

BOOK REVIEWS

Abadan-Unat, Nermin (2011) *Turks in Europe. From Guest Worker to Transnational Citizen*, translated by Caterine Campion, New York: Berghahn Books. 286 pp.

This book is essential reading for anyone interested in the Turkish diaspora or migrants and membership in Europe more generally. It summarizes in one volume the major findings of nearly five decades of explorations into the lives of Turkish migrants and the social policies that shaped those lives, for good and for ill. Here is the mature, possibly final judgment of the world's foremost authority on her subject. We are in her debt for all of her work, and especially for this summary volume.

Nermin Abadan-Unat is a veteran sociologist, lawyer, politician, and feminist leader who has been studying Turkish migration to Germany and other parts of Europe since the early 1960s. *Turks in Europe* is a synthesis of the countless studies that make up her life's work. Her main goal is to explain how the Turkish government and various European governments used migration policy to seek national economic betterment, beginning with binational agreements to send guest workers to Germany, and what were the effects, on Turkey, on Europe, and on the migrants themselves. Secondly, she wants to analyze the relationship between globalization and migration; the impact of neoliberal economic policies; issues of transnationalism and identity; and several particular issues that have been encountered by women in the migration web, such as family separation, entering into industrial labour, daughters becoming surrogate mothers to their younger siblings, and culture change over generations in Europe.

Abadan-Unat begins by outlining and analyzing the history of Turkish migration to Europe. She contrasts this government-directed flow with the entrepreneurially directed flow of Turkish migrants to the Middle East and Russia in much the same period. She then summarizes two empirical studies she made: one on Turkish migrants to Germany in the 1960s; the other on the folks who were left behind in Turkey in the 1970s. She follows with chapters on the changing positions of women both in Turkey (urban and rural) and in Europe; on European-born children in the second and third generations; on Islamic organizations and the impact of fundamentalism; on the formation and transcendence of ethnic communities and economic niches; on citizenship and civic participation; on refugees and asylum

seekers; and on attitudes of Turkish people at home and abroad towards the European Union. She concludes with a meditation on the relationship between globalization and the nation-state.

In treating each subject, Abadan-Unat has boiled down a tremendous amount of information into economical packets. Because the book is a summary, the prose is direct. It is heavy on numbers and quick sketches of political and economic issues, but light on stories and the fabric of life. The tables, both copiously in the text and in a generous appendix, are a wonder. They address basic demographic questions, such as how many Turks went where and when; citizenship status; comparisons among European nations as to the numbers and percentages of Turks and other migrants; asylum requests; educational achievement levels; and a host of other issues.

We are treated to balanced judgments based on decades of experience, but they are not mealy-mouthed. Abadan-Unat has pungent, well-informed opinions on the headscarf issue, the matter of honour killings, and current trends to Islamophobia, among many other topics. She opposes many of the aspects of patriarchy that so trouble European and North American feminists. But those non-Turkish feminists will find no simple validation for their assumption that a woman who wears a headscarf is necessarily oppressed or that Islam is fundamentally damaging to women. Abadan-Unat is so knowledgeable and sophisticated she can expose the racist presumptions in such arguments without excusing the abuses that do occur. She also gently puts the lie to many of the pious policy statements that are made by the current governments of Germany and France (and Turkey as well) about the nature of and prospects for the Turkish population in Europe. And she provides an effective counterpoint to the nativist fulminations of writers like Thilo Sarrazin. The interested reader will find here a treasure trove of data to be mined and well-considered judgments to ponder.

Of special concern to Abadan-Unat is the evolving nature of the state and membership for migrants under the impact of European economic union, globalization, and, contrariwise, xenophobic nationalist movements in many European countries. The reader will emerge from *Turks in Europe* with a sound understanding of the demographic dimensions of the Turkish-descended population in each major European country; their history of political and civic

participation; the degree of and obstacles to their inclusion in local society; the pattern of their economic activities; the place of Islam and other religions in their communities; relationships between the sexes and the generations; ethnic divisions within their population; and many more issues.

Turks in Europe appeared first in Turkish (2002), then in German (2005), before the current English translation and revision. Translator Catherine Champion has done a solid job of rendering the text into clear English, and as usual, Berghahn has produced an attractive physical volume.

There are many insightful studies of migration. If you read only one book on Turkish migrants to Europe, it should be this one. It will educate you about things that were outside the realm of your knowledge, give you a new frame for understanding some things you thought you knew, and provoke you to ask questions.

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Cohen, Robin & Jónsson, Gunvor (eds.) (2011) *Migration and Culture*, Glos & Massachusetts: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited. 788 pp.

