

BOOK REVIEWS

De Lange, Tesseltje & Rijken, Conny (2018) *Towards a Decent Labour Market for Low-Waged Migrant Workers*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 282 pp.

The new book, *Towards a Decent Labour Market for Low-Waged Migrant Workers* edited by Tesseltje de Lange, professor of Human Trafficking and Globalization at Tilburg University, and Conny Rijken, senior researcher Mobility, Migration and Integration Law at the University of Amsterdam, is a volume of 12 chapters bound by the idea of an interdependence of three subjects: labour market, migration, and regulation. The authors make an attempt to find the balance between the demand of labour and opportunities for decent working conditions for the low-skilled migrants. If the demand for high-skilled labour is well-known political discourse in the European Union (EU) countries, the demand for the low-skilled labour also exists (Triandafyllidou 2018) but is poorly reflected in the migration policy and migration regulations of the EU.

The articles are built around the issue of vulnerability of “low-skilled” and “low-waged” migrants. Authors present evidences that the EU and national states’ demands for labour market concerning cheap labour are imbalanced and in contradictions with the EU labour regulations for access to low-wage jobs. Low-paid workers can be the EU citizens as well as third country nationals (TCN). Editors and authors develop some theories and strategies to overcome this vulnerability and reveal windows for abuse.

An introduction chapter provides the analysis of the relation between labour market, migration, and the rule of law explaining how (legal) boundaries are drawn for the migrant worker from the EU, and from outside the EU countries. Editors highlight terminological ambiguities of the concept of decent labour and decent labour markets. The definition of migrant workers according to migration law is based on legal status of migrants upon arrival (labour, family members, students, and others). But this legal status is not fixed and may change over time for better or for worse.

Bert van Roermund (chapter 1) argues that the meaning of skilled and unskilled workers is blurred, and their hierarchy is conditional and constructed. Roermund insists on importance of fundamental rights of migrant workers because labour is about reproduction of human existence (p. 40). Regine Paul (chapter 2) supports Roermund’s opinion on conditionality and construction of unwanted low-skilled migrants challenging the notion

of borders as territorial demarcation lines that are created by state in its authority to create “legal” and “illegal” categories of migrants. Author argues the need to unpack the legal categories as constructed and the markers of the categorization as well (pp. 72–73).

Authors address in this book the fragmented legal framework of EU labour mobility that causes terminological and legal ambiguities. One ambiguity is the concept of the migrant worker that is shaped by the free movement of persons, services, and capital. From an employer’s perspective, free movement creates opportunities to lower labour costs. The differences in wages, labour conditions, and opportunities are constant incentive for migrants from less advanced EU countries where wages and conditions are low (p. 12).

Such situation is discussed by Mijke Houwerzijl and Annette Schrauwen (chapter 3, p. 81) in the context of the impact of Posted Workers Directive (PWD) that regulates free movement of workers and their rights in case of temporary assignment to another EU country. They make conclusion that the limited legal basis of the PWD is one of the reasons that social rights of posted workers are excluded.

Jan Cremers and Ronald Dekker (chapter 4, p. 121) argue that the service providers help employers to escape the governmental as well as intergovernmental control by special human resource management (HRM) schemes. They present a questionable model where the new intermediaries assist in creation of HRM schemes with the help of letterbox companies (also Gordon 2017).

The situation of TCN migrant workers with different status in the EU labour market is even more complicated. Margarite Zoeterweij (chapter 5) discusses the legal framework for TCN seasonal workers in Spain and Italy and concludes that the Seasonal Workers’ Directive reinforces the inferiority of the position of the unskilled workers on the labour market. Similarly, Petra Herzfeld Olsson (chapter 6) raises the question about the right of berry-picking industry to discriminate migrant berry pickers from Thailand using long working hours or (bogus) self-employment as a survival strategy for this sector of Sweden’s economy.

One can argue that the Employers’ Sanctions Directive (ESD) obligated the EU Member States to punish employers who hire TCNs without residence and/or work permit. However, the European Commission concluded in its review of the ESD that the level of protection offered to illegally employed TCNs by the Netherlands, as well as the other member states, is not yet adequate. Lisa Berntsen and Tesseltje de Lange in their chapter (9) give the example of such situation presenting the work of Dutch labor inspection in context of the ESD. The case of asylum seeker access to labour market shows that employer sanctions under EU law work ineffectively (p. 226).

The majority of presented articles identify situations that undermine opportunity for a decent labour market. According to Hans Siebers (chapter 11), even the children descendants of non-Western migrants can have difficulties participating in the labour market compared to the Western non-migrants. He stressed that ethno-migrant inequality in the labour market exists, in the Netherlands especially. Using Bourdieu’s approach, Siebers identifies indirect discrimination through social and cultural capital that prevents the access of such migrants to economic capital (p. 259).

