developing in Morocco, in the current multiannual budget, five programs to fight illegal migration: - promoting legal migration; migrants protection; the preparation of a legal framework; combating illegal migration; Measures for repatriation and home integration at home countries ...²⁸

The king of Morocco is accepting the EU policies, because of the economic reasons – the money, the opportunities for Moroccans to work legally in South of Spain in seasonal work ...

The Effects of Restrictive Migration Policies – according with the data provided by Gerda Heck²⁹ - are not the cancelation of the journey to Europe as a strategy of life. The restrictive policies produce only more complications and risks to migrants.

The person who accepted to speak to the researcher, was caught and sent back in Algeria, two times. (The “rule” – he said - is three /four times returns before succeeding to cross the border.) He accepted the rule, and came back to the border. Finally, after four years of failed attempts and long waiting, he succeed to get in the Spanish enclave, and from there, in the main land Spain.

Other sub-Saharan immigrants, sent back from Morocco, kept the same goal: reaching Europe, in spite of the more and more of sophisticated obstacles. One large part, comes back in the North, by foot, traveling in the night, having as guide the train lines. An another one, rejected many times, tried again and again, using different ways. Some of them landed direct in the western African Ports, in Senegal and were trying to reach Canarias Island. They took an abandoned ship- completely insecure – *the cayucos* - and they proceed to the ocean. The Asians make use of the forged documents, or they swim alongside the border of the enclave. A number of 15 - 20 of migrants arrive weekly in Ceuta, according to an NGO activist.

²⁶ The researcher does not quote the EU documents.

²⁷ Gerda Heck - *“It s been the best journey of my life”*. ... p. 77.

²⁸ Gerda Heck - *“It s been the best journey of my life”*. p. 78.

²⁹ The data are resulting from interviews with a migrant and with a NGO activist, in Oudja – Morocco, 2007.

As transitory inhabitants, the migrants learn the lessons of surviving. They found places to live in; they learn to find - *tranquilos*³⁰ - in the woods, nearby the borders ; they communicate with their families; they collect information from travelers; they organize themselves in order to get some protection, to solve the crisis, to take easy decisions ... They are earning their living extremely precariously and, sometimes, in activities which are not compatible with human dignity: beggary, prostitution ...

Concluding, the author assumes from the literature that the externalization of EU migration policy is an neo-colonial act³¹. She sends to the European policy makers a message in the word of an African, migrant: " We are sent by our families in a journey which changes us so much that we cannot go back. I came here by accident. And it has been the best journey ever ..."

The References are pretty large and undoubtedly consistent . But, they are organized in a manner which is excluding the main support of the study: the author's research – the interviews, the personal documentations on the field The field research reports contributions are difficult to be seen at first glance . All of these could be avoided if the final point would get the title and the content: **Sources and References**. Introducing Sources, it has the special goal of including the authors direct sources together with the references. Some minor aspects in quoting a News Paper³² are to be fixed.

It could be taken into consideration, (by the Editors) the suggestion to consider the **Bibliography** as **Sources and Bibliography**, or simply **References** in order to encompass the documents with information collected from political norms and regulations; from the field research; from archives; from media and sociological report ... Such a complex collection is to be organized and separated into: **I.** a section with distinct **normative literature** relevant for the field regulation/ regime and policy enforced and consulted by the author; **II.** the section with the **reports and other results** directly collected by the authors in the field researches and with the reports done by other researchers directly on the field; **III literature configuring the field state of art** (comprising the academic interpretations and synthesis starting from the primary sources; essays; media reports or editorials, ...).

³⁰The camps of migrants in Morocco. The researcher notes that a large and well known *tranquillo* is organized in the campus of the University of Oudja ; Gerda Heck - "It s been the best journey of my life"... p. 82.

³¹ Gerda Heck - "It s been the best journey of my life". p. 83, apud Duvell, 2002.

³² She quotes an article from "El Pais".

