

ethnic minorities are most likely to be elected—100 councils in England and Wales and 125 councils in cities with populations of more than 50,000 in France—to compare each groups' extent of representation by coethnic local elected officials (pp. 102–4). On British local councils, Bangladeshi/Pakistanis were the best represented, followed by Indians; and strikingly less well represented were Caribbeans, even though the pattern was different when it came to members of Parliament (pp. 105–7). In France, Maghrebians were better represented than Caribbeans (pp. 105–7). The case studies of local mobilization further illustrate the integration trade-off by tracing efforts by the respective ethnic groups to obtain public resources from local governments for group-specific projects, such as a community center and a permit for building a temple. These explorations provide a fine-grained understanding of political integration and go well beyond turnout studies by others cited early in the book (p. 16).

The study's theoretical contribution lies in differentiating among dimensions of integration to account for outcomes that prevailing approaches have difficulty explaining. Although a dominant line of argument anticipates that integration will gradually occur across generations, this is not always the case, especially for groups whose religious heritage strongly differs from that which is dominant in the host country; Maxwell's analysis explains in what senses integration may or may not occur for a group over the long term. As well, the author provides a new slant on debates that stresses the obstacles to long-term integration in the form of unequal access to education, economic conditions, and discrimination by showing how social segregation can moderate the impact of these barriers. His segregation-driven model incorporates contingency by including these factors and recognizes that the "extent to which social integration leads to trade-offs depends on discrimination and access to independent financial resources" (p. 4), meaning that if discrimination and resources are not problems, then the reduced capacity for group mobilization associated with social integration should not matter.

This ambitious book promises to encourage a vigorous intellectual debate, no doubt one that will lead to further research on integration trade-offs to explore the scope of their applicability. The evidence provided for the trade-off between social and political integration in France and Britain is reasonably strong despite the differences between the two countries, and in Chapter 8 the author finds moderate support in briefly applying the analysis to the Netherlands and the United States. His overall framework is quite broad, however, and for this reason it will likely stimulate further research on related questions, among them the following: When are social segregation and coethnic mobilization associated with political integration, and when do they lead to rejection of a political course of action?

Political integration as examined for the book is closely linked to group political mobilization, but what sorts of alternatives do relatively more socially integrated minority migrant groups find to participate politically, and with what degree of effectiveness? Finally, what does socioeconomic diversity within a minority migrant group mean for groups' capacity to mobilize and for consequent integration trade-offs?

Ethnic Minority Migrants in Britain and France will have an impact by taking the discussion of minority migrant politics in a new direction. It challenges broad generalizations of immigrant politics by providing a rich theoretical and empirical account of the dynamics of political incorporation of different ethnic minority groups in Britain and France and beyond. The research on the local political representation of immigrant groups will make this an extremely valuable book for those working in the fields of British and French politics. For political scientists and sociologists who address immigration, race, and ethnicity, the book will spur exploration of the relationship between coethnic networks and the multiple dimensions of integration.

The Single Currency and European Citizenship.

Unveiling the Other Side of the Coin. Edited by Giovanni Moro.

New York: Bloomsbury, 2013. 256p. \$39.95.

doi:10.1017/S1537592714002631

— Espen D. H. Olsen, *Arena, Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo*

Europe is in the midst of turmoil. The credit crunch has created a severe financial crisis, unemployment is on the rise, European Union institutions are under stress, and citizens' trust in political elites is at a low point. In the midst of this *Eurocrisis*, the common European currency that gives the crisis its name has had its tenth anniversary. Operative since 2002, the Euro was an unprecedented experiment in monetary integration and took European unification further toward supranational union. The Euro is, however, not merely an economic phenomenon. In this volume, editor Giovanni Moro and contributors chart the political, social, cultural, and above all identitarian features of the Euro, viewing the currency through the prism of European citizenship. In going beyond the political economy and institutional theory of the Euro (and the crisis) the book is an innovative and important contribution to the study of European integration.

