

BOOK REVIEWS

Ahmed, Leila (2011) *A Quiet Revolution: The Veil's Resurgence, from the Middle East to America*, New Haven: Yale University Press. 360 pp.

I don't often call books published by academic presses "gripping reads", but I'll make an exception here. In her informative and enjoyable new book, Leila Ahmed, professor at the Harvard Divinity School, guides the reader through several terrains: women and Islam, Islamism, as well as to some extent post-World War II Middle Eastern politics. From the very start of the book, Ahmed is clear that she is wrestling with the changing symbolism and significance of the hijab. For her, the hijab is not simply a veil worn by observant Muslims. Rather, as she writes, "having grown up in Cairo in the 1940s, the hijab that I was seeing now in America, in its looks and style, powerfully evoked the hijab I recalled seeing in childhood worn by the women of the Muslim Brotherhood – and only by the women of the Muslim Brotherhood" (3). This leads to one of the major questions guiding much of the book: "Why, after nearing disappearing from many Middle Eastern and Muslim-majority societies, had the veil made a comeback, and how had it spread with such remarkable swiftness?" (8).

The book is divided into two parts, with Part 1, consisting of eight chapters, examining the resurgence of the veil as well as Islamism. The three chapters in Part II focus primarily on the migration of the veil to the United States, and the struggles that are involved in this process. In the first chapter, Ahmed examines how the British colonial presence in Egypt (lasting from 1882 to 1954) served as the broader context of the unveiling movement. The British presence was instrumental in creating political divisions in Egypt between intellectuals and politicians who welcomed the British presence and those "nationalist" politicians and intellectuals who opposed colonial interference. According to Ahmed, it was the long-term cultural fallout from this divide that created the widespread assumption that the presence or absence of the veil, in any given society, was an important indicator of whether such a society was "advanced" or "backward" (35). As Ahmed tells it, the technological, cultural, and political ideas derived from Europe became very enticing for many Egyptians. As the combined forces of wanting to be European and the stigmatisation of the veil as "backward" progressed, "Egyptian

women increasingly appeared in the streets with ever lighter veils, and soon with no veils at all" (38). However, Ahmed is careful to point out that unveiling suggested nothing about their level of religiosity.

In the next chapter, Ahmed points out that for the first half of the twentieth century and until the end of the Nasser regime in the late 1960s, the hijab was a rare sight in many parts of Egypt. As this started to change in the 1970s, Ahmed seeks to discover the social forces that underpinned this transformation. From her experience growing up in Cairo, Ahmed notes that it was initially the women of the Muslim Brotherhood who invariably wore the hijab. The Muslim Brotherhood, founded in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna, addressed the economic needs of the people during the Depression era. Al-Banna argued, however, that the Brotherhood also has broader goals such as the ending of imperialism, establishing an Islamic state, as well as achieving social justice. When Gamal Abdel Nasser came to power in 1952, he had the support of the Brotherhood at the outset. However, after an assassination attempt in 1954, Nasser banned the organisation and arrested its leaders.

The rise of Arab nationalism under the Nasser regime also worried the monarchy in Saudi Arabia, which initiated efforts to counter not only Nasserism but also Arab nationalism in general. According to Ahmed, these efforts, particularly through organisations like the Muslim World League, would be one of the driving forces behind the Islamic Resurgence, as well as the veil. With respect to women, Nasser's government actively supported women's equality, and during the period, according to Ahmed, uncovered women were the norm. Things began to change following the defeat of the Arab armies by Israel in the war of 1967. It was argued, after their defeat in 1948, that such humiliation would never again be visited on Arab countries. As Ahmed notes, following the 1967 defeat, "a mood of religiosity" swept the country and people began to see the secular ideology of the current regime as misguided.

This new religiosity would undergird the rise of Islamist groups following Nasser's death in 1970 and the following era of Anwar Sadat. Upon coming to power, Sadat distanced the country from the Soviet Union, embraced capitalism, and sought alignment with the West. In contrast to the secular and socialist heritage of Nasser, Sadat continued to release Muslim Brothers from prison and "swathed himself in the language of religion" (68). As Ahmed writes,

this was the time, particularly following the 1973 Yom Kippur war, that the new veil and Islamic dress began to be seen on the streets of Cairo and other Egyptian cities. According to scholars writing at the time, the appearance of the veil was linked to the emerging Islamic religiosity largely confined to the universities. Women's different dresses allowed them to identify themselves and others as part of this new movement and develop a sense of belonging.