Commenting Gerta Heck study, it is to be noticed, she is not enough experienced to keep the axiological neutrality all along her study. She is embracing the migrants' cause in the expression, but in content, she keeps the migrants' receivers concerns – maybe without any conscious intention. The study does not explore the unintended and perverse and adverse effects of the migrant journeys on himself; on his/her families; on their country of origin ...

She does not question– or only she did not let the readers know of it - the people aware, the migrants, the HR activists, ... on:

- 1) How many lives are lost in the attempts to cross the border, in the transit life (police's victims, the victims of the violence among the migrants, of the accidents in the browsing, of the fights with the burglars.)?
- 2) How many lives are destroyed by the trafficking of human beings, by the trafficking of organs, by the raping, by the exploitation? (It is impossible to not catch some rumors about them in Morocco ...)The migrants' life in Europe is good enough to take all these risks or, on the contrary, the mirage of Europe is a profitable illusion nurtured by the profiteers?
- 3) She does not open the discourse on the main concern of the receiving country: What about the future? (The importance as the small entrepreneurs use the cheap migrants work to make easy money and to sell cheap produces; the large public take advantage of the less expensive produces and get access to a better individual life; the migrants earn as never in their life But, after a while, the payment comes. Are they all ready to pay? Are the ex- native profiteers determined to redefine their identities in order to solve the problem of the significant part of their new attached people? Are the new fellows ready to contribute - even with personal sacrifices – to the citizens , of the second generation of ex-migrants³³ future.

We could not found comments on trafficking forms³⁴, on prostitutions, on children left home, of dying little towns because of missing creative labor ...

³³ The foreigners' children born in the receiving country and having in EU the EU citizenship.

³⁴ Trafficking of human beings, of children, of organs, of pornographic images on the internet ...

B) *US - case studies*

In order to illustrate **Part Three** of the book, **Experiences from US Migrations Regime**, the study preferred in this analysis, is Avital Block³⁵ and Ma. Alejandra Rocha Silva - *Undocumented Immigration between the US and Mexico: The Complex Development of Militarized Borders and Social Responses*³⁶. It represents the best part of the volume. The section proves a consolidated experience in academic writing, a clear definition of the studied problems, a capacity to focus on the facts³⁷ (and to add the opinions as a subsidiary effects of the facts' dynamic); an authentic style to appeal to the sources and proves for any statement and a competence of preserving the axiological neutrality. It displays a deep analysis of the effects – even of the adverse and perverse effects of the traditional migrations from Mexico to US, and on the new fact of "Berlinization" the southern border of US -. It concludes firmly and concisely, in few phrases. The text and final References are, obviously, coherent.

The general thesis supported by the American scientists is: the market dictates the immigration flow, and it should do it! The migration regime – at the state level - only influences subsidiary aspects of it and it transforms the illegal passing of the borders and the undocumented immigrants life in risky adventures.

The - *Undocumented Immigration between the US and Mexico: The Complex Development of Militarized Borders and Social Responses* by Avital Block and Ma. Alejandra Rocha Silva – is a large synthesis on American policies towards Mexican migrants, since 1990 to 2010. It is also a complex picture of the today effects on several traditional culture of exchanges along the US Southern borders, on the migrants life, on the American society division along the migration issue, and on the Civil Society mobilization to respond to the restrictive new regime.

³⁵ Avital Block is a professor at the University of Colima Mexico and the director of the University of the University Center for Social Research.

³⁶ Avital Block and Ma. Alejandra Rocha Silva - *Undocumented Immigration between the US and Mexico: The Complex Development of Militarized Borders and Social Responses*, published in the volume **Crossing and Controlling Borders**. ... pp. 159-190.

³⁷ It is a study, based on the academic literature devoted to the Border Regime; it is a study on the studies.

