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# BOOK REVIEWS

**Alghasi, Sharam, Eide, Elisabeth & Hylland Eriksen, Thomas (eds.) (2012) *Den Globale Drabantbyen. Groruddalen og det nye Norge*, Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk. 282 pp.**

The book Den Globale Drabantbyen (The Global Suburb), edited by Sharam Alghasi, Elisabeth Eide and Thomas Hylland Eriksen, is a result of the research project Inclusion and Exclusion in the Suburb. The local context is Groruddalen, a broad valley in Eastern Oslo that covers about 8% of Oslo's building zone and includes four of the city's 15 districts. Attention is paid to one of these districts, Alna, with a population of about 45,000 inhabitants, half of them being immigrants or children of immigrants. Groruddalen has gained a special symbolic meaning. Critiques of immigration see the area as a potential catastrophe, a problem area for the whole nation, "a little piece of anti-Norway"[1] (p. 19). The government has initiated substantial efforts to improve the social climate and living conditions in Groruddalen. It is "the biggest town renovation project in modern times" in Norway where the aim is "to reinforce identity and pride of Grorud Valley" (Sandelson & Smith 2011).

In the Introduction of the book, we are told that the social problems in *Groruddalen* are often associated with the discourse on multiculturalism. Multiculturalism has, on the one hand, been interpreted as an ideology, which is based on uncritical value relativism. On the other hand, it has been understood in a descriptive sense, as an expression of good will, to live together with others in the future. The book brings up two problems with respect to this. One is that the "–ism" in multiculturalism gives it a normative charging. The concept cannot really be used in a descriptive sense. Another problem is linked to the conception that there exist clearly defined and delimited cultures. The book emphasizes the complexity in social contexts and in line with many researchers, such as Vertovec & Wessendorf (2010) or Abdallah-Pretceille (2012); the editors see a shift in the use of the concept of multiculturalism to "diversity" ("kulturelt mangfold").

The book has a clear agenda, shaped as a response to how the life in Groruddalen is presented in mass media and public discourse. According to the editors, the publication aims to give a more nuanced picture of the life and everyday experiences of inhabitants in a cultural diverse area, through qualitative and largely ethnographic methods. In pursuing a nuanced picture, however, the book seems to put somewhat more emphasize on positive aspects of diversity, such as integration of many cultures and creation of a sense of belonging within diversity. Less focus is put on tensions and disruptions.

Most of the authors are connected not only to social anthropology but also to history, sociology, theology and education. The 17 articles included in the book are separate studies, connected to educational institutions, sports, voluntary work, media, religion, nature and the inhabitants' visions of the future. This review focuses on contributions mainly within education and religion.

The articles within the educational field provide a rich picture of different issues and perspectives with respect to cultural diversity and educational practice. The strength of many of the texts lies in that reflection takes departure in practical situations and concrete descriptions. As a reader you come across different voices, places, impressions and images. This makes the texts also accessible for non-academic readers. They provide good material for reflecting on questions concerning multicultural education.

Ida Erstad writes interestingly about parents taking part in an "open day-care"[2] for their children, and using it as an entrance to ordinary day-care. Erstad's study shows that parents with immigrant background felt engaged in society as parents. As one mother puts it, when you bring up children to become a part of society, you also become a part of it, yourself. In this perspective, children may be seen as important social glue that brings people together. Mari Rysst writes about the relationship between categorization and social hierarchy in secondary school. She finds that adults usually regard children as colour blind. Also, children express that skin colour does not affect their attitude toward peers. The field study shows reality to be more complex, and the idea of colour blindness is somewhat deceptive in this context. Different nuances of skin colour appear in the vocabulary of children, some more pejorative than others.

Something similar appears in Ingvild Endestad's study dealing with how differences become "conventionalized" in a culturally diverse school environment. Endestad finds that different categorizations

[1]All English translations from this book are made by the reviewers.

[2]In 'open day-care' parents, or other adults, are participating in play and practical activities. The aim is to create an open and inclusive milieu for both children and adults.

are a natural way for pupils to order the diversity around them. Both ethnicity and gender are active categories in the social interaction between pupils. The gender category has a sharp border while the category of ethnicity is much more fluid, and it is seldom an organizing factor in the relationships between pupils. In another chapter, Ivar Morken studies the question of what motives exist for parents when choosing schools for their children. Groruddalen has experienced a "white flight", meaning that native Norwegians are moving out from areas with a high minority population. The survey study shows that the achievement of the school and the amount of pupils with native Norwegian background play a certain role for parents in five schools in Groruddalen, but much less than the child's preference, the familiar environment and overall well-being.

