BOOK REVIEWS

Bakewell, Olive, Engbersen, Godfried, Fonseca. L, Maria & Horst, Cindy (eds.) (2015) *Beyond Networks: Feedback in International Migration*, **Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 247 pp.**

The *Beyond Network* anthology adds to migration scholarship a much overlooked aspect, which is an exploration of feedback mechanisms that operate to create links across time and space. Such an outlook could partly explain the shifting dynamics of migration movements. Oliver Bakewell, Godfried Engbersen, Maria L. Fonseca and Cindy Horst, i.e. the editors of this volume, brought together their varied expertise in migration studies to assess the role of feedback mechanisms in migration movements. With this in mind, the book aims 'to pull apart feedback as a middle-range social mechanism in migration – to understand better its different components and configurations and how they operate in a range of contexts' (p. 5). To establish these links between feedback mechanisms and its operation, this coherent edited volume presents findings from the project 'Theorizing the Evolution of Migration Systems in Europe' (THEMIS). The main purpose of THEMIS 'was to explain how and why migration between particular origins and destinations waxed and waned. Why is it that sometime the movement of a few people to a new destination heralds the beginning of a new pattern of migration...?' (p. 3). To do so, the THEMIS project along with this book, explored movements to cities of four European countries – Norway, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Portugal – from Brazil, Morocco and Ukraine, focusing on the impact of feedback mechanisms on the migration corridors between these countries. The book defines migration corridors as frames of observation. This means that they are used as tools of analysis and not seen as empirical phenomena. For example, one cannot assume that there is a migration flow from Iceland to India, but one can set out to study the Iceland–India migration corridor. In other words, migration corridors are independent of the level of activity within them: they can be empty or nearly so.

In the introduction, the concept of *feedback mechanisms* and its usage are explained. The concept is understood in at least three ways: first, the authors clarify that this concept is not used to examine the different spatial operations of the mechanisms; for example, it does not aim to look at where the social facilitation occurs – at origin, destination or transnationally. Second, with this concept, the editors and contributors of this volume aim to 'dig below the simplistic reliance on the operation of migrants' social networks as the principle feedback mechanism – to reach beyond networks' (p. 11). This is done by looking at specific socioculturally situated examples like migrants' narratives of success and failure that are broadcast

through different media beyond face-to-face social networks. Finally, this approach encourages scholars to move beyond a narrow focus on the feedback arising from social networks to include interactions such as those with the state, employers, educational establishments and new connections created by social media and information communication technologies. Keeping this conception in mind, this volume seeks to examine how feedback mechanisms may explain a rise or fall in migration movements.

In the second chapter, the authors explain their research methodology, making their methods transparent and explicit for the readers. By zooming in on a set of specific themes such as the role of pioneer migrants, people at the origin, provision of help at various stages of the migration process and communication between migrants, the researchers established the use of 'migration corridors' as frames of observation. The research work draws from four rich datasets containing qualitative and quantitative data, including in-depth interviews, large-scale surveys and social network analyses from both origins and destination countries. Furthermore, the data were analyzed by referring to the theoretical concepts related to migration corridors that help explain migration processes. Making transparent the research design, explaining thoroughly the qualitative and quantitative ventures and the approaches to analysis, as well as employing informative tables and graphs, the chapter gives insights on how to undertake such a large-scale research.

Drawing on the conception of feedback mechanism as a clear red thread, chapters 3–11 present varied aspects connected to feedback: from role of assistance in migration (chapter 3) to online feedback (chapter 4), the impact of social class on feedback mechanisms (chapter 5), the more indirect feedback mechanisms such as the global financial crisis in 2008 (chapters 6 and 7), the impact of negative feedback mechanisms on declining migration flows (chapter 7) and the role of broadcasting in migration outcomes (chapter 8). The remaining chapters 9 and 10 present different theoretical contributions to the analysis of feedback mechanisms.

