

BOOK REVIEWS

Guild, Elspeth & Mantu, Sandra (eds.) (2011) *Constructing and Imagining Labour Migration: Perspectives of Control from Five Continents*, Farnham: Ashgate. 311 pp.

This timely text looks into migration comparatively across world regions from the perspective of control. It does so by shifting the attention from national concerns to the global politics of labour migration. The approach is engaging, adopting something of a postmodern take on how free movement is restricted in different regional contexts around the world. The writers talk about 'narratives of control', and some (nation) states being more successful than others in presenting an image that labour migration can be 'managed'. The premise of the book suggests that the writers advocate for more transparency to labour migration policy rhetoric.

The book is divided into three sections, each of which contains chapters describing labour migration policies, programmes and 'realities' in different world regions. Part I looks into labour migration regimes with 'weak control claims'. It is argued that the states' presumed absence in controlling labour migration obscures its presence, resulting in exploitation and exclusion of migrants from social security in the receiving states.

Malaysia provides a case in point, as discussed by Blanca Garcés-Masareñas. Although it has promoted the necessity of migrant workers to ease labour shortages in critical sectors during

times of high demand, the temporality of foreign labour at the same time pushes migrant workers into illegality. The privatisation and commercialisation of recruitment has a part to play in the process. In the case of another Asian state, Taiwan, Melody Chia-Wen Lu likens control mechanisms to Michel Foucault's biopower: whilst international businessmen have considerable freedom to enter the country, those defined as 'high-risk' migrants are subjected to 'disciplines of body and sexuality' in the form of physical and psychological evaluations.

Part II features Canada, Australia, Japan and the European Union Member States where control claims are stronger. These states make substantial investments in their labour market policies and thereby manage to project images of control. The dominant narratives include that of the highly skilled 'super-migrant' meeting the needs of the market and moving effortlessly across borders in no need of integration. For Guild and Mantu, the politization of migration control is said to be evident in all cases. Migrants are warmly welcomed as guests who, however, should not overstay their welcome. The seemingly fair points based models, epitomizing 'skills', are critiqued as encompassing gender, racialized and class exclusions. Some ethnic groups are less desirable than others within such systems. This issue appears as *the* paradox of migration: labour migration is needed in the globalizing world whilst the imagery of the nation-state persists.

Chapter 8, by James Jupp, on Australian labour migration usefully takes on a historical perspective to describe how policies develop over time against particular regional backdrop. The approach makes sense also because the country's history has been shaped by the long-lasting global connections between the Commonwealth countries. The author argues that Australian government is able to 'turn the migration flows on and off' as it wishes, which certainly does not apply very easily to other world regions.

Part III presents cases where the control claims are rather ambivalent. It looks into situations where state authorities' claims about controlling labour migration are limited by regional agreements. This is certainly the case with the European Union. Two chapters are devoted to the examination of ambivalences between the so-called free movement and nationality/integration dynamics in the region. Guild and Mantu suggest that despite the fear-mongering security rhetoric, the EU experience as a de-securitization project proves otherwise. They argue that abolishing labour market controls does not inevitably result in significant movement, a reduction of social solidarity, nor a rise in xenophobia.

Chapter 13 by Lilia Ormonbekova presents a very interesting analysis of migration control policies in Central Asian states where the regional concerns are rather new and different from the 'old problems' in the West. Central Asia comprises five countries Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Poor economic situation in the region encourages labour migration. However, in Uzbekistan, for example, the question is not so much about controlling immigration but rather about controlling Uzbek citizens hoping to exit the country.

In the last chapter, Didier Bigo discusses current ambivalences within the European Union context. The Treaty on the Single European Act 1992 set out to make Europe a common market. The territory of the European Union became an entity where there was to be a free movement of services and people. Yet such 'free movement' is rather exclusive. The borders are policed, which, for Bigo creates more problems in itself: migration related crime becomes professionalized and the policy costs the tax-payer more than any alternative approaches. Technological regimes to do with identity 'construction' encourage the very violence and insecurity they intend to combat. The police driven security rhetoric blames 'foreigners' for all the society's ills whereas it is the very same societies that generated the 'problem' in the first place.

Most chapters provide descriptive overviews of policies and their effects in the respective regions. However, a number of chapters also bring to life the experiences of certain peoples subjected to exclusive practices. Chapter 2 by Carolina Moulin Aguiar for instance, looks into 'zoning' practices on Bolivian-Brazilian borders, and how micro-politics of exclusion work towards assimilating the Bolivians into Brazilian life. The first and especially the last chapter of the book come across as the most contentious. Chapter one by Laura Griffin presents a thought-provoking case study of illegal, invisible domestic workers in South Africa. Didier Bigo outright condemns

'the security-driven rhetoric justifying coercive and ostracizing practices against foreigners' in Europe.

The book will be of interest to those involved in global migration debates, policy analysts and researchers alike. Applying Michel Foucault's conceptualisations of regulatory and disciplinary power at places, the case analyses in the book operate both on levels of discourses and practices, discussing the 'grand narratives' of migration particular to each region. Within the 'regimes of truth' presented there is little room for rights-based migration in the face of economic demands, it seems. The theorization in itself is nothing new, neither is the 'human interest' promoted between the lines; however the idea of presenting 'policy narratives' is appealing, particularly when compared on a global level.

Sirkka Komulainen*

PhD, Senior Researcher

Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland

Jacobsen, Knut A. and Myrvold, Kristina (eds.) (2011) *Sikhs in Europe: Migration, Identities and Representations*, Aldershot: Ashgate. 346 pp.

This is the first volume of a productive network of scholars working on Sikhs in Europe, convened by Kristina Myrvold and Laura Hirvi and promising more publications in future. The volume seeks to document and analyze the presence of Sikhs in Europe, opening the lens beyond the well-established literature on Sikhs in the United Kingdom to the new and growing populations in mainland Europe. The result is a volume of interest not only to scholars of migration, religion and South Asia, but also to European Sikhs – who to my experience have a keen interest in their own history and heritage. As a clear example of this popular interest, the conference at which the chapters of this volume were first presented was memorably well-attended by members of nearby Sikh *gurdwara* in Sweden and Denmark, who contributed vocally to the scholarly commentary that was being presented about them.

In the chapter on Sikhs in Ireland, Glenn Jordan and Satwinder Singh pose an important question for the volume when they state that 'ours was not a study of Sikhism, but of Sikhs – immigrants and their descendants – in the diaspora' (p.306). This tension runs through the volume, as some of the chapters – particularly those on the migration processes resulting in the new Sikh populations in mainland Europe – made me wonder whether the analytical privileging of religious identity might have been helped by a broader approach taking into view the chaotic and plural nature of the subjects, as Punjabi and Indian in addition to Sikh, and connected to a global diaspora rooted in colonial military and labour migrations. Other chapters included sections on *gurdwara* as sites for religious place-making and community-building, and more explicitly engaged with Sikhism as an internally complex religious tradition replete with caste and sectarian, gender and generational differences, with

* E-mail: sirkka.komulainen@utu.fi

non-Punjabi converts as well as adherents with differing levels of religiosity and allegiance.

The volume is organized in broadly geographic terms, divided into sections on Sikhs in Northern and Eastern Europe, Southern Europe, and finally the UK and Ireland, which warrants its own extended section. The first two sections make an important contribution to the study of migration. To a field dominated until recently by economic push-and-pull explanations, the story related by Knut A. Jacobsen, of Tarlochan Singh Badyal and T. Rampuri, who bicycled all the way from Punjab to Norway in 1973 out of a sense of wanderlust, adventure, friendship and male camaraderie, should provide a major reality check and prompt us to think more imaginatively about the irrational forces that drive people to travel thousands of miles and embed themselves in a new and strange place. Kristina Myrvold's chapter on Sweden and Zbigniew Igielski's chapter on Poland provide further examples of this, as many of their pioneer male interlocutors admitted to settling in these countries as a result of having fallen in love with Swedish or Polish women.

This brings us to a second important intervention of the volume, which is the unsettling of the distinction between countries of transit and countries of settlement. In many of the chapters on Sikhs in mainland Europe, migrants' initial destination was the UK or North America, but they ended up settling in mainland Europe instead – as a result of getting stuck on one of the irregular migration routes that track through Central Asia and Eastern Europe to the West, deciding en route that this place seemed to be as good as any other, encountering changing regimes of immigration and asylum and discrepancies between countries. The romantic interactions with Europeans, documented in many of the chapters, are suggestive of intriguing instances of what Nava (2007) has elsewhere called 'visceral cosmopolitanism'. More edgy interactions are described with non-European nationals in the human smuggling networks as in the immigrant enclaves of cities like Paris and Athens, as described evocatively in the chapters by Christine Moliner and Nicos Papageorgiou. On both counts, the volume is worth reading against Ali Nobil Ahmad's (2011) study of Pakistani migration in Europe, which extends these discussions.

