DE GRUYTER OPEN

Nordic Journal of Migration Research

Book Reviews • DOI: 10.1515/njmr-2017-0028 NJMR • 7(3) • 2017 • 189-195

BOOK REVIEWS

Bosma, Ulbe, Kessler, Gijs & Lucassen, Leo (eds.) (2013) *Migration and Membership Regimes in Global and Historical Perspective: An Introduction*, Brill: Leiden. 319 pp.

This volume of Ulbe Bosma, Gijs Kessler and Leo Lucassen is a unique one, which proposes to re-examine the contemporary discipline of migration studies through an expanded historical perspective. In the past, these studies were usually carried out through researching the active transatlantic space of the 19th century, while typically assuming the migrant's final 'integration/assimilation'. This volume is an attempt to widen the field of analysis and include new settings, cultures and historical eras in order to better understand the transversal phenomenon of migration.

Bosma, Kessler and Lucassen follow a theoretical framework on migration established by Patrick Manning (2005) in his *Migration in world history* by dividing the movement of people into four types: (1) home community migration, (2) colonization, (3) whole community migration, and (4) cross-cultural migration. Most often, these movements initiate a two-way change between the migrants and the receiving society or 'polity'. Their organizational perspective in migration studies appears through identifying the regimes of membership by which contact between these polities and migrants occurs.

Thematically, the book brings together 10 research chapters relating to membership regimes and migration, organized under the headings: (1) 'Creating the Polity', (2) 'Polities Seeking Members', (3) 'Polities Taken over', and (4) 'Expanding and Consolidating the Empire'. The breadth and depth of these studies demonstrates the volume's intention to utilize varied global historical data in analysing migration, from Ancient to Modern eras. These are linked together through the development of a 'global historical typology' of migration, which intentionally de-emphasizes the classic Western European expansion and colonization migration. In this regard, the justification for the book's organization is strong. Overall, however, the introduction falls somewhat short after its good analytical breakdown through shallow attention to defining its 'comparative' method. Indeed, it appears truncated almost intentionally. The failure to set a clear theoretical framework for the complex comparisons covered in the volume unfortunately leads directly to the overall incoherence of the inter-relations between the proceeding chapters. Individually, each is excellently researched, and they serve as unique contributions to their respective fields. However, since the overall linkage is relatively weak, this review will proceed to evaluate each of the four sections individually, while hinting at an overarching framework.

Under the section 'Creating the Polity', the contributions reverse the typical tropes of migration studies to centralize movement as a driver of polity creation. Mark Varien claims that migration remains at the heart of the Pueblo community's history (p. 51). Christel Mueller echoes this sentiment by criticizing an idea of a pure static identity as a creation of modern nationalism (p. 27). The pre-historical or ancient subjects of these chapters demonstrates that such 'national' boundaries are not particularly useful because they are hard to reconstruct in such early time periods (p. 35). Varien suggests that therefore it is more useful to follow languages and use archaeology to track historical polities (p. 59). For example, the Pueblo moved 'within a social landscape structured by the location of multiple persistently occupied communities, a 'multidimensionality' which deterred factionalism' (p. 68). Therefore, Ibrahima Thiaw concludes that the identity of the polity emerges in the course of the migration process (p. 94). Sereer identity is not based on ethnicity but instead on shared characteristics; common socio-political organization, historical memories of uncertain homelands, or hostile relationships with established states (p. 97).

The chapters of section (2), 'Polity Seeking Members', continues the investigation by emphasizing the next-stage methods of integration of new members after a polity has already emerged. Derek Heng describes to us the early modern Singapore as a fledgling state, born strategically located among the many networks of ocean trade flows of Southeast Asia. Therefore, the polity positioned itself actively to take advantage of migrants traveling within these flows. Using the example of Islamic migrants, Heng shows the process by which they are integrated: due to the advantages of absorbing such traders, they were given important positions in courts representing symbolic belonging (p. 130), while using their specialized skills for state benefit. Thus, inward migration could be seen as desirable and an indicator of success. However, such inward migration creates longer-term problems for the polity as well.

Maartje van Gelder describes 16th century Venice as such a city-state polity, as 'most of the people are foreigners.' (p. 141). Their participation was strictly controlled by the difficult admission to the

ranks of citizen, a designation which legally demanded loyalty to the polity (p. 148). But such foreign Dutch communities became so influential that external trade began to wax and wane according to the condition of their extra-Venetian networks (p. 156). This dependence led to significant weakening of the strict criteria for citizenship, and the Netherlands began to exercise their interests in Venice through local democratic methods rather than inter-state diplomacy (p. 151). As the entrance codes weakened, this exercise of influence increasingly occupied a legal 'grey-zone' in between a typical insider-outsider binary (p. 160).

