

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Alghasi, Sharam, Eriksen, Thomas Hylland & Ghorashi, Halleh (eds) (2009) *Paradoxes of Cultural Recognition: Perspectives from Northern Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate. 303 pp.**

Ethnic minorities in the world's liberal democratic states in recent decades have offered ample evidence of their intention to achieve what the editors of this collection of articles refer to as "cultural recognition." This is true of each of the three major types of minority groups: immigrants, indigenous peoples, and ethnonationalist groups. They have promoted such recognition in various ways and with varied results predicated on time, place, and circumstance. The desire to both be accepted by the hegemonic society and to become integrated into it, combined with a desire to preserve, promote, and protect aspects of the group's cultural heritage, has shaped what can aptly be described as the multicultural field within which the political negotiations and contestations for recognition are played out. As historians of the last great migratory wave, the one that brought millions of Europeans to North America during the 19th and early 20th centuries, have illustrated, this is not an entirely new phenomenon. On the contrary, ethnic groups in the past were as unwilling as those at present to unquestioningly relinquish their cultural identities and their ancestral pasts in the interest of taking on all of the attributes of the dominant society. Instead, they set out to negotiate the terms of integration as best they could given the limits of their cultural, social, and financial capital and the constraints imposed by the dominant society.

What is new today is that dominant elites and the larger publics of the liberal democracies are split between those who endorse versus those who are opposed to policies aimed at cultural recognition. In other words, as ethnic minorities engage in various forms of claims making – variously pursuing responses from the dominant society that entail accommodation, exemption, preservation,

redress, or integration – they are involved in an effort to mold public opinion and influence those in a position to articulate and implement policy. This edited collection consisting of 16 chapters examines from a number of angles and empirical foci the multicultural fields that have emerged in Northern Europe, with particular attention paid to the Netherlands and Norway. Indeed, except for one chapter on Sweden, all of the case studies explore one or the other of these two countries.

The editors' introduction frames the collection by observing that the increased salience of cultural heterogeneity coincides with the shift from industrial to post-industrial economies, raising the question of the implications of this change for the character of the welfare states in countries with heretofore among the most robust welfare systems among the world's liberal democracies. The relevance of this becomes apparent in the substantive chapters, many of which are explicitly concerned about the role of the state in promoting integrative strategies. The editors contend that what has occurred in these nations during much of the past half century is that the idea that cultural homogeneity is one of the prerequisites for a viable democracy committed to egalitarianism has been challenged by a process of "culturalization." Of course, the realities on the ground always meant that homogeneity was an ideal type rather than an accurate depiction of these nations prior to the changes brought about by recent immigration. The editors note, for example, the role that pillarization played in the Netherlands' past as a pragmatic response to the realities of persistent intergroup tensions within the nation. While they do not mention it, in the case of Norway, the longstanding tension between demanding that old minority groups in the country – the Sami and the Kven – assimilate and conceding their right to preserve their respective cultures has played a long and ongoing drama in the nation, one that at least implicitly serves to frame current debates regarding new immigrant groups.

## Cultural categories and social practices

The substantive chapters are divided into three sections, defined as “Uneasy Categories,” “Cultural Categories in Practice,” and “The Migrant’s Positioning and the Public Space.” The first of these sections contains four chapters, beginning with Ellie Vasta’s discussion of current debates concerning the reality of diversity and the differing ways that various modes of inclusion have been selected by different states. While pitched as a comparison between the Netherlands and the UK, Vasta actually offers a comparatively more wide-ranging framework – one that contains an especially insightful discussion of the potential of multiculturalism and the challenges to realizing that potential. She touches on the issue of racism, which is the focus of Dienke Hondius’ chapter on the vexed nature of race in the Dutch context. In addressing anti-racist efforts from both the political center and the left, Hondius stresses the lingering impact of paternalism, while also indicating the recent shift in Dutch society from anti-black attitudes to anti-Muslim ones. Knut Kjeldstadli’s chapter differs from the rest insofar as it is not a case study, but instead an exercise in normative political philosophy. He contrasts a liberal individualist model and a collective multicultural model, rejecting both in favor of his third-way alternative, which he defines as a “relational model.” This first section is rounded out by Halleh Ghorashi’s comparative analysis of identity and belonging within the Iranian communities of the US and the Netherlands, concluding that in the former case Iranians have embraced being American while defining it in a hybrid manner, whereas in the Netherlands they feel a sense of exclusion and therefore retain a far more powerful diasporic identification with their nation of origin.

The five chapters constituting the following section take up categories of practice, beginning with Hans Siebers’ examination of the ways in which implicit definitions of organizational work ethics serve as a hurdle that immigrant workers must overcome in order to be fully integrated into the workplace. The two cases are Dutch government work sites, one concerned with planning and the other involving the police service, which serve Siebers well in illustrating how, to use terminology borrowed from Weber, cultural closure works. Joron Phil’s chapter turns to the Norwegian educational system, revealing a different form of exclusion, one resulting from the tendency to label immigrant children as either deviant or disabled at significantly higher rates than those for non-immigrant youth. Ann Runfors’ contribution complements Phil’s chapter by exploring the implications of labeling in Swedish schools, in this case by conflating “Swedish” with the normative, implicitly operating with an assimilationist vantage that considers immigrants to be truly integrated when they take on the qualities of Swedes and abandon or hide their inherited cultural attributes. Marleen van der Haar’s chapter turns to social work practice in the Netherlands, particularly the efforts of social workers to engage in a culturally sensitive “client centered approach” to practice. While clearly reflecting an awareness and even a validation of difference

in these professionals’ work, one of the unintended potential consequences is that of treating immigrant culture in essentialized terms. While these four chapters cast light on the varied ways that members of the dominant society respond to diversity, the section’s concluding chapter, by Jon Rogstad, turns to the practices of Norwegian ethnic minorities, which included Bosnians and Turks, but focuses in particular on the transnational political concerns as well as the local Norwegian political involvements of those of Pakistani descent.

## In and out of public sphere

The concluding section’s six chapters build on the theme of engagement in the public sphere, beginning with Viggo Vesgel’ s ethnographic work in Rudegna, a multicultural suburb of Oslo. In this empirically rich and theoretically sophisticated essay, the author sketches out the way in which interpersonal relations lead to the production of hybrid identities. This chapter is nicely complemented by a similar case study of a highly diverse neighborhood in Amsterdam conducted by Marion den Uyl and Lenie Brouwer – the focus in this particular case being the development of gender identities in adolescent females. Elisabeth Eide and Anne-Hege Simonsen’s chapter is concerned with contrasting images of ethnic minorities and their place in Norwegian society as presented in the mainstream media, specifically in several national and regional newspapers – a part of a larger project that examines depictions of otherness over the course of the entire 20th century. Doutje Lettinga’s contribution to the collection entails a description of the way that the headscarf issue has played out in the Netherlands, effectively illustrating that in spite of the current backlash directed at multiculturalism in the country, particularly since the murder of Theo van Gogh, the issue has not become charged in the way it has in some other countries – particularly France. The author convincingly argues that the continuing impact of the old pillarization approach has been a major reason for the lack of controversy surrounding headscarves and body coverings. Sharam Alghasi contributes a parallel chapter to Eide and Simonsen’s, exploring the articulations of “the other” in Norwegian television.