Another strong contribution of the volume is its emphasis on caste distinctions among Sikhs. Barbara Bertolani, Federica Ferraris and Fabio Perocco on Italy, and Christine Moliner on France provide very important evidence on the different caste structure of the mainland European Sikh populations from the UK. In mainland Europe there seems to be a relatively lesser presence of the Jat landholding castes who have historically dominated in emigration from Indian Punjab, and a greater representation of castes such as the Lohanas and Dalits. Moliner argues that this pattern is not coincidental, but reflects how individual migrants' luck and capacity to transit through Europe is embedded in caste networks with different levels of social and economic capitals. Kathryn Lum's chapter on the politics of the Ravidasia community in Spain is a very important work, teasing out the ways in which caste discrimination among Punjabis in Barcelona

has led to the establishment of different *gurdwara* and moreover, to the increasing symbolic and ritual separation of the Ravidasia – a religious tradition adhered to primarily by Dalits, described elsewhere as 'heterodox', but 'within the Sikh universe' – from the dominant Jat Sikhs. This shift has taken new heights following the fatal shooting, by a Jat Sikh militant, of one of the Ravidasia movement's primary spiritual leaders in Vienna in 2009. Opinderjit Kaur Takhar explores similar caste fractures and differentiation in her chapter on Valmikis, Ravidasia and Namdharis in the UK, who also stand in a blurry but critical zone between Hinduism and Sikhism.

Understandably, the section on the UK most successfully brings out the cultural negotiations and inter-generational change taking place among European Sikhs. Eleanor Nesbitt provides an estimable overview of numerous dimensions of Sikh diversity in the UK, but concludes with the intriguing possibility of a distinct youth articulation of Sikhism, in the context of greater English language fluency and emphasis on external bodily appearance. Jasjit Singh's chapter on the Sikh youth scene extends this point, suggesting moreover that we may need to re-think how we understand inter-generational transmission, as young Sikhs appear to be organizing for the transmission of religion on their own terms and semi-independently from the institutions established by their parents. Followers of Sikh politics will note, however, that the youth organizations are plagued by a familiarly stubborn factional politics.

The role of British Sikh youth organizations in galvanizing youth across mainland Europe is mentioned in the chapters on Denmark, Sweden, Italy, France and Greece, but not drawn out very clearly. This misses the opportunity to develop a critical contribution to the transnationalism literature – which, with its bifocal goggles, privileges the relationships between sending and receiving countries at the cost of overlooking these kinds of complicated intra-diasporic connections. This is developed more in other new studies of migrant transnationalism in Europe, for example Pitkänen et al. (2012).

Another theme that could have been brought out more comprehensively is the ways in which the experiences of European Sikhs are shaped by the particular contexts of different European polities, particularly with respect to policies towards religious pluralism and multiculturalism, which vary significantly between states. This is detailed in some chapters but not in others, and not drawn out in the introduction. It seems to me that the lesser political strength of Sikhs in many of the mainland European countries, documented in the volume, is reflected in representations of Sikhism and Sikhs as tolerant, quietist, and hard-working, which might be contrasted with the more strident claims for recognition and sometimes militant politics of Sikhs in the UK. This theme is developed more clearly in Gallo and Falzon (2013). Many of the chapters suggest that Sikhs experiences across Europe have been marked by the demonizing of Islam post 9/11, which has led Sikhs to project an identity as 'good migrants' and distinguish themselves from Muslims through a politics of 'mistaken identity'. The reactionary politics of this move, and the ways in which it tacitly endorses the demonizing of Muslims

is not brought out, but this has been strongly critiqued by Jasbir Puar (2007).

These points aside, this volume is exciting and bodes well for the next outputs of the Sikhs in Europe network, such as *Sikhs Across Borders* (Jacobsen and Myrvold 2012), and an anticipated focus of future work on inter-generational change and European Sikh youth.

Kaveri Qureshi*

Research Fellow

Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Oxford University

References

- Ahmad AN. (2011) *Masculinity, Sexuality and Illegal Migration: Human Smuggling from Pakistan to Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Gallo, E. and Falzon MA. (eds.) (2013) *South Asian Migration and Religion in a European Context*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Jacobsen KA. and Myrvold K. (eds.) (2012) *Sikhs Across Borders: Transnational Practices of European Sikhs*, London: Continuum Books.
- Nava M. (2007) *Visceral Cosmopolitanism: Gender, Culture and the Normalisation of Difference*, Oxford: Berg.
- Pitkänen PA. İçduygu and Sert D. (eds.) (2012) *Migration and Transformation: Multi-Level Analysis of Migrant Transnationalism*, Dordrecht: Springer.
- Puar J. (2007) *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Koser, Khalid & Martin, Susan (eds.) (2011) *The Migration-Displacement Nexus: Patterns, Processes, and Policies*, New York: Berghahn Books. 287 pp.

Migration studies have coined various analytical and practical 'nexuses' between migration and proximate issues, such as security, development and asylum. This edited book of fourteen chapters intends to build on a new one – the migration-displacement nexus – although it comes clear from the beginning that the interconnected nature of the issues is not necessarily novel in itself. Authors represent several fields and professions, all engaged somehow with forced migration and refugees. The central theme of the book concentrates on displacement due to multiple factors, such as inter- and intra-state conflict, ethnic rivalries, poverty, environmental problems, labour and economy. In other words, it is human mobility taking place often in imbalanced and conflict-ridden areas and being more or less 'forced'. While there may be other parallel motives as well, the involuntary component is somehow crucial. Making clear distinctions between 'voluntary' and 'forced' (and thus 'economic' and 'political') is extremely difficult and indeed out of touch with realities. Moreover, displacement often occurs inside a particular state or across a border to a neighbouring state. The starting point

of the book is thus noticeably different from a host of immigration studies that focus on the mobility towards the North. They often give a brief reference to the fact that migration mostly occurs in the global South, but then abandon the issue. This posture is analogous with the asymmetries in institutional policy settings and legal corpus concerning (human) rights of displaced persons, much reflected in the book (see especially Robert Muggah's chapter).

The book starts with three chapters, which focus on conceptual and category issues that are specifically relevant in relation to the problem of displacement, migration within Southern states and the problematic but somehow inescapable separation between forced and voluntary migration. Following the introductory chapter by Khalid Koser and Susan Martin, Oliver Bakewell and Robert Muggah set the basis for conceptual and theoretical matters. The analytical endeavour is challenging. On the one hand, a unitary framework is desperately needed. On the other, the issue seems so complex and fragmentary that it remains unclear if it is possible to formulate such. Nevertheless, the dominance of immigration theories concerning the mobility of people to the Northern hemisphere leaves this significant issue of local and regional displacement in obscurity. Unfortunately, the politico-normative character of the issue is merely randomly touched in the book in general, as the central concern is on responding to unsatisfactory categories of research and policies.

Other chapters of the book take more or less empirical stance towards the issue. They deal with displacement and migration in a host of states, such as Sri Lanka, Sudan, Cote d'Ivoire, Colombia, Iraq, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, China, Zimbabwe and Lebanon. On the one hand, there are chapters, which are practical, on-the-ground case studies based on subjective methodologies and informative narratives of the displaced persons themselves. These employ more or less local and situated knowledge. Further, there are chapters which focus on a particular state but still construct a wider perspective. For example, Philip Marfleet's excellent chapter builds a view of displacement in Iraq connecting historical, political, cultural and economic elements. Likewise, Khalid Koser's contribution concerning the still ongoing plight of Afghan people is illustrative of the challenging complexity of the issue.

Moreover, in addition to the case studies on particular states, there are chapters, which focus on a specific form of displacement. The chapter by Susan Martin and Amber Callaway on internal trafficking should touch anyone: the sheer numbers of people who are trafficked internally are enormous compared to internationally trafficked who nevertheless deserve most if not all political and moral efforts of Western and Northern institutions and legal frameworks. As Martin and Callaway (p. 235) aptly phrase, 'internal trafficking is to transnational trafficking what internal displacement is to refugee movements.' This, in my opinion, is the message of the book at large. The asymmetries between different levels, realms, functions and responses are huge. On the other hand, unfortunately, this is perfectly understandable, because the

* Email: kaveri.queshi@anthro.ox.ac.uk

displacement and internally displaced persons (IDPs) presented in the book, are more or less 'sovereign issues'. As they take place within the confines of a particular state, there are rare possibilities to respond from the outside, except perhaps with the help of non-governmental organisations and other humanitarian and assistance networks. Actually, policy responses by NGOs and other agencies is a focal concern of the book in general. Nevertheless, this major handicap of policy problematique is in itself a representative case of the issue. The concluding chapter by Alexander Betts on 'global migration governance' is elucidative indeed in this respect: the global 'humanitarian architecture' has few means to confront the issue of IDPs. On the contrary, the proliferation of various governance mechanisms makes it easier for Western states to evade even their obligations concerning *international* migration.