Such insights lead directly to section (3), 'Polities Taken Over', which examines how a polity changes after migrants have become the dominant internal force. Mu-Chou Poo's chapter on China and Ralph Mathisen's chapter on the Romans return the reader to the ancient era and the integration of 'barbarian' tribes, although in different ways. In ancient China's case, described by Poo, the ability for the Xianbei outsiders to take the existing mantle of power of the 'Chinese' state through appropriation was key. Their arrival and military conquest meant that they had to control the existing population using the Chinese language and traditions, which had already been present (p. 185). In Mathisen's chapter on the Romans, the dynamic of takeover is reversed: here borders were determined through legal means, the status of equal 'citizens' was determined by the polity's laws. Citizenship of the 'Roman polity' was distributed across a vast empire, in which these titles fused with local identities (p. 196). These multiple, interpenetrating identities caused a breakdown in the cohesion of the Roman polity itself.

The final section (4) on 'Expanding and Consolidating the Empire', examines the processes of migration during the transformation of the polity into a multi-ethnic empire ruled by an ideology. In Susan Elizabeth Ramirez' case on the Incans, the original polity under the 'Sun God' used their own ideology to integrate the conquered tribes in an inclusive empire (p. 226). Yet, while the Incans reorganized the conquered tribes through forced internal migration and inter-marriage engineering of their existing lineage lines (p. 228), they simultaneously preserved and reproduced the distinguishing cultural and ethnic traditions of those tribes for identification and differentiation (p. 236). Therefore, supplanting the existing Sun-God ideology of empire with European religion was possible for the Spanish conquistadors, yet the preserved cultural differentiation provided the foundation for local ethnicities to strongly resist new leadership.

Nicholas Breyfogle's chapter on 19th century Russia highlights those sectarian migrants ejected from Tsarist lands who settled on frontiers and borderlands: overtime, these originally exiled religious separatists were absorbed into an expanding category of 'Russian colonists' in order to re-establish their interconnection with a 'Russian' polity (p. 246). Therefore, these migrants maintained a dual-identity as religious separatists but simultaneously as loyal ethnic Russians (p. 250). This not only differentiated them from Muslim residents, but also increase their administrative powers vis-à-vis the central polity; so much so that by the late century arrival of more traditional Orthodox Russian migrants, these separatists had already established themselves as the ruling polity within that particular subsection of the Russian Empire (p. 257).

Overall, Bosma, Kessler, and Lucassen make an excellent contribution to their field with this volume. The authors who have been gathered to produce each chapter are clearly experts in their respective studies. Especially, the copious presence of many well-crafted maps, tables and interesting photographs adds a great deal of clarity and engaging detail to the presentation. This volume is certainly a must-read for any researcher or professor interested in challenging their orthodox views of migration studies, and represents a great attempt at creative fusion. However, the lack of a core argument that clearly spans across the numerous cases with a theoretical structure hurts the take away for non-specialists. Each contribution descends deeply into detailed analysis of their historical and temporal contexts, and therefore, tends to relegate each chapter into disciplinary isolation. Therefore, not only is this volume aimed at those already specialized in migration studies (who can therefore provide their own theoretical framework), but each chapter may itself be more useful to narrow historical specialists: jumping from marauding Chinese horsemen to Pueblo settlement patterns can leave a general reader more confused than enlightened. The authors should be encouraged by their solid contribution but assist their audience by providing better guideposts to the linkages across many interesting and disparate case studies. This excellent volume is recommended in particular for anyone working in Global History.

Jesse Sargent*
PhD Candidate, Department of International History, The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Switzerland

References

Manning, P 2005, *Migration in world history*, Routledge, New York.

Dragolov, Georgi, Ignácz, Zsófia S., Lorenz, Jan, Delhey, Jan, Boehnke, Klaus & Unzicker, Kai (2016) *Social Cohesion in the Western World. What Holds Societies Together: Insights from the Social Cohesion Radar*, Cham: Springer International Publishing. 138 pp.