Robin Cohen, Professor of Development Studies and Director at the International Migration Institute, University of Oxford and Gunvor Jónsson, a research assistant at the institute have compiled the reviewed book. The volume is a collection of thirty-seven chapters, mainly comprising of published journal articles from 2005 to 2010. The effort, both intellectual and administrative is mainly geared towards bringing forth 'varying degrees of theoretical sophistication and empirical rigour' (p. xiii) with which scholars have discussed the subject of 'culture' and 'culture of migration'. The book is divided in five parts that focus on key perspectives in the field: contact zones, and mobility and identity; migration in popular cultures; formation of migrant identities from above; translocal community (local-global connections, and translocal identities); and migrant imaginaries around the world.

The book persuades one to view transnational migration as a fundamental, basic and meaningful aspect of human life and behaviour (for example the chapters by Scheele pp. 461–478; Lilomaivavodoktor pp. 641–672; Bürgelt, Morgan, & Pernice pp. 707–730). Migration can be normative as Jónsson's research on the Soninke (pp. xxv–xxvi), and it allows compromised and disadvantaged social groups to improve their overall wellbeing (see the chapters by Baily pp. 145–158; Vogel pp. 107–127). Among Europeans and Americans affluent life style migrations are common. Readers are warned against rationalizing migration as a racialized discourse with poor labourers migrating and competing for jobs (chapters by Benson & O'Reilly pp. 77–88; Frohlick pp. 731–747).

The editors have been successful in historicizing and capturing the interactive connectivity existing between cultures and peoples, characterizing the two temporal ages: modern and global. After breaking away from French Enlightenment and German Romantic traditions, now in the global era, culture and migration are intersecting in five principle ways: migrants have migrant imaginaries; cultures stand hybridized; popular forms of culture travel with migrants where they become means of authentication; migrant experiences are being preserved through art, literature and music and finally, for migrants, past and present co-exist (p. xxvii).

The volume presents a persuasive critique of the conflictual and consequential dynamics of cultural integration and multiculturalism – with the latter at times being held responsible for preserving 'backwardness' among people (p. xvi). Ironically underwritten by 'culturalism', multiculturalism hinders public incorporation of transnational migrants (Vertovec p. 351). Cultural essentialism is viewed with reservations (p. xxviii), and overemphasis on cultural concerns is argued to have a negative impact. The volume includes cases that show immigration policies being designed and underwritten with a cultural subtext without policy makers knowing much about the culture in questions.

Cultural integration is no panacea either. A gradual shift in policies from multiculturalism to state imposed neo-integrationism can be seen for Muslim community in Australia. Phobias around certain communities are made official as the state begins to prescribe and proscribe target immigrants on basis of perceptions rather than any legal basis (Poynting & Mason pp. 334–350). In fact, EU states are now practicing 'repressive liberalism' that is 'coercive' (Jopkke p. 406, p.402). It may also be a result of a state's understanding of its central political identity, as in case of French secularism (Bedmar & Palma pp. 443–455).

At times coercive, at other times apparently coercive, cultural integrationism offers no final solutions. Besides, many transnational migrants do not practice integrationism. Regardless of forms of mobility and movement, i.e. long term, short term, for business or leisure, transnational migrants maintain unique characteristics that are not authentic or representative in entirety of any one culture (Yeoh & Willis pp. 5–21; Leichtman pp. 616–637; Tsuda pp. 295–333). Concurrently, the notion of cultural integration becomes hypothetical, to the extent of being flawed (Cohen & Jónsson p. xxvii). Despite getting redefined and renegotiated in geographical and cultural contexts, individual and collective identities do not crumble down. And, transnational migrants do not downplay local differences in search of some undifferentiated global modernity (Tsuda p. 328).

Migrants are viewed with a double standard and mostly it is the poor who are viewed negatively as 'the other' (Craith 2012). Dictating, and at times arrogantly patronizing, receiving countries stereotype immigrants as individuals with substandard lives and in need of re-programming. Migrant images that are presented at the global level are mostly decontextualized and misrepresented forms of standardized stereotypes, for example Italians with pizzas and Muslims with veils or beards. The colonial gaze, whereby which the formerly colonized can be scrutinized, continues to persist (Wenk & Krebs pp. 260–291). Any stereotyping appears particularly flawed given the transcendental quality of migrants whose status is best captured in words such as the: deterritorialized, dislocated and absent other, and their state expressed through phrases such as: absent presence, double absence, involuntary immobility, voluntary immobility or incomplete globality. Diversity in identities within apparently monolithic communities poses additional challenges for policy makers who subscribe to cultural integrationism. For example, among Asian Muslims, Dawoodi Bohras are very distinct from the Khalifa community (Vertovec p. 365). This is complicated further by the fact that many transnational migrants derive their identities from elusive reference points, such as, countries of origin, and those of settlement, the extent and forms of mobilities and movements (Easthope pp. 61–70; Marx & Cohen pp. 185–203; Olwig pp. 602–615).