In this respect, the concept of the displacement-migration nexus is somehow artificial. On the one hand, it makes intuitive sense that there is such. Displacement is not just a representative element of underdevelopment, conflicts, poverty and deprivation, it is constituted by them. The displaced persons in various regions of the world that are covered in the book, directly through narratives or more generally within the structures, are very much alike: vulnerable, poor, mobile, insecure, uncertain and discriminated. Furthermore, in the extreme, the human motivation is shared as well: to find shelter. Is this not common sense? The differences between the situations are derived from specific cases – if the displacement occurs because of external intervention, protracted civil war or climate change, for instance. The insistence of finding a uniform and consistent framework to fit all the aspects is doomed to fail. Even if the categories and conceptions were stable and convergent, there would be external elements that cannot be taken into account. Furthermore, the substance of the sovereignty component varies – what commonalities else than the human aspect of the displaced can we find between Zimbabwean, Chinese and Iraqi cases for example?

This lack of cohesion, in my opinion, is well reflected in the book as a *whole*: there is no wider perspective – except the one already mentioned above, that the position of IDPs and migration in the developing world is underrated as a subject. Having said this, I suppose that the insistence of 'displacement as a migration issue' is formulated because the cumulated value of (im-)migration theories and frameworks and the overall position of migration policy in general are envisioned to be indispensable as such. Displacement in the South needs to be framed as a migration issue to give it attention it deserves. In the light of the illustrations of the book, the issue of displacement is extremely relevant and the patterns and processes are described in detail. Still, I doubt, both analytically and in relation to policy responses, if it is fruitful to reason this within the frame of migration and more scrupulous categories, whose concrete surplus value remains unclear in the end. What seems to matter most is situated knowledge of particular places and times. This is also a point to make from the policy perspective. On the other hand, the

continuous insistence that it is so difficult to distinguish IDPs and other categories relevant in the book makes one to think why they have to be distinguished if they all more or less are vulnerable in the same way. If this is for the sake of policy responses of assistance agencies, what does it tell about them in the first place? Formal and bureaucratic words promise no deeds, though.

The strengths of the book are apparent as well. Many chapters shed light on important matters and clarify previously ignored aspects of displacement. Some of them also offer historical views of these highly cumulated problems. Moreover, there are notable reflections on various methodologies which can be used in ethnographic studies and interviewing vulnerable persons. Finally, the book clearly raises awareness of the need to balance the North-centric focus of both theory and policies. Unfortunately, even if there were political will and capacity in Western/Northern states to build institutions to combat displacement in the South, there would be huge barriers to make them work in practice. Anybody who is familiar with the issue of intervention and state-building for example, knows this remarkably well. The issue is highly political: even if we had the most useful knowledge and the state-of-the-art categories, they would be of little help. But still, the issue is not something remote, as the interconnected nature of the global world, especially through economic structures, marries distant complexities with our everyday lives. As Bakewell (p. 18) reminds, 'many of the conflicts which drive the movement of refugees and IDPs are intimately connected with the same global capital interests that are also driving labour migration around the world.' In addition to the humanitarian point of view, it should concern us also more instrumentally. Academic pessimism is warranted, although we should not exclude the possibility of improvement.

Riikka Purra*

PhD student in International Relations

Department of Political Science and Contemporary History

University of Turku

Lutz, Helma (2011) *The New Maids. Transnational Women and the Care Economy*, London: Zed Books. 241 pp.

A Filipina maid working as a nanny in a US family is an emblematic figure of a female migrant that for long has embodied the idea of globalised care, or global care chains (Hochschild 2000). Yet, global care chains are much more diversified than is entailed in this original concept. Care is globally commodified not only in the Americas, but all around the world, in different forms – not only as child but also as elderly care – and including professional care migration. Until quite recently, however, there was relatively little academic research available – at least in English – on the phenomenon in the Central and Northern European contexts (Lutz 2008; Isaksen 2010 being important exceptions). Helma Lutz' new book *The New*

* E-mail: riikka.purra@utu.fi

Maids. Transnational Women and the Care Economy offers then a welcomed addition to the existing research literature.

The New Maids explores the experiences of migrant domestic and care workers in three different German cities: Münster, Berlin and Hamburg. As the title of the book suggests, the book approaches the question of private domestic service in the historical continuum and aims 'to trace both continuities *and* changes in domestic/care work in the twenty-first century' (p. 2). In order to explore what is *new* in the employment of domestic workers in the global era, the book sets to answer the following questions: 1) how does domestic/care work change when it is commodified? 2) Does the employment of domestic workers change the existing gender orders in private households? 3) What are consequences to the families and gender relationships of the transnational maids?

In order to answer these questions, the book draws on extensive qualitative research data including 73 interviews with 27 migrant workers (interviewed more than on one occasion) and 19 employers. It is less common to find the employers' perspective included in the research on the subject, and this made *The New Maids* a much richer read. Also, approaching the different themes through individual case studies worked very well and gave a convincing and tangible outlook on the migrant workers' experiences. All but one of the interviewed migrant workers were women. The researchers sought to interview also male domestic workers, but only managed to interview one, a Polish domestic worker named Adam Pavel. Pavel's case was used mainly in the first chapter, which explored the everyday domestic practices and the question whether his gender affected his experiences was not analysed. This is a shame, as there is now slowly growing research literature on men's involvement in the global domestic and care labour markets (see e.g. Näre 2010; Kilkey 2010; Sarti & Scrinzi 2010) and it would have been interesting to read how Lutz' findings resonate with this literature.

Theoretically, *The New Maids* draws mainly on the ethnomethodologically informed notions of 'doing gender' and 'doing ethnicity'. The latter is understood as the 'operative method of "boundary work" (Lan 2003) through which social positioning is negotiated between employers and employees' (p. 29). Although intersectional analysis is said to inform the study (p.30), other important differences based on social class or on foreignness/migrant-related vulnerability are not fully explored. In fact, based on the empirical evidence explored especially in the last chapter 'being illegal' and revealed also in the title of the conclusion 'migrant women in the globalization trap?', it seemed that migrant-related vulnerability was often more important than ethnicity as a basis of inequalities. Moreover, the doing ethnicity was understood as language difference, which overlooks other aspects of cultural belonging. Concentrating on ethnicity overshadowed other important forms of social stratification commonly found in the existing research literature on migrant domestic work: namely class difference. In the existing research literature, employing domestic workers is often perceived as a means to reproduce a certain upper-class habitus. *The New Maids* puts forward quite a

different idea. According to Lutz, old class-based hierarchical ways of treating maids conflict with modern notions of equality, which is why class differences are effectively replaced by ethnic difference. I am not fully convinced about this argument. Outsourcing domestic work is certainly not available to all social strata, and going through the German employers' profiles revealed that they were all middle-class professionals.

So did the book achieve to answer the research tasks it set out to do? I would say, yes and no. The first research question is tackled in chapter 4 on domestic work. The chapter asks whether domestic work is a job like any other, and answers that it is not. Domestic work is not a 'perfectly normal job' because it takes place in the private sphere out of sight from workplace controls; it demands that the worker adopts the employer's personal habitus; and it remains work which is mostly performed without pay by women and can be converted from the paid to the unpaid form. This does not fully answer the research question on how does domestic and care work *change* when it becomes commodified? In fact, the conclusion that domestic work could be easily converted back to unpaid work could be interpreted also as indicative that the actual work practices would not change in paid or unpaid work.

