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**BOOK REVIEW**

**Sarah Leonard and Christian Kaunert, “Refugees, Security and the European Union”, First Edition, Routledge, 2019, pp. 211**

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The book under review is a collaborative attempt to give an insight on European Union securitization concerns and refugee and asylum seekers status as well. After 9/11 Europe has experienced a tremendous policy shifts towards refugees and asylum seekers in context of terrorism.

The book comprises 6 chapters with separate introduction and conclusion. Each chapter has a bonding connection to next chapter and continuity in order to draw a clear picture of the whole scenario.

Introduction deals with how the scenario has been changed and political debate has been generated which resulted into shifts in political parties positioning and standings. Issue of asylum and migration has not been restricted to arguments only but it has given hype to electoral discourse also. It has shaped certain policies in order to control the flow of immigrants towards industrial countries along with legislative attempts like visa restrictions and carrier sanctions. The purpose of the book is to give analyses about the EU techniques of securitizations in asylum-seekers and refugees matter along with the methodologies used for data collection upon which the further analyses has been done. It has briefly described the structure of the book as well.

The first chapter entitled ‘A new securitization framework’ provides a theoretical framework for required pragmatic analysis. Chapter deals in two sections where one section tells us about the Copenhagen School frame work on securitization but which lacks application and requires modification for practical analysis. It says that there are no security issues but ‘securitizing speech act’, if uttered by legitimate security actors then increase the validity of issue. The other section provides four features of Copenhagen frame work required to redefine for better implication.

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The second chapter is about 'Asylum, migration and border controls in Europe: the historical context' which deals with the evolution of migration and asylum-seeker issue as a security threat before The Maastricht Treaty came into the force in 1993. The authors have described the historical development of policies outside the EC/EU legal framework. In starting Europe was not so restrictive regarding migration rather it encourages it for economic purposes but was temporary in nature. It states that from 1970 onwards Western European states were restrictive towards migrants and asylum seekers even before the EU legal competences provisions. These confinements towards the issue brought certain intergovernmental gatherings and conventions within Council of Europe and in 'ad hoc' groups outside its setup in order to coordinate for policy making in accordance with their interests. But still it lacks evidence of being securitization of the issue before and outside the EU competences. Authors have also raised a question for further analysis required for understanding asylum and migration in a paradigm of security threat as described by many policy makers and scholars as well.

The third chapter is on 'Asylum, migration and border controls in the EU: The institutional context', which deals with the institutionalization of EU policies towards the matter. Here two main trends have been highlighted one is 'Communitarisation' which is by gradual strengthening of competences in community institutions and other is 'Judicialisation' by strengthening European Commission, Parliament and European Court of Justice. This chapter evaluates the changes brought by the Treaty of Maastricht, Treaty of Amsterdam and the Treaty of Lisbon. Despite the efforts by European Commission it has been seen suspicious by the member states as being sympathetic and having humanitarian approaches. There is a need to revamp the securitization phenomena.

The fourth chapter 'The development of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS: The absence of securitization in the EU asylum policy venue' deals with the development of EU mechanism for asylum-seekers and migration. The Treaty of Maastricht (TEU) developed a new concept of so-called 'matters of common interests'. There were nine common interests outlined out of which immigration, asylum policy and external border control addresses in this context. The Amsterdam treaty was adopted in 1997 and it was decided to work upon the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ). These efforts brought an idea of developing a Common

European Asylum System. In starting it was aimed to provide same standards to all asylum-seekers and refugees in order to minimize the 'secondary movement' of asylum seekers from one EU member state to another. Development of 'Common European Asylum System' (CEAS) brought an approximation of rules in recognition and content of the refugee status. During the first phase of the policy (1999-2004) several directives regarding minimum standards were adopted but few criticized them for having low standards. In second phase (2005-2013) further steps were taken and European Asylum Support Office has been created (EASO) with an intention to promote practical cooperation amongst member states. The third phase is going on. This chapter further clarifies that this minimum standards have generated a competition within EU member states and in return. EU involvement in this matter has further codified the rights of asylum-seekers and refugees across the EU. It elucidates that EU efforts are rather more technical than securitization. In fact these minimum standards have improved the protection standards in EU member states.

The fifth chapter entitled 'The securitization of irregular migration at the southern borders' explains the EU policies and responses on external borders and crisis. EU internal policies have spill-over effect on its external border policies which makes it complex and growing. In order to show the relevancy and EU response Spanish external border crisis has been discussed as a case study. It states such cases brought the securitization dynamics more clear and apparent. The role of Frontex has grown since 2006 and joint operations can be seen as securitizing practices. In short it provides an insight to understand the legal framework.

The sixth chapter 'Terrorism and the securitization of asylum-seekers and refugees' brings an insight of this crucial issue in EU after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. This chapter deals in two portions where one look upon the possible association of asylum seekers with terrorist groups after 9/11 and the other deals with it separately as 'migrant crisis' and 'terrorist crisis'. After 9/11 terrorism has been started to be seen as a collective threat for several European countries. Some relevance and connections were made between migrants, asylum-seekers and terrorist which compel EU to look upon its policies. The year 2015 and 2016 has been seen as an alarming in context of migration crisis and terrorism crisis. This year over 1 million migrants entered in Europe and at the same time high profile terrorist attacks hit the soil. In mid August a large number of Syrians, Iraqis, Afghans

and other potential asylum seekers entered in Europe. This chapter explains that with the increasing number of migrants the terrorist attacks have also been increased. Since 2011, almost 3700 foreign fighters were calculated by the Europol Information System travelled from 24 EU states to Syria and Iraq. Such evidences created a clear linkage between migration and Islamist terrorism and initiated a political debate in EU. Hungarian Prime Minister, Victor Orban described migration as 'Trojan wooden horse of terrorism'. The securitization policy agenda in EU on refugees resulted into adoption of the European Agenda on Migration which has been built on four pillars. Finally this chapter validates that association with terrorism has securitized asylum and migration in EU.

The conclusion recalls the aims of the research which is at one hand to improve the understanding of the issue and on the other hand looking upon the legal framework. Along with that authors have tried to draw a conclusion whether they have achieved the desire goal or not. This book has contributed to bring an original contribution to the subject in order to get better understanding of the issue practically by examples and theoretically as well. It has also contributed in amending securitization through association. It also has explained how it can be helpful in understanding different scenario through theoretical framework.