While many of the immediately following chapters recount academic studies during the period which examined the reasons Muslim women adopted the veil, Chapter 6 examines studies focusing particular on the veil's connection with the Islamist movement. Chapters 7 and 8 trace the migration of Islamism to North America and the creation of organisations that reflected the Islamist perspective. Ahmed provides a rather short but interesting discussion of Muslim migration to the United States in the post-World War II period, rightly pointing out the significance of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which abolished the national origin quotas that had restricted immigration from countries outside Europe. As Ahmed and other scholars have noted, with Islamists facing persecution throughout the Muslim world, they were fleeing in exile to places like the United States.

The second half of the book focuses on the post-9/11 period, looking particularly at the new conversations taking place in the United States with respect to women and the symbols of their oppression. Much of this conversation, Ahmed notes, also gave rise to a "new level of Muslim feminist activism – a level unprecedented in my own lifetime in America" (196). While the three chapters in Part II cover territory that will be familiar to anyone who closely follows the news – namely, the consequences of 9/11 for Muslims in the United States – Ahmed does so through fresh research with Muslim women in the United States (Chapter 9), an examination of how 9/11 affected Muslim organisations (Chapter 10), and an exploration of Muslim women activism in the post-9/11 period (Chapter 11). In her interviews with Muslim women, their expressions of the veil as a symbol of identity and community confounded Ahmed. What is rather surprising for Ahmed is that the very organisations and climate that one would imagine to produce a rather "conservative" Islamic outlook has often led to, if not the opposite, at least something very different than expected. As she notes, her research has led her to an "astonishing conclusion": "It is after all Islamists and the children of Islamists – the very people whose presence in this country had initially alarmed me – who were now in the vanguard of those who were most fully and rapidly assimilating into the distinctively American tradition of activism in pursuit of justice" and women's rights in Islam (303). This, for Ahmed, is indeed a welcome development.

The full richness of this engaging text has of course not been discussed in this short review. The book will be of great interest to migration scholars who study the movement of ideas and objects across borders, diaspora politics, diaspora organisational dynamics, and, of course, scholars of Islam, Muslim studies, or feminist activism. One weakness of the text, probably the result of stylistic decisions made by the author or editors, is the lack of engagement with the vast swath of scholarship on Islam and women. While Ahmed deals with many texts, it is perhaps not an exaggeration to note that "Islam and women" is a massively studied field, made up of a mountain of ever-growing research literature. Much of this literature, which Ahmed is no doubt aware of, is not explicitly present in the book. As such, the book may prove difficult for undergraduate students hoping to get a grasp of the academic debate. Indeed, I assigned this book as part of a Sociology of Religion course I was teaching and many of the students were "lost" from the book's earliest pages. It will, however,

help to spark lively discussion in more senior undergraduate or graduate classes.

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Attias-Donfut, Claudine, Cook, Joanne, Hoffman, Jaco & Waite, Louise (eds.) (2012) *Citizenship, Belonging and Intergenerational Relations in African Migration*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 205 pp.

Recent studies have provided a global context for African migration by showing that the movement of Africans across national borders and continents is part of current global processes of social, economic and political change. This book offers at least two major theoretical and empirical contributions to studies on African migration. The first derives from the authors' observation that while research on African migrants has been increasing, there has been a lacuna on studies that deal specifically with African migrants in a comparative context. The second major contribution is the use of an intergenerational approach to African migration. According to the authors, research on familial and extra-familial intergenerational relations has not provided essential knowledge on the impact of migration on intergenerational relations and inversely, on the effects of intergenerational relations in shaping post-settlement experiences. As a product of multi-disciplinary scholars in sociology, social anthropology, migration studies, gerontology, generational studies, demography and population studies, human geography, history and psychology, this book broadens the often restrictive scope of national studies on African migration by examining the settlement experiences of African immigrants across two continents, Africa and Europe. It offers a deeper analysis of the significance of socio-historical context and relational dynamics in shaping migration experiences.