I found the second research question regarding the potential changes in gender orders through outsourcing care more interesting. According to Lutz' study, the employment of migrant workers did not change existing gender orders in the employers' households. The evidence suggests that the conventional ways of doing gender within families persist and can be in some cases even strengthened by the employment of domestic workers. There is a particularly fascinating case of Tamara Jagellowsk, a Ukrainian nanny who has been working in the family of a single mother, Ursula Pelz for over nine years and has acquired a strong position in the family, as a 'substitute' or 'second mother' (p. 103). This 'new' arrangement of outsourcing of childcare to a nanny has in fact reproduced a classic marriage pattern in which Ursula Pelz has taken the role of the breadwinner and Tamara Jagellowsk the role of the care taker. Both depend on each others' labour, Tamara on Ursula economically, whilst Ursula depends on Tamara emotionally. The couple has even institutionalized this 'hybrid relationship' through same-sex civil partnership in order to regularise Tamara Jagellowsk's residence in Germany. Lutz concludes that rather than an alternative family form, this partnership is 'business as usual' with a new partner arrangement. However, according to the empirical discussion Jagellowsk is ashamed of the arrangement and both women desire an independent future. Hence, living in a same-sex partnership for legalization purposes is clearly an uncomfortable solution for the heterosexual women, which makes it rather unusual business – regardless of the traditional gendered division of labour.

The theme of doing gender is also explored in the third empirical chapter on transnational motherhood. Although women became the main breadwinners in their families, women's migration did not alter the gendered division of care work in the home countries. Men

1 All the names of the informants are pseudonyms.

did not take a stronger role as carers for their children, but in the mother's absence care work was allocated to other female relatives. Hence, the modes of 'doing gender' in the home countries persisted regardless of women's migration. Moreover, Lutz' study is in line with other existing research that shows how women's transnational mobility is linked with a crisis in masculinity in the home countries. However, these links were not properly explored in the book.

Finally, there is a fourth empirical chapter on the migrant employees' experiences of being illegal in Germany, a question which is not reflected in the initial research tasks. Yet, the question of double irregularity regarding the labour contract (there were no regular work contracts within the interviewee sample) and illegality of the residency status (it seemed that the most achievable way to regularize one's stay in Germany permanently was through marriage) intertwined in interesting and important ways. Yet again, I would have hoped linking these findings on other existing European research, not only German.

All and all I enjoyed this book immensely. It opened doors to the everyday practices of domestic labour in Germany and to the multiple vulnerabilities of the migrant employees. The publisher Zed Books, which is a known critical publisher and home for many feminist authors, praises the book as setting a new standard for feminist methodology and in many ways *The New Maids* did indeed manage to paint a very convincing picture of the phenomenon. However, my reading experience was shadowed by two details in the book. The narrative style changes in the third chapter on methodology, which is written using 'we'. The reader wonders who are these 'we' until half way through the chapter, in an endnote, it is revealed that the majority of the interviews were collected by the project's research associate Suzanne Schwalgin and other research assistants. In fact, the German version of the book mentions Schwalgin as a collaborative author, but her name does not appear in the cover of the English version. Secondly, many of the interesting findings of the study, such as the multifaceted nature of the employer-employee relationship, have been revealed by other research. The book would have greatly benefited had this existing research been incorporated more closely into the analysis. Now, a reader who is unfamiliar with the vast research on the subject might wonder whether the German case is an exceptional case. It is not: the growing international research confirms that there are astonishing similarities on the global divisions of care labour across very different geographical contexts.

Lena Näre

Postdoctoral researcher,

Department of Social Research, University of Helsinki

References

- Hochschild, AR 2000, 'Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value' in *On the Edge. Living with Global Capitalism*, eds. W Hutton & A Giddens, Jonathan Cape, London pp. 130–146.
- Isaksen, LW (ed.) 2010, *Global Care Work. Gender and Migration in Nordic Societies*. Nordic Academic Press, Lund.
- Kilkey, M 2010, 'Men and Domestic Labour: A Missing Link in the Global Care Chain', *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 126–149, DOI: 10.1177/1097184X10382884.
- Lan, P-C 2003 'Maid or Madam? Filipina migrant workers and the continuity of domestic labor', *Gender & Society*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 187–208. DOI: 10.1177/0891243202250730.
- Lutz, H (ed.) 2008 *Migration and Domestic Work. A European Perspective on a Global Theme*. Ashgate, Aldershot.
- Näre, L 2010 'Sri Lankan Men as Cleaners and Carers – Negotiating Masculinity in Naples', *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 65–86, DOI: 10.1177/1097184X10382881.
- Sarti, R & Scrinzi, F 2010 'Introduction to the Special Issue: Men in a Woman's Job, Male Domestic Workers, International Migration and the Globalization of Care', *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 4–15, DOI: 10.1177/1097184X10382878.
- Lutz Helma, Vivar Maria.T.H, and Supik Linda (eds.) (2011) *Framing Intersectionality, Debates on a Multi-faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, Farnham: Ashgate, 241pp.**

The book is based on conference proceedings from the conference 'Celebrating Intersectionality? Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies'. The title aptly captures the status-quo of the debate around the term intersectionality. Initially coined by Kimberlé W. Crenshaw 20 years ago as a juridical and conceptual tool, the term 'intersectionality' has been deployed not only within feminist interventions but also across disciplinary fields. Yet, along its traveling trajectory and in its various forms of application, intersectionality has also drawn critical attention. For example, as Helma Lutz, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar and Linda Supik point out in the introductory chapter, conceptual translation of 'intersectionality' is needed due to the the economic, political, linguistic and cultural multitudes and divisions between Europe and America and among European countries. Furthermore, they are concerned that the concept's initial political impulse is lost in translation, due to the strict division between canonical feminist theory and activism in the European debate. With these concerns in mind, the editors arrange the volume in three sections, to account for the political and theoretical genealogy of intersectionality, as well as to address a plethora of engagements from cross-disciplinary scholarship, all the while not losing sight of its limitations and challenges.

Part one *Intersectionality's Transatlantic Travels: Geographies of the Debate* starts with a shortened version of Kimberlé Crenshaw's text 'Demarginalising the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Anti-discrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Anti-racist Politics', originally published in 1989. Crenshaw introduces the concept 'intersectionality' to problematize

* E-mail: lena.nare@helsinki.fi

the tendency of treating race and gender as mutually exclusive categories. According to her, such a single-axis framework obscures and distorts the multi-dimensionality of black women's experience. As Crenshaw writes, 'in race discrimination cases, discrimination tends to be viewed in terms of sex- or class- privileged blacks; in sex discrimination cases, the focus is on race- and class- privileged women' (p.26) Such a one-dimensional approach perpetuates the marginalization of black women who are multiply burdened, because their claims cannot be accounted for in the one-dimension approach of isolating experience of racism and sexism. From a different angle, drawing on insights from sociology of science, Kathy Davis probes into the conceptual success of 'intersectionality'. Affirmative of its inherent vagueness and ambiguity, Davis maintains that 'intersectionality' is a 'good feminist theory' insofar as it generates feminist imaginations and critical interventions. In the chapter that follows, Myra Marx Ferree takes issue with limitations of intersectional framing across geo-political contexts. Illuminating the difference between European and American institutionalized right discourse, Ferree hints at the significance of paying heed to historical struggles of social inequalities at levels of nationhood, state and institutions.

Part two *Emerging Fields in Intersectionality, Masculinity, Heteronormativity and Transnationality* brings into focus emerging directions and future prospects of intersectional research, all the while sounding out its limitations and possibilities. This section starts with Mechthild Bereswill and Anke Neuber's investigation of the dynamics of marginalized masculinity. Drawing on their empirical studies on young men sentenced to prison in the late 1990s in East and West Germany, Bereswill and Neuber discuss the ways in which new axes of social inequalities such as ethnicity interact with changes in gender relations. For Bereswill and Neuber, concepts of 'intersectionality' and hegemonic masculinity are limited in addressing the complexity of social relations. With respect to marginalized masculinity, Bereswill and Neuber underline the primacy of 'principles of social structure' such as masculine domination, and advocate attentiveness to contradictory interaction of societal dynamics (structure) and subjective dynamics (agency). In the following chapter, Jeff Hearn explores the shifting connections of neglected intersectional categories and broaches the interrelation between categories such as aging disability, lived embodiment, virtuality and transnationality. Relating to Hearn's discussion, but with a focus on media representation, Dubraka Zarkov shows how an intersectional perspective can be applied to analyze contrasting media exposures and invisibilities of sexually violated male bodies.

