

BOOK REVIEWS

Carrillo, Héctor (2017) *Pathways of Desire: The Sexual Migration of Mexican Gay Men*, Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press. 369 pp.

The migration of Mexicans to the United States of America (USA) has traditionally drawn the interest of researchers from different disciplines, proving its multidimensional spectrum, and thus far, different perspectives ranging from legislative accounts to labour and economy have been covered. However, other social dimensions, such as sexuality, have been significantly understudied, and as new fields of migration research – such as sexual migration – emerge, new questions (should) reshape the research agenda. Héctor Carrillo, a Professor of Sociology and Gender and Sexuality Studies at Northwestern University, IL, USA, attempts – with this book – to contribute to the systematic research on sexual migration in this particular geographic area. He has expertise in the fields of sexuality, migration and health promotion, especially in the innovative cross-disciplinary research that combines the intersected implications of the aforementioned fields of research. *Pathways of Desire: The Migration of Mexican Gay Men* constitutes a book that is both shaped by and shapes the current research agenda and could rightly be perceived as a collective fruit of Carrillo's long-standing research efforts.

The multiple goals of this book, as the author claims, revolve around the exploration of the social, cultural and political strands of the complex web of sexual migration, as perceived and narrated by the sexual migrants. Consequently, Carrillo is interested in holistically examining the pre-migration phase, especially their sexual life back in Mexico and the construction of the dream of sexual freedom. Thereafter, he explores their pathways, the migration process itself, in order to study how their migration was initiated and completed. Ultimately, he is interested to study their post-migration experiences and whether they have eventually found the life prospects they were dreaming of. Carrillo's research site is San Diego, the most developed USA–Mexico border city with a visible and well-organised gay community (p. 11). He has managed to obtain interestingly diverse qualitative data through his interviews of Mexican gay and bisexual male migrants, as well as American Latinos and white men.

This methodological decision provides him with the privilege of drawing safer and more grounded comparisons and bipartite analyses of both the migrants' as well as the

locals' points of view. From the first pages of this book, readers immediately understand that sexual migration is multifaceted and that the relevant decision-making processes depend on the very personal and individualised experiences of the research participants. Carrillo has managed to capture very interesting stories that mirror these inconsistencies by delving deep into their personal sexual preferences and activities. As a result, his data reveal great commonalities and divergences of the migrants' experiences regarding their sexuality and its social interactions, both in Mexico and the USA. Among the very interesting points of his research analysis that mirror the intersections of culture, power and individual preference is the aspect of cross-racial sexual taste. Many Latinos expressed their sexual preference for American men, combined in most cases with Americanised representations of sexuality (pp. 200–202). On the opposite side, Mitchell, an American white male interviewee, argues about his sexual preference for Latinos and the 'dark skin', claiming that 'opposites attract' (p. 203).

Carrillo also expresses his willingness for this book to be considered as a contribution to the collective effort aimed at prevention of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection and awareness related to it, as well as an invitation to the academic study of association between sexual health and sexual migration. Some of the research participants who were HIV positive decided to both share their relevant experience and describe how that experience has dynamically interacted with their migration. In addition, Carrillo shares with us some facts related to HIV public reception among Latinos, which are of paramount academic interest and potentially of practical use, as concluding remarks in the last pages of the book. Consequently, the projection of this issue is mostly made briefly and with many proliferating questions and potential future research aims. In fact, Carrillo admittedly states that HIV-related issues have generally been sporadically and sometimes indirectly raised in this book (p. 270). Presumably, there could have been a separate chapter dedicated to the migration-related determinants of sexual health, considering his experience in tackling such issues and the fact that that would give a distinctive shape to a major contribution that this book attempts to make. Nevertheless, since there is no standard recipe for a qualitative research and we do not have the complete raw data in hand, we cannot be sure of what eventually induced Carrillo to arrive at this analysis and presentation architecture.

The field of sexual migration generally concentrates on migrants' decision-making based on the pursuit of better or different lifestyles, in particular, lifestyles of sexual freedom. These seemingly microscopic actions do remain interconnected with the wider sociopolitical structuring, as Carrillo has continuously argued throughout the book. Carrillo's research was completed before one of the most major transitions in the contemporary political history, as Donald Trump was elected President of the USA. Therefore, it would be extremely important to examine the relevance of Carrillo's book and its importance in the Trump era. Especially since Carrillo's approach focuses on the migrants' representation of their sexual identities and their cultural meaning-making of the social worlds of both the sending and receiving countries, it would be interesting to explore how Mexican gay and bisexual men read Trump's America and how that affects their migration-related decision-making. Of course, this implies that current re-contextualised research data should be collected.