It starts with a history³⁸ of the US Migration policies, and with the *Acts on migration* (1990). The US policies were basically the policies of a nation of migrants. But it includes black episodes with discriminatory provisions as the – 1882, *The Chinese Exclusion Act*; 1924, *The Johnson Reed Act*, “establishing the national origin quota system” ; establishing the legal category of “illegal alien”; the Border Patrol instituting and the criminalization of the undocumented people along the US . In 1965 the US legislative passed the 1965 the *Immigration and Nationality Act*, which has abolished the main provisions of the Johnson Reed Act.

The policies’ philosophy of the epoch – active till 1970 - were: the duty to observe the Anglo-Saxon culture in public life, and the liberty to follow the native habitudes and liaisons in the private ones. After 1980s, the multiculturalism, which expended the minority rights; which redefined the very concept of the minorities new life as inclusion; and which identify the US as a country in reinventing its own profile³⁹.

Among the historical policies, the study refers also to the liberal *Bracero Program 1942-1964*, which is recruiting, in Mexico, seasonal workers for California agriculture and established an increasing flow of Mexicans to California⁴⁰. The Bracero Program continued with a guests workers program.

The social consequences of the liberal policies on migration, was not so rewarding as they looked in the promising presentations of supporters in the optimistic economic developments periods. The assimilation process was not rapid enough, and the benefits of the liberal policies did not show up to the extent to which the optimistic supporters believed.

Reading the numbers of the immigrants in US⁴¹ – in the historical legal contexts – it is to conclude that they prove that the policies – the migration regime - did not determine the migrations flow and structure. The main driving factor continues to remain the market. Before the economic crisis – in 2007 – the total number of immigrants in US reached 40 000 millions, half of them are illegal

³⁸ Avital Block and Ma. Alejandra Rocha Silva – *Undocumented Immigration between the US and Mexico: The Complex Development of Militarized Borders and Social Responses* in published in the volume **Crossing and Controlling Borders**. ... pp. 159-160.

³⁹ Reinventing US profile is to *renounce to the - standards of White, Anglo Saxons and Protestants – with the core in the Episcopalian perspectives – and to include all the cultures and religions of each group living in US into a “melting pot”, or “tomato soup”, to create dynamic concept of the social ideal.*

⁴⁰ California is annexed to US in 1846. Before, it was a Mexican state, as Texas too.

⁴¹ As the authors provided them.

immigrants⁴². (It is twice the Romanian population, and equal with Poland's population.) The structure of the Mexican migrants group in US changed: from "paysanos" to the inhabitants from urban areas. Their percentage in total illegal migration increased to 67%. The Mexican illegal immigrants in total number of illegal aliens in US – according with the estimates – is around 11, 7 millions, decreasing from 12 million with the economic downturn.

The next part of the study is devoted to the Social and Cultural Attitudes toward Mexico and Mexicans. The *Proposition 187*⁴³ - passed by the Californian State, in 1994 -, the *Proposition 200*, passed in Arizona, in 2004, produced xenophobic effects at the borderlines⁴⁴.

In the main part of the article – US Federal and Local Anti-Immigrations Laws, Border Control Policies, and Militarization⁴⁵ –the authors synthesized the normative and primary literature and in order to offer a general and real image of the US policies in Border Control. They verify the hypothesis that the anti-immigrations sentiments prevent free movement to US and mass legalization of undocumented immigrants.

In the post 9/11 atmosphere with the War of Terror policy, the immigration policy and border control were defined as national security issues⁴⁶. The *USA PATRIOT Act, 2001* is its expression. The new national institutions were created – as in 2003, Department of Homeland Security – and the old ones reformed – as Departments of Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). As consequences, the Borders Officers number increased from 4000 in 1993 to 20 000 in 2009⁴⁷;

⁴² Avital Block and Ma. Alejandra Rocha Silva – *Undocumented Immigration between the US and Mexico: The Complex Development of Militarized Borders and Social Responses* in **op. cit.** p. 161.

⁴³ It is an Anti-migration act. The critics call it "institutional rasism", and the propents Save Our State (SOS)!