The question of (in)visibility, and its relation to media, is also taken up in Kira Kosnick's study on the intersection of ethnic and sexual precarity. In reading media representation in plays and films, Kosnick explores the intersectional working of anti-immigration racism and homophobia that informs different modes of (in)visibilities. For example, Kosnick reads the play *Jenseits – Bist du schwul oder bist du Türke?*. It is based on narrative accounts of gay men

of Turkish or Kurdish descent regarding their encounter with various forms of homophobia and racism in Germany. Drawing on the story of Ercan, whose migration to Germany from Turkey conditions and makes visible his liberated gay subjectivity, Kosnick casts into light the imbricated working of dominant and normative discourses on race, sexuality and religion in Germany. Such an intersectional discursive mobilization is evident in the tight coupling of Turkey with premodern homophobic repression, in contrast to the association of Germany with Western liberal values. For Kosnick, the heightened discursive visibility like that of Ercan's, conforms to rather than challenges Western representations of the Oriental and the post-colonial 'other', thus reinforcing Islamophobia and ethnicised othering at cultural, political, and institutional levels. Proposing queering migration studies, Kosnick alerts to the underlying heteronormative and gendered assumptions in dominant studies on globalisation, migration and transnationalisation.

In the last chapter of this section, Ann Phoenix employs intersectionality as an epistemological and ontological tool to account for the transnational family experiences of adults who grew up in ethnically and visibly different family households. Phoenix notes the productivity of psychosocial intersectional approach in analyzing narrative accounts laden with emotions. Understood as the making of temporal linkages of past present and future, Phoenix suggests that narrative analyses with an intersectional psychosocial approach is sufficient in grappling with the negotiation of identity and struggles over power relations.

Part Three, *Advancing Intersectionality: Potentials, Limits and Critical Queries*, continues the critical and reflexive discussion. While endorsing its contribution to sociological stratification theory, Niral Yuval-Davis suggests that intersectional methodology needs both intercategory and intracategory comparisons, entailing transversal and cross geo-political dialogues. Whereas intercategory analysis focuses on the interactions of different social categories, such as race, gender and class, intracategory analysis calls into question the meaning and boundaries of categories themselves. The issue of situated experience, as manifested in somatic interactions, is discussed in Paula-Irene Villa's chapter. Using the embodied practice of Argentinian tango as an example, Villa cautions against certain reductional risk that intersectionality runs. Villa argues that somatic experiences always exceed the mere incorporation of defined social categories. While not negating the usefulness of intersectionality at macro level, Villa is skeptical about the often tamed categorizations. She asserts that at the praxeological level, an intersectional analysis must be rooted in social actors' sense making of their embodied practices situated in specific social settings.

In the following chapter, Niina Lykke traces the genealogy of intersectionality and advocates an intra-active approach, in which the intersections of categories such as gender, race and ethnicity co-produce and mutually transform each other. Part of Lykke's concern is the black-box effect in popular uptake of this concept. In

other words, the evocation of intersectionality not only conveniently stands for the author's political commitments, but also assists the limitless and indifferent incorporation of multiple categories. As such, it runs the risk of decontextualising the interrelation of categorizations at multiple levels. Two counter-strategies are ruminated in face of the black-box effect. One possibility is to limit intersectional analysis to the classic gender-class-race triad. Yet, sceptical of its accountability, Lykke opts for an intra-active approach that makes use of the contingent and messy categorical intra-actions. Simply put, one should always ask the other question. For example, a phenomenon that is analyzed with the gender-race-class triad can be subjected to a gender-sexuality-disability lens.

In the postscript, Kimberlé Crenshaw takes issue with the interpretation (or the lack thereof) of the concept 'intersectionality'. As a reflection of the debates staged in the conference, Crenshaw lays bare discernible lines of disputation—particularism/universalism, personal narrative/grand theory, identity based/structural, static/dynamic, to name but a few. Against both a standardizing move towards a grand theory and a reductionist analytical uptake, Crenshaw takes the position that intersectionality is a heuristic and hermeneutic tool, putting accents on its deployment. As she writes, 'as the debate continues about what kind of theory intersectionality is, I gravitate towards thinking about intersectionality in relation to women ... for whom even a minimalist approach to intersectional thinking in shaping the interventions that ultimately failed them might have made a difference in their lives' (p.232).

This volume may well serve as a manifestation of the critical theoretical engagements that intersectionality compels. There are both discernible similarities and prominent disagreements in these author's dialogues, which are in my opinion precisely what Kathy Davis sees as the working of a good feminist theory. As such, this volume surely puts another mark on its traveling trajectory, and makes ripple on the butterfly chain of feminist politics of transformation.

Liu Xin

Ph.D fellow at Women's Studies/Department of Social Sciences

Abo Akademi University

Moodley, Roy (2011) *Outside The Sentence: Readings in Critical Multicultural Counselling & Psychotherapy*, Toronto: CDCP (Centre for Diversity in Counselling & Psychotherapy). 252 pp.

Dr. Roy Moodley's book is a highly recommendable reading for, not only psychotherapists and counselors, but also others, interested in understanding and researching the dynamics of multiculturalism, 'othering' as well as cultural representations of psychological distress.

The book is an invitation to work 'within the sentence' of ethical and social justice practice by examining the history, memory and

pain of marginalised groups. In counselling and psychotherapy practice in the West, to be 'outside the sentence' is to be positioned outside the cultural metaphors that inform clinical practice. The book answers questions such as how do minoritised clients understand their socio-cultural and geo-political histories as part of therapy? How do psychotherapists and counsellors work with gender, class, race, sexual orientations, disability, religion and age?

The author is a renowned scholar and Associate Professor in Counselling Psychology at the University of Toronto, Canada, with vast publication within the field of Intercultural and Counselling Psychology. Due to Moodley's biographical belonging to three continents, the book includes his experiences from South Africa, UK and Canada. Despite the geographical distance from Nordic countries, due to the relative paucity of scientific works in these fields, the book deserves readership here.

With a point of departure in critical multiculturalism and diversity, the author critiques the simplified understanding of multiculturalism engendering a world view where cultures live side-by-side in separate ethnic enclaves. He invokes the concept of 'diversity' as it implies neutrality, relativism, thus a sense of the apolitical, while multiculturalism suggests complex mixture of assimilation and difference. One of the central themes of the book is the deeper understanding of the intersections of multiple identities with the 'Big 7' (gender, class, race, sexual orientations, disability, religion, age) brought in the counselling psychology through introduction of diversity. There is a strong appeal for inclusion of the *Group of Seven* in the clinical setting involving new epistemologies rather than being guided by the narrow theories and practices of multiculturalism.

Another major theme in the book is the construction of the 'other' and the *otherness*, illustrated through historical examples of literary texts and travel writings, rather than through reductive opposition between 'us' and the 'others'. There is a thought provoking delineation of Western anthropologists and ethnographers such as Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), underpinning comparativeness and contrasting of cultures as a hegemonic enterprise placing hubris at the centre. Through writings of Edward Said (1978) and Frantz Fanon (1967), it is argued that for Western consciousness, the difference comes at the expense of constructing a negative image and projecting it onto the 'other'. The consequences of such othering processes among the ethnic minority are complex and are related to the psychological distress. The exploration of the 'psychological distress' requires some understandings of the origins of the inner world and the tensions, anxieties and the conflicts experienced here.

Through a critical review of psychotherapy with ethnic minorities, it is acknowledged that psychotherapy has come a long way from the exclusive focus on migration, culture shock and identity problems as major variables of the mental health issues. Still much research is needed to take into account the historical and socio-political complexities within which the ethnic minorities live their lives. The issues of subjugation, domination, diaspora and

* E-mail: xinliu@abo.fi

displacement are considered significant and some of the 'Group of 7' identities are well illustrated in the book through case vignettes of three persons living in the UK for the few decades: Shiva (a Hindu man from India), Hanna (a Muslim Arab woman) and Jo-Anne (an African Caribbean woman). Author's analyses of the lived experiences of these persons add a lively touch to the book by illustrating some of the abstract, structural issues at the micro-level, making their dilemmas and paradoxes human and comprehensible.

On the other hand, the chapters about the training in working with multicultural and diverse clients takes the book to the meso levels by focusing on different training paradigms, especially by considering the competency framework as the framework which governs the relationship between the professional and the patient in the therapy room. The challenge for multicultural and diversity counselling and psychotherapy is to begin to incorporate the changing ideas of subjectivity and multiple identities in their practice. The practice has to transform itself, to embrace all the differences without stereotyping any of the other identities that a client may also present. In other words, such training should include aspects of race, gender, class, disability and sexual orientation. However, the reader misses inclusion of the organisatory and power aspects of the counselling relation in this part of the book. Besides, there are some repetitions in the book, which could have been avoided through a more stringent editing.