In conclusion, this book reflects Carrillo's distinctive expertise in both sexual migration and Latina/o sociology, as well as his disposition for multifaceted qualitative research. The richness and multivariable plurality of the data imply a wisely organised and executed qualitative research. Nevertheless, it would be fair to mention that throughout his analysis, he raises some research questions of stimulating academic interest which remain unanswered. However, he does invite future researchers to expand the field and to take the lead in answering these questions. Ultimately, this book contains valuable information and ideas concentrated on Mexican sexual migration and its interactions with sexual globalities, which could be utilised in future research, hopefully on an expanded sample of lesbian and transsexual Mexican migrants.

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Jesse, Moritz (2017) *The Civic Citizens of Europe: The Legal Potential for Immigrant Integration in the EU, Belgium, Germany and the United Kingdom*, Leiden & Boston: Brill. 408 pp.

With the massive influx of refugees in 2015, the issue of integration of third-country nationals has become increasingly topical today. The book *The Civic Citizens of Europe: The Legal Potential for Immigrant Integration in the EU, Belgium, Germany and the United Kingdom* by Moritz Jesse, through an in-depth analysis of European Union (EU) law and the case law of three selected EU member states, gives a timely illustration of the legal potential for immigrant integration. Dr. Moritz Jesse is Associate Professor of European Union Law at the Europa Institute of Leiden Law School, Leiden, the Netherlands. He obtained his PhD in 2011 at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy.

The book consists of 10 chapters. Chapter 1 gives an outline of the research objective, methodology and structure of this book. It introduces the research question that guides the book: 'what is the potential for integration created by legislation in the EU, Germany, Belgium, and the United Kingdom?' (p. 6). In Chapter 2, the author lays down the theoretical foundations and thereafter defines and explores the relationships among immigration integration, civic citizenship, membership in society and the law. Chapter 3 presents statistics about migration stock and flow, as well as the migration policies in the EU and the three national case studies. Chapters 4–9 introduce the legal situation of immigrants through general provisions and common requirements, including equal treatment and non-discrimination (Chapter 4); employment and occupation (Chapter 5); researchers, students and pupils (Chapter 6); family migration (Chapter 7); permanent resident permits (Chapter 8); and integration measures (Chapter 9). The last chapter (Chapter 10) draws the conclusion.

The starting point of this book is to challenge the 'civic integration' paradigm that makes the immigrants need to earn their rights through fulfilling formal integration

conditions stipulated by the state. The author argues that integration cannot be forced upon the immigrants through subjecting them to such integration requirements. According to him, the genuine task of the law is to provide a suitable legal framework that allows for 'sufficient potential for integration' (p. 6). To explore how the law can provide such potential for integration, the author analyses the EU and selected member states' legislation through three aspects: 1) the availability, scope, purpose and security of residence rights for regular migrants, including rights to access the labour market; 2) rights to enjoy family life in the receiving society; and 3) specific integration programmes and their legal effects. The main focus of the book is on EU legislation, which maps out the 'overall characteristics of the legal systems governing different forms of regular migration', while the national law in the examples of the selected case studies clarifies and compares 'individual aspects and approaches to practical problems' (p. 10).

Chapter 2 provides quite important theoretical insights about three broader questions: what is the (neutral) definition of integration? Why is civic integration the wrong strategy to achieve integration? And what is the solution for achieving legal equality between citizens and foreigners, which can maximise the potential for integration? The author quotes the definition of integration given by Süßmuth and Weidenfeld (2005) that 'integration is the process wherein newcomers become an "accepted part of a foreign society and of accepting that society, based on the principles of equality, human rights, diversity and inclusion"' (p. 27). The author argues that enforcing civic integration requirements upon immigrants will not lead to more social cohesion, or protect liberal Western democratic values and societies, since 'the homogeneity of national societies is nothing more than a very powerful "postulation" of a national ideal, but no reflection of reality, since there are huge differences between groups and subgroups within national societies' (p. 19). Then, he states that the solution for maximising the legal potential for integration is not civic integration, but 'civic citizenship', which ensures legal equality of rights between citizens and foreigners. 'Civic citizenship' often presents in the form of 'permanent residence' in reality. Finally, the author provides a legal definition and application of civic citizenship, which lays the foundation for the remainder of the book.