Similar to Anderson (2015) and Bolton et al. (2016), editors agree on three points that characterizes current labour markets and migrants' role in there: (1). The labour market needs flexible and cheap labour and labour migrants ready to work for lower labour standards; (2) the flexibilization of the labour market leads to a wide variation of flexible contracts and labour relations that are often facilitated by (EU) law; and (3) the existence of a "shadow economy" creates "undocumented migrants that perform valuable tasks on our behalf, without receiving societies' acknowledgment" and being under a high risk of exploitation due to the lack of legal authorization to stay and work (pp. 22–23).

Authors propose in several chapters how to decrease vulnerabilities of migrants. Conny Rijken (chapter 8), for example, explains the different types and levels of abuse of workers and how these practices are legally qualified and gives some suggestions to the improvement of legislation. In parallel to Rijken, Lucia Della Torre (chapter 10) gives a positive example of regularization of undocumented migrants that was done by Canton Geneva in 2017 during so-called "Papyris Operation." The situation with such people has improved considerably in this canton and nowadays the other cantons are discussing to use similar approach (pp. 241–242). The other possible way to reduce vulnerability is presented by Johan Graafland (chapter 12). He has evaluated the data of 4053 enterprises in 10 EU countries and found that the collective agreements stimulate the female presence and job opportunities for employees from disadvantaged groups and foster their integration (p. 277).

In a conclusion, editors make a proposition for decreasing vulnerability and increasing improvement of the migrant workers' position in labour markets. They argue that more countries should realize those international instruments that aim at protecting migrant workers, such as International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions on labour migrants' rights and the Global Compact for Migration (IOM 2018).

The value of this book is the multifaceted approach and selection of presented cases. The book can be useful not only for the experts in migration studies but also for the students of law, public policy, and economics to understand complexity of relations between labour market, migration, and regulations.

Irina Molodikova

Leader of the Project on Migration and Security in the Post-Soviet Space, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

E-mail: molodiko@ceu.edu

References

- Anderson, B 2015, 'Precarious work, immigration, and governance', in *Migration, precarity, and global governance. Challenges and opportunities for labour*, eds. CU Schierup, R Munck, B Likic-Brboricand & A Neergaard, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 68-82.
- Bolton, S, Laaser, K & Mcguire, D 2016, 'Quality work and the moral economy of European employment policy', *JCMS*, vol. 54, no. 3, pp. 583, 598, DOI:10.1111/jcms.12304.

Gordon, J 2017, 'Regulating the human supply chain', *Iowa Law Review*, vol. 102, no. 2, pp. 445.

IOM 2018, Global Compact for Migration, IOM, 2018. Available from: <<https://www.iom.int/global-compact-migration>>.

Triandafyllidou, A (ed.) 2018, *Handbook on migration and globalisation*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK.

Hillmann, Felicitas, van Naerssen, Ton & Spaan, Ernst (eds.) (2018) *Trajectories and imaginaries in migration: the migrant actor in transnational space*, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. 210 pp.

The edited volume *Trajectories and Imaginaries in Migration: The Migrant Actor in Transnational Space* critically evaluates a range of factors and conceptualizations that often appear in debates on global migration governance, including the role of push and pull factors in migration decision-making and integration as a life-long process of adaptation on the part of migrants into host society. Instead of relying on conventional wisdom and available statistical data, the editors request academics to put more emphasis on understanding “the hidden triggers of migration”. They urge readers to listen to what migrant actors themselves have to say about their experiences of settlement and journeys across borders.

The book consists of two parts: the first part focuses on different aspects of migration trajectories and the second on the mental imaginaries of migrants. Trajectories, as the editors Felicitas Hillmann and Ton van Naerssen define them, are both geographical movement in space and over time as well as migrants' biographical life paths, and their imagined migratory journeys. They explain in the epilog that migration trajectories begin at a certain point during one's life course and they end at some point, or in some cases migration is a journey of a lifetime. It is possible that people live their whole lives “on the move”, going through different periods of mobility and immobility, including temporary, circular, and return migration. The array of migrant trajectories is very vast. Trajectories are connected with physical travel, yet, they need to be understood and analyzed as social and emotional journeys too. The concept of trajectory contests the traditional push and pull model by placing migrant agency into the center of analysis.

The second part deals more directly with imaginaries or mental frameworks that are considered as significant explanatory dimensions of migration process. David Kyle, Saara Koikkalainen, and Tanaya Dutta Gupta (p. 128) also refer to the concept of mindset, which they define as a particular attitude or orientation, which is shared by a group of individuals and which influences their decision-making processes, often in covert, longer-term modes. Overall, the chapters make a compelling argument about the importance of (trusted) information on how migratory processes play out in practice. For information, to influence human behavior, it has to be meaningful, resonate with a person's life experience and be conveyed by someone who is considered trustworthy (Mallet & Hagen-Zanker in chapter 10, pp. 168–170, 178).