Appealing for further research in the field of mental health and diversity, the author lucidly pinpoints the limited knowledge about the psychological and mental health strategies used by ethnic minorities in dealing with racism, social and economic oppression, workplace stress and conflicts in relationships. At the same time, it is underlined that not engaging in psychotherapy research with the ethnic 'other' is not a conscious avoidance or a lack of interest in clinical matters of culturally different client. There seem to be enough tensions with the research-theory gap, the scientific-subjective dilemma of psychotherapy research and complexities surrounding suitable methodologies for examining and labeling 'psychological distress'. However, the way forward for the therapy and research is to take account of the historical, cultural and socio-political complexities of the ethnic minority persons and groups, and at the same time making sure that the issues of difference do not take on significance over and beyond their psychological meanings for the client and the therapy.

The book, on the whole, has an explicit message about considering the broad context, history and the multiple identities of the persons in the critical multicultural counselling and psychotherapy along the personal meaning. The contents are convincing, lively and thought provoking, especially the case vignettes. These vignettes and the invocation of multidisciplinary illustrations reflect the author's comprehensive empirical, practical, theoretical knowledge and a deeply human perspective. The book is recommended reading to researchers and practitioners in the field of migration, Intercultural Psychology and counselling, also in the Nordic countries.

Dr. Rashmi Singla*

Cand. Psych., Psychotherapy Specialist, Associate Professor

Department of Psychology and Educational Studies, & Interdisciplinary Studies in Health Promotion and Health Strategies Roskilde University

Orelus, Pierre W. (2011) *Courageous Voices of Immigrants and Transnationals of Color. Counter Narratives against Discrimination in Schools and Beyond*, Peter Lang: New York. 162 pp.

Discrimination, institutional and individual racism, xenophobia, prejudices, accentism and linguisticism are just a few of the topics covered in Pierre Orelus's book. Offering us an alternative format, the author describes the condition of migrants and transnationals of color² in the United States.

The book is leaned on the author's personal narrative, integrated by the narrative interviews of fifty transnationals and immigrants of color from Jordan, Algeria, Nigeria, Palestine, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Haiti, immigrated for different reason in the United States.

After a foreword by Zeus Leonardo, throughout the text – divided in seven chapters – the construction of 'otherness' and its consequences emerge through the mobilization of concepts hotly debated in academia and beyond, such as identity, home, community, memory, exile and 'color'. Some readers from countries not used to racial profiling could be shocked by the words used. However, in the frame of Anglo-Saxon scholarly tradition, Orelus aims to portray the dynamic social production of 'race' by emphasizing the relevance of the various contexts considered (school, university, the workplace, the street, public offices, etc.) and in order to reach that goal he needs to name and to articulate gender, social class, professional status, generation, religious affiliation, political views, etc.

Racialisation is a product of social relations; it is not the race that creates the racism, but the racism that creates the race. This subtle game is played out through the pages of Orelus's book. He avoids recreating a manual on racial theories and instead he exploits some of them to interpret present situations in the US, the United Kingdom and France: representative countries that share a colonial past that has strongly contributed, and still contributes, to build their wealth and their dominant position on the international scene.

Colonialism, capitalism and imperialism cause a never-ending cycle of exploitation of resources and a consequent movement of people: from commodities and raw materials to the workforce and knowledge. Orelus fits within the larger framework of post-colonial studies and paying attention to migrant status, nationality, religious beliefs, age and reasons for migration, he claims that those migrants

² 'people from formerly colonized, occupied, or currently occupied and neo-colonized countries who have immigrated to other countries, including United States. In terms of race and ethnicity, these immigrants and transnationals of color are not defined as White in the U.S. and European context, although they may well be defined as White in their country of origin. They are Brown, Black or Yellow people from different parts of the world. Transnationals and immigrants of color often move back and forth between their adopted or 'foreign' land and their native land.' (p. 1).

* Email: rashmi@ruc.dk

have experienced discrimination. In this respect, he is interested in doing away with the significance of physical appearance, focusing just color; but the book expands on this, touching on religious belief, and offers us some fragments of Muslim Arab experiences in the US and France.

Moreover, the author focuses on linguisticism as a form of imperialism. Dominant standardized English bases its power on a widespread paternalistic ideology, which engenders unequal power relations between other languages and their native speakers. Orelus shows how language, as a non-neutral significant factor, combined with color, can produce a separation between native and non-native and restrict the possibility of equal interaction and social mobility.

He goes some way to establish doubt as to whether it is by neglect or design that there is an urban and socio-economic model of premature death implemented by capitalist countries through ghettoizing poor migrants in isolated areas where, among other, more well known problems, such as alcoholism, drug abuse, prostitution, violence, etc. exist. This idea is taken up in the afterword by Richard Delgado, which focuses on the paradoxes of immigration – ‘we need and fear immigrants’ and ‘immigrants need and fear us’ (p.139)–and on the present second generations.

Experiencing and reporting a series of acts of discrimination taking place in disparate spheres, a number of questions arise in migrant minds. What does it mean to be a citizen of a State? Does a migrant have to compromise his identity to live in a country? If citizenship and home do not always correspond, what is home? Home might well be the place where one feels comfortable; so, where is home for transnational migrants divided between at least two countries, the one of origin and the one of migration?

Migration literature widely discusses this issue. However, the construction of ‘otherness’ goes on and its consequences become more and more serious, creating uprooted and psychologically weak individuals. This unease has its origin in transnationals’ ‘double absence’ (Sayad 1999): not fully accepted and realized in the new country of migration, they are no more at home in the country of origin. Orelus suggests solving this paradoxical ubiquity by creating a ‘third cultural and communal space’ (p. 64), but this means running the risk of reproducing the dominant alienation in a closed new community. Instead, he leans towards the idea of exile by choice, or by obligation, depending on the reasons for migration, as the mental condition of migrants and transnationals, being ‘out of place in nearly every way’ (Said 1999:231).

There is a distorted idea of the ‘other’ – created, invented, perceived and fixed by colonial discourse – or a real lack of knowledge of their world, in which media, politics and the economy perpetrate a form of ‘symbolic violence’ that it is no longer possible to ignore. Blacks, Latinos, Arabs, Muslims and homosexuals are targeted and disqualified in some way and by virtue of that they are systematically subjected to direct verbal or sordid indirect violence. In the United States, as elsewhere in the world, the symptoms become visible. Who will be next?

Orelus’ book reiterates the urgent need to act through a flexible strategy. He clarifies that his position is not to generalize or dichotomize the reality: bad and good, black and white. Certainly, migrants and transnationals have enjoyed opportunities to improve their life, which they probably could never have had in their countries of origin; but, in exchange, they have faced difficulties that they had never imagined facing in these so-called democratized countries.

Racial question is a social question (Fassin 2009:15) and critical pedagogy is the most efficient answer. It represents a philosophy of education based on a collective process that involves a pervasive dialogical learning approach and aimed to give an alternative to oppressed people. Following this, only dialogue makes it possible to overcome this impasse that imprisons migrants and transnationals. In order to break the chains of the global dependence, action needs to come from mutual knowledge and keeping in mind Edward Said’s warning: each age and society re-creates its ‘Others’ (Said 2003:332). In this context, migrants have a central role ‘to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well’ (p. 104). So, the author leaves the reader with an oxymoron, coming from his autobiography: sadness as the impulsion not to give up the fight.

The critical educational approach shapes the book’s format; Orelus clarifies from the beginning that his position is not completely neutral, but it should be situated in its own context avoiding misrepresentations³. However, the reader could remark that Orelus’s book suffers from a slight methodological weakness. The author tends to present the issue in a simplified manner and to repeat the same concept, instead of offering to the reader additional elements in order to have a complete detailed panorama of the issue described and a multiple point of view.

Except for this, Orelus’s readable book fulfills its objective announced in its introduction: to be a useful instrument for teachers, students, specialized educators and general readers. Simply written and based on real anecdotes the text helps us to reconcile racial theories and economic-political issues with the real experiences of people. Extracts of the narratives contained in the book – some of them in the form of poetry introducing each chapter and some of them presented as long *récits* – could be used as qualitative supports for post-colonial studies, for sociology and for sociolinguistics classes.

Moreover, the book questions us once again about the position of the researcher and what actually is objectivity and neutrality in social science. Certainly, objectivity is strictness in methodology. However – ‘there is no choice between “engaged” and “neutral” ways of doing sociology. A non-committal sociology is an impossibility’ (Bauman 2000:216).