The material gathered is organised into three country cases – France (Chapter 5), Britain (Chapter 6) and South Africa (Chapter 7). Each of these is skillfully integrated within the socio-historical contexts of these respective countries, as much as they are woven into the wider historical migration of Africans within the African continent and beyond it. Given that there has not been much research on the settlement experiences of migrants from post-colonial African countries with long histories of migration to Britain, France and South Africa (p. 7), the book brings an important perspective on the synchrony of post-colonialism, multiculturalism, integration and newer, complex forms of racism. Annotated by quotations and narratives of those who participated in interviews and focus group sessions, each case study shows how individual African immigrants place themselves within the family, community, transnational networks, as well as in the educational and work environments in the receiving society.

The collection gives insight into the relational and intersectional dynamics at play and the divergent experiences of belonging they generate: for one second-generation Somali woman interviewed in Britain, feelings of belonging (p. 128); for another, feelings of exclusion (p. 123) and for yet another, feelings of simultaneous belonging and displacement that create confusion (p. 129). Furthermore, while many first-generation African immigrants in Britain are reported to have experienced discrimination in employment, educational and neighbourhood settings on the grounds of religion and skin colour (p. 121), all the respondents in the South African sample are said to have experienced overt and covert forms of discrimination and xenophobia in all spheres of life in South Africa (p. 145). Moreover, and in stark

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contrast to these two cases, first-generation African immigrants in France reportedly mentioned no experiences of discrimination, nor did they infer unemployment and working below one's qualifications as discrimination. Instead, it was the second generation that alluded to racial discrimination in the school system. For example, high-achieving African students reportedly experienced being dissuaded by school authorities from pursuing competitive careers (p. 97), thereby effectively inheriting their parents' social inequalities, in a new form. With an overall sample of informants from Angola, Benin, Burkina-Faso, Cameroon, Central Africa, Comoros, Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Senegal, Somalia, Togo, Uganda and Zimbabwe, this study provides an illustrative platform for challenging misleading notions about Africa as a uniform, undifferentiated continent. It also interrogates the misconception of African immigrants as an ageless, homogeneous and genderless collectivity.

The case studies presented are empirically rich and both the introductory and concluding chapters are compelling and engaging. One of the book's outstanding gems is Chapter 3, in which Claudine Attias-Donfut and Louise Waite present a theoretical overview of the concept of generation, arguing methodically and rigorously for the relevance and utility of an intergenerational approach to studying migration and processes of belonging. Subsequently, in Chapter 8, Attias-Donfut, Joanne Cook and Jaco Hoffman sum up the value of the intergenerational approach when they affirm that "it illuminates how belongings are influenced by generational ties and transmission", and that it enables comparisons of "how different generations negotiate and construct their attachments and sense of belonging to place(s)" (p. 180). In terms of achieving these goals, the contributors to this book should be applauded for having creatively and productively fused intergenerational studies and migration studies through their examination of African migratory experiences.

There are, however, certain dissonances that are hard to ignore. To put this into perspective, the study shows that there was apparently an extreme and pervasive form of discrimination felt acutely by African immigrants and their children in South Africa, in all aspects of life (p. 145). This is juxtaposed with a conversely more subtle and covert form of discrimination, experienced as lack of employment opportunities for first-generation African immigrants in France and Britain (p. 169). For African Muslims of both generations living in Britain, particularly for women due to their use of headscarves, Islamophobia is identified as a rising concern. One would argue that there is clearly a resonance in terms of intolerance, whether this applies to Islamophobia or xenophobia. It is, therefore, surprising that a detailed comparative analysis is not drawn between the Islamophobia experienced in Britain and the xenophobia experienced in South Africa. It would have been enriching to see some engagement with the location of Islamophobia within the social, historical, racial and political context that shaped it in Britain as well as in France, where it clearly operates under the guise of meritocracy, given how the book deals commendably with the history and context in which xenophobia arose and flourished in South Africa (Chapter 7). In the same vein, the book could have explored a more comprehensive theoretical inquiry into and analysis of *citizenship* and *belonging*, in much the same way that it gives the theme of *intergenerational relations* an extensive and profound analysis. In this regard, should there be a future revision of the book that addresses the glaring complexities of race and the apparent invisibility of racism to which the case studies allude, such a work would add to the growing literature in Critical Race Theory. Furthermore, it would furnish valuable, new insights

into how racism is conceptualised and how it operates in different migration contexts. Presumably, the editors will also appreciate the need to rigorously check for grammatical and stylistic errors that appear in parts of Chapter 2 and 4.