Interestingly, the book as a whole demonstrates that the collective knowledge that underpins decisions regarding migration may be very complex, personal, yet collectively formed, and based on partial information. This observation has significant scholarly and policy implications. As, for example, Maybritt Jill Alpes' chapter on the narratives of deportation in Anglophone Cameroon illustrates, the issues of legality and deportation are approached very differently in Cameroon and in the Netherlands (chapter 5). She (p. 88) claims that the European Union (EU) policymakers assume that higher deportation rates will discourage undocumented migration. This notion is based on the assumption that deportation is caused by residing in the EU illegally. The Cameroonian research participants, on the other hand, interpret deportation as resulting from, for example, bad luck, laziness, and bad behavior. Thus, for them, the experience of deportation does not signify that they are banned from trying to enter Europe. Instead, they take it as a reason for trying harder and, for example, avoiding contact with the police while in Europe. Such locally constructed narratives of migration are quintessential for understanding why and where people choose to migrate regardless the risks involved.

The authors of the book come from various disciplines, including political sciences, human geography, sociology, and ethnography. Empirical cases draw on materials collected in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America. The book includes chapters on the mobility trajectories of African migrants into EU by Joris Schapendonk (chapter 2), Usha Ziegelmayr, and Ernst Spaan (chapter 3) as well as the trajectories of migration in Anglophone Cameroon written by Alpes (chapter 5). Chapter 4 written by Ding Yuan and Ching Lin Pang deals with African migration to China. In chapter 6, Giulia Borri looks into the mobilities of migrants across borders in the Schengen area, while Gery Nijenhuis' chapter 7 focuses on the case of Bolivian and Ecuadorian return migrants from Spain. In addition, the book contains chapters on migration imaginaries by Kyle, Koikkalainen, and Dutta Gupta (chapter 8), the thresholds of mobility among migrants by Lothar Smith, Martin van der Velde, and Ton van Naerssen (chapter 9) and the dynamics of migration decision-making by Richard Mallett and Jessica Hagen-Zanker (chapter 10). The final empirical chapter 11, which examines the mobility among Chinese students and academics in Europe and Chinese Indonesians who have studied in China, is written by Maggi Leung and Rika Theo. The book finishes with an epilog (chapter 12), which summarizes the key results, written by the editors van Naerssen and Hillmann.

As this outline of the chapters illustrates, the book does what it promises: it focuses its reader's attention on the increasing variety and flexibility of current migration flows, both voluntary and forced, and considers their interconnections. The book discusses migration as a global phenomenon. The definite advantage of the book is its global focus, and inclusion in the analysis the localities and local knowledge of migration outside of Europe. The empirical work discussed by the authors is insightful. This said the chapters are unbalanced in a sense that, in my opinion, some of them focus on empirical analysis at the expense of sufficient theoretical reflection. In my mind, this limits the usefulness of the book for those not working on the particular case or migrant group in question.

The idea that migrant lives are transnational and that people, generally speaking, forge and sustain multifarious social relations across state borders, is currently widely accepted. I find the concept of trajectory to be a promising way forward to grasp such transnational life experiences and movement between and across different spaces. It allows the analysis of temporal and spatial dimensions of migrant lives that characterize the reproduction of the periods of mobility and immobility. As the authors explain, the concept of trajectory is very complex, multilayered, and multiscalar. It may refer, for example, to individual and collective experiences, as well as the mixture of the two. Additionally, it contains a reference to spatial journeys as well as journey in time. When used in such an over-encompassing manner, there is a danger that the concept loses some of its explanatory power. Indeed, I find it very important that each scholar using this concept defines clearly, what it means in their specific cases and discusses the limits of the concept in question. This book provides its readers with various examples of how to operationalize the concept of trajectory. As such, it offers good basis for further inquiry in the topic. The book invites more work to grasp and define the theoretical underpinnings and empirical applicability of both trajectories and mental frameworks for migrant decision-making.

Tiina Sotkasiira

Senior Researcher, University of Eastern Finland, Department of Social Sciences, Joensuu, Finland
E-mail: tiina.sotkasiira@uef.fi

Holtorf, Cornelius, Pantazatos, Andreas & Scarre, Geoffrey (2019) *Cultural Heritage, Ethics and Contemporary Migrations*, London & New York: Routledge. 256 pp.

At a time when human migration is a matter of global political and humanitarian concern as perhaps never before, it is important to be able to look both backwards and forwards to understand how people have handled social change in the past and can handle similar changes in the present, particularly in relation to belonging and cultural identity. The book *Cultural Heritage, Ethics and Contemporary Migrations*, edited by Cornelius Holtorf, Andreas Pantazatos, and Geoffrey Scarre, deals with the social effects of populations and cultures in flux from this point of view. It does so by compiling a timely collection of theoretical perspectives from different disciplines and a variety of examples from around the globe, which together illustrate the relevance of discussing the links between migration and cultural heritage (mainly archaeological heritage). The volume consists of three distinct sections, entitled “Things ‘r’ us: archaeological heritage as a preserver of social identity,” “Memory, migrants and museums,” and “Cultural heritage as an agent of integration,” which account for a total of 15 chapters.

