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BOOK REVIEWS

Cuban, Sondra (2017) *Transnational family communication: immigrants and ICTs*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 298 pp.

It is often discussed in migration studies that information and communication technologies (ICTs), such as Skype, international call applications, social media platforms and other technological developments, are improving the quality of life of mobile people (Foner & Dreby 2011: 556; Bacigalupe & Lambe 2011: 14). Sondra Cuban challenges the idea of easily staying in touch and keeping up close relations from the distance. In her book, she describes how immigrant women – as part of transnational families – maintain 'familyhood' across borders (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002: 3) and stresses the hardships and difficulties of both mobile members of the families as well as those who stay behind. She argues that even when we have different technologies to be able to stay in touch over the distance, the close ones are always in some way out of reach (p. 239).

The author, Dr. Sondra Cuban from the Western Washington University, is an educational sociologist with areas of interests in immigration and education. Since 2014, she has focussed on the nexus of economic justice and migrancy, with Washington State as a case study that the book is also opening more specifically. She has also researched under-represented communities, including immigrants and refugees transitioning out of homelessness. Her most recent project focusses on the mobilities of immigrant women in Temuco, Chile.

The author masterfully combines qualitative materials she has gathered while working with immigrant women in Washington State, USA. The research rests on remarkable empirical material, including auto-ethnography, in-depth interviews with 60 informants, shadowing and observation notes as well as long-scale fieldwork that enables the author to draw detailed in-depth pictures of the lives of her informants. Cuban has developed a valuable methodological tool, which she calls 'visuality, voice and vibe' (p. 78). The research started with observing; the author stresses the importance of seeing faces and reactions through a camera lens, incorporating social context to transnational communication. She refers to voices as hearing, as well as deep listening, for describing how family members talk about their experiences. But the most valued part is the vibe approach, which refers to the affective and somatic aspects of sensing family members' meanings (pp. 78–79). These tools are very relevant to be able to grasp the understanding of family communication, where a lot is said without words. For example, as Cuban explains, a participant when 'talking to her mother, may sense that while she smiles and says she is fine, something else is happening beneath the surface' (p. 79). Her work is a nice example of how transnational studies need more multisensory approaches and how much the field could gain from these.

The book develops the idea of ICT-based interaction in transnational families and expands previously published critical ideas about technological communication possibilities among immigrants. Cuban stresses that more than technologies, she is interested in psychological, sociohistorical, cultural and political contexts of human communication through ICTs. As she puts it, her work asks the 'who, what, when, where and why' (p. 3) questions about long-distance communication. The author is aiming at giving a wider picture and raising awareness regarding downfalls that accompany communication from a distance. The goal is met especially in Chapter 6, which opens the possibilities for care talk within transnational families. She shows how difficult it is to speak about death, illness or depression using ICTs, and even more, how helpless it makes the other side, because possibilities to give support are very limited. Healthcare aspects of the book are very engaging and expose the participants' struggles to care for their family members. Perhaps the most important feature of the book is the development of different schemes of communication among immigrant women. Those schemes are classified as follows: (1) *the circle,* which refers to a decentralised communication system, where the network stays in touch and messages are circulated through different people; (2) *the channel,* which is defined as a live, synchronous communication way, e.g., a videoconference call; (3) *the line* configuration, which is a row of steps and actions taken to get or receive help; and (4) *the star* module, which is the most centralised one, with one operator who gathers and delivers news, support and care (pp. 45–47). It is also interesting how these modules are later developed and combined with the rescue chain idea that centres on delivering just-in-time support or with the emotional chain in the context of caring for somebody from a distance.

The most crucial keyword of the book is 'affordance', which is defined as 'the resources, capacities, access and tools that enable the interactions to take place' (p. 3). The author also dedicates two chapters to describe different affordances among immigrant women and stresses that her sample shows that the drastic difference is visible among different social classes. Transnational communication within their networks was affected by their education and family-created opportunities (p. 213). The low-skilled group was very visible by their weak digital literacy skills, due to the lack of both infrastructure (no Internet connection in rural areas) and access to technologies such as smartphones and computers. The only possible way to be able to stay in touch with their families was using domestic landlines and mobile phones with and without cards.