Several articles in this book cover aspects connected to religion. These chapters give a multifaceted view of the role of religion and religious belonging in relation to a place. Religion plays a vital role within the super-diversity of Alna and is in many cases presented as a source for integration and belonging as well as a bridge to other cultures outside Groruddalen and Norway.

Anne Hege Grung, for example, investigates the role of religion in creating a sense of community and belonging among inhabitants. In focus are one Christian (Furuset menighet) and one Muslim (Muslim Senter Furuset) religious community. Grung argues that apart from crossing national borders, the religious communities have also crossed borders on the local level. The communities negotiate belonging and religion in the balance between looking after their own community as well as trying to ensure that this is done without disuniting the local culture. In another chapter, Lill Vramo studies the Sikh Gurdwara as a place of worship. The study stems from fieldwork mainly in the Gurdwara Sri Guru Nanak Devi Ji in Alna and gives an in-depth view of practices connected to the Gurdwara. The study illuminates how the Gurdwara for its Sikh visitors represents a continuity "where the past and another place, or dimension, does not follow the borders of nations, but expands into spaces that are experienced as supranational and perhaps timeless" (p. 194).

Beate Solli writes about how local inhabitants experience Bait-un-Nasr, Scandinavia's largest mosque. A number of different voices, however, fewer from the Muslim community, are heard. The place of Bait-un-Nasr emerges within this study not only as a sacred building, but as part of the local environment and social space of the inhabitants. Ingebjørg Eikenes investigates the changes that have taken place in volunteer organizations in Furuset (in Alna) during 1970–2010 and also touches upon issues of religion. Through an analysis of a local paper and interviews, the study illuminates how organizational life goes through drastic change and expansion. The study shows how volunteer organizations such as sports clubs have impact on the identities of inhabitants and serve as a stabilizing effect in countervailing youth criminality. Ethnic and religious-based sports clubs were according to Eikenes not necessarily excluding, but represented for some the only way to strengthen identity and create social networks outside the family. This study gives a comprehensive view of how the voluntary sector can support community development.

On the whole, Den Globale Drabantbyen provides rich perspectives but gives nevertheless a fragmented impression through its structure of separate studies. Cross-references are rare and would definitely have strengthened the book as a whole. Despite these critical remarks, this book provides valuable insights in a twofold sense. First, it looks at different studies dealing with cultural diversity in one particular geographical area. By focusing on one place through different lenses, the book brings depth to the discussion of diversity and recognizes the manifoldness and creativity of a place and (its) culture. Secondly, the book provides many descriptions of projects that can be taken as good practice. We get the impression that the efforts for improving social climate and living conditions have not been in vain. In conclusion, the book makes a valuable contribution in discussing both unity and diversity as an intrinsic part of a complex society. It can be of interest to researchers and students within social sciences as well as the public.

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**Brochmann, Grete & Hagelund, Anniken (eds.) (2012) *Immigration policy and the Scandinavian Welfare State 1945–2010*, Houndsmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 297 pp.**

This book combines two topics of interest and concerns in Northern and Western Europe: the welfare state and immigration policy. The empirical material covers Denmark, Norway and Sweden after World War II and almost 70 years forward. The volume is the outcome of a comparative project, which first resulted in a book in the Scandinavian languages. The present volume is both a translation into English and an update of that work. The two editors, Grete Brochmann, Professor of Sociology at the University of Oslo and Anniken Hagelund, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Social Research in Oslo, have written an introduction, the chapter on Norway and the last comparative chapter. Karin Borevi, Researcher at the Department of Government, Uppsala University, has written the chapter on Sweden and Heidi Vad Jönsson, PhD Fellow in the Department of History, University of Southern Denmark and Klaus Petersen, Professor of Welfare State History, University of Southern Denmark are the authors of the chapter on Denmark.

Welfare regimes in the Nordic countries are often lumped together. Welfare is said to be comprehensive, institutionalized and universal and associated with social democracy. The Scandinavian countries scrutinized in this book, Brochmann and Hagelund affirm, are quite similar if a global comparison is made, but if the three countries are looked at more closely important differences stand out. The editors call it a model with three exceptions. The historical pattern of immigration has been quite similar with spontaneous labour migration making way for more regulation and – in principle – a stop to labour migration in the 1970s. Since then refugees and asylum seekers, and their family members, came to dominate the migrant category in all three countries.