This volume attempts to theorise vectors of power like social class in relation to other factors such as race, age and gender that influence feedback mechanisms. For instance, in chapter 5, the authors explored how social class plays an important role in the varying operation of feedback in migration processes, 'including the formation of aspirations, decision-making, settlement and transnational practices, along with questioning how migration itself contributes to shape and re-construct class identities and belonging locally as well as transnationally' (p. 92). They found out that class determines both who is willing and able to move and, importantly, where they can go. The intersection of social class with migration

policies is a key component in showing the impact on the feedback mechanisms, since migration policies are restrictive for some and not for others. Although the authors refer to gender, they do so only in a limited capacity throughout this volume. Their analysis could have benefitted from an explicit feminist intersectional theorisation (Davis 2008) of the feedback mechanisms, resulting in changing dynamics of migration movements.

The analysis could be enhanced by considering sexuality, as all the European destination countries chosen for this project legalized same sex relationships, while the origin countries (except for Brazil) have not. In chapter 7, the authors discussed how migrant networks contribute to declining migration from Morocco to the Netherlands. They figured that the restrictive Dutch migration regimes, reduction of labour market opportunities for Moroccan migrants and hostile societal reception of immigration in general (particularly coming from Muslim countries) led to negative feedback generation for Moroccan–Dutch migration movement. The presence of migration based on sexual orientation and gender identity is mostly absent in their formulation, even though the global image of the Netherlands as a tolerant country for LGBTQ rights could be hypothesized to attract migration from countries where such rights are absent. It could also be interesting to look at, especially in the Dutch context, how homonationalism i.e. sexual diversity and LGBTQ rights are used to sustain political stances against immigration, especially against people from Islamic countries (Puar 2007). The role of sexuality in migration studies, especially in regards to other axis of identifications, could bring about a more inclusive analysis (see Manalansan 2006). Hence, further explorations of feedback mechanisms could benefit from an analysis of the interaction between ethnic groups, gender, sexuality, religion, state and class along with societal reception. An intersectional framework could assess complexity of the impact on feedback mechanisms not only through and between social networks but also in the domain of social media.

All in all, this volume provides a great entry point for anyone interested in doing research based on migration feedback or migration in general. However, because of its rich empirical details, this book is more descriptive than theory driven. Further inquiry into migration corridors could also assess the complexity of feedback mechanisms by using multinational frames of observation of migration corridors rather than limiting them to binational frames. As acknowledged by the authors, future research could also include data collection from employment agencies, consulates, dating agencies, universities, etc., which play a role in the case of student- and marriage-based migration (p. 244). Considering their data at hand, this book inspires to ask more questions about what role sexuality, religion and digital diaspora formations plays in impacting feedback mechanisms. This volume is highly recommended to students and scholars who are newly interested in media and migration studies and the ones who are interested in conducting mixed methods research projects.

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Deardorff-Miller, Sarah (2016) *Political and Humanitarian Responses to Syrian Displacement*, **London & New York: Routledge. 146 pp.**

At the sixth anniversary of the war's outbreak in Syria, more than half of its population – 11 million people – have been displaced from their homes. While five million of them fled to other countries as refugees, more than six million have become internally displaced persons (IDPs). This dramatic forced migration has received extensive media coverage that can be attributed to the spillover effects felt in European countries with mass flow of migrants. Sarah Deardorff-Miller provides a compiled information and comprehensive analysis of Syrian displacement in the book titled *Political and Humanitarian Responses to Syrian Displacement*. Miller is an adjunct faculty in American University's School of International Service and the University of London's School of Advanced Study. She has a strong background of working on refugee issues not only in academia but also in various state agencies, think tanks and non-profit organizations around the world.

Political and Humanitarian Responses to Syrian Displacement is a policy-focused book seeking to inform scholars, policymakers, practitioners and the general public about the Syrian displacement and how it relates to broader issues. It makes two main arguments: first is that Syrians' protracted refugee situation has turned into a game changer for how states, humanitarian actors and others respond to displacement. Second, displacement is not a mere outcome of the conflict in Syria, but a key variable that should be included in any peace plan or strategy for ending the conflict. Miller also argues that responses to the Syrian displacement brought about the issue of humanitarian innovation in which new inventions and technologies are developed to help to protect and assist displaced people (p. 72).