The sole theme and focus of the book is social cohesion, and the components that come together under the idea of social cohesion. Georgi Dragolov, Zsófia Ignácz, Jan Lorenz, Jan Delhey, Klaus Boehnke, and Kai Unzicker approach the topic from a range of backgrounds, from sociology, psychology, educational science, and mathematical modelling, representing a variety of research interests such as political socialization, subjective well-being, inequality, and European integration. The authors, following an extensive and thorough literature review, delineate the conceptual heritage of social cohesion and its relationship to sociology, and argue for an understanding of the concept that permits robust quantification without compromising the complexity of the topic. The book explores the nature of social cohesion in 34 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and European Union (EU) countries, and presents a series of overarching social cohesion profiles under which the countries can be grouped. Ultimately, the authors present a lucid and exhaustive analysis and discussion of their methods and findings, while also suggesting a range of issues to explore and clarify in further research.

Dragolov et al. proceed with meticulous caution through their theoretical lineage in surprising brevity, situating the book firmly within the realms of macrosociology. They emphasise the need for a more concrete understanding of social cohesion, bringing the concept down from the abstract and separating it out from other variables used to profile society and societal development. The relevance of their project is made pertinent by the frequency by which social cohesion is set as a policy goal without adequate measures of what is meant by social cohesion. Suggesting measurements, the authors seek to provide both scholars and policy makers with adequate means of evaluating and pursuing social cohesion. Drawing on recurring themes of either a relational, distributive, or ideational nature, the authors establish three dimensions to social cohesion:

* E-mail: jesse.sargent@graduateinstitute.ch

social relationships, *connectedness*, and *focus on the common good*. They then proceed to define three quantifiable components to each dimension: social networks, trust, and acceptance of diversity as indicators of *social relationships*; identification, trust in institutions, and perception of fairness as measures of *connectedness*; and solidarity and helpfulness, respect for social rules, and civic participation as an index of *focus on the common good*. The subsequent analysis and discussion methodically explores the validity of their model, how their model generates discernible regimes by which their sample of countries can be organised, and the relationship between the outcomes and determinants of their variables. The authors further challenge their model by applying it to a single-country case study, Germany, and contrast the impact of different factors at the *Bundesländer* level with the results from the international domain.

The book benefits from remarkably clear and lucid writing. The authors clearly structure each chapter, and the abstracts offered at the beginning of each chapter clues the reader in to what is to be expected. Arguments are clearly presented in every instance, and the authors' transparency with regards to methods and limitations is nothing short of impressive. Particularly refreshing, to a qualitative researcher, is their recognition of the value-laden nature of their research and quantitative methods. The authors offer no pretence as to the temporal aspect of their research, recognising the need to update the analyses, as newer waves of data are made available. Their models, analyses, and discussions are intellectually stimulating, striking a balance between simplifying and unintelligible complexity. Despite the complexity of their endeavour, the authors are remarkably terse, eschewing literary flourishes in favour of clarity and brevity. Overall, the funnel-like structure of the book results in a highly enjoyable read – taking the reader from the abstract plane of social cohesion theory, down to a single-country case study.

The wealth of data analysed in the book is impressive, and the authors clearly delineate their logic behind the choice of variables. Relying on multiple surveys and data sources, they are able to ensure consistency in the data and across the different waves of data. Unfortunately, this also restricts the authors to variables that are, at times, too general. This results in sections where the authors merely report the data, and provide little discussion. This becomes particularly noticeable in their reporting of the impact of immigration and religion on social cohesion (pp. 64-66, 73). The measure on diversity is given by percentage of migrants, with no discussion on the potential impact, or lack thereof, of different forms of immigration or migrant stock. Considering the authors' desire to be policy relevant (pp. xxvi-xxix), and the highly politicised and securitised nature of immigration, the section would have benefitted from a scrutiny of the diversity variable or a statement of why such a scrutiny would not be forthcoming.

Contrasting their otherwise robust choice of variables in other factors, the limited variables chosen concerning immigration and religion are surprising, and a more thorough discussion would have been welcome. As the measures of wealth and economic situation, modernization, and inequality, they employ a selection of indices (human development index, knowledge index, KOF index of globalization) that incorporate a range of measures, rendering the variable more robust. In comparison, diversity is exemplified by *percentage of immigrants*. Though Dragolov et al. note the discrepancy between high tolerance and low percentage of immigrants, they do not discuss it beyond observing that naturalization rates may have an impact on the relationship between the two variables (p. 73). Similarly, the *percentage of religious people* could have been elaborated by including data available to them through the World Value Survey, such as *Overall Secular Values*, *Religious Denomination*, or other measures of religiosity/non-religiosity (World Value Survey 2014). The authors do probe deeper in their analysis of their German case study, although they do not expand their diversity variable beyond migrants as a percentage of the population. They do explore religion-based variables further, and report that the regional analysis does not match the international analysis. Overall, the shortcomings do not detract from their overarching analysis and argument.