The detailed Chapter 9 on the (legal) value of the various integration measures offers an overview and comparison of the mandatory integration measures in the three selected EU countries. In all the three countries, integration courses are mandatory for some groups of immigrants. These integration systems usually come with sanctions if one does not fulfil the obligation to follow through the integration trajectories. Such sanctions can involve difficulties with renewing a residence permit (Germany), having no access to permanent residence (Germany), reduced access to social benefits or even fines deducted from the prepaid deposit submitted by the immigrants (Flanders region, Belgium). The author questions the governments' measures of linking civic integration with immigrants' rights and restates that 'the task of law is [to] provide potential for integration and facilitate inclusion by creating, upholding and defending an opportunity structure that makes inclusion possible' (p. 347).

Despite the fact that this book is a legal work, it is still easy to read for readers without legal background. It provides a thorough analysis of the facts, governance and legislation that creates room for integration in the EU law and national law in three case studies. The author has offered a quite systematic analysis as well as strong claims against civic integration measures. However, I have some reservations over the author's claims. First, although civic integration measures are criticised for 'imposing conditions on membership' and often seem to be aiming at 'limiting and controlling the inflow and settlement of migrants' (Goodman 2010), at least in some countries, civic integration measures still aim to better integrate immigrants through thorough language training and career development guidance. For the immigrants who still need language or skill training to become integrated into the labour market and civil society, civic integration courses can be beneficial.

Second, obligatory integration programmes with sanction measures, as witnessed in Germany and Belgium, can be seen as a system of 'carrot and stick': better participation for integration programmes guarantees faster track for 'civic citizenship' (or permanent residence) and/or access to social benefits, while dropping out without a solid cause is subject to less social benefits. In my opinion, the sanction measures listed in the book can generally be divided into the softer ones, such as those that connects the immigrants' active participation of the courses to their entitlement of claiming daily allowances from the government; and into the harsher ones, such as connecting the immigrants' fulfilment of formal integration requirements to their eligibility for extending residence status. I agree with the author that the harsher sanctions that endanger the immigrants' fundamental security of residence and rights in the host country should be avoided altogether. However, the softer ones may be necessary for ensuring the public policy aims for enhancing better integration of the immigrants.

Third, while the author praised the measures of French-speaking Belgium that 'seem to achieve integration through dialogue and support on the local level' (p. 344) and rely on 'self-induced urge to raise capabilities for immigrants' (p. 345), one must ask whether more lenient integration measures indeed generate better integration outcomes than the strict measures adopted by Germany and Flanders part of Belgium? In a recent report on the integration measures in Belgium, it is concluded that in the French-speaking Wallonia and Brussels, one of the key issues is that the language training provided by associative actors is insufficient to meet the number of migrant candidates who need course places (Mandin 2014).

Overall, this is a very interesting book that provides insight into civic integration and provokes more discussions over what kind of integration measures can facilitate integration without limiting immigrants' rights. The book is an important read for scholars of law and other disciplines, who are interested in the topics of migration, integration and citizenship. It will also be a useful guidance and reflective reference for the policy-makers and government officials working with legislations and policies related to immigrant integration. The thorough, insightful and provocative analysis offered by this book can be intriguing for anyone working with migrants and their families to better understand and critically view the EU and national legislation regarding immigrant integration.

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Karim, Karim H. & Al-Rawi, Ahmed (eds.) (2018) *Diaspora and Media in Europe: Migration, Identity and Integration*, Alphen aan den Rijn: Palgrave Macmillan. 192 pp.

This edited volume *Diaspora and Media in Europe: Migration, Identity and Integration* has been written in the wake of refugees fleeing from their own countries across Europe (and further afield) and all the repercussions of such migration. Its timing is impeccable as various governments have issued statements and introduced policies to deal with the influx of migrants, and debates have been raised by think tanks and scholars regarding the impact that such migration has, both on the host communities and the migrating communities. The editors raise the valid point that the most prominent have been fears around security, with the far-right groups taking advantage and using this fear for their own popularity. However, the concern for the editors is how these migrant communities have dealt with the journeys and the new homelands that they arrive in. The chapters are case studies from different European countries of migrants from varying ethnic and national backgrounds.