The book consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the Syrian conflict and lays out the scale and scope of Syrian displacement. Chapter 2 overviews how central hosting countries – namely, Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey – are responding to the large numbers of Syrian refugees. The chapter compares the responses of these countries by particularly focusing on how they differ in working with international actors. The chapter also points out their 'positive responses' such as accepting refugees, taking the lead in managing the refugee influx as Turkey has done, and the freedom of movement as Lebanon allowed. It also mentions the shortcomings of countries' policies in terms of limitations in providing assistance and protection. Chapter 3 directs readers' attention to the international humanitarian community by introducing new approaches such as the so-called 'cluster approach', which is implemented to clarify various actors' responsibilities in the given humanitarian intervention. Chapters 4 and 5 examine the responses of the European Union (EU) and the United States (US). They discuss some underlying causes of why political responses overwhelm humanitarian responses in these two localities despite the fact that they have received far fewer numbers of Syrian refugees than Syria's neighbouring countries. The fifth chapter concludes the book by relating Syrian displacement to broader debates and suggests policy recommendations.

Theoretically, the book's third chapter provides quite important insights about two broader questions: the way in which the humanitarian responses in Syria affect the global refugee regime and how humanitarian responses are interconnected to other policy areas in terms of security and economy. The chapter focuses on recently adopted approaches in humanitarian work, namely, the 'cluster approach' and 'whole Syria approach'. It first discusses why there has been a need for such innovations. Humanitarian actors responding to refugees and IDPs work in chaotic and complex environment, which leads to serious tensions around actors' roles

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and their internal coordination. For example, efforts that aim to address needs of IDPs in Syria engage with both government-controlled areas and opposition-controlled areas, while the work on refugees has to be carried out in relation to not only international organizations but also local and national governments in different host countries. The 'cluster approach' identifies humanitarian organizations' responsibilities – both United Nations (UN) and others – and the main agency in the fields such as protection, food security, education, health and camp management. This approach aims to overcome general problems in protracted humanitarian operations and to achieve greater partnership, coordination and accountability. Nevertheless, testing of the cluster approach in the case of Syrian displacement demonstrates that its effect remains limited in helping actors due to bureaucratic and security constraints, the sheer number of humanitarian actors and interagency tensions. New approaches are rarely immune to old challenges including the politicization and militarization of humanitarian aid, neutrality and impartiality of aid workers, predictability and accountability as well as problems related to funding, information sharing and coordination.

Broader implications of Syrian displacement are also present in the case of the EU. EU's member states have mostly focused on civil order and security, with human rights and humanitarian issues as a secondary concern in responding to the large numbers of Syrians who have arrived since 2015. Its asylum system is at a turning point, and by extension, its identity and values are tested (p. 101). The member states' responses evoke debates about sovereignty, cooperation, responsibility sharing, unity, domestic politics and human rights (p. 79).

The detailed chapter on the US enables readers to reconsider the broad implications in resettlement issues. Resettlement is an ideal humanitarian response to protracted situations, given the fact that it gives refugees opportunities for protection and hope for resuming 'normal' life. However, it reaches only <1% of the millions of refugees. Increasing the resettlement opportunities by the US administration would make a great positive change in the lives of displaced Syrians. It may also signal responsibility sharing to host countries that are feeling overwhelmed. However, the highest number of refugees that the US resettled in 2016 was limited to 85,000 in which 10,000 were Syrians (p. 110). Security-focused rhetoric around Syrians' resettlement continues although research shows that resettled refugees pose little security threats (p. 115).

In general, the book presents a satisfying answer to the question of how states, humanitarian actors and others respond to displacement and what are the implications of these responses. A closer glance at the plethora of actors shows that Syria has turned into another case where the norm of responsibility of protection has failed. The norm of responsibility sharing that is the backbone of global refugee regimes has not been implemented, and instead, states have sought to shift the burden to others. The traditional durable solutions, namely, voluntary return, integration and resettlement have not worked – with some minor exceptions. The humanitarian actors' strategies magnified questions about the professionalization of humanitarian aid and trade-offs for access.

Miller proposes another important argument on how the displacement is not to be understood as a mere outcome of the conflict in Syria but a key variable that should be included in any peace plan or strategy for ending the conflict. This raises an expectation that she would have engaged more thoroughly with international politics and foreign policy. She rightly points out that 'only a political solution will solve the conflict in Syria and hence the root cause of displacement', but she does not go deep into the discussions on international politics

(p. 132). Rather, she briefly mentions them as a part of policy choices that are separated into broad/systemic policy versus specific policy suggestions.