⁴⁴ Avital Block and Ma. Alejandra Rocha Silva – *Undocumented Immigration between the US and Mexico: The Complex Development of Militarized Borders and Social Responses* in **op. cit.** p. 165.

⁴⁵ Avital Block and Ma. Alejandra Rocha Silva – *Undocumented Immigration between the US and Mexico: The Complex Development of Militarized Borders and Social Responses* in **op. cit.** pp. 167-175.

⁴⁶ Avital Block and Ma. Alejandra Rocha Silva – *Undocumented Immigration between the US and Mexico: The Complex Development of Militarized Borders and Social Responses* in **op. cit.**

⁴⁷ Avital Block and Ma. Alejandra Rocha Silva – *Undocumented Immigration between the US and Mexico: The Complex Development of Militarized Borders and Social Responses* in **op. cit.** p. 168, apud Preston article of 2009, *Detentions at Borders are Down*, Published in "New York Times", 2009, November, 26.



Smart Borders Agreements⁴⁸ were signed with Canada and Mexico..., *Merida's Initiative* for transnational regional security starts to train Mexican officers... (2008). Mexico enforced *Operation Sentinel (2003-2006)* which employed 18.000 federal armed troops.

The erection of wall in US South California, (San Diego -Tihuana), and in other South States⁴⁹, is reinforced with high tech, Smart Border⁵⁰, in spite of the criticism of being in itself a Tortilla Wall.

Border controls become de-territorialized and assumed also by the vigilantes. Since 2008, the internet users have volunteered to use virtual border patrol system to support Texas Border Sheriff s Coalitions. When they had suspicions they sent an e-mail to authorities.

The security control started to be transferred from federal authorities to local agencies, which organized local patrols. They expend under local⁵¹ laws and ordinances. The local authorities, under the policies of Secure Communities, take actions and detain immigrants not only for visa violations, but also for minor problems in traffic, for petty theft, for prostitutions, for shoplifting ... In 2010, the policy of Secure Communities has been implemented in California, Oregon, Michigan, Texas, Arizona, Florida, North Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, Illinois and Hawaii – the authors reiterate after three reliable and independent sources⁵². Even legal aliens could be subjected to administrative detention and to deportation. In such states, under the pressure of public feelings, there are too little concerned to establish the minimum standards for the treatments of detainees. In some of them, proposal is refused to be enacted.

The Social and Humanitarian Effects of Adversity have generated Pro immigrants actions in the Catholic Church and Jewish Synagogues: *The Sanctuary Movement*. The Los Angeles Cardinal in Roger Mahony instructed (since 2006) his priests to provide humanitarian aid to illegal immigrants. The immigrants – legal and illegal – organize and defend their rights.

⁴⁸ It is a de-territorialization of the control.

⁴⁹ *The plan to secure the borders, provided a wall alongside the entire South Border. It is to be finished by the end of 2013.*

⁵⁰ ABIS – Automatic Biometric Identification System.

⁵¹ The attempt to pass an anti-immigration law *The Border Protections, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act* (H. R. 4437).

⁵² Avital Block and Ma. Alejandra Rocha Silva – *Undocumented Immigration between the US and Mexico: The Complex Development of Militarized Borders and Social Responses in op. cit.* p. 173.

In public opinion, the pro-local laws prevail (51% in favor), constituting a pressures to legislators, especially in the South West part of US.

Concluding the authors affirm: "The zero tolerance policy has forced migrants to take dangerous routes, shaken the stability of legal and illegal aliens of Mexican origin, and disturbed the traditional relationship between the communities of both sides of the border"⁵³. In the literature of the problem and in the data concerning the issue, they did not find evidences for supporting the Rightist thesis: much homeland security with more anti-migrant policy. They did not find scientific arguments that the policies towards the Latino migrants determined the flux of migrants, as the market does.

The references are large – approximately 150 titles - and they are properly mentioned in the text, as well as in the final a **References** section is provided.