Rather than assessing the long-term viability of welfare policies in the three countries, the aim of the book is to look at "selected aspects of the welfare state through the prism of immigration policy"

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(p. 226). These policies, hence, can be an entry to understand the Scandinavian welfare states. The authors all agree that although there has been political shifts and economic restructuring, there is no evidence that the welfare state is about to disappear. By the early 1970s, the institutional welfare projects were set and closely associated with supporting "the weakest" in society. "Human dignity" and "civil rights" became key concepts, the book argues. These aspects are important in order to understand how immigration policies and policies for immigrants were formed after the 1970s. There has been a tendency to view immigrants in need of care and support. The editors discuss the tension between redistribution and recognition. Policies of redistribution aim to reduce economic inequalities among all citizens, and policies of recognition give opportunities for immigrants to develop their cultural identities. In the concluding chapter, the editors note that according to various international surveys, Sweden scores very high on the recognition scale for immigrants but the lowest of all OECD countries on the integration of immigrants into the labour market. Denmark ranked very low on the recognition scale with Norway in the middle.

Shifts and turns in immigration policies have been more noticeable in Denmark than in the other countries. Conditions for family reunification to Denmark, for example, are much more restrictive than to Norway and Sweden. In all three countries, however, there is a conflation of democratic values and values linked to the nation and the native people. Democratic values are thus talked about as typically Norwegian, Danish and Swedish, and the values found among the Scandinavian people are – tautologically – seen as democratic. Vad Jönsson and Petersen underline that in Denmark immigrants from outside the EU do increasingly better in terms of employment and education, but this does not stop the Danish debate about their lack of integration.

While some researchers and policymakers today argue that large-scale immigration may threaten the welfare state by undermining its redistributive capacity, others underline the need for more immigrant labour, particularly to work in the welfare and care sectors. Debates about the pros and cons of labour immigration are not new. In the country chapters, the authors show that the trade unions were not very favourable to labour immigration in the expansive years after World War II. Karin Borevi describes how the Swedish trade union, LO, had been fairly passive in the 1950s but in the 1960s this changed. Objections were voiced to protect the interests of the Swedish labourers and the trade union itself. Immigrant workers, Borevi notes, were thought to have less interest in joining the unions. The guest-worker model has, until quite recently, been rejected in Scandinavia. In 1954, Sweden gave immigrants the right to permanent residence after 1 year in the country. It was a policy not so much to encourage settlement as a policy underlining the universalistic character of welfare policies. Denmark and Norway followed suit. In all the three countries, employment has been the traditional basis for access to welfare. Since the 1970s and the end of labour migration, the lack of work opportunities has been talked about as the major obstacle to the integration of refugees and their family members. But the authors underline that for Denmark and Norway, the lack of housing rather proved to be the major problem.

Another theme in the book concerns the complex and changing relationship between the Scandinavian states, municipalities and immigrants. Immigration policies are made on the state level but immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers meet local institutions, which may differ considerably from one municipality to another. An interesting, and telling, difference between Sweden and the other two countries is the strength of NGOs and the civil society in the latter. In both Denmark and Norway, there have been Refugee Councils with considerable experience in settling and establishing refugees. Brochmann and Hagelund also point to an important dilemma. The democratic welfare state is typically criticized for doing too much or too little for asylum seekers and refugees who are much more dependent on the welfare state than labour migrants. At the same time, the welfare state cannot control this type of immigration.

This book is a very welcome contribution to research on welfare and immigration. It underlines both similarities and differences between the three Scandinavian countries and implicitly sets the so-called Nordic model in a broader comparative light. All too often the Anglo-Saxon countries are regarded as the norm for discussions on immigration, multiculturalism and state policies in the literature published in English. This book challenges this perspective. The comparative lens is on three nation states and the book is thus positioned within the so-called methodological nationalism. In this case, as the editors argue, methodological nationalism can certainly be defended because of the relevance and importance of the nation state for immigration policies and the way multicultural societies develop. The book is useful for an international audience as well as a Scandinavian one, in search of detailed, rich and carefully researched case studies. But perhaps, the very richness of the cases is also the major drawback of the volume. It is not a handbook in similarities and differences, and although there is a common time line and a common institutional approach, the comparative aspects are mainly brought out in the end chapter instead of throughout the book. There is a common use of terminology with one important exception. In Denmark and Norway, immigrants are commonly depicted and classified as "minorities" in society at large. This is not the case in Sweden. The authors follow their "national" practice but unfortunately do not discuss the implications of this. A final critique is that the book – at least the printed version I have – should have been more carefully proofread. There are great many typos connected to headlines and to words in the Scandinavian languages. This is not good PR for the publishers.

