

BOOK REVIEWS

Boccagni, Paolo (2017) *Migration and the Search for Home: Mapping Domestic Space in Migrants' Everyday Lives*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 140 pp.

Concept of home is interesting to both social scientists and migration scholars, but very little attention has been paid to the actual process of homemaking or 'homing'. Paolo Boccagni's book *Migration and the Search for Home: Mapping Domestic Space in Migrants' Everyday Lives* addresses this gap by introducing novel perspectives to the debate on what home might mean in the transnational context. The author, associate professor of sociology at the University of Trento in Italy, argues that home is not only exclusively private or simply a domestic matter but also a public and political issue.

A whole stream of studies has been dedicated to the issue of home. Many of these studies have focussed on meanings that international migrants, forced or voluntary, give to different places they may call home; on the discursive construction of home during the migrant's and refugees life course (Al-Ali & Koser 2002; Kisson 2015) and on long-distance nationalism (Glick-Schiller & Fouron 2011). The symbolic meaning of the notion of home has some concrete implications on migrants' economic and social priorities because obtaining the 'remittance house' may require considerable financial efforts and is often the prize for life-long efforts and perhaps even the main purpose of the whole migration process. According to Boccagni, the negotiations related to the life "here and there" are centric in these studies, where the preference is usually given to one place over the other (p. 50). Of course, in the 21st century, there is also a virtual dimension to the international migration: Boccagni mentions information and communication technology (ICT) -based virtual spaces as important, especially in transnational home-making process, but does not elaborate further on this topic (pp. 30 and 44).

The book includes six chapters, each one of them starting with an abstract. Each chapter works alone as an independent article, but together the chapters form a coherent entity. The first chapter revisits the social science literature on home and migration-home nexus and provides an analytic framework on migrants' elusive process of homing. The second chapter discusses the promises and pitfalls on social research on migration and home. It also offers an overview of the methodological options developed so far in the empirical

study of migrants' ways of homing. It makes a case for further elaboration of this emerging research field. The chapters 3 and 4 trace a map of migrants' cognitions, emotions and practices about home, reconstructed over time and space. Chapter 5 dissects the functions of the concept of home in the public debate. The book ends with the conclusion chapter that resumes the main findings in the previous chapters.

The book starts with a review of research literature of studies on home, referring to an array of studies in different disciplines. The notion of home, as the author understands it, is distinct from "dwelling" and "house" as it requires a sense of belonging and an emotional connection to the place of living (pp. 2–3). Although home has been discussed in transnational migration and diaspora studies, the author argues that the empirical study of migrants' 'ways of homing' is an emerging field to be further elaborated. The researchers should focus not only on migrants' discursive constructions of home but also on tangible aspects of the home-making process. He adds that one can also apply a migration/mobility sensitive approach to the social scientists' studies of 'non-mobile' home and argues that there is a need for a new research agenda focussing on migration–home nexus that would combine the aspects of migration studies and home studies. According to this view, migration can serve as a lens to better understand home and vice versa.

The author discusses home and homing from different dimensions: spatial, temporal and political. The process of "homing", which is more than homemaking or settlement, is presented as "a value-laden combination of cognition, emotion and practice" (p. 24). However, the idea of home is not always related to the concrete homemaking process of individuals or families but is also related to ideological and symbolic processes. For example, in diaspora studies, the notion of home is very present: 'the myth of return' maintains the idea of a (lost) homeland. However, it does not matter whether the actual return takes place or not because "the simple psycho-social process of cultivating the option of return has real life social effects" (p. 81), and it most often has political implications as well.

What would then be the best methodology for the mobility sensitive studies of home or migration studies with home focus? Boccagni explores a variety of methodological tools that can be used for the study of homing. He points out that in the studies of home, a unit of analysis can go from an individual to a large group; hence, the method should be chosen accordingly. He argues that "domestic ethnography" would work well as a research method for the study of homing process, as it allows to observe home not only as a physical place with its location, interiors and so forth but also as social relationships and meanings related to it (p. 30). The anthropological interest towards domestic spaces is nothing new as such. For example, ethnography of Algerian (Kabyle) household by Bourdieu (1977) is a classic example of domestic anthropology focussing on social and symbolic dimensions of living space. Perhaps, the current tendency to pay attention to discourses and rhetorics of home has alienated scholars from the task of systematic observation of domestic spaces.

