

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Agergaard, Sine & Bonde, Hans 2013 (eds.) *Integration gennem kroppen. Idræt, etnicitet og velfærdspolitik*,<sup>1</sup> Migration & Integration, vol. 5, Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, Københavns Universitet. 223 pp.**

International migration and new ethnic minorities do not only challenge welfare policy in Scandinavia. They also challenge scholarly knowledge and research. The volume *Integration gennem kroppen*, edited by Sine Agergaard, ethnographer and social anthropologist at the University of Aarhus, and Hans Bonde, historian at the University of Copenhagen, both working at the respective institutes for sport, not only makes some chances and nuances, but also some problems visible. The introduction of the book directs attention towards problems between ethnicity, identity work and welfare policy, towards differences between integration, assimilation, pluralism and segregation - and towards sport. These problems are treated in three parts: historical and political aspects, social practice in local clubs and critical perspectives on integration problems.

The first part consists of three historical and political case studies. The first case is the Jewish sport in Denmark (Hans Bonde), which was since 1924 organised by the Zionist organisation 'Hakoah', based on immigrants from Eastern Jewry and controversial among the old established Danish Jewry, who favoured integration after Danish premises. The chapter is, however, rather narrowly focussed on the history during World War II, so that the complex relationship between organisational separation and bodily integration remains unclear. The second case is the German minority's sport and gymnastic movement in Southern Jutland since the 1920s (Jørn Hansen). There was sharp national-political confrontation since the 1970s, followed by cooperation and integration - or was it, as the chapter asks, rather a form of adaption or assimilation from the minority to the Danish majority? The third case: since the 1960s, as new minorities of 'guest workers' and later on refugees and applicants for asylum appeared in Denmark, the political system reacted top-down by integration programmes and sport-political projects (Sine Agergaard). How this worked on the practical level and bottom-up, remains, as the chapter underlines, a desideratum for empirical anthropology.

The second part consists of two cases of social practice in local clubs. In football, minority boys are subjected to discipline and 'order' in line with 'Danish values and norms giving, especially high priority to the education of 'the whole human being'. This favours 'imagined sameness', with the result of drop-out of non-Danish ethnic players (Martin Treumer Gregersen). In a Copenhagen Taekwondo club, linguistic practice is observed as an indicator of 'micro-integration'

(Lian Malai Madsen). Both chapters are illustrative, but remain on the superstructure level of values and language, and far from the body approach, which is suggested by the book title.

The third part tries to apply critical perspectives on integration problems, in three ways. One by accelerometer measuring in order to obtain 'direct objective data'. They show that children of immigrant background are not less physically active than ethnic Danish children (Glen Nielsen). This is remarkable, but the chapter explains the relative absence of minority children in Danish sport clubs on the basis of 'multiple regression models' by socio-economical 'factors', and this is less convincing. The statistical method cannot just be transferred to social studies as such.

In contrast, the narrative dimension of human life appears in qualitative interviews with five Turkish women (Gertrud Pfister & İlkur Hacisoğlu). In personal stories of exercise, sport, fitness and health, Danish-Turkish double identities appear, and the body obtains an important place, whether as religious hijab or as secular fitness, as pleasure of movement or striving to slimness (or as both), in isolation or festivity. Body cultural differences are interwoven with work situation and social status, marriage and divorce, children and time budget, rigorous Sunni Muslim and liberal Alevi Muslim practices.

The significance of culture reappears, finally, in the critical analysis of the integration programme 'Get2sport' (Annette Michelsen la Cour). Implemented as joint venture by the government and the sport federation DIF in 2004-2008, the programme title alluded to 'ghetto sport'. It aimed at using local Danish sport clubs as instrument for the solution of inter-ethnic problems - and met some obstacles. Whereas some researchers postulate that cultural conflict should be understood in - or be reduced to - social and economic terms, the chapter points to the cultural dimension of integration, using the cultural sociology of networks and Robert Putnam's concepts of bonding and bridging. The open weak networks of Danish associational sport culture meet closed strong networks from immigrant family culture. Danish sport clubs may, however, include more 'closed' elements than normally admitted and the immigrants' networks may become even closer by the diaspora alienation - thus their integration meets serious problems.

