

BOOK REVIEWS

Hirvi, Laura & Snellman, Hanna (eds.) (2012) *Where is the Field? The Experience of Migration Viewed through the Prism of Ethnographic Fieldwork*, Helsinki: SKS. 219 pp.

The book sheds light on the experiences of immigrants in different parts of the world and offers insightful reflections on the art of carrying out ethnographic fieldwork in the present day, when the task of locating the “field” seems to present a particular challenge for researchers.

The book contains nine “tales of the field”. The editors state that one aim of the book is to facilitate fieldwork skills, that is, to serve as a resource for future ethnographers. The book sets out to discuss how the authors have managed challenges and opportunities that they have encountered during fieldwork. The specific thematic focus of the book is on migration; the case studies focus on migrants in different parts of the world. The book is edited by Laura Hirvi who recently finished her PhD on Sikh migrants, and Hanna Snellman who is a professor of European Ethnology at the University of Helsinki. Some of the authors are young scholars, while others are experienced researchers and they come from various countries and disciplines. The case studies are interesting and provide rich accounts on different kinds of migration experiences. The articles illustrate how diverse field is migration studies and how one can approach migration-related themes from very different perspectives. Thematically, the articles focus on multi-sited fieldwork amongst Sikhs in Finland and California, highly skilled Finns in the EU, undocumented Central American migrants in transit in Southern Mexico, the deportation of long-term migrants from the UK, people originating from the South Pacific in London and Toronto, creative young migrants in New York, religious groups of migrants in Quebec, Bangladeshis in Portugal, Italian women in a Canadian town and migrant stories and memories in Galicia. All the articles are well written; the authors and editors have clearly put much time and effort to the texts.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section, titled “Researching the hard to reach”, discusses how to conduct fieldwork among mobile populations or among groups that are not easily identifiable in public spaces. In addition to discussing fieldwork in real-life circumstances, the section addresses online research.

The second section, “Creating Communities” investigates migrant communities in different urban contexts. The third section is titled “the Told and the Untold” and it focuses on migration stories. This thematic division works well. However, in the section dealing with communities, it would have been useful to clearly define what is meant by a community and to include some references to the numerous existing literature on communities.

Among the articles, I was particularly impressed by Wendy Vogt’s study on undocumented Central American migrants in Southern Mexico. She elaborates well on the difficulties on studying a transient population; on how a researcher can reach those who are on the move and what kind of a role a researcher can take in such circumstances. With regard to the researchers’ role and emotions, Laura Hirvi describes well the feelings of confusion that an ethnographer often has in the beginning of the fieldwork or when s/he finds out that talking to certain people may close the option of talking to some other people because not everyone is in good terms with everyone else. She also elaborates on the important issue of ethics in online research – a theme that is increasingly significant nowadays when researchers can easily communicate with research subjects on Facebook and on other online forums. Migrants’ links to several locations appear in several articles in the book. Lisa Wiklund, for instance, presents an interesting practice of multi-sited fieldwork in her text: she studied young Japanese people working in the creative environment of Brooklyn, New York. She, however, also went to Tokyo where she was accompanied by an informant and where she visited various places that her informants in New York had told her are significant for them or could tell her something about Japan. This attempt to see Japan from the informants’ point of view is innovative and can be useful for other researchers who want to try to understand migrants’ multi-sited belongings.

In this book, ethnographic fieldwork is understood in very wide terms, presumably reflecting the multi-disciplinary character of the authorship. It might have been a good idea to discuss this issue in more detail. Some authors seem to understand interviewing as ethnographic fieldwork, whereas others have conducted extensive participant observation. It was particularly surprising to read Saara Koikkalainen’s article in this book as her data consisted of survey material and online interviews. The article itself is good but

defining the study ethnographic is somewhat surprising. It is true that ethnographic fieldwork in the contemporary world is often very different from the classical anthropological studies conducted in far-away locations among exotic peoples but participant observation is still usually considered the key feature of ethnographic research.

In the Introduction, the editors state that the book emphasises issues of the ethnographic fieldwork method. Some of the articles, however, sound more like research reports. They provide interesting descriptions of the case studies but do not always focus on the ethnographic method explicitly and analytically. Moreover, all the chapters describe case studies on migrants but the significance of people's mobility to the ethnographic fieldwork could have been analysed more profoundly throughout the book. It would also have been interesting to hear more about the researchers' self-reflections; how were they positioned during the fieldwork? Clara Sacchetti does this well in her article on Italian women in Canada but some authors do not mention the issue at all.