The book draws a picture of the current apparently digitalising world, where there are many groups that lack the same technological possibilities that are available to others. In these cases, communication with one's family can be too expensive to be able to

afford consistent contact, lacking privacy due to housing conditions or constant presence of other people, or impossible because of the insufficient quality of connection. The book reminds all the troubling aspects of staying in touch over a distance and emphasises how premature it is to celebrate the era of the ICT.

One of the central topics of the book is gender and how gender frames the communication between female immigrants (p. 213). Even though the subject itself is much gendered and all the informants are women working in the traditionally female labour market, the gendered aspect of the communication patterns did not arise that clearly from the book. It is taken too self-evidently that women are the ones staying in touch with (female) family members and friends at the same time as men tend to talk less and on other matters. It is quite obvious that gender matters, but it is more difficult to get the answer as to why and how it matters. Mothers, sisters and daughters are visible in the book, but it raises the question why men are not so present, and why are they left or falling out?

The book is a relevant addition to ICT communication research and gives a marvellous insight into transnational familyhood. The book reminds us that the possibilities to communicate are not equal for everyone in all situations. Communication can be very hierarchical, and the possibility to stay in touch may be a luxury for more vulnerable groups, even in our technological world. It is very easy to develop an illusory picture of easiness to communicate across the borders, but Sondra Cuban's book brings in a carefully developed picture, also including the struggles related to long-distance communication. The book is recommended reading for mobility as well as communication researchers, but it could also be of interest for a much wider audience because it offers interesting insights into contemporary behaviour patterns.

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Dimitriadi, Angeliki (2018) *Irregular Afghan Migration to Europe At the Margins, Looking In,* Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. 204 pp.

Since 2015, migration and asylum have been high on the agenda of the international community, particularly of the European Union (EU). The book on irregular Afghan migration to the EU countries is quite timely and relevant, as it offers a much broader perspective on the refugees' march to Europe and invites the reader to 'look' at the migration patterns, routes and policies preceding and following 2015. The focus in the book is on Greece, which the author Angeliki Dimitriadi describes as 'an interesting and relatively unexplored site for contemporary irregular migratory flows and particularly the Afghans' (p. 118). The book is a result of a long research process, consisting of the author's doctoral (Ph.D.), postdoctoral and 6-month-long research in Berlin during 2015. The research is based on interviews conducted mainly with the Afghans, but also with policy-makers, workers of non-governmental organisations (NGO) and officials in different sites in Greece, Istanbul, Brussels and Berlin. Based on the narratives of the Afghans on the move, the author depicts their displacement and search for a country to settle and to belong. Without a discussion on how the receiving and transit countries constantly recast their policies to respond to new flows, the story would be half-told. Therefore, the author elaborates on the impact of migration policies, particularly of the transit countries, on Afghans' mobility as well as their periods of waiting, attainment or lack of status, access to international protection, subaltern integration to countries of temporary settlement as well as detention or voluntary and forceful return.

The book is well-structured, guiding the reader to follow the Afghans as they cross borders. The introductory chapter provides very interesting insights into transit migration. It shows that the destination and the route are not preset; they very much depend on the networks formed and the information accessed throughout the journey. Transit migration entails both mobility and immobility and is a condition not solely defined by the state policies, but also by the preferences, hopes and survival strategies of the migrants. The word transit reveals the migrants' determination to continue their journeys despite all the impediments. The author defines the Afghans as transit migrants, whose irregularity starts with the decision to migrate. By not launching asylum applications in Turkey or Greece, the Afghans 'choose' irregularity to move on to 'Europe' based on the information obtained from the smugglers, the Afghan diaspora, social media as well as the journalists, researchers and NGO staff working in the field.

The question of categories constitutes an important theme in the book. Categorisations have practical implications for one's access to a clear status, rights and services in the receiving countries. The departure of Afghans from Afghanistan started in the 1970s as a refugee movement. They took refuge in Pakistan and Iran, where initially they were granted hospitality on religious and humanitarian grounds. Currently, Pakistan is trying to repatriate more than 15 million Afghans living in the country, while Iran does not allow either unregistered Afghans to apply for asylum or access to education. Fearing deportation, many of the Afghans cross into Turkey, where they mainly fall into the irregular migrant category. In Greece, as the author puts it, they are granted 'limited hospitality', which allows only for their temporary stay and saves Greece from formulating an integration policy. The Afghans, who manage to move to the other EU countries, are increasingly perceived as economic migrants with a compromised ability to exercise their rights, rather than refugees, even if they define themselves as such.