The book adopts impressive summarizing methods by using boxes, figures and tables. Presenting a timeline of key moments of Syrian displacement and key EU-related events in 2015 within boxes works very well (pp. 7 and 87, respectively). On the other hand, Chapter 2 on 'Host States in the Region' uses boxes to summarize the interests of Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon (pp. 23, 35 and 43). Considering the fact that these interests are quite substantial in shaping the countries' political and humanitarian responses towards the vast majority of Syrian refugees, readers expect broader discussion on them.

Although the analysis in the book is not underpinned by ethnocentric assumptions, it is a little disappointing that the author devotes a full chapter to the refugee resettlement in the US, which is a small-scale resettlement initiative, while allocating only one chapter for the three main countries that host around five million refugees. Squeezing Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan into a sole chapter limits the opportunities to engage better with the complex political and economic realities there. I would rather prefer more focus on responses of host states in the region and a better understanding of the dynamics at work. An overview of resettlement can be understandable on the normative ground that the book tries to advocate that the US should do more to take a lead in responding to the Syrian displacement by accepting more resettlement. This chapter would have been better balanced if it also discussed the Canadian cases in more detail.

Finally, one important point about the book that needs acknowledgement is its choice of careful terminologies. It diverges itself from a common trend in populist narratives and academia that frame Syrian displacement with negative connotations such as 'crisis', 'emergency' and 'influx' that also embrace policy implications. The book is highly recommended reading for researchers, students and practitioners who are interested in both succinct overview and critical analysis of the Syrian displacement.

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Debnár, Miloš (2016) *Migration, Whiteness, and Cosmopolitanism: Europeans in Japan***, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 235 pp.**

Whiteness studies aim to reveal the invisible mechanisms in the construction and reproduction of white cultural norms and privileges. Whiteness is the unscrutinised performance of race whereby white capital – a racial application of Bourdieu's cultural capital (1986) – is converted into other forms of capital, including material value such as job opportunities to increase one's socioeconomic status. However, in his analysis of how whiteness shapes the social position of white European migrants in Japan, the author of this book, Miloš Debnár, adds a layer of complexity to the scholarship by problematizing the capacity of white capital to effectively enact power and establish racial dominance. Combining whiteness and migration studies, Debnár, an assistant professor at Doshisha University's Department of Sociology, confronts the discourse on white migrants' privilege to the specific context of Japan. He shows how characterizing these migrants as 'free-floating cosmopolitan' elites (p. 29) deproblematises and invisibilises the intricate nature of the social relations and positions that they must develop in order to negotiate their presence in Japan.

Basing his analysis on empirical evidence drawn from in-depth interviews with 57 European migrants in Japan, demonstrates the

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situational nature of white privilege as it cannot exist independently the national social field. In addition, by choosing to study white European migrants in one of the most developed non-Western countries, he widens the discussion about whiteness beyond its usual geographical framework such as North America. This geographic extension of the scholarship has an important conceptual implication: through his study, Debnár empirically shows that the 'racial grammar' whereby white cultural norms are internalized cognitively (Bonilla-Silva 2011) blocks our ability to examine the migratory experiences of white migrants other than that of unproblematic. In Japan, whiteness takes on a very different and paradoxical meaning. The country's historical legacy and interactions with Western powers, as Debnár explains in chapters 2 and 4, contributed to establish whiteness as a '[symbol] of normative aspirations' (p. 126) just as they enabled to deny its superiority to 'Japaneseness' in the racial hierarchy of foreigners. In Japan, whiteness undergoes othering processes that commodify it and position it as an exotic culture to be consumed (white food, white music, western-style weddings, etc.). In this socio-historical context, the assumption of the reproduction of white power through the exploitation of privileges to which only whites have access is hindered by the Japanese social setting.

The common thread of the book's six chapters is to fill the discursive gap between representations of privileged subjects who simultaneously occupy the position of 'preferred type of migrants' (p. 113) in comparison to other negatively stigmatized communities and the everyday racial differentiation and discrimination that white European migrants experience in Japan. To this end, Debnár deconstructs the conventional binary between non-white migrant victims and high-skilled white transnational professionals. Migration is neither a non-white marker nor a movement of low-skilled workers from the South to the North. The narratives produced by the interviewed subjects provide a more nuanced image of white migrants who are not necessarily the 'winners' of globalization but who equally need to negotiate their presence and integration in the Japanese society.

