BOOK REVIEWS

Benson, Michaela, & O'Reilly, Karen (eds) (2009) *Lifestyle Migration: Expectations, Aspirations and Experiences*. **Surrey: Ashgate. 168 pp.**

Images of migration are often populated by people from the Global South fleeing war, environmental degradation, and poverty to the Global North where they are seen as threatening and inscrutable outsiders. Much of contemporary research focuses on the dynamics of integration and estrangement in various local – global contexts where resources or community relations are considered to be strained by the influx of working class migrants. Studies of voluntary migration from the Global North are usually pigeonholed in the genre of travel literature where host communities rarely make an appearance and the migrants remain rooted in their countries of origin as they pass through stunning scenery. Recent books, such as *Eat, Pray, and Love*, construct travel and movement as spiritual and personal awakening in exotic locations where wise and colorful natives appear to help protagonists along the path of self-actualization but have little personhood of their own. This meta-narrative of journey as self-knowledge has deep roots in western literature, but is generally distinct from the literature of migration which deals with the socio-cultural collisions relocating in a new and unfamiliar territory.

The recently published *Lifestyle Migration: Expectations, Aspirations and Experiences* is a small gem of a book. It is well written and offers interesting perspectives on stories of relocation and the diversity of hopes amongst émigré groups. Like a stereo-scopic viewer, each of the ten chapters provides a unique view into communities of seekers who migrate voluntarily in search of a more fulfilling lifestyle. The communities represented in the book range from British retirees in Spain to the Anglo wives of Italians living in Florence to westerners living in India for extended periods to Americans from the metropolitan centers of the Northwest migrating to the Midwest. During a year of ethnographic research, Michaela Benson, for example, explores the desire for difference amongst British residents in the south of France. Finding that many Brits have been attracted to moving to the region to follow a fantasy, in many ways, Benson reveals a deep ambivalence in the community about identity and the social class that has traveled with them across the Channel. The complexities of marriage between Anglo wives and Italian husbands are examined by Catherine Trundle through the narratives of the women. A more theoretical introduction and summary of the eight separate cases nicely bookend this collection.

The notion of lifestyle migration is defined as the quest for a bet-ter way of life. It is therefore a phenomenon of people in developed countries with means to follow their dreams on a journey to a more authentic self. However, his volume does not stop at the threshold

of self-actualization but also explores how these migrants negotiate their transforming lives in new places and sometimes with multiple homes. *Lifestyle Migration* thus contributes to a more complex and nuanced discussion of migration. In this brief review, I focus on three of the case studies that I found particularly interesting.

Mari Korpela presents the case study of Varanasi in India, where many westerners return year after year for extended periods. These lifestyle migrants stay in Varanasi because they find the place has more "vibration" than their dull western homes. Korpela presents these migrants as people on an extended "backpacking" trip, the modern day middle class version of the Grand Tour – the traditional transition to adulthood. As Korpela points out, though migration today has increasingly become a necessity of the poor and desperate in the Global South to the Global North for survival, international migration in the modern world was predominately a phenomena of colonists to the subjected parts of the world. Varanasi, a city of about a million with 200–300 regularly returning westerners between the ages of 20–30 years (but also many at 40–50 years), is considered to be a holy city of Hinduism. The westerners are attracted to Varanasi because they do not need to adhere to a schedule or be tied to a 9–5 job. Though many of these lifestyle migrants have never held a permanent day job, perhaps due to their youth or the lack of such jobs, according to Korpela they construct their choices as positive assertions of independence, courage and living in the present, rather than worrying about things such as pensions or careers (a lifestyle only possible with the affluence they have in India as westerners, though they may be vulnerable or financially marginal in their own societies). Korpela thus brings out the intersections of the desire for authenticity, longing for an idealized lifestyle by occupying a leisured positioned in a foreign society, and the reality of living a permanently temporary life.

In "The Children of the Hunters", Karen O'Reilly explores the views of the European children of lifestyle migrants in Spain. Similar to the extended backpackers in India, the parents of these children see themselves as refugees from the rat race of western society. As O'Reilly notes, in many ways this community is, nonetheless, more imagined than real. These lifestyle migrants in Spain seek an idyll that is isolated from local community. They do not learn the language nor interact with natives, though their children are sometimes subject to the resentment of the locals through schoolyard bullying. One of the more fascinating aspects of this chapter is the children's explanations of the ways that schoolmates dress and how they learn early to judge identity and belonging. Unlike migrants in the Global North, these lifestyle migrants do not face pressure to integrate or assimilate. Indeed, they can be seen as individual consumers seeking their own small slice of paradise, without needing to participate in the larger public sphere of the polis. As these children grow up, they expect to move to other countries to start their adult lives with professional careers. Their current childhood homes will thus evaporate as mere memories rather than geographical points of identity. Clearly positioned as members of the global elite, the children of these lifestyle migrants have options that their working class migrant counterparts obviously do not.

Finally, Brian Hoey looks the narratives of downsized American workers from metropolitan centers that have moved to the Midwest in search of refuge from the uncertainty of contemporary working life. Unlike the cases described above, these lifestyle migrants have lost a previous way of life. Relocation therefore offers a chance for rebirth, redemption, and transformation. Couched in an American meta-narrative of moving to the frontier for a therapeutic landscape and the simple life free of modern stress, these lifestyle migrants seek to immerse themselves in their new locales. Hoey's chapter shows that lifestyle migration does not have to be disruptive or oblivious to host communities.