The editors rightly stress that research on welfare and immigration policies are seldom combined in the Nordic countries. There has been too much emphasis on nationalism and racism in comparison to institutional issues linked to welfare policies. It is indeed refreshing that the arguments in the book are not based on preconceived ideological statements. But eager readers can actually draw political and normative conclusions from the book. Inclusionary welfare policies are in general good for citizens and societies, and on that account Scandinavian immigration policies are better than their reputation.

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**Goulbourne, Harry, Reynolds, Tracey, Solomos, John & Zontini, Elisabetta (2010) *Transnational Families. Ethnicities, identities and social capital*, London: Routledge. 200 pp.**

Research on transnational families has bourgeoned in recent years. These studies not only approach "transnationalism from below" (Smith & Guarnizo 1998), but also respond to Gardner and Grillo's (2002) call to analyse transnational practices related to the domestic sphere, family and marriage. Yet, a characteristic in much of the current research on transnational family (except for the seminal work by Bryceson & Vuorela 2002) is that it is distinctively under-theorized. In this respect, the book by four British-based scholars,

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Harry Gouldbourne, Tracey Reynolds, John Solomos and Elisabetta Zontini, *Transnational Families: Ethnicities, identities and social capital* is a refreshing exception.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part presents the theoretical concepts, methodological choices and the political context of migration in Britain. The second part entitled "Living and coping across boundaries" consists of six empirical chapters and even a quick glance to the topics of the empirical chapters reveals the breadth of the subject matter. The authors discuss the formation of migrant communities and social networks (Chapter 5); the negotiations of care across nation-state borders (Chapter 6), negotiations of ethnic identities (Chapter 7), questions of belonging and return (Chapter 8), alienation and escape from the family (Chapter 9) and finally mixed families (Chapter 10).

Following the footsteps of the first edited collection on the topic by Deborah Bryceson and Ulla Vuorela, the authors take the notion of transnational seriously and seek to conceptualize it. Although they do not offer the reader an exact definition of what a *transnational family* is, they engage in an informed review of the existing theoretical debates on transnational families and connect the empirical analyses of transnational families to other important concepts such as communities, collective identities and social capital. In other words, transnational families are understood as embedded in the larger ethnic and racial communities, as sites where collective and individual identities are negotiated and social capital transmitted (pp. 16–35).

Although the theoretical engagement with the concept of transnationalism is illuminating, I was missing a more robust discussion on the other important concept of *family*. The authors could have taken cue from the rich literature of sociology of family and intimate relations, to contribute also theoretically in the rethinking of what family actually is in transnational migratory context. In fact, there is a constant tension in the book between analyses of transnational family practices, which are clearly transnational in that they take place in transnational social fields and across state boundaries and analyses where the transnational was in fact conceptualized more locally and termed as "minority ethnic families" (Chapter 6). This is an indication of how difficult it is to conduct research which grasps the transnational dimension of people's lives because for the simple fact that people live their lives locally. This dilemma is prevalent especially in studies which are based on individual face-to-face interviews, such as the studies presented in *Transnational Families*, without completing the interview data with other methods such as network analysis or participant observation data. Another dilemma which emerges from the methodology of individual interviews is that even though the focus is said to be on the "transnational family", what is actually discussed are individuals' experiences. I know of Maria's experiences of being born in a minority ethnic family of British-Italians, but I do not know about anyone else in her family – something that ethnographic methods could have revealed.

*Transnational Families* draws mainly on two qualitative multi-sited research projects: a project on British young people's identities across national boundaries, three Commonwealth Caribbean countries and four cities in Britain. The other project concentrated on different generations of British-Italian families living in different cities in the UK and in Italy. Also, a third project on Indian-British families is mentioned, but no empirical data are explicitly discussed in the book. Bringing together these two different transnational research projects assure that the book offers very rich and interesting data. It is also a great advantage that the research setting is multi-sited in that interviews have been conducted in the UK as well as in the Caribbean and in Italy. However, discussing two very different cases has led to some unevenness across the book in that some themes were discussed drawing more on one of the two cases. More systematic comparisons between the two cases throughout the book would have benefitted the analysis. The main comparative finding in the book was that Italians have much close-knit families, while Caribbeans have looser set of relationships. Here, it would have been interesting to push forward with this finding theoretically: What are its implications to our understanding of what a family is?

Although many of the findings are not particularly surprising – for instance, that the family members were able to cope with the challenges of providing care across national boundaries, that the caregiving activities were mainly women's responsibilities and that negotiations of ethnic identities can also be strategic - they are nevertheless important results. What I found particularly interesting was the discussion on the problematic aspects of transnational families. This could have been explored more and used as a means to criticize some of the analytical research on transnationalism, which continues to be haunted by a certain celebratory tone.