In deconstructing whiteness as a universal ontological carrier of racial supremacy – white privilege no longer escapes historical, social, cultural contexts but interacts with them – the author de-essentialises it by demonstrating that it is also gendered. While feminist scholars have already established that whiteness is not only limited to race and class but also intersects with gender, Debnár must, yet, be credited for examining the paradoxical case of gendered white privilege in Japan. Contrary to the usual views on global mobility patterns, white Europeans settling in Japan are not necessarily high skilled. Such was the case, until 2006, of many East-European women who came to Japan with an entertainer-type visa. Yet, high-skilled European women who came to Japan did not systematically experience white privilege like their male counterparts. While not necessarily sexualized like the women who came under the entertainer visa or in the case of 'mail order brides' from former European Soviet countries (p. 131), white female migrants married to Japanese nationals actually fall into the same gender dynamic as Japanese women. Debnár provides the example of an interviewee, a high-skilled Norwegian woman, who was socially expected to perform a particularly demanding meal rotation plan for her Japanese husband. It thus appears that for European women living with a Japanese partner, their integration may also involve fulfilling the expected gender roles of a Japanese wife.

Conversely, because whiteness can be gendered, the author argues that white and Japanese masculinities oppose each other, such that the former represents a western normative aspiration that is characterized by gender equality and modernity, whereas the latter symbolizes orientalism and antiquated traditions. Debnár further argues, that whiteness is not so much correlated with a white civilisation that would encompass gender equality and women's rights, but that gender itself marks the boundaries of white privilege, which in this case is primarily associated with a white male identity.

However, beyond gender considerations, whiteness in Japan often rhymes with 'stuckness'. According to the interviews conducted by the author, whiteness does not necessarily mean transcending the labour market and the everyday acts of discriminations. Many interviewees are in fact 'stuck' in occupational niches that are difficult to escape from. Based on interviewees' personal accounts of their experiences of the job market, Debnár explains in chapter 4 how whiteness is almost systematically associated with a 'natural' ability to speak English that is only offset by a 'no less natural' disability to learn Japanese. The English language proficiency takes on a biological meaning that is unique to white skin. Similarly, the Japanese language is constructed as biologically out of reach to white foreigners. This language impossibility creates an ontological gap that undermines white privilege and, to a certain extent, even leads to an invisibilised social exclusion. On the job market, this perception translates into a career trap for many white Europeans who, irrespective of their proficiency in English (or lack thereof), mastery of Japanese, skill sets and education, find themselves reluctantly occupying jobs that are in some way related to the English language. If the English language, as a cultural capital, can be easily converted into job opportunities, it can also block migrants' career plans and development. It follows that non-English-related skills, even when high or in demand, are harder to convert into job opportunities. Just like Japanese proficiency is orientalised and constructed as inaccessible to westerners, the workplace also becomes culturally difficult to enter for white migrants. This 'self-orientalism' (p. 157) leads to the 'othering' of white migrants, even when highly skilled and fluent in Japanese, as they are perceived as inadaptable to the cultural specificity of the Japanese workplace.

The status of otherness that keeps many European migrants stuck culturally in a symbolic muteness and professionally in occupational niches also prevents them socially from escaping the status of eternal foreign residents. In Japan, white privilege is not easily converted into other forms of capital that would provide socioeconomic advantage. As a result, Debnár eventually proposes an original combination of a transnational and cosmopolitan approach to whiteness in which the difference between victimized and privileged migrants becomes justifiably blurry. Whiteness, as explored in the Japanese context, is a lost or forgotten habitus because white privilege is less used and, thus, less internalized. Debnár's book has therefore the great merit of exploring the dynamism of habitus and how it is spatially determined. Yet, one could regret that an important and largely internalized lingering descriptor of whiteness was overlooked. Namely, transnational mobility still remains today significant privilege of migrants from the North. Admittedly, Debnár mentions historical cases of juridical or state-imposed restrictions to global European mobility, such as those enforced in East-European communist regimes. However, the current fluidity in movement of nationals from the North is not acknowledged in the book as a privilege. In chapter 3, Debnár argues that there are three main 'propensities' of the European movement to Japan: pursuing a certain lifestyle, a mobility culture and a fascination with Japan (pp. 91-93). It is, however, hard to picture African or Middle-Eastern migrants who could also be driven by comparable propensities, reach so easily the European continent given the constraining juridical processes that render visa delivery for legal entry extremely arduous. If the book