When discussing migration in the liquid modernity of contemporary globalization, Zygmunt Bauman describes two polar opposite groups of migrants: tourists and vagabonds. Tourists, like the lifestyle migrants described in this volume, are able to move at will in search of self-actualization and careers. They have the right passports and means to support their lifestyles. Vagabonds, on the other hand, are thrown about the globe by the whims of international capital. Unwanted everywhere, yet needed to get out of the way or to perform the most dangerous and menial of tasks, vagabonds are often constructed as threatening the very core of Global North societies by their very presence. The categories of tourists and vagabonds reflect the deep global class divisions that determine the fates of millions. Yet, migration research tends to be shaped by a focus on solely vagabonds and their impact on host societies. Similar to the development of critical whiteness studies in the 1990s, more research is needed on these largely invisible, yet highly privileged groups that are able to migrate freely without stigma, notice or restraints. This type of discussion could unravel the structures of privilege that allow tourist or lifestyle migration to remain unrestricted and uncriticized, while vagabond migration continues to be blamed for much of the ills of post-industrialized societies. *Lifestyle Migrants* opens up a tantalizing picture of the complexity of privileged migration. Let's hope this area develops.

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Choudhry, Sultana (2010) *Multifaceted Identity of Interethnic Young People: Chameleon Identities.* **Aldershot: Ashgate. 219 pp.**

In her book, Sultana Choudhry focuses on the category of people whom she generically calls "interethnic". She argues to have opted for the term "interethnic" "because it was felt to be least 'offensive' and more precise, i.e., encompasses ethnic and racial backgrounds" (p. 7). The author deemed other common terms like "mixed race" or "mixed parentage" "inappropriate", in part due to distaste of them by her informants, some of whom were people of "mixed parentage/ race" (pp. 6–7).

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At the outset, Choudhry provides several reasons as to why she thinks it is worth (if not necessary) to study people with shared racial and ethnic background. She rightly argues that despite the fact that their numbers are on the increase (at least in the UK, where the research was carried out), there has been very little research on them. And when it comes to people with a double – South Asian and white – racial background, she found no previous elaborate research at all. However, as Choudhry argues, a more important reason has been the felt need to investigate this category of people in the context of the wider society and provide insights that next to their academic value might be beneficial even for policy makers who sooner rather than later will have to realize that Britons (Choudhry does not use this word, however) with shared/double racial and ethnic backgrounds are an integral part of the British society of a new composition and that their well-being (in the broadest sense of the word) is to be taken into account in future policy-making, especially pertaining to racial issues.

In the research, Choudhry sought to disclose how the identity of young British "interethnic" is being constructed and how it affects the quality of their life – are they torn between several identities, how do they cope with their double background, do they experience discrimination because of their ethnic/racial background, and, in general, is being "interethnic", more of a liability or an asset in socialization with family, peers and in professional career.

The book is based on a complex three-step research. First, semi-structured interviews were conducted with three groups (interethnic, non-interethnic and their parents). Secondly, sixteen interethnic participants were asked to complete retrospective diaries "on their experiences of being of interethnic" (p. 3). The third step was distribution of a questionnaire to eighty-seven participants of different interethnic background. The main research findings are provided in numerical form in more than two dozen charts and tables throughout the text and in the Appendix.

After the investigation, which included a number of parameters (such as physical appearance, ethnicity, language, religion, social class, gender), Choudhry concludes that "people of an interethnic background do not necessarily experience identity conflict" (pp. 5, 182–183), and possibly more importantly, "in fact are more successful than others because of the ways in which they utilise their interethnic backgrounds" (pp. 5, 129–131). This is where the much discussed "chameleonic" nature of their identity becomes handy – "interethnics" can, depending on the situation, by choice present themselves as of one or another identity/background, e.g. Asian or European, or as they sometimes confess, of a third ("neutral") one, "Mediterranean".

The value added in Choudhry's research is indeed the discovery in the "interethnic" people under investigation of what she labels "chameleon identities" – their practice of identity manipulation to suit different social contexts. Some of the respondents appear to be glad to be able to switch between several ethnic (and even racial, what is admittedly more difficult) identities. This way they feel they

own both and have a perceived advantage over the peers who come from a single ethnic and racial background. Others, however, do this unwillingly and only as a measure to avoid unwanted consequences, not to be marginalized or ostracized by peers and wider society. In the end, the research revealed that "interethnic" people have come up with multiple approaches to deal with their ethnic and racial identity (which is almost invariably always in flux, hence multifaceted) and present it to others, be it extended family, peers, or wider society.

One, however, is left with the unanswered question of why "interethnic" people in the first place need to employ "chameleonism" in the presentation of their identities. Though Choudhry does take a passing look into it, the influence of social environment on practices of "chameleon" identities is worth a deeper investigation than that accorded in the book. For instance, would a predominantly white middle class environment be more accepting of "interethnic" people who then would not need to employ their "chameleon" skills? Would a more predominantly South Asian working class environment be less tolerant to "chameleon" practices? And what about the emerging pockets of "interethnic" environment? Maybe in such an environment "chameleonism" could be abandoned altogether? Choudhry herself seems to suggest that "It may be that as interethnic individuals grow in numbers and if the media and society takes a more positive view towards them they will no longer feel the need to be a chameleon." (p. 185). A proper further investigation into these issues could yield additional value (and especially from a policy-making perspective) to the research on "interethnic" people.