The book is the brainchild of Ahmed Al-Rawi, an Assistant Professor at the Concordia University in Montreal, QC, Canada. It is co-edited by Professor Karim Karim of Carleton University of Ottawa, ON, Canada, an authority in the field of global violence, Islam and the media. Majority of the authors of this book are from mainland Europe, although there are three contributions from researchers in America and Canada. Karim's introductory chapter offers a discussion of the terminologies central to the book, such as migration, diaspora, nation, transnationalism, multiculturalism and communication. He traces the historical and academic trajectories of the terms, providing a fundamental backdrop for subsequent chapters.

This volume's significant new contribution is in its examination of the use of new technologies in constructing new lives, identities and transnational connections. Koen Leurs (Chapter 2) offers an insightful discussion of 'how migrants digitally "do family" across borders and simultaneously use digital media to establish new local connections' (p. 25). Leurs's research stretches from Moroccan–Dutch youth in the Netherlands to young Somalis in Ethiopia, youth of various ethnicities, trying to make it across to Europe and London. His focus is not so much on the social daily lives of the migrants but on their use of digital communications. Leurs's ethnography on the Dutch youth is in response to both rising Islamophobia and Geert Wilders's framing of Moroccan youth as dysfunctional and problematic (p. 30). The international connections, discussions and forums where exchanges of information took place among the researched cohort are explored by Leurs considering several traditional themes such as identity, culture and gender, among others. He notes how the youth discussed the polarities often presented in mainstream media of democracy and Islam as being incompatible. The impact that these forums and the safe free space they provided had on youth identity formation is examined by him along with the participants' physical lack of mobility. He notes a sense of happiness in the connectedness that the Internet offered youth who had restrictions on their physical movements. His London cohort with connections from Kashmir, Jamaica, Scotland and Somalia, among other places, outlined the importance of Facebook in their 'family' life, reflecting on the cosmopolitanism of modern life constructed around digital networks.

Michelle Timmerman's Chapter 3 on the use of media by Syrians in Sweden examines how her participants kept abreast of the conflict in Syria via news media outlets and Arab satellite channels. They trusted these more than Swedish news channels. She analyses the effects of deterritorialisation and hybrid identities on new migrant life. Al-Rawi and Shahira Fahmy (in Chapter 4) also explore the Syrian conflict, but by examining how Syrian refugees in Italy have used social media and Facebook to circulate material pertaining to the conflict. The research traces and analyses posts on the page 'The Syrian Community in Italy'. The findings are of an in-depth nature, offering statistical data of how often certain images were posted (jubilation at Bashar al-Assad's defeat in areas, images of women and destruction, as well as the Syrian rebel flag). The authors note that images of foreign fighters were rarely used. The chapter is an effective record of quantitative research. However, there are some fundamental problems here too. Little is offered by way of analysis: we see a good amount of statistical information and observations, but little analysis. The authors present the conflict as a Syrian civil uprising, yet there is much evidence of foreign presence not just from Western superpowers, but the majority of the rebel forces are composed of foreign fighters hailing from Turkey, Japan, Chechnya and Britain, among other countries. No reference to this, or an evaluation, is offered. The lack of imagery of foreign fighters is significant: the authors ought to have offered us some insight into why this is so – was this because the cohort genuinely was not aware of the number of foreign fighters in Syria, from Africa to Chechnya, or was this a deliberate attempt to play down the foreign element and drum up support from a diasporic Syrian community? If the latter, then it raises interesting questions about how social media is not necessarily a forum for 'truth', but how it can also be used

to 'construct' news and falsify information. Such discussions would have enhanced this chapter tremendously.

The scholastic research rigour of the authors comes under grave scrutiny when the opening paragraph erroneously labels Assad's government as 'Alawite'. He himself is Alawi but Syria being a secular constitution gives little importance to religious affiliation in the public. The majority of Assad's government and army is composed of Sunnis, not Alawis. Further, the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights is quoted, which has been discredited and exposed recently for being a one-man band based in the UK, and is therefore invalid and unreliable in terms of its data collation. A collection of this kind ought to be acutely aware of the necessary rigorous examination of sources.

Roya Iman Giglou, Leen d'Haenens and Christine Ogan – in Chapter 5 – examine the social and online movements that arose in response to the 2013 green space Gezi Park protests in Istanbul, in Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. The impact of government policy on stripping away the greenbelt in this area, and the effect of the economic crisis in Spain affecting Moroccan and Ecuadorian diasporic settlers in Cecilia Peile's Chapter 6, both offer insights into how politics and economics shape the use of migrants' personal media, landlines and smartphones, with some overarching general trends of preference for mobile phone usage and voice communication despite economic constraints. These observations no doubt will resonate with other researchers examining social media technologies and their usage across the globe spearheaded by political concerns.