All in all, the volume has its strength in the combination of history, anthropology and cultural sociology. The overall tendency is critical against the top-down strategies and programmes of welfare policy, though some contributions do not reach farer than just this criticism. That is why they sometimes retain the top-down perspective and its management language about 'barriers', 'welfare parameters', etc. This

is enforced by a reductionist academic language in some chapters. There is talked about 'data' where experience is meant, 'explanations' where understanding is demanded, 'definitions' of human relations that cannot be defined, 'factors' instead of connections, influences and relations, 'individuals' instead of human beings and 'physical activity' where bodily movement is meant. This language is derived from natural sciences, more precisely from physics and obscures the central points of humanist studies. This is especially represented in the chapter about accelerometer measuring and socio-economic 'factors' - something like a caricature of scientist positivism invading humanities. In contrast, Hansen's historical narrative about Southern Jutland and Pfister and Hacısofuoğlu's anthropological narrative about Turkish women come near to people's life-world. Another academic mannerism is the habit to introduce chapters by detailed method reports, which is usual in university theses, but boring in a book like this. One would rather prefer more focus on relevant political theory on body culture, power and identity and ethnos.

The *body* is named in the book title and would, indeed, deliver an enlightening perspective, but it is absent already in the introduction and then in most chapters. It seems that the body is equated with sport. However, sport appears in most of the contributions as an organisation or as norms, values, languages and ideologies of club life, which are a superstructure over bodily activity. Body cultural dimensions are just shortly touched in relation to 'muscular Jewry', to quantified 'physical activity' and to beer, festivity and nakedness in Danish club culture - this falls short. Only the chapter about Turkish women really focusses on the body.

A further word of the book title remains undiscussed, too: *ethnicity*, related to ethnos, folk. Abstractions of bureaucratic-political correctness like *særpræg* (peculiarity), *befolkningslag* (population group) or 'minorities of other ethnic background than Danish' (is ethnic identity just background or cultural inside?) are means of linguistic avoidance. The relationship between ethnos (the cultural folk), the social folk ('we down here, facing those up there') and demos (the people of democracy) is complex and highly relevant for integration. Ethnic organisational separatism and social as well as democratic integration are in a paradoxical way related to each other. Hansen's study of national-popular conflicts in Southern Jutland and Michelsen's discussion of networks, bonding and bridging are steps towards a deeper discussion of ethnicity. Also, *identity*, which is referred to in the introduction and appears as double identity of Turkish women, deserves a deeper analysis, especially in relation to body culture.

The cultural manifestations of ethnicity in sport and body culture are always related to unbalances of *power*. It is here that gender, as in the case of the Turkish women, is especially important. But also welfare policy is not neutral to power, though many Scandinavian integration studies treat it as such. Power is not at least present in the view of 'those others' as 'problem groups' in several contributions of this volume, too. What often disappears is the other as resource enriching society and culture: What does this mean for body and sport?

Finally, there may appear important relations between ethnicity and *alienation*. 'The others' enter into a world that regards them as 'aliens', 'strangers', that is, into a situation of alienation or estrangement. How is this alienation produced? Alienation, which once had been important for critical theory, especially Karl Marx and the Frankfurt School, has been sadly neglected in recent social theory. The sharpened ethnic conflicts of our time show new dimensions of alienation and should motivate to revisit the term of alienation as: How is the stranger made? Which role do body, games and sport

play in this connection? This volume about integration through sport is a useful first step, but the book about 'integration through the body' is still unwritten.

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**Bartram, David & Poros, Maritsa V. & Monforte, Pierre (2014) *Key Concepts in Migration*, London: Sage Publications Ltd. 184 pp.**

**Hanlon, Bernadette & Vicino, Thomas J. (2014) *Global Migration – the basics*, London & New York: Routledge. 175 pp.**

There is a fierce competition for introductory textbooks on migration issues, both advanced and for newcomers to the field. As textbooks in migration studies often target the same audience, it is not only an interesting, but also a productive exercise to review them together. Identifying the strengths in one book makes it possible to reflect upon the choices of the other book. Similarly, in relation to the weaknesses of the two books. We, as readers, have expectations of textbooks treating the issue at stake comprehensively and if not, we expect the limitations to be clearly defined. Reviewing both publications in one review makes it possible to assess how the books meet such expectations. The two volumes reviewed here, each in their way, introduce new readers to key concepts and developments within migration studies. Do they succeed? The answer could be: partly yes and no.