The section – and indeed, the book – is rounded out with a brief but provocative conclusion by Thomas Hylland Eriksen who after reviewing the debates over multiculturalism – curiously, with particular emphasis on the US experience, rather than the Canadian – sketches out the virtues of an approach that he calls “pluralist universalism.” While it serves to summarize what might be taken as the larger lessons of the collection as a whole, it can also be seen as the slimmest of outlines for the development of a normative account that can answer questions about how to create just and equitable societies in situations characterized by significant cultural diversity.

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**Bauböck, Rainer & Faist, Thomas (eds) (2010) *Diaspora and Transnationalism. Concepts, Theories and Methods*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 352 pp.**

During the last two decades, studies on diaspora and transnationalism have proliferated. Ranging from social science to the humanities, from political science reflections on transnational citizenship to diasporic filmmaking, the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism have travelled widely across disciplines. Furthermore, the concept of diaspora especially has made it into policies, being a new buzzword for policymakers in both migrant sending and receiving states as well as for a number of migrant groups that identify themselves as diasporas. Diaspora and transnationalism are in vogue, in other words, being used, abused, reshaped, and challenged in a range of scientific and political contexts.

The aim of *Diaspora and Transnationalism* is to take stock of this debate and bring it forward, focusing on the social sciences. It is a collected volume edited by Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist, two prominent migration scholars with backgrounds in political science and political sociology: Bauböck is professor of social and political theory at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, and Faist is professor of transnational relations and sociology of development at Bielefeld University, Germany. The volume is based on a conference organized in 2008 by the IMISCOE (International Migration, Integration and Social Coherence in Europe) research network and contains 15 chapters, bringing together 18 scholars, all based at European universities. The chapters examine conceptual, theoretical, and methodological perspectives of diaspora and transnationalism, sharing a focus on social, political, and spatial aspects of contemporary migrant or diaspora social formations. The volume thereby presents a state of the art of European social science research on transnationalism and diaspora.

The volume starts with an excellent introduction by Thomas Faist. Faist discusses the contemporary social science debates on transnationalism and diaspora, stating the goal of the book as “to bring together these two awkward dance partners [...] contrasting and comparing them across a range of social science disciplines” (p. 9). This aim is broken down into developing concepts, theory, and methods. All chapters refer to one or more of these concerns and are thus not meant to “merely” present research about diaspora and transnationalism as empirical phenomena but to critically reflect upon diaspora and transnationalism as research perspectives that inform the way cross-border social formations can be analyzed. In the remaining part of the introduction, Faist takes stock of the current debates on the topic, situating the chapters of the volume within these debates and within their disciplines. Likewise he identifies a range of questions as well as challenges for future research, such as a need for further incorporation of structure and agency perspectives (p. 27).

The remaining part of the book is divided into three sections: Concepts, Theory, and Methods. The first section explores the usefulness of diaspora and transnationalism as concepts, and

starts with a contribution by Michel Bruneau, geographer and research director at CNRS, University of Bordeaux. Bruneau examines transnationalism and diaspora with the aim of identifying the “different and spatial processes involved” (p. 35). This is a highly relevant endeavor, but the insistence on defining and distinguishing the two terms results in discussions and claims about “real” transnational migrants and “real” diasporas, which are not, in my view, very productive. I would much rather have learnt about how iconographic capital enables diasporic formations as Bruneau mentions several times. More nuances are presented in the next chapter by Janine Dahinden, professor of transnational studies at University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland. Analyzing four different combinations of mobility and locality, Dahinden tracks both perspectives simultaneously. The perspectives are illustrated by three case studies of migration to Switzerland, showing how the practices of a group can change over time, and that different mobility–locality combinations can be relevant for the same group. This is a very interesting analytical perspective that can be useful in many migration studies.

In the next chapter, political scientist Agnieszka Weinar, University of Warsaw and now desk officer in the European Commission, examines how diasporas have become framed by EU policies, especially in relation to development. Going through EU as well as UN, IOM, and AU documents, she shows how diasporas are quite narrowly defined and welcomed as policy actors by EU migration policies in their *external* dimension but not in relation to EU integration of third-country citizens. Finally, professor of anthropology Karsten Pærregaard, University of Copenhagen, discusses the usages and limits of the concept of diaspora. Using his long-term fieldwork among Peruvian migrants to examine the concept, he shows that only very few Peruvian migrants have cultivated diasporic activities, while bilateral transnational ties are much more common. He thus concludes that there is a need to avoid essentializing the term diaspora and to be careful in how the term is employed.

The aim of the second part of the book is to develop theoretically informed propositions on diaspora and transnationalism. This section contains five chapters, ranging from having a programmatic agenda for migration studies to addressing and demonstrating weak points in diaspora and transnationalism theories. Nina Glick Schiller, director of Cosmopolitan Cultures Institute and professor of social anthropology, University of Manchester, criticizes existing migration studies for being caught up in methodological nationalism and ignoring global power perspectives and what she calls “a regime of hyper-exploitation” (p. 125). Her aim is to situate future migration studies in a critique of the neoliberal restructuring, avoiding distinct levels of abstraction (p. 118) – that is, to avoid focusing either on the macro- or on the micro-level. It would have been really interesting to see other contributors engage explicitly with this call and challenge.

In the following two chapters political scientists Mary Waterbury (Ohio University) and Maria Koinova (University of Amsterdam) examine the relationship between the state and populations abroad, illustrated by a range of cases. Waterbury distinguishes between

migrant sending states and kin states, suggesting a typology varying between different kinds of populations abroad as well as the types of policies that states use to engage with these populations (p. 147), whereas Koinova analyzes diaspora discourses and interventions, focusing on democratic liberalization. The last two chapters explore the usefulness of diaspora and transnationalism theory through in-depth case studies. Geographers Russell King and Anastasia Christou, both from the University of Sussex, examine the phenomenon of second-generation return (what they also term counter-diasporic migration), and sociologist Paolo Boccagni, University of Trento, focuses on Ecuadorian migrants in northern Italy. While King and Christou conclude that second-generation return is “a reflection of the strength of transnational social spaces” (p. 182), Boccagni finds that transnational practices are widespread in the private realm but public transnationalism is limited, questioning what he terms “the over-generalized uses of ‘the term’ transnationalism” (p. 202). These chapters thus emphasize the importance of critically questioning the existence of transnationalism and diasporic formations, rather than taking them for granted.