The problem with categorisations is that in the face of the growing extent of mixed flows, it is becoming extremely difficult to distinguish between voluntary and forced migration. The Afghan mobility is a case in point. Chapter 2 analyses the factors conducive to outflows from Afghanistan and the Afghans' conditions of arrival and stay in Iran. The author, while critically reviewing migration – theorising through the structure and agency approach, calls on the reader to contemplate both on the structural factors and the individual aspirations shaping the (Afghan) migration experience. Migration, in fact, refugeeism, is a rite of passage, an investment and a household survival strategy for many young Afghan men, informed by a culture of migration and shaped through solidarity networks. Among the entangling factors, the author emphasises the following: security concerns linked with political instability and conflict, particularly after the withdrawal of the International Security

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Assistance Force (ISAF) in 2012; emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – Khorasan Province (ISIL-K); and growing attacks of the Taliban against the civilians, but also lack of financial security, unemployment, poverty and limited access to education.

Chapter 3, based on the findings from fieldwork in Istanbul in 2014, discusses the arrival and experiences of the Afghans in Turkey, for whom Turkey is a passageway and a 'waiting room' (Erder 2000: 257). Many of the Afghan interviewees expressed their willingness to settle in Turkey if they were given a chance for legal stay and access to education. This is mainly because they find jobs more easily in the informal sector in Turkey as compared to Greece. However, the decision of the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR)-Turkey to suspend asylum applications from Afghans in 2013, as well as the EU–Turkey deal in March 2016, led to deterioration of living conditions and left many Afghans stranded in Turkey.

Despite all the hurdles, the Afghans seek to move from Turkey to Greece, which many succeed only after several attempts. Chapters 4 and 5 provide the reader with an overview of shifting Greek policies on migration and asylum, as well as its implications for the Afghans, who started to arrive in Greece from 2007 onwards. Greece, amid a backlog of asylum applications, engaged in creating a new asylum system along the EU standards from 2010 onwards, which led to a shift in Greek policy from restricting access to detention and deportation of migrants.

With a view to show that the events that unfolded in 2015–2016 constitute a break from the norm, Chapter 6 provides the reader with an extensive discussion on the implications of the Syrian refugees' arrival for the Greek migration management system and Afghan mobility. The influx of Syrians led to a significant change in the smuggling routes, prices and asylum policies of the EU countries. The Syrians' long march towards Europe created the Western Balkan route from which the Afghans also benefitted. However, border closure in January 2016, and particularly the EU–Turkey deal, which suspended the flow of refugees further to Europe, turned Greece into an archipelago of camps scattered up to mainland Greece and islands, accommodating stranded refugees and migrants.

While longer detention periods and degrading conditions in detention centres seek to deter Afghans from arriving, those who are already in Greece are now made to choose between long detention periods or voluntary return. A growing number of the Afghans choose repatriation, which according to the author, is not a viable solution. Many Afghans agree to return back, even though the conditions in Afghanistan are not conducive for their stay. According to a study by the Norwegian Refugee Council and the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, three-quarters of the Afghans who return back, leave the country due to violence. The UN classified Afghanistan from 'post-conflict' to 'active conflict' in 2017 (McVeigh 2018). However, as we are witnessing, these developments do not seem to affect the deterrent policies and categorisations of the transit and receiving countries.

The arrival of Syrian refugees, while revealing the limits of hospitality in Greece, exposed the limits of EU solidarity in responsibility sharing. The EU policy-making in the past 2 decades, designed and implemented to curb irregular migration, served to outsource border management and turn peripheries into transit zones. As a result of the Dublin II Regulation, it became the responsibility of the 'frontline states' to protect the land, sea and air borders of the 'fortress Europe' and keep, push back, remove and return increasing numbers of asylum seekers and migrants at the gates. However, as pointed out by the author, this is an unsustainable strategy that will not stem the tide. At this point, a criticism may be raised to the author, who could have shared more of the direct quotes, from the interviews with the Afghans, of their own hopes and dismay throughout the journey, which would have further emphasised the consequences of restrictive policies and highlighted the real priorities and challenges with a view to guiding policy-making. This would have better embedded the discussion in the global economic and political context and showed how diverse global inequalities play out and become more visible in transit zones located at the crossroads of the North–South divide.