Ordinarily, country of origin remains emotionally meaningful for migrants (Lilomaivavodoktor pp. 641–672), and their ultimate 'home'; a place that cannot be reached through communications

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tools but only by proper 'return visits', particularly in times of crisis and happiness (Svasek p. 95; Olwig pp. 602–615). Kinship ties hardly get overruled by migratory trends which equally affect both migrants and non-migrants; with the latter mostly demanding from the former to become community patrons and financial providers (Cohen & Jónsson p. xxvi; Kandel & Massey p. 25; Vogel p. 109; Baily pp. 145–158; Carling pp. 501–538), and the former initiating change in the latter through social remittances (Levitt pp. 566–567). At times war-ravaged countries receive visitors from abroad; younger generations travel to explore their roots (Gerharz pp. 583–601.) For some, home is a place where agentic potentials are expressed through art and literature, and where collective recognition is carved out with hard work (Laroussi pp 131–144). In this realm the reviewed book resonates Marianne Hirsch & Nancy K. Miller (2011) who underline the paradox of uprootedness and multiple rootedness that is central to migrant living.

This volume raises several issues for gender studies, for example, women's rights and polygamous family structures, unwanted or difficult pregnancies (Sargent & Cordell pp. 437–441), honour related crimes (Joppke p. 402), controversy around Muslim veil (Wenk & Krebs, p. 277); experiencing the challenges of unaided transnational mobility or arriving in another land as a misfit or an oddity (Marx & Cohen pp. 185–203), or even getting persuaded to opt for a dangerously mismatched marriage abroad in hope of settling rich (Ali pp. 494–496). On a parallel note, women from developed countries migrate to the developing world in hope of some utopian love match with black men; making themselves vulnerable and exploitable (Frohlick p. 390). At times, gender roles and relations are affected positively during transnational migrations (Cruz-Manjarrez pp. 223–242; Kandel & Massey p. 25). Several authors have indicated linkages between migration and manhood (Cohen & Jónsson p. xxvi; Kandel & Massey p. 23). Transnational migrants have a sexual culture fraught with risks. Although a chapter focuses on Venezuelan *transformistas* (Vogel pp.107–127), the reviewed book as a whole does not highlight a very central connection between increased mobilities of the global youth, commercial sex industry, and much higher risks of spread of AIDS/STDs – an issue that both qualitative and quantitative researchers in the field have insisted upon for a long time, for example, Gilbert Herdt (1997).

Finally, this voluminous compendium draws its strength from an international group of contributors, and subsequently a diverse range of empirical data on themes discussed above. Unfortunately, the structural flaws, i.e. missing introductions and conclusions in each of the five parts, and an end without any conclusion or afterward makes it difficult to synthesize provided information. Put differently, readers are not transported back from geographical zones towards more substantive thematic zones. Information is not fully crystallized and a few important, even recurrent themes are left underdeveloped, particularly 'gender', that despite appearing in many chapters does not gain a primordial status in the book introduction. The absence of policy recommendations towards the end of the book is equally noticeable. In this regard the edited volume by Gabriella Lazaridis (2011) manages to develop important themes such as 'gendered insecurity' and 'racialized securitization' post-9/11, that emphasize the creation of Muslims and Arabs as threats to an imagined European cultural homogeneity. Despite taking note of Islamophobia, the editors of the reviewed volume do not present a thorough analysis of what for example Lazaridis notes as culture-based 'new' racism. This book would have needed a conclusion and the editors could have formulated it in a non-repetitive manner i.e. vis-à-vis the introduction. This enormous effort of combining extensive and

widespread information, and illuminating a range of real-life issues, would have deserved to be cemented with a proposed 'way forward'. In any case, the density and diversity of included material certainly makes the volume relevant and useful to many researchers around the globe.

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Jeldtoft, Nadia & Nielsen, S. Jorgen (eds.) (2012) *Methods and Contexts in the Study of Muslim Minorities, Visible and Invisible Muslims*, London and New York: Routledge. 242 pp.

Methods and contexts in the Study of Muslim Minorities is an edited volume that combines both qualitative and quantitative methods in the study of Muslim minorities in Europe. Even though a part of the book was previously published as a special issue of *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (volume 34, issue 7, 2011) this does not make it less interesting and important. The editors of the volume are Nadia Jeldtoft, a PhD fellow at the Centre for European Islamic Thought in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark and Jorgen S. Nielsen, Professor of the Danish National Research Foundation and the Director of the Centre for European Islamic Thought in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Copenhagen. Apart from a short, but informative, introduction written by the editors, the book consists of two main parts. Part I focuses on methods and Part II focuses on contexts. The first part is more extensive than the second one and includes eight seminal and illuminating chapters, while the second part consists of only four chapters. The fifteen contributors include both younger and already known scholars (e.g. Safet Bectovic, Sara Silvestri, Peter Gundelach, Philip Conor to mention just a few). This combination is an advantage of the volume, because it brings together the experience of prominent scholars and the thirst for knowledge of the younger ones.