Taking off with the volume written by Bernadette Hanlon and Thomas J. Vicino illustrates the difficulties in writing such a book. *Global Migration - the basics* is published as part of Routledge's series *The Basics* that offers readers introductions to all sorts of fields ranging from topics such as Judaism, to Public Relations over Theatre Studies and Artificial Intelligence. In all of these fields, the volume published in the basics series will be competing with more advanced volumes written within the same field. *Global Migration - the basics* is no exception here. This book could be of interest for readers needing a short introductory book about migration issues without any intentions of doing more reading on the issue. It could also be useful for the first-year undergraduate students as a book used in more general courses on politics or society where it would offer the brief introduction to migration issues. It would not be on the required level if it was to be used in more focussed degrees on migration. For that purpose, it is simply too basic. The problem is that the authors are well aware of the competition in the field. Throughout this book, they draw on other introductory volumes as Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller's *The Age of Migration* and Khalid Koser's *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction*. Doing so posits two problems. One, why the reader should not just pick up a copy of the aforementioned books instead and two that both of these volumes simply are better books. Especially *The Age of Migration* now out in the fifth edition this time with Hein de Haas as a third author. There is a reason for why this book is re-published. It is a thorough introduction to migration issues taking in a number of complexities. The three authors have set the bar at a very high level and offer a dynamic and reflective introduction to migration issue where the reader can use the companion website for updates, more case-studies and other purposes. I have used over the years for my own courses in migration and integration issues and will continue to do so.

*Global Migration - the basics* resembles *The Age of Migration* in different ways as it seeks to discuss migration from historical,

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economic, geographical, political and cultural aspects. The book has six chapters that introduce the reader to - well yes - the basics of migration. Explains how it is related to society, global economy and policy. Doing so in rather a few pages makes it too simplistic in some chapters. To illustrate their points, the authors move between different times and on different empirical levels. In a very few pages, the authors take us from some reflections about the German *Gastarbeiter* programme of the late 1950s and 1960s, to European Union policies from 2009 back to mobilisations among foreign garment-workers in Paris in the early 1980s. This *could* be useful to readers not wanting to read other books on migration as it does offer a glimpse of the complexities related to the issue of migration. The book is somewhat under-reflected in terms of conceptual discussions. Many concepts are not problematised. The selection of authors and works underpinning this book is not clear. Why are there no references to the work of Adrian Favell and Thomas Faist for instance? Both have contributed immensely to the field of integration and mobility (Favell) and transnationalism (Faist). Neither is there any reference to more recent discussions on mobility (and its relation to migration) as in the work done by John Urry. Each chapter is ended with a short suggestion to further reading, but again, the selected readings pointed to are not clear for somebody having worked in this field for some years.

I began reading the second book of this review *Key Concepts in Migration* with some reluctance. What could a book with 39 concepts, which is not already out there, really offer? Actually quite some I will say afterwards. My reluctance was also based on the concern that encyclopaedia-like works as this one are facing problems or competition from online resources. The days when a family used a quite substantial sum to buy a 20 volume encyclopaedia to have on their shelves and use more or less actively are probably gone. Not only Wikipedia, but also more substantial web-paged resources offer free-of-cost or low-cost access to all sorts of knowledge. Whereas *Global Migration - the basics*, in my opinion, cannot compete with more established works as *The Age of Migration*, *Key Concepts in Migration* does not seek to do so. What it offers is well reflected and concise sections on selected concepts. As a textbook, it could be regarded as a supplement to introductory works as the mentioned and be of use on different academic levels of education. The book also seeks to bring in other readers than from the educational institutions, however. In the introduction, the authors situate migration as a key policy issue and as something not only students and scholars will have to think about. Migration is here to stay and how can we get beyond ill-informed stereotypes the book seems to ask. That is a noble purpose and one that the book does a lot to meet in a reflected and nuanced way.