But what is indeed "interethnic"? Throughout the book, Choudhry appears to include under this neologism both race and ethnicity, which she seems to see as one or at least as two sides of the same coin. But here lies a major conceptual danger, for equating race with ethnicity is not justifiable even under conditions of globalization or from a post-modernist perspective. Race and ethnicity are not one and the same. People with different skin color can belong to the same ethnicity: there are "black", "brown", "white" Jews, Arabs, French, and Dutch. Likewise, people with a same skin color can belong to numerous ethnicities; this is valid for "whites" in Europe, "blacks" in Africa, and "dark-skinned" in the Indian Subcontinent. And while geographical background, like South Asia or Africa, might imply a certain race, it says little about ethnicity – Sikhs, Punjabis, Gujaratis, and Bengalis (or Fulanis, Ibos, and Yoruba in Nigeria), though presumably belonging to one race, are ethnically very different. On top, race, contrary to ethnicity, tells little to nothing about culture.

Ultimately, "interethnic" – a fully valid term in its own right – would have to do mainly with cultural issues, such as way of living (food, dressing, child-upbringing, and the like) and religion, leaving aside the other (though as relevant and urgent) issue, namely, race. As the people under Choudhry's study do encounter challenges on both – ethnic and racial – grounds, the two sets of issues, valid as they are, could have been studied from appropriate distinct,

yet complimentary, perspectives, thus avoiding lumping race and ethnicity into one.

By any standard, however, Sultana Choudhry's book is a timely and valuable contribution to several intertwined academic fields: first, ethnicity and migration studies but also studies of the now somewhat politically compromised multiculturalism. It could also be of interest to cultural anthropologists and sociologists but also social psychologists working in these and related fields.

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Dhalmann, Hanna (2011) *Yhden uhka, toisen toive? – Somalien ja venäläisten asumistoiveet etnisen segregaatiokehityksen valossa* **[A threat to one, a preference to the other? – The residential preferences of Somalis and Russians in light of ethnic segregation development]. Faculty of Science, Department of Geosciences and Geography Series A10. Helsinki: University of Helsinki. 106 pp. and four articles.**

This dissertation focuses on the residential preferences of Somalis and Russians in light of ethnic segregation development. It is an important in-depth analysis of the reasons for residential concentration of immigrants, and of the meaning of cultural factors for residential patterns. For example, the thesis discusses the factors impacting the shaping of immigrant residential preferences and strategies, among those the meaning of living close to members of one's own ethnic group. So far little research has been done on decision making regarding immigrant residential choices. Hanna Dhalmann's work is important in filling this gap in the field of regional and urban geography research.

The research data involves thematic interviews conducted with 24 immigrants of a Somali origin, 26 immigrants of a Russian origin, as well as 18 interviews with social services, housing, and third sector professionals. Interviews with professionals provide information about the decision making based on immigrants' housing issues connected to the housing types and residential areas offered for them. Professionals might act as so-called "gatekeepers" in the housing allocation procedures. Naturally housing provision often also depends on the locations of available rental housing in the capital region.

The dissertation is a compilation of a broad introduction (106 pages) and four peer-reviewed papers by Dhalmann, one of which is co-written with Katja Vilkama. The papers are published in three Finnish (*Yhdyskuntasuunnittelu, Yhteiskuntapolitiikka,* and *Terra*) and one international journal (*Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*).

The introduction, where the analysis draws on peer-reviewed articles, is structurally coherent and clear, and the researcher's

competencies are demonstrated in each chapter. The introduction starts off by looking into the core themes around residential concentration and then carries on to the context of Finnish capital region. The researcher then introduces her four articles. The first article analyzes Hervanta suburb in Tampere and the other three articles focus on areas in the capital region. The researcher positions her work in the field of urban geography and brings to the fore the core concepts within migration and ethnic segregation research such as immigrant, ethnic group, multiculturalism, and segregation.

Dhalmann's thesis highlights the central theories of the research field: spatial assimilation model, stratification model, heterolocalism, and an ethnic-cultural interpretation. Migration and regional developments are investigated across different disciplines, focusing on their multifaceted nature. This provides a broad picture about immigrant's residential preferences in light of ethnic segregation development.

In chapter five, the researcher introduces one of the immigrant groups chosen for the dissertation, the Somalis, who are the largest refugee group in Finland. The author describes the process of Somalis entering into Finland and their residential locations in the capital city region in 2006. Somali speakers are concentrated especially in Helsinki, its eastern parts, and in a number of areas along the northbound railway line in Vantaa. The author also shows that almost all Somali speakers in the capital region were living in a rental accommodation in 2008, mostly in subsidized housing. Dhalmann also analyzes the communal nature of Somali culture, which has a wide influence on an individual's life also in Finland.

Furthermore, Dhalmann looks at Russians who are the largest immigrant group in Finland. The author's choices on research subjects are described excellently and appear well grounded. The researcher depicts the return of Ingrian Finns as set off by a statement by Mauno Koivisto, a former President of Finland, in 1990 that defined the Ingrian Finns as repatriates. Like Somali speakers, Russian speakers have concentrated particularly in eastern Helsinki and certain areas in western Vantaa.