The editors claim that much of fieldwork skills are acquired through informal socialisation, and one aim of the book is to reveal some of those secrets. Although this statement may be true to some extent, one should not ignore the fact that ethnographic research is taught in various courses in many universities nowadays and there is much literature on ethnographic methods. According to the editors, the book is a resource for new ethnographers. The book indeed gives fresh ethnographers useful hints and insights but the reader needs patience as the book is not written in the style of a text book; each author describes their case studies and fieldwork experiences without specifically addressing fresh ethnographers by giving clear instructions on how to proceed with one's fieldwork or by telling about the mistakes through which they have learned to be better ethnographers. Nevertheless, the book provides vivid accounts on ethnographic studies conducted on migrant populations in various locations and it is clearly written. It also contains a few photos that are good illustrations of the various fieldwork experiences. The book can be recommended to anyone interested in migration research and/or the ethnographic method. It provides novice ethnographers with a good understanding of how diverse ethnographic fieldwork experiences among migrants can be and how these researchers have solved certain challenges they have encountered in the field.

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Loftsdóttir, Kristín & Jensen, Lars (eds.) (2012) *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region. Exceptionalism, Migrant Others and National Identities*, Farnham & Burlington: Ashgate. 182 pp.

In a corner of the world, safely hidden away from the cruelties of colonialism, the culturally homogenous people of the Nordic countries have long taken pride in their neutrality on the political scene. This is a popular description of the Nordic region, but is it really a sustainable one? *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region. Exceptionalism, Migrant Others and National Identities*, edited by Kristín Loftsdóttir and Lars Jensen, provides an answer to that question. The focus on whiteness is welcome when it comes to challenging the widespread view of the role of Nordic countries in a postcolonial setting. How, then, should this role be characterised, if the popular description above is delusive? The concept of *colonial complicity*, as developed by Keskinen et al. (2009) describes the

Nordic countries not as innocent bystanders but as a kind of partners in crime, through the shared epistemic construction and through the economical winnings from colonialism. The volume at hand takes the discussion further, reminding the reader that the Nordic countries have different historical relations to the postcolonial. Bearing in mind that the postcolonial does not refer to only "post" happenings, the 10 chapters examine both past and present phenomena, making it clear that colonial relations still have an impact on the Nordic countries. Attempting to say something all-encompassing about whiteness and postcolonialism in the Nordic region seems like a difficult project. However, the three concepts that form the subtitle of the book, *exceptionalism*, *migrant others* and *national identities*, are treated throughout the chapters, offering different disciplinary approaches and national contexts. The content of the book will here be presented through these themes.

Exceptionalism, the idea that one's society should be viewed from a different viewpoint than others, can here be seen as a national narrative of innocence regarding colonialism. The understanding of the Nordic countries as good global citizens becomes challenged as research shows new sides of colonial activity in the past and of oppression in the present-day societies. The exceptionalism of the Nordic region regarding colonial activity in the past is deconstructed in the opening chapter. Through examples of new insights into Nordic active participation in colonialism, Erlend Eidsvik sheds light on, and theorises, Norwegian trade relations. Through trade, Norwegians not just benefitted from but even advanced the colonial project. Christina Petterson's chapter criticises the view of Danish colonisers in Greenland as being benevolent, showing how the seemingly humane colonialism can be seen as a form of violence. Recounting how skin colour was used by the colonisers in order to construct hierarchy and a self-understanding among Greenlanders, teaching them about the value of their skin being whiter than other colonised people's, she provides an example of how the relationship between power and whiteness can work. The myth of exceptionalism goes deep and seems to characterise Nordic societies no matter if they historically have been colonisers or colonised. Anna Rastas' chapter provides a thorough description of the concept, suggesting that exceptionalism can mean different things in different societies. However, she sees the strategy to avoid ethical judgements as the core of the concept. Being "neutral" in questions that deal with the legacy of a colonial past means rejecting legitimate political change. Several of the chapters provide examples of how refusing to acknowledge racism as part of the national culture, past and present, is embedded in the Nordic societies. Loftsdóttir engagingly shows in her chapter how Icelandic exceptionalism has meant carefully positioning the national self as part of "civilized Europe", as opposed to colonised peoples, while at the same time having nothing to do with the oppression and racism that characterised colonialism.