In spite of the aforementioned deficiencies, this book is a remarkable contribution to emerging critical literature which interrogates the notion of undifferentiated, ageless or genderless African migrants. The claims put forward inform as much as they inspire, inviting readers to extend their social gaze to other social actors that are underexplored in studies on African migration, such as those left behind in the country of emigration. From references made to aspirations of return, to preferences of being cared for in old age by relatives, to hopes of being buried in the country of origin, the book urges a more effective engagement with the concept of ageing in migration studies and a critical examination of the interplay between ageing and migration. It also opens up to other wider debates about issues confronting African immigrants and their transnational networks. One example relates to the finding that migration facilitates the shifting of gender hierarchies (p. 177). While it would suffice to focus exclusively on the gendered implications of migration for the first-generation migrants, the editors extend their gendered analysis to examine the effects of shifting gender hierarchies on the children of migrants. In arguing that "the agency afforded by migration enables parents to break with some of the more restrictive ties to the old culture" and to "embrace the opening up of opportunities to their daughters" (ibid.), the editors demonstrate how their use of an intergenerational approach allows for a gendered, relational analysis that cuts across informant hierarchies that traditionally render adult migrants the primary subjects of research. The potential implications of their cross-cutting studies are enormous. Whether it is by giving visibility to previously silenced social actors, or digging up and exposing differences within and across groups, while remaining attentive to relational dynamics – should these be overt or subtle, oppressive or subversive, affinities or tensions, well-documented or under-researched – the book remains a pioneering study in its own right within African migration studies. Attias-Donfut, Cook, Hoffman and Waite offer a collection that will undoubtedly inspire students and researchers in migration, race and ethnic studies, gender studies, African studies, gerontology, social policy, social work and a variety of other social science disciplines.

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Geiger, Martin & Pécoud, Antoine (eds.) (2010) *The Politics of International Migration Management*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. 320 pp.

In the last decades, the paradox of a global silence on the question of global migration has ended. The following dialogue and the new practices emerging from it have been discussed as a new, regionalised and/or globalised governance of migration. While this shift and the corresponding politics have been discussed, e.g. as new European and North American migration and border regimes (Bigo & Guild 2005; Hess & Kasparek 2010; Transit Migration Forschungsgruppe 2007), one of the notions central to this shift – "migration management" – has not received much critical attention in the field of migration and/or governance studies. The volume edited by Martin Geiger and Antoine Pécoud assembles 13 chapters that collectively succeed in giving a comprehensive overview as well as

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in-depth insights into the questions of migration management and the corresponding shifts in the governance of migration.

The term migration management was introduced to the global policy arena following a report by the UN Commission on Global Governance and has since been placed at the core of the strategies of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and other Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs). The proposed reach was total from the outset: to turn all types of human mobility into controllable and predictable processes, and thus managing “migration for the benefit of all” (IOM slogan, p. 2).

Discourse, actors and practices – these are the three themes discussed as central to the genesis and dynamics of migration management by Geiger and Pécoud in their introductory chapter. First and foremost, the notion of international migration management refers to a programmatic discourse carrying new narratives on migration and the possibilities of government and control. Three chapters of the book are dedicated to analysing different policy discourses relevant to the constitution of migration management. While Sara Kalm in Chapter 2 analyses an explicitly “global” dimension of the discourse by focusing on international organisations, commissions, forums and initiatives that operate at the global level, Matt Bakker (Chapter 4) and William Walters (Chapter 13) give accounts specific to the US and the EU. All these chapters analyse texts on migration and migration policy that are central to their area of interest through the lens of Foucault-inspired discourse analysis.