Boccagni's style of writing is convincing and philosophical, and his words are carefully chosen, but some observations or interview quotes from the author's own fieldwork could have helped to understand the thought processes that lead the author to construct his argument. The book begins with a description of a conversation the author had with an

Ecuadorian immigrant living in Italy, but the rest of the book is more theoretical without quotes or paragraphs related to fieldwork conducted by the author. This is not to say that the book is short of secondary references, including an array of theoretical and empirical studies and even literary sources focussing on both migrant homes and home in general. Still, considering that the author argues for the use of ethnographic method in migration studies, the book could have benefitted from some primary sources such as references to fieldwork or interview quotes.

The last part of the book, chapter 5, focuses on political dimensions of the homemaking. Although the topic has political significance, the author stays clear from making any statements. He is rather showing the opportunities that the home nexus offers to analysis that may have something to give for policymaking as well. Boccagni succeeds in reminding the reader that the most ordinary aspects of everyday life are often the most fruitful for sociological research.

Since the book does not include any direct policy guidelines or considerations, it is clearly more oriented to academic audience (students and scholars) than to policy makers. The book is indeed a welcomed contribution in the field of migration studies, where the focus on mobility and need to migrate tends to overlook the need of home and belonging.

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Hashas, Mohhamed (2019) *The Idea of European Islam: Religion, Ethics, Politics and Perpetual Modernity*, London: Routledge. 330 pp.

Islam and Muslims have been the epicentre of public debates and academic research at least during the last two or three decades. More specifically, in Europe, they have attracted much attention with the main issues of discussion being around their integration, identity and the formation of what has been called European Islam. The fundamental question upon which

most of the debates have been based on is if Islam and Muslims are forming a new identity through their interaction with European ideas, values and habits or if their effort is to preserve their existing cultural, religious and ethnic/national identity and live in isolation from European influences. Such issues have entered academic discussions and research at least since the 1990s, but faced a rapid growth after 9/11 and the recent terrorist attacks in European societies. As a consequence, the book of Mohammed Hashas comes to add to the previous works of Nielsen (1999), Focas and al-Azmeh (2007), Cesari (2015) and others with regard to the place of Islam in Europe and the idea of European Islam.

Mohammed Hashas is a research fellow at Luiss Guido Carli University in Rome, Italy, specialising on Islam in Europe. Hashas's *The Idea of European Islam* is an elaborated version of his doctoral thesis (2013). The book consists of two parts, each of which includes four chapters, plus an introduction, a conclusion and a forward by Jocelyne Cesari. The first part focuses on four Muslim thinkers who live in Europe and who according to Hashas contribute to the formation of what constitutes European Islam. The first chapter focuses on Bassam Tibi, a German scholar of Jordanian origin; the second chapter on Tariq Ramadan, a Swiss academic of Egyptian family background; the third chapter on Tareq Oubrou, an essayist and imam from Morocco, who lives in France, and the fourth chapter on the French philosopher Abdennour Bidar, who from a Catholic family has converted to Islam. The second part of the book elaborates on the reflection of these four thinkers. Chapter 5 discusses the ontological revolution and epistemological shift in European Islamic thought, while chapter 6 focuses on the conceptualisation of the idea of European Islam and more particularly on Taha Abderrahmane's trusteeship critique for overcoming the classical dichotomous thought. Chapter 7, then, analyses the consolidation of the idea of European Islam through the perpetual modernity paradigm. The last chapter introduces the thinking of John Rawls presenting European Islam as a Rawlsian reasonable comprehensive doctrine.

