

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Abbas, Tahir & Hamid, Sadek (2019) *Political Muslims: understanding youth resistance in a global context*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 320 pp.**

It has been repeatedly said that after the landmark date of 9/11, Muslims became the epicentre of public and media attention as well as of academic research. However, it was not only Muslims in general who attracted so much attention but also a specific part of the Muslim population and this was the youth. Although somehow generic and vague as a category, youth has been at the centre of academic and political debates especially after 2015 and the expansion of the so-called Islamic State. Questions on social integration, identity, political activism, social exclusion, the role of grievances and violence were among the most important ones with regard to young Muslims in Europe and the United States (Hamid 2016; Kabir 2010, 2013; Lewis 2007). The vast majority of the attention and work on young Muslims has been mainly dealing with them as a “problem” and an internal or external “threat” for Western societies, looking into the possible ways of confronting and minimizing it. There have been only very few academic works, like those mentioned above, that have tried to examine other aspects of young Muslims’ lives, and approach them not through the anti-terrorist lens and as an extremist factor, but as a dynamic and positive force of their societies (Janmohamed 2016).

This pattern is followed by the book under review, *Political Muslims: understanding youth resistance in a global context*, which is edited by two scholars who have researched and published widely on Islam and Muslims. Tahir Abbas is an assistant professor at the Leiden University Institute of Security and Global Affairs and has published extensively on Islam and Muslims in Britain as well as on education issues. Sadek Hamid, on the other hand, has been a Senior Researcher at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies at the University of Oxford, and he has also written widely about British Muslims, young people and religious identity formation. The book consists of 11 chapters from various younger and more experienced scholars of different academic backgrounds and social contexts looking into the politicization of young Muslims in the United States, especially among the black Muslim youth (chapter 1), in Canada (chapter 2), in the Netherlands (chapter 3), in Britain (chapter 4), in Switzerland (chapter 5), in Turkey (chapter 6), in Afghanistan (chapter 7), in Pakistan (chapters 8 and 9), in Kashmir (chapter 10) and in Indonesia (chapter 11).

As stated by the two editors in their introduction, the purpose of this volume is to pay attention on how young Muslims participate in reshaping their societies in a positive way and also examine the numerous interpretations of the faith that allow young Muslims to adhere to religious principles and encourage their critical engagement and effective participation in the societies in which they live in. From this perspective, this book challenges the dominant one-dimensional representations of Muslim youth by disrupting reductive stereotypes and illustrating the nature of their critical roles in the world today (p. 2). The main goal is to avoid identifying Muslim youth with a “social problem” or the cause of “moral panics” (p. 5), but instead offer new insights on how young Muslims could be reinvigorated and dynamic force within their societies. That way this volume reflects both specific and broader challenges facing young people in Muslim-minority and Muslim-majority societies, religious as well as secular, and tries to point to the importance of listening to and understanding young people who at the bottom line are the future of Islam in general and of the societies with Muslim populations in particular (p. 19).

While all the chapters of the volume are well elaborated, well structured and dealing with very interesting topics, I would dare to select as quite informative and illuminating those that focus on Turkey, the Pashtun women and Kashmir because they achieve in presenting aspects of young Muslims’ social and political participation not very well known in the academia and the general public. Yusuf Safrati in chapter 6 elaborates on the Islamic left voices within the Turkish society. The author manages to offer an insightful approach to the Turkish political sphere through the presentation of two activist groups (The Labor and Justice Platform and Anti-capitalist Muslims) and using the theory of new social movements. The main argument is that both groups based on their political claims and structures as well as their activism are similar to the new social movements and they could be considered as a critical and oppositional voice against the dominant Islamist and neo-liberal Turkish politics (pp. 168–169). Apart from that the chapter manages to show that there are other players in the Islamic field which could combine the religious (Islamic) with another political ideology (left-wing/anti-capitalist) than the one expected and this should lead to the conclusion that Islam is not the exclusive aspect of any particular ideological trend.

