Elspeth Guild, Cristina J. Gortázar Rotaeche and Dora Kostakopoulou (eds) 

The book under review constitutes a collection of 17 essays by some of the best established scholars in the area of EU citizenship and migration law, together with some important new voices. It results from a series of workshops that took place in Manchester, Madrid and Nijmegen between 2011 and 2012. Its editors have come up with a really interesting volume with some truly important chapters for academics, students and relevant stakeholders alike.

The book takes as its departing point the celebration of the 20th anniversary of EU citizenship and poses some questions on three issues: First, the relationship between EU citizenship and the development of a European identity; second, the entitlement to solidarity for EU mobile citizens; and third, the concept of equality as the building blocks of the EU project. All three discussions cannot be more topical considering the attacks that EU free movement has been suffering in the last two years in some Member States by certain political and media actors, as well as the results of the referendum on migration in Switzerland in February 2014.

The first section, EU citizenship and identity, examines the transition from foreigner to citizen of a particular polity. Here we find examples of the fragmented status of the category of foreigner in Europe and the different hierarchies of citizenship. Whereas some trends point in the direction of inclusion, other tendencies result in exclusionary practices. Often, we do find both trends coinciding at the same time in what have been labelled as revolving doors mechanisms (Acosta Arcarazo and Martire, *European Law Review* (2014) 362–379). Crucially, the divide EU Citizen/Third-Country National (TCN) is only an aspect of these various statuses. In their respective three chapters, Gortázar Rotaeche, Ruiz de Huidobro, and Martin Pérez and Moreno Fuentes, analyse the ways in which certain TCNs may obtain citizenship from an EU Member State, and consequently EU citizenship as well. Being a national competence, the three chapters enlighten us on various naturalization practices depending on the particular historical and social circumstances in each Member State. The way in which countries legislate on access to citizenship has obvious consequences on European integration and identity-building (p. 16). Indeed, Iglesias’ chapter explores whether EU law, following Rottmann has any saying in eroding Member State’s discretion to not only withdraw, but also to grant, nationality, and concludes that the ‘possibility to apply EU fundamental rights depends on the interpretation of the notion of “genuine enjoyment of
the substance of citizenship rights” which can be clearly connected to cases of loss of nationality but not so easily linked to the regulation of acquisition’ (Iglesias Sánchez, p. 80).

García Andrade’s piece, as well as that by Schrauwen and Vandamme, is notable in exploring how certain TCNs, mainly those from the European Economic Area but also to a more limited extent Turkish workers, enjoy EU citizenship-like rights. This adds to the complexity in trying to define who supposedly belongs or not. Indeed Carrera’s chapter considers how being an EU national does not guarantee inclusion by looking at nationals of Roma origin. He explains how Roma, despite being EU nationals, are depicted as being in need of integration and how this is used as ‘a policy mechanism for passing the buck over the Roma themselves as regards their discrimination and exclusion because of their differences, cultures and nomad ways of life’ (Carrera, p. 34). This exclusionary process is what he labels as the “ethnicisation” of citizenship of the Union and a clear example of an ‘insecurity narrative’ (ibid., pp. 34–35) with far-reaching consequences since EU citizens of Roma origin ‘are simply excluded from the personal scope of the EU framework’ (ibid., p. 54).

The second section is perhaps the most crucial when considering certain political debates, for example in the UK, where even the Labour and Liberal parties seem to have decided to clumsily follow the exclusionary rhetoric of UKIP and the Conservatives and the allegations of social tourism by certain mobile EU nationals. Groenendijk’s contribution is as clear and illuminative as all his previous academic production. He depicts reverse discrimination as an anomaly and he plots how this is something which disproportionately affects nationals of immigrant origin who are thus not considered as real citizens. Indeed, after looking at the parliamentary debates in Germany, Netherlands and Belgium, he argues that this is the true intention behind these measures (Groenendijk, pp. 174–175). Following the Metock case, he then proposes some ideas on how the European Court on Human Rights could contribute through Articles 8 and 14 to a solution more in line with the logic of equality, as exemplify in the Strasbourg case of Hode & Abdi v. UK. The issue of reverse discrimination is then further explored in the Belgian case in the essay by Verbist in Section III. The remaining three chapters in section II, those by Guild, Minderhoud, and Overmeiren, Eichenhofer and Verschueren are excellent in discussing, respectively, the borders of solidarity, access to social assistance benefits, and social security coverage of non-active persons under the current EU regime. This is important in showing a very complex legislative framework which reads poorly with the way in which access to social benefits is usually portrayed.