The 39 sections begin with the assumption that migration is a politicised issue and it makes this politisation visible in the different sections and brings out reflections on how an issue could be problematised differently. This perhaps also results in one of the weaker aspects with this book. If one would expect short-cut concise answers to key issues of migration, this is probably not the book to consult. Each chapter opens with a definition of the concept to be treated. Taking the section on 'citizenship' as an example, the sections open with the following definition. 'A formal status denoting rights (political rights, in particular) and a more general concept for understanding social membership. Some immigrants become naturalised citizens; immigration has also transformed the meaning of citizenship itself'. Whereas the first part of the definition could be seen as a definition prober, the following parts can hardly so. Instead of confining the meaning of the concept to a linear

and simplistic understanding, it opens up this understanding and indirectly problematises what is embedded in this concept. This happens with several of the selected concepts. Nevertheless, this is exactly what makes the book very useful for students of migration and perhaps less so for policy-makers and civil servants which the book also seeks to bring in among the readers. Each concept is treated reflexively outlining the complexities and different ways of working with a particular concept. This somehow pinpoints what Harry S. Truman complained about in relation to how he could make use of his policy advisors: 'Give me a one-handed economist! All my economists say, On the one hand on the other'. The sections on 'integration', 'multiculturalism' and 'social cohesion' illustrate this problem well. There are no simple answers and the book posits more questions than it answers. Opening up for complexities instead of reducing them could potentially delimit the group of readers for this type of publication. On the other hand - to stay loyal to the logic of the book - it will then make it more interesting for readers having some familiarity with the issue at stake.

The selection of concepts is very good in *Key Concepts of Migration*. I do not lack any key concepts as such. Some of them indeed show a sensitivity and innovation as they include an issue as 'gendered migration' and 'restrictionism vs. open borders'. Both can hardly be regarded as concepts, but the short sections show how these become concepts in the political discourse. The range of literature used as a basis for the sections is likewise good. It is impressive how the authors can bring out the most central scholarly debates on, for instance, a concept of 'ethnicity' in just a few pages. It draws on most of the relevant scholars within the field. A book of this nature obviously will have some repetition of concepts and cases. This one is no exception. We, for instance, learn about the German naturalisation policy framework in quite a few sections, but that, at the same time, makes sense. This is not a book that one sits down and reads from A to Z, but a tool that one consults when wanting to get a short introduction to a specific concept. Each section is ended with selected keywords referring to other of the included concepts of the book. This is a very good and useful tool. The sections are furthermore ended with a number of suggestions for further key readings that overall include much of the relevant literature.

These are two books that are useful, each in their ways. *Global Migration - the basics* mostly so for readers not needing a deep understanding of migration issues, but rather a short introduction to central themes. *Key Concepts in Migration* would be more useful to readers of the *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* and much so to those teaching courses on aspects of migration at different educational levels.

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**Bjølund, Tor & Bergh, Johannes (2013) *Minoritetsbefolkningens møte med det politiske Norge*, Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 243 pp.**

The book *Minoritetsbefolkningens møte med det politiske Norge*<sup>2</sup> aims to give a comprehensive approach to the political participation of the immigrant population in Norway. Yet, despite the title of the book, the authors concentrate their approach to particular groups of immigrants and their children, those with non-Western background. The authors concentrate on studying voter participation among citizens with non-Western background for two reasons. The first is the presumption that immigrants with Western background come

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from similar political environments. The second is that immigrants with non-Western background form a majority. They refer to a report of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development OECD report stating that they correspond to 76% of all immigrants in Norway while the average for OECD countries is 71%. The authors of the book, Tor Bjørklund, professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Oslo, and Johannes Bergh, PhD in political science and researcher at the Institute for Social Research, Oslo, have both worked with data analysis of electoral participation among citizens of foreign origin on behalf of the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development in several Norwegian elections. As a theoretical frame of reference, they use Stein Rokkan's (1987) four thresholds for citizen participation as a tool to approach the subject. The chapters of this book are organised according to these four thresholds: legitimisation, incorporation, representation and executive power.

The book begins with a definition of immigrants and citizens with non-Western background, which include citizens of the third world and also Eastern Europeans. Statistics Norway (SSB) stopped using this term in 2008 as it has been controversial, but the authors feel that it is still useful in their research. After a short history of immigration to Norway and immigrants' right to participate in municipal and national elections, the authors present a survey of immigrants' party preferences in elections during the period 1983–2011. They also present a survey of voter participation among citizens with non-Western background and variations between different ethnic groups. The authors continue with a chapter about how the immigrants are recruited and how immigrant groups are represented in the political bodies. The book finishes with a presentation of personal profiles of some immigrant politicians.