A slight departure from the main theme of the book comes in the form of Ines Branco's Chapter 7 on the language issues surrounding the integration of Nepalese immigrants in Portugal. Branco focuses on the role of mainstream and ethnic media in constructing the identity of the migrants through their use and learning of the host language. She examined both the host country's expectations to learn the language, as an indicator of the need to 'integrate' with the migrants' desire to learn, for ease of settlement and work, balanced against the tension of possible loss of their Nepalese language and culture.

The volume comes back full circle with Madly Boumba's Chapter 8 on youth identity construction in Brussels, returning to the themes of Karim's opening chapter of diasporic identity, culture and the new digital age challenge of constructing virtual communities. Boumba examines parental, peer, local and global identities of Congolese youth in Brussels. He argues that previous studies on Congolese community settlement in Europe tended to focus on past slavery and poverty. We may draw valid comparisons between that and the Pakistani migration to Britain: what began as a temporary migration to escape difficult economic or political conditions in the home countries, eventually became permanent. This complements Muhammad Anwar's (1979) *Myth of Return* thesis. Boumba adeptly explores Stuart Hall's (1990) cultural identity theory. Social networks are examined as being crucial in identity construction, as is the 'Nappy Movement', i.e., pride in 'blackness' and difference. Boumba's chapter leaves us with fundamental questions and points to ponder about how identities are indeed fluid but that the digital age is not only one of mass speed communication but one where individuality can be shaped and reconfigured by influences that are far afield yet so close at the touch of a screen.

This is a brave and exciting volume, one that adds to the existing discourse on migration and settlement in Europe. It is also of interest to scholars of sociology, religious studies, media, and culture. I consider it to be a very useful part as undergraduate and postgraduate text. It would have been a much more rigorous intellectual contribution to the migration discourse had there been more erudite analysis and evaluation of some of the data in several chapters, as discussed above. No doubt further works can build on this research, as this is a fast-changing and developing area.

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Mastoureh, Fathi (2017) *Intersectionality, Class and Migration: Narratives of Iranian Women Migrants in the UK*, London: Palgrave Macmillan. 193 pp.

In this book, *Intersectionality, Class and Migration: Narratives of Iranian Women Migrants in the UK*, Mastoureh Fathi explores the lives of 22 Iranian transnational migrant women resident in the UK. Similar to herself, these doctors, dentists and other PhDs are predominantly middle-class transmigrants, or 'privileged migrants' (p. 40). Fathi engages the reader in a complex assertion of the *power* of intersectionality to speak to the lived realities of Iranian transmigrant women living on a knife's edge – not quite accepted because of their religion, Islam, and yet accepted by virtue of their instrumental value to the UK health care system. Intriguingly, the author chooses not to situate these women within their religious capital, or the social and cultural capitals derived from their religion. Rather, she positions these women's lives within the political economy of Britain, even as she questions them about 'home' – Iran – and their enculturation there. By so doing, Fathi encourages the reader to recognise that her interlocutors live across time and space, embedded within parallel societies that create a transnational social space.

Fathi's focus on class, or middle-class transmigrants, is not unique in migration literature. Nicholas Van Hear (2006), writing in the early 21st century, reasons through the ways in which different classed transnational migrants sought and reached their final destinations; and Joy Owen (2015) has written of middle-class Congolese transnational migrant men resident in Cape Town, South Africa. What is of interest though are the ways in which Fathi draws out the many threads that situate Iranian doctors in the UK, as an 'other', even as they attempt to assimilate into British society. Thus, her focus on intersectionality

offers the reader a nuanced consideration of class through professional roles and the performance thereof in relation to gender, nationality and language (to a minor extent).

Fathi's focus on translocational identities and place-making, as well as her interrogation of some of the women's historical narratives, highlights the importance of remembering in creating a novel attachment to the *receiving* country. As the women remembered, and possibly relived, snippets of their lives in Iran, the narration of their past lives revealed the personal and social trajectories that led them to Britain. Fathi walks the reader through the macro and micro processes that create for her Iranian interlocutors a simultaneous sense of belonging to, and unease with, their sociopolitical positioning in Britain. She underscores the complexity and messiness of migrant lives lived betwixt and between.