The researcher has chosen the thematic interview method, since she knew that the Somali culture favors spoken, face-to-face communication and the literacy level amongst Somalis in Finland is low. Dhalmann also points out the importance of building trust and how this is best achieved by using an in-depth interview method. She analyzes her interviewing experience and shows, for example, how one interviewee may be reticent whereas another may have a pressing need to share his/her experiences. Dhalmann interviewed immigrants living in various circumstances: both those who immigrated as children – the so-called 1.5 generation – and those who arrived as adults. Russian and Somali interpreter services were used.

The analysis indicates that living close to other Somalis to some extent enables Finnish Somalis to establish neighborhood networks to make everyday living easier, as well as to maintain a communal lifestyle. However, the Somali interviewees stressed their wish to

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live close to and interact with native Finns as well. At the same time, the Somali interviewees' opportunities to make residential choices were limited and their residential patterns were strongly linked to the provision of social housing and the distribution of such accommodation. The Somalis reported that they have also been given insufficient information about different types of housing. There is hence a need for better information about different types of housing, and the information should be provided in different languages. Often this is a matter of resource allocation; nevertheless, the issue should be noted when developing housing services. Dhalmann and Vilkama point out that some council housing buildings have become clusters of immigrants and disadvantaged Finns, which might explain the Somalis' experiences of increased social problems and racial harassment in their living environments.

All Somali interviewees reported that they dreamed of owner-occupancy, mostly of a detached house. It is important to note that, according to the researcher, most interviewees primarily came from urban areas in Somalia where most of the residents live in large stone-built detached houses. In addition, the Somali culture strongly favors neighborly relations and reciprocity. Dhalmann quotes a Somali proverb "A good neighbor equals a good life". In light of the results, it makes one wonder to what extent the meaning of the proverb has been realized in Finland, as 76% of the interviewees had faced racially motivated crime in the last year at least once. Generally the interviewees mentioned safety as an important criterion for a good residential area and a place where there were not "an awful lot of racists".

For Dhalmann, the empirical analysis regarding the Russians indicates that unlike the Somalis all the Russian participants had lived in a block of flats in their home country. For the Russians, moving to Finland had meant an improvement in their living standards and moving into accommodation that suited better for their needs. This is clearly different from the situation for the Somalis. Those of the Russian origin have often settled in Finland for good and are prepared to invest in their housing. Their residential patterns resemble heterolocalism where immigrants are able to maintain a strong ethnic community without residential concentration. According to Dhalmann's dissertation, the Russians face less discrimination compared with Somalis who are constantly under the threat of racist incidents as mentioned above. The Russians in the study were telling that they avoid speaking their mother tongue in the public places in order to avoid conflicts and to mix into the crowd. In this regard, the author explicates the division between visible and invisible minorities.

The empirical analysis contains many citations from the interviews that bring to the fore individual "voices". This enables the reader to delve deeper into the data and makes the description lively. The so-called hard data could have been further utilized for graphic illustrations and for showing basic information about the Somali and Russian populations, and the extent of their migration flows.

In the concluding chapter, Hanna Dhalmann highlights the problem of immigrant and native populations having little contact with each other; therefore learning to know each other is quite limited. She argues that this is one reason for the stories immigrants tell about being rejected and discriminated against. For instance, interviewed Somalis valued the possibility to interact with Finnish neighbors to learn the Finnish language and customs. However, in some cases their willingness to socialize with native Finns had been reduced due to bad experiences with some neighbors.

Hanna Dhalmann's doctoral dissertation is an important source for understanding immigrant residential choices and the issues explaining those choices. Many of the issues that affect the choices often remain unnoticed, if observed only superficially. However, this research highlights the processes and factors involved with clarity and excellence.

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Eide, Elisabeth, Kunelius, Risto & Phillips, Angela (eds) (2008) *Transnational Media Events: The Mohammed Cartoons and the Imagined Clash of Civilizations.* Stockholm: Nordicom. pp. 290.

The debate over the caricatures of Prophet Muhammad has become a global media event that will not cease to be topical. Twelve editorial caricatures of Prophet Muhammad in the Danish conservative regional daily Jyllands-Posten was an intensely debated topic in numerous countries during the period between January and May 2006. The cartoon controversy thematized issues central to the study of contemporary society, such as the relations between global–local and secular–religious; the increasingly transnational flow of information; the role of immigration within the practices of symbolic boundary making; xenophobia and racism. Also the position of the media in the event was extraordinary: the controversy was generated by media, political actors managed the available perspectives through media, and the interpretations of the events were reshaped and recontextualized while traveling from one social environment to another through media. Simultaneously media functioned as the platform for the debate, and continuously participated as actor *per se*. Accordingly, one aim of the book at hand is to understand the realities of the complexity of present-day transnational media. Demonstrating reflexivity, the editors begin by pointing out how spectacles in the media attract media research in a corresponding manner as a spectacular event attracts the media. This book, however, is not a topicality driven dive into a hot topic. It is a versatile collection of thought-provoking articles, representing a plethora of methodological approaches and theoretical perspectives, bound together as a thorough commentary to the cartoon controversy.

The introduction to the anthology provides an insightful discussion on the potential and challenges of transnational communication,

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stressing the importance of networks within the field of global media studies. Elisabeth Eide, Risto Kunelius, and Anne Phillips coin the concept of "transnational media literacy" (building on Gayatri Spivak's concept), calling for a rising awareness of the global mechanisms of media events and the concurrent variety of interpretations; a capacity to see the world from other eyes; a consciousness of the national contexts partaking in the framing of mediated events; and a shared understanding of the vast range of media systems and their local political settings. The authors stress that the power to define meanings and exclude alternative approaches is a crucial resource in the mediated society.