The introduction grapples with the concept of cultural heritage and what the cultural heritage of refugees and immigrants may be. The editors propose that cultural heritage “enables displaced communities to maintain their relations with present and future generations of their homeland, even though they do not live there anymore” but also stress

that migrants “must forge viable relationships with the culture (or cultures) of their new country, otherwise they will never be able to feel at home there” (p. 3). The introduction discusses not only the changing cultural identities of migrants but also how they may affect, challenge, enrich, and transform the culture of the receiving countries, and what implications this may have for the institutions and practices of heritage management. The editors argue for a more dynamic view on heritage, the so-called “New Heritage”, which is concerned with the meanings, perceptions, and interpretations that people attribute to the remains of the past, rather than the value of the remains in themselves. This view on heritage allows for a more discursive understanding of heritage and recognizes how heritage is constantly being recreated and renegotiated by people in the present. Following this logic, an “ethical” heritage management in times of change has to foster respect, openness, and social inclusion rather than division, and promote the development and uses of heritage rather than conservation and preservation of traditions, places, and objects at all costs.

The first section of the book focuses on the new arrivals and their relationships to the places they have left behind, their new homes, and the majority population’s culture. Robert Seddon (chapter 4) contributes with a thought-provoking piece on land and the meaning of territorial belonging. He problematizes the common assumption that the heritage of land and landscapes belong to the people who first lived there and argues that everyone who settles in a place have the right and responsibility to care about and for it. Paul Gilbert (chapter 3) is making similar arguments, referring to the “ethics of residence” (p. 33) and stressing the notion that the heritage of a place is a shared project. Christopher Prescott (chapter 5) presents a case study from Norway, in which he explores how to engage immigrants in Norwegian heritage and how to make museums relevant for them. His solution is new interpretative and inclusive approaches and narratives that can change both immigrants’ attitudes to cultural heritage and the institutions that are excluding them. These accounts are quite revealing in exposing the tension between wanting or not wanting to belong to a culture (i.e., individual choices) and being included or not being included in a culture (i.e., systemic barriers).

The second section addresses the double-edged potential of monuments and museums to both question and reconfirm someone’s cultural identity. Helaine Silverman’s piece (chapter 8) is an especially strong contribution to this section, raising issues of identity, memory, symbolism, and sense of place through the lens of what she calls “affiliative reterritorialization” (p. 110). This concept highlights how “an immigrant group seeks to draw relationship between itself and its host country and thus assert its participation and place in the nation from a diasporic position of anxiety” (p. 110). She employs the example of the Manco Capac monument donated by the Japanese community in Peru to discuss how this strategy can be celebrated or misunderstood by the majority population and how the meaning of migrant heritage can change over time and eventually be completely overtaken by the majority. More studies on this interesting phenomenon would have been truly valuable in this section.

The third and final section raises some further issues that emerge as people of different cultural backgrounds come together and in some cases even suggests concrete measures

to facilitate integration and social cohesion. Cultural heritage is considered to be a change agent that can be actively used in community development and to increase the prosperity and well-being of its members. Margarita Díaz-Andreu (chapter 12) has mapped initiatives within the European archaeological sector aiming at social integration and in addition presents her own in-depth analysis of a case study in Catalonia in which the promotion of participation and interculturality played a crucial role. Cynthia Dunning Thierstein (chapter 13) uses her experiences from a multicultural and multilingual school class in Switzerland to argue for the importance of educational methods that encourage dialog, knowledge exchange, and creativity when using cultural heritage to achieve social cohesion in the classroom. Denis Byrne (chapter 14) has looked at a national park in Australia and how the migrant population uses the park for socializing and recreation in new ways, thereby transforming it to a “transnational place” (p. 219). This is a new way of placemaking that authorities should be better of acknowledging, she argues, since it increases the newcomers’ sense of belonging.

This compilation brings important questions about migration, diversity, cultural heritage, and society into better focus. The chapters examine in different ways what may happen to cultural heritage when cultural identities collide and merge but also what may happen to people and their cultural lives. Overall, the approach is refreshing in that it seeks to apply the idea of “New Heritage” to deeply rooted notions of culture, ethnicity, nationality, and belonging, and demonstrate how these notions are challenged by mass movement and new ideas and uses of the past. There is an urgent need for critical analysis of this topic, as well as practical solutions, and here the book makes a clear contribution. However, not all authors are wholly engaging with this invigorating conversation on heritage and consequently not all chapters are equally interesting to a reader with a critical perspective on heritage practices and discourses. Furthermore, the book is perhaps more relevant for researchers and professionals in the heritage field than in the migration field seeing that it might be difficult for those less familiar with archaeology and heritage management to comprehend and implement the conclusions.

Carolina Jonsson Malm

PhD in History and researcher in Critical Heritage Studies, Malmö University, Malmö, Sweden

E-mail: carolina.jonsson-malm@mau.se

Koehn, Peter H. (2019) *Transnational mobility and global health: traversing borders and boundaries*, New York: Routledge. 259 pp.

The impact migration on healthcare systems, workers, and policies has been concerning researchers and policymakers for the last decade. Increasingly, the connection between mobility, health, and climate change has become a focus, as has healthcare for refugees and asylum seekers. Peter Koehn’s sweeping overview is a useful guide to the contemporary issues around health and mobility that transcends the impulse to focus on the latest trend in

migration studies, and instead provides a necessary survey some of the major global health challenges of our time and speculates about those of our future.