The book both addresses and reflects the issue of categorization of Muslim minorities (p. 1). In the past decade Muslims in Europe have been the subject of heated debates, regarding the place and role of religion in the public space. As a consequence, research into the issues involved has often used visible and formalized expressions of Muslim religiosity as its empirical point of departure. On the contrary, this volume focuses on the micro-level workings of Muslim minority religiosity to offer a new perspective on these debates. The contributors of the volume examine Muslim's religiosity not within the formal level of organizations and institutions, but in the informal level of every day life and practice. As the editors correctly argue in their introduction, Muslims in Europe are not a single group, but many heterogeneous groups which have different approaches to Islam

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and being Muslim (p. 4). This idea, that a uniform Muslim identity does not exist, is also supported by other contributors of the volume (p. 14).

The first part of the book is the most interesting and fruitful of the two. In these chapters the reader finds various studies (mainly of sociology of religion) of a qualitative character, such as life story interviews (chapter 3); fieldwork with women participating in a private study group (chapter 4); Socratic interview technique and the use of cartoons (chapter 5, esp. pp. 70–74); focus group interviews (chapter 6); long-term ethnographic methods and fieldwork in general (chapters 7 and 8). All these approaches and methods are applicable in cases where the researcher intends to conduct in-depth research on groups like Muslim immigrants, converts or other marginalized and minority groups. Thus, this volume is not addressed exclusively to those researchers studying Muslim minorities. Furthermore, through these chapters various methodological and ethical issues are discussed, for example how to find potential informants, how to generate data and other ethical challenges (pp. 94–99).

The most innovative of the above-mentioned qualitative studies is the one that uses cartoons in order to picture the main issues discussed in the repeated Socratic technique interviews conducted with young adult Muslims, who are not deeply religious (chapter 5). The article argues that it is important to complement the research about devout Muslims by discussing with other types of Muslims, who although being the majority seldom feature the research. All drawings were based on the twenty-five taped and transcribed interviews and the researcher's ambition was to render the conversations as closely as possible without going into excess by adding each and every pause or confirming sound (p. 70). As far as I know it is very rare to present interviews as cartoons especially in an academic work, but I really think that this is a fine alternative idea. However, attention should be paid in order to avoid transforming academic research into novel.

The second part consists of quantitative studies and is basically descriptive of the general social context regarding issues on Muslim minorities. It uses first-hand or second-hand survey data, for example from the European Social Survey (chapter 10). However, these kinds of quantitative surveys are useful for every researcher, as they provide him/her the general idea of the issue he/she studies and assist him/her in understanding the macro-level of the social milieu he/she is interested in, before starting a more in-depth qualitative research. The main themes of the second part are young people's attitudes towards Muslims in Sweden; democratic values among Muslim minorities and the majority population in Denmark; generational differences in ethnic and religious attachment and their interrelation in the Netherlands; and contexts of immigrant receptivity and immigrant religious outcomes in Western Europe. Chapter 10, in my view, is the most useful one, because it uses a sub-sample of immigrant Muslims within the European Social Survey (2002, 2004 and 2006), to analyze the contexts of immigrant receptivity as less or more welcoming. The results, based on multi-level modelling, confirm the hypothesis that less welcoming environments to immigrants are associated with higher religious outcomes among Muslims in comparison to the host region's religiosity.

It could be argued that a major drawback of the volume is that all the studies contained are focused mainly on the Nordic countries (Denmark, Sweden) plus on Germany and the Netherlands. However, in my view this is not a serious problem. The main focus of the reader of this volume should be on the approaches introduced especially regarding the qualitative methods. In that sense, the ideas produced and analyzed in the first part of the book could help the

reader to produce his own methodological approaches that could be applied on his own research milieu without following exactly the steps suggested by the scholars who study Muslims in North Europe. In my view, this is a balanced book that refers to all the main topics about Muslims in contemporary Europe. Both parts of the volume are interconnected and complement each other through the combination of both qualitative and quantitative studies, providing a general and complete image of the issues studied. Therefore, this edited volume will be really useful to both students and scholars who wish to study Muslim minorities in Europe, in every country, as it gives the opportunity to every researcher to use his/her 'sociological imagination' in order to produce innovative ideas for the best study of this research field.

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Rovisco, Maria & Nowicka, Magdalena (eds.) (2011)
The Ashgate Research Companion to Cosmopolitanism, Surrey: Ashgate. 426 pp.

In the current political debates and cultural discussions, terms like cosmopolitanism, transnationalism and multiculturalism show up more and more. Cosmopolitanism is a sensible concept in interpreting the transnational processes of the globalizing world, although its idealistic versions are slippery and thin when compared with concrete situations. It is not a new key word as such, and the roots of contemporary cosmopolitan discourses are, as many contributors of the present book remind us, found from the Kantian arguments on Enlightenment from the 18th century. The way that cosmopolitan citizenship is reasoned has been changed, however. These kinds of citizen rights cannot be restricted to the legislated arena of political activities of individuals or to the responsibilities of community members in the frames of independent nation-states. The relationship between state institutions and political actors or social partners is hard to define in terms of cosmopolitanism. Rather, the usefulness of cosmopolitanism is connected to the increased needs to describe and clear up the processes that happen when global interdependencies and interconnectedness of transnational social associations are increasingly becoming acute realities of the members of current societies. Cosmopolitanism is still entangled with its idealistic meanings, as shown in many texts included in this collection. The term is favoured in definitions which are abstractly connected with universal human values. Concretized applications of particular cosmopolitanisms are often ambivalent and even controversial.