The introductory part of the book includes two other chapters that provide insight in the controversy, covering both the processes with their different narrations and the caricatures *per se*. Peter Hervik, Elisabeth Eide, and Risto Kunelius present a systematic review of the different loops on the thread of the event and offer alternative perspectives and readings. They also demonstrate how the media event was a process that can be interpreted from a variety of angles with different starting points, peaks, and solutions. Amin Alhassan's article sheds light on the debate by dismantling the cartoons in a methodologically well elucidated and creative manner. In addition to the decoding of the individual pictures, Alhassan divides them into three categories – patently antagonist, strategically ambivalent and meta-commentaries, enhancing a deeper understanding of the different manners in which the cartoons were, and may be, interpreted.

The second section of the anthology focuses on journalistic professionalism. It begins with one of the highlights of the book, Hervik's chapter on the event from the perspective of Danish news management and its political dimension. He discusses political spin as strategic means of sidetracking attention from controversial actions, a provocative topic presented in a sober and convincing manner. Hervik displays the different strategies and frames employed by Danish politicians, and uptaken by media on a transnational level. The chapter discusses in detail, how "freedom of speech" became the most central theme within the controversy and a vastly successful spin. This brings forth aspects such as political damage control and maintenance of popularity among voters; controlling history and the available narrations of reality; the construction of enemies and of national solidarity; and the transnational political connections between neoconservative political actors that played a part in the development of the event. Hervik credibly argues that "the emergence of political and legal differentiation of newcomers to Danish society is embedded in the denial of moral equivalency between the two" (p. 62) in a detailed discussion of the mechanisms in the enhancement of the spin and of the political climate in relation to immigration in Denmark. The chapter by Kunelius and Alhassan widens the political perspective, connecting the frame of "free speech" with a theoretical discussion on liberalism and the ideological dominance "of the term freedom in the modern self-imagination of the West" (p. 82). The authors present a framework of four positions on "free speech" to distinguish the dynamics surrounding the debate(s). The framework

covers both, a value dimension and a dimension that considers the role of communication. Applied to the case, it offers an opportunity for self-reflexivity by delineating attributes and perceptions within contemporary ideologies, simultaneously sketching out the reasonable potential of public deliberation.

The chapter by Phillips provides insight into the theme of public voices and the power relations immanent in the act of representing reality. The role of editors, politicians and representatives of Muslim communities in the debate is approached through national comparisons. This study indicates that Muslim communities – central stake-holders in the debate – had less opportunity to have a voice in the debate. The following article by Karin Becker continues with a discussion about the power theme. Becker contemplates on pictures as news, commentary and art, and the relationship between pictures and discourse. The chapter sets out to explain how the cartoons acquired the power to influence events across the world, and provides a rich account of theoretically grounded perspectives. Becker ends with an appealing angle: why did the controversy not gain landmark in the US and Argentine press? The chapter by Stephanie Craft and Silvio Waisbord is a relevant contribution to the research field of global news domestication, aiming at an understanding of "how journalistic cultures affect the frames used in the coverage of global news events" (p. 133).

The final section begins with a chapter on Orientalism and Occidentalism, well-earning its position as opener to the theme of symbolic boundaries and global communication. In the article, Eide examines the mechanisms of labeling and simplification through the dialectics of "Self" and "Other". With enlightening empirical examples, covering approaches to the event in, for example, British, Pakistani, Russian, and Canadian newspapers, Eide reflects on the problems involved in representing the Other. The following chapter by Ibrahim Saleh places the caricatures in relation to the negative atmosphere toward Islam in European news media. As Eide's chapter, it builds on a rich empirical data, demonstrating both the historical colonial context and the dilemma that emerges when ideas of universalism lead to a lack of understanding for other cultural and social norms – "the danger of the press abandoning tolerance under certain circumstances in favor of a passive acceptance of intolerance" (p. 187). Saleh stresses the point – often overlooked when the notion of Islam is treated as an entity stereotyped in connection with political violence – that Muslim leaders and countries such as Pakistan also struggle with problems of terrorism to a greater extent. In his chapter, Hahn approaches the question of simplifications from a pragmatic perspective, discussing intercultural communication and the importance of explanatory frames to pictures. With illustrative empirical examples he shows how easily meanings get lost and substituted with other, in some cases even opposite meanings – a relevant aspect in regard to global media flows, considering the strong power of visual representations.

Integration became, strangely one could say, a visible topic in the cartoon controversy. Carolina Boe's and Peter Hervik's chapter

provides an interesting perspective on how the topic became employed as a rhetorical instrument in the politicized journalistic fields of Denmark and France. They demonstrate how national social cohesion is generated through the othering of minorities, and stress that the cartoon controversy is symptomatic of contemporary anti-immigration debates riding on arguments about "difference" and "lack of integration" – how dichotomization functions as political fuel for nationalisms. Boe and Hervik identify roles in the controversy, such as "internal enemies" or "civilized others". The descriptive examples from newspapers reveal the complexity of the practices of othering.