In conclusion, the authors succinctly and coherently present a sophisticated analysis of social cohesion and its concomitant factors, though it is, at times, overly descriptive as opposed to reflexive. Their research focuses on an international comparison and thorough testing of the validity of their model. The book would be of interest to scholars of social cohesion, and social cohesion policy makers. I would also recommend the book to quantitative methods instructors. Dragolov et al. succeed in presenting complex statistical methods in an easily understood manner, making it accessible to those without a strong background in quantitative methodology. The authors encourage collection of targeted primary data to improve the analyses, and it would be interesting to see further development of this research agenda.

Stephen Richard Trotter*
PhD Candidate in Sociology, University of Glasgow, United Kingdom

References

World Values Survey 2014, *Wave 5 2005-2008 OFFICIAL AGGREGATE v.20140429*. Available from: <www.worldvaluessurvey.org> Version history: 2014-04-29: Official release [Last accessed 2.2.2017]

Schütze, Stephanie (2016) *Constructing Transnational Political Spaces. The Multifaceted Political Activism of Mexican Migrants*, London: Palgrave Macmillan. 178 pp.

I came across this book written by Professor of Anthropology, Stephanie Schütze, due to my interest in contemporary political Mexico and a desire to know more about the ways in which migration between Mexico and the United States transforms and ties together political settings in both countries. The book aims to 'show that the new visibility of Mexican migrants' political action in Mexican municipalities as well as in US cities is an expression of the increasing cross-border political organization that is taking place in multiple arenas of interaction and communication' (p. 5). Overall, the book provides insights into complex translocal political arenas and an intriguing topic that is not likely to decrease in relevance over the coming years, now that Donald Trump has been elected as the US president on the basis of his harsh anti-immigration campaign.

Schütze's book is based on multi-sited fieldwork in rural towns in the Mexican state of Michoacán and amongst the organizations of migrants from Michoacán, based in Chicago. The locations chosen for carrying out the fieldwork and the decision to focus on migrants from Michoacán in Chicago are well-argued, and these settings allow the author to trace and convincingly show ways in which a translocal political arena emerges between agents and across space and national boundaries. As Schütze points out, Chicago has in recent years emerged as 'a new political center of Mexican migrant organizations' (p. 6) – only surpassed by Los Angeles – yet the Mexican migrant activities in Chicago remain largely unexplored. Furthermore, 'Michoacán is one of the states with the highest emigration rate in Mexico' (p. 11), a country in which migrant remittances constitute the second largest component of the national economy (p. 2).

* E-mail: s.trotter.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Since the late 1990s, there has been a surge of Mexican migrant organizations in Chicago, of which the basic and most widespread kind is the hometown association through which migrants organize their engagement with their communities of origin. Many hometown associations are integrated into regional associations that correspond to the Mexican state entities, and an umbrella association coordinates the work of several of the regional associations. The hometown associations address local and municipal politics, the regional associations focus on Mexican state politics, and the umbrella organization operates according to a binational agenda, addressing federal and state governments of Mexico and the US. In this sense, distinct types of associations operate on different political scales in the Mexican (and American) setting, and these scales are explored in the book.

The book is divided into six chapters, of which the first is a contextualizing introduction that sets the scene of the study and sketches the structure of the book, and the last is a conclusion that stresses key findings. The second chapter situates the study theoretically and historically, and it is followed by three 'empirical chapters' (p. 17), which focus on migrant projects and political activities in three towns in Michoacán, eight Chicago-based migrant leaders' transnational political engagements, and the political arenas of Chicago-based Mexican migrants, respectively; a central one being a regional association that integrates associations for hometowns in Michoacán.

In line with a central branch of cultural anthropology, the empirical chapters are guided by a descriptive epistemology that focuses on how agents make sense of their activities, and these chapters present extensive pieces of empirical material deriving from interview situations, newspaper reports, and press releases. In my view, such descriptive aims necessitate a firm and solid sorting of the empirical material to clearly delineate it from the author's analysis. Unfortunately, I often had difficulties locating the voice and positions of the author in the empirical chapters. One problem in this respect is, perhaps, that the varying empirical entities are not sufficiently hierarchized. Within the space of 65 pages, chapters 3 and 4 describe migrant projects in three different Mexican towns and activities, past and present, of eight migrant leaders. All entities are sympathetically accorded their distinctive section, which gives an impression of the variegated agents and differentiated social circumstances and settings. Yet this naturalistic organization of the empirical material also means that transitory background information on communities, biographical trajectories, and migrant organizations often slides to the front, while the analytical project slides to the back. In particular, the chapter on eight different migrant leaders could perhaps have benefitted from a different structure, since the space of two to four pages dedicated to each individual is simply too sparse to transcend the task of ethnographic contextualization. The interview bits and media excerpts included in the chapters often come to serve the seeming purpose of filling in personal details and documenting the migrants' political activities. The page-long media excerpts are enclosed by laconic statements that sum up how the migrant leaders are portrayed: 'In the newspaper article, Lourdes is presented as a professional voice, as a lawyer, and as a member of the IME council. The article paints a complex picture of her political role as a community spokeswoman in the Chicago land area and at the same time as a mediator between the concerns of Mexican migrants and the government in Mexico' (pp. 103-105). The inclusion of extensive media texts does not relieve the author of a workload; it rather creates extra work on the part of the author; yet, the work required to genuinely engage with media portrayals is lacking.