makes a compelling argument about the limits of whiteness and the social stuckness of white migrants in Japan, it does not clearly consider transnational mobility as a privilege that still distinguishes between migrants from richer and poorer countries. The case of Middle-Eastern asylum seekers and refugees immobilised in camps once they (often irregularly) reach Europe highlights the fact that international mobility remains a valid descriptor of whiteness today.

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Giametta, Calogero (2017) *The Sexual Politics of Asylum: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in the UK Asylum System*, **London & New York: Routledge. 176 pp.**

In the current book, Calogero Giametta, a post-doctoral fellow at the Laboratoire Méditerranéen de Sociologie of Aix-Marseille Université, explores the experiences of 60 gender and sexual minority refugees in the UK. From the very first page, the reader can realise that throughout this book they will have the opportunity to observe the living realities of the research subjects and their everyday experience before and mainly after their arrival to the UK. Indeed, with a unique writing style of almost fictional eloquence and spontaneity, the author manages to transfer us to the field and escort him to his 2-year ethnography.

More detailed, in his rather insightful introduction, Giametta provides us with the details of his ethnographic research. Generally, his scope is to unravel the thread of the social, political and legal worlds of the focusing refugees as they reflect on their overall experience and discuss his results within a cross-disciplinary context of the social sciences aiming to empirical theorizing. This interdisciplinary tension appears already from chapter 2 'Traces of Difference: Self-Awareness, Distress, and Coping Strategies'. Here, Giametta concentrates on the internal feelings and mental processes that form the refugees' experiences of the asylum process. Through studying the narratives on their lives in the countries of origin and by comparing them to their personal view of their lives in the UK, Giametta explores the refugees' self-understanding and self-presenting as well as their mental vulnerability, which is mainly measured through their 'speakability' (p. 59). The main reason of their psychological vulnerability is related to the difficulty of the multiplying life choices they had to take throughout and after the certification process, such as networking trust and degree of self-exposition (pp. 59-60).

Giametta moves to a more macroscopic perspective in chapter 3 'The Global Politics of LGBT Rights'. Building on his ethnographic material, Giametta attempts to theorize the diverse global picture of the moving LGBT political subjects. Using the standpoint of a transnational sexuality study, he focuses on the historical, political and cultural links between homo-tolerant and homo-intolerant geographies. He projects the differences in gender and sexual structures existing in the Western North and those existing in the countries of origin as well as their political uses. The legal cleavages of the aforementioned situation follow in chapter 4 'Sexuality/Gender

and the Legal Process of Asylum'. In this chapter, readers are given the opportunity to have a critical insight into the applications of the existing UK legal framework regarding sexual minority asylum seekers. Through a meticulous examination of several such cases, Giametta observed the existence of a problematic array of a priori assumptions surrounding the subjects' experiences due to their sexuality (p. 103). Furthermore, he questions the legal measurability and the discursive indicators of 'gayness' that have been traditionally used to assess LGBT asylum seekers (p. 104).

In chapter 5, 'The Making of Knowable and Liberated Subjectivities in the Context of Asylum', the focus is stressed upon how the subjects experience their social representations of the others. More specifically, the author examines the ways such refugees are read by the law and immigration institutions and how is this filtered through their own lens. Thereupon, these experiences are compared to their original expectations and the underlying influence of general Western narratives and ideas of freedom. The desires of liberation are still incomplete since strong perceptions of victimhood pertain to the way they are seen by the wider community (p. 121). The bridging of mental living conditions to the material ones is made in chapter 6 'The Materiality of Asylum: The Production of Illegality, Poverty, and the Home Office Procedures'. In the arrival country, refugees are facing not a few material struggles, which weave interactions of great impact within their families and the wider social fabric (p. 142). Furthermore, Giametta questions the portrait of illegality that surrounds the mobile subjects as well as their fear of homelessness and exploitation by third parties.