National identities, and nation building, form another of the book's themes. Jensen's chapter theorises the Danish national identity building, deconstructing the myth that Denmark's activities in Greenland and the Faroe Islands were acts of benevolence. He sees the same lack of criticism in the narrative of Denmark's relation to Greenland as in the question of development aid, both sharing the idea that the recipient countries lag behind. Constructing a national identity is an ongoing process. Tobias Hübinette offers an insightful reading of how Sweden, seen as the "whitest of all white", went from an establisher of academic "race science" to an active antiracist global player during the 20th century. He shows how today's passing of "white anti-racist Sweden" is characterised not only by white

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melancholia, an anger over the success of the xenophobic right-wing party, but also by a negative attitude towards changing the legacy of racist vocabulary. The resistance towards attempts to change racist vocabulary and symbols, a reoccurring theme in the chapters, is substantially theorised by Hübinette.

The concept of national identities is in a state of change in a more global and mobile world. Migrant others form the third theme of the book. Even though the image of historically homogeneous Nordic countries is a myth, something that Anne Heith reminds us of in her chapter about Sami and Tornedalian art work, manifesting how colonialism has been internalised in the minds of people without a voice, the last decades have seen more culturally mixed Nordic populations. This has had consequences on the construction of the national selves. As considered in Suvi Keskinen's chapter, an overwhelming hegemony of whiteness can only be destabilised by the presence of others. The migrant others are needed in order to understand the objectivity of what is seen as "neutral". Through a description of the public discussions triggered by two popular novels about Muslim girls, families and violence, she shows how deeply prejudices such as the dichotomy between the gender equal Finnish majority and the patriarchal immigrants are embedded. Gender, race and class intersect in the discussion about migrant others in the Nordic societies. Kirsten Hvenegård-Lassen and Serena Maurer's chapter is a study of an information booklet about Denmark handed out to newcomers. They trace the image of immigrants portrayed in the booklet and find them to be expected to mimic Danish modern ways (performing whiteness), showing, however, how they will never reach the goal. It is as if being Danish simply requires being white. This notion is echoed in chapters about other countries too, suggesting a firm connection between a Nordic identity and being white. Through an analysis of the texts directed to immigrants, Hvenegård-Lassen and Maurer find an attempt to redraw the boundaries of Danish liberation around the white bodies whose freedom must be protected to preserve the modernity of the nation. This relationship between citizenship, whiteness and bodies is touched upon also in Linda Lund Pedersen's chapter, where she gives an account for the complicated system of family reunification between a Danish national (herself) and a Colombian husband. Through the description of a complicated application system, she shows how a state can act to keep the "wrong" kind of bodies apart. The chapter's combination of personal experiences of the family reunification system and a theoretical understanding of it seems to actually mirror the Danish reunification system itself, since the requirements for applicants may include both technical conditions and personal, emotional ones, such as the feeling of having closer ties to Denmark than to any other country. It is thereby not only a question of having the right documents but also of having the right kind of bodies and emotions.

The volume comes at a time when explanations to phenomena relating to postcolonialism and whiteness are needed in the region. In the series editor's preface, the massacre committed by Breivik in July 2011, is suggested to emphasise the fact that the Nordic countries have their place in postcolonial studies. The societal theorisation of the deed and the possible political implications of these are yet to be seen. However, deconstructing the myth of exceptionalism and innocence can provide steps on the way. As I find common in anthologies such as this one with different approaches to an interesting topic, a bit more cross-fertilisation between the chapters could provide even more thought-provoking readings. That way, questions such as the reason for the unease about using the concepts of race and whiteness in public debates in the Nordic

societies could be explored even further. However, the volume brings an important contribution to a debate that is hopefully only beginning. There is a need to deconstruct the hegemony of whiteness that has long been considered neutral and innocent.

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Keskinen, S, Tuori, S, Irni, S & Mulinari, D (eds.) 2009, *Complying with colonialism: gender, race and ethnicity in the Nordic region*, Ashgate, Farnham.

Näre, Lena (2012) *Moral Economies of Reproductive Labour: An Ethnography of Migrant Domestic and Care Labour in Naples, Italy*, Helsinki: Swedish School of Social Science. 133 pp. + attached articles.

Lena Näre's interesting dissertation on the globalisation of reproductive labour through the lens of the case of Naples, Italy, is a well-written and thoughtful exploration of the contemporary role of the servant in the Global North. Näre departs from the definition of domestic and care work as a form of reproductive labour, meaning that these tasks include the essential everyday maintenance that is necessary to individual and family life, as well as the social system, through activities such as care, socialisation and education. Understanding care as the "provision of daily social, psychological, and emotional and physical attention" to people, Näre examines how this gendered and largely unwaged category has become an increasingly migrant labour category in the world capitalist economy. Lena Näre holds a postgraduate degree from the University of Sussex, UK, in migration studies. She has been a postdoctoral research fellow at the Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations and Nationalism, Swedish School of Social Science, in Helsinki. This work represents her doctoral dissertation for the University of Helsinki in the field of sociology.