The book's main question is if European Islam is possible (p. 3). However, the author starts with providing the answer already in the Introduction, following a deductive way of analysis, arguing that this book claims to present a new and different approach in the study of Islam in Europe or what could be called European Islam and European Islamic thought. In this sense, he replies to this question in a positive manner supporting that European Islam is possible both theologically and politically (p. 3). This way Hashas continues that the book contributes to the field of theology, political theology, political philosophy and ethics.

The book studies European Islam using a triadic framework or axis that grasps the comprehensiveness of a world religion like Islam, i.e. the world, society and the individual (p. 4). In this sense, this endeavour deals with theological concepts for mundane and metaphysical purposes. European Islam is analysed in order to examine how it approaches the three entities that form these three axes, i.e. the cosmos or the world, society or the community as a whole, and the individual as an active agent who interprets religious teachings for social purposes and for existential questions, involving his/her interpretation of the world (p. 4). Further to this, as it is stated in the Introduction (pp. 4-5), the book studies European Islam as a category or subfield in contemporary Islamic thought for three

main reasons. First, European Islam builds on the Islamic intellectual tradition of religious rational disputes (*kalam*); second, it also builds upon the heritage of the modern Islamic reformist movements and its revivalists (Arab-Islamic *nahda*) and third, it continues the debate on the necessity for rethinking the Islamic tradition, beyond the existing limitations of the *nahda* revivalists.

Hashas acknowledges that there are limitations in the study of Islam in Europe (pp. 8-10); however, what is crucial is the reasoning behind the selection of the four thinkers (Tibi, Ramadan, Oubrou and Bidar) whose thought is exposed and analysed in the first four chapters. According to Hashas, there are five criteria that led him to such a decision (pp. 12-14). The first was that the scholar should speak from the perspective of 'declaration' and not 'conjecture' using John Rawls's terms. This means that he should have an Islamic background and speak from within the religion studied, in this case Islam; the second is that the scholar should have lived or still living in Western Europe; the third is the intellectual biography of the scholar, i.e. having elaborated on Islam in Europe and European Islam through his personal, family background and academic training; the fourth is that the scholar had and still has a public presence and finally, the fifth is that despite the differences among them, all the scholars bring to the fore the ethical message of Islam and stress it in their version of European Islam.

The first part of the book is very interesting, and the reader familiarises him/herself with some prominent scholars of European Islam. However, the most important part of the book is the second and more particularly the chapters on the conceptualisation and consolidation of the idea of European Islam (chapters 6, 7 and 8) where the book's main argument is being established. Following the thought of the Moroccan philosopher Taha Abderrahmane and John Rawls, about the concepts of perpetual modernity and overlapping consensus, Hashas concludes that European Islam is possible, as stated already in the Introduction, at least from the perspective of political theology and political philosophy. As far as the practical politics is concerned, it remains for politicians and policymakers to answer the needs of their citizens of various religious, philosophical and moral backgrounds or to 'externalise them', which is not admissible from liberal democratic perspectives (p. 293).

Overall, the book offers an interesting approach on the debates on European Islam through the analysis of Muslim scholars who live and are actually part of European societies and support that European Islam is able to think and produce innovative, original and modern thought with regard to the place of Islam in Europe. A point of criticism, however, might be that focussing on these specific intellectuals, the book gives the idea that European Islam is constructed exclusively or mainly from the above, from the elites, bringing in mind the previous research of Klausen (2005). This way it is implied that 'ordinary' Muslims play a secondary role on the construction of European Islam following the conceptualisation produced from their leaders or other Muslim intellectuals. Regardless of this, Hashas has managed to elaborate on a variety of materials in a very productive way. Further to this, in my opinion, the author offers an optimistic conclusion overall, i.e. Islam and Muslims are able to be actually part of Europe and Islam is not monolithic and without the ability to evolve and change, which is a key element of contemporary Islamophobic discourses. This

is another reason why this book is necessary for the contemporary scholarship on Islam and Muslims not only in Europe but also worldwide and adds to the current debates in a quite genuine and productive manner.