The third part of the book turns to methods with emphasis on “how to conduct research and assess evidence,” as the introduction states it (p. 10). Geographer Valentina Mazzucato, professor of globalization and development, University of Maastricht, addresses two of the key methodological challenges in transnational studies: the simultaneous and multi-sited nature of migrant networks. Multi-sited fieldwork in two (or more countries) has become one of the answers to this problem (cf. Marcus’ (1995) well-known proposition to “follow the people”), but Mazzucato takes this method a step forward with her simultaneous matched sample (SMS) methodology. She presents the methodology used in the Ghana TransNet research program with researchers simultaneously studying Ghanaian migrants based in Amsterdam and their social networks in Accra and in home villages in Ghana, combining in-depth interviews, transaction studies, and observation. This method not only enables analysis of the effects of migration on local economies but also of how migration policies in the country of settlement impact on development in the country of origin.

The remaining chapters are all written by political scientists. Two of them have a main emphasis on statistical surveys as method: The first (chapter 12) is a quantitative study on co-publication between overseas Chinese scientists and their mainland colleagues, by Koen Jonkers, CSIS Institute of Public Goods and Policies, Madrid; the second (chapter 14), by Laura Morales, University of Manchester, and Laia Jorba, Autonomous University of Barcelona, examines migrant organizations in three Spanish cities. Including all (identified) migrant associations in these cities and comparing their activities enable Morales and Jorba to conclude on both direct and indirects impact of local contexts and policies toward migrant organizations. Morales and Jorba also employ network analysis in their study, as do Kathrine Kissau, FORS, University of Lausanne, and Uwe Hunger, University of Münster, in their analysis of websites

created and used by migrants for political activities. Combining content analysis, network analysis, and survey, they show how three different groups of migrants use the Internet in different ways and for different purposes. This and most of the other chapters in this section thus emphasize the importance of mixed methods and collaborative work.

The book’s final chapter is written by the other co-editor, Rainer Bauböck, examining how transnationalism and diaspora can inform political science thinking on citizenship. He calls for more focus on the “nationalism” part in transnationalism – for example, a focus on nation-building projects – focusing on the relationship between polities, suggesting (and then discarding) the term “trans-polity” (p. 310). In relation to the concept of diaspora, Bauböck concludes that rather than using it as a descriptive category of a particular form of social formation, diaspora can more usefully be thought of as a political project, focusing on the forging and mobilization of collective identities. Diaspora is then a “hot” concept, whereas the political theory perspective on transnationalism is “cold” (p. 319).

The chapter is very interesting (and I do personally endorse the theoretical position on diaspora as a political and performative project) but it is not a concluding discussion and as a reader I missed such a discussion. While Bauböck does return to the initial questions guiding the book, his point is rather general, concluding, “this is neither the time to jettison the two concepts nor the moment to integrate them into a grand theoretical synthesis. Instead, this is a time for ‘talking across disciplines’ ” (p. 295). Given the vast range of topics and approaches that the two concepts have come to cover, the lack of coherence is hardly surprising. However, for a book with ambitions of bringing conceptual, theoretical, and methodological debates forward, I would like to see a sharper discussion concerning the views presented in the volume, not least concerning the sometimes contradictory theoretical positions – not for the purpose of consensus but to debate the analytical consequences of different perspectives. Likewise, while especially Dahinden, Glick Schiller, and Mazzucato’s chapters are agenda-setting pieces, some of the other chapters take departure in well-known discussions. Finally, whereas the volume analyses ethnicity and to some degree social class, analysis of gender and racialization is almost absent. Including these perspectives would have strengthened the volume, in particular given the stated aim of avoiding groupism. That said, *Diaspora and Transnationalism* offers many insightful and important points for students and researchers of diaspora and transnationalism studies and deserves to be widely read.

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## Reference

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**Bonifacio, Glenda Tibe & Angeles, Vivienne S.M. (eds) (2010) *Gender, Religion and Migration; Pathways to Integration*. Published in the series "Migration Studies". USA: Lexington Books. 304 pp.**

*Gender, Religion and Migration; Pathways to Integration* edited by Glenda Tibe Bonifacio and Vivienne S.M. Angeles is an important collection of essays dedicated to understanding the relationship of gender and religion in integration processes. The book is an excellent and much welcome addition to the literature on migration and addresses a crucial gap – that of the intersections between migration, religion, and gender. Hitherto a much under-analyzed relationship, particularly in a European context, religious identity and its nexus with integration and migration are being scrutinized anew amidst growing acrimony toward refugees and migrants (undocumented and documented) in a world increasingly concerned with issues of security, terrorism, and the dilution of national identities.

Situated then in a world where moral panic about migration figures large among the general populace, this book presents an important, well-crafted cartography of integration, walking the reader through the lives and struggles of migrants, refugees, and international students in geographical areas as diverse as the Asia-Pacific, Europe, Latin America, and North America. The book is a compilation of 16 articles (inclusive of the introduction) divided amongst four geographic regions; each article problematizes the relationship between gender, religion, and integration among a diverse range of ethnic and national groupings, thereby conversing with the dynamism of global migration flows and portable religious identities. While each essay is relevant and strongly argued, there is some unevenness in how they are presented; many of the essays are strongly data driven thereby providing a critical lens through which integration can be examined; a theoretical reading of integration, however, is lacking in some of the essays. The book's many strengths, however, outweigh this one weakness, and it is, I believe, a work that is "transnational" at its very core.

The introduction provides an excellent well-written overview of the politics of religion as it is embedded within the fraught dynamics of integration as a process, experience, and endgame. It tells us that the book's major analytical aim is to examine the issue of whether religion impedes or accelerates the process of integration. It pre-emptively some of its contributors' findings by telling the reader that the role of religion within integration is of course complex, oftentimes impeding and attenuating the process of integration, but also aiding and accelerating the process by helping newcomers by introducing them to their new environment. Through my own research with Dr. Mark Maguire (see Maguire and Murphy 2012 forthcoming), working with African Pentecostals in Ireland, I wholly concur with this finding. Religion and religious networks in the diaspora can provide a "home away from home," a place that can provide much-needed emotional and social assistance, a refuge from a harsh new environment and the struggles that being a migrant or refugee can pose.

However, religious networks and communities are also responsible for marginalizing and isolating their members from the broader host community; it is this contradiction at the heart of migrant religious practices that is the central thesis of this book. Many of the book's essays also evince the powerful presence religion has in encouraging migrants to aspire to success, thus helping migrants to garner the strength and courage to "integrate," to find a place in their new country. The subsequent chapters, all conceptually rich and well-presented, examine religion as a form of identity, as responsible for community formation and social networking, as a site of refuge, resistance, activism, and conversely, oppression. The golden thread throughout the book is the belief that religion is a defining feature in many migrants' lives and that their involvement in the church often encourages civic and political engagement both in the home and host country.