Chapter 7, on the other hand, focuses on a completely different aspect of Muslims’ activism namely on the Internet and its use by Pashtun women. The author, Shehnaz Haqqani, examines how and for what purposes Pashtun women use blogs either living in Afghanistan or abroad. As it is argued blogging can empower these women from the moment they can confidently and openly write what they want without feeling threatened and without the fear of being censored (pp. 185–186). The main themes that these women discuss through their blogs vary from personal and family issues such as marriage, pregnancy, abortion and education, to wider political and religious issues such as women’s rights, religious extremism and the wars in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The chapter’s main argument is that contrary to the popular media portrayal of Pashtun women as passive and victims of their own culture and society they are empowered individuals who have forged for themselves a space in a world that they themselves monitor (p. 192). The chapter also

exemplifies the important role of the Internet that, in some cases, assists vulnerable groups or groups that experience the exercise of power and violence to become active, empowered and ask for another role within their societies and culture.

Finally, chapter 10 deals with one of the most controversial issues in the Indian peninsula, that is, the Kashmir conflict. The author, Idrisa Pandit, examines the impact of the conflict among those who are named “the children of war”, that is, those children and young people experienced the violent response from the Indian security forces against their non-violent resistance during the 2008–2010 period. Through a series of in-depth interviews, the chapter argues that in this case it seems that is not religion that plays a crucial role in the conflict, but mainly culture. The main conclusions from this research are as follows: (1) the Kashmir issue is one of preserving the Kashmiri identity and that the young Kashmiris see it eroding under the cultural influences of the Indian media and entertainment; (2) some young Kashmiris do think that in a more general sense religion is the unifying rallying cry that binds everyone to seek freedom; (3) despite that, others see the mixing of religion with politics as dangerous and detrimental to the Kashmiri case. The main outcome, however, is that none of them considered the Kashmiri as a religious conflict, but as a political and territorial one (p. 241–242). Finally, an interesting remark is that guns and violence are not always the most fruitful way of activism. As this chapter shows young Kashmiris have found other ways of resisting the Indian hegemony and define the fight for freedom and dignity through films, poetry, graffiti, photography and drama (p. 255).

Overall this is a timely, interesting and well-structured volume focusing on young Muslims around the world, although not all areas are fully covered. It offers the reader an alternative approach to what usually dominates the western media and politics, as well as in some cases the academia, leading to the re-production of Islamophobia. It could be a useful tool not only for all those studying Islam and Muslims but also for researchers in the sociology of youth field, since it relates to issues of youth activism, youth identities, youth participation, moral panics and a series of themes with regard to youth cultures. The explicit argument that needs to be taken into consideration is that young Muslims might face everyday difficulties and problems, but are not the problem of their societies. Contrary to that, they might have to offer solutions on issues such as social exclusion, violent extremism and peaceful co-existence, debunking this way the stereotypical image of Muslims as a threat.

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

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**Bradley, Megan, Milner, James & Peruniak, Blair (eds.) (2019) *Refugees' roles in resolving displacement and building peace: beyond beneficiaries*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. 321 pp.**

In this volume, editors Megan Bradley, James Milner and Blair Peruniak provide readers 13 articles with their own introduction and conclusion chapters. The book raises the questions of “how displaced population contribute to interrelated political resolution processes” and “how displaced persons themselves conceptualize and advance solutions to their predicament” (p. 3). In solid support of these questions, the book presents a wide range of exemplary cases drawing from the accounts of law, sociology, politics, anthropology and philosophy. It employs an unconventional approach and contribute discussions on in which ways refugees act as solution developers and problem solvers to bring about improvements to their situations.

The book addresses a number of gaps in current research, policy and practice. The first is that many displacement situations lack access to “durable solutions”, leading to a deadlock in resolving problems. Second, despite calls for active engagement of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) in peacebuilding and resolving displacement in principle, states and humanitarian agencies do not in fact incorporate them in practice. Instead, those people are often treated only as beneficiaries, not as actors. Researchers and practitioners actually do recognize the resilience and resourcefulness of displaced people, but they fail to fully comprehend their active roles. Nor do they necessarily elaborate on the mechanisms and processes across various cases. By examining these gaps, this book aims to investigate displaced populations’ contribution to the resolution processes as well their conceptualization and advancement of solutions.