Näre starts with an overview of her theoretical framework of her subject. She takes an intersectional approach to the social categories. Näre understands the notion of social categories from the perspective of Anthony Giddens as generative of (and not external to) individuals. Social categories are thus both enabling and constraining: something that we are continually doing and being done to. Näre points out the various types of intersectional social categories such as race/ethnicity, gender, social class and migrant status. Finally, Näre discusses reproductive labour as moral economy meaning work that is done for reasons beyond the profit motive.

The richness of the research comes out through the ethnographic method, which Näre uses to explore her subject. Having moved to Naples to conduct her research, Näre discusses the complexity of having the roles of an outsider (foreigner) and partner of a Neapolitan (girlfriend) while trying to conduct her research. Her discussion of negotiating access to the diverse community of migrant domestic labourers from the Ukraine, Sri Lanka, and Poland is interesting. Näre carried out systematic research on five households and 89 open-ended, thematic interviews with migrant domestic carers. Näre's aim was to better understand the shift from Italian to migrant domestic labour. She seeks to trace the complexities of labour relationships and practices and to see how the layer of moral norms informs these ties. Finally, Näre looks to clarify how the intersectional relationships of gender, social class, migrancy and race/ethnicity figure in the employment of migrant workers.

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Näre's findings are related in five separate research articles published in international scientific journals, such as *Sociology*, *Men and Masculinities*, and *Modern Italy*. The findings are thus grouped into five areas: (1) experiences of irregularity, informality and the materiality of borders; (2) the moral economy and moral contracts in domestic and care labour; (3) intersections of gender, migrancy and social class in the demand for domestic and care workers; (4) not only women's work and (5) cleaning and caring as a complex form of reproductive labour.

Näre concludes that irregular migrant labour is an important emerging social category that is inextricably intertwined with citizenship. Irregular migrants are fundamentally constrained by their inability to return home and the few opportunities to legalise their employment. Domestic labour and care work have, therefore, become a significant sector of work for migrants because it exists in the grey job market. Italian state subsidies for informal domestic and care work serves to further marginalise and relegate migrant workers to the shadows of the economy by supporting employers, making it considerably difficult for migrant workers to gain employment protections due to their irregular status. Borders are thus significant disciplinary instruments because they bring the threat of deportation. Fear of repercussions relegates migrants to long hours of uncomplaining labour, which Italian citizens would not tolerate.

The turn of the century brought popular books that explored the everyday realities of women's low wage caregiving and sales work, such as Barbara Ehrenreich's *Nickled and Dimed* (2001) and Polly Toyne's *Hard Work: Life in Low Paid Britain* (2003), which raised new questions about the contemporary gendered nature of poorly paid domestic labour. Näre's dissertation makes an important contribution to the growing field of study surrounding informal care work by migrants that was largely initiated by Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo's ground-breaking 2007 book, *Domestica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadow of Affluence*. Näre links the emergence of a non-citizen irregular domestic labour to the neoliberal dismantling of the welfare state and asks whether the Italian example shows the future of Nordic caregiving.

Lena Näre's dissertation brings out the specifically Neapolitan context of care well by delineating all of the work that goes into maintaining a household, such as the need to iron all articles of clothing from underwear to shirts and to purchase all fresh daily ingredients for meals from the market. She also brings out the complexities and contradictions of the employer-servant relationship, which navigates between family ties and exploitation. The structure of the book as a dissertation, which consists of articles and summaries, does feel a bit fragmented. It would be a real pleasure to read a more cohesive and holistic ethnographic exploration of the important themes that Näre brings to the fore. Satu Ranta-Tyrkkö's rich ethnographic dissertation on the work of an Indian theatre troupe as a social work intervention comes to mind. This may be the next step for Näre's work. Her study has significance for understanding the diverse welfare regime contexts of Europe as well as the complexity and variety of the contemporary migrant experience in Europe. A more cohesive presentation of Näre's study could be an important book for students of European welfare policy and migration studies. Her use of language is fluent and the narrative flows. All in all, this rich exploration of a smaller nation in the EU makes an important contribution to debates on globalisation and the future of the welfare state.

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Ossman, Susan (2013) *Moving Matters. Paths of Serial Migration*, Stanford: Stanford University Press. 186 pp.