The first group of essays focuses on the Asia Pacific region; an important link permeating each essay (implicitly and explicitly) is that of risk. The first essay by Gemma Tulud Cruz is an important reflection on the role of religion in the lives of Filipino migrants in Hong Kong, a powerful beginning to the book in its analysis of the intersection of religion and gender in the precarious world of domestic work. The subsequent essay by Hugo Cordova Quero provides the reader with much-needed insights into the understudied lives of migrants in Japan, and the complex relationship to religion for those caught between two worlds, ancestrally linked to Japan, yet marked out and separated by their diasporic status – epitomized most poignantly by the wearing of different uniforms from their Japanese counterparts in factories. The next two essays by Wafa Chafic and Michiel Baas have at their nexus the politics of multiculturalism and integration in an Australian context, particularly as it existed under the Howard government. An interesting contrast between the lives and experiences of Muslim refugees amidst growing suspicion toward them and the lives of Indian overseas students who aspire to a global, even transnational existence where religion provides a space of contact with their cultural groups but also marks out the difference and separateness between overseas students and the long-term Indian community, thus complicating the idea of integration.

The next group of essays has as its focus studies from a European context, covering countries where immigration politics have recently assumed a heightened and controversial nature – Denmark, Germany, and France. With the exception of Huwelmeier's essay on Vietnamese Pentecostal networks where she questions the attraction to Pentecostalism for female Vietnamese migrants, the other three essays deal with the issue of Islam and integration, now a heated and controversial topic in the European public sphere where Islamic identities and religious practice have become a benchmark for measuring the integration of Muslim immigrants (even transgenerationally). Writing about Germany, Bendixsen's essay marks out the turn to Islam among young second generation Muslims, largely of Turkish origin. This essay points to an emerging "trend" among young immigrant Muslims to reassert their religious

identities. She argues that many of her respondents work to promote conversion to stricter Islamic ideals amongst their own parents, thus upsetting the essence of parental authority. Reconfiguration of religious identities through migration and the inversion of authority and gender roles is a key theme in this and the remaining essays by Helene Pristed Nielsen, Jamel Stamboli, and Sonia Ben Soltane. The contradictions and complexities of gender hierarchies are also echoed in Cristina Maria de Castro's work on Muslim women in Brazil in the subsequent section on Latin America. As rich and informative piece, this section would have benefited by including additional research from this geographical region.

The final section on North America is a rich and detailed one, providing ample comparative scope and insights into the struggles of myriad migrant communities across the US. This section connects Polish Catholic religiosity, Yoruba ethnoreligious power, Kenyan immigrants, Mexican immigrants, Filipino Catholics, and undocumented migrants to questions of religiosity, transnationalism, refuge, civic and political engagement, and gender. Highlights from this section include Glenda Tibe Bonifacio and Vivienne S.M. Angelus's excellent essay on Filipino Catholics that allows the book to travel almost in circular fashion, providing a wonderful contrast between Filipino domestics in Hong Kong (as described in the opening essay) and the US. Additionally, Abolade Ezekiel Olagoke's insightful work on Yoruba immigrant women illuminates the way in which these women negotiate issues of power, hierarchy, and gender difference in their new host society while dealing with issues around family, work, and education. Connie Oxford's essay provides an important closing discussion to the book in her focus on the world of "border crossers, activists, and institutions" extant across the US/Mexico border. Oxford's focus on activist members of the host community (inspired by the sanctuary movement) as well as the undocumented provides an excellent overview of the different actors involved in the perilous attempts to cross this particular border and is an insightful end to an excellent book on the challenges of religious identity, gender, and integration across broad geographic regions.

To conclude then, *Gender, Religion, and Migration; Pathways to Integration* is a wonderful collection of essays and a much-needed contribution to the world of migration studies. It provides a critical analytic lens through which the interconnections and challenges that religion, gender, and migration present can be examined. It is powerfully data driven and broad-ranging and diverse in its scope, thus providing important comparative examples. It is a challenge to the moral panic and unnecessary fears circulating in public discourse about migrant faith practices, and a necessary guide for any scholar or practitioner working at the intersection of religion and migration.

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**Essers, Caroline (2009) *New Directions in Postheroic Entrepreneurship: Narratives of Gender and Identity*. Malmö: Liber/Copenhagen Business School Press. 165 pp.**

Although appearing to be a short monograph, this book is packed with critical insights on recent discourses on entrepreneurship, gender, and identity, and the interplay between gender, ethnicity, and entrepreneurship. Caroline Essers has successfully achieved three objectives: providing a succinct overview of prevailing mainstream discourses on entrepreneurship in general and ethnic entrepreneurship in particular, examining their severe limitations in demonstrating the complex interaction and intersectionality between gender and ethnicity, and identifying new directions for future research. To support her theoretical and empirical insights Essers interrogates the personal narratives and lived experiences of 20 female entrepreneurs of Turkish and Moroccan origin living in the Netherlands.

Research on entrepreneurship has a long history, and much of it focuses on and eulogizes the entrepreneur as the great hero who creates new businesses, as well as being honest, courageous, adventurous, creative, risk-taking, and innovative. These qualities are often attributed to something unique in the entrepreneur's gene pool. This "grand entrepreneurial narrative" is celebrated by business and management gurus and by governments alike, and it would be difficult to find any country nowadays where enterprise, entrepreneurial activity, and the role of entrepreneurs are not only promoted but are seen as being critical to the economic well-being of the country. However, as Essers correctly observes, most of the mainstream researchers have very little to say about immigrant or ethnic entrepreneurship which, of course, will stare them in the face were they to enter immigrant neighborhoods in large cities around the world. This is not to suggest that there is no research on ethnic entrepreneurship, as clearly one can identify a large body of such research since the 1960s. But the two discourses have tended to develop in parallel, with the mainstream view not acknowledging the latter's contribution to broadening and deepening our understanding of entrepreneurship.

Research on ethnic entrepreneurship also has a long history and emerged out of an attempt to understand the phenomenon in plural societies, especially where it emerged as a result of fresh inflows of immigrants; for example, movements of Chinese or Indians to new territories that came under European colonial rule, in Asia or Africa. There were further post-war migrations – mainly to the so-called "mother country" – either resulting from de-colonization, as in Western Europe, or due to relaxation of immigrant controls, as in North America. These new immigrants were found to have a much higher tendency toward self-employment, appeared to be more daring and risk-taking than the indigenous population, and many of these immigrant or ethnic enterprises began to dominate the landscape of immigrant neighborhoods, serving their co-ethnics (as enclave entrepreneurs) in these neighborhoods but also some

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acting as middleman minorities, linking the economy's elite and the masses through identifying niche markets. There is now considerable literature that explores the success of enterprising immigrant groups such as the Chinese, Korean, Jewish, Puerto Rican, and Indians in the USA and Canada. In Europe, especially in the UK, there is also considerable literature that traces the economic contribution of post-colonial migrants of all ethnic types to local enterprise and well-being.