Political turnout, according to the authors, is a sign of immigrants' integration. Voting, the immigrants show participation in society and willingness to integrate. The merit of this book is that it gives an overview from the elections in 1983 until 2011. The finding, from previous studies and from the authors own research since 2007, is that immigrants predominantly vote for left-wing parties. Support for right-wing parties has tended to depend on individual politicians with immigrant background managing to get their potential voters to the polls.

According to the survey, the largest group of immigrant politicians are Norwegian Pakistanis. The reason for this, according to the authors, can be found from their migration history to Norway. They have been the biggest group of non-Western immigrants since the immigration stop in 1975 and have also been in the country longer than other non-Western immigrant groups. Recently, more nationalities have come to Norway and the picture is becoming more diverse. The authors also found that most local politicians with immigrant background are male, while national politicians are women. The main reason for this, according to the authors, is the way election lists work in Norway. In local elections, voters can give personal votes to candidates, something that is not possible in the national elections.

How minority politicians become incorporated into politics is one of the main themes in the book. The authors analyse the role that social contacts and networks play in recruitment practices. According to them, most immigrants come into politics by invitation from Norwegian politicians or groups with which they have a social relationship. In most cases, the recruitment is made through trade unions, sport organisations, religious organisations and less directly by the political parties. The possibility of personal election also plays a major role in incorporating immigrants and immigrant communities

into politics. Here, the authors note that immigrants are more likely than Norwegians to choose their favourite candidate. Primarily, this is because the electoral systems, according to the authors, are different and more person-oriented in other countries. In Norway, person-oriented choices are of recent date and only in the local elections. Hence, the authors see a certain over-representation of elected immigrant candidates in relation to the population in local elections due to the possibility of giving personal votes to candidates

The chapter on representation is interesting. The authors explain the democratic need political parties have for finding candidates representing different social groups such as trade unions, women, youth, different religions or ethnic groups. To some extent, this issue has promoted immigrant women's candidacy as they could represent two desirable groups at once on election lists with limited numbers of slots. At the same time, most candidates and elected representatives say that they primarily represent the party and not a particular group. These candidates do not want to see themselves first as representatives of their immigrant group even if they get involved in things that affect them.

One difficulty with the study, according to the authors, is the low statistical base. First in 2012 did the studied group of immigrants with non-Western background go over 320,000 from just over 30,000 in 1983. The authors also conducted a survey among representatives with minority background elected in the local elections in 2007. Of the 109 who were asked to answer a questionnaire, only 56 answered. Even so, the party affiliation among the 56 respondents corresponded very closely to the party affiliations for the whole group of 109. However, a particular value of the book is the presentation of some MPs and some local politicians and how they have advanced in politics. It gives a more personal approach to the persons involved and their interests in politics for themselves and the relationships between them and society.

Overall, the book makes a contribution to the analysis of immigrants' integration and political participation. The reader gets a good and positive overview of the role of immigrants in Norway's politics. However, the authors' choice of studying political participation only amongst non-Western populations makes it difficult to compare with studies in other countries. It is also difficult to compare Norway with other Nordic countries, since the official view seems to be to count in statistics as 'foreign background' also those persons who have been born in Norway to foreign-born parents. In Sweden, for example, a distinction is made between those born in Sweden with foreign background and those born in other countries. Another difficulty for comparison is that also many other researchers make the same distinction and do not take into account the other migrant groups. Possible future work should include immigrants from Western countries as well. It is not certain that they vote to the same degree as Norwegians or more than citizens from non-Western countries.<sup>3</sup>

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**Johnson, Heather L. (2014) *Borders, Asylum and Global Non-Citizenship. The Other Side of the Fence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 251 pp.**

*Borders, Asylum and Global Non-Citizenship. The Other Side of the Fence* investigates the politics of non-citizens, control and containment practices, irregularity, migrants and political agency. Johnson's work is a contribution to the literature that sheds the light on the relationship between state sovereignty and asylum seekers, refugees and migrants (for references see Chapter 1). It aims to demonstrate how the development of an informal politics of containment and control is asserted at the global level and how this politics' power shapes local realities and migrants' life experiences. Describing continuities and ruptures in politics of control, the book insightfully shifts the attention from the dichotomy between forced/voluntary migration to irregularity/regularity.