The following chapter by Angela Phillips and Hillel Nossek elaborates on the relationship between "us" and "them", looking at press coverage in France, the United Kingdom, and Israel, and bring in three additional events – the "October Riots", the "Bradford Riots" and the "Banlieues Riots" – with a focus on representation of the minorities involved and the processes of naming. Here the aspect of domestication is once more evoked. The study demonstrates how the interpretation and framing of events occurs with the aims of sense-making, i.e. events are reproduced in familiar terms. Also the power within definitional processes is clearly demonstrated in the cases: "when the minority does not accept the role given by the majority (or is represented as such), they are condemned by the media. When they accept the rule of the game, as established by the majority, they are praised" (p. 250). The last article by Kunelius and Nossek looks at the cartoon case from the perspective of how media represent and interpret transnational news, shedding light on the topic with theoretical discussions of media events and of public spheres. The chapter provides a valuable contribution to the larger bulk of theoretization of the evergreen theme of communication structures. The afterword by Durham Peters is an engaging and insightful philosophical inquiry into the matter of "free speech", liberalism and prejudice, the paradoxes and dilemmas within the caricature debate, and the future challenges these themes bring to the fore.

During the debate, journalists and other participants in the debate often employed the "blame the victim"-type rhetorical questions, such as "why is Islam taken hostage by manipulative leaders and violent fundamentalists". This made me ponder what enabled values such as "freedom" and "rights" to be taken hostage and used to support quite the opposite, intolerant values. The book at hand provided me with answers to my questions related to, among others, the angles covering social context(s), political strategies, historical narratives, identificatory practices and symbolic boundaries, professional discourses within journalism, and the potentials and limits of public spheres. It offers more than an extensive overview, incorporating a multiplicity of creative perspectives. Simultaneously it is balanced and coherent as a whole. As is the case with anthologies in general, since they allow little space for the individual contribution, the themes in this book have to be treated in a condensed manner. Thus, arguments are defended in a rapid tempo, cutting the space of further elaborations. This taken into consideration, there is little to

criticize in the book. It provides thorough theoretical discussions elucidated with empirical cases rich in nuances. It displays challenges in our global society, such as common, everyday ethnocentrism, and gives voice to an appreciable idealism, much needed today in the atmosphere of distant cynicism and growing xenophobia.

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Gressgård, Randi (2010) *Multicultural Dialogue: Dilemmas, Paradoxes, Conflicts.* **Oxford: Berghahn Books. 152 pp.**

This thought-provoking book is beneficial reading for those who are interested in a deeper understanding of the dynamics of equality and diversity, related to the division between "us" and the "others". The tragic events in Norway on 22 July 2011 involved bombing in central Oslo and shooting spree at a political youth camp on the island of Utøya by Anders Breivik– a right-wing fundamentalist with a hatred for Norway's left, multiculturalism and Muslims – which resulted in the loss of 77 lives. These events involved a radical (mis)understanding of multiculturalism as Breivik considered himself as a modern-day crusader opposed to multiculturalism. In light of these events, the book by Randi Gressgård is all the more relevant since it comprehends the complexities of differences and explores solutions for the problems involved.

Multicultural Dialogue is an interdisciplinary book combining conceptualizations from the philosophy of science with ethnic minority research and gender studies. The author takes issues with universalist notions of equality and cultural relativist notions of distinctiveness. The volume is a theoretical, philosophical delineation of sensitive themes which are rather superficially treated in, for example, the media. The book reflects the theorizing of globalization as unfolding in the unstable tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization, producing both continuities and disjunctures in different domains (Appadurai, 1996). The book also delineates the solution, named as critical theoretical intervention, to the pivotal tension between granting of equal rights and recognizing cultural distinctiveness. The solution endeavors to establish viable alternative ways of perceiving the relationship between "us" and the "others", arguing in favor of communities based on non-identitarian difference, developed and maintained through open and critical dialogue.

The point of departure for the book is the situation in Norway, a culturally diverse nation, where the question of tolerance is central to the much debated issues of diversity, ethnocentrism, and racial discrimination towards migrants. Norwegian integration policy is grounded in planned pluralism which includes respect to cultural differences, but also involves cultural distinctions and prevailing standards of "normality". Some researchers, such as Alexandra Ålund (1991), perceive this as culturalization of the "others".

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Gressgård points out that French poststructuralists, among others Foucault, have focused on the reductive opposition between "us" and the "others". She elucidates the ethnocentric fallacy by invocation of metaphysics of purity, which refers to that which is absolutely whole and devoid of pollution, and by introducing paradigmatic examples from the Norwegian minority pupils context, where the policy of inclusion paradoxically serves to exclude the pupils who are to be included. The difference or impurity defined as that which is "out of place", in relation to the system of order, is a challenge to the dominant order and must be managed in accordance with the oppositional logic of the multicultural dilemma, subordinating the "others" to the majority population.

Drawing on Dumont's classical work on hierarchy, Gressgård illustrates the internal exclusionary mechanisms in the Norwegian society. She refers to a study that reveals how minorities who do not share the values of the majority population are excluded (subordinated) due to their deviance from the dominant normative standards. Furthermore, she argues that people in Norway are thought of not as individuals but as identical parts of society. Conflating the modern and non-modern configurations, Gressgård convincingly shows that the "others" are constituted as different and inferior, i.e. as negative mirror images of "our" identity. For example, she argues that in Unni Wikan's book *Towards a New Norwegian Underclass* (Wikan 1995) differences are ordered hierarchically based on what is considered valuable, leading to judgment of the "others" as second-class citizens. The "others" comprise the negation that serves positive identity of the majority population. Gressgård also argues for a conceptualization of heterogeneity perceived as an opportunity rather than a threat.