The volume opens with an introduction part that revisits conceptualizations such as displacement, durable solutions, peacebuilding and agency by pointing out how the individual chapters criticize traditional definitions of these concepts and how they contribute to their advancement. It is useful to see an overarching definition of resolution, referring to “problem-solving efforts shaped by diverse actors, interests and constraints” (p. 6). The 13 chapters that follow are presented in three parts. The first part discusses how different disciplinary perspectives address the refugees’ engagement in resolution processes with references to their everyday practices, life experiences, moral agency, justice and legal conscientization. The second part focuses on displaced person’s roles in pursuing peace and social reconstruction after war and displacement. And the third part, the most voluminous of all the three, discusses how seeking solutions to displacement

proceeds within and beyond traditional frameworks. It draws from cases of both IDP and refugees from Haiti, Colombia and Liberia. This part also focuses on comparative cases in which refugee roles became observable such as the resettlement from Uganda and Tanzania as well as the solution strategies for Sahrawi and Palestinian protracted refugee situations. The conclusion chapter addresses implications of the presented studies for research, policy and practice.

Overall, the book provides rich evidences to argue that across contexts and time, refugees usually demonstrate a notable capacity “to navigate or influence complex structures and institutional arrangements designed and implemented with the stated intention of providing assistance and solutions” (p. 267). By doing this, they contribute to advancing solutions for their displacement and resolving the conditions that forced them into displacement in the first place. The chapters discuss various mechanisms in which refugees influence responses such as resisting or contesting programmes or categories, seeking to subvert these processes, bypassing institutional responses or displaying symbolic and performative ways.

The book also contributes to the forced migration (asylum studies) scholarship by explaining links between different levels of analysis, action, meanings and expressions of refugees’ agency. It elaborates on the discussions over “durable solution” framework by focusing on the refugee agency (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al. 2014; Triandafyllidou 2016). The Chapter (1) of Karen Jacobsen discusses the link between refugee agency and durable solutions by “exploring the forms of refugee political engagement that take place beyond arenas of formal consultation and institutionalized processes” (p. 24). This particular chapter not only brings the findings of diaspora literature about political action to understand refugees’ forms of political mobilization and goals of political actions but also offers an action typology. It introduces two main forms: the conventional and non-conventional. The first includes participating in elections and running for office, forming and participating in self-governing bodies, meetings with government authorities, participating in advisory councils, formation of exile political parties, negotiating to gain formal participation in peace process and others. The second, non-conventional forms include protests, demonstrations, civil disobedience and illicit self-help activities, formation of militant or jihadist movements (p. 29). The chapter (3) of Peruniak goes beyond criticizing the durable solutions, rather it contextualizes this relationship between durable solutions and refugee agency. He argues that “if we wish to take refugees seriously as agents, we should not rely on unrealistic conditions of equality, shared goals, or shared intentions among similarly situated participants” (p. 70). What he proposes as a solution is “the theory of massively shared agency” that he says “may yet offer a way of bridging the gap between critics and proponents of durable solutions” (p. 72).

Several chapters provide empirical evidences for displaced people’s agency in seeking solutions. Chapter (9) of Angela Sheerwood demonstrates how the marginalized and landless IDPs conceptualize displacement inside Haiti’s urban crisis after the 2010 earthquake. They address housing needs through IDP-specific approaches that “emerge, first out of local perceptions of socioeconomic injustice and second, through visions of the

earthquake as a rare opportunity to pursue freedom and dignity through land occupation” (p. 178). Their agents seeking solutions mainly manifested in their land occupation and self-construction in the unplanned and informal settlements. Chapter 10 of Julieta Lemaitre and Kristin Bergtora Sandvik argues that Columbian IDP’s ideas about durable solutions are not static and are shaped by matrix of shifting identities and claims. While poor, rural displaced women perceive local integration as a durable solution, some uprooted indigenous groups, such as the Kankuamo, the return to their ancestral territories is only solution.

Another central theme widely discussed in several chapters is the refugees’ participation in repatriation negotiations. The chapter (12) of Amanda Coffie shows how Ghana’s government, in cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Liberian government, sought to speed up repatriation of Liberian refugees after 2004. Some refugees, mainly women from its camps, however, protested this policy. This particular case shows how demonstrations empowered refugees by unpacking the agency and resources as well as bringing marginal achievements in changing policies and practices (pp. 244–245). On the same subject of repatriation, the chapter of Millner pays specific attention to the UNHCR’s role, particularly to the issues around the principle of voluntariness. Drawing from the case of the large-scale return to Mozambique from six neighbouring countries, it shows how repatriation operations fail in the inclusion of refugees into the decision-making about returns, peacebuilding and reconstruction efforts (p. 125).