All in all *Transnational Families* offers the reader a rich insight into the lives of Caribbean and Italian migrants, their families and off-spring, the challenges they encounter, their negotiations of belonging and return. The book will be of interest to all scholars and students studying transnational migration matters and it serves as a good example of transnational and multi-sited qualitative research and its challenges.

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**Hervik, Peter (2011) *The Annoying Difference. The Emergence of Danish Neonationalism, Neoracism, and Populism in the Post-1989 World*, New York: Berghahn Books. 310 pp.**

Professor Peter Hervik from the Institute of Cultural and Global Studies at Aalborg University has conducted research on media, migration and politics since the 1990s, which is now collected into one volume and published in English. *The Annoying Difference* focuses on the rise of anti-immigration rhetoric and Islamophobia in the Danish media and political debates, as well as their effects on people's mundane lives, in the post-Cold War era. While it is often perceived that anti-Muslim sentiments and Islamophobia developed in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the WTC towers in New York 2001, Hervik shows how this trend can actually be located much earlier and should be understood as the result of changing enemy constructions after the dismantling of the Iron Curtain and the end of the Socialist Block. In the post-1989 period, the new enemy images in the West became centred on Islam, non-western migration, refugees and asylum-seekers. In his detailed and nuanced analysis of the Danish development, Hervik traces the growth of neonationalist and anti-immigration rhetoric that especially since the middle of the 1990s turned into media and political campaigns against the Muslim minorities and resulted in a broadly shared

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understanding of "unbridgeable differences" between majority and minority Danes. While the book seeks to map out and analyse the rise of this polarized world view, it also pays attention to the political struggles and contestations of neonationalist and neoracist rhetoric that have taken place in Denmark during the recent decades.

Methodologically, the book is an interesting combination of media analysis and interviews by ordinary people. Situated within media anthropology and IMER (International Migration and Ethnic Relations) studies, the research provides the reader a tour across three media events that, according to Hervik, bear a central role in the rise of neonationalism and neoracism in Denmark. Moreover, he traces how the media events and the political changes that led to the decade long rule of the Centre-Right government and its right-wing populist support party have been interpreted by ordinary Danes with different ethnic, racial and religious identifications. This choice of perspective and use of different data sets enables the author to present a holistic picture of what has been happening in the Danish society during this period. While the book discusses a broad range of topics, such as media discourses, transnational neoconservative influences and Muslim responses to othering and racializing images of themselves, it avoids the trap of fragmentation and provides a clearly argued and rich analysis of central aspects in recent Danish history.

A special thanks goes to the author for elaborating on and empirically showing the value of the concepts of neonationalism and (neo)racism in the Nordic context, where such an approach has been relatively sparsely used. Neonationalism refers to the revival of nationalism in the era of heightened globalization, restructuring of European relations and economic rivalries. By using the concept neoracism, Hervik points to the emphasis on cultural differences in current racialization processes, while biological justifications to racial inequalities have become a vocabulary mainly connected to extreme right movements and activists. While many researchers argue that biological and cultural arguments have been part of racist thinking for a long time, and thus a division to "old" and "new" racism is misleading, it is certainly true that an understanding of anti-Muslim racism and other timely phenomena requires an analysis of the role that notions of culture and cultural differences play in such categorizations.

The main part of the book is structured around three case studies: (1) the media campaign against "foreigners" in 1997; (2) the Mona Sheikh story in 2001 and (3) the Muhammad cartoon crisis in 2005–2006. While the two first-mentioned media events are less known outside Denmark, the third can hardly have gone unnoticed due to its world-wide effects (for an analysis of these, see Eide, Kunelius & Phillips 2008). Hervik analyses the 1997 media campaign against "foreigners" by the tabloid *Ekstra Bladet* as a site where right-wing populist rhetoric could flourish, and the leading figures of the newly established Danish People's Party were given an opportunity to present their agenda. In the next few years, the Danish media and political debates capitalized on the "cultural differences" argument especially in relation to Muslims and Islam. The Mona Sheikh story caught the headlines in the summer of 2001, only months before the elections that brought to power the Centre-Right government that, together with the right-wing populist Danish People's Party, established one of the strictest immigration legislations in Europe. Mona Sheikh and two other "new Danes" were active participants in Danish politics, when they were accused by the press to be members of a Pakistani organization that promoted Muslim supremacy and supported the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The young Muslim politicians were described as "secret infiltrators" and "invaders" in the media and political debate, constructing transnational relations and global Islam as serious threats to the Danish society.