As a consequence of the above, a number of theories on ethnic enterprise have been proposed that try to capture different dimensions of the immigrant experience – “pushed” toward self-employment due to racism or blocked mobility, taking advantage of opportunity structures and market conditions, “bounded solidarity,” and “enforceable trust.” More recently a more holistic theory – “mixed-embeddedness” – has been proposed which emphasizes the combined role of personal, socio-cultural, environmental, and structural factors with ethnic cultural capital and social networks playing an important role. However, despite these significant breakthroughs in research on ethnic entrepreneurship, there is still relatively limited focus on female entrepreneurship and especially the interplay between gender, ethnicity, and entrepreneurship. Essers' monograph attempts to fill this void.

In contrast to prevailing literature, Essers' major contribution lies in synthesizing the existing research on ethnic enterprise, especially on female enterprise with post-structural writings on diasporic identities, to produce a very rich and detailed narrative on varied experiences of female Muslim entrepreneurs. In the appendix on methodological concerns Essers states that her “aim was to deconstruct how women's identities are crafted both through and in opposition to the discursive resources available to them.” (p. 146). This allowed Essers to examine the multiple identities of her subjects, the situational contingency of their voices and actions and the ambiguities, inconsistencies, and paradoxes associated with construction of their identities as diasporic subjects, wives, mothers, daughters, sisters, and good Muslims. The moving narratives and life-stories of the 20 Dutch women successfully break down the stereotypical representations of Muslim women as largely housebound homemakers, submissive, repressed, invisible, and disempowered. What Essers demonstrates is the diversity in their personal experiences, their successful navigation between two cultures, construction and re-construction, negotiation and re-negotiation, of multiple identities in relation to their family members, to Islam and how their female ethnicity underpins all this. For Essers, “entrepreneurship can be considered as a tool of agency” (p. 138) allowing these women to change the existing power and gender relations, and norms and values relating to what may be considered as appropriate and acceptable behaviour. Furthermore, using entrepreneurship as a strategy they have become empowered and independent, enabling them to successfully navigate the difficulties, tensions, and restrictions associated with participation in the labor market and within the migrant economies.

## Postheroic entrepreneurship

The 20 businesswomen chosen by Essers vary in age, their length of settlement in the Netherlands, their marital status, and attachment to symbolic markers of their hybrid identity. Some of these women are chosen for longer case studies which explore in detail issues relating to their relationship with mainstream Dutch society, wearing of headscarves versus veils, challenging patriarchal family relations, compatibility between entrepreneurial activities, and being a good Muslim and their coping strategies. However, it is worth noting that what we are discussing here are micro-entrepreneurs who are managing micro-businesses such as beauty salons, bridal services, fashion boutiques, and catering largely for female co-ethnics or for a small, niche segment of the mainstream market. One is reminded here of Parminder Bhachu's research *Dangerous Designs: Asian Women Fashion the Diaspora Economies* (Routledge, 2004) which also covers similar terrain for Sikh women but extends the analysis to cover discourses on the wider regional and global connections of these micro-businesses. These are therefore self-employed women who are either sole owners or partners in their businesses.

Lack of detail on financial data or performance of these micro-enterprises does not allow us to make any inferences about their size, turnover, value of total assets, and performance over time or “break-out” strategies which are essential for long-term survival as the British experiences have demonstrated. Thus the world of the other globally known entrepreneurs – Bill Gates of Microsoft, Steve Jobs of Apple, Richard Branson of Virgin, or Ratan Tata of the Tata Group – is a totally different one, and in this sense this monograph does nothing to dispel the view of such entrepreneurs as male heroes. This also points to a wider problem with prevailing uses of the term entrepreneurship given that there is such variety in the motives for undertaking it. Being self-employed as a sole proprietor and managing a micro-business does not per se fully capture the essence of entrepreneurship or entrepreneurial activity as usually understood in the classical literature.

Thus it can be questioned whether the strength of this monograph lies in demolishing the myth of the entrepreneur as the “white male hero” and in providing new directions in postheroic narratives on entrepreneurship. Rather its strengths lie in providing very rich, moving, and fascinating narratives of the trials and tribulations of immigrant Muslim women who, despite having adopted the Netherlands as their home, have developed survivalist and coping strategies – whether they are labeled “self-determination,” “cunning,” or “pragmatism” – to lead successful lives. It is the underlying motivations that are crucial, enticing some of them to set up successful micro-businesses. Entrepreneurial activity is thus a means of escape from the seemingly oppressive host society, own community, religious sanctions, and family. For Caroline Essers this is the true character of this postheroic entrepreneurship and in this sense this monograph

can be seen to be breaking the mold. This book should be of great appeal to all scholars interested in immigrant entrepreneurship, intersection between gender, ethnicity, and entrepreneurship, and constructions of religious and diasporic identities.

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**Mitchell, Martin J. & Donald, John (eds) (2008) *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland*. Edinburgh: John Donald Short Run Press. vii+254 pp.**

Scholarship on the Irish experience in Scotland has been sorely lacking and this book provides a welcome addition to the field. Indeed, it leads one to wonder why more research has not been conducted and published on this subject matter given the important migration connections and networks between Ireland and Scotland. Most of the essays cover the 19th-century experiences of urban immigrants, although there are contributions from the 20th century, including one essay, by T.M. Devine, on the post-World War II period. There is thus much on offer to scholars interested in different aspects of the history of Irish immigration to Scotland in the modern period.

The essays in this collection do offer new insights into the Irish in Scotland, presenting alternative perspectives and challenging some accepted notions, such as that the Protestant Irish in Scotland were easily accepted and assimilated, or that Irish Catholics had a wholly negative experience. Mitchell's opening essay challenges some of the historiography of the field questioning whether the Irish in Scotland were as isolated from their fellow Protestant workers as has been presented in the past. Mitchell also challenges the assumption that the Catholic Church had the kind of total control over Irish immigrants that has often been asserted. Mitchell's discussion of the evidence for cross-community supportive activities between Scottish and Catholic Irish workers will interest many, particularly in the "temperance craze" that dominated the 1830s and 1840s. The interactions between the two communities in relation to social, political, and moral or philanthropic activities are interesting points to explore. The "problem" of mixed marriages pointed to in a number of the essays was one that persisted.

Tim Devine's essay on the Great Irish Famine begins by stressing the importance of studying this time period and demographic cohort because of its contemporary impact and historical legacy. The descriptions provided of the Famine survivors who made it to Scotland offer an excellent evocation of the horrendous physical condition many Irish immigrants were in as a result of the Famine, and this makes for powerful reading. Devine also complicates the notion of mobility by suggesting that the Irish in Scotland may have represented the poorest of the immigrants as those with means went to America.

The theme of religious devotional practices is dealt with in two of the essays in the collection. Bernard Aspinwall's fine essay examining the transformations in Catholic religious life in Scotland offers interesting insights into the community spirit fostered by the Church throughout the 19th century. Looking at the Catholic Church's role in pastoral issues and in the growth of education specifically for Catholics, Aspinwall charts the decline in communal activity and class cohesion in the 20th century. Ian Meredith's treatment of the Irish in the Scottish Episcopal Church illuminates the history of a little-researched community of Irish migrants and challenges the dominant narratives of the Irish in Scotland. Like Devine's chapter, Meredith concludes that the Irish Protestants in Scotland were likely to be poorer than those who made their way to America, and the poorest of these were likely to be Episcopalians. His detailed attention to the Glasgow area will be of interest to scholars of urban history as well as those interested in the specific religious history of Episcopalians in Scotland.