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Hervik, Peter (ed.) (2018) *Racialization, Racism, and Anti-Racism in the Nordic Countries*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. 303 pp.

The total number of critical race and whiteness studies focusing on the Nordic countries is scarce. The number of books written in English are especially few (see e.g. Andreassen & Vitus 2015; Jensen & Loftsdóttir 2012; Keskinen *et al.* 2009). The new anthology *Racialization, Racism, and Anti-Racism in the Nordic Countries* by Peter Hervik (ed.) is therefore a welcoming contribution to the study on race in a contemporary Nordic setting.

The book is framed as a Nordic anthology and consists of 12 chapters, including Hervik's own introductory chapter (chapter 1) and a concluding chapter (chapter 12) written by Nasar Meer who comes from the English-speaking academia wherein race relations have been on the research agenda for decades. The book consists of four chapters on Denmark, two on Norway, two on Sweden, one on Finland and one comparing Finland and Sweden; however, there is no chapter on Iceland. As this is in practice a Danish anthology, my review will focus mainly on the Danish chapters.

In his introductory chapter, Hervik states somewhat strongly that "only Swedish scholars would use the term 'racism' more consistently" as the term racism and the concept of race itself are said to be "still tabooed words" in the other Nordic countries (p. 10). There is a quite widespread idea within the Nordic academia that race and whiteness researchers in Sweden are more freely allowed to operationalise race. This statement is however questionable given for example that Sweden was the first country in the world to abolish the concept of race. Hervik is naturally mainly concerned with and informed about the Danish context, and he rightfully names Lene Myong and Rikke Andreassen as the pioneers behind

research on race and racism in Denmark. He also mentions the importance of the artistic and activist work by Korean adoptees when it comes to initiating a public discussion on race and Danishness in Denmark (pp. 15-16).

Chapter 2 is co-written by Mathias Danbolt and Lene Myong who both are engaged as public intellectuals in Denmark with regard to issues concerning both Danish colonialism and racism. Their piece consists of an analysis of what they call the Danish racism debates between 2012 and 2016, which are reminiscent of the Swedish debates on racial stereotypes that took place more or less during the same years. The two authors see the racism debates as a recalibration of Danish exceptionalism as they ended in the strengthening of the Danish self-image that white majority Danes cannot be racist. The next Danish chapter (chapter 5) is written by Asta Smedegaard Nielsen and operationalises the concepts of white fear and habitual whiteness in relation to the Danish media's post 9/11 reporting on Jihadist terror. Through an affect-theoretical reading, Smedegaard Nielsen argues that the white fear of the Muslim Other always dominates the public sphere and thus makes non-white Danes' fear of white violence invisible. Another chapter on Denmark is co-written by Hervik and Manté Vertelytė (chapter 7) and delves on the debate on the Danish N-word, which seems to have been even more intense than the one in Sweden concerning the Swedish N-word (Hübinette 2013). The authors view the debate as a reflection of a desire for a post-racial and colour-blind neutrality standpoint given that the majority of its defenders argue that the Danish N-word is a neutral epithet. Finally, chapter 11 by Kjetil Rødje and Tess Sophie Skadegård Thorsen analyses the Danish media debate concerning the family theme park Djurs Sommerland and its so-called Afrikaland. The debate started in 2015 when the Korean adoptee activist Jin Vilsgaard criticised the park's Afrikaland for being highly stereotypical on Djurs Sommerland's Facebook page and eventually led to a 'political correctness' debate on everyday racism and colonial stereotypes in Denmark.