Overall, the book introduces new insights into continuities and changes in migration patterns in the eastern Mediterranean and is a valuable contribution to the current debates on mixed flows. It is of interest mainly to students of migration studies and is a must-read for academics and practitioners particularly interested in EU policy-making on migration and asylum.

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McVeigh, K 2018, *'Now is Not the Time': Violence Forces Refugees to Flee Afghanistan Again*. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/jan/25/violence-forces-refugees-to-flee-afghanistan-again>. [Last accessed 1.2. 2018].

McMahon, Aoife (2016) *The Role of the State in Migration Control – The Legitimacy Gap and Moves towards a Regional Model*, Leiden/Boston: Brill/Nijhoff. 310 pp.

In the current situation of the so-called crisis of migration policy, especially in Europe, it seems important to inform fellow scholars or policy-makers about the foundations of migration control. In this book, *The Role of the State in Migration Control – The Legitimacy Gap and Moves towards a Regional Model* (2016), Aoife McMahon explains the origins, legitimacy and challenges of migration control. She is looking for a middle ground between strong migration control with protection of state sovereignty and weak control with free movement (p. 1).

McMahon is a lawyer (barrister) from Ireland, and this book is based on her doctoral thesis, *The role of the state in migration control* (2015), at the School of Law of Trinity College, in Dublin, Ireland. Although McMahon is a legal scholar, this book has a multidisciplinary approach. Perhaps the best description could be law and policy, with economics and history. Her approach is actually that of a law- or policy-maker, whose aim is to consider everything. McMahon limits her research to the entry of migrants instead of examining the rights of migrants staying in a country (p. 3). However, on occasions, she feels it necessary to deal with this and other issues outside the scope of the book (e.g. pp. 132–142).

This book is divided into seven chapters. In the first three chapters, the author has a historical approach. Her aim is to challenge the mantra of absolute state sovereignty that is often presented for legitimation of migration control. McMahon sees that in the context of the theoretical literature, there are mainly two approaches to sovereignty: 'for some, sovereignty is no longer pertinent as a distinct concept', and for some, it 'remains pertinent but requires recalibration'

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(p. 32). McMahon argues that beyond those few core functions of the state (security, order and health), which are justified on a traditional basis, political and legislative action needs to be justified on a rational basis (p. 7). She finds Max Weber's (1978) consent theory appealing: the acts of public authority have to have traditional, charismatic or legal–rational basis (p. 37). Her conclusion of this theoretical exercise is that the modern state needs to demonstrate on an evidential basis that its actions go towards maintaining societal order and that these actions do not go beyond what is necessary (p. 38).

In Chapter 2, the author shows how in the beginning of the 1900s, especially during the World War I, many states tightened their immigration control. McMahon uses Britain and America (USA) as examples. She points out that although many changes, such as collecting personal data, were supposed to be temporary, they were prolonged after the war and eventually became permanent (pp. 50–51 and 58–59). The most interesting finding in this book is the description of two different default points or principles for migration policy: 'freedom unless you pose a threat' and 'control unless we want you' (pp. 7, 59, 61). However, the book could have profited from including other research on the default points for migration control in the international and human rights law (e.g. Dembour 2015).

This change in approach to migration control might have repercussions on international law, which she deals with in the third chapter from the point of view of external limits to state sovereignty. McMahon considers both juridical limits set by international and regional law as well as factual limits posed by global economy. First, she describes the legal standards for international protection and human rights. In the end of this chapter, she also considers the influence of economic arguments, and even economic lobbying, on migration policy. Although she makes very interesting and accurate observations, a legal scholar is confused about the way the author presents economic limits side by side with juridical limits to policy-making.

If, in the earlier chapters, the author was using mainly historical and legal–political methods, in the fourth chapter, the approach is conceptual and includes a statistical analysis of the more recent situation. The aim of this part is to show the difficulties in making rational decisions on migration due to lack of common concepts and reliable data. Although McMahon makes interesting observations on the problem of comparability of data collected by different states, she fails to convince the reader that there is also a problem of reliability of that data. Later in the book, McMahon argues that there are challenges in legitimate justification of migration control measures because of this data-related problem (pp. 244–245), but she never actually engages in analysis of the data and its use at the national level.