Therefore this prism-like concept demands careful and multi-sided analysis of different examples, which need to be carefully considered by crossing the conventional frames of social sciences and humanities. The aim of this collection of articles is to bring theoretical and empirical discussions together by introducing both mainstream ideas and the newest debates. The book is structured to deal with cultural, political, ethical and critical issues concerning the subject. It also deals with multiple dimensions of cosmopolitanism by discussing the challenges of multi-disciplinary research. Its focus is on cosmopolitan activities and ethical demands of new transnational politics.

An abstract and therefore liquid character of cosmopolitan culture is methodologically supported by the constructive, discursive and reflexive terminology which is applied when interpreting current

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social and political phenomena. Many interpreters of cosmopolitanism – also certain contributors of this book – speak about a turn or even a paradigm shift in social sciences, referring to such terminology. As an effect, the importance of renewing the orientation of social relations and political actors is emphasized when researching how the current society is changing.

Maria Rovisco and Magdalena Nowicka have collected more than twenty articles to discuss cosmopolitanism from cultural and political perspectives by introducing basic arguments and different debates on cosmopolitanism. Cultural and political issues are related to ethical questions of human rights, universal values and global justice. Cosmopolitanism is basically grasped as something that is rooted to Kant's way of arguing moral values and their universal legacy.

In their introduction Rovisco and Nowicka refer to cosmopolitanism as an analytical tool for setting transformations of social and political processes into a global context. Modern political theory and sociology were developed to approach these processes through the lenses of methodological nationalism inside the frame of nation-states. National identities have been based on the (patriarchal) family membership, which is rooted to localities like home, home-community and homeland.

New kind of methodological reflexivity is demanded from researchers who are trying to understand what happens in processes where the boundaries between earlier separated groups and communities are crossed. Local and global processes are now interconnected and markers of identity-group formations, such as 'us and them' or 'citizens and denizens', have to be redefined. Researchers of border-crossings have to consider the openness of cultural categories and enlargement of contextual frames of reference seriously. As many authors of this book assert, the competences of earlier conventions on connections and divisions between inclusive and exclusive zones are now challenged in approaches of transnationalism. Our understanding of cosmopolitan activities should continuously be deepened so that we can understand the character of current transformations. This demands that the movable placements of migrant actors are identified, even though their positions are precarious and their social identities are reconstructed from pieces of elements which are interconnected in new ways. An important issue to deal with is whether cosmopolitanism is defended in strong or weak forms in the global level, when requirements of human justice and distributive equality are understood as basic values of world citizens.

People are increasingly crossing national borders due to a variety of reasons – as tourists, traders, work-seekers, migrants, refugees and other kinds of vagrants. Border-crossings make people dislocated in terms that have been valid in defining citizenship in the nation states. But border-crossings also make it necessary to reconstruct citizen categories so that the relationships between locals and cosmopolitans can be redefined in the promotion of a new world order. Social actors who are both locals and cosmopolitans can contribute to civic activities by mobilizing their complex resources to become more influential. Their capabilities of acting together are increased only if they have enough solidarity and skills to form confident commitments across the borders, even with others than members of familiar communities or guaranteed trade partners. Solidarity without sustainable ethical rules is instrumentally oriented and therefore these kinds of cross-border commitments stay fragile. As far as the ethical codification is governed through the national legislation, global commitments are unequally progressed and the congruence of piecemeal efforts to justify cosmopolitan ideals need to be continuously checked through changing practices. One aspect

is how the voices of people who have lost their 'original' home and try to integrate in their new communities are heard.

Methodological cosmopolitanism demands reformation in ways of thinking about borders, not only because geopolitical borders are constantly being crossed but also because earlier fixed cultural identities and their boundaries are challenged. When cultural values of people are defined in connection with their national identities, those values are appreciated according to the hierarchical order of ethnicities. If taken seriously, cosmopolitanism demands equal human dignity of each individual inside the global structure.

Disciplinary borders of conventional cultural and social sciences are also challenged as this multidisciplinary transformation influences how the contents of cultural, social and political sciences are understood. The borders are not disappearing but being displaced, mixed or melted so that they become more invisible. This situation demands new constructive interpretations on how social relations, political activities and cultural identities are reformed in the globalizing world.