The two Norwegian chapters are both case studies of antiracism. Carolina S. Boe and Karina Horsti (chapter 8) write about how the local population of Kirkenes was mobilised to help the Syrian refugees who entered Norway through Russia in 2015. Boe and Horsti discuss how the refugees became a media spectacle as they crossed the Norwegian–Russian border on bicycles due to an old Russian law forbidding a border crossing on foot. Christian Stokke (chapter 9) scrutinises Norwegian multiculturalism and its intercultural education policy, which he juxtaposes to Norwegian Muslims' own political activism in the aftermath of Breivik's 7/22 terrorist attack. The two chapters on Sweden are written by Mahitab Ezz El Din (chapter 4) who looks at the regional newspaper *Nerikes Allehanda's* publishing of the artist Lars Vilks' caricature of Muhammad as a roundabout dog in 2007 and Sayaka Osanami Törngren (chapter 6) who unpacks the colour-blind Swedish discourse concerning interracial marriages. Through the lenses of Orientalism and Islamophobia, Ezz El Din concludes that *Nerikes Allehanda's* publishing was seen as a freedom of speech act against an Orientalised Other, while Osanami Törngren's chapter shows how the colour-blind talk among her informants highlights cultural differences while simultaneously minimizing racial differences according to the discursive rules of Swedish colour-blind antiracism.

Tuija Saesma is behind the Finnish chapter (chapter 3), which analyses the 2015 ‘immigrant’ rape case in Kempele. Saesma discusses how this incident became racialised in both the Finnish media and social media as the idea of a ‘rape culture’ rapidly got a hold. Finally going over to the book’s sole Nordic comparative study (chapter 10), Camilla Haavisto examines the Nazi assault and stabbing of Showan Shattak in Malmö in 2014 and the Nazi killing of Jimi Karttunen in Helsinki in 2016. She conceptualises these events as critical events for what she sees as antiracist claims against racism and argues that a stronger Swedish antiracist movement might explain why these two Nazi attacks were interpreted differently in Sweden and Finland, respectively.

Overall, the anthology is dominated by a media and discourse studies approach analysing recent public debates on race and racism in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland and there is no quantitative study. Furthermore, while reading the chapters, it is evident that research on race in the Nordic countries has still not been able to find a common terminology or a common set of concepts, models, hypotheses and theories. This still somewhat ‘wild’ state of the field wherein some only prefer the term ‘racism’ and would probably call themselves ‘racism researchers’ while others claim that they are critical race and whiteness researchers is clearly a reflection of a field that is still in the making and that has not yet become institutionalised. It is also obvious that research on race has evolved from Nordic migration studies and Nordic gender studies, which are both firmly established fields within the Nordic academic world. Hervik’s first chapter and many of the other chapters also point to the fact that research on Nordic racism is also in practice a continuation of Nordic postcolonial studies from the 1990s and 2000s that never really became institutionalised within the Nordic research milieu.

Given the strong focus on media discourses in most of the chapters, Hervik’s anthology is in particular of interest to those who want to understand how mainstream media, social media and so-called alternative media have played a crucial role behind most recent debates on racism in the Nordic countries. The book can be recommended to everyone who is studying and who is engaged with issues of racism in the Nordic countries and whether inside or outside the academia as the chapters taken together offer the reader a relatively comprehensive overview of how race operates in different ways in contemporary Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland.

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Povrzanović Frykman, Maja & Öhlander, Magnus (eds.) (2018) *Högutbildade migranter i Sverige*¹, Lund: Arkiv förlag. 232 pp.

Högutbildade migranter i Sverige is a thorough look into the numbers, career paths, labour market positioning and integration experiences of highly educated migrants in Sweden. It consists of 14 chapters by 18 different authors, of whom about half are themselves highly educated migrants working in Swedish research institutions. The book is edited by Professors Maja Povrzanović Frykman (Malmö University) and Magnus Öhlander (University of Stockholm), who both have extensive experience in the field of migration research. According to the editors, the book is the first of its kind: a comprehensive edited volume based on interdisciplinary research on highly educated migrants in Sweden and published in Swedish. It is written in a clear, jargon-free language and is targeted at a wide audience consisting of not only academics but also students, journalists, public officials and the general public.