Consequently, all three chapters argue that migration management can only be understood as connected to “more general complexes of power-knowledge, most importantly neoliberal governmentality” (p. 23). The discourse connected to the notion of migration management thus refers to migrants as neoliberal subjects that pursue their most rational option when deciding to cross borders (p. 40). As such, they are targets and means of migration management, i.e. when they are seen as potential agents of the production and economic use of remittances is seen as a type of development self-management that is expected to “unleash economic benefits and opportunities that could obviate the need for migration in the future” (p. 290). But while the migration management discourse aims to normalise certain forms of human mobility, it is not trying to create a world without borders, as Walters’ analysis of EU policy documents clearly shows. According to Walters, the discourse on “anti-illegal migration” connects the migration management framework with an almost “worldwide campaign to promote border control as a central plank of good governance” (p. 90), which thereby (once again) divides the world into two clearly defined spheres of freedom/coercion, civilisation/anarchy: the orderly (western) nation-state (and its new international governance structures) on the one hand and the worlds most troubled spaces to be associated with failing states and economies and societies in disorder, on the other hand (p. 90).

The second overall theme of the book is concerned with the role, strategies and interests of the actors involved in the (re-)production of the discourse of migration management. Four chapters discuss some of the central IGOs involved in the global governance of migration in detail: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees/The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) (Chapter 12 by Claire Inder), IOM (Chapter 3 by Fabian Georgi), International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) (Chapter 5 by Sabine Hess) and Frontex (Chapter 6 by Bernd Kasperek). For all these agencies, the discourse on international migration management has been used to justify and conceptualise their role and growing importance in the governance of migration (p. 5). The chapters show how such agencies are first and

foremost involved in the production of knowledge and expertise, the development of concrete programs for national governments, and/or even their actual implementation.

The detailed analysis of the European networks of migration governance in many of the chapters shows that these organisations are not to be understood as consistent and homogeneous actors simply reproducing an abstract discourse. Rather, they are highly flexible and heterogeneous in themselves and as such, are embodying – as Hess puts it – how “European migration policy [...] has itself learned to act in a flexible, deterritorialised and networked way” (p. 111). For example, Geiger shows in Chapter 7 how IOM has become to conceive Albania as a “testing ground” for the development of new practices of migration management and organisational strategies. IOM managed to become conceived as a “quasi-local” actor and ally for the Albanian state while at the same time not only implementing EU rules and standards, but lobbying “its own organizational ideas and interests” and teaching “the Commission what ought and is to be done in Albania” (154). Georgi argues from a historical materialist perspective that despite slogans and policies committed to the “benefit of all”, on a more fundamental level, IOM’s major donor states (and their demand for the “right” migrants) and the organisation itself are benefiting first and foremost when ensuring “orderly” migration movements (p. 66). In adding the bordering practices of Frontex to this picture, Kasperek convincingly shows that the rationality of European migration management aims at regaining sovereignty over migration by reducing irregular movements through the production of more possibilities for legal migration. As such, Kasperek analyses this shift as a process of rebordering from above, aimed at closing “all the little geographic doors and holes” while at the same time allowing “an ever more fine-grained selection mechanism that can allow access to certain groups, restrict others from entering, and will still allow for individual tracking of this population” (p. 137).

Kasperek’s analysis directly links to the third major theme of the volume: new and revised practices of migration governance associated with the shift to migration management (p. 6). The case of “preventive refoulement”¹ of potential asylum seekers that Chiara Marchetti discusses in Chapter 8 for the case of Italy and Claire Inder documents in Chapter 11 for the case of Australia and its “pacific solution” in dealing with Afghan refugees, show vividly how the production of new practices is often legitimised by the notion of management and directly enabled by IGOs. While refoulement is prohibited by Article 33 of the Geneva Convention, preventive refoulement circumvents this regulation by prohibiting migrants to enter the national territory of the state in question for asylum in the first place and thus from gaining the legal status of a refugee in that state (p. 161, 220). Since these practices involved the exterritorial management of refugee pathways, they could not have been established by Italy or Australia themselves – instead, they were aided by Frontex and UNHCR in the case of Italy and UNHCR and IOM in the case of Australia (p. 176, 230). These chapters show very clearly how actors, practices and discourses play together in forming what is today to be understood as the multi-scalar, networked and complex field of international migration management, which is not necessarily homogeneous in its local manifestations (p. 2).