Reading through studies that have been published in the field of migration studies, I often get the strong feeling that there is a lot of repetition in the words and sentences that are used to discuss issues related to the experience of migration and to negotiating of identities, for example. In those regards, Susan Ossman's most recently published book entitled *Moving Matters. Paths of Serial Migration* offers its readers a welcomed change as she presents her analysis in an original manner that makes this book a joy to read. At the same time, by manoeuvring skillfully between her ethnographic data and her thought-provoking analysis of it, she succeeds to add new insights concerning the topic she set out to study. As the title of Ossman's book reveals, this is a study on "serial migrants". In the context of this book, the term serial migrant is used to refer to those who immigrated once and then moved again to a third homeland (Ossman 2013: 1, 2). The objective of this insightful "essay in ethnography", as Ossman calls it herself (2013: 1), is to reach a better understanding of how the paths that serial migrants take are shaping forms of life and impact the process through which people negotiate their sense of self. The author of this book is a serial migrant herself, as she makes clear right in the beginning of the book. Hence, she writes at times "we" instead of "them" when referring to serial migrants, which some scholars might perhaps find annoying, but which others including myself consider as an appropriate stylistic device to point out her own role and entanglement in this study. Considering that so far little research has been done on serial migrants, this book adds an important new layer to the body of literature.

Ossman is an anthropologist and artists, who currently teaches at the University of California, Riverside. Before that, she held academic positions in Morocco, France, and the UK. In 2012, she held together with another artist an exhibition entitled "The Fabric of Fieldwork" based on her ongoing fieldwork in North Africa.¹ The fact that Ossman is an artist gets also reflected in this particular book, because – as a careful reader will notice – the book cover is based on a painting that Ossman drew in 2009 with the title *International Life*. Her current book *Moving Matters* constitutes similar to her previously published study *Three Faces of Beauty: Casablanca, Cairo, Paris* (2002) a multi-sited ethnography. Following recent calls to go beyond the ethnic lens that gets so often applied in studies related to the topic of immigration (see e.g. Glick Schiller et al. 2006), the author ultimately decided not to focus on a particular ethnic group but instead on immigrants who share a similar path of migration and settlement and who use borders to punctuate their life stories (Ossman 2013: 2).

By applying this particular approach, Ossman is able to examine what meanings the act of moving plays in the lives of serial immigrants. Based on her findings, she suggests that while the first

time a person immigrates from one country to another constitutes a sort of *rite de passage* that transforms people into immigrants, the second migration is different: This time people do not leave their birthplace but the state of immigration itself behind (Ossman 2013: 77). At the same time, the serial migrant seems to move past the idea of “here” and “there”, and it appears that many serial migrants seem to conceive of their lives as “being somehow outside of immigration, beyond the shifts between home and host countries” (62). The third move also seems to raise their awareness of their personal agency.

As it becomes clear throughout this study, borders continue to play an important role also in the lives of serial migrants. As Ossman writes: “Serial migrants’ movements may seem unhindered, their lives a symbol of postmodern fluidity, but they are defined by borders at their most fundamental. Borders of belief, language, or cultural practice often fail to follow state lines, but for the serial migrant political boundaries fixed on maps are vital markers of her life” (Ossman 2013: 5). Depending on one’s passport, people may face legal restrictions in relation to their movement and borders must be negotiated before crossing them. Once the serial migrants have been successful in those attempts, they may experience the actual act of border-crossing and of settling down in a new country as an invitation to re-negotiate their identities (Ibid. 104). The countries that the serial migrants have lived in turn over time into home and become a chapter in their lives. Interestingly, as Ossman points out, the continuous process of self-developing can be seen to bring to the fore unexpected continuities between countries and states that otherwise are keen to portray themselves as a singular experience (Ibid. 104).

Ossman gathered her data by means of ethnographic, multi-sited fieldwork. In the initial phase of her study, she kept on wondering how to “imagine ethnographic research without a setting”, and how to study a way of life that is marked by successive border-crossings? As a first attempt, Ossman invited in 2004 a group of serial migrants who shared a common homeland, either as the country of origin or as settlement (2013: 6), to participate in a meeting she convened at Georgetown University. The discussions emerging from this meeting were later on published in texts in a book edited by Susan Ossman (2007). As a second step, Ossman decided to seek out serial migrants in locations with a high turnover rate of the population, and thus she ended up doing interviews and participant observation in places such as London, Paris, Cairo, Doha, Dubai, Montreal and New York, relying in her search for interlocutors on the help of her own friends and acquaintances. In her choice of serial migrants, Ossman decided to focus on those who had moved out of their own volition (2013: 7).

