

On the other side, national actors, business groups and employer associations prefer suasive instruments and soft law because they ensure flexibility and competitiveness. Similar cleavages exist in European environmental and social policy. Yet the application of policy instruments in these fields is ultimately decided by their unique 'situational structures' – institutions, the politicisation of policy problems and external events (p. 179). Bähr illustrates this differentiation in his empirical chapters and shows that advocates of every instrument lobby European policy makers.

The detailed and thorough attention that Bähr pays to each of his case studies strengthens the causal claim he identifies. Each chapter is logically structured and provides ample evidence to support the underlying claim. However, sections occasionally lose focus by going into excessive detail. Throughout his two empirical chapters Bähr illustrates how the situational structures of both environmental and social policy contain contentious and favourable institutional environments, highly and mildly politicised issues, and influential and irrelevant external events. However, this nuanced appreciation is not carried into the comparison and concluding chapters where Bähr makes inferences that are unsupported by his earlier discussion. Nonetheless, the author maintains the theoretical focus he underlines in his introduction and demonstrates aptly that studies of policy instruments are applicable in a supranational context.

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EU Counterterrorism Policy: A Paper Tiger? by **Oldrich Bures**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011. 277pp., £60.00, ISBN 9781409411239

Oldrich Bures' book offers a welcome analysis of the European Union's counter-terrorism strategies. The volume critiques EU counter-terrorism measures, offering an interesting account of the value-added offered by EU-level agencies and policies. Bures argues that EU counter-terrorism policy has the scope to become a real tiger but two fundamental weaknesses stand in its way: lack of implementation of measures by member states and lack of collaboration between EU agencies and national agencies.

Part I provides an overview of contemporary terrorist threats in Europe, highlighting the differences between public perceptions of the terrorist threat across member

states. Bures identifies this as one of the major obstacles when considering whether an EU policy will be successfully implemented and argues that EU measures should be representative of all member states. Part I also provides a concise overview of the evolution of counter-terrorism policy and makes a case to show that EU counter-terrorism policy has not been widely applied by member states. Part II analyses the roles of Europol, Eurojust and the EU Counter-terrorism Coordinator to provide case studies for establishing how effective EU policies are in influencing change in member states. Overall, Part II shows that the effectiveness of existing counter-terrorism institutions is limited by the role and power granted to the EU by member states.

Part III looks more specifically at the European arrest warrant and the EU's fight against terrorism finances, exposing the shortcomings of the EU's efforts as well as suggesting ways for such policies to improve. Part IV begins by looking into the familiar debate surrounding counter-terrorism legislation of freedom versus security, which encapsulates concerns already discussed in the academic literature and brings them into the EU context. Bures determines that while to date EU counter-terrorism policies tend to work more in terms of persuasion than as an enforcer on member states, there is a clear need for EU-level orientated action as global terrorism cannot be fought nationally. In response to the title of his book, Bures answers that while it is clear that EU counter-terrorism policy is predominantly a paper tiger, he does not support the view that 'EU-level action cannot offer any value-added in the fight against terrorism' (p. 258).

EU Counterterrorism Policy: A Paper Tiger? is an informative volume which can be recommended for both students and scholars alike. It will be of importance to those interested in Europe's role in the fight against terrorism, and those who question the EU's role in securing EU member states against contemporary security threats.

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Immigration and Conflict in Europe by **Rafaela M. Dancygier**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 345pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 521 15023 1

Immigration and Conflict in Europe is an interesting book for everyone interested in migration issues. To begin it provides the reader with a general overview of existing

theories on migration and conflict where the author explains her conceptualisation of immigrant–native and immigrant–state conflict. This is followed by Part II, where patterns of immigrant conflict in Great Britain are described. The dynamics of racist violence are portrayed in the next part. All this sets the scene for the exploration of data on racist violence in Greater London's 32 boroughs, proving that the immigration of politically powerful South Asian migrants reinforces violent attacks towards them. In contrast, the migrants from Africa and the Caribbean, who are far less politically powerful, are not subjects of such attacks. The author demonstrates that this is due to the differences in economic conditions between the neighbourhoods.

In the next section she argues that the racist violence against migrants is not only a product of immigrant–native conflict but that it is part of the bigger 'fabric of such conflict' (p. 19). Part III tests this theory by analysing chosen boroughs in London (Tower Hamlets and Ealing) and two Midlands cities (Birmingham and Leicester). Working with samples of immigrants from different backgrounds Dancygier states that it is the economic conditions and the immigrants' political behaviour more than their ethnic origins that tend to cause conflicts. The fourth part focuses on national differences in immigrant conflicts, taking Germany and France as examples. Dancygier argues that the policy regulations that define immigrants' arrival, stay and economic entitlements are the factors most responsible for causing immigrant conflict. To highlight her points, the author analyses immigration and conflict across selected countries.

This book provides readers with an impressively high standard of research and clear arguments which show that migration conflict has its roots in the economic dimension of immigration regimes and migrants' political behaviour. Overall, the volume is highly recommended to readers who wish to explore the subject of migration and conflict in Europe comparatively.

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The Worlds of European Constitutionalism by Gráinne De Búrca and J. H. H. Weiler (eds). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 348pp., £19.99, ISBN 9780521177757

This book consists of five essays on two central issues of the constitutional theory of the European Union: (1)

the nature of European Union law; and (2) the nature of the European Union as a political community. The chapters by De Witte, Halberstam and Krisch deal mainly with the nature of European Union law. De Witte updates with great legal finesse the case for considering EU law as an experimental kind of public international law. Halberstam revisits pluralistic constitutional theory, which couples the characterisation of Union law as a constitutional order with a non-hierarchical and dialogical understanding of the relationship between the supranational, the national and the regional legal orders. Krisch takes pluralistic constitutional theory a step forward by considering it as the key tool to reconstruct the manifold constitutional orders in the post-national constellation he alleges we now inhabit.

In his turn, Walker largely dwells on the polity question, offering an analytical template to help rethink the role of law in European integration. Finally, De Búrca ties the two questions together by considering what we can learn about the nature of the European Union as a polity by studying the case law of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) (and outstandingly, the recent rulings on the Kadi cases) on the structural relationship between EU law and public international law. The five essays are framed by an intentionally provoking introductory chapter by Weiler – in which he puts forward a defence of political constitutionalism, the collective purpose of politics and the hierarchical dimension of democratic law – and supplemented by an epilogue consisting of five 'dialogues' between Weiler and each of the authors.

The book is important, but its overall influence on constitutional public discussion may be somewhat hampered by the excessive 'structural' character of the arguments and the avoidance of 'substantive' issues. Such issues are treated largely *en passant* (p. 50, economic freedoms), or in a way that seems to reflect very preliminary thought (p. 239, the OECD's fight against tax havens). Halberstam largely avoids discussion of the substantive fundamental rights concerns underlying the Kadi ruling (and on p. 174 refers uncritically to the 'global war on terror') while De Búrca limits herself to considering the extent to which the ECJ's ruling was not actually dictated by a concern with the subjective rights of the plaintiffs. The only exception is Walker's chapter, where the socio-economic dimension of European constitutionalism is considered (pp. 90ff.); but