This is the true strength of this volume: in its entity it not only manages to accommodate the reader with the basic contours of international migration management but also performs a critical engagement with its discourse, actors and practices in the very best sense of a trans- and interdisciplinary edited volume. The chapters employ different methodologies (ranging from actor-oriented over post-structuralist to political-economic perspectives) as well as

methods (from ethnographic fieldwork to document analysis). This combination allows the reader to understand the broad rationality of international migration management connected to the rationality of neoliberalism and mobilised in the economic and political interest of Western industrialised countries. But at the same time, the (ethnographic) perspectives on geographical, organisational, and/or political and legal details allow for understanding the nuts and bolts of the emerging discourse and its structures. As such, this volume is interesting not only for the discussion of the newest development of global migration and border regimes, but should also be taken into consideration by any student of migration policy, since the “management” of migration has become relevant to all scales of governance (global, regional, national, urban). This volume is a major step toward understanding this notion, its policies, and effects.

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Vargas-Silva, Carlos (ed.) (2012) *Handbook of Research Methods in Migration*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. 588 pp.

Divided into seven parts, this *Handbook of Research Methods in Migration* covers an extraordinary range of topics. These are: (1) fundamental issues of scientific logic, methodology, and methods in migration studies, (2) an introduction to different techniques and approaches, (3) interdisciplinary approaches and mixed methods, (4) exploring specific migration topics, (5) practical issues in migration research, (6) moving from research to published work, and (7) experiences in the field. Its 600 pages and 27 chapters make it impossible to deal specifically with all the themes, arguments, and findings, so I have chosen just a few aspects that illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of this compendium.

Undoubtedly, the strength of this book lies in the selection of its contributors. Economist and editor Carlos Vargas-Silva has assembled some renowned scholars in migration studies such as Stephen Castles, Raúl Delgado Wise and Irene Bloemraad. At the same time, it is very refreshing to read the contributions of local authors. U.S. authors clearly dominate, but there are contributions from Mexico, New Zealand, Greece, South Africa, and Columbia too. One article is written by policymakers from (migration) institutes and institutions (the World Bank and the United Nations). Moreover, the book covers a broad range of academic disciplines: geography, economics, sociology, political sciences, and development studies. In short, due to the interdisciplinary, or one might say cross-disciplinary nature of migration, the handbook takes a multi-faceted approach to this complex phenomenon.

Still, the reader is surely more interested in knowing whether this work meets the basic criteria of a handbook, providing quick access to references, an overview of specific techniques and other

information related to migration research. Alas, I regard this as one of the book's main weaknesses. Let me illustrate this. As mentioned above, the book is divided into seven parts. These main themes are well chosen, since they represent the actual stages of the scientific research projects in general. For instance, Part I deals with methodology and methods, establishing the basis for the following chapters. Yet, a closer examination of the entries under these seven parts reveals a number of shortcomings, e.g. in terms of style (ease of reading) and structure, the latter important for a handbook. In one article, the reader is even advised several times to consult an introductory statistics textbook to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the subject (p. 133-134). The Handbook's first chapter, written by Stephen Castles, is an exception in this regard. Castles succeeds not only in describing the nature of methodology and methods but links it to quantitative and qualitative research by outlining the consequences of these methodological choices for specific research approaches. Key references to traditional scholars such as Émile Durkheim and Max Weber round out this well-written chapter.