In the introductory chapter (chapter 1), Maja Povrzanović Frykman and Magnus Öhlander lay out the need for such an anthology, go through the book's contents and discuss the definition of key terms such as 'migrants', 'immigrants', 'refugees', 'highly skilled' and 'highly educated' migrants. They adopt the classification of Robyn Iredale (2001) and define highly educated migrants as people with a completed higher education degree at minimum at the bachelor's level. This classification thus includes all migrants who have moved to Sweden for different reasons, such as job-seekers, family migrants, asylum seekers or refugees. For an edited volume, this definition is a good choice as it is a clear-cut definition that can be used also with migration register data in Sweden. The other commonly used concepts, e.g. 'professional migrants', 'expatriates' or 'highly skilled migrants', are more obscure and often quite context dependent, as the labour market value of one's skills often has to be renegotiated whenever one looks for work abroad (e.g. Csedö 2008).

The two chapters following the Introduction provide an economic and political context for the empirical chapters of the book. Henrik Emilsson (chapter 2) explains the Swedish model of work-based immigration and the results of the 2008 law change that removed the favourable treatment of highly educated migrants that is typical in many other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. Adopting this 'Swedish model' where the employers, rather than the authorities, are in charge of selecting the kinds of workers they wish to recruit from abroad has had unintended consequences for labour

migration. Namely, it has increased the numbers of low-educated migrants arriving to Sweden to work in fields with no labour shortages. According to Emilsson, the 2008 law has also resulted in a situation where many highly educated migrants have to migrate onwards for different reasons, for example due to minor mistakes in their work permits or because they can no longer receive a permanent residence permit upon arrival. In their chapter, Nahikari Irastorza and Pieter Bevelander (chapter 3) give an overview of the labour market situation of highly educated migrants in Sweden. Based on register data, they conclude that migrants with higher educational levels do better in Sweden than lower educated migrants, but a gap in employment levels, salary and the mismatch between education and type of job remains, when educated migrants are compared with native-born employees with similar qualifications.

In her chapter, Linn Axelsson (chapter 4) provides a view into Swedish immigration policy and management of work permits by professionals working in the information communication technology (ICT) sector. She concludes that highly educated migrants are a heterogeneous group and notes that the long processing periods of work permits and the four-year wait before being eligible for a permanent residence permit are a source of uncertainty. This is true not only for the migrants themselves but also for the companies dependent on the skills of foreign ICT professionals.

The book has a total of seven chapters that deal with medical doctors. In all, 27 per cent of all doctors working in the Swedish health care sector have completed their degrees abroad (e.g. Taban-Franz 2018: 102; Mozetič 2018: 115), so the emphasis on this particular occupation makes sense for the purpose of research and also for the Swedish society so reliant on doctors with foreign credentials.

Lisa Salomonsson (chapter 5) focuses on foreign doctors' sense of professional belonging, Anna Taban-Franz (chapter 6) writes about reciprocity and capital in an introductory language program for medical doctors with foreign education and Katrina Mozetič (chapter 7) gives a view into what it is like to be a refugee and a highly educated migrant. Following these insights, Paula Mulinari (chapter 8) discusses what is required to become a 'real doctor' in Sweden, Nataliya Berbyuk Lindström (chapter 9) focuses on the workplace intercultural communication, and Katarzyna Wolanik Boström and Magnus Öhlander (chapter 10) write about Polish doctors and the everyday encounters at the workplace. In the last article belonging to this category, Maja Povrzanović Frykman and Katrina Mozetič (chapter 11) write about the lives of foreign doctors and the importance of friends. When read together, these chapters give an interesting and nuanced view of the foreign doctors working in Swedish hospitals. The chapters are rich in interview data, where one can hear the voice of the medical professionals themselves and learn from not only their experiences at the workplace but also their lives outside the hospital walls.