Laura Odasso*

PhD student University of Strasbourg, Laboratoire Cultures et Société en Europe and University Ca’ Foscari of Venice, Department of Asian and Afro-Mediterranean Studies

³ I hope this book will not be misused to generalized and romanticize the heart-felt stories included in it. Each story shared in this book needs to be understood in its context [...]. I must warn the reader my narrative as a multilingual immigrant of color is not intended to generalize about the experience of other immigrants of colour living in the West. (p. 6-7)

* Email: laura.odasso@misha.fr

References

- Bauman Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*, Padstow: Polity Press.
- Fassin D. and Fassin E. (2009, first edition 2006) *De la question sociale à la question raciale? Répenser la société française*, Paris: La Découverte.
- Said E. (2003, first edition 1978) *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Book. Afterword dated 1994.
- Said E. (1999) *Out of place. A Memoir*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Sayad A. (1999) *La double absence. Des illusions de l'émigré aux souffrances de l'immigré*, Paris: Seuil.

Triandafyllidou, Anna, Modood, Tariq & Meer, Nasar (eds.) (2012) *European Multiculturalisms. Cultural, Religious and Ethnic Challenges*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 241pp.

A book on European multiculturalisms seems to be an extraordinary endeavour, if one takes into account the recent shifts in European public policies towards more efforts for social cohesion. Although some politicians say that multiculturalism has failed, the authors still indicate a need for 'minority integration [...] to strengthen broader social solidarity' (p. 11) and to deal with the heterogeneity of national societies that is due to immigration. It is a courageous book that makes a good point in saying that pluralising national societies also means pluralising how people articulate any self commitment to a however imagined greater community: 'particularity is both pragmatically necessary but also justifiable' (p. 39). Put differently: if in western European states social closure depends on one's citizenship or cultural background, the identity of citizenship itself comes into question. Multiculturalism is understood in this book less as a political philosophy or a coherent public policy but instead as the pluralisation of cultural backgrounds in national societies and as a mode of integration – integration then is the political answer to immigration that varies according to its usage of partial assimilation.

The book is the outcome of an international research project funded by the European Commission Research Directorate from 2006 to 2009, dealing with European approaches to multicultural citizenship. The nine chapters of the book present the theoretical framework for an updated concept of citizenship as identity and more empirical reflections on different issues such as education policies; political participation and naturalization; national integration concepts; and ethnic statistics in Europe. The case studies are built on individual country reports that have been conducted for the research project on the basis of heterogeneous sources such as national statistics or literature reviews, so there is no first hand data published in this book. The case studies deal with 'older' immigration societies such as Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, as well as 'younger' ones such as Greece and Spain. In addition, there are several comparisons made to situations

in two post-communist societies 'that are still predominantly faced with emigration rather than immigration' (p. 15): Poland and Latvia.

To sum up the main arguments of the book one should imagine its authors in an intensive dialogue with Christian Joppke, who serves as the major proponent of a liberalism as identity model. While Joppke (2004) argues that multiculturalism has failed as a doctrine of immigrant integration at least in the UK, the authors argue that one cannot ignore multiculturalism's contribution to 'the new emphasis of national identities' (p. 39). This was exactly what one of the authors advocated in the British case (p. 67). While Joppke (2007) claims that European policies on immigrant integration are increasingly converging, the authors of *European Multiculturalism* agree that there is a 'broader north-western European trend towards civic integration with structured programmes' and tests (p. 106), but they also show that different ethnic monitoring and data analysis due to historical reasons persist (p. 63, p. 215), that different versions of the liberal national citizen exist (p. 109), and that the new nationalist policies on integration are 'exclusively identitarian and principle driven' (p.110) but they vary from constitutional patriotism in Germany to new nationalism interpretations in Denmark, Austria, and Switzerland. So national models still matter. And while Joppke (2008) argues that liberal national identity models are based in a public neutrality, the authors of this book call it a false understanding of contentlessness if someone forgets about the means to pursue equality such as anti-discrimination policies, 'the recognition of open, mixed and changing ethnicities/identities, multi-logical plurality, and inclusivity' (p. 39).

In regards to the book's content, I want to highlight three chapters I found particularly interesting. In his chapter on post-national citizenship Per Mouritsen, a political scientist at Aarhus University, Denmark, argues that while a lot of theoretical thinking has dealt with post-national memberships and the 'banalisation' of the material content of membership, nation-states have repoliticised and recaptured citizenship. He shows in his article the different development of citizenship acquisition policies in Denmark, Germany, and the UK that all developed towards more value cohesion and cultural integration. One result of this chapter is that citizens' virtues matter. Therefore Mouritsen also investigates the economic and moral interest of the state in citizenship policies, calling it a 'human-relations management' (p. 111).

Nilüfer Göle and Julie Billaud, one a sociologist in Paris the other one an anthropologist at the University of Sussex, look at the relationship between multiculturalism and feminist universalism with a special focus on Muslim women in France. They argue that a lot of European thinking on feminism started from a secular, modernist standpoint that perceived the Islamic religion of migrants in particular as anachronism. While struggling for the freedom of women, they somehow neglected the fact that veiled women also might be free to choose whatever they wanted to do. Feminists demanded the acknowledgment of difference, singularity and

experience but in today's feminist movement there is a lack of creating coalitions between western feminism and Islamic feminism: like feminist women in the 1970s veiled women are also 'creating new ways of being female in public' (p. 124). On the other hand, both authors criticise liberal multiculturalists for their reified understanding of culture. Multiculturalists might fail to acknowledge the inner heterogeneity of Islam and the multiplicity of voices within. In particular Göle and Billaud mention Will Kymlicka and his thesis that state support should only be granted to liberal groups and not to those who impose restrictions on their individual members. The authors show how in this sense multiculturalism is deeply rooted in the same universalist heritage as feminism (p. 131) and similarly exclusive. One way out would be to understand the situation of veiled women as 'minority in the making' (p. 137) redefining the private-public, secular-sacred distinctions in the public and by doing so questioning Western claims for modernity. Their chapter ends by summarizing some public debates on feminism and Islam in France and other western European countries.

The last chapter in the book by the French political scientists Angeline Escafré-Dublet and Patrick Simon discusses the paradox of colour-blindness in public statistics in the above mentioned nine cases. While some countries decided against data collection on the ground of ethnicity due to the fear of injustice and racist misuse, others do specifically backup their anti-discrimination policies. The authors group some European countries according to their argumentation for or against this documentation and reason the different national models in their specific histories and understandings of their own societies as multicultural ones. As a result of European Union legislation on anti-discrimination the issue has been put on some countries' political agendas (such as Belgium or France) while this did not happen in others (Denmark or Germany).

One critical remark concerning the danger of struggling with essentialist concepts of culture or identities in writings on multiculturalism (e.g. reified values or fixed concepts of membership and belonging) needs to be done. In the introduction the editors say that they try to apply a constructivist perspective on religion and values (p. 13), but this constructivist approach seems to be missing in some chapters. The public policy speech of different values, religions, or cultural background has been reiterated too often and without critical annotation. It is not that the authors support these views but they miss reflecting on the subject and just deal with states as black boxes. Specific narratives are shaping integration measures and therefore it is a task of social sciences to analyse the processes where different value commitments come into being. One example is that throughout the book the authors argue for an understanding of pluralisation of the cultural foundations of European societies but only rarely they say that pluralisation could also be understood as a process from within, such as binational marriage, religious conversion, the decline of formerly held convictions, or the adoption and transmission of alien practices by transnational agents.

Thus the chapters by Göle/Billaud and Escafré-Dublet/Simon have been exceptions as they have tried to stick to active individuals or groups and name the complexity of value commitments in specific conflicts. I would argue that there is more to multiculturalism than just pluralisation due to immigration and therefore would have appreciated a further chapter on different sources of commitment in multicultural societies (socialisation, conversion, dialogue), the underlying psychological modes of such a commitment (cognitive or affective), and the relation between divergent claims and narratives (conflicting or resolving value claims, one mode could be Parsons' concept of value generalisation).

As mentioned in the beginning of this review, the book has a political ambition as well as an analytical standpoint. So for whom is the book written? I would say that the book could be recommended to scientists and non-scientists alike as it is written in a clear style and tries to avoid overly-sophisticated language. It may be especially interesting for undergraduate students as alternative reading on European modes of immigrant integration as well as for apologists of national cohesion to update their view on European multiculturalisms.

Andreas Kewes*

Ph. D. candidate at the Max Weber Center for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies, University of Erfurt, Germany

References

- Joppke C. (2004) *The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy*, *The British Journal of Sociology* 55 (2): 237-257.
- Joppke C. (2007) *Beyond national models: Civic integration policies for immigrants in Western Europe*, *West European Politics* 30 (1): 1-22.
- Joppke C. (2008) *Immigration and the identity of citizenship: the paradox of universalism*, *Citizenship Studies* 12 (6): 533-546.