Perhaps, as a result of the extensive inclusion of empirical material and the tendency toward descriptive analysis, I found the book a bit too celebratory of migrant agency. Chapter 3, for instance, reports how hometown associations attempt to direct municipal politics through Mexico's 3x1 program, which multiplies migrant funds for community projects in rural areas. Schütze inspects two intriguing cases (pp. 55-64) of how hometown associations have influenced the outcome of municipal elections and decision-making processes. The hometown association of Francisco Villa, for instance, found that the municipal authorities of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) were unwilling to financially support their project plans. In the subsequent municipal elections, the hometown association got into the electoral campaign, actively endorsing a candidate from the opposing Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) who had promised to support their projects. The migrant community raised almost 15,000 USD and actively recruited voters through the promise of funding social projects. That the migrant community succeeded in getting the PRD candidate elected as municipal president is certainly a testament to their newly gained translocal political influence in a community in which the municipal government and the PRI have always been identical. However, rather than engaging more intensively with this and other emblematic cases, Schütze deals with it only in passing, leaving uninspected the wide-reaching consequences of the emerging translocal political spaces she sketches, and I was left wondering if there are any potential problems involved in having a distant migrant community in the North buying their way to influence in the South that would have been worth exploring?

A terrible slip-up – which cannot be attributed to the author alone – appears to have happened in the final editing stage of the book, when it was decided to break up the bibliography as per the individual chapters. The list of references to chapter 1 is missing altogether, which undermines its usefulness as a general introduction to the research topic, and the lists of references in the additional chapters are equally missing at least ten percent of the works referred to. Moreover, a 'bibliography' featuring prominent scholars such as Benedict Anderson, Homi Bhabha, Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre, Edward Said, and Nira Yuval-Davis makes a surprise appearance at the end of the book and is perhaps a trace of a former collective bibliography. Yet, since the works of the above-mentioned scholars and others are not included in the book, and considering the book makes occasional references to a missing 'list of organizations and institutions on pages 248-251', I was left with the general impression of an insufficiently revised version of a former, larger manuscript.

Notwithstanding the problematic issues identified here, Schütze's book demonstrates that politics in Mexico and the US today cannot be adequately addressed or understood without affording attention to the political spaces that have opened across the borders. Mexican migrants in Chicago are involved in the town and municipal politics in their areas of origin, and they have organized themselves to increase their influence in the state and government politics in Mexico. Simultaneously, the Mexican migrants are putting their organizations to use in fighting for their rights in the US. By identifying central arenas and agents of a surging transnational political space, the book will be helpful as a source of inspiration to students and scholars planning to do fieldwork on transnational political processes between Latin America and North America.

Casper Jacobsen*
Postdoctoral researcher, University of Groningen, Netherlands

* Email: c.jacobsen@rug.nl

Triandafyllidou, Anna and Marchetti, Sabrina (2015) *Employers, Agencies and Immigration. Paying for Care*, Research in Migration and Ethnic Relation Series. Surrey: Ashgate. 242 pp.

In the feminist scholarship on gender, care and migration issues, there has been a tendency to focus on domestic workers and migrant care workers as the central figures. In this book, the authors offer interesting, fresh and innovative analysis of the employers of nannies, housekeepers, au pairs and migrant care workers as customers and participants in the formal and informal labour market.

Employing gender, class and ethnicity perspectives on paid domestic work and care work, the authors examine social and economic interactions between migrants, families, the state and global markets in European contexts like Italy, Slovenia, Spain, Norway, Poland, Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic and the United Kingdom. The editors, Anna Triandafyllidou and Sabrina Marchetti aim to put together an anthology to shed light on who the employers of domestic/care workers are and how do they perceive the migrant care workers. What are employers' expectations, values and social identities? Why do they employ housekeepers and care workers? In other words, the demand side of the paid domestic work that is the focus in this book. By researching the standpoint of employers, the authors intend to bring new dimensions to the analysis of emerging hierarchies between women employers and employees rooted in class and race/ethnic inequalities in contemporary European societies.