The author analyses three case studies: the Nduta refugee camp in Tanzania, the border zone between Spain and Morocco and the off-shore detention centre in Australia. These are used as archetypal sites where the relationship between sovereignty and (ir)regular migrants is enacted. By investigating the policies and practices of containment (Tanzania), confinement (Australia) and border control (Morocco and Spain), Johnson does not compare the case-studies, but demonstrates the similarities in the way irregularity is normalised and performed by the state as well as migrants transgressing the edicts.

Johnson clearly stated objectives in the first chapter help the reader to trace the links between global and national dynamics, local context and migrants' experience. One of the strengths of this contribution is the detailed analysis in the creation and development of the global regime for international migration (Chapter 3). By exploring the historical trajectories of the international regime of asylum and its institutionalisation together with the ideology behind its transformation, Johnson offers a compelling overview of the changes in terms of migration management at the global level. In doing so, she also scrutinises the importance of the concept of sovereignty in shaping our political order and its articulation in terms of political identity embedded in the fictional boundary between outside/inside or citizens/non-citizens. Through this divide, the work emphasises how the entitlement of citizenship rights symbolise not only the right to have a voice, but also the right of political agency, following an approach well grounded in the IR analysis on migration. Chapters 4 and 5 offer a rich historical investigation of the asylum policies on the national level and unveil the entrenchment between irregularity and asylum in the different case-studies. Johnson argues that conceiving migration as either forced or voluntary imposes a limit in understanding the dynamics at work in the context of asylum. Following the premises of the book, Johnson introduces how state practices and discourses create a further distinction between regular and irregular migrants or asylum seekers and refugees. Indeed, the significance of this shift lies in the emphasis of the ways through which the host state recognises the migrant with the right to be a legitimised asylum seeker or refugee. In other words, the rights of the refugee or asylum seeker become meaningless if the state does not recognise them as such through its norms. Through this process of recognition - based not on the forced character of the migration - the entrenchment between the global policies and the national ones creates a more strict and rigid framework for the migrant to navigate. From this perspective, the work succeeds in showing how irregularity becomes a tool for the state to develop policies of control and containment in relation to migration.

The rupture with the traditional divide between forced and voluntary is also connected to the postcolonial approach the author engages with. The part devoted to the methodology (Chapter 2) is engaging, continuing the theme of breaking with the silences that characterise the discipline. The traditional IR sites of inquiry are analysed in dialogue with the voices of irregular migrants shifting the attention of the discipline towards an approach in which the experiences of migrants reflect the structures of the global migration regime. This engagement becomes extremely important in the IR studies for two reasons: first, it gives attention to how these policies are effective in the life of migrants and second, it emphasises their role as 'unauthorised speakers' in the making of politics. At the same time, this connection also allows to grasp the dynamics at work in the creation of a global asylum regime at the national, local and individual level.

The inclusion of migrants' narratives and their experiences vis-à-vis the restrictive policies imposed at the national level or between borders demonstrates how migrants' political agencies are asserted and shaped, which shows the meaning of irregularity in concrete detail (Chapters 5 and 6). However, one of the weaknesses of the book is the lack of textured and rich narratives or ethnographic descriptions of the migrants' experiences. The narratives are sometimes mediated by the voice of activists, humanitarian and social workers as well as the analyses and explanations of the author herself. Compared to the dense description of the policies and their analyses, richer narratives would have been more powerful and compelling also with regards to creating a dialogue between policies and migrants' experiences. At the same time, the mediation of these instances of political agencies by another interlocutor weakens the power of the action itself and risks a misleading or disempowering portrait of migrants and their agency.

The question of political agency is also intermingled with Johnson's analysis of the temporariness embedded in the concept of irregularity. From the state perspective, irregularity is future-oriented, aiming to prevent future migration or stopping irregularity before it happens. On the other hand, migrants' temporal perspective is the absence of envisioning the future - the future is a condition imposed by the host state in which permanent temporariness is expressed and characterised by both migrants' mobility and political agency. Following Soguk (1999: 28), Johnson proposes a concept of agency as the capacity to be political and, in the context of irregularity, one that is based on 'moments of agency'. Moments of agency here are conceived as an action that disrupts or transgresses the policy and scrutinised by the author through instances situated in the context of the three case studies. However, conceiving agency as moments might lead to a limited concept of agency if they are exclusively based on the encounter with state practices of containment and control. Indeed, the book would have benefitted from other instances in which agency is enacted in the migrants' everyday life - not solely policy-oriented to have a further understanding of agency, particularly in relation to the question of temporariness. From this perspective, seeing irregularity in temporal terms rather than spatial is an insight of the book and a concept that deserves more attention in future analysis, particularly how spatial and temporal exclusions intersect each other both from a state and migrants' perspective.

