



Cities and social movements: immigrant rights activism in the US, France, and the Netherlands, 1970-2015

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Although several books and articles have been written by