The two last chapters of the book are useful for the readers who are involved in the pragmatic side of the multicultural dynamics, since the chapters deal with the consequences of heterogeneity and with the creation of conditions for dialogs. Furthermore, Gressgård discusses two types of heterogeneity: the unpresentable, which means that "otherness" cannot be expressed in the existing idioms; and the representable, which means that the "others" can have a voice and difference can be expressed.

The author uses Lyotard's core concept "*differend*" to delineate an irresolvable conflict and to exemplify aptly the conflicts after the 11 September 2001 terror attack. We may ask whether the US, with the support of *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO), actually carried out a reprisal in attacking Afghanistan or whether the conflict was irresolvable, given that it was not between two states, but between a country and an international Muslim network.

The last chapter of the book focuses on how to establish multicultural dialogue that breaks with the oppositional logic involving assimilation and culturalization, or subordination, of the "others". Gressgård underlines the importance of a critical distance to one's own truth claims in terms of "moral performance" as practical ethics. The elements of moral performance perception, judgment and action imply noticing the welfare of the "others"; openness;

and altruistic emotions, such as empathy, compassion, caring and sympathy. The author argues that there is a distance between the subject and the addressee ("us" and the "others"), and imagination temporarily suspends in the process of empathy. She uses another Foucault-informed theorist, Falcon's views on dominance to claim that heterogeneity is to be prioritized. According to such thinking, dominance occurs at the expense of a basic freedom and can lead to "silencing" of the "other" and "forgetting". Moreover, the author emphasizes openness to the others' view, instead of pseudo-openness which entails continuous domination. Furthermore, Gressgård emphasizes resistance that involves destablization of established norms, including notions of "us" and the "others". This implies bringing together disparate energies, congruent to Spivak's idea of "strategic essentialism" in visible political interest and to Butler's strategy of "cultural translation" as part of the dialogical process.

The main message of the book is that we should avoid the risk of assimilating the "others" through planned pluralism. On the other hand, the book calls for developing new idioms, accepting differences and appealing to the dominant cultural forms to recognize that that there might be *different ways* of thinking and acting.

This book has an explicit message with societal significance, though the reading is demanding and dense. Especially the large number of philosophical argumentation that the book includes can be difficult to follow for those who are not already familiar with these complex theoretical conceptualizations. However, for those who have the patience and some basic familiarity with these concepts, reading the book can be a rewarding experience. The contents are convincing, provocative, and at times also shocking – especially some pragmatic examples. The invocation of such examples and the philosophical argumentation reflects the author's vast scholarship.

In the aftermath of the events of 22 July 2011 in central Oslo and the island of Utøya, which shocked Norway and the world, I hope that the message of the book would be formulated in much simpler and easier form so that it could reach a broader group of readers. Especially journalists, practitioners, and policy makers would benefit of the ideas grounding the book, in order to establish acceptance of heterogeneity and the "others" – not only in Norway and Scandinavia but also in Europe and the globalized world!

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Rebhun, Uzi & Lev Ari, Lilach (2010) *American Israelis: Migration, Transnationalism, and Diasporic Identity.* **Leiden and Boston: Brill. 176 pp.**

The slimness of this volume should not lead the potential reader to jump to the conclusion that Uzi Rebhun and Lilach Lev Ari limit themselves to giving an overview of American Israelis. Quite the opposite is true: the 153 pages of their analysis are a *tour de force* that depicts the identities of American (Jewish) Israelis in its various nuances, pays attention to sub-groups, trends and dynamics, and it allows for recommendations to Israeli public policy. This marvellous endeavour is substantially helped by the native familiarity of both authors with Israel, their knowledge of the US, and their expertise in quantitative methods. These intersecting levels of knowledge allow them to pursue their aim to analyse changes and continuities of the Israeli Diaspora in the US, and compare these developments with societal and social developments in Israel itself.

The book is a quantitative attempt to capture the dynamic processes underpinning Jewish Israeli identities in US. Rebhun and Lev Ari use American national surveys and amend these by surveys of local (American) Jewish populations. Problematically, the American Census from 1980, 1990 and 2000 do not cover religion. To filter out American Israelis the authors use the approach of Cohen & Haberfeld (1997), which uses language spoken at home as the indicator for belonging to one or the other group of Israeli citizenry. In order to add depth to their analysis of American Israeli behaviours, practices and identity, Rebhun and Lev Ari use the surveys covering the Jewish populations in New York (2004), Miami (2002), and Los Angeles (1997) as well as the Jewish Population Survey (2003). To bolster their analysis the authors employ secondary sources that cover social research across the whole spectrum.

The clear structure of the book makes it accessible to various audiences alike. The first chapter is an overview of general theories of migration and transnationalism as well as diasporas and finally Israelis in the US. This overview defines the topic under research; it summarises theories of migration, and the particularities of Israeli emigrants. While in some respect Israelis emigrate for the same reasons as emigrants from other developed countries, it is crucial to know about the particularities of Israeli Jewish identity. This identity – shaped historically and conveyed through various Israeli institutions – is supposed to take a shape that binds Israelis to their homeland, and deter emigration. It is possible to say that emigration raises issues of the coherence of Israeli (Jewish) society, and personal agency of individual Israelis to realise themselves. While emigration is less looked down upon than it used to be, it remains a contentious issue within Israeli society. Emigrants, to date, pose a challenge to Israeli public policy, which remains ambiguous towards emigrants.