Yuval-Davis, Nira (2011) *The politics of belonging. Intersectional contestations*, London: Sage. 252 pp.

Belonging is at the center of various contemporary debates from the alleged erosion of national identities to so-called home-grown terrorism in Western liberal democracies, the latter being an example that starts off Nira Yuval-Davis's recent publication *The politics of belonging. Intersectional contestations*. Whether the nationalist politics of belonging have been replaced or complemented by other forms of belonging, is more than a relevant question to ponder. Furthermore, there is a demand for an elaborated and comprehensive analytical framework to understand the social dynamics behind contemporary political upheavals and boundary-building between 'us' and 'them'. Nira Yuval-Davis's literal contribution succeeds in providing precisely this.

* Email: andreas.kewes@uni-erfurt.de

The introduction frames the concepts 'belonging' and 'politics of belonging', accompanied by examples of British political projects and with an insightful contextualization on international migration, securization discourse and globalization in its neo-liberal political and economic context. Yuval-Davis analyzes various projects of belonging in relation to differential effects of contemporary neo-liberal globalization on societies and individuals, including neo-liberal ideologies, policies and global market forces.

Drawing from the intersectional paradigm, Yuval-Davis argues in favor of an analytical differentiation between three facets of 'belonging'. The first one refers to individuals' economic and social locations (class, gender, ethnicity and so forth), valued differently in the grids of power operating in their society. The second facet focuses on the relationship between individuals' social locations and their emotional identifications, as identities are not only relational, but also embodied, performative and dialogical. The third dimension emphasizes how social locations and constructions of emotional attachments are embedded in ethical and political values, i.e. how these are valued by the individual him/herself but also by others. This guides the reader to consider 'the politics of belonging' – how boundaries of belonging are maintained, reproduced and contested, but as Yuval-Davis rightly notes, also how individuals and groups are positioned within these constructions of boundaries. She also analyzes the dimension of power in determining who and how one gets to belong (or not to belong) within various political projects of belonging.

Citizenship is one of the most naturalized forms of belonging to a collectivity. The notion of state citizenship and rights that are commonly associated with it include civil, political, social and cultural rights, but also rights that are referred by Yuval-Davis as 'spatial security rights'. Her understanding of citizenship as membership in different kinds of polities, nonetheless without undermining the significance of the nation-state as a major tool of governance, provides a setting for analyzing various rights included in citizenship status. For instance, she provides insights into how rights are curtailed and governed in relation to discourses on securization, self-responsibility and self-care within the realm of neo-liberal globalization. Against this background, Yuval-Davis discusses the various constructions of contemporary citizenship, concluding with the understanding on citizenship as multilayered—"composed of local, regional, national, cross and supranational political communities".

Citizenship is strongly rooted to the idea of membership in national collectivities. Again, the chapter is clearly structured starting from a conceptual discussion on 'nation', its relationship to nation-state/homeland, and how this relationship has been and continues to be constructed around territoriality and essentialized attributes. The author offers an intriguing overview of the ontological shift from defining different 'nations' with shopping list characteristics to perceiving them as imagined and narrated constructions, and linking this development to the mobility of people and the globalised economy. Next, she explores how transcending political/religious/

social movements have deeply affected nationalist projects of belonging and the ethnicisation of some states, which have witnessed the emergence of autochthonic (i.e. indigenous) politics of belonging and diasporism as an alternative discourse of belonging. This chapter provides an extensive overview on the changing face of contemporary nationalist politics of belonging, but also on what the author argues to be a central question—how these boundaries are constructed with emotional identifications towards as well as normative values systems within the imagined communities. Besides nations being one source of belonging among others, Yuval-Davis also points out that nationalist projects have been infused with other facets of identity politics, such as religion.

Yuval-Davis refers to the failed secularization thesis, according to which the influence of religion was to diminish in the era of neo-liberal globalization. Instead, the sacred, cultural and political have become intertwined in political projects of belonging. She explores how religion acquires specific cultural signifiers in the traditions of different collectivities, before proceeding to discuss the moral and political implementation of secularist principles, and the relationship between religion and nationalism. Rising clusters of religious projects of belonging linked to nationalist/ethnic/global movements have emerged, explored by Yuval-Davis with different cases ranging from religious fundamentalism to the rise of religious/faith-based NGOs as active participants in the civil society. She looks at how their boundaries of belonging are constructed through dichotomies such as secular/religious, with the discourse on the 'clash of civilizations', or with the rhetoric employed in the 'global war on terrorism' that constructs dichotomies of 'good' and 'evil'. She also briefly discusses the changes in the governmentality of diversity, in the betwixt of legitimization of the multiculturalist (and multi-faithist) project and the growing pressure for assimilation and social cohesion.

Yuval-Davis ponders to what extent cosmopolitanism(s) represents an alternative form of belonging with different cosmopolitan discourses and cosmopolitanism as a political project. She provides a lengthy account on how boundaries of belonging have been constructed in the cosmopolitan projects as situated, rooted and rootless, before turning to examine the United Nations as the closest example of political institution of world governance, which, however, has not succeeded in transcending the barrier between global citizenship and global governance. What have been central here are the 'human rights' and 'human security' discourses that Yuval-Davis discusses in relation to global cosmopolitan movements and global feminism. Although the book was published prior to the Occupy Wall Street movement and (partially) the Arab Spring, it nevertheless provides tools to understand cosmopolitan manifestations of certain contemporary projects of belonging. Furthermore, to understand the rhetoric employed in justifying international community's military interventions, it is even more significant to evaluate the role of legislative discourses on 'human rights' and 'human security' ranging from grass-root mobilizations

to militarized international relations. Related to this, Yuval-Davis's account on the development of the human rights discourse, its close connection to 'humanitarian militarism' and the alternative cosmopolitan discourse of 'human security' is one of the most insightful parts of this literary piece. However, the question of belonging, as she argues, is not only about the boundaries and different signifiers that construct those boundaries, but also how people relate and belong to each other. This leads the reader to author's own political project of belonging – the ethics of care.

The ending of each previous chapter is dedicated to specific feminist political movements, thus introducing thought-provoking insights into how gender is infused with various political projects of belonging around notions of citizenship, nationalism, religion and cosmopolitanism. For instance, the author discusses how feminism has provided alternative discourses of empowerment, transcendent meaning and moral accountability in connection to nationalist/ethnic/religious projects of belonging. The last chapter deals with what Yuval-Davis defines as *the* feminist political project of belonging – the 'ethics of care', and aims to offer an 'alternative model of social and political relationship to the neo-liberal discourse of self-interest'. To achieve this, she explores the intersections of sociology of emotion and sociology of power, and to what extent caring and love can be used as a normative base of political action. 'Care' itself is studied as an alternative metaphysics, as a maternal project and as a feminist citizenship project, after which the author proceeds to discuss the relationships of emotion to power. In the final chapter, the analytical and the normative lens become blurred, as according to her, analyses on political and social relations based on constructions of power and emotions need to be valued normatively. She outlines her own political project of belonging as multilayered (without essentializing any naturalized boundaries), transversal (rather than cosmopolitan), emancipatory (advocating for universal human security), and recognizing the value of caring relationships with

their contextual power relations. This chapter clearly demonstrates author's experience in the field of women's studies, and introduces a fresh perspective of 'care', less often associated with other political projects of belonging.

In conclusion, Yuval-Davis draws the contents skillfully together with the help of the theoretical frame. She considers politics of belonging to be about – 'the sociology of power with the sociology of emotions, but it is the normative values lens which filters the meaning of both to individuals and collectivities, differentially situated along intersectional global social locations'. By any standard, this literary contribution is valuable to understanding contemporary political projects of belonging, and how the boundaries of belonging are constructed with different naturalized signifiers. Besides ample examples from grassroots movements to supranational projects, also numerous footnotes provide the reader easily accessible online references.

Although the author discusses the role technology plays in governing contemporary citizens (census, passports, statistics), the use of ICT-tools by individuals to construct active citizenship and belonging, as well as to challenge the boundaries of state citizenship feature scattered in the book. Also insights on how new technologies have provided political projects of belonging an online platform to transcend boundaries, how they have shaped civic participation, but also how belonging is contested and constructed online within the context of Internet surveillance, or yet of cyber warfare would have been worth of a deeper study than accorded. This being said, Yuval-Davis's literal contribution is more than topical as it explores the slippery and complex phenomenon of belonging as well as its manifestations and dynamics in contemporary political projects.

Mari Toivanen*

Doctoral Candidate

Department of Social Research/Sociology

University of Turku

* Email: marito@utu.fi