Among the almost thirty authors, there are both younger researchers and also distinguished scholars of the field like Ulrich Beck, David Held, Martha Nussbaum and Roland Robertson. Although the list of contributors mainly shows the representation of Anglo-American academic institutions, the perspectives which the contents cover also reach beyond the Western world. To understand the current world better, we need more discussion on cosmopolitan issues with an emphasis to voices from outside Europe. African representatives, apart from diaspora citizens, are still missing in this global discussion. Interestingly, the contributors representing the 'rising' Asia deal with issues like 'vernacular cosmopolitanism' or multicultural debates on the postcolonial situation. Alienating exclusion, living in diaspora situations or hybrid rooting to cosmopolitan localities are problems met in concrete situations of globally moving people. The applicability of the ideals of abstract universalism is a problem for cosmopolitanism as such. Unsolved questions are serious problems; one of them is how both particular and universal versions of cosmopolitanism tend to support elitist orientations to human rights, when rooted in the Enlightenment as a liberal (bourgeois) ideology.

It is easier to see cosmopolitanism as an abstract ideal from above than to understand concretely the daily life of the common people who are obliged to move out from home and separate from their roots and families. It raises the question, how can everyday practices be supported through the means of cosmopolitan thinking. This problem characterizes the collection, especially since the argumentation of some articles is quite abstract and confidence on conceptual thinking is best gained through coherent mundane examples. Fortunately this book also contains a lot of material, inspiring thoughts, well-reasoned arguments, and interesting debates to continue discussion for the realization of cosmopolitan practices.

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Six-Hohebalken, Maria & Tosic, Jelena (eds.) (2009) *Anthropologie der Migration. Theoretische Grundlagen und interdisziplinäre Aspekte*, Wien: Facultas Verlags- und Buchhandels AG. 365 pp.

There is no surprise in seeing again another volume devoted to migration studies – the discipline which developed to be the new booming industry in social sciences and humanities over the last fifteen years. But what makes this edited volume unique is its format as a textbook which is based on anthropological encounters with

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migration studies at a singular academic place – the University of Vienna and the Austrian Academy of Sciences. While the editors of the volume, Maria Six-Hohenbalken and Jelena Tocić, do not promise to provide students with a comprehensive overview on theories and practices of a prominent area of studies, the textbook is timely and significant in particular for German speaking universities.

As Sabine Strasser, Gudrun Kroner and Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger indicate in the title of their chapter *From Margin to Mainstream? Migration Studies and Social Anthropology in Austria*, anthropology of migration made an impressively rapid career at European academic centres. In spite of the remarkable arrival of migration as a compulsory subject of educational programs there is a lack of textbooks at university bookstores equipped with tools and main directions of this new and booming field.

In fact, observing a shift in faculty profiles towards including migration studies at the core of anthropological training, one can identify an intensity of research on human mobility and an institutionalization of migration studies in Europe. The new paradigms of research on mobile cultures and networks are explicitly covered by a bunch of new research laboratories and academic networks, just to mention a few of them: COMPAS in Oxford, IMISCOE and IMES in Amsterdam; IMIS, Max-Planck Institute for Multi-ethnic and Multi-religious societies in Germany; and effectively reflected in academic journals for the studies of global networks, mobility and transnationalism. There is an emerging landscape of museums representing the history and culture of migration in Europe.

Although the scope of sub-fields of anthropology of migration in Austria is limited, the value of this textbook is in its practical purpose for students and faculty members. The collection provides not only a solid and critical overview of recent research and theoretical frameworks, but also attempts to trace the question of an uneasy interaction between key anthropological notions and human mobility throughout the twentieth century. What makes this collection 'more grounded' is its strong local knowledge of Austrian examples of global connectedness. It approaches the ongoing debates on migrants, religion, social mobility and state policies from both etic and emic perspectives. The authors' main intention is to illuminate the specific contribution of anthropology to the theory and knowledge of migration for other disciplines. Whether colleagues from other disciplines will participate actively in this call for academic exchange is a question of the future.

The chapters in the volume are based on the typical organizing principle for textbooks, including a valuable list of reading assignments for basic and additional literatures in both German and English, a material useful for instructors at both undergraduate and graduate levels. A remarkable feature in each chapter is a list of three questions for discussion elaborating new research topics for students. Starting with three introductory texts on different forms of migration, the following sixteen chapters are organized in three sections: anthropological theories; multiculturalism, identity and gender; and applied fields of anthropology of migration, '*Anwendungsfelder*', each featuring their own editorial introductions. The last part of the volume illustrates the results of applied research in the field of inter-cultural competence, health study and migrants hometown associations in Austria.

More precisely, the contributors of this collection take a look at altering classical and new concepts of the main anthropological topics such as culture, gender, religion, kinship, household economy, community, body and healing. Some of the ethnography-based examples are framed in the theoretical impulses within a broader

academic scholarship such as modernization, dependency and cultural globalization. The first section of the collection presents a description of theoretical approaches, key notions and anthropological responses to macro political developments of international migration, labour migrations, diaspora and transnational networks. The chapters by Heidi Armbruster, and Sabine Strasser, as well as a reprint of Sarah Mahler's *Gender Matters: Ethnographers bring Gender from the Periphery towards the Core of Migration Studies* provide rich discussions on how anthropological studies identify their subjects and specific units of research: from household, family, community rituals, neighbourhood and peasants in remote places to networks, gender, ethnicity, youth, urban cultural diversity, translocality, second generation and 'diversity management' in contemporary cities.