With regard to the Muhammad cartoon affair, Hervik presents analyses of the central frames in the Danish media coverage of the events, the government initiated and highly successful political spin of the cartoon controversy as a "freedom of speech" issue and the interpretations of, among others, Muslim identified respondents of how the debates affected their lives. While the cartoon affair has been analysed in several earlier studies, Hervik's approach provides new knowledge on the development of the events and their effects on the Danish society – not only on public discussions but also on people's mundane understandings of nation, belonging, ethnicity, race and religion.

An especially interesting theme in the book is the analysis of the politicization of Danish news journalism. Hervik convincingly argues for and gives evidence of the central role of media actors, representations and discourses in the creation of a polarized "us" and "them" view of the Danish society, while also paying attention to the structural background of this. In the hardening media competition, the Danish newspapers have strengthened their opinionated sections and become active political agents that, for example, take a clear stand on immigration issues. Moreover, the use of professional media experts by political parties to enhance media contacts and create effective political communication is a central trend of the studied period.

Some criticism can, however, be directed towards the volume. It builds on earlier publications, and while it is a benefit that all the analyses are now available in one package and in English, this leads to repetition in some parts of the book. A stricter editing process could have resulted in an even more enjoyable reading for those interested in the historical development from the mid-1990s to the end of 2000s. The long time span also raises questions about the choice of case studies: Why these three events and not some others? One could argue that several other public debates, for example, the longstanding discussions about Muslim women's headscarves and full cover, forced marriages and honour-killings, as well as other gendered controversies, have had a central impact on the Danish politics and society.

Nevertheless, the book is an excellent contribution to studies on the role of media in immigration and integration debates, its participation in racializing processes and stirring up of anti-Muslim racism, connections between media and right-wing populism, and the effects that such processes have on people's everyday lives. It will be of interest for scholars in the fields of ethnic and racial studies, anthropology, sociology, media and communication studies, and political science, as well as for broader audiences interested in the rise of neonationalism, racism and populism in Europe.

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Eide, E, Kunelius, R & Phillips, A 2008, *Transnational media events. The Mohammed cartoons and the imagined clash of civilizations*, Nordicom, Gothenburg.

**Ruhs, Martin (2013) *The price of rights: Regulating international labor migration*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. 225 pp.**

There can be distinguished roughly two main approaches to human rights in migration law and policy. The other approach is more fundamental; it is based on the idea of universal, equal, inalienable

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and indivisible human rights. The other approach is more pragmatic; it intends to build connection between theory and reality and many times concentrates on the protection of core human rights that are directly connected to human dignity. Martin Ruhs, in his recent book *The price of rights: Regulating international labor migration,* approaches pragmatically the question of the rights of labour migrants and intends to "complement conversations about the human rights of migrants with a systematic, dispassionate analysis of the interests and roles of nation-states in granting and restricting the rights of migrant workers" (p. 2). However, this study does not actually measure the price of rights (as e.g. OECD 2013; Barret & Maître 2013), but the meaning of the cost of rights for migration policy and for rights restrictions that are taking place in different countries.

Although the research is about legal rights and human rights, the discipline applied is that of political economy and not that of law. It is good to keep in mind when reading this book because otherwise some legal questions and concepts that are left unaddressed could repel a reader that approaches this book from a legal perspective. For example, Ruhs does not address the difference between legal rights and human rights, nor does he follow the classical categorization of human rights. These issues do not need to lower the significance of the study, though, since this kind of pragmatic, empirical, and realistic approach should also have certain value in legal discipline. After all, human rights theory is as much a political as a legal theory.

Ruhs analyses how and why high-income countries restrict the rights of migrant workers. He aims to contribute to both normative and policy debates about the rights that migrant workers should have when working abroad. Ruhs makes theoretical and empirical enquiries of openness of admission policies and of the rights associated with these labour admission programmes. The research measures legal rights granted by national laws and policies. What it does not measure is the enjoyment and experience of rights in practice. The empirical part is supposed to complement the development of a new normative theory. Ruhs considers that the fact that in reality the rights of labour migrants are restricted in some way in all the countries should have implications to labour migration policies and to the theoretical considerations of the ethics of migration. He states that "[…] what "should be" needs to be complemented (but not replaced) by a thorough discussion of "what is"" (p. 4).

The book is divided into eight chapters, where in the beginning Ruhs looks at the obstacles which the traditional human rights-based approach has encountered (Chapter 2). Then, he performs an empirical reality check through policy analyse, quantitative study and case studies from different countries (Chapters 3–5). After that, Ruhs looks for some backup for his ethical approach from development and consequentialism theories (Chapters 6–7). Finally, Ruhs presents his reframed human rights-based approach to migration (Chapter 8). In the back of the book, he also provides tables explaining the findings of and the indicators used in the empirical study.