Chapter two focuses on the migration of Israelis to the US and their settlement. This chapter makes blatantly clear just how heterogeneous the emigrants are. For example, the emigrants come from all inner-Jewish subgroups in Israel, although the middle-class and the upper-middle class, that is, Ashkenazim (Jews of European decent) are over-represented. Yet, Israelis who were not born in Israel play an important role too. This group of emigrating immigrants self-identify as Israeli, although they are non-native Israelis and they moved on to another country. Rebhun and Lev Ari hypothesise why this is so. The authors analyse patterns of emigration over time, age and gender of the emigrants, their marital status and the issues of children as well as their geographical distribution and residential preferences. Their analysis of these issues is formidable, and because of that it begs many more questions than it can answer. For example, the authors find that more male Israeli emigrants are divorced than Israelis in Israel. Their reasoning is that divorce constitutes a deviation in Israeli society.[1] Now, this begs the question if these men are deviant individuals *per se*: if they went through a divorce, and emigrated, one could argue that they are deviants twice. If they are deviants, does that mean that Israeli men who emigrate differ in their personalities from non-emigrants, and that an analysis of this specific group would allow profiling characteristics that correlate positively with deviation from any norm, that is, personality traits underpinning individualism? Questions like this arise throughout the book, Rebhun and Lev Ari point to many areas that are not yet researched, because the authors touch on many analogical points of Israeli emigration, and what seems like particularities of the emigrants.

Socioeconomic acculturation and mobility are the concerns of the third chapter. Israeli emigrants do economically very well in the US. Interestingly, this applies to all sub-groups: those who arrive in the US with credentials move up swiftly, those with fewer credentials take longer to make their way up. While women still had lower employment rates than men, younger women potentially those who emigrated alone, and who are not responsible for children and the management of a home, showed a strong upward mobility. The same applied to Israelis of African/Asian origin who outperform their peers in Israel. In other words, groups of the population who are characterised by underachievement in Israel do particularly well in the US. Again, like in the first chapter these findings are highly valuable and interesting, yet, again, they beg questions related to the personalities of these African/Asian Israelis and women, societal conditions in either country that lie beyond the scope of the book.

Rebhun and Lev Ari employ multi-variant analysis to the surveys of New York, Miami and Los Angeles to investigate the relationship to Israel and Jewishness in the fourth chapters. Their findings substantiate the findings of Gold (2002) who used mixed methods to assess the identity of Diasporic Israelis globally. The majority of American Israelis self-identify as religiously orthodox, a form of practice they had known from Israel. Conservative and reform synagogues are less popular with them. However, Israeli orthodox practice should not be confused with the orthodox practice of American Jews. Israeli emigrants hanging on to orthodoxy resolve the issue to completely recalibrate their Jewish identity. Rebhun

and Lev Ari reason that this is particularly the case for those who are married, and who had lived for more than eleven years in the US. Younger Israelis, those who are unmarried and highly educated show a tendency to join other streams of Judaism, or none at all. This dynamic is another highly interesting one: it begs questions concerning possible future developments, such as if these Israelis will become more orthodox over time spent abroad, or if this generation is indeed the one that rejects orthodox practice within and beyond Israel. The other issue of the chapter refers to Israeli identity. The authors point out that the reception of Israelis by local Jews, as well as their time of residence in the US influence Israeli identity. Similar to their Jewish identity, Israeli identity is procedural, subject to change, social influences and personal agency.

The final chapter offers a summary of the themes of the book. Conclusively written, and well argued, it pulls the book together. Following the summary, its final part offers clues to Israeli public policy. Rebhun and Lev Ari challenge Israeli politicians to reconsider their stance concerning Israeli emigrants, and finally lay the *Yordim* discourse to rest. This discourse, which sees Israeli emigrants as an offence to the homeland, and traitors to Israel, has lost its power over the years. Yet, how to handle Israeli emigrants remains an issue that needs urgent practical addressing: how can emigrants still maintain some function in Israeli society, and contribute, even if they are abroad? The authors argue that Israeli politicians must accept that there is a global Israeli population that has specific requirements, be it youth groups, or the right to vote while being outside of Israel, and those policies that would support the Israeli identity of the emigrants would in consequence increase re-migration, which many Israelis still desire after decades abroad.

In conclusion, Rebhun and Lev Ari do what the title outlines. They offer nuanced and in-depth insights into transnationalism, identity and diaspora of American Jewish Israelis. Based on their theoretical and methodological expertise, the book can be recommended to scholars of these areas, regardless of its focus on Israel. For experts, *American Israelis* is a gem: it offers so much in terms of data and analysis that it makes for many questions, which should be addressed in further research, qualitative and quantitative alike. For that reason, the authors have managed to put a book together that can serve as a starting point for various future research endeavours. It remains to be hoped that similar volumes will follow for Israelis abroad *per se*, as well as Israeli Arabs, Israeli Armenians and, the very sore point of Israeli emigration policy: *Olim* who abandon Israel.

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Notes

1. One might ask critically how this deviation correlates with the manifold depictions of marital breakdowns or dysfunctional families depicted in Israeli fiction. Zeruya Shalev's triology springs to mind as a widely read example.

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