In Chapter 5, McMahon returns to a theoretical analysis of legitimacy. In this chapter, she considers 'to what extent the general and systematic state control of migration can be legitimized' (p. 131). For this analysis, McMahon uses the notions of traditional and rational–legal bases for legitimacy from Weber. The central question seems to be whether the state practice amounts to customary law (pp. 144, 148). Relying on James Nafziger (1983), she comes to the conclusion that migration control measures cannot be justified by traditional legitimacy, and therefore, control measures should be legitimised on a rational–legal basis (pp. 148, 156). However, McMahon also considers the rational–legal legitimacy weak partly due to the problems related to reliability of data discussed in Chapter 4 and partly due to the challenges presented in Chapter 6 (p. 158).

Chapter 7 is set to provide some solutions to the identified problems. The author calls upon courts to safeguard the rule of law and, even further, to insist that the measures of controlling migration be justified on an evidential basis. Other suggestions for better management of migration are inclusion of stakeholders and third-sector actors in the policy planning and implementation stages, as well as elevation of the policy planning to a supranational level (pp. 240–242). McMahon advocates for a bigger role for regional organisations such as the EU (pp. 79, 221, 247). This last part of the book is supposed to consider 'what steps the state could take to improve the legitimacy of their migration control measures?' (p. 246). However, the reader struggles with the task of finding the connection between the actual research done in this book and these suggestions made in the last chapter. To address the question adequately, the author should have looked more carefully into current migration control measures and the justifications given to them.

In this book, McMahon deals with the issue of legitimation of migration control from many different angles. The book has a multidisciplinary approach, a choice that can be defended by this multi-sided research topic. However, in some chapters, the approach suddenly changes in a way that the reader might have difficulties in following the red line. For example, although it is true that rational action presupposes knowledge (p. 38) and data provides knowledge, Chapter 4 feels out of place or somehow less relevant to this book. This chapter also interrupts the discussion on limits to state authority, which continues again in Chapter 5. In addition, the book could have benefitted from a narrower focus and deeper analysis. Now, many things are lightly argued or based on old literature. Despite these weaknesses, the book provides a lot of knowledge and analysis, as well as interesting details from history, to all those interested in questions related to migration control.

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Bjork, Stephanie R. (2017) *Somalis Abroad: Clan and Everyday Life in Finland*, Champaign: The University of Illinois Press. 196 pp.

The Somali diaspora, particularly in the West, is generating a significant amount of research and scholarly publications. *Somalis Abroad: Clan and Everyday Life in Finland* is one of several monographs that have appeared in 2017. The book is authored by Stephanie R. Bjork, a professor of anthropology at Paradise Valley Community College in Phoenix, Arizona. The author is an American scholar, a Somalist who has studied Somalis in the diaspora for more than a decade and a half. The book is primarily based on ethnographic data collected in 2003 and 2004 in the Greater Helsinki area, the capital area where most of the Finnish-Somalis live.

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The book's main aim is to depict the role of the clan in the everyday lives of diaspora Somalis. Thus, by delving into why the clan is important for Somalis in the diasporic context, where strong individualism is the norm, as is a capable welfare system that guarantees the survival of individuals, the work endeavours to scrutinise the practices that Somalis abroad have engaged in to build and exchange capital among clan relatives. The book consists of five chapters, as well as a foreword, written by Abdulkadir Osman Farah, prologue and conclusion. Bjork uses the first chapter as both an introduction and preface to set the stage for the study.

To discern the relevance (and irrelevance) of the clan in the everyday practices of Somalis abroad, Bjork uses four 'diasporic' moments – Telling, Movement, Celebration and Crises – these being the titles and themes of the four main chapters. Telling (Chapter 2), describing various typical types of encounters, presents how diaspora Somalis communicate their clan identity through 'telling' signs to legitimise their clan status, cultivate inter- and intra-clan links as well as access clan networks and capital. Chapter 3, Movement, deals with three types of movement. The first concerns young adults who, in order to gain more autonomy, choose to move away from the family household. The chapter pays particular attention to the implications of these moves on the collective interest. Research has shown that the Somali diaspora is heavily engaged in transnational networks, and that the Internet is one of the means of such engagement. The second type of movement concerns these online interactions and the clan factor in them. Immigration is the third type of movement discussed in the chapter. Here, the focus is on the migration process of Somalis resettling in the West and the relevance of clan networks in this process. The fourth chapter, Celebration, studies how, through organising, conducting and participating in wedding celebrations, Somali women not only refine their sense of Somaliness and cultivate links to other clans but also use weddings as an important opportunity to legitimise their clan claims and strengthen clan networks. The chapter also discusses other aspects of marriage, such as choosing a spouse. The fifth chapter, Crises, looks at the practice of mobilising clan networks and capital in times of crisis. The situations the chapter delves into are moments where someone needs certain social, financial or human capital. The chapter considers not only the strategies of those who utilise the clan networks but also strategies used by those who intend to avoid being exploited by others. The conclusion summarises the main findings presented in the previous four chapters. It also covers aspects of the experiences of Somali Bantu refugees in the United States.