Overall, *Borders, Asylum and Global Non-Citizenship. The Other Side of the Fence* is an insightful and up-to-date contribution to the literature on sovereignty and migrants, particularly for students who approach the topic for the first time. The introduction of the concept of irregularity in relation to migration and state policy represents a crucial point in understanding contemporary realities. Moreover,

Johnson's attention to migrants' experiences of migration in dialogue with official documents and policy makers is a welcome shift in the way IR frames and deconstructs the national and international politics of asylum. The inclusion of the narratives of those who are directly affected by the current national policies and the informal regime of containment and control at the global level allows students to engage in different ways with questions of rights, citizenship and non-citizenship as well as political exclusion in relation to migration.

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**Joppke, Christian (2015) *The Secular State Under Siege. Religion and Politics in Europe and America*, Cambridge: Polity. 236 pp.**

Since the last three decades, there has been a growing corpus on the return of public religion or politically assertive religions. Scholars from different disciplines, from sociology to international relations and politics, are interested in understanding and exploring the concepts of secularism and secularisation as well as the importance of religion in contemporary society, politics and international relations. *The Secular State Under Siege* is a timely book that unpacks the relationship between religion and politics 'from a historical and institutional perspective with a dual focus on Western Europe and Northern America, Christianity and Islam.' (p. 1). The book develops several avenues of inquiry, including religion in social and political theory, the relationship between secularism and liberal democratic state, the emergence of the idea of secularism, and so forth. The main goal of the book is to explore why Islam in Europe and the Christian Right in the USA pose significant challenges to the secular liberal democratic states.

Christian Joppke, prominent German political sociologist, traces the meaning and conceptualisation of religion by drawing on various scholars from Weber to Marx and Freud, from Durkheim to Berger and Luckmann (Chapter 1). He also offers an intriguing discussion on the concept of secular politics and state by comparing the liberal (e.g. Hobbesian) and republican (e.g. Schmitt-Kahnian) traditions. Joppke argues that whereas the liberal understanding of politics advocates the idea of states being neutral in terms of dictating 'good life', hence, advocating a secular political order, the republican tradition seeks to "bring back 'highest good' into politics" (p. 7) by utilising the concept of political theology of Carl Schmitt.

Joppke, in Chapter 2, shifts the focus to the concept of secularism and deals with a variety of issues, for example, the etymology of the term secular, the process of secularisation and its relationship with Christianity, the rise of nationalism and multiplicity of understanding of secularism. He offers a chronological historical analysis of Christian history, with a particular focus on certain issues that led secularisation and the emergence of secularism as a political framework. He particularly focusses on the Christian God-King dualism, the Church and legal pluralism as things that are specific to Christianity and things that enabled the Christian tradition to give way to secularisation. Thus, Joppke asserts that 'only Christianity would engender secularization', not Islam (p. 52).

Drawing on Rajeev Bhargava and his critique of Western understanding of secularism (e.g. it is being universal), Joppke argues

that there is not one secularism, but secularisms (pp. 72-73). At this point, he draws upon examples from Europe and the USA. Joppke argues that the mainstream model of state-church relationships in Europe with the exception of France, is a sort of liberal modest-establishment of religion, where religion is not expelled from the public and political spheres, but accommodated. Europe is compared with the USA, where there is a strict constitutional separation between the church and the state, though paradoxically "there is no clear separation between religion and politics as demonstrated in the routine references to 'God' in American political language." (pp. 74-75). This section is particularly interesting and helpful because it traces the differences between the European and American models of secularism and the intra-European differences regarding the state-church relationships.