In the first chapter, Fathi situates class within the field of migration studies by demonstrating how Iranian women's employment 'predisposes' them to migration. In the second chapter, she interrogates possible theories that could lend themselves to a further conceptualisation of class, inclusive of Karl Marx's (1967) understanding thereof and Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) further iteration in relation to the social field of relations, and habitus. Having considered these theorists, Fathi then posits that intersectionality provides a nuanced understanding of the complexity of class, as well as class relations, within the frame of migration. She argues that class, as an 'object' of social reality, is not transferred from the country of origin to the receiving country. Fathi thus argues for a situated and site-specific understanding of migrants' class or social position. This particular introductory section could have been strengthened with a brief contextualisation of migration in the UK, focusing on Iranian transmigrant communities. Without this contextualisation, Fathi's interlocutors are untethered from the history of Iranian transmigration to the UK.

In Chapter 3, Fathi unpacks the ways in which Iranian women are 'herded' towards a career in medicine, or further education, by familial strictures that include surveillance and an emphasis on respectability. Using Michel Foucault (1982) to discuss surveillance, Fathi argues that Iranian society's focus on the creation and maintenance of gendered spaces curtails the freedoms of women. This understanding seems peculiar, considering the freedom to migrate enjoyed by educated, middle-class women. Yet, freedom is arrived at through the *conscious* pursuit of education, which – at times – is completed overseas. Socialised mainly by their mothers, Fathi's interlocutors are actively manoeuvred into medicine through 'soft' societal pressure and the normalisation of specific educational and medical routes that maintain or elevate one's social class. As Fathi argues in Chapter 2, the apprehension of class is situational and contextual. Thus, in Iran, women's educational achievements equate them to men, while in Britain, their professions confirm their respectability and thus their *desirability* as migrants in an anti-immigrant context.

In Chapter 4, Fathi asserts that place and place-making, as implicated within the construction of identities, are linked to understanding class. Here, she explores how the macro, meso and micro facets of place – countries, schools and neighbourhoods – are used in her interlocutors' narratives to conjure up and confirm 'spatial class' (p. 94). The countries her Iranian participants visited, the schools they attended and the neighbourhoods in

Britain they currently live in all form part of a classed narrative that supports the assertion of middle-class lives, distinct from other racialised immigrant and non-immigrant citizens.

Using Judith Butler's expositions on performance and performativity in Chapter 5, Fathi discusses how her Iranian subjects perform their class. Fathi emphasises the intersectional and translocational nature of these performances, introducing the concept of 'translocational performativity' (p. 122). Reminding the reader that intersectional identities have an audience, she confirms that classed performances, and the meanings attributed thereto, are contextual, situational and locational. This 'reality' is particularly relevant in the lives of female Iranian immigrants. Through consumption, the performance of respectability and the habitus associated with the role of a doctor, Fathi's interlocutors 'make themselves visible in terms of class, but invisible in terms of race or ethnicity' (p. 123). In short, they become desirable transmigrants.

In Chapter 6, Fathi focuses on the intersection between race and class. Providing, as before, various snippets of conversations and interviews with her interlocutors, Fathi narrates how Iranian women are racialised as foreigners, and how they themselves racialise others in order to distinguish themselves. Here, differentiation is not simplistic and homogeneous. Rather, racial differentiation, iterated diversely, is based on culture, difference and pigmentocracy. Aware of the ways in which they are racialised, Iranian women use various ways to 'fit in', or assimilate. They speak English, they purchase and consume particular commodities and they essentially create a middle-class lifestyle that approximates to that of the 'invisible white English people' (p. 140). In the process, they become distinct from other *undesirable* transmigrants – those of Indian, Pakistani and Afghan descent. Poignantly, one of Fathi's interlocutors, Nina, summarises the experiences of many racialised migrants resident in Britain – '... you can never become British, you can never become a *British subject*. You become just a *British object*' (p. 141). Nina's words resonate with many other transmigrants' experiences across the world; and again, they reiterate how citizenship, race and class create worlds of psychological and physical peril for those who do not belong.

Focusing finally on belonging, a psychological phenomenon that undergirds all human experiences, Fathi emphasises the processual nature thereof in Chapter 7. In so doing, she rightfully implies that belonging is never complete, nor is it without context. The professional roles of research participants speak loudly of the ways in which they are received, and how they experience that reception. As noted by Fathi, 'Being a foreigner had less significance for these women after they became powerful subjects' (p. 158). In short, being a doctor, dentist or holder of a PhD recreated them as invisible subjects and/or citizens and, thus, deserving migrants: migrants deserving of status and acceptance, not merely tolerance, within British society.