The political activities of the Irish in Scotland features as a thread within many of the essays and is specifically addressed in the essays by Foster, Muir and Madigan, Vaughan, and Ó Catháin. John Foster, Muir Houston, and Chris Madigan's essay on politics in the Clydeside area concludes that not all discrimination was sectarian and at times no distinctions were made on religious lines, but rather the Irish were viewed as a homogenous category and experienced ethnic rather than religious discrimination. Their analysis of marriage and fertility patterns in the Protestant and Catholic communities is the kind of detailed analysis rarely offered and will be immensely satisfying for historians interested in the everyday lived experiences of Irish immigrants in Scotland. It also offers a model for comparative work that could be taken up by other scholars. Geraldine Vaughan's essay offers a reassessment of the role of Irish migrants in the local politics scene, suggesting that their contribution should be re-evaluated to determine their role in the shaping of Scottish history. Along with other contributors, Vaughan problematizes the role of the Catholic Church, suggesting variation in their levels of influence. Ó Catháin's essay on Sinn Féin in Scotland in the early years of the 20th century links the party's focus on physical force nationalism with a longer tradition in Scotland that pre-dated its presence there. Ó Catháin's concluding remarks on the gap between generations of immigrants is an important point to consider in order to produce nuanced accounts sensitive to changes in experiences over time.

Elaine McFarland's accomplished essay on Irish Catholics in Scotland and the Great War can be viewed as part of the more recent historiography that has turned its attention to the Irish contribution in both World Wars, a necessary project given the primacy of war in contemporary experience. McFarland's observation that the process of forgetting, or at best, partial remembrance, started almost as soon as the fighting stopped is one worthy of further exploration as it explains why, in the present day, the two World

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Wars do not occupy a larger space in the Irish cultural imagination. Her work on the Irish in Scotland offers many avenues for further exploration and was one of the most interesting contributions to the collection in my opinion.

Edinburgh is the site of Michael Rosie's study of Protestant Action, a theme that links in well with the other contributions on community life, politics, and social action campaigns. Rosie explores the evidence for and against the politics of discrimination against Irish people, in Edinburgh in particular, and concludes that anti-Irishness was not a key theme in Protestant Action Society rhetoric, although this has been the conclusion of other historians. Class, as in many contexts, was of far more significance in many instances.

The importance of primary sources that have restricted access is exemplified in Eric Kaufmann's study of the Orange Order in Scotland from the 19th century through to modern times. Kaufmann's framing of the research as a social analysis is particularly interesting as it melds the more traditional focus on the Orange Order's political activities with a prosopographical focus on who the members were. The illustrative material in this chapter will be particularly useful in a teaching context. Tom Devine's final essay in the collection returns to the theme of religion as he questions whether Irish Catholics in Scotland have continued to experience discrimination and he highlights the issue of education, picking up on the themes in Aspinwall's chapter. Devine's questions on the differences between the cultural and social position occupied by the Irish in America in contrast to the Irish in Scotland are a point of continuing interest to scholars. Again, the detailed statistical data produced as part of this essay is immensely useful in grounding the interpretive statements within core evidence.

The book's publicity flyer describes it as a "major reassessment of Irish immigration to Scotland". Although the scholarship presented in this collection is of the highest standard, and in many ways the essays do offer a major reappraisal of accepted truths on the Irish in Scotland, the failure to include any contributions specifically related to women is disappointing and diminishes the impact the book has, particularly given Irish women's visibility in the migrant flow to Scotland as workers, religious or as wives and mothers. This perhaps offers a challenge to other researchers or editors to maintain a gendered perspective in historical reflections on the Irish in Scotland.

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**Stoltz, Pauline, Svensson, Marina, Sun, Zhongxin & Wang, Qi (eds) (2010) *Gender Equality, Citizenship and Human Rights*. London: Routledge. 196 pp.**

As a result of the vibrant discussions at a conference held in Malmö in 2005, the book gathers together voices and opinions from a diverse group of Chinese and Nordic scholars, researchers, activists,

and students. In a nutshell, the book discusses issues concerning gender equality and human rights in China and in the Nordic countries. In the introduction, two of the editors, Pauline Stolz and Marina Svensson, outline the goal of this book as to raise questions rather than to provide answers or solutions and to continue "discussion between Nordic and Chinese scholars and activists and to carefully make comparisons that are theoretically informed as well as empirically grounded" (p.19). This attitude enables a fruitful dialog that highlights the overlapping vocabularies of values, and addresses different discourses on rights and responsibilities in China and Nordic countries. Most importantly, through thematically focused and contextually specific analysis of issues related to human rights and gender equality, this book succeeds in confronting stereotypes about the human rights violations in China and the mythically egalitarian Nordic welfare states, thus avoiding the reconstruction of "us" and "them" dichotomy.

In the introduction, Stolz and Svensson set the stage for the following chapters by mapping out notions such as cosmopolitanism, global or transnational citizenship, and gender equality and their implications in current China and Nordic contexts. Particularly, they raise the following questions (that in fact offer the reader a good picture of the content of the book): "Maybe human rights are a sensitive issue in China, but why are they controversial in Norway? What strategies are used to bring the notion of homosexuality to public attention in China? How do the mythically egalitarian Nordic countries fare when we scrutinise the situation of women who have migrated to these societies?" (p.1)

The book comprises two major parts: "Gender equality, citizenship and human rights" and "Controversies and challenges". The first part consists of discussions regarding the implication of feminist academic research in human rights law work and public policy debates, as well as the importance of transnational feminism in theory and practice. Chapters 1 and 2 are interviews with two professors who are also activists, Ai Xiaoming from China and Tiina Rosenberg from Sweden. They make visible the process of striving for social change and gender equality at grassroots level and in the party political arena respectively. This provides valuable information to both feminist scholars and feminist activists and illuminates the possibility of as well as obstacles to bridge the gap between academic and activist work. In chapter 3, by outlining the histories of and activist work on women's human rights development both inside and outside China, Sharon K. Hom proposes to build multi-pronged strategies. In chapter 4, Birte Siim links the "debate about transnational democracy and post-national citizenship with debates about transnational feminism, gender equality and women's rights". In my opinion, this chapter serves as the theoretical core of the book, and provides a very informative theoretical overview related to gender, diversity, and transnational citizenship.