The main message of the volume is that citizenship and identity matter as interpretive tools for understanding the importance of the Euro for European politics and society. Giovanni Moro presents the volume as a "phenomenological" exercise (p. 8) and not as a straightforward normative appraisal in the manner of most academic discussions of European citizenship. The chapters do not, however, gel into a coherent whole in

terms of the vocabulary used to depict European citizenship and identity in relation to the single currency. Rather, they fit together more as a collection of essays on different aspects of “unveiling the other side of the coin,” as the succinct subtitle of the volume suggests. Notwithstanding this caveat, there is clearly a common thread in the broad methodological sense. The book is clearly written within the constructivist vein of political science, drawing on insights from political sociology and anthropology. Constructivism has been somewhat on the wane in European studies in recent years, but this book highlights its utility in the study of transformations of political order and especially of the nation-state form. The single currency and supranational citizenship both put our conceptual lenses and political “imagination” to the test. At the same time, the volume does not fall into the trap of treating them as so-called *sui generis* phenomena which defy the normal language of political science. Instead, it highlights linkages between them in practice as well as in symbolic terms. Hence, European citizenship is not taken as a “given” fact that stands in a succinct relation to the single currency or the integration process. Citizenship is conceptualized in the volume as access to *rights*, some form of *belonging* or *identity* to the political community, and a mode of *participation*. This means that the link between the Euro and European citizenship is taken as discursively constructed politically, socially or economically. Consequently, the volume is divided into three parts. The first on “multiple links” discusses issues linked to money and currency in political life, the second focuses attention on European identity, and the third treats the status of European citizenship in the Euro turmoil.

The chapters by Thierry Vissol and by Matthias Kaelberer discuss how money and currencies construct trustworthy means of exchange in an effective and modern economy and at the same time represent important symbols of political community for states in an interstate environment. The choice to join the Euro was thus steeped in symbolism and identity issues. Indeed Kathleen McNamara, echoing Benedict Anderson, claims that the Euro was not only about economic integration; it was also constructed to “create an ‘imagined’ community of Europeans” (p. 23). Like historical myths, past experiences, and symbols like a flag, national anthem or constitution, a common currency thus conveys as certain *imaginary* of community, even in the supranational European Union.

Most chapters in the book appreciate that European identity is a deeply contested concept that is intensely debated by both citizens and scholars. Skeptics have argued that European identity is something of a non-starter since the European Union lacks the necessary pre-requisites such as a common history, culture or language. Proponents have flipped this argument on its head to claim European

identity as a panacea against overt nationalism exactly on the grounds that the European Union does not hold these properties. The chapters of this volume commendably do not take sides in this debate. Instead they chart different aspects of the Euro as a means of identity construction. In so doing, the book highlights the complex construction of identity between economy, politics, and citizens’ acts as members of a supranational community. In this regard, Thomas Risse’s chapter is a center-piece of the book in its focus on how the single currency impacts on Europeanization of collective identities. The picture in terms of Europeanization is mixed, yet Thomas Risse shows the importance of understanding such issues not only from a supranational perspective, but also from a national one. The Euro harmonized the currency systems of some of the strongest national currencies of modern capitalism, and was a *political* project whose identity construction played out very differently in, say, France than it did in Germany (Risse, pp. 113–116).

This political fact of the Euro is indeed at the center of the final part of the book, which deals with European citizenship in the midst of the Euro turmoil. Vivien Schmidt and Cris Shore analyze in their chapters yet another side of the coin: the Euro may not have strengthened European identity at all but rather weakened the salience of European citizenship altogether. The Euro’s “complicity” in the financial crisis through its macro-economic deficiencies has in part spurred a model of austerity politics that may lead to less opportunities for European citizens to enact their rights, and to less belief in the European project. Indeed, in the final chapter, Dario Castiglione intriguingly shows that the Eurocrisis which comes after two decades of “silent constitution building” in the European Union exacerbates the disconnect of citizens from the political and constitutional reality of supranational integration. The phenomenological exercise of this volume ends, then, with a normative plea: The silence must be broken. The social reality of post-Maastricht unification and a single currency must be subject to real and engaged debate linking to the institutional future of European politics. As such, Dario Castiglione highlights perhaps the one major flaw of the volume: while it commendably focuses on political practices related to the link between citizenship, identity and the Euro, it largely overlooks the wider impact of institutional crisis reforms and crucial policy choices taken in crisis. These have partly been taken outside the democratic bodies of Europe and their impact on viable and meaningful democratic citizenship in Europe need to be addressed from political, empirical, and normative perspectives. As such, this volume is, for all its important groundwork in charting the link between the Euro project and European citizenship, also a missed opportunity.