In his concluding chapter, Giametta pays a close attention to the refugees' cultural capital and the differences in terms of individuals' perception of the categories of gender and sexuality. Moreover, he critically questions the existing categories' applicability on the case study of the refugees. The research subjects often strived to identify themselves with gender and sexual categories that were available in their new sociocultural environment (p. 149). Thus, Giametta proposes that we need to move beyond the neoliberal identity politics and their commodified categories and develop new pluralistic paradigms, disconnected from stereotypical views of gender and sexuality. In the appendix of the book, there is a tribute on the 'International Rainbow' theatre group, which comprises gay and lesbian asylum seekers and refugees in London, and a thorough discussion on using participatory theatre techniques in social research.

Overall, Giametta succeeds to examine with significant rigor a subject of particular sensitivity and academic underrepresentation. Throughout the book, the reader benefits from the opportunity to come in contact with the primary word of the refugees, as it was recorded during his interviews. Furthermore, theories from a vast array of traditions and socio-scientific fields weave a multispectral net of social interpretation with the real-world applications. However, it would be of paramount interest to examine whether following empirical field researches around the world can actually support his theoretical global view of sexual politics. Undoubtedly, this book can be a proven valuable source of knowledge for students of all levels interested in the sociocultural, legal and political dimensions of gender and sexuality in (forced) migration. In addition, it constitutes an excellent model for future empirical research in the field and a useful guide for professionals working within the refugee granting process.

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Guia, Maria João, Koulish, Robert & Mitsilegas, Valsamis (eds.) (2016) *Immigration Detention, Risk and Human Rights*, **Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht & London: Springer International Publishing. 293 pp.**

Immigration Detention, Risk and Human Rights is the third English-language publication that has been produced within the framework of the Crimmigration Control International Net of Studies, a group of researchers and academics whose goal is to increase cross-disciplinary knowledge concerning the phenomenon of crimmigration. The academic law background of the three editors, Maria João Guia, Robert Koulish and Valsamis Mitsilegas, is reflected in the inclusion of contributions drawn mainly from the disciplines of law and criminology.

Crimmigration, as Robert Koulish explains in the first of the 15 chapters of the book, is a term coined in 2006 by Juliet Stumpf that captures the intersection of migration law and criminal law (p. 2), whereby criminal law enforcement mechanisms are deployed to control and manage migration. Crucially, however, as crimmigration scholars have highlighted, the enforcement apparatus is decoupled from the procedural safeguards that traditionally accompany criminal law sanctions. There is thus a sharp cleavage between the rights enjoyed by citizens and those which may be invoked by migrants against the state (p. 2).

As indicated by the title, the chapters in this volume primarily deal with various aspects of the detention of migrants, one of the key features of crimmigration. There is also, however, a number of chapters dealing with the criminalisation of migration more generally. The focus of the chapters is confined to Europe and North America, two important destination regions for migrants which are arguably leading the way in the criminalisation of migration.

Given the reference to human rights in the book's title, it will come as no surprise that it includes – in chapters by legal scholars Galina Cornelisse, Elspeth Guild and Marloes Vrolijk – an evaluation of the detention-related case law of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). What may come as a surprise to some readers, however, is that the detention safeguards conferred on migrants by the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) fall far shorter than those extended to citizens. Article 5 of the ECHR provides that everyone has a right to liberty which may be abridged only if strictly necessary. However, when it comes to Article 5(1)(f), which envisages the lawful detention of a person either to prevent unauthorised entry into a country or to effect deportation or extradition, detention does not have to be strictly necessary.

In a chapter entitled 'Immigration Detention: An Instrument in the Fight Against Illegal Immigration or a Tool for Its Management?', Cornelisse notes how in 1996 the ECtHR in the seminal case of *Chahal v the UK* found that states are entitled to detain migrants with a view to deporting them even when, for example, they do not pose a flight risk and detention is therefore not necessary to ensure that the deportation takes place. Cornelisse has noted elsewhere that the court would have been hard-pushed to interpret Article 5(1)(f) in such a way as to give any more discretion to the state in this field (Cornelisse 2010). The corollary, of course, is that there is little the court could have done to more effectively remove migrants facing deportation from the protection potential of Article 5.