Koehn, a professor of Political Science and the Director of Global Public Health program at the University of Montana, is a distinguished scholar in the field of public policy and health and calls on the reader to “engage with empathy and foresight the pressing and arising issues of mobility, inequality, and global health” (p. 2). Koehn begins his analysis by noting that he is primarily concerned with “transnational mobility”—that is, mobility that occurs in the context of nation-state boundaries (p. 4). However, he defines “global health” as “health issues that affect populations in multiple countries and/or is influenced by developments...that transcend territorial boundaries...” (p. 6). That people move within defined boundaries while political or geographical borders cannot contain their health concerns suggests a major tension for policymakers, and is a consistent theme throughout the book.

Importantly, Koehn does not restrict his research to migration, though it is discussed in several chapters. Rather, the book actually begins with a welcome exploration of the health tourism industry and does an excellent job of surveying the issue that is prevalent in both Northern and Southern countries. Koehn provides quick snapshots of an emerging and expanding practice of travelers who seek cheaper healthcare in places like India and Thailand, and families who save thousands to send their children abroad for better healthcare in Europe (p. 46). Healthcare “shopping” has created booming industries in a number of developing countries, to the detriment of local populations. This kind of inequity, argues Koehn will only continue if healthcare is further commoditized around the globe, forcing those without the privilege of mobility or wealth, to become second-tier citizens when it comes to care.

Koehn’s following chapters explore the intricacies of refugee versus migrant health challenges (as their status does indeed affect their access to care) and provides swaths of useful citations of the great amount of research being done on these issues. Migrant health is further explored in relation to development, emerging and re-emerging infectious diseases (ERIDs), climate change and ends by speculating about possible ways forward in an ever-connected world.

The book, 235 pages (not including the extensive bibliography), is truly a survey. I often wished I could read more about a topic Koehn briefly mentions before going to examine another issue. I found myself wanting to read more about the role of transnational corporations in health tourism in Thailand or China (in chapter 1), or looking for a deeper analysis of the correlation between population health and workforce productivity in relation to sustainable development (in chapter 5, p. 150). This is no doubt why Koehn provides so many sources; indeed, I was tempted numerous times to look up the research of those he cited when offering examples. The book seemed like a great introduction for students or those new to the field of health and mobility, a reference that would guide them through important topics they might want to explore further in their own work.

As I was reading however, I wished on occasion that Koehn had offered the reader a definition of “health” given how many topics he fits under the banner of health and mobility.

While he does give a definition of “global health” (p. 6), as I mentioned earlier, my desire for a definition of health itself was spurred by the way Koehn placed health as a central concern in several situations, ignoring other central dynamics at stake. Many examples arise in chapter 2, when Koehn cites terrorist actions as detrimental to short- and long-term health outcomes, or, for example, when he describes the genocide in Myanmar as an “ethnic-cleansing malady” (p. 61) a rather problematic description of systematic and politically sanctioned violence whose participants were in no way interested in the health or safety of their victims.

Similarly, I would have liked a definition of health in the chapter on health tourism (chapter 1). I was surprised that there was no mention of travel for gender-reassignment surgery, or the challenges Trans folks endure in northern health systems to get access to these, in some cases, truly life-saving surgeries. Omitting this kind of health tourism from the chapter made me wonder how these kinds of surgeries and—though not equivalent to gender-reassignment—other surgeries deemed “cosmetic,” fit into Koehn’s understanding of health.

Ultimately, these examples made it seem that Koehn’s definition of health is synonymous with survival, safety or even, at its most basic “being alive.” Furthermore, violence in many of the cases he outlined is explicitly done to harm, and it seems overly pedantic to belabor the point that in the midst of war, genocide, or illegal detention, violence takes away people’s health.

The most detailed chapters are those that speak directly to Koehn’s own research and background in public health policy (chapter 7). I enjoyed reading his case study on China’s actions on air quality, which were a direct result of public outcry, which had the added benefit of tackling climate change issues seriously for the first time (p. 188). Seeing how public health can serve as a rallying cry for dealing with climate change issues was encouraging, despite the fact that China remains a significant polluter (p. 190).

Koehn’s final chapter is in many ways a wish list for how global health problems could be solved through the development of transnational-competence training (TC) hubs and a Global Health and Migration Corps (GHMC). His solutions largely stem from his work on (TC), which is outlined in detail in chapter 4 on migrant health in Northern reception countries. TC seems largely to involve turning doctors into activists, social workers, anthropologists and, of course, thoughtful healthcare practitioners (p. 116). This seems like a tall order for anyone and I wondered if perhaps what was necessary was instead an invitation to anthropologists, sociologists, advocates, etc., to become part of healthcare networks.