In the empirical part of his study, Ruhs elaborates two separate indexes that measure policy openness and rights restrictions in 46 high-income countries. Openness is measured through indicators expressing demand and supply restrictions, whereas indicators for rights explore certain restrictions of legal rights. The two separate indexes are analysed carefully and Ruhs is able to draw charts and make conclusions on the correlation of rights, skills and openness. For example, he finds negative correlation between openness and rights, which can be interpreted as trade-off between them (pp. 84–85). It is important to understand, as Ruhs himself points out, that the empirical evidence points to correlations, yet not necessarily to causal relationships (p. 89).

As Ruhs also mentions himself, the methodology has limitations since it is truly a challenge to express complex issues using simplified indicators. Therefore, he says that the aim of the empirical study is to make an initial contribution to the debate (p. 53). Measuring human rights through indicators has become recently one kind of a trend, but the rights' restrictions of migrant workers have not been systematically and widely explored. Therefore, in this aspect, the effort that Ruhs has made is remarkable. Unfortunately, the indicators are simple; thus, the results cannot be considered to give a reliable and complete picture of rights restrictions. For example, the restrictions to the right to family reunion are indicated only through the personal scope of this right, meaning the reach of the definition of family member (pp. 70–71, 225). In a comprehensive research, also other restrictions, such as income requirement, should be indicated. Therefore, only relatively crude differences can be detected with these measures.

After the empirical study, Ruhs explores policy rationales and drivers through case studies of various high-income countries. For example, he explains the greater openness to higher-skilled workers through the importance of human capital for the economic growth and through the net fiscal impact of immigration that depends on migrants' earnings and thus skills (p. 92). According to Ruhs, skilled migrants are granted more rights mainly because nation states have engaged themselves in the global race for talent. Case studies of various government policies show that high-income countries consider necessary to offer a comprehensive set of rights to help attract highly qualified migrant labour (pp. 104–105). Ruhs points out in his analysis that trade-offs between openness and rights are not accidents or unintended consequences of policy decisions (p. 111).

Ruhs also looks at the question of migrants' rights from the point of view of the countries of origin. He points out that many countries consider that labour emigration of their citizens is in their interest since it helps to relieve unemployment and generates revenue through remittances. Given the trade-off between openness and rights, countries of origin are hesitant to insist on equal rights since that might jeopardize their objective of sending more workers abroad (pp. 137–138). Therefore, Ruhs considers that instead of human rights approach or economic approach, labour migration policies should follow human development approach. This human development approach is built on ideas of capability approach developed by Amartya Sen and human functional capabilities listed by Martha Nussbaum. Ruhs advocates this approach because it is open to trade-offs and prioritization of rights. According to Ruhs, human rights-based approaches to international labour migration can undermine the human development aspect of migration (pp. 122–123).

Based on his analysis, Ruhs advocates an "enlightened national interest" approach that is based on (1) prioritizing the interests of citizens, (2) promoting the interests of migrants, (3) recognizing the moral weight of human rights, (4) rejecting rights fetishism and (5) admitting that there is no common approach that fits all (pp. 164–166). Ruhs advocates a limited set of core rights that should be protected and defends the possibility of restrictions to other rights in order to promote openness for more labour migration (p. 196). In addition, "any rights restriction needs to be based on evidence about its net benefits for the receiving country and should lead to greater openness toward admitting migrant workers" (p. 185). This can be considered to mirror the reality in the context of migration, where the human rights status of non-citizens is compromised by state sovereignty (see, e.g. Dembour & Kelly 2011).

Ruhs calls for other kind of tolerance in immigration policies; the tolerance for rights restrictions so that trade-off between rights and openness to immigration would be possible (p. 185). Ruhs knows

that this approach is controversial and contested, but he addresses the study fearlessly and he truly provides a fresh, alternative point of view to the debate of the role of human rights in migration law and policy. He shows that there is considerable global variation in the protection of migrants' rights. This research can be useful for mapping rights development and differences between world regions. Should this account of reality then also affect the normative approach to labour migration? That is a huge question that remains open. However, Ruhs makes many interesting observations of the regulation of labour migration and is therefore necessary reading for those interested in migration policy and law.

