BOOK REVIEW

Valeria BELLO, *International Migration and International Security: Why Prejudice Is a Global Security Threat*

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"I see the world being slowly transformed into a wilderness, I hear the approaching thunder that, one day, will destroy us too, I feel the suffering of millions. And yet, when I look up at the sky, I somehow feel that everything will change for the better, that this cruelty too shall end, that peace and tranquility will return once more…"

Anne M. Frank, 21 July 1944[1]

While the refugee "question" has been a major topic of discussion in Europe since 2014, European countries have a much longer immigration history. Since the 1990's, the impact of international migration has extended from countries in Europe, such as Germany, toward states such as Greece, Spain, and Turkey. In response to these developments, "there has been a huge increase in resources devoted to categorizing, regulating and trying to 'manage' migration and migrants, including at EU level."[2]

Focusing on migration managing attempts starting in the 1990's, Valeria Bello's *International Migration and International Security* presents a critical discussion on why prejudice, rather than migration, is a global security threat. Bello offers a three-part multifaceted analysis on how several interrelated issues: funding cuts in the public sector, the abandoned European Welfare State, and UN efforts, relate to the increase in prejudice and thus induce a global security threat. Through the promotion of a "Global Human Security through local, national, regional and global practices of Intercultural Dialogue and Social Inclusion" (p.7), the book aims to provide an alternative within the current global conversation.

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1   Anne Frank, (eds. By Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler) *The Diary of a Young Girl: Anne Frank,* trans. Susan Massotty, Doubleday, Auckland, 2003 (scanned version).
2   Andrew Geddes & Peter Scholten, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe,* London, Sage, 2016, p.39.

For showing that the perceived 'clash of civilizations' and even the word immigrant (p. 138) are consequences of "both geo-political situations and histories and social constructions" (p. 30), the book is divided into three parts. In the first part, Bello starts by introducing the conflicts and transformations of the international system after the end of the Cold War and the dismantling of the Iron Curtain in 1991 (i.e. the Gulf War and the Afghanistan War). She reviews a number of transformations such as increases in the price of crude oil, cost of production, forced mobility and intra-European migration, and damage to the European Welfare State System. She then goes on to explain how these transformations have led to an increase in international mobility, security issues, and a decline in peaceful international relations.

As an example of this situation, according to Bello, since the 1990's, financial hardship, inflation, debts and other economic problems have greatly impacted workers' rights and the European Social Model, specifically public health and education systems (p. 27). She states that workers' rights have deteriorated largely because conservative and liberal parties continue to advance capitalist policies (p. 29), while the most vulnerable citizens witness an increase in the immigrant populations in their neighborhoods. Bello suggests that, as a result of these interrelated issues and immoral political elites, citizens then perceive immigrants as responsible for worsening conditions (p. 17). Bello attributes such negative perceptions to "the framing of migrants as 'threats' to security and the consequent increasing prejudice towards them in Europe" (p. 28).

In the second part, using a comparative data analysis, Bello explains how these policies, practices, and government attitudes toward migration have become sources of perceived threat. She then discusses what she regards as the "real" threats. One of these "real" threats is seen in the shifts in power balance since the end of the Cold War and subsequent conflicts which have caused refugee crises in the Middle East and Central Asia (p. 51). The resulting increase in the flow of migration has been securitized especially by FRONTEX, the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (p.58). The agency has referred to individuals from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan as the "main nationalities of illegal border-crossers" (FRONTEX 2016:18, p. 52). Alongside several other scholars, Bello argues that three main elements which impact perceptions of others are: "the context," "the social commitment to an identity," and "the available out-group" (p.71). The first relates to the degree to which relations among individuals depend on specific characteristics. The second is about how individuals conceptualize out-group and stress negative stereotypes when describing their own groups (p.71). As an example, if the situation-specific context is negative toward immigrants, as is in the case of FRONTEX, then, "members of societies will be more inclined to negatively perceive newcomers" (p.72). In addition, Bello separates the "real" sources of security threats into ordinary and extraordinary. She explains in detail that nationalistic tendencies are categorized as ordinary; they cause divisiveness though framing immigrants as the "other" and result in social exclusion. Whereas extremist tendencies and sources of threat, such as hate crimes and ideas of cultural superiority, are categorized as extraordinary.

The last part of the book presents a more optimistic outlook: The author aims to show that there are alternative peaceful solutions against instability and securitization of migration through the use of several state and non-state actors. One solution which she discusses is improving the practice of Intercultural Dialogue. Since context can influence individuals' perceptions, she proposes creating more positive, migrant-friendly, framing of public discourses for policymakers and, perhaps more importantly, engaging the public in the social construction of Intercultural Dialogue. (p. 128)

Overall, *International Migration and International Security* is a timely and a significant work on the topics of migration, security, and collaboration. The book's most valuable contribution is its analysis of threat perceptions resulting from geo-political situations, histories, and social constructions. In order to strengthen the book's contributions, it would be advisable for the author to first discuss theoretical framework and detailed methodology. Currently, Bello both reviews the elements which affect perception (p. 72,111) and provides data analyses in the second part. However, if she were to discuss perception and prejudice theories first, add more psychological support, and briefly explain the details of the data and its collection then the book would become more reader-friendly and intuitive for further researches. To conclude, within prejudice, negative attitudes toward social groups have a long history of causing pain, suffering and resulting in hate crimes. The International Organization for Migration (2017), states that 258 million people (3.4% of the world's total population) live outside their county of birth. With this in mind, Valeria Bello correctly suggests that prejudice should be urgently considered as a global threat to fight against and that the public should be more actively engaged in Intercultural Dialogue across the world.