On the whole, what we have at hand is a great scholarly work that serves a much-needed and unique contribution to the literature that also helps enrich several relevant disciplines. Most significantly, it fills a major void within the Refugee Studies since the refugees’ own role in resolving displacement was hardly addressed in an entire book before, rather previously addressed in journal articles (Fuentes 2016; Hayes, Lundy & Hallward 2016; Parry 2018). Its investigation of several engagements has both empirical and normative significance, therefore, will make it highly useful for migration researchers, students and practitioners in the humanitarian sector at the same time. The articles offer food for thoughts, findings and recommendations for researchers and policymakers alike. One chapter about methodology and methodological challenges in researching refugees’ role in resolving displacement, however, could have further advanced the book. Although some chapters of the volume, such as that of Cindy Horst (Chapter 2) on everyday politics of refugees in inclusion and resolution processes show the relevance of ethnographic and biographic methods in studying refugees and peacebuilding, the majority of chapters do not reflect on the methodology. The book could also be improved by featuring a brief section on the policy recommendations at least in the part where authors question where we go from here. And finally, because it is quite a recent volume and aims to contribute to policy, it could have been more developed if it addressed the massive Syrian displacement and refugees’ potential role in resolving it as well.

Zeynep Sahin Mencütek

Senior Research Fellow, Global Cooperation Centre, University of Duisburg-Essen, Duisburg, Germany

Email: zeynepsahinmencutek@gmail.com

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**Habti, Driss & Elo, Maria (eds.) (2019) *Global mobility of highly skilled people. Multidisciplinary perspectives on self-initiated expatriation*, International Perspectives on Migration 16. Cham, Switzerland: Springer. 304 pp.**

The edited volume by Driss Habti and Maria Elo brings, without doubt, important contributions to both to academics and to practitioners in the field of highly skilled migration. Editors are academically fairly early career scholars: Maria Elo working as an associate professor at the University of Southern Denmark (with former affiliations to University of Turku, Migration institute of Finland, and University of Shanghai), with numerous publications especially on business-related diasporas and Driss Habti working as a reader in the University of Eastern Finland. Similarly, many authors of the book are still at early rather than mature stage of their academic careers, exception being maybe authors behind the self-initiated expatriation (SIE) concept, Chris Brewster and Vesa Suutari. This is a positive implication of growing interest to the topic among the research community, since the field still lacks well-established academic institutions and positions in Finland.

The book focuses on the concept of SIE and especially SIE in relation to Finland. Thus, book narrows down the discussion both conceptually and geographically. This is a good choice from the reader perspective, and helps to create rich and comprehensive insights to the matter. The book includes 13 chapters in total, and they are further divided to four main themes; recent developments in the field and then drivers, networks and integration of the highly skilled SIEs.

Chapters cover wide array of cases under the main themes. Roughly, there is one generic chapter on each thematic area, and rest are cases taking place between the two cultural groups introducing Arabs and Polish in Finland as well as Finns in Poland, China, India and Belgium. Authors frame the study thus mainly with "transnational cultural lenses" and frequently focus on micro-level experiences between the two cultures. Methodological

choices are qualitative, including narrative, mixed-method and life course approaches among the others.

The main messages of the book may be found from the six statements on the concluding chapter, where multi-directionality, social embeddedness, lack of community support, research method, key conditions defining the adjustment and policy design are elaborated from SIE point of view. According to the editors, however, the key theoretical contribution of the volume does not target to whole migration of highly skilled landscape as such, but rather to “*dialogue between the international migration and SIE mobility*”.

Indeed, the main contribution of the book may be considered to be its effort to link business-management-related SIE approach to wider discussions on migration of highly skilled people. SIE offers focusing device and conceptual tool to scrutinize the complex phenomenon. Suutari and Brewster introduced the concept in 2000 in their article in the field of international business. In their study, they made it visible that many “expatriates” are in fact self-initiated rather than sent by the corporations. This was against the prevailing understanding in the field at the time. One of the reasons for this bias was the common practice to use corporate-based data in studies, which is understandable in business-related discipline. There are, however, many differences between benefits and roles that corporate sent expatriates and self-initiated expatriates acquire, not only from the employer and human resource management point of view but also in terms of career choices and migration process itself. Thus, the distinction is highly relevant.