The two following chapters, after the in-depth look into Swedish healthcare sector, focus on a field where highly educated foreign workers are also commonplace: the academia. Helena Pettersson (chapter 12) based her work on ethnographic fieldwork within a life science research institution and writes about the sense of kinship felt among internationally mobile academics. In this field, much of the work is conducted in research teams in laboratories that thrive on international mobility of researchers. They form interesting 'families' among those

who have to spend so much time together at the laboratory with only limited contact to their own friends and relatives abroad. Erik Olsson, Alireza Behtoui and Hege Høyer Leivestad (chapter 13) discuss social capital and the situation of migrants, who finish their post-graduate studies in Swedish higher education institutions and wish to continue their careers in the country. The authors conclude that in general, foreign-born researchers face discrimination and structural obstacles that make their prospects bleaker than their native peers, unless they manage to 'play the games' that are typical for this Bourdieusian social field.

In the final chapter of the book, Li Bennich-Björkman and Branka Likic-Brboric (chapter 14) write about the Swedish integration policies and labour market experiences of the highly educated migrants who arrived from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s. They have been one of the largest refugee groups in Sweden and been seen as an integration success story. In a sense, this article forms a nice balance to the chapters of the beginning of the book (chapters 2 and 3), where the phenomenon of highly educated migration was explored via statistical and labour market data, even though the approach here is based on biographical interviews. Because their interviewees already have a history of living in Sweden for more than 25 years, they are able to reflect back on what factors made their integration possible.

The book successfully tackles an interesting dilemma: when skilled and educated migrants are seen as economically beneficial to the country's economy and therefore many countries have specific policies to welcome and attract them, how come are these migrants still often at a disadvantage in the labour market in Sweden? Despite the highly educated being in a position of relative advantage towards migrants with lower level qualifications, they still have problems with having their social and cultural capital recognised and their skills fully utilised. The editors of the book stress the necessity of adaptation also from the side of Swedish authorities, workplaces and employers to integrate these migrants as full members of the Swedish society. In the future, it would be interesting to read this book also in the English language. One option would be to work on the chapters focusing on the medical profession as that section of the book has several interlinking themes relevant to this profession. This is not to say that other chapters would be less interesting, but for the international audience not particularly interested in Sweden or the Nordic countries per se, a professional focus might be a good choice. In all, the chapters are well written, concise and interesting, so one may hope the book finds itself in the hands of those in charge of migration policies as well as to students and researchers interested in this fascinating topic.

Note

1. The title of the book can be translated in English as 'Highly educated migrants in Sweden'.

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Scholten, Peter & van Ostaijen, Mark (eds.) (2018) *Between Mobility and Migration: The Multi-Level Governance of Intra-European Movement*, Cham: Springer Open. 270 pp.

Peter Scholte and Mark van Ostaijen have edited a book entitled *Between Mobility and Migration: The Multi-Level Governance of Intra-European Movement*, which is available in open access format. The volume is a collection of essays related to intra-European movement. The empirical data of the book mainly deals with movement from Eastern to Western Europe. Many of the findings of the book relate to a research project funded by the Joint Programming Initiative (JPI) Urban Europe: IMAGINATION, 'Urban Implications and Governance of CEE migration' run between June 2013 and June 2016. The collection of empirical material was conducted in Turkey, Sweden, Austria, the Czech Republic, Poland and the Netherlands. The material included interviews, data collection, document analysis and literature reviews. The project was interdisciplinary, with sociologists, political scientists, geographers and public administration scholars. This is also visible in the book, as intra-European movement is looked at from very diverse perspectives and through various types of material.

The first part of the book deals with the various types of intra-European movement and their consequences, including chapters on the concept of liquid migration¹ and on the comparison between post-war guest worker migration and the migration from the Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries to Western Europe. The second part of the book discusses different approaches to multi-level governance in the context of free movement, while the final part includes reports on case studies from sending and receiving countries as well as concluding remarks.

The book provides an important account on contemporary intra-European migration in an era where the focus is almost completely on migration from outside the European Union (EU). There are also critical approaches to the differentiation between the approaches to intra-European and extra-European migration. Not many monographs have been written in recent years about intra-European migration (Heinikoski 2017a; Recchi 2015), and it has also been several years since the latest compilation of social scientist approaches to EU migration (Maas, 2013). The phenomenon of intra-European movement is, however, still very topical; it should not be forgotten that the Brexit debate revolves greatly around the

issue of intra-European movement and that the number of people moving around the EU keeps growing.