There is a certain irony in the fact that a far more robust catalogue of detention-related safeguards for migrants is to be found in the EU legal order as a result of one of the key pieces of EU migration legislation introduced in the past 10 years, namely, the Return Directive. Adopted in 2008, this directive seeks to establish

common standards and procedures across the EU for the expulsion of unlawfully present non-EU citizens. The directive also regulates the detention of such migrants ahead of their expulsion and is the subject of extensive discussion in the chapters by Charles Gosme and Valsamis Mitsilegas.

While the Return Directive has been criticised for codifying an expulsion regime that is lacking from a rights perspective due to provisions concerning prolonged pre-removal detention and mandatory re-entry bans (Baldaccini 2009), Mitsilegas deftly illustrates how some of the many judgments from the Luxembourg-based Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) concerning the directive have operated to rein in the more exuberant EU member states in their efforts to criminalise unlawful entry and stay. Thus, for example, the cases of *El Dridi*, concerning expulsion from Italy of an irregular migrant, and *Achughbabian*, which concerned expulsion from France of an unlawfully present Armenian, made clear that states may not impose a criminal prison sentence on an irregular migrant solely on the basis of unlawful entry or stay. These rulings, the second and third, respectively, from the CJEU concerning the Return Directive saw the CJEU take the view that imposition of prison sentences for such infractions would undermine the effectiveness of the Return Directive, the main goal of which is to eliminate the presence of irregular migrants. Criminal sanctions may, however, be imposed on those to whom the directive's return procedure has been applied and who nonetheless continue to stay unlawfully in the territory of a member state without any justified ground for non-return, a category of migrant discussed in Gosme's insightful contribution to the volume entitled 'Trapped Between Administrative Detention, Imprisonment, and Freedom-in-Limbo'.

A further positive development from a human rights point of view that flows from the Return Directive is its requirement that detention shall take place in specialised detention facilities. Such human rights-compliant immigration detention may, however, not be without its own dangers. In the shortest chapter 'Sovereign Discomfort: Can Liberal Norms Lead to Increasing Immigration Detention?', Michael Flynn provocatively asks whether 'the diffusion of normative regimes aimed at protecting non-nationals' may be leading to an increase in the detention of migrants (p. 19). Flynn argues that advocacy for proper treatment of detainees and for states to detain migrants separately from criminals has aided 'the emergence of dedicated immigration detention regimes' even in countries that until recently made little effort to engage in systematic detention of migrants (p. 19). The establishment of specialised detention facilities for migrants arguably generates pressure to ensure that such facilities are put to use. Rather than emphasising the treatment of migrant detainees, Flynn suggests that rights advocates might do better to work 'to ensure that any limitation on freedom remains the exception to the rule' (p. 22).

While space constraints prevent a detailed discussion of each of the 15 chapters in the collection under review, it is worth adverting to the renewed relevance of the chapter entitled 'Immunity from Criminal Prosecution and Consular Assistance to the Foreign Detainee According to International Human Rights Law'. In this chapter, Larissa Leite discusses the right of states, in the context of international human rights law, to provide consular assistance to their citizens when in foreign countries. This well-established right of countries of citizenship might be viewed as newly relevant in light of the commitment made by states in the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants to safeguard the rights of migrant communities abroad, including through consular protection, assistance and cooperation. Adopted by the UN General Assembly in September 2016, the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants was the

first step in a process that will culminate in 2018 in the adoption by states of a Global Compact on safe, orderly and regular migration that is likely to include further elaboration upon consular assistance for migrants in need, including those in immigration detention.

Needless to say, this volume will be of interest to anyone concerned with the topic of immigration detention in Europe and the US. Indeed, recent developments lend a particular topicality to this issue. Amongst the most notable examples of such developments are the apparent spike in the numbers of undocumented migrants being arrested and detained in the US following the inauguration in January 2017 of that country's current President and the introduction of automatic detention of asylum seekers in Hungary in March 2017. Greater than the sum of its parts, the book provides a timely survey of the dynamic landscape of immigration detention on both sides of the Atlantic. It would, however, have benefitted from an index and a substantive introduction or conclusion drawing together the main trends and issues emerging from the varied assortment of chapters on offer.

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