Throughout this final chapter, I found myself wishing Koehn would give critical attention to how international institutions like World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations (UN), and US international aid also create inequities of care and services. Just as I enjoyed Koehn’s forecasting of the many problems and ideal solutions to health and mobility issues, I wanted a chapter that examined the future of healthcare bureaucracy, the tangled web of international aid organizations and their role in healthcare practices in developing nations. Koehn is fluent in the language of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). He is a lover of acronyms, evaluations, outcomes, and the like. There is, however, no mention of a budget in his proposal nor is there any acknowledgment the problematic

nature of an American funded, outside body being used to address health issues around the world. Multinational organizations are a big part of the story of health and mobility. They should be treated with the same critical eye as corrupt governments, private industry, and the unjust practices so many have had to suffer through in our “migrant crisis” era of politics and health policy that prompted this book in the first place.

Emma Bider

PhD student, Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

E-mail: emmabider@gmail.com

Krämer, Alexander & Fischer, Florian (eds.) (2019) *Refugee Migration and Health. Challenges for Germany and Europe*, Springer International Publishing. 213 pp.

The nexus of health and migration is a scarcely researched topic. Migration scholars seem to mostly leave issues of health aside, and correspondingly not much attention is paid to issues of migration within medicine. The book *Refugee Migration and Health. Challenges for Germany and Europe* is thus a welcomed initiative. The edited volume stretches over four parts and contain 17 chapters by more than 45 different authors. The editors Alexander Krämer and Florian Fischer, both affiliated to the School of Public Health at Bielefeld University in Germany, manage to fill the gap of interdisciplinary approaches through including authors from both social and medical sciences as well as other experts in the fields.

The book builds upon the proceedings of a conference that shared the same title as the book and took place in Bielefeld in 2016. The conference reached out to a wider audience than the regular academic crowd, and so does the book. A social scientist looking for a theoretically informed account will thus be disappointed by the book. While there are some chapters that have a wider academic ambition, most chapters remain empirically oriented and to a large extent descriptive. At times, the details from the local level even become too abundant. In fact, some chapters would perhaps been more suitable for an online conference report than a hard-back academic publication.

However, a reader who is looking for a rich account on how the issue of refugee health is approached in Europe will still find the book useful and informative. The first part of the book provides overviews of recent developments regarding migration and health in Europe. This part also includes some essential theoretical perspectives on public health. In general, health, as defined in the introductory chapter, covers a broad perspective, for example, it is seen as a human right and “as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being” (p. 4) in line with the World Health Organization (WHO). Concerning migration, the introductory chapter uses the International Organization of Migration’s (IOM) definition of a migrant as a person who is crossing a border when moving from his/her habitual place of residence irrefutable of reasons for doing so. For the most part, however, the book focuses on forced migration and refugees and asylum seekers are the main migrant categories that are used in the book, but other categories if migrants (e.g. labor migrants,

family reunification) are also addressed sometimes. Some chapters deal specifically with unaccompanied minors.

The second part (chapters 6–10) focuses on Germany as a critical case in point. Here, we get to know more both about health conditions among specific groups of asylum seekers and refugees in Germany as well as how local authorities meet public health needs such as primary and acute care, medical screening and vaccination programs. The third part contains six chapters that each summarizes how other European countries target health matters of refugees, including Italy, Greece, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, and England. The editor's conclusion is located in the fourth part of the book and provide a summary of some of the key points to be drawn from the book, in particular how to improve health among refugees in Germany.

Overall, the strength of the book lies in its sturdy focus on refugee migration and health, and the European outlook gives the reader a transnational dimension to health and healthcare which is foremost organized nationally. There are conspicuously strong variations across the countries included in the book, even between countries with well-developed and generous healthcare systems. The Netherlands, for example, “provides healthcare for asylum seekers at the same level as that provided for Dutch citizens” (Geisen & Widmer, chapter 13, p. 168), whereas Sweden, otherwise well known for its comprehensive welfare state system, provides only limited care “that cannot wait” in addition to acute care, health screening, and maternal and reproductive care (Bradby, chapter 15, p. 189). As is stressed by Hannah Bradby, the author of the chapter (15) on Sweden, it is the individual care provider that ultimately draws the line for what counts as “care that cannot wait” which risks making the whole process an arbitrary affair.

To those well oriented in the field of migration and health, the book will feel familiar in the way it addresses key themes found in international scholarship. Several chapters mention, for instance, “the healthy migrant effect” which postulates that migrants in general have better health than natives, thus questioning the often negative views that surrounds migrants as burdens to their new society. Several chapters also point to that migrants including refugees generally speaking has similar health issues as do the general population. What may differ is that refugees may come from countries with poor or non-functioning healthcare systems. Accordingly, while running the risk of pinpointing migrants as health threats, screening and vaccination programs are argued for as important means to make up for the medical shortages in the countries of origin.

Another health discrepancy between migrants and the native population is the mental ill-health where migrants are seemingly worse off than the general population. Refugees are considered particularly vulnerable, with a large number suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression and anxiety. One chapter (5) written by Tobias Hecker and Frank Neuner addresses how, in particular PTSD, but also mental ill-health caused by social stressors in the new country such as discrimination and adaptation difficulties, prohibits successful integration of refugees, drawing on both neuroscientific and psychosocial evidence. The right to adequate healthcare, as stressed in several chapters, is thus not only a fundamental right in itself but also an important means to ease migrant integration and social cohesion.