To illustrate **the Part Four** of the volume: **"Illegally" Discourse and Spaces of Political**, the option was for the study of Heidrun Friese⁵⁴ - *The Limits of Hospitality. Undocumented Migration and the Local Arena: The Case of Lampedusa*⁵⁵.

The topics, of the researches chosen in the study, reflect the situation of illegal migrants in Lampedusa (Italy), the policies and the political discourse on the effects of their flows . Together with the flashes on the illegal migrants conditions, the study gives some accounts on the island economy of our days. But, as the researcher noticed, the case is a symptomatic one for the entire Mediterranean area of immigration to Europe, for Ceuta and Melilla, firstly.

The study is developed in five sub-chapters, namely: Mapping the Field; Routes and Dwelling; Borders Regimes and Legal Impasses; The local Arena as Borderland; Opening the Space of the Political.

In the introductory subchapter, she describes the perspectives of analysis, the main problem selected (the migrants problems at borders and borders areas with migrants problems), the main thesis defended. The thesis is: a) the

⁵³ Avital Block and Ma. Alejandra Rocha Silva – *Undocumented Immigration between the US and Mexico: The Complex Development of Militarized Borders and Social Responses* in **op. cit.** p. 182.

⁵⁴ Heidrun Friese is a Ph.D. researcher and the Chair of Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology in the Ruhr University in Bochum (Germany)

⁵⁵ Heidrun Friese - *The Limits of Hospitality. Undocumented Migration and the Local Arena: The Case of Lampedusa*, published in the volume **Crossing and Controlling Borders**. ... pp.249-272.

contemporary European border management, which results into a distinction: friends and enemies, is the reiteration of the philosophical problem of the "Otherness"⁵⁶; b) the contradictory configurations in the borders arena make up contradictions between the policies and political discourses; c) a new approach on borders area problems should be developed, in order to gauge the complexity of borders regimes in nowadays times . (The new approach should take into account local arena, its various practices and actors, as well as, its conflicts⁵⁷.) The enlarged views on borders arena problems could be the grounded cosmopolitanism.

After the Introduction, she enters in a presentation of the local Lampedusan circumstances and interests – economic, social and political -; in the report on the views of the natives on the migration and their life; in a description of the conflicts with national authorities and with the mayor arrested for bribery⁵⁸.

The author contextualized her study case. She is mentioning, as the main variables which influenced the Lampedusa socio-political environment, after 2000:

- the large migration flows⁵⁹ (It is to be noted, that Lampedusa and Linosa have a population of approximately 5000+1000 inhabitants)⁶⁰ ;
- the very old traditions of mobility on the Mediterranean shores⁶¹;
- the traditional hospitality ethos and religious beliefs, shared all around the Mediterranean sea⁶²;
- the intense relations and interdependent economies of borderlines area, economies of interactions with other people;
- the ambiguity in the ethos of receiving a new comer, with

⁵⁶ It is to subscribe to her first part of the thesis, reminding that in the Romans' practices and culture, *alter* (the other) has the same linguistic roots with *alterare* (from Latin *altero*) with the meaning *alteration*.

⁵⁷ Heidrun Friese - *The Limits of Hospitality*. ..., p. 251.

⁵⁸ Heidrun Friese - *The Limits of Hospitality*..., p. 265.

⁵⁹ How large the migrations flows in Lampedusa, Liosa, and Sicily it is shown in a Table with annual migration figures, Heidrun Friese - *The Limits of Hospitality*. ...The Table #4, p. 260.

⁶⁰ To give more relief to the problem in an over-crowded space, it is to mention that in the *Italian Census of 2011*. <http://www.citypopulation.de/php/italy-sicilia.php?cityid=084020>. According to the book, the migrants' number of 2001 was 5,505 (referred p. 260) . They already represented around 90% of the entire population of the isle. The number of 2008 rises up to 31.000. of migrants (p.260).