The book has many strengths. Unlike other studies on the Somali diaspora, Bjork brings the clan factor into the analysis in a systematic way. By doing so, she succeeds in combining the use of the practice theory approach with diverse ethnographic data: survey, in-depth interviews, participant observation and so on. Thus, although using the clan as a main analytic factor in the analysis, the study rejects the 'all-or-nothing approach to kinship' of the classic primordial perspective taken by conventional social anthropologists, which has traditionally dominated Somali scholarship. Instead, Bjork finds that 'what appears to be hard structure is actually the effects of practice achieved on the ground' (p. 157).

Another interesting feature that gives the book substantial strength is the use of the concept of cultural intimacy. This allows Bjork to successfully capture the nature of the somewhat paradoxical attitude of many Somalis in the diaspora, particularly those who claim to be civilised. Such persons consider the clan as a backward and barbaric concept as well as a source of sectarianism among Somalis, while at the same time they 'construct clan and make clan status claims, just as other Somalis' (p. 102).

However, the book has several shortcomings. The most serious is that it does not provide working definitions for some of the key analytic concepts it uses. Research on the Somali diaspora abundantly shows the centrality of the (extended) family and of religion in the everyday lives of individuals. This is captured by the participant Nur's 'sharp words' when exclaiming: 'If you [as an individual] do something, they [Somalis] think what does *masjid* (mosque) say? What does tribe (clan) say? What does family say?' (p. 149). The book consistently uses the terms 'clan' and 'clan relatives' interchangeably but fails to differentiate practices that fall within the family domain from those within the sphere of clan relationships. In truth, 'clan' or 'clan relatives' are different from 'relatives' in two ways. First, my paternal aunt, for instance, might be a member of my clan, but my relationship with her falls within the sphere of family obligations, rather than of clan relatives. Second, a significant number, if not most, of one's extended family may be outside the domain of his/her clan relatives. For instance, I participate in a 69-member WhatsApp group consisting of four generations of my maternal grandfather's descendants. Very few of them are members of my clan: they belong to a vast number of different clans and clan families. My relationship with them falls in the domain of (extended) family. Currently, my maternal uncle is in India for medical treatment, for which all costs, including travel, have been paid by members of this group, regardless of their clan affiliations. By not clearly differentiating between family and clan, Bjork's book construes a large number of everyday (extended) family practices as clan practices. For instance, helping someone to migrate to the West, supporting someone's medical treatment or making a marriage decision falls mainly within the domain of family relations; however, the book describes these as clan practices. This is probably why the author feels uncertain about the approach (p. 18) and findings (p. 31) of some Somali scholars. A related issue is the role of Islam in the everyday practices of Somalis abroad. The book ignores this dimension and, as a result, what is actually a religious obligation (maintaining close relationships with family and immediate relatives, whether on one's father's side, mother's side, spouse's side and so on) has been interpreted as a strategy for maintaining clan networks.