In the final chapter, entitled 'Understanding Class Intersectionally: A Way Forward', race, class, gender, belonging and translocational citizenship are woven together. The intersectional nature of elite translocational Iranian women's migrant experiences in Britain is foregrounded as Fathi summarises the three central tenets that structure the remainder of the text – 'the importance of power' – familial, and that derived from social

and cultural capitals; 'the importance of inclusion and exclusion'; and 'learning how to perform acts that are expected' (pp. 178–180). Through focusing on individual narratives, rather than the collective experience of transmigrant Iranian women, Fathi discerns and narrates the nuances of elite Iranian women migrants' lives. The immigrant Iranian woman is thus encountered as an individual affected by the transnational social space, which includes Iran and Britain.

Ignoring typographical and grammatical errors in the text, Fathi's work is of particular interest to anthropologists, political scientists, sociologists and other social scientists interested in transnational migration, class, race, gender, citizenship and intersectionality. Her work is particularly interesting too, to those social scientists, who are intrigued by the messiness and complexity of social life, as well as the possibility of 'studying up' within migrant communities.

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Solari, Cinzia, D. (2018) *On the Shoulders of Grandmothers: Gender, Migration and Post-Soviet Nation-State Building*, New York & Oxon: Routledge, 255 pp.

The book under review is an original and well-researched sociological study of the gendered transformation and the post-Soviet nation-state building in Ukraine through the lens of Ukrainian transnational labour migration. Cinzia D. Solari, currently an assistant professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, MA, USA, demonstrates a genuine interest in Ukrainian society, but also a solid previous research experience on gender, migration and transnational nation-building in the post-socialist space. In the current study, Solari convincingly draws from these experiences and uses the methodology of global ethnography to examine 'how globalisation is produced both from the bottom up

inside Ukraine and transnationally from outside in through migration' (p. 8). As the book title reveals, the figure of 'grandmother' is positioned in the centre of this study, where the increasing levels of emigration from Ukraine since 1991, particularly to Rome in Italy and to San Francisco, CA, USA, are analysed against the backdrop of Ukraine's critical process of nation-state building and its struggles on the way to capitalist economy. Another imperative context to understanding this massive emigration is through the fundamental transformation of family structures and gender discourses in Ukraine compelled by the new capitalist and gendered moralities. Emigration to Italy and the USA is portrayed through strong metaphors, voiced by the migrant women themselves, as an expulsion to exile in 'Gulag' and an opportunity-seeking step in the exodus to the 'Promised Land', respectively, with quite diverse outcomes for both migrant women and their families (p. 13). Common is the intersection of gender, migration and nation-state structures and discourses, indispensable for the analysis of how the new Ukraine is 'reinvented transnationally'.

What makes this book unique is an eloquent style of linking migrant women's captivating personal narratives to the structural conditions and discursive frames of their transnational migration. The structure and the content of the book are thorough and neat. True to her ethnographic endeavour, Solari opens the book by describing two empirical sites for recruiting the research participants among migrant women from Ukraine in their 40s and older, working primarily as undocumented domestic workers in Italy and as state employees for the home care of elderly in the USA. A 2-year ethnographic field work, including 160 interviews with migrant women themselves, but also their adult children back in Ukraine and community leaders at both destinations, is presented in great detail throughout the book.

The Introduction masterfully summarises the main puzzles of the study, its conceptual tools as well as its key research findings. Addressing the genesis to massive emigration from Ukraine (Part I, Chapter 1), it provides an insightful hint on why Ukraine is ranked fifth among the top emigration countries in Europe. The key explanatory factor for *babushki's* (grandmother's) emigration is their *double marginalisation*. As Solari explains, despite higher education, grandmothers became discharged from the status as 'the mother-worker' due to the loss of their jobs in the state-run enterprises. Simultaneously, their caring responsibilities were belittled as, in the new Ukraine, younger mothers were supposed to take over this role. Many grandmothers felt 'useless at home' (p. 38) because, in a newly idealised nuclear family model, their care duties and love are valued much less than the economic and social remittances sent from abroad. A controversy this creates is the fact that while new Ukraine claims to be recognised as an independent and European nation, it cannot continue 'pushing its women out' of the country because this 'challenges Ukraine's international prestige' (p. 40).

Another merit is that the book is driven from the bottom-up perspective, starting with *gendered migrant subjectivities*, intended to be analytically scaled up in the Conclusion, to the global and transnational processes of the neoliberal capitalism. Solari uses this concept to describe how thousands of middle-aged women, being 'squeezed out of Ukraine' (p. 39), are engaged in the capitalist subject formation through their migration experiences.