The anthology is a contribution to a wider understanding of how the middle-class households respond to changing interaction patterns between families, shrinking welfare states, markets and political regulation of migration. Theoretically, contributors are inspired by the global care chains' literature and recent analysis of the international divisions of reproductive labour.

The book has three parts. The first section discusses 'Everyday negotiations through the Employers' Eyes', the second looks into 'Employers and the Changing Policies on Domestic and Care Work', while the last part focusses on the changes 'From Host Parents to Employers: Recent Developments in Au Pair Schemes'. In addition to the introduction, the book consists of eleven chapters written by twelve researchers.

In the first part, Maurizio Ambrosini explores how a lack of political will to regulate the arrivals of migrant care workers and Italian families' needs for help to manage new and increasing care burdens, has led to an emergence of an informal care economy where the supply of migrants and local demands for care workers connect. Female family members, more often than men, are in the forefront in negotiations and interactions with the employees. He conceptualizes the female dominated informal care systems as Italy's 'invisible welfare systems'. The chapter sheds light on the interesting fact that in spite of the financial crisis in Italy, expenses to the public funded cash-for-care have become a cornerstone in the existing care systems for elderly due to some unexpected contradictions between welfare, care, and migration regimes. Ambrosini concludes that informal care gives more power and flexibility to care managers in the family and reduces the freedom for the care workers. As a nation, he thinks Italy would be better off if finding alternative solutions to deal with the challenging demographic changes the future will bring.

Sabrina Marchetti examines the difficulties and ambiguities that the Italian relatives of dependent elderly experience when employing a migrant care worker. In her analysis of thirty-two female employers of migrant care workers, she asks if care work performed in care receivers' own home is a job like any other job. She points to an ambiguity among employers related to the question of what is at stake when paying a stranger to care for close relatives. Can employers expect that the care workers improve the care receivers' health? Or will the migrant care workers worsen the elderly's health situation? Will their family members be treated badly or nicely by the care workers? Marchetti finds a lack of trust in care workers among employers, and this perceived unreliability is closely connected to the existing class hierarchies in the Italian society. Employers construct a self-image of themselves as a 'loving family'. Their position as caring and dutiful family members is in stark contrast to the role they construct for care workers; a role as pure economic actors, working out of necessity. Having to earn money for their families back home, migrant care workers have an inferior social status compared to the employers' morally superior status.

In post-socialist societies like Poland, Slovenia and the Czech Republic, egalitarian ideologies are disappearing, and new social inequalities transform relations between markets and the family. Anna Kordasiewicz writes about what the class guilt employers of domestic workers in Poland feel when paying for housework and care. Contemporary Poland, she writes, lacks any clear definitions of the role of a domestic worker. In (post)egalitarian context, the employment of domestic workers might be associated with memories from a left-behind oppressive society.

To neutralize unpleasant tensions in employer-employee relations, the Polish employers have developed several coping strategies to reduce distance. One of the interesting coping strategies is 'the cultural pedagogy' strategy that employers use when hiring Ukrainian domestic workers. This is a kind of post-colonial construction of Ukrainian women as women coming from inferior contexts in need of learning how to behave properly. Employers use the comments on domestic workers' biography to confirm their superiority and underline the social inferior role the Ukrainian domestic workers have, Kordasiewicz finds. Compared to the upper classes' comfortable role as employers, the middle-class employers experience the manifestation of social inequality in relations to paid care workers as unpleasant and problematic. The class guilt they feel is an interesting expression of a transforming culture and mentality in contexts increasingly dominated by neo-liberal economies.

In the Czech Republic, Adelà Souralova examines the commercial market strategies that the care placement agencies develop to formalize and professionalize childcare. State nursery schools are diminishing and private agencies offer services based on expert knowledge on care work. Such agencies are more expensive than the migrant care workers. However, the trust that normally has to be established between employer and employee when hiring a nanny is transformed by the agency that offers expert services as professional, and therefore, trustworthy for their clients.