Although it is important to look at intra-European mobility, it seems particularly worthwhile to focus on how mobility from outside the Union intertwines with the intra-European one. In his book chapter, Alex Balch makes an important analysis on how “EU migration” is a term avoided in the official EU discourse (p. 161). Indeed, EU commissioners have explicitly stated that EU mobility and the movement of EU citizens should not be called migration but free movement, which the union representatives consider a completely different issue (p. 173). Balch also points out how the politics of free movement seem to follow neo-functionalist ideas of a spillover process whereby integration constantly spills over to adjacent fields. Migration policy, in turn, seems to follow intergovernmental thinking where states hold onto their sovereignty and are often unable to agree on common procedures and principles (p. 163). As an example of the difficulties related to the intertwining of intra-European and extra-European movement, he mentions the dispute in 2011 between France and Italy on the border-crossing of Tunisian migrants with a residence permit in Italy (p. 168). The same problematics came to the fore along with the migrant crisis in 2015.

It may also often be forgotten that the CEE countries are not only sending but also receiving countries. Marta Kindler devotes her chapter to the analysis on the movement of Poles. Polish citizens have been the most mobile in the EU, with approximately 2 million Poles staying in other EU countries (p. 168). It is noteworthy, however, that it is only 6.6 percent of the Polish population, while close to 15% of Romanian population stay abroad (Heinikoski 2017b). Poland also hosts an immigrant population, including for example Ukrainians; there are approximately one million Ukrainians working in Poland, mostly concentrated in a particular area in Warsaw. Whereas many Poles work in Western European countries in posts where it is difficult to find local workforce, Ukrainians fill the Polish need for agricultural, construction and domestic workers (p. 199).

The seemingly equal right to free movement of each EU citizen disguises the fact that mobile EU citizens may have very different trajectories. For example, the mobility of the so-called Eurostars previously analysed by one of the authors of the volume, Adrian Favell, is very different from the mobility of the Czech care givers living in two-week periods in Austria and at home in Czechia (chapter 11). Interestingly enough, the book also takes into account CEE migration to Turkey, reflecting the various patterns of mobility in Europe (Chapter 12). CEE population today constitutes more than 40% of the migrants in Turkey, the majority coming from the neighbouring country Bulgaria (p. 231). This perspective illustrates that it is not only Western Europe that attracts CEE workers.

The book is useful for anyone interested in getting acquainted with intra-European movement and related academic discussion. It is up to date and provides a variety of empirical and theoretical perspectives to European mobility. The editors of the volume also skilfully introduce the reader to the topic and reflect on the findings in the conclusion. The editors describe, *inter alia*, how intra-European movement is usually conceptualised somewhere between domestic and international migration (p. 260). It is neither the same

as people moving within a single country nor a question of ‘traditional’ international migration.

Despite the obvious merits, what the reader may be missing in the book is discussion on the overall phenomenon of EU mobility. People not only move for work but it is usually personal reasons such as family that make EU citizens stay in another country. The exchange programme Erasmus, for example, also plays a considerable role in making people permanently stay in another EU country. Of course, one research project cannot cover the entire phenomenon of EU mobility in its entirety, and it is impossible to ever draw an exhaustive picture.

Even for a reader previously well versed in intra-European mobility, the book opens up new perspectives and interesting findings concerning both the theory and practice of people’s movement. Ultimately, one of the remaining questions the book leaves me wonder is whether we want to have different categories of mobility in Europe; what is the purpose of differentiating the mobility of EU citizens from the various categories of people covered by the term ‘migrant’?

Note

1. By liquid migration, Godfried Engbersen refers to a new migration system, which is temporary, flexible and unpredictable; workers “try their luck” in different countries before settling somewhere or returning home (pp. 63–64).

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