Returning to the matter of whether this handbook meets the general criteria sought by readers, there are three additional problems. First, most of the articles repeat information, making quick and clear access difficult. Terminology and concepts such as transnationalism or diaspora, as well as methods such as sampling and the use of census data, are scattered throughout the volume instead of being defined and discussed in one place. There is also no systematic placement, definition, and discussion of terms such as migrant, immigrant, refugee, internally displaced, etc. Furthermore, various chapters have content that is inconsistent with their titles or they are not clearly grouped into one of the specified domains. Several articles could appear at the beginning, middle, or end of the volume, and it would not make any difference, rendering it pointless to divide the hand book into seven parts. For instance, Chapter 20 “The importance of accounting for variability in remittance income” is placed under the section exploring specific migration topics. It might just as well have been included in Part II – “Introduction to different techniques and approaches.” In contrast, Parts VI and VII – ‘Moving from research to published work’ and ‘Experiences in the field’ – are interesting to read, but they have little or no connection to research methods in migration. Lastly, and in line with the previous example, most of the articles are too case specific, without providing the overview one would like to find in a handbook. This is fine, of course, for Part IV, which explores specific migration topics, yet the majority of the entries center on very specific research of the authors. Referring in a concise way to major studies in migration and applied methods would have been better than overburdening the reader with very detailed information. Additionally, these specific in-depth case entries are not written in handbook style, giving this publication more the look of an edited volume instead of a compendium.

The exception is Paolo Boccagni, who did meet these criteria. His Chapter 14 on research methods on transnationalism is a good example of analytical rigor and depth; it is well structured and written in an accessible style. Particularly useful are his tables, which provide an overview of several topics and related methods in current migration research, citing key studies. In this regard, a comparison with the classic *Immigrant America* – Boccagni quotes the authors Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut and their groundbreaking studies – indicates that there are important fields and connections not considered in this volume. Depending on the focus of a project, researching migration and migrants can touch on all aspects of society: politics, education, ethnic identity, linguistics,

¹ Expelling or returning refugees to the territories where their lives or freedom would be threatened (p. 161).

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health, and labor market. Migrants and their children are implicated in all these aspects of human society. Nevertheless, the handbook clearly focuses on only a few of these, namely the labor market (remittances) and demography (flows). Linking migration research methods with topics, theories, and major findings, as *Immigrant America* succeeded in doing, would have certainly provided a better overview and orientation for readers.

Finally, it is up to the customer to decide whether he or she is in the position to spend 150 pounds for a book that meets the criteria of a handbook only partially. The alternative might be to follow the advice of one of the authors and consult other sources such as introductory textbooks, key articles, and major studies on methods in migration.

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Wray, Helena (2011) *Regulating Marriage Migration into the UK: A Stranger in the Home*, Farnham: Ashgate. 274 pp.

The regulation of family and marriage migration is a topical issue all over Europe. Perhaps because of this, most scholarship on the regulation of marriage migration is concerned with current policy developments and the ways in which contemporary understandings and valuations concerning, for example, gender and the family intersect with immigration control. Most of the assumptions underlying current policy making can, however, also be traced back in history. The UK is an interesting case in this regard. In the UK, questions of marriage migration have risen to the political agenda far earlier than in, for example, the Nordic countries. Helena Wray is a legal scholar who uses the historical trajectory of UK's legislation on marriage migration to shed light on more recent developments.

After the introduction and the overview of developments before 1962, the book is divided into two parts. The first main part discusses the period between 1962 and 1997, whereas the second one is concerned with the years 1997–2010. Wray examines marriage migration through the work and decisions of three institutions – the legislation, the judiciary, and the entry clearance service (which is later called visa service).

The introduction of the book gives an overview of existing research in the field of marriage migration and opens up different perspectives on the topic, such as the transnational perspective, the questions of culture and oppression, and the interconnections of gender, race, and class. The methodological section remains rather short. Wray's data include court cases, parliamentary records as well as interview material and observations from a field visit to the Indian sub-continent. This variety of material could have called for a more thorough examination of the different methodological implications at hand. However, the book gains in reader-friendliness by keeping methodological considerations rather compact.

Wray shows that the hierarchies of exclusion, which she analyzes in the book, have their predecessors in earlier regulations and discourses. The book begins with an account of the Aliens Act of 1905 and the regulation of marriage migration before 1962. Here, she shows that race, gender, and compliance with dominant norms created unofficial hierarchies of acceptability which continued to

play a role throughout the entire period of her investigation. While this chapter focuses on the regulations and practices in early 20th century Britain, many of the regulations Wray portrays can be found in other countries as well. Thus, in addition to learning more about the British case, a reading of these regulations invites to ponder the history of marriage migration regulations in other national contexts.