On a more critical note, Ossman could have opened up a bit more on the role that she played in this ethnography, considering that she herself, due to her own biography, belonged to the group of people she set out to study. For the sake of her analysis (which by now is already superb, no doubt about that!), it might have been even more fruitful if the author had incorporated elements of autoethnography, although I understand that applying such kind of an approach comes with its own challenges. For the sake of adding another dimension to her analysis and to bring this book into a more active dialogue with recent studies that have been carried out in the field of migration studies, it might have been useful if Ossman had incorporated “transnationalism” more fully into her analytical framework.

These minor points of criticism aside, it can be concluded that the book *Moving Matters. Paths of Serial Migration* is a welcomed and refreshing addition to the research literature. Besides offering nuanced insights for scholars dealing with topics such as migration, mobility, borders and home, Ossman’s book will also be highly useful

for students in the field of anthropology and ethnology. The latter recommendation for readers is grounded in my argument that this book can be seen to provide one of the finest examples for how one may go about analysing data that have been collected by means of ethnographic fieldwork, and how to present it in the form of a written ethnography.

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Note

1. <http://www.soas.ac.uk/gallery/fabric/>, accessed August 19, 2013.

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Munck, Ronaldo, Schierup, Carl-Ulrik & Wise, Raúl Delgado (eds.) (2012) *Migration, Work and Citizenship in the New Global Order*, London: Routledge. 127 pp.

The book under review is a collection that deals with issues of migration, work and citizenship in the context of a new global order. More specifically, it stresses the need to contextualise work concerning these issues in response to the Great Recession of 2007–2008. This marks the end of an historical period of neo-liberalism whereby migrant workers were key in supplying cheap and flexible labour, and prompts us to consider what will be the role of migration in terms of work patterns and what modalities of political citizenship will develop.

The book is edited by Ronaldo Munck, the Head of Civic and Global Engagement at Dublin City University, Carl Ulrik Schierup, Professor and Director of REMESO at Linköping University, and Raúl Delgado Wise, the Director of the Doctoral Program in Development Studies at the University of Zacatecas (Mexico). The book reproduces articles first published in a special issue of *Globalizations* (volume 8, issue 3, 2011). In turn, most contributions originate from presentations at the REMESO inauguration conference “Migration, Citizenship, Precarious Labour. Global Regional Perspectives in Times of Crisis” held at Linköping University, Sweden, on 14–15 May 2009.

Following the structure of the original journal special issue, the book is separated into eight main sections that, with the exception of the first, can be viewed as individual articles in their own right but also together as a collection. The editors produce the first section, which acts, to a certain degree, as an introductory chapter setting the context and outlining the forthcoming sections broadly under four main thematic areas: “The New Migration”; “Precarious Work”; “Precarious Citizenship” and “Social Transformation”. According to the editors, the current instability of the prevailing global order is expected to influence the migrant world differently than before. This is because the globalisation of today can encourage new waves of migration that behaves differently to economic and political events

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of the past. Furthermore, from a broad view there needs to be consideration as to whether today's migration is manageable by nation-states or even transnational bodies.

The second section of the book presents the first article addressing this issue of managing contemporary migration. Here, Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson use a retrospective and prospective overview of migration between Europe and Africa. They find that the European Union's (EU) current "Strategic Partnership" with Africa resulting from the Lisbon Declaration in 2007 is firmly embedded in a postcolonial discourse whereby it advances a deeply uneven relationship suited for sustaining an unequal global political economy. In particular, the authors reveal how demography has governed European migration policy with Africa because many policy frameworks have been shaped by demographic projections. Moreover, while policies first introduced were originally targeted for mutual interest, over time a geopolitical relationship has formed where one partner has channelled migration for its own benefits. Continuing the EU discourse, Branka Likić-Brborić examines contemporary migration governance across the east-west axis with regard to the New Member States in post-communist countries. Critically assessing the processes of EU enlargement and migration regime, Likić-Brborić reveals that despite efforts for cohesive policy development, there is reason to be critical as long as the one-sided employer-friendly politics of the EU remain to result in a re-commodification of labour. Similarities can be seen between the processes of securitisation and migration management of borderlands of the EU and Rodolfo Casillas' study of the United States and Central America. What he explores is the processes of systematic risk, asymmetric trade relations between the North and South, predatory strategies of transnational companies, combined with selective and exclusionary US migration policies and preying of criminal networks along the way.