Central to gendered migrant subjectivities are the notions of 'good' motherhood and grandmotherhood. Paradoxically though, it is women's devotion to their children and grandchildren that urged them to migrate at the first place, while the Ukrainian state stigmatised them for exactly the same thing, although to various degrees. Indeed, the grandmothers epitomise the destiny of Ukrainian women of all ages, suffering from unemployment, massive precarisation of labour, low income and pensions, but also gender and age discrimination at the Ukraine's limping capitalist labour market. This sits in stark contrast to how the new independent Ukraine reifies women as *Berehyni*, meaning 'the guardians of both the Ukrainian family and nation' (p. 36), an imagery pushed forward by gendered nationalism, praising motherhood and femininity. This is one of many other contradictions that leads Solari to pose a question: 'Why are specifically middle-aged women leaving Ukraine to perform domestic labour abroad?' (p. 3). In this regard, the book significantly complements an ample field of studies on migrant domestic workers by bringing to light the case of Ukrainian 'global women'. Migrants or not, middle-aged women are an overlooked generation in the migration research per se (King & Lulle 2016). This generation, in spite of being 'betrayed by the state' and practically 'forced to leave' the country to seek gainful employment elsewhere, continues to wrestle with both family and nation concerns across transnational borders. The dedication with which they do it as enviable as it is heartbreaking. However, as Solari attentively points out, migrants' contribution to sustaining nuclear families in Ukraine and boosting Ukrainian national identity at home and abroad goes totally unacknowledged. In Ukraine, they are regarded as 'prostitutes' or 'defectors'. In Italy, they are excluded from the state due to their status as undocumented workers. Even in the USA, where women had largely been 'lucky' green card holders reunited with their families, they were not considered 'Ukrainian enough' by the earlier migrants from the former Soviet Ukraine. Making the everyday struggles of these women visible is one the most compelling contributions of this book.

Yet another fresh research input is that even though Italy and the USA are presented as two popular and divergent destinations for the post-1990s emigration, the book's most 'relevant comparison [is] not between receiving sites' (p. 9). Rather, Solari advances the conceptual tools of *exile* and *exodus*, to compare them with regard to 'the structural dimension as well as the divergent gendered migrant subjects that are building the new Ukraine from the outside in' (p. 8). Indeed, the disparities between exile and exodus are well captured in the book's second and third questions: 'Why [driven by similar motives and needs] did migrants in Italy feel they have been 'forced' into exile to the Italian 'Gulag', while migrants in California felt they had left for 'voluntary' exodus to the 'Promised Land' and how did this impact the behaviour of migrants? How do migrants in exile to Italy and exodus to California have different effects on Ukrainian nation-state building?' (p. 3). Theoretical insights in this regard are convincingly developed by presenting rich ethnographic material through five narratives in the Italian exile (Part II, Chapters 2 and 3), and another five in the United States exodus (Part III, Chapters 4 and 5). The metaphors of the 'Gulag' and the 'Promised Land' come forward in their flesh and blood through these stories. Grandmothers feel 'stuck' in the Italian exile while collectively nurturing the idea

of their migration as a sacrifice to their own adult children and grandchildren and as a gift to the Ukrainian Europeanisation. Forging their own and their children's integration in the exodus to the USA, grandmothers seemed less engaged in the future of the new Ukraine, yet 'the Promised land' could neither fulfil the meaning of their lives, because 'their children did not welcome them as Soviet-style *babushki*' (p. 189).

In summary, this book is without doubt a valuable and timely contribution to the scholarly examination of gender, migration and – more broadly – post-socialist transformations that seem to echo transnationally. Very few, if any, critical points can be raised with regard to the 'scaling up' of the analysis from the migrant subjectivities to the macro-level processes. Here, the book would significantly benefit from a more careful and critical analysis of how Ukraine, as well as the receiving states, actually trigger migrant domestic workers' social and legal exposure, as well as the loss of their human capital and suffering, while benefits from their hard work go unacknowledged (cf. Bilan 2017). Another missing angle is that women in general, and grandmothers in particular, migrate not only to care for and care about others, but also to escape from the multiple care duties, to live a more independent life they deserve (cf. King & Lulle 2016). Nevertheless, the book is worth to be read by a wide audience, both within academia and beyond, to encourage a critical gaze on the workings of global capitalism and its gendered implications.

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