The second contribution that I would like to stress is the spatial or geographical one. The book has been written solely from the one nation state point of view, Finland. This creates a rich view to many interpretations that may be done by fairly narrowly defined group of SIEs in relation to one nation state. Authors aim to avoid methodological nationalism and thus they explore interactions through various non-national social structures, including organizations, family ties, religion or culture – maybe legal rights and language being as exceptions. In case studies, authors, on the other hand, frequently reduce diversity of socio-cultural mixes to interactions between two groups, where other counterpart is always defined according to Finnish nation state; Finns aboard or migrants in Finland. This provides clarity to interpretations, while discussion still has strong reminiscent from transnational type of inter-cultural environments and rendezvous.

Thus, the book at hand scrutinizes migrants in their various roles and how these roles impact on adaptation of individuals to social or cultural domains, their migration processes and career paths. By doing this, in addition to clarification of the SIE concept, authors also elaborate and clarify different mechanisms that link or embed migrants to many domains of societies. Chapters in the book include both, analysis of mechanisms as well as conceptual development to provide better tools for the analysis. Among the many interesting insights, there are, for example, cases of Finnish expatriates in Brussels and Arabs in Finland. For example, Malla Mattila, Hannu Salminen and Anna Astahova (Chapter 9) discuss the topic that is well known and visible at societal level, Finns in Brussels. They use qualitative interviews to gather information from both, expatriates and their spouses in Brussels. However, the focus of the study is not so much on Finns in Brussels as such, but the key

contribution of the chapter is an introduction of conceptual framework that illustrates the depth of adaptation in highly skilled context. Authors distinguish the modes of adaptation on two dimensions; competencies to adapt and motivation to adapt, and create four categories from ideally adapted to non-adapted.

In his chapter (5), Habti provides a rich view to two under-theorized and under-researched phenomenon; reasons and dynamics that make highly skilled migrants stay permanently, in case of Arabs living in Finland. He approaches the issue through life course method that enables the rich analysis of complex migration experience. Also in his study, the role of spouses and family in addition to cultural capital and religious questions are explored in detail. Instead of prevailing one-sided discussion concerning the migration of Arabic population to North, he links the different modes of social and cultural capital to career trajectories of individuals. Habti then explores, how the strength and quality of cultural (e.g. religiousness) and social ties (e.g. divorced, married with Finn, traditional) and their different combinations impact on career trajectories of highly skilled people.

For international human resource management literature, the SIE concept provides a clear contrast to typical corporate sent expatriate already as such and widens the focus on the research field. The contributions of the concept for the broader migration discussion are a bit less evident because the migration of highly skilled is assumed to be self-initiated de facto, and topics frequently cover also other than career-related questions. However, in contrast, for example, to discussion on attractive locations, the SIE emphasis the motivations and life courses of individuals. Therefore, contributions to wider discussion may be found from SIE concept as focusing device that put lot of weight to more detailed analysis and positioning of migrants and their often complex and over time evolving social, cultural or economic preferences. Agency of individuals is strongly present and better understanding about the role of individuals as decision-makers is sought. However, editors quite a few times remind the reader of their effort to go further than previous studies by applying multi-level approach. Thus, the importance of interaction between the structural level and agency is noted. Still, while authors provide insights to various levels of the phenomenon, the emphasis on chapters is clearly on micro-level analysis. In the future, it will be interesting to go even deeper analysis of relations between various levels.

The book is good read for all researchers studying highly skilled migration, and especially for those who are interested in specific case of Finland and/or discussion on convergence of business and social science-based approaches. It could be added also to the reading lists of those policymakers, who currently are shaping immigration policy (in Finland) towards global talent management type of solutions. Of course, as many of the authors represent the business- and management-related disciplines, it also serves the needs of companies with international staff.