Additional themes that permeate the book are the importance of acknowledging that migrants are not a heterogeneous group, and that various groups of migrants are affected by health matters differently. Legal status and different phases of migration are also addressed from a healthcare perspective, yet less attention is paid to transnational aspects such as practices of seeking care in other European countries. Institutional racism within the healthcare sector is another theme that could have received more attention. The need of increasing cultural sensitivity is often accentuated as is the importance of the availability of language interpreters. Cultural aspects, such as family values, food, and leisure practices, are particularly important given that culture affects both symptoms and experience of (ill-) health, as well as health-seeking behavior. In psychiatry, the most recent version of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder (DSM-5)* published by the American Psychiatric Association (2013) includes a cultural formulation interview guide developed by experts. The guide is designed as questions that may assist the clinicians to evaluate cultural aspects including both individual values and social relations. The guide is informed by an understanding of culture that emphasize the importance of social context, that is, culture is not seen as detached from the social, economic, and political situation of the individual patient. A further discussion on cultural sensitivity, perhaps along similar lines, would have been welcomed in the book as well.

On a final note, one chapter in particular is worth highlighting: Judith Wenner, Yudit Namer, and Oliver Razum's chapter (4) which takes the task to solve the conceptual unclarity that haunts the field. They are particularly concerned with how some categories of migrants are addressed using different wordings and that different labeling, in turn, affect health matters. Being defined as a refugee, for instance, entitle you to some healthcare, that other groups of migrants do not have access, or vice versa. The authors also address the concerns of Othering practices and the ways categories are essentialized, which are put into practice through dominant discourses that portray refugees and other groups of migrants as a threat to the host country. Indirectly, several of the chapters do touch upon this matter, and try to counter negative arguments in different ways. However, given the prime location of the migrant body in most racialized tropes, being attentive to the biopolitical effects of addressing migration and health is perhaps as important as the discussions on health organization, epidemiology, and public health programs.

Anna Bredström

PhD, Associate Professor, Institute for Research on Migration, Ethnicity and Society, Linköping University, Linköping, Sweden

E-mail: anna.bredstrom@liu.se

References

American Psychiatric Association 2013, *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders: DSM-5*, Arlington, VA.

Lewis, Philip & Hamid, Sadek (2018) *British Muslims: new directions in Islamic thought, creativity and activism*, Edinburg: Edinburg University Press. 264 pp.

After the landmark date of 9/11, Muslims became the epicenter of public and media attention as well as of academic research. Especially in Europe, the main issues of discussion have been identity, cultural, and religious values, Muslims' stance against democracy and their ability for integration (Focas and al-Azmeh 2007; Cesari 2015; Hashas 2019). The principal question has been if Muslims are able to create a new identity through their interaction with European ideas, values, and habits instead of being isolated in their cultural, religious, and ethnic or national identity. Such questions become even more important with regard to the second- or third-generation immigrants, who are born in Western countries. Although such debates started at least since the 1990s, they rapidly grew after 9/11 and violent attacks in Europe. One such case was the 7/7 terrorist attacks in London in 2005 which shocked the British society. After the 2005 bombings, a series of publications tried to cast light on the reasons behind these attacks committed by British born Muslims (Lewis 2007; Kabir 2010; Hamid 2016) and strict legal measures were decided to prevent similar incidents in the future. However, the participation of young British Muslims in the so-called Islamic State as well as the terrorist attacks in Manchester in May 2017 and elsewhere in Britain contributed to the resurgence of such debates and led to a new series of policy and scientific publications on the topic (Warsi 2018).

The book under review, *British Muslims: New Directions in Islamic Thought, Creativity and Activism*, is authored by two scholars who have researched and published widely on Islam and Muslims in Britain. Philip Lewis has written extensively on the topic of British Muslims and their identity with a special focus on young Muslims. He has taught for 15 years on Islam in the West in the Peace Studies Department at Bradford University. Sadek Hamid, Senior Researcher at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies at the University of Oxford, has also written widely about British Muslims, young people, and religious identity formation.

The larger argument of the book is that Muslims in Britain are giving expression to Islam in a new language—English—contributing to a significant chapter in Islam's modern history. In its long history, Islam has been embodied in a multiplicity of distinct languages and cultures, for example, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu. According to the authors, English today could function as a vehicle for generating new thinking especially for emerging Muslim elites (p. x). Such a development is considered a major shift and an opportunity for Muslims in Britain and the British society with regard to integration and inclusion. The authors describe and evaluate some of the many attempts to move beyond the ethno-Muslim identity politics. They also try to present forgotten resources of the Islamic tradition and to provide a new generation of religious leaders with a religious formation contextualized within the British context. This takes place through the presentation of a number of new voices from across the Muslim world, some of whom are living in the UK. The authors' purpose is to offer a more hopeful narrative of positive coexistence across different communities, Muslim and non-Muslim, which in their view is emerging (p. 13).