The main finding of the book is that there is a hierarchy of acceptable marriage migrants and spouses, which is built upon decision makers' assumptions. Among the central connecting themes that feature in these assumptions are race, arranged marriages, and gender. During the period of 1962–1997, it was particularly non-white marriage migrants and their children who were subject to restrictions and even discriminatory measures. Race played a crucial role during this period, while after 1997 exclusion on cultural and religious grounds became central markers of difference.

UK decision makers attached negative normative valuations to arranged marriages throughout the entire period that Wray investigates, depicting them as inferior to what was perceived as western family norms. Yet, in entry clearing practices after 1997, an arranged marriage that fulfilled the officers' expectations on local norms was generally acceptable for immigration purposes.

Wray also explores how expectations on gender roles strongly influenced the regulation of marriage migration in the UK. It was male migrants who were assumed to move for work, while female migrants were expected to follow their husbands. The immigration of husbands was rendered more suspicious than that of wives, and there even was a temporary ban on Commonwealth husbands.

One main strength of the book lies in the variety of sources. Wray's findings such as racial discrimination or the presence of gender stereotypes in immigration regulations are not surprising as such, and similar results have been presented by other scholars (see, among others, van Walsum & Spijkerboer 2007). What makes this book stand out from other accounts of regulation on marriage migration is that it is comprehensive both across time and different institutions. Wray succeeds in tracing her findings in political debates, legal regulations, and court cases as well as in practices of the entry clearance service. As her analysis spans over a period of more than 50 years, she is able to show both consistency and change in the way marriage migration has been treated across different institutions at different points in time. The source material does not include interviews with marriage migrants themselves. The focus on the different state institutions regulating migration seems to be a valid choice of perspective. Wray successfully avoids methodological nationalism by regularly mirroring her results with literature on transnationalism and sources published by migrant organizations.

Recurring themes of the book are gender, race, nationality, and the way these intersect. Wray explores intersections without explicitly referring to intersectionality as a concept. Through her empirical approach, she is able to convincingly show the dynamics of these intersections. Yet, when looked at from a gender studies perspective, an account of how these interlocking exclusions could be conceptualized in the light of the vast literature on intersectionality could have offered some different perspectives.

Wray is very thorough and organized in her analysis, and recurring references to issues dealt with in other chapters of the book and conclusions after every chapter make the book clear to read and follow, despite the fact that the analysis is travelling through decades and institutions. Being so clear and consistent in language and structure, this book offers interesting insights for both legal scholars and scholars outside the field of law. Only two of the chapters are based on court cases. For a reader unfamiliar with legal

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scholarly conventions, the only difficulty might be that the full range of implications of outcomes of single cases might not always be apparent. At the same time, these chapters are the strongest in the book, as it is here where the clash between the claims of marriage migrants and the decisions by legal authorities are most stark. The analysis of court cases also shows interesting conflicts between political intentions behind a law and the interpretation of that law by the courts.

The book contains a lot of detailed analysis on the way political discourses and decision making, the interpretation of the law by courts as well as the implementation by bureaucrats interact, and how assumptions and practices translate from one level to the other. Beyond the field of marriage migration, the book also offers an interesting read for any scholar interested in the interaction of different state institutions that shape and conduct the regulation of migration. Due to findings that link gender, race, and (family) culture to each other, the book is also interesting to any scholar engaging the intersection of multiple axes of exclusion in legal, political, and bureaucratic practices.

Put into a Nordic context, the book provides excellent perspectives to the current debates about the restriction and regulation of marriage migration. In the Nordic countries, debates on arranged marriages have become topical especially in Denmark

and Norway. These two countries also have the strictest regulations on marriage migration, followed by Sweden and Finland, where further restrictions are currently being drafted. This book provides several new and interesting perspectives on the way different cultural practices interact with state power through "moral gatekeeping" (see also, Wray 2006). Wray shows how arranged marriages have changed from something that immigration policy is actively trying to eradicate to a practice that visa service staff expects as a local norm. While the British case remains somewhat specific due to specific regulations for commonwealth immigrants, it nevertheless contains a variety of perspectives that are valuable for a better understanding of marriage migration and the regulation of it in other national contexts as well.

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