In their chapter, Jelena Tocić, Gudrun Kroner and Susanne Binder address a prominent offshoot of social anthropology – forced migration anthropology. Drawing on classical and recent anthropological studies of expulsion and flight as lived experience the authors illustrate a recent proliferation of forced migration studies, its key definitions and a critical view on the one-sidedness characterizing the representation of forced migrants in mainstream media and state agencies. The explications lead to a self-critical note (p. 65) admitting the important role state institutions play in the reproduction of migration discourses and identities¹. In spite of the 'research-up' tendency, anthropology still did not manage to produce theories and practical statements towards migration policies of nation states, international agencies, NGOs and civil society associations.

Whereas the first section gives a broader review of theories and approaches, the second part of the collection offers a deeper view on selected topics such as multiculturalism, identity and gender. Providing rich literature reviews on recent case studies in Western Europe and Turkey in the intersection of individual strategies and nation state policies, two contributions deal with transformation of family, kinship and religion. These two articles, both written by Maria Six-Hohenbalken, deserve special mention as they touch upon two of the most conventional topics in anthropology. According to her, it is the family or religious belonging that can be crucial in decision making to migrate or stay at home. At the same time, the author suggests to rethink ideal types of kinship and marriage norms arguing for an emphasis on flexibility of family ties and dynamic religious shared meanings.

As a result, one can expect that anthropological studies on the phenomenon of migration have a great potential to be in the forefront of engaging with the 'others' in a critical way by questioning the mainstream macro perspectives on mobility cultures. Readers will find some answers to the question, to what extent the anthropological lens has contributed to the study of human migration. Still, the essays tell us little whether anthropologists of migration have produced a new field of research which is relevant for other disciplines. Almost all of the essays deal with the questions of identity, belonging and politics of integration in a new land rather than with, for example, the impact of migration for sending societies, a new materiality and popular culture of transnational migration, migrant's entrepreneurship and urban economy. Though a distinguishing feature of anthropology in comparison to other subjects dealing with migration is a closer insight in everyday life, minute details and deep narratives reflecting 'intimacies' and 'cultural technologies' of migration patterns and individual experiences, the authors do not spend much time with anthropological modes of analysis and ethnographic ways of data creation. So, a comprehended and systematic description of research methods including practical instructions for students on how to use

¹ In his recent collection of essays Steven Vertovec (2010) advocated public understanding and policy development to the subject matter of anthropology of migration.

their environment for training anthropological skills and on the benefit of a combination of classical long-term and multi-sited ethnographies would have added powerfully to the authors' recommendations.

As a textbook *Anthropology of Migration* would definitely benefit from including additional teaching materials such as visuals, photographs, films and blogs which would help to grasp the scope of increased meaning of migration for contemporary societies and the changing mode of representations of migrants and refugees in Western Europe and elsewhere. Nevertheless, the textbook is written in a clear and accessible language and makes an important contribution to academic scholarship and for the educational processes at German speaking universities. This inspires for further studies.

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Zincone, Giovanna, Penninx, Rinus & Borkert, Maren (eds.) (2011) *Migration Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 440 pp.

Whereas the history of immigration in Europe is clearly one of continuity in some respects, there have been significant changes in both migration patterns and state efforts to regulate migration movements. The objective of this volume is to analyze how migration policies are formed and implemented, with ten European countries serving as case studies. Fifteen authors have contributed to the book, in addition to writing editors Giovanna Zincone, Rinus Penninx and Maren Borkert. The cases span from the post-war migration countries of Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, via the Mediterranean migration countries of Italy and Spain, to the Eastern European countries of the Czech Republic and Poland, both of the latter being 2004 EU accession states. Grouping the case studies as post-war migration countries, Mediterranean migration countries and Eastern European countries respectively, the book emphasizes the impact of past experience on current migration policies. Historical and institutional legacies such as colonial history, emigration experience and the relationship between the state and religion(s) are seen as potential influences on migration policies.

Whereas much research has been done on the content of migration policies, this book provides a closer look on the processes through which these policies come into being. The authors concern themselves mainly with the making of policies, rather than mapping their specific contents. Nevertheless, the empirical examples also suggest similarities and dissimilarities across states, as well as policy change and consistency.

In the introduction, the authors launch their attempt to analyze the process of policymaking. Furthermore, they present the background of this comparative study, and briefly discuss the challenges of such an undertaking. The bulk of the book consists of country-by-country analysis, ten chapters in all. While the focal point is the last decade, the authors have provided the historical context of earlier migratory movements, as well as early attempts at policies and policymaking. Adhering to a predefined analytical framework, the authors approach the whole range of country cases in a consistent manner. In the

volume's concluding chapter, policymaking in a comparative perspective is discussed, asking which factors and actors typically effect change or continuity in policies, and furthermore, whether policies converge or diverge between countries.

