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Publisher Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713433350>

Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe

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Online publication date: 25 June 2010

To cite this Article Joppke, Christian(2010) 'Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe', Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 36: 6, 1010 — 1011

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2010.491996

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2010.491996>

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given more attention. What are, for instance, the mechanisms that lead workers to reproduce stereotyped racialised and gendered notions about self and others? As for organising cross-border resistance, would it not have been more appropriate to speak in terms of 'transnational' rather than 'international' organising and resistance? These and other transnational links between workers across borders could have been highlighted more, providing an additional perspective on the transnational corporation and its labour processes in the focus of this study.

Such limitations notwithstanding, this excellent book is a valuable contribution to the literature on labour and migration processes. It points to the centrality of state policies in shaping race, class and gender for the purpose of labour control at the production site. It also demonstrates the necessity of an intersectional analysis: a 'gendered system of labour cannot be understood without also looking at how race and class intersect with it'. And, as the study shows, these factors interact in specific ways at each factory site.

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Adrian Favell, **Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe**

Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008, 296 pp., £19.99/€25.00 pb. (ISBN 978-1-4051-3404-0)

Eurostars and Eurocities is a pioneering work in the sociology of Europe. And what a page-turner it is. The book reads like a novel; few can write as crisply and elegantly as Favell. And, like all novels, it has a plot. It starts by depicting the enthusiasm of our youthful 'Eurostars' (Favell's catchy term for highly skilled free movers within the European Union), tasting the 'denationalising' freedoms of London, Amsterdam, Brussels. And it ends, rather sombrely, with a view of a Danish cemetery, the author wondering 'how it is you get in here', together with the Jensens and the Sørensens. In the end, the informal yet tangible forces of nationalism prevent our free movers from getting the 'goodies', from decent flats to access to good

schools, that the national middle classes manage to reap rather effortlessly. This book shows, better than any other I know, the workings of 'banal nationalism' in putatively post-national Europe, a nationalism that tends to deny itself (through, for example, the belief that the Dutch are all 'progressive'), and a nationalism that is no longer a state project but ever more firmly entrenched in everyday life (sustained not so much by 'culture'—a link wisely discarded by Favell as tautological—as by the need to manage scarcity in an un-bounding world). Favell points to a second, more sociometric reason why our Eurostars are not the heralds of an emergent Euro society that the European Commission would like them to be: it is their being the exception to the rule of staying national that gives them the advantage, so that if moving were to become the norm the incentive for moving would disappear. Finally, free movement hits a biographical limit, generally coinciding with the arrival of children. This is the moment that old Europe, the Europe of nation-states, gets the upper hand. By then, Amsterdam will long have frustrated our expatriates and non-corporate free movers, because of its stinging everyday nationalism, austere health care and exploitative housing; London will force the move to the faceless suburbs because of its hyper-expensive childcare and quality schooling; and only grey but cheap and less locally entrenched Brussels may hold the line. If that wasn't enough, the pension question arises as the penultimate penalty for having swung too much beyond borders, when life seemed infinite.

Eurostars and Eurocities is, quite literally, an experience. Future generations will find here *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*, the euphoric first days of a nationally un-bounding, European society of 'free movement'. Favell has broken from the pack, stylistically as well as thematically. Not only is this book more beautifully written than most, it also looks different: there are almost no footnotes, and, apart from a compact 'bibliographical essay', there are no references at all to the scholarly literature. Why should there be, if the little sociology of Europe that there is looks paltry in comparison (the only exceptions being recent works by Juan Medrano and Neil Fligstein)?

Make no mistake: despite the absence of academic convention and jargon, this is an immensely theoretical book. But instead of throwing 'theory'

at the reader, Favell develops it from sharply accurate, penetrating observations; this is 'grounded theory' if there ever was one. And there is a degree of nuance here that large-N sociology, which Favell surprisingly bows to in a last-minute fit of self-doubt, tends to miss. Although a masterpiece in this genre, Fligstein's *Euroclash* (Princeton 2008), for instance, draws too simple a scenario of Europe divided between educated, upper-middle-class 'Europeans' and the working-class losers of Europe who remain allied with the nation-state, and he sees the future of Europe as a function of the demographic strength and political savvy of these two classes. While there is truth to this scenario, Favell's ethnographic approach, painstakingly excavating each of the 61 biographies laid out to him (if one includes his own), reveals a deeper, more complicated reality. The quintessential Eurostar is one who finds national mobility paths closed, and therefore takes the

European route instead. This makes for a scenario of at least three, not two players in the making or unmaking of Europe: as well as the nationalist losers of Europe, there are the nationally blocked, middle-class Eurostars (many, interestingly, of humble immigrant origins, especially in the European south), plus the national *bourgeoisies* that never stretch far beyond their respective capitals, except for occasional tourism ('shopping in London') or the inevitable year of study abroad. Favell's sombre message is that, in the scramble for status, power and the flat by the *gracht*, the national *élites* always win out against the Eurostars. If he is right, the Europe of the future will look a great deal like the Europe of the past.

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