Mika Raunio

Senior researcher, Migration institute of Finland, Turku, Finland

E-mail: mika.raunio@migrationinstitute.fi

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**Hashas, Mohammed, de Ruiter, Jan Jaap & Vinding, Niels Valdemar (eds.) (2018) *Imams in Western Europe: developments, transformations, and institutional challenges*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 438 pp.**

Islam has been a significant target of political debates and academic research in Europe since the 1980s when it became apparent that many of the migrant workers, who had come from Muslim countries to temporarily work in France, Germany, Great Britain, etc., were actually going to stay in Europe. The Muslim population – in fact a very heterogeneous group of people – has grown rapidly in Western Europe during the past five to six decades, and issues such as building of mosques, creating Muslim organizations and veiling have all been both debated and studied. The role of imams, however, has not received as much scholarly interest so far.

Mohammed Hashas, Jan Jaap de Ruiter and Niels Valdemar Vinding have edited an extensive book, *Imams in Western Europe. Developments, Transformations, and Institutional Challenges*, to help fill this gap in academic research. The book consists of two parts and 21 chapters in total. According to the editors, the first part intends to be more theoretical and the second one be based on country-specific case studies. This division works only partially, as there are country-specific chapters in the first part, and a chapter on a typology of imams in the second part.

The chapters offer a diverse look into issues concerning Islamic religious authority in general, and imams in particular, in present-day Europe. The reader of the book learns about the different roles that imams have in the European context but also about the role that European states play in attempting to domesticate Islam and Muslims. Imam training is one of the major themes of the book and it is discussed in Finnish, Italian and British contexts, among others. Two chapters concentrate on specific imams, namely Yassin Elforkani in the Netherlands, and Tareq Oubrou in France. What is laudable, is that two chapters have women and their religious authority in focus. A bit surprisingly, one of these chapters concentrates on Morocco.

Of the diverse contents of the book, I will discuss two in more detail. First, *Imams in Western Europe* succeeds in pointing out how the meanings, roles and tasks of imams differ from one country to another, and from one time to another. The chapter (8) on the reinvented role of imams in France by Solenne Jouanneau is a case in point. Jouanneau describes the changes that have taken place in the role and status of imams as the Muslim population in France has transformed from predominantly migrant workers into permanent residents

and citizens. Whereas in the 1970s, the French state was not particularly interested in the religious life of its migrant population, the following decades changed this and Ministers of the Interior and other government actors have been increasingly involved in regulating Islam. This has involved, among other things, surveillance of mosques and imams, and more or less direct attempts to influence the organization of French Islam.

Niels Valdemar Vinding, for his part (chapter 12), builds a typology of imams of the West based on his research. While he notes that the typology is still a work in progress, it already indicates the many roles and positions that imams can have. Vinding has developed his typology on two dimensions – institutional and epistemic authority – and ends with 12 different types of imams, from those with formal training and an institutional position to self-taught independent imams. Vinding points out, quite correctly (p. 250), that several other dimensions could be taken into account as well. These include tasks of imams, age and gender, among others. Still, even with two dimensions Vinding's typology offers valuable information.

Second, the book presents several case studies of imam training, which is a topical and debated issue in present-day Europe. Mosques and imams can play an important role in the integration of Muslims, which is one of the reasons why European states are keen to govern their actions. Also, mosques and imams have been under surveillance in many countries since the terrorist attacks in 2001, and in some cases even longer, as mosques are seen as potential spaces for radicalization. One of the questions that have been discussed is whether imams should receive their training in Muslim countries or in Europe. Many European Muslims opt to get their religious training in Muslim countries, and those imams who are sent to work in Europe by Muslim countries or organizations, have quite understandably received their training elsewhere than in Europe. For European states, training organized within their borders means that they have better opportunities to influence the contents of the sermons and teachings given by imams.

Training for imams can be organized in many ways, and they all face challenges. Several European universities offer study programmes in Islamic theology but, as Göran Larsson mentions in his chapter (7), these programmes do raise questions among many Islamic actors such as mosques and organizations. Study programmes organized by state authorities or Muslim communities in Europe also face challenges of credibility and legitimacy, as Tuomas Martikainen and Riitta Latvio note in their chapter (21). There have been failed attempts to organize imam training, for example, in the Netherlands and in Spain.