In addition, the author informs us that the population sample of the study is 186 (109 women and 77 men), but we are not told how many of these persons participated in the in-depth interviews. Nor do we know who the '(key) consultants' are. Little is said about them, their backgrounds, the sections of society they are from and so on. We know specific individuals who are in the category of key consultants. But, we exceptionally hear the voice of a group of people whom the author identifies as consultants 'who embrace a Finnish lifestyle'. In some areas, the author's decision to focus on this group is intentional and makes it clear (Chapter 5), but in almost all other chapters,the group is given a disproportionately high role in the presentation. Consequently, concerning the everyday lives of Finnish-Somalis, we hear more about nightclubs, alcohol, non-Somali husbands, Finnish wives, Finnish boyfriends and so on. At the same time, we rarely hear about prayer, the *Quran*, the mosque, school, *fadhi-ku-dirir* and *qat*[1], among other things. For these informants, ordinary Finnish-Somalis are 'others'. We hear remarks such as 'They [Somalis] were always talking clan', 'it is difficult with Somalis, they always want something'

[1]*Fadhi-ku-dirir is a custom for some Somali men, who meet in cafés to debate Somali politics and clan-related issues. Qat is a plant (Catha edulis) that releases a stimulant when its narcotic leaves are chewed. Some Somalis, mostly men, use it. These are commonly discussed issues as both are related to the challenges faced by the Somali family in the diaspora.*

and 'They talk about bullshit.That's why I don't want to do anything for them'. It is therefore questionable whether many Finnish-Somalis would consider the book to be an accurate presentation of their everyday lives in Finland.

Although the book can be criticised from a number of angles, it is a helpful addition to the debate on the Somali diaspora. It brings an alternative point of view to the debate on social relations and networks and provides a fresh approach on the role of clan in everyday life of the Somali diaspora. The book will be of use to researchers and students interested in transnational migration and diasporas. It is also accessible for broader audiences and thus valuable for those interested in the Somali diaspora.

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Wickström, Mats & Wolff, Charlotta (eds.) (2016) *Mångkulturalitet, migration och minoriteter i Finland under tre sekel*, Helsingfors: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland. 360 pp.

People who persistently advocate the idea that Finland has become culturally and linguistically diverse during the past few decades should acquaint themselves with a recently published collection of articles titled *Mångkulturalitet, migration och minoriteter i Finland under tre sekel*[2]. This book looks into the multilingual and multicultural past of Finland—a past that has often been either forgotten or (deliberately) ignored in recent discussions on immigration.

The editors of the volume, Mats Wickström and Charlotta Wolff, are historians, as are most of the authors of individual chapters, albeit in different fields. In addition to the introductory article by Wickström and Wolff, the book consists of 10 contributions that shed light on minority groups and their status, as well as on human rights, emigration, return migration, mobility of elite cosmopolitans and the construction of national identity. The book addresses the cultural diversity of Finnish society from different perspectives over a period extending from Swedish rule to today. The editors point out that the purpose of the collection is not to give an overall picture of the current situation, because there are plenty of publications on that topic. A couple of the articles touch on some recent events, such as the migration flows of asylum seekers in 2015, but the book's focus is clearly on the 19th and 20th centuries. Many of the authors have made use of interesting and rare archive materials, such as private letter collections. The number of sources is considerable.

In his thought-provoking contribution, Klaus Törnudd (Chapter 2) discusses the history of international human rights and the development of Finnish immigration policy in post-war Finland. Drawing upon his experience as a former civil servant in foreign affairs, Törnudd demonstrates that, as far as human rights issues are concerned, Finland was lagging behind other countries for a long time. However, a lot of progress has been made during the past decades, as is shown by the fact that Finland has ratified quite a few international declarations and conventions, such as the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* and the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.* Nevertheless, Finland has not joined the International Labour Organization (ILO) convention on the rights of indigenous peoples. This exception is due to a long-lasting dispute on the land ownership rights of the Sámi. According to Törnudd, Finnish society nowadays takes into account the existence of cultural, linguistic and religious minorities in many ways. He urges Finland to continue to guarantee human rights for all inhabitants of the country, regardless of their background.

In Chapter 4, Charlotta Wolff describes the transnational life of cosmopolitans in the 19th century. This group had been educated in continental Europe, had versatile language skills and had made a significant impact on the economic and cultural development of Finland. They came to Finland mostly from Scandinavia, Russia, Germany, Great Britain and Switzerland, and their professional background as factory owners, merchants, engineers and civil servants reveals their motives for immigration. In the homes of cosmopolitans, multilingual education was taken care of by English-speaking nannies and Swiss and German governesses or companions. The *lingua franca* of the cosmopolitans was Swedish; Finnish was learned—if it ever was learned—from servants. According to Wolff, it seems paradoxical to use the concept of *immigrant* when talking about cosmopolitans, as this mobile and multilingual group was by no means confined to the geographical area that in 1917 became known as Finland. Traces of Finland's cosmopolitan past are still visible in many company names, such as Fazer, Finlayson, Hackman, Rettig and Stockmann.