Drawing on the analytical framework of an earlier study (Zincone & Caponio 2006), the authors present a range of actors and factors important to the processes of making and implementing policy in the ten case countries: legal frameworks and the legislative powers of the state; the legislative initiatives of civil servants; supreme courts interpreting legislation; the labour market and its actors (employers and unions); religious bodies; the political machinations of changing governments; NGOs; think tanks and experts; voters, and public opinion. Some actors are presented as a disciplining force in the process of decision-making, whereas others are perceived as buffers against radical change.

The EU is presented as a major force in policymaking, not only by way of treaties and directives, but also through informal contact and exchange between member states. The authors conclude that common EU policies often follow changes of policy in influential EU countries. Several examples in the case studies illuminate how countries influence each other regarding policy, leading to an informal harmonization of policies to meet changes elsewhere in Europe. Still, there remains a diversity of policies across EU member states, which the authors attribute to the fact that immigration started at different points of time in European countries, thus leading to differences in the configuration and impact of immigration.

The authors convincingly suggest a battle of competences between various actors, all keen on making migration their competence: governments; parliaments; ministries; public administration; municipalities; constitutional courts; employers and unions. Numerous examples remind us how state policymakers have often made the mistake of perceiving migration – both within and into Europe – as a temporary phenomenon, seeing migrants merely as a dispensable work force. The widespread perception of particularly labour migrants as 'guests' has, naturally, influenced the formation and shape of inclusion policies, or the lack of such measures. The authors further outline conflicting notions of migration. Is it mainly an issue pertaining to the labour market, the domain of labour relations, and, subsequently, the labour ministries? Is it rather an issue of national security, making it the concern of the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Justice or bodies governing the police? Or, finally, is it a social issue of health, education or welfare?

Incidentally, the issue of competences also poses a challenge to the authors, given the comparative nature of their analysis. The editors succinctly describe the problem of comparative research in a policy field where categories are named and delineated differently both historically and from one country to the next. Different terminology and definitions reflect differences in how domains are demarcated. Facing 'competing terminology', the authors have chosen to use terminology from the relevant national context in country chapters. They warn that imposing uniform terminology on all country analyses would impede understanding. However, comparative analysis requires at least some common ground. Rather than forcing the analytical grid rigidly onto the cases, the authors have focused on key terms and concepts, such as the relationship between *immigration* policies regarding entry and stay, and *immigrant* policies of integration and inclusion – or, indeed, the lack of such policies.

The selection of cases for analysis appears well-founded, my only true – and perhaps unfair – objection being that Greece has been left out. The perspective of Mediterranean migration countries has, of course, been attended to through case studies of Italy and Spain.

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However, Greece's high arrival numbers and volatile economical and political situation, combined with deficient immigration and migrant inclusion policies, might make for interesting elaborations on the analysis.

The use of a shared analytical grid structures the material and facilitates a comparative analysis, leaving us with an impressively coherent narrative of migration policy and its making. The text is easy to follow, blemished only by the odd word missing. The country chapters are thorough, yet hardly inventive; they might be more engaging if the various authors left a distinctive print on their respective contributions. On the other hand, as a result of the shared approach and writing style, the authors succeed in creating a consistent volume, rather than a loosely assembled collection of articles. The concluding chapter consists of an ambitious discussion of the comparative project as such. Refreshingly, the conclusion also outlines contradictions inherent in current policy practices and trends, providing a set of hands-on proposals for alternative policy lines.

Migration research tends to draw on a variety of disciplines and modes of explanation. Such is also the case here; with an eclectic approach, the book draws attention to the aforementioned range of actors and factors contributing to make and implement policy. However, the reader is left floundering for a distinction between various levels of agency, and an explanation of the relations between them. The categories of formal, semiformal and informal actors appear rather vague and fluid in their delineation. For instance, trade unions are classified as informal or semiformal actors depending on their level of inclusion in the process of public decision-making. Despite the concluding discussion, it remains difficult to grasp the interplay of various actors and factors, such as the relationship between structural changes of the economy and changes at the policy level. The 1973 oil crisis is pointed out to illustrate that a range

of countries may be affected by the same factors, producing similar policies; in this case, the impact of the crisis on national economies led to a call for zero immigration in several European countries. This perspective seems to be less developed in other parts of the analysis, where the various factors often appear to be given equal explanatory weight and priority. The book might therefore have benefited from a discussion of agency prior to the country analyses.

Despite the aforementioned challenges, the use of a shared framework clearly allows for useful historical and cross-country comparisons. Another strength of this book is the numerous empirical examples, illustrating the tendencies described in various country cases. All in all, the scope and detail of the book combine to create a valuable contribution to the field.

The book proves to be an interesting read with its structured approach to policymaking in the field of migration and migrant inclusion. It should be useful in academia for students and lecturers within the fields of migration studies, political science and policy studies. I would also recommend it to any reader with a general interest in migration policy, policy debate and the public discourse of migration.

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