These challenges do not mean, however, that there would not be interest in organizing imam training in Europe. Larsson writes in his chapter (7) about a Swedish survey which showed that representatives of mosques and Muslim organizations had an overwhelmingly positive attitude towards a proposal to start an imam training programme. The respondents were, however, more interested in learning about the Swedish language and society than Islamic theology, especially if theology was to be taught by non-Muslims in secular universities. A study among chairpersons and imams of Finnish mosque associations, described by Martikainen and Latvio in their chapter (21) also indicated a positive attitude

towards the possibility to have a Finnish imam training programme, and especially imams were interested in academic Islamic studies.

The biggest shortcoming of *Imams in Western Europe* concerns its geographical coverage. For some reason, Germany has been left out of the book. The situation of imams in Germany is discussed several times in the book, but there is no chapter dealing specifically with the German context. This is difficult to justify, as Germany has one of the largest, if not the largest Muslim population in Western Europe. I would have also expected to see an article dealing with Denmark and another one with Austria, maybe Switzerland as well. Instead of including these countries, the book has three articles dealing with France and another three with Italy. Why this is so, is not made clear to the reader. Be it as it may, I would argue that a book on Western Europe with no less than 21 chapters but with none dedicated to Germany, is somewhat lacking.

Despite of this shortcoming, *Imams in Western Europe* is an important contribution to the scholarly discussions on Islam in Europe, as it contains new and topical information on imams in European societies. In fact, the book would be recommendable reading for policymakers as well, considering the interest that European states have on guiding and governing the ways in which Islam is being practiced. There is a need for better understanding of the different roles and positions that imams can have, as well as the role played by both European and Muslim countries in the shaping of the imamate in Europe.

Johanna Konttori

Postdoctoral researcher, Study of Religions, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland.

E-mail: johanna.konttori@helsinki.fi

**Killias, Olivia (2018) *Follow the Maid: Domestic Worker Migration In and From Indonesia*, Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies. 241 pp.**

*Follow the Maid* is a rich multi-sited ethnographic study that traces the journey of Indonesian migrant women who labour as domestic workers. The book written by Olivia Killias, senior lecturer at the Institute of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies in University of Zurich, is a welcomed contribution to the scholarship of migrant domestic workers. It is based on 14 months of fieldwork and conducted mainly between 2006 and 2009. The six chapters of the book (excluding the Introduction and Conclusion) map the “stages and sites” of the migratory process. The women navigate through a complex system of formal and informal institutions and networks that carries them from their homes in Central Java to recruitment agencies in Jakarta and finally to their work destination in Malaysia. Likewise, the book captures how Indonesian migrant women negotiate their relationships with families and employers as well as a range of intermediaries who make up the global care chain.

Much of domestic worker migration research has either focused on workers’ plight and conditions in destination countries or on the migrant decision-making practices and the impacts of migration in the receiving countries. Departing from these defined spaces,

Killias studies a holistic but complex process that is guided by Tsing's concept of "friction", focusing on the "sticky materiality of practical encounters" (p. 7). This is studied in detail through the narratives of migrant women who have shared a series of encounters and struggles with various actors. For example, much attention has been given to the brokering within the "infrastructure of care migration" in particular during the recruitment and placement processes of domestic labour. There is also great emphasis on describing the many ways in which the migration process entails a "spatial but also a temporal dimension" (p. 8). These include discussions on the scope and timing of labour migration that are linked to women's migrants' lifecycles (i.e. migrating before reaching the age limit or the waiting period in transit) or to the stages of reproductive lifecycles (i.e. timing migration after marriage, motherhood or divorce).

Olivia Killias "literally follow(s) the paths of migrant domestic workers" (p.3) to disclose how much work is invested in producing maids. The author was able to obtain first-hand accounts of how labour migration has been spatially and temporally structured by conducting a multi-sited ethnographic research. The approach is based on Marcus's (1995) "multi-sited" ethnography which is an attempt to connect mobile objects of study to multiple and sometimes fractured sites to which there is interest on what happens to the subjects in other locations and the particular relationships they have established there. The author's careful analysis digs into a multi-layered migration process that explores more deeply the everyday power relations that prevail in labour arrangements between migrant domestic workers, the state and its auxiliaries. Of interest are the male brokers who have carved a particular market niche in the migration infrastructure. While brokers are often framed as unscrupulous and profit driven, the narratives of the middlemen reveal that they care about the moral legitimacy of their work that runs along patriarchal gender ideology. It is not a simple matter of recruiting and escorting women to training centres but that their responsibility extends to employers and to the families of the domestic worker that they have recruited to ensure that women are protected from moral depravity. This is very different from migrant men who are free to move.