Part two presents five case studies. In the first case, Zhongxin Sun represents the ongoing process of the speaking out and making space of homosexual communities in China. The issue of migration

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is the thread that runs through the following three chapters. Both Anna Gavanas' and Shen Tan's chapters touch upon the issue of work-related migration. Gavanas compares the ways through which employers of migrant domestic workers in Britain, Sweden, and Spain "make sense of contradictions between privileged irresponsibility and structural responsibility" (p.117). Tan shows the current health and safety problems among rural migrants in China and provides an overview of laws and governmental efforts in tackling these issues. In her chapter Catarina Kinnvall argues that as a result of the "struggle between majority and minority, secularism and religion, and between the global and the local", post-diasporic Muslim women and especially young girls in Sweden are "turned into burdens of representation rather than subjects of their own right" (p.147). Chapters 9 and 10 shed light on the incorporation and implementation of international human rights legislation in the domestic laws. While Huawen Liu outlines the history of ratification and incorporation of CEDAW as well as the impact of and challenges faced by the implementation of ICCPR in China, Hege Skjeie compares the major differences in Denmark and Norway when assessing the international human rights regime with a major focus on the Norwegian debate on the incorporation of CEDAW. I cannot possibly do justice to all the chapters here; instead, I will focus on Sun and Tan's case studies in reference with the recurring themes of the book – transnational movements and international human rights regime.

Homosexuality has been stigmatized, pathologized, and silenced in China. It was not until 2001 that the Chinese Psychiatry Association removed homosexuality from its list of mental disorders. Sun examines the speaking out (both in individual and collective forms) and space making of homosexual identities and communities. Sun starts off the chapter by introducing the incident of the first Beijing Lesbian and Gay cultural festival in 2005. This explicit act of space making and claiming for recognition was impeded by the local police indicating the state's attitude towards homosexuality. This is an excellent introduction to the chapter as the case exemplifies the emergence and eagerness in the collective consciousness, as well as the "flesh-and-blood" confrontations such collective movements face. Besides investigating the process of changing attitudes towards homosexuality in contemporary China, Sun puts great emphasis on the issue of terminology as a means of negotiating, mapping out the travelling of "Western" and vernacular terms that identify homosexuality. Unlike the dispersed global usage of terms such as "gay" or "lesbian," Sun outlines popular terms that are used at regional and/or national level. These vocabularies are used to strategically identify oneself and address others in the homosexual community and to instill a positive image of homosexuality in the public. Such acts of claiming for recognition and collective awareness are enabled by space making. Two types of spaces are discussed – the geographic and the cultural. Through studying public spaces such as underground bars in urban areas for homosexual communities, Sun argues that these expanding public

spaces offer a safe collective form of "coming out of the closet". In terms of the cultural sphere of space making, Sun exemplifies the emergence of homosexual spaces in journals, magazines, traditional mainstream media, and new forms of multimedia despite the restrictions and censorships in China. Moreover, issues of homosexuality start to be incorporated into the curriculum of higher education. This is coupled with the increasing social science and scholarly research on homosexuality that begins to gain academic legitimacy. Nevertheless, the process of identity claiming is not without confrontation: the "three not" (not support, not against and not promote) policy adopted by many local authorities restricts the collective homosexual social movements. Also, since homosexuality has long been pathologized as deviant and associated with HIV/AIDS, it is a long-term struggle for changing the public mindset and for striving for a recognized identity. Moreover, as Sun points out, asymmetrical power relations exist between men and women within the homosexual community and may easily be concealed in the overarching usage of the term "community". While this chapter is an excellent case study and makes convincing arguments regarding identity claiming and space making of homosexual communities in contemporary China, I was left wondering about its connection with the international human rights regime and the dynamic of globalization and transnational movements.

In chapter 7, Tan discusses health and safety issues faced by rural migrant workers (especially female rural migrant workers) in China. Rural migrants are not entitled to full citizenship rights in the urban area such as medical care due to the Chinese household registration system. Tan tries to show that safety and health issues are not merely a question of medical needs, but also of social inequality. Specifically, Tan divides the health and safety problems into four categories, namely bodily safety, safety and health in everyday life, psychological health, and occupational health and safety issues. She argues that due to gendered division of labor, rural migrant women are often exposed to different types of health and safety problems as is evident in her study on the acute poisoning incidents in the shoe-making industry. Moreover, issues such as trafficking of rural migrant women across regional borders and international borders, and rape, have caught public and government' attention. Tan argues that the nexus of these health and safety issues of internal migrant workers must be taken more seriously. Still, it is not clear how Tan's discussion on the national legal framework concerning health and safety of rural migrants is related to international human rights discourses that aim at protecting migrant workers' rights at the national, local, and grassroots level.

This is a fine collection of illustrations and investigations of gender equality and human rights issues in contemporary China and Nordic countries against the backdrop of the ever fluid and changing mode of migration and globalization. Still, even though many of the chapters are convincing case studies per se, their links with each other are not explicit. The structure of the book could have been formed more as open dialog and direct engagements among

the Chinese and Nordic scholars and activists, rather than as a collection mostly consisting of individual case studies. As such, it is all too easy to lose sight of the connection to the proposed and hopeful transnational model that is “democratic and feminist in theory and in practice” (p. 88). It left me wondering about the possibilities of speaking of transnational citizenship rights in circumstances where discourses on citizenship rights may differ greatly in different nation states. Additionally, with the ever fluid and changing mode of emigration, immigration, and internal migration, what are the challenges to the transnational rights and responsibilities? An open dialogue that is based on shared moral vocabularies and embraces difference on gender equality and human rights discourse was accentuated as a promising starting point for the development of a transnational democracy, but the idea could have been developed further in the book. All in all, this book is very informative and accessible and can serve as a valuable textbook for students, as well as for scholars who are interested in issues concerning gender equality, citizenship, and human rights in China and Nordic countries.

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**Squire, Vicki (2009) *The Exclusionary Politics of Asylum*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 221 pp.**

Vicki Squire's *The Exclusionary Politics of Asylum* is a book with a twist. The twist, which develops from the notion that “blaming ‘others’ is an unproductive and highly problematic form of engagement” (p. 82), is a move one does not expect on the basis of the title. Yet it is an extremely thought-provoking and welcome one in studies about asylum. Squire engages with and analyzes processes and discourses of securitization and criminalization that constitute asylum seekers as scapegoats for various problems the sovereign state nowadays faces. This is, however, only the first one of the two stories interwoven in Squire's analysis. The whole story of *The Exclusionary Politics of Asylum* is that of the mobile subject, who balances between a politics that seeks to assign her the role of a scapegoat, while simultaneously through her political engagements she articulates a wider philosophical move towards a post-territorial citizenship. The asylum seeker, in Squire's reading, is neither a mere victim nor a culprit, but a potentially transformative figure and “a distinctly political subject that moves within, between and across states and nations” (p. 168).