Markku Mattila's article (Chapter 10) offers quite a disturbing reading experience. It depicts the beginning of the 20th century, when Swedish-speaking Finns made use of racial biology and racial hygiene for ethnopolitical purposes. The purpose of this endeavour was to make a distinction between the Swedish-speaking population and the Finnish-speaking majority, as well as to ensure the internal cohesion and 'biological quality' of the Swedish-speaking minority. The initiative was taken in 1911 by the so-called Florin Committee with the help of a considerable donation to *Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland* (Society of Swedish Literature in Finland), and the idea was disseminated by *Folkhälsan* ('Public Health') and *Marthaförbundet* (the Swedish Martha Association in Finland). The aim of these organisations was to extend advisory services for speakers of Swedish in matters related to home, family, social welfare and healthcare. However, the desired result—proof of a racially pure Swedish group—was never obtained. As Mattila points out, this chain of events is unique, since the combination of science, nationalism and assumptions of social classes has special characteristics due to the language situation in Finland; no other national minority in the world has used racial hygiene for ethnopolitical purposes. As is well known, racial hygienic thinking expanded later to cover the entirety of Finnish society.

The period of Russian rule (1809−1917) brought along a number of language groups. The history of the Russian-speaking population in Finland is depicted in Veronica Shenshin's article (Chapter 5). Relations between Finland and Russia have had many twists and turns, and until today, the perceptions acquired in the past affect the attitudes of the majority population in Finland. In Chapter 6, Harry Halén describes the phases of Tatar immigration and the ways in which Tatars organised themselves and settled in various localities. Another group that arrived in Finland from the multicultural czarist state of Russia are the Jews. Laura Ekholm (Chapter 7) describes the political and cultural collision in which this minority has lived since the 19th century. Most Jews assimilated linguistically into the Swedish-speaking minority, and at the same time, they were stigmatised for their origins in Russia.

In his extensive review on Finnish emigration, Max Engman (Chapter 3) reminds the reader that mobility always has an impact not only on the country of immigration but also on the country of emigration. Chapter 8 by Panu Pulma outlines the history of Roma politics, with an emphasis on active reform work, and draws an

[2] *In English: Multiculturalism, Migration and Minorities in Finland in Three Centuries (translated by the author, Sirkku Latomaa).*

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extensive comparison between the developments in Finland and Sweden. It is interesting to learn how central a role the Nordic Council played in the process. In Chapter 9, Veli-Pekka Lehtola describes features of ethnic awakening among the Sámi in post-war Finland. The article focusses on Sámi activists and their mutual contradictions, and it shows how vulnerable minority activism is in cases of conflict. The final article in this volume is written by Ainur Elmgren. In Chapter 11, the reader gets an overview of the time when the Finnish cultural elite were obsessed with finding the inner nature of Finnishness. Elmgren argues that the constructions of national identity from the beginning of the 20th century are still alive and well.

Interestingly—but not surprisingly—this edited volume fails to cover one minority, which has been missing in other anthologies, too: the Karelians. The rulers have consistently denied the fact that Karelians constitute a distinct ethnic group with a distinct language and culture. In other words, the Karelians form a minority that has not been allowed to exist. The ignorance of authorities, decision-makers and lay people derives from the lack of information and reliable research, but it also represents the legacy of the very forceful Finnicisation policies to which speakers of Karelian have been subjected during the past 2 centuries (see, e.g. Laakso et al. 2016; Minority Rights Group Finland 2016; Sarhimaa 2017). Finally, in November 2009, the Karelian language, one of the autochthonous languages in Finland, was granted the status of a minority language—at the last minute.

The multicultural and multilingual history of Finland has earlier been described in quite a few publications in Finnish, but it is only now that a similar anthology is available in Swedish. The book collects and presents new research on ethnic diversity and migration in Finnish history from a refreshingly new perspective—from the angle of the Swedish-speaking and other minorities in Finland. It provides strong evidence of the time-bound nature of concepts such as *immigration* and *integration*. It is a unique collection of articles, which will make a stimulating and useful read for students and researchers from many disciplines, such as political science, education and linguistics.

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