The Indonesian state have crafted a strategy of labour brokerage that increasingly regulates the recruitment of migrant workers and controls their "technical" skills training. As opposed to other labour-brokerage regimes, training and education are considered the key cornerstones in the making of maids. Previous studies have discussed training as a tool to educate rural women and produce Indonesian migrant workers who would become key agents of national development. What is absent from those studies is the experiences of migrant women inside the training camps which Killias provides with great detail. Training camps are described as "total institutions" where Indonesian women are completely separated from kin and society, and are temporarily immobilized. Inside the camps, migrant women follow strict schedules of language and domestic tasks trainings while also being subjected to public acts of humiliation and verbal abuse. Staff describes their brand of education as toughening up women and mentally preparing them for work overseas. These details help us understand that training is not about learning practical skills to run a household or about the nature of their work and conditions of their contract

but rather to train them how to serve, act docile and subservient. As pointed out, women were repeatedly told that to succeed, they are urged to remain “legal” by adhering with the state’s and employer’s demands. That is, migrant women are expected to complete their contracts and stay with their employers no matter what. Despite harsh conditions, the women developed camaraderie and built relationships. Killias highlights as well that migrants have retained their agency and are able to build a “space of sociality” within the camp. These are complemented with subtle and public acts of defiance. And for those who could not bear it anymore, they escape the camp altogether.

Another area of interest is on women’s inherent return to the village. In migration literature, there is a general lack of attention on return migration specifically in the case of temporary labour migrants. The book enriches discussion in this area by including narratives of return from the perspectives of both migrants and left-behind families. Despite a lack of discussion on the state’s reintegration policies or on financial literacy that could assist migrant women upon their return, its absence in the narratives indicate that migrant women navigate return on their own. Migrant women are only directed to save, remit and return in a “productive way” that benefits families, communities and ultimately, the nation state. This is interpreted by migrant women as investing in a modern house which is regarded as the most legitimate way to spend remittances. It is a symbol of a migrant’s success overseas and a sign of commitment that migrants will return and stay home. Return is also explored as a period of uncertainty. Even though foreign domestic workers are expected to return home upon completion of their work contract, there are instances where return is delayed indefinitely due to extended contracts or plans to work in another destination. In other cases, delay becomes a permanent departure when migrants remarry or face imprisonment overseas.

Lastly, in her discussion of transnational social ties, Killias presents a social field that is complicated, fractured and filled with disconnections between Indonesian migrants and their families. Because of Killias’s multi-sited approach, this rupture could be traced when migrant women entered the training camp and continued through to their deployment and return. This “fragmented transnational social ties” is characterized by suspicion, non-communication and unreliable access to technology where migrants and left-behind families have no control over transnational communications. A most striking example is when we learned how long families have had no contact with migrant women. As the author discovered, migrants’ return or delayed plans are not always known to families since brokers discourage them from getting in touch so families wait with uncertainty for migrants to initiate contact. And as Killias explains, migrants are not “free” to make contact because their time and access to technology may be dependent on their employers. And vice versa, left-behind families who live in resource-poor communities may also lack the means of communication and be dependent on their neighbours for access to technology. These kinds of ruptures have impeded transnational social ties, affecting familial relationships in particular the transnational mothering of children.

Overall, the book is an important addition to migration and gender studies. It would serve as a good supplement resource material to scholars and students. This multi-sited

ethnographic study captures the complex process of migrant women's journey through the global care chain system. It gives readers the opportunity to study the relationships migrant women have with different intermediaries and to examine the day-to-day power relations. Having knowledge of this migration process will ultimately help readers understand that a migrant's labour migration is not a continuous movement but is filled with moments and disjuncture spatially and temporarily structured.

Valerie C. Yap

Project Associate, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong

E-mail: val8yap@gmail.com