The book ultimately develops into a compelling argument for a “pluralisation of political space” (p. 182). As her starting point, however, Squire takes Bartleson's (1995) contention of immigration control being definitive of the sovereign state and thus serving to constitute a territorial order in terms of state governance and national belonging (p. 5). The first three (out of four) parts of Squire's analysis develop into a detailed and comprehensive elaboration and analysis of the above contention in the context of the UK. She

carefully and skillfully weaves together political, public, and popular narratives of control with technicalities and operationalizations of migration policies. Squire grounds her analysis in chapter 2 where she develops a discursive approach that bridges methodological divides between what in political studies and international relations are known as the “Copenhagen School” and “Paris School” of critical security studies. This methodological move enables Squire to “consider how linguistic and non-linguistic processes of securitisation come together in exclusionary terms by legitimising the extension of restrictive controls, while limiting the scope for their political contestation” (p. 36).

In chapter 3 titled “Moving to Europe,” Squire performs a historical analysis of the development of the exclusionary tendencies in asylum politics both at the EU level and nationally in the UK. Moving from the 1950s to present, the analysis of various naturalizations and normalizations – the ways restrictions have been introduced, developed, and finally been put beyond political debate – is compact and yet comprehensive enough for the reader to follow Squire's argumentation and the rise of the exclusionary politics. The following chapter “Restricting Contestations,” in turn, develops into a wider examination of public, political, and popular debate by taking up texts produced by political parties and the popular press. The key claim made is that political community – at all levels and across the political spectrum – is constructed in opposition to asylum. Empirical analysis leads Squire to a notion, which would be well worth of further examination also beyond the immediate national context of the book; namely that “securitising moves do not [...] need to be continuous to be of political effect, nor do exceptional politics need to be anything more than sporadic to limit the scope of contestation over more routine restrictions” (p. 72). The discussion to follow shows how this shared, and I might add extremely worrying, consensus on the construction of political community against asylum (seekers) reconstructs the community as socially stable, economically productive and, oddly enough, morally benevolent through various narratives of legitimization (pp. 77–82).

This aspect is examined in Part III (chapters 5 and 6), when Squire takes up the ways in which exclusionary politics of asylum is extended and dispersed through deterrent technologies of “internal” and “external” control. These technical or governmental practices, for example, interceptive techniques such as fingerprinting and ID cards, are elemental in transforming the “undesirable” migrant into a “culpable” and “threatening” subject, who is denied political agency in the receiving society. As a result, a complex legal plethora of statuses, which Roger Zetter (2007) has also called the “fractioning” of the refugee label, is transformed into a less precise, but more easily operational distinction between the “wanted” and the “undesirable” (p. 103). This discursive and linguistic move has severe non-linguistic – concrete – effects for, as Squire remarks, “where exclusionary managerial assumptions regarding the culpability of asylum seekers are entrenched across the political, popular and technical levels, ‘internal’ migration controls thus move in a punitive

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direction” (p. 116). She takes a cue from her interviews with asylum seekers and develops an intriguing counterpart to the official narratives of reception and asylum policies. Squire then points out that this development further shrinks the space for asylum, eroding its institution and ethos, through pre-emptive *refoulement*; in the Nordic countries this is not an unknown direction either as the current debates surrounding asylum both at the political and popular levels tend to focus on possible ways of making them less “tempting” destinations for asylum seekers through various legal restrictions. When these restrictions are further accompanied by various forms of “internal” migration control, as in happening within the sovereign state, it results that a rationality of deterrence is created with which the asylum seeker is moved through “culpability” to a space of abjection. This, suggests Squire, limits severely the person’s means of engaging in solidarity with local community members. (p. 139).

Besides the comprehensive approach and development of the notion of exclusionary politics of asylum, there is still little in Squire’s argument, which has not been said before. Thus far she has left the reader with the notion of the mobile subject made the object – or indeed abject – of sovereign politics with very little space for political engagement. In part IV, however, Squire makes her twist and inserts another layer to the discussion: she places the asylum seeking subject at a central stage. Squire grounds this turn by noting that “the territorial political community is not a pre-given ‘referent object’ with an authority that is incontestable, but rather it is constructed as such through a wide range of practices” (p. 96) and, going further, that the various deterrent technologies “often produce or aggravate the very policy ‘problems’ and societal ‘threats’ that they are designed to resolve” (p. 145). In my opinion, this twist is the most important contribution of the book. Yet, it is the one thing that left me wanting more, not because Squire does not manage to perform a convincing analysis, but because the transformative potential in the “misplaced acts of solidarity” she takes up would merit a book of its own (a task Squire takes on in her later works). This twist is not a complex reframing of the issue, but it is yet a truly demanding one, as it requires one to re-think not only the asylum seeker but also citizenship more widely (chapter 8). This is a move with which political studies have not been too eager to engage, as it requires actively and seriously pondering post-territorial or post-national alternatives for political belonging.

In chapter 7, “Sovereign power, abject spaces, and resistance,” Squire develops her Rancièrean inspired notion of “acts of solidarity,” which she conceptualizes as acts “in which political relations are reconstructed in terms that contest the exclusionary renderings of a (de)territorialised order, which is precariously constituted through the reactive ideological operations of sovereign-bio-power” (p. 159). By taking resistance, rather than sovereign power, as her starting point, Squire examines the ways in which acts of solidarity carry the potential of bringing both various citizens and migrants

together through “misplaced” claiming of rights and obligations, thus exceeding the logic of territoriality. She draws attention to the political and human processes – resistances, struggles, and contestations – that emerge when the political existence of the asylum seeker is subject to erasure (pp. 152–164). By analyzing the politics of the movements No One Is Illegal and No Borders, their capacity to establish relations between citizens and migrants and by paying attention to the concrete and everyday nature of these relations, Squire shows why such resistances are philosophically so compelling and politically so powerful and full of potential.

All in all, Squire’s is an unfortunately timely book; unfortunate, because the amount of people seeking refuge in Europe is rising, and because the political developments concerning asylum seem to be developing into an even more restrictive direction. By carefully developing the notion and exploring the emergence of exclusionary politics of asylum, Squire is able to move beyond dichotomies that often characterize discussions of asylum seekers. This makes Squire’s contribution to the debate also extremely fortunate in its timing. The concept of “acts of solidarity” and its role in envisioning post-territorial citizenship are inputs that should be carefully considered not only academically but also in their potential political impact.

Migration is – and most likely will remain – a debated topic across Europe and in the Nordic countries. It remains to be seen how these discussions together with various restrictive measures and “punitive” or “deterrent” technologies will affect the mobile subject’s space for agency and the terms of contesting the working of exclusionary politics and restrictive controls on one’s body. In the public debate questions of citizenship and belonging, of the direction Europe should (not) develop and of those who can be *äccömmöädätéd’ (ärind’ w hö’ is’ bëyönd’ äccömmöädätion)* in the *’pölli-fical community* abound. Squire’s book is a good point of departure for debating issues of asylum, and almost necessary reading for practitioners in the field of asylum. An understanding of how various techniques, discourses, and policies intertwine and feed into one another is necessary in order to not close down opportunities for a more open and productive debate surrounding the issue of asylum – and not losing sight of the mobile subject herself and the fact that “political dialogue [...] can be opened up through solidaristic engagements *anywhere* and *anytime*” (p. 183).

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