⁶¹ It is to add that the Lampedusa religious patron is the Virgin Mary of the Safe Harbor: Madonna di Porto Salvo.

⁶² Heidrun Friese - *The Limits of Hospitality*... p. 250.

hospitality/hostility⁶³.

Schematizing the factors that should be decisive for the policy on managing migration and border security, the authors appeal to: local context; to the current a-local and transnational border regime; and to the people – migrants and natives – telling about their life in a such overcrowded location and acting surprisingly.

The borders regime seems to be out of their control for the inhabitants and for their overwhelming number of hosts. The new borders policy designed far away, imposed to the island administration with no local consultations and enforced by the people unfamiliar with island traditions of hospitality, create a concrete enemy, both for local people and for the migrants. It is the Government Maroni, which takes the responsibility for the strengthened borders regime – with the fortress policy which lead to the refugees and undocumented people sent to “prisons” !But, it happen in an harbor of Salvation, with an ethos of hospitality! That it is why, in the isle territory emerged unattended solidarities: solidarity between the native and the migrants protesting against the government (“*Grazie Lampedusa*”); solidarities of Mafia with migrants⁶⁴; .

Although the research is done from an ethnographic perspective, its results rise basic political questions and illuminates significant local problems as well as tested solutions to them.

Reading her evidences in a political key, it is to decipher the Lampedusa blockage as multi-levers one as created by the double clash in managing the migration flow. She underlines, that the local values, interests and practices in managing migration of the Africans to EU is now in opposition with the national and supranational politics of fortifying the European borders against the East and South people in mobility; the local authorities (the Mayor)politicians join the population and control and of imprisoning the sea saved and people and it could be seen as the first crossing and via Lampedusa – one can notice that ;

Traditional ethos and religious beliefs, all around the Mediterranean sea;
The economy of borderland areas;
– are conflicting.

In the first subchapter, the author pointed out that fact underlining that the ethos of sea is to give help to any boat and to any endangered people, irrespective if he is a friend or not. , I

⁶³ Heidrun Friese - *The Limits of Hospitality*. p. 259.

⁶⁴ Heidrun Friese - *The Limits of Hospitalit*. p. 267.

IV: Book's Conclusions

For the editors, the Conclusions are to be seen in the final study of the volume: *Unintended Effects of Immigrations Policies for Governments and Migrants: Conclusion*⁶⁵ by Mechthild Baumann, Astrid Lorenz, Kersin Rosenow .

A more appropriate design of the *Content*, would help the readers to simply indentify the *Conclusions*. But, anyway, such a compulsory logic unit exists and it is clearly meant to express if the hypothesis were confirmed or not. It is signed by the editors.

As corpus of ideas, the editors' final text it is to be separated into to two sections: the first consists in an attempt of a synthesis of the studies dedicated to the phenomenon of illegal crossing borders and the other one in a specific socio-political message doomed to decisions makers .

A.

The scientific part of the text – practically, the scientific synthesis on the specific findings – is underlining in the following assumptions:

- a) The policy of externalization border and migration policy in preventing illegal migrants to arrive in EU countries is of little results and large costs.
- b) The EU attempts and policies to keep illegal migrants out of EU borders in the transitory stations in migrants journey, (in the countries of transit as Ukraine, Turkey and Morocco) do not prove their effectiveness (more than 3 millions of illegal immigrants are wandering in EU countries). The migrants countries of origin and the transit countries are rational –interested – actors, and firstly, they serve their own interests. Ukraine negotiated pretty well its readmission accords vs EU visa-free's policy for its own citizens. The strengthening of the external borders of EU, the politics of "concentric circles of safety" will fail to keep out the future EU illegal /undocumented migrants in the future, too.
- c) The migrants are encouraged to engage in their journey by the economic interests in growing times when they produce win-win results; by the inconsistent policies⁶⁶ (which results in high unemployment and in extremely

⁶⁵ The study signed by by Mechthild Baumann, Astrid Lorenz, Kersin Rosenow - *Unintended Effects of Immigrations Policies for Governments and Migrants: Conclusion*, is published at pp. 273-285.