As a contrast to the Czech commercialization of care services, the Slovenian state brings social policy experiments into local welfare contexts where the supply of migrant care workers meets the demand for them. Ziva Humer and Majda Hrzenjak examines a project called 'System of Household Assistance' (SIPA) aimed at contributing to alleviating the precarious situation in the field of care service and exploring a new strategy that might strengthen the welfare state. The Slovenians introduced a public subsidized system of paid domestic work in private households to regulate the supply and demand balance. The researchers find that despite the public regulation of paid domestic work in private households, inequalities between employers and employees continued to exist.

The book offers interesting and high quality analysis to the research field of paid domestic work. In addition to the above-

mentioned chapters, there are contributions discussing the paid care in Austria, Belgium, Norway and Great Britain. All chapters are well written, relevant and interesting. They bind nicely together how the employers of domestic/care workers in several European contexts perceive their social, economic and moral position in relation to their employees.

Summing up, the editors conclude that we are witnessing a proletarization of paid domestic work. Middle class families no longer hire nannies, housekeepers, care workers and cleaners as 'a luxury', but as a 'necessity' and this leads to mass employment. However, I wish they could have discussed more broadly how this kind of 'necessity' is embedded in gendered social, political and economic processes that freeze gender equality processes and maintain women's 'second shifts'. Housework and care work is 'necessary', but if men and women share housework and care work more equally, how 'necessary' would migrant care workers be?

Lise Widding Isaksen*
Professor, University of Bergen, Norway

Yılmaz, Ferruh (2016) *How the Workers Became Muslims: Immigration, Culture, and Hegemonic Transformation in Europe*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 288 pp.

Departing from the Danish case, Yılmaz takes up the theoretical framework from Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe and their seminal work *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (1985) to investigate how the populist far right adopted successful hegemonic strategies through the immigration issue. Yılmaz argues convincingly that this has led to a reconfiguration of internal fault lines in the European societies. The most important of these being a transformation of the socio-political space to a question of cultural rather than economic attributes. Looking at specific turning points in recent political history in the 1980s and 1990s, he identifies the drivers of this development and shows that the definition of immigration 'problem' is reconfigured over time as constituting a crisis or not, and thus, requiring certain restrictive political interventions. Using a logic akin to Deborah Stone (2002) who has investigated the narration of policy 'facts', he shows how Denmark experienced large inflows of refugees in 1992–1993 without it being perceived as a crisis, whereas the much smaller inflow of refugees in the early 1980s was perceived contrarily and led to moral panic (pp. 63-67). We can compare this with the situation in 2015–2016, which Yılmaz obviously has no possibilities of addressing; the numbers in these last years, are actually not much bigger than the ones in 1992–1993 – despite the common perception (in both periods around 28,000 spontaneous refugees arrived in Denmark). Hence, it is not a matter of the number of immigrants as such which is decisive but *how* the number is framed and problematized. The central key for understanding the hegemonic interpellations of the far right is to be able to understand how and when moral panic is 'activated'. Focusing on the key political figures, he demonstrates how they were able to problematize the present politics and create new divisive lines in society driven acculturalization of the antagonism.

The book is not only an academic undertaking, it is also Yılmaz's personal narrative of being an immigrant in Denmark. In the book, he describes how he migrated to Denmark in the early 1980s, where he worked as a journalist for years and later became an academic. When he arrived in Denmark, he lived in a local commune and aligned with the leftists – himself being a left-activist. He had no sense of cultural identity and what this would entail. The main category to understand and analyse society was that of class. Two decades later, he ends up defining himself as a Muslim regardless of never having been a religious person. What had happened? The same as had happened to thousands of other labour migrants who had arrived as workers but ended up being represented as Muslims. The same tendency could be identified on an organizational level where the immigrant organisations went about identifying by class, nationality and/or ethnicity to identify along religious lines as national and transnational Muslim organisations. This is a well-known fact we can identify with in several European countries but it has been told with elegance through Yılmaz's personal story and it adds to our understanding of *why* this transformation took place and why such interpellations were possible.