Two other major themes that emerge are precarious work and precarious citizenship. While both are not given specific definitions by the editors, the former is introduced among discussions of the "marginality", "flexibilization" and "informalization" of labour, and the latter is introduced with discussions of the "irregularizing" of citizenship, "non-citizen" residents and "managed migration". Stephen Castles' article connects migration, the global labour market and the current economic crisis. In particular, he argues that the neoliberal ideology of economic efficiency and shared prosperity is a dualistic dream where, on the one hand, there exists a cosmopolitan, mobile world for elites, and on the other hand, there is a world of barriers, exploitation and security controls for other migrants. As the editors note, however, "If the work migrants do is most often, and increasingly, precarious so also is their citizenship" (p. 7). Indeed, citizenship status is highly important for the livelihoods of migrants and it is also a key mechanism for nation-states to regulate labour flows across national boundaries, particularly in times of crisis like today. In this vein, Luin Goldring and Patricia Landolt's article is important as it examines how changes in legal status, among other factors, can influence the degree to which the migrants' employment is precarious. Through their empirical study of the Greater Toronto Area, they find that precarious legal status has long-term negative effects on precarious employment. This reinforces their argument that in order to study the intersection between legal status and job quality, researchers should move away from simple dichotomous legal and non-legal characteristics to more dynamic and nonlinear movements, such as transitions between moments of intersection in a matrix of legal status and job quality or precarious work.

The final main thematic contribution of the book identified by the editors is social transformation. Particularly regarding the global

crisis of the dominant capital accumulation model, the reader is prompted to consider to what extent do migrants form part of the social counter-movement now taking shape. In the last two sections of this book, these issues are addressed through two articles, the first by Milena Chimienti and John Solomos, and the second by Ruth Milkman. Chimienti and Solomos examine irregular migrants and their supporters such as non-government organisations, faith institutes, trade unions, academics and activists in France and the United Kingdom. They argue that instead of raising claims for full rights of citizenship, irregular migrants are simply struggling in achieving an everyday existence. In doing so, the authors stress that scholarly debates about understanding mobilisations of irregular migrants should, therefore, pay more attention to the voice of the migrants rather than the voice of their supporters. Milkman's article, in contrast, examines the mobilisation of Latino migrant workers in the United States, many of whom are irregular. An interesting insight she presents is the range of strategies and actions among Latino migrants which may be occurring. For example, they may be contributing to the innovation and revival of trade unions, labour struggles and civil rights movements. As the editors rightfully note, this would go against Chimienti and Solomos' main argument.

Migration, Work and Citizenship in the New Global Order is an interesting and informative text to read. Although it essentially reproduces a special issue of a journal and would benefit from an improved introductory chapter and the inclusion of a discussion and conclusions chapter to bring the main themes to a close, it presents a contemporary insight into long-standing issues such as migration, work and citizenship in a new era of changing global order. It also does this through a diverse range of chapters ranging in disciplinary background, theoretical frameworks, methodological approaches and applied contexts.

On the one hand, the earlier sections tend to focus more on the larger structural processes that shape migrant experiences of precarious work and citizenship in the context of a changing economic and political climate. On the other hand, the later articles appear to follow more of a structuration approach whereby structural forces, such as nation-states, remain important but there also emerges a clear individual agency of the migrants themselves. The nature of the book and its contributors means it is of an international and interdisciplinary scope. For example, while the authors are mostly from sociology or political science backgrounds, they discuss case studies across a variety of global, national and regional scales, such as Europe-Africa, the EU, Central America, Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States. It, therefore, presents a useful text, for academics at varying stages that wish to gain an insight into different approaches to studying migration, work and citizenship in the current changing context.

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Triandafyllidou, Anna & Maroukis, Thanos (2012) *Migrant Smuggling: Irregular Migration from Asia and Africa to Europe*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. 238 pp.

This book digs into an area of international migration studies that has gained prominence in the past couple of decades: migrant smuggling. The regional focus is southern Europe, which receives immigrants from many African and Asian countries. Migrant smuggling is discussed in relation to EU and national policies, aimed at combating irregular migration, including increased surveillance and border controls.

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The authors are no newcomers to the field. Anna Triandafyllidou is a leading scholar in migration studies, having published extensively on various topics dealing with migration in Europe, and with a special interest in Greece and southern Europe. Thanos Maroukis, on the other hand, is an early career academic whose publications have focused specifically on migration in Greece. It is, therefore, not surprising that the authors approached this topic of migrant smuggling from Africa and Asia to Europe by focusing mainly on the situation in Greece and the Turkish-Greek route. The book is based on fieldwork, participant observation and interviews conducted in Athens. The empirical material is extensive, covering a broad range of actors.