Then, Joppke moves on to discuss his first case: the Christian Right in the USA (Chapter 3). The main argument of the chapter is that the Christian Right, consisting mostly of Evangelicals, poses a significant challenge to the American secularism. He argues that the institutional separation between state and church is a result of the 'Establishment Clause' (p. 93). The clause does not allow any religion, including Christianity to intervene in the politics. It is not even possible to make a distinction between majority and minority religions, that is, no religious establishment at all. Therefore, the 'Establishment Clause' is the number one enemy for the Christian Right in America, which has been trying to bring Christian values into the politics that Joppke considers as a threat to the American secularism. The Christian Right has been closely associated with the Republican Party (p. 105), thereby, they have been very effective in political sphere. They have played a substantial role in the formation of a more 'conservative and anti-separationist' approach in relation to the state-church relationships, especially when Republican presidents were in power (p. 125). As a result, Joppke argues that 'under the influence of the Christian Right, which slowly worked its way into America's highest court, the old separationist approach is giving way to a new integrationist one' (p.126).

Islam in Europe is the subject of Chapter 4. According to Joppke (p. 128), Europe's Islam 'is equivalent to the Christian Right in America in being the major challenge to the secular state'. He distinguishes Islam and the Christian Right in the sense that Islam is a minority religion in and external to Europe, whereas Christianity is the majority religion in the USA. In fact, Joppke claims, one of the major differences between them is the tendency to separate the sacred and profane (p.136). Whereas Islam is in favour of fusion and unity of the state and religion, Christian Liberal Europe promotes separation of the two (p. 136). The main argument of the chapter is that Islam and liberalism are incompatible. Muslims' illiberal attitudes, especially regarding sexuality and women, pose significant challenges to the secular liberal democratic state in Europe. That is, he argues that Muslims in Europe respect the political institutions, yet the problem with them occurs in relation to moral values and sexuality (pp.157-158). Although Joppke might be right in the sense that some Muslims insist upon illiberal practices, such as forced marriages, it is a huge generalisation to depict Muslims as if all of them are illiberal, thus, all of them posing a significant challenge to the secular liberal democratic state. Moreover, he insistently asserts an incompatibility of Islam and liberalism without citing those who claim the opposite (e.g. Eickelman and Piscatori 1996; Kurzman 1998), let alone challenging them. Joppke, with regards to his analysis and critique of Islam, prefers the easy way: by repeating clichés.

There are a number of issues that need to be addressed. For the sake of brevity, I will only focus on two of them. First, Joppke

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contends that 'secularism is necessary for liberal democratic state' (p. 84) in a normative sense and considers secularism as something inherently good. While he promotes secularism (and the liberal-democratic form of state) as a 'good' and necessary value (though, without justifying it), he takes the concept of liberal neutrality for granted and assumes that the liberal democratic state is 'neutral about religion and ways of life and does not recognise the existence of groups' (p. 148). Unlike Joppke, many scholars (e.g. Young 1990; Kymlicka 1995; Parekh 2000) argue that the idea of liberal state as neutral is misleading. These scholars, who mostly focus on issues pertaining to multiculturalism, immigration, minorities, women, etc., argue that the neutrality of the liberal democratic state in culturally diverse settings has not been proved; that is, states often support one or some cultural groups over others.

Second, Joppke tries to explain why it was Christianity and not Islam that gave way to secularisation and facilitated secular states. For instance, he argues that Islam could not lead to secularism because it has, as a public religion, never lost its status in the Muslim-majority countries (p. 54), which is not true in many cases. Founders of modern Turkey, for instance, implemented draconian reforms to transform the religious Turkish society into a secular one, hence, they imprisoned Islam into a private sphere until a new middle class of urban believers emerged in the 1990s and reclaimed Islam's status in the Turkish society. That is contrary to Joppke's claim; Islam has long lost its status as a public religion in Turkey. By disregarding such instances, Joppke presents an unsophisticated differentiation between Islam and Christianity, which is also highly biased in his account of Islam.

Despite the aforementioned shortcomings, *The Secular State Under Siege* is a timely book in the sense that it makes an important contribution to the growing literature on the role of public religion in society and politics. I would recommend this book to those who are interested in the idea of secularism and the relationship between religion and state in Europe and the USA.

Erdem Dikici\*

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## Notes

1. The title in English: *Integration through the body. Sport, ethnicity, and welfare policy*. The English translation made by the reviewer.
2. In English: Minority communities' encounters with the political Norway. The English translation is made by the reviewer.
3. There are two works by the Statistical Office referring to the elections in 2009, by Kristin Henriksen, and 2013, by Kjersti Stabell Wiggen and Vebjørn Aalandslid, which make a good complement to this study.

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