⁶⁶ *A sample of inconsistent policy: strengthening the external borders vs regularizing illegal good migrants situation, like in Spain 2005-2007.*

low salaries) in receiving countries. They have to face the unintended effects, sometime dramatic or even tragic for them and they do it.

- d) The heavy border controls have not limited effects on migrants determination to get in the receiving countries; they only make more difficult and dangerous the journey of migrants . The smuggling market flourishes on such bases.
- e) The unintended effects (of the increasing the migrants flow and of the inconsistent migrants policies) are the unintended alliances: the migrants alliances – discovered in Morocco -; the alliances among Lampedusan and Tunisian migrants in Lampedusa island against the Berlusconi Government; the "Sanctuary movement" in US . The trends of the alliances movements are to the development. What is pending is the effectiveness of protection of illegal migrants by the Human Rights agreements.

B.

The political message of the conclusions is entirely expressed in the final words of the book: it is to imagine, to get public support, to pass and to enforce "... alternative solutions for a more human immigration policy, that should take into account the active agency of migrants as well as the multilayered interests of their social and political environments".⁶⁷

V. The Final Remarks from the analyst's perspectives

The final part is proving its reason in the formal geometrical design of the book and in the architecture of ideas. The geometry proposed is impressing, especially in the context of the literature on migrations suffocated by the simple *Reports* on the phenomenon without an explicit epistemological approach, without a final synthesis of the arguments of the thesis defended in individual studies. The harmony of ideas results from a consequent use of the main concepts; from the similar directions followed in field researches; from the same philosophical perspective in "reading" the general trends of our times (migration is a general and an increasing phenomenon- in 2050 , the migrants collections around the world will be quite the same as the EU population) with increasing dimensions and interculturalization and inter-solidarities will develop); from the similar way of

⁶⁷ **Op. cit.** p. 285



interpreting the findings – the attachment to multiculturalism.

The book covers and underlines as the main messages: *Open society to the mobility! Open policy to the desirable reality! Stop to support politically the fortress policy around the countries of destination for migrants!*

If this book would be an interactive one, or a fluid one, two major parts could be added to illuminate the general context and to make the book more "rewarding" for the readers' interests. Maybe even the two parts would transformed the text in more useful for decision makers and decision takers.

The first part to be added, according to the analyst's opinions, is to open the *Content* to the new issues as: *Adverse and Perverse Effects of the Migration phenomenon; The material, cultural and political life without the people in international mobility in the country of origin; The brains' international recruitment at home and abroad and to their results; The general migrant flows destinations and their mobility; The migrations international market and its trends in the Crisis.*

The mobility of the brains - "the economic interests on brains' drain and brains' gain" retain – on the migrants market, where emerging economies compete seriously, could be seen as adverse effects to horizontal mobility to EU or in US, from the point of view of sending countries officials and population at large. The mobility of unskilled and low skilled migrants – the economic interests threatened by such flows and the burdening of the social systems of - could be seen also as a set of adverse effect of from the point of view of receiving countries officials and population.

The Trafficking of Human Beings, the Child trafficking, International Prostitutions networks, the Trafficking of organs, of Drugs, of Arms ... - phenomena strongly associated with illegal migrants routes, and sometime vested in the economic migrants clothing - are also seen as adverse effects. What it is important they are seen as adverse, both by the sending and receiving countries' officials, buy the regular population. Except mafias, which is seen it as an opportunity to big money, all agree that the borders should prevent the mafias penetration and protect the honest people. The question is if the increasing popularity of borders fences is it to become a feature of borders' future and if it is targeting the commonly identified threat?

The book – entirely - is to be recommend for successive readings and for intensive meditations to the topic. It is about us, about the context which we live in.