The core of this book accounts for the irregular journey via North Africa and Western Asia into Turkey with Greece being the destination. Furthermore, one chapter explores the onward travel from Greece into other countries of the European Union, and in an attempt to complement the geographical coverage, another chapter presents an overview of practices and routes of migrant smuggling from Asia and Africa into Italy, Malta and Spain. Finally, attention is also paid in yet another chapter to trafficking in humans between Greece and other countries. The authors' main contribution in this chapter is their elaboration on the relationship between migrant smuggling and migrant trafficking, in particular how a smuggling service can turn into an act of trafficking; for instance, if smuggled migrants are forced into sexual services *en route* as a condition to get ahead, or when smugglers during a stay in a safe house offer employment possibilities within the smuggling network from which there is no exit.

The authors' interest, as echoed also in their concluding remarks, is that governments have a responsibility to curb human smuggling in order to protect migrants from embarking on "risky" endeavour. The central argument of the book is that there is a need to comprehend migrant smuggling not only as a business endeavour but also as a social practice that becomes relevant long before migrants reach the EU (Greek) border. Consequently, the authors point out, anti-smuggling policies thus have to go beyond border controls to successfully tackle migrant smuggling, and conclude that increased cooperation with sending countries as well as transit countries is pivotal.

With its broad scope and rich empirical material, this book is unique in accounting for experiences and practices of the smuggling of human beings into Southern Europe. The introduction significantly captures the reader's interest and coherently maps out how this study is proposing to address an impressive number of conceptual conundrums: the institutional framework, the impact of border control policies on the precariousness levels of migrant routes, the increasing interest of the European Union to regulate (and have jurisdiction) over external borders when Schengen came into effect and the distinction between smuggling and trafficking. It is also here that the authors' main argument that migrant smuggling is a socially embedded process as well as a business is introduced. Although, as will be mentioned below, the broad and ambitious conceptual scope renders the study more vulnerable, the mere attempt is in itself laudable as it invites the reader to reflect on the tensions inherent in such concepts, also in relation to each other.

Without a doubt, the strength of the book lies in the rich, empirical accounts based on fieldwork, including interviews with an impressive array of actors (state actors, migrants, smugglers and NGO representatives). In this regard, it is a rigorous piece of work. Suffice to mention that the methodology included the interviewing of an impressive 94 smuggled migrants and smugglers in Athens. The

sensitivity of the study to the different experiences faced by migrants from different nationalities brings out the nuances and elegance by which the empirical material is treated. The study does not eschew to inform the reader about the very harsh conditions that migrants face on a daily basis in Athens, and as such, the effects of the deadly combination of racism and violence, and the malfunctioning of the asylum system in an EU Member State is – importantly – revealed. Indeed, for a reader interested in irregular migration into southern European countries, in particular the Greek irregular migration scene, this is a rich and enlightening contribution.

There are, however, a number of issues that are less satisfying. First, towards the beginning of the book the authors rightly point out that human rights considerations ought to be kept in mind. However, the authors would have done well to engage with this, in more than just a mention. It is clear, for migrants, practitioners and academics that in spite of the universality promise of human rights there are, in practice and in law, limitations to the human rights protections for irregular migrants. A collection and academic debate in this regard can be found in the recently published book by Dembour and Kelly "Why human rights for migrants?" Studies of migrant smuggling necessarily need to engage with these discussions because they nurture the root causes of such activity. Migrant smuggling in some way also exists because of the tensions inherent in a global order organised around sovereign states, and promising to uphold the human rights of all. Addressing migrant smuggling is not simply a political and empirical exercise but also an ideological one. In a way, Triandafyllidou and Maroukis, in spite of the impressive fieldwork with migrants, fall into the trap of presenting a state-centric approach, which is inherently one-sided, to the subject.

Secondly, there are a number of value-laden terms that are key to this study and that would have benefitted from a more diligent and careful use. Terms, often used to justify repressive policies in this field, such as "criminal" and "victims" and not to mention the term "smuggling" which is the primary topic this book sets out to unravel, are used largely without any critical elaboration. Finally, the broad scope of the study, as outlined in the Introduction, is this study's Achilles' heel. This leads to conclusions that are at times too ambitious to be supported solely by this study, when they could have gained in substance by acknowledging more readily key differences and scholarly discussions.

To sum up, this book is a thorough account of human smuggling, empirically rich on a number of levels. It is an enlightening and useful resource for migration studies researchers, postgraduate students and undergraduate students interested in migrant smuggling, in migration in the Eastern Mediterranean, and Greece. As can be gleaned from this review, the limitations of the book have more to do with theoretical and conceptual issues and therefore conclusions, most of which do not remove anything from the richness of the empirical material.

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