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**Scholten, Peter (2011) *Framing Immigrant Integration: Dutch Research-Policy Dialogues in Comparative Perspective*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 314 pp.**

Immigrant integration is perhaps one of the most debated topics in contemporary European politics and has received significant attention from social sciences. Yet, little is known as to how policy and research domains interact together and how political decisions and academic findings are generated in this interface. The book *Framing Immigrant Integration: Dutch Research Policy Dialogues in Comparative Perspective* by policy scholar Peter Scholten is a successful endeavour examining the roles and effects of the policy-research nexus in Dutch immigrant integration debates over the past three decades. Scholten's contribution is a comprehensive result of extensive work in the field of policy making and migration research and is furthermore an important empirical and theoretical contribution to the understanding of challenges and constrains that arise in the nexus of research and policy.

The main aim of the book is to depict the ways in which the research-policy nexus shapes definitions and understandings of immigrant integration, or in the author's terms, "to analyse empirically the dialogues between research and policy in the construction of these frames of immigrant integration" (p. 20). Although the empirical data are based on a case study – immigrant integration policy and research in the Netherlands – the author brings an international perspective by comparing the findings with immigration frames in the UK, Germany and France. Thus, the apparent yet important question is asked: "Is there a Dutch exceptionalism?"(p. 230).

The book applies a somewhat innovative and wide-ranging analytical angle. Scholten analyses the research-policy nexus developments in the Netherlands not through the spectrum of a historical-institutionalist model thinking, as most of the policy-oriented scholars have done so far. Instead, he adapts a structuralist–constructivist perspective. Theoretically, Scholten bases his analysis on Bourdieu's social practice perspective (p. 33) and theories of framing, where frames are regarded as means to make sense of the world. This theoretical choice allows for treating immigrant integration models as objects of analysis (p. 277). In Scholten's analysis, these models appear as results of power dimensions constructed in and through the nexus of research and policy. For instance, Scholten argues that the so-called model of Dutch multiculturalism emerged because of a technocratic structure in the nexus of research and policy which allowed for depoliticized minority-centred research. Later on the nexus adapted an enlightenment role, which increasingly resulted into the shift towards a universalist and soon after an assimilationist model of integration. These shifts in immigrant integration frames appeared as an outcome of power reconfigurations in a research-policy nexus. For instance, multiculturalist and universalist models reflect the scientific authority in problem framing, while assimilationist models reflect a politicized approach to integration.

These developments and shifts in problem framing are not exclusive to the Dutch case. Scholten reconstructs immigrant integration frames in France, Germany and the UK that seem to carry patterns similar to the Dutch research-policy nexus. For instance, Scholten detects a common depoliticized multicultural frame of integration in the UK and the Netherlands in the 1980s, a lack of institutional policy that generated a universalist frame of integration in the Netherlands and Germany, and an assimilationist turn in the Netherlands, Germany and France that was inextricably linked to a decline in public trust in scientific credibility and politization of research (p. 273). Undoubtedly, interesting results emerge when comparing frames within different national contexts. The commonalities in these frames speak, as noted by Scholten, for a much needed denationalization of immigrant integration research, a turn towards Europeanization and increased distance between research and politics (p. 274).

Ontologically and epistemologically, Scholten discards objectivist and relativists perspectives of science (p. 24). Scholten succeeds to evade a objectivist perspective by showing that scientific findings are not "bottom line facts" and that its "imaginary objectivity" is shaped according to how these findings are negotiated within academia itself as well as by political and public actors. However, even if Scholten tries to detach his research from a relativist notion of "discursive relativity" (p. 24), in his findings he demonstrates a somewhat relativist perspective. By showing how immigrant integration models emerge in and through the process of the research and policy nexus, he inextricably shows that scientific "truth" is always discursively and socially situated in a particular power structure. In other words, what Scholten illustrates is that scientific findings or policies are always relative to a particular frame, and that even this frame itself is a relative result of the interaction between research and policy.

The author comprehensively applies a social-constructivist approach by showing how different institutionalized structures such as research and policy mutually affect each other, what frames emerge as a result of this interaction, and how they change over time. However, policy and research are merely two of several potential structures that play a role in shaping public understanding of immigrant integration. Non-institutionalized actors and civil society might as well play an important role in shaping political decisions and academic enquiries. The institutionalized and non-institutionalized opposition towards migration has intensified exclusionary practices towards immigrants from non-Western countries and beliefs in their cultural incompatibility. As a response to these ideas, civil society movements (often initiated by migrants themselves) advocate for alternative modes of citizenship and migrant integration strategies. Scholten could have developed a bottom-up perspective by addressing if and how these non-institutionalized actors shape immigrant integration framing in the nexus of research and policy.

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Undoubtedly, Scholten's book is a comprehensive and empirically convincing exploration into the nexus of research and policy. Thus, it will find its use and interest by policy scholars and students, and not least among those interested in immigrant integration.

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