The book consists of an Introduction, five chapters, conclusions, and a useful annotated bibliography at the end of the book. The first chapter presents the changing landscape of Muslims in Britain in terms of numbers, introducing new data, and discussing issues like poverty, homeless and prison population, language proficiency, and gender. The second chapter invites for the exploration of the controversial question on what counts as religious authority and where it is located nowadays. The authors touch briefly on what pattern of relationship exists between Islamic scholarship generated by Muslim academics teaching in British universities and those who service British mosques trained in traditional “seminaries” in Britain or overseas as well as how Muslims deal with imported sectarianism (p. 4). Chapter 3 discusses the relation between democracy and Islam in the British context through the issues of sharia and public and civic engagement, with Muslim women’s role being considered as a quiet and radical revolution within Muslim communities. Chapter 4 focuses on one of the most crucial issues not only for the British society but also the West in general, that is, on radicalisation, extremism, and terrorism. It critically discusses the problems raised by the legal and security confrontation of the problem through the Prevent Act, approaching the whole issue from a social and not from a security perspective. The final chapter introduces the reader to the concept of the new “Muslim cool” meaning new cultural types of Muslims in the British society which are completely different of what most people would imagine about Islam.

Although all chapters are very well established and informative, I would argue that chapters four and five are the most absorbing ones. In chapter 4, the authors try to make sense of the pressing issue of violent radicalization and locate it within a broader historical context by looking at past interactions between Muslim militant groups and the British state. They explore the processes through which young British Muslims are attracted by radical religious discourses and how this can lead to violent attitudes. In their view, Muslim youth lack places to vent their frustrations and be engaged in critical dialog creating a vacuum of a necessary safety valve to release their grievances (p. 169). Further to that, they evaluate the role of government counter-terrorism policies and the effect on Muslim communities (p. 135). In their opinion, the problem of extremist radicalization will not move toward resolution until all the responsible agents—governmental and community—begin a self-critical dialog, develop a consensus and start to work beyond ideological and social differences that currently prevent them from effectively dealing with this burning issue. An effective approach to this complex problem requires a holistic and comprehensive evidence-based approach in consultation with all the diverse Muslim groups including those that are critical of the current legislation (p. 168).

In chapter 5, the authors trace the emergence of cultural producers and change-makers, largely invisible to most outsiders, that is, second- and third-generation – often – female artists and activists. This group is crafting new Muslim subcultures in the arts, music, media, and fashion by synthesizing their religious values with a British flavor (p. 179). The chapter presents a totally different and modern aspect of British Muslims including issues like YouTube videos and Islamic comedy, poetry and photography, fashion and consumerism. The formation of indigenized British Muslim arts and culture demonstrates

the rootedness of Muslims in Britain, as the majority are British born and do not think of themselves as immigrants or members of a diaspora like previous generations. However, not everything that is being produced in the name of arts and culture is accepted by all elements of Britain's Muslim communities. The contestations are informed by religious, racial, and political intra-Muslim differences and continue to produce lively debates about religious authenticity and orthodoxy (p. 179) and this relates to religious authority as discussed in chapter 2. The evolution of this new generation of British Muslim cultural producers reflects global patterns where a growing, young, educated Muslim middle class is shaping the cultural and consumption tastes for Muslims who aspire to be successful, influential, and cool, acting this way as role models and thought leaders in their communities (p. 211).

While the book is relatively descriptive and primarily based on practical experience and secondary sources, it is very illuminating on the variety of Muslim identities within the Muslim communities in Britain. The main outcome of the book is that perhaps we should no longer talk about Muslims in Britain but about British Muslims, implying a critical identity shift. It is obvious that both authors build upon their wide experience working with young Muslims on community and youth work programs and this makes their contribution well-grounded and informative. Although it seems that the book is not explicitly orientated toward a grand theory, it offers much on the inclusion, integration, multicultural, and pluralism theoretical approaches. Overall, the book is very intriguing and useful to everyone interested in understanding the new place of Islam and Muslims not only in Britain but also in the West in general. It could be a useful tool for policymakers, youth workers, community workers, as well as for sociologists, anthropologists, and others working on this topic.

Alexandros Sakellariou

Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences of Athens, Department of Sociology & The Hellenic Open University, School of Humanities, Greece.

E-mail: sociology.panteion@gmail.com & sakellariou.alexandros@ac.eap.gr

References

- Cesari, J (ed.) 2015, *The Oxford handbook of European Islam*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Focas, E & al-Azmeh, A (eds.) 2007, *Islam in Europe: diversity, identity and influence*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hamid, S 2016, *Young British Muslims: between rhetoric and realities*, Routledge, London.
- Hashas, M 2019, *The idea of European Islam: religion, ethics, politics and perpetual modernity*, Routledge, London.
- Kabir, N 2010, *Young British Muslims: identity, culture, politics and the media*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
- Lewis, P 2007, *Young, British and Muslim*, Continuum, London.
- Warsi, S 2018, *The enemy within: a tale of Muslim Britain*, Penguin, London.