Respecting the importance of personal narratives when reading the book, I came to think about a recent experience. A year ago I joined a Danish Facebook group called the 'Friends of critical debate' (*Venner af kritisk debat*). Bad idea as seen in hindsight. One of the active members repeatedly posted anti-immigrant postings. Often with the main argument about academics having failed to understand realities and calling for 'us' to wake-up and face these. 'We', the researchers, had no knowledge about the real problems in vulnerable neighbourhoods, on how immigrants – mostly Muslims – had no manners, misused the health system, and the immigrants and refugees were violent and prone to crime. I engaged in the debate – having worked within migration and integration research since 2005 – but was met with accusations against my own person. I was perceived to be ignorant, without proper experiences and so. I started to retrospect. As a 43-year old male, I have had some work and real life experiences. Since I was 18, I have amongst other things worked in supermarkets, as a mover, as a repair guy for the Danish Refugee Council, as a waiter and as a cleaner (in supermarkets, offices, industrial cleaning, private, etc.). I had ethnic minority colleagues in several of these jobs. I have worked in several of the so-called ghettos in the municipality of Aarhus. And yet, I was represented as knowing 'nothing' about the world, and doing more damage than good as I misrepresented realities in my research and communication of this. The person leading the attack ironically was a horse-ranch owner living in the north of Copenhagen. Hardly the type of profession to grant you any 'real knowledge' or 'experience' about immigrant 'problems'. Nevertheless, she spoke on behalf of the 'people' and called for action as the situation was urgent and could only be stopped by rejecting more refugees, being less lenient towards the immigrants already here – otherwise we would see the Denmark we knew and loved disappear within the next years. Basically, an everyday example of moral panic and an attempt to mobilise from this perception. As mentioned, I was reminded about this experience when reading Yılmaz's book.

What the book offers is a theoretical framework to deconstruct what took place. Throughout the book, Yılmaz shows how the Social democrats mainly – by accepting the neoliberal restructuration of the welfare state from the 1980s leading to privatisation, outsourcing and retrenchment of social services – helped to create the political space which the populist right could dominate. By moving away from being a party identifying by class and focusing on social equality to a political space divided by cultural antagonisms, the party lost out. The Social Democrats have not been able to compete on the immigration issue as the populist and far right have always been able to push the limit.

The book also has several weaker aspects that can be addressed. The book contains four main chapters as well as an introduction and a conclusion. Parts of the chapters are republished articles. Perhaps this explains the 'jumps' in time the reader has to deal with when reading the book. Initiating with an analysis of a recent value-struggle about the use of halal-butchered meat in

* E-mail: Lise.Isaksen@uib.no

childcare institutions in 2013, to very precise analyses of incidents of moral panic in the early 1980s, to the election campaign in 2015. Each chapter adds something to the overall argument but the logic of the outline of material and analyses at times can be hard to follow. Secondly, I do think that Yılmaz is generous towards readers not already familiar with the framework of Laclau and Mouffe. Although he provides brief definitions of their central concepts, but these do not offer a lot to newcomers to discourse the theory. Throughout the book, key concepts are used without much explanation and some of the theoretical conclusions are hard to digest if the reader does not already share the understanding. A sentence like: 'Hegemony is not a given state of affairs once it is achieved: social life is too heterogeneous to be neatly articulated in antagonistic categories. Every articulation leaves out surplus meaning that threatens the stability of the hegemonic articulation' (p. 144) can be hard to follow unless you are familiar with Derrida, Laclau and Mouffe. On the other hand, Yılmaz makes an apt observation when he causally writes that: 'Laclau and Mouffe rarely get their hands dirty with hands-on analysis of how their theory of hegemony and discourse applies to what is happening' (p. 35) – this Yılmaz manages to do himself and that is the real strength about the book. The problem is rather on the dissemination of theoretical conclusions, which at some places tend to be separated from the empirical analysis he engages in. Thirdly, the overall findings of the book may not come as a surprise to the readers familiar with the populist far right in Europe. What he offers is rather a particular way of examining these tendencies and that he does very well.

The book has several strengths and will be of interest to readers trying to understand the politics of migration in Europe. The explicit focus on Denmark does not make the book of interest only for the scholars interested in the Danish case but offers a careful and convincing theoretical analysis that can be applied to other contexts as well. Overall, it is an interesting and highly recommendable book that will be of interest for readers with an interest of discourse analysis and hegemony theory, in populism and in politics of migration.

Martin Bak Jørgensen*

PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Culture and Global Studies, Aalborg University

References

Bengtsson, NM 2014, 'Fremmedhadet er blevet så almindeligt, at vi ikke bemærker det', *Information*, 20 October.

Jørgensen, MB & Thomsen, TL 2016, 'Deservingness in the Danish context: welfare chauvinism in times of crisis', *Critical Social Policy*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 330 - 351

Jørgensen, S 2014, 'Løkke: vi er nødt til at forskelsbehandle udlændinge', *Jyllands-Posten*, 8 August.

Laclau, E & Mouffe, C 1985, *Hegemony and socialist strategy*, Verso (New Left), London.

Stone, DA 2002, *Policy paradox: the art of political decision making*, Norton, New York.

Venstre 2014, *Et Danmark – for dem som kan og vil*, Venstre, København.

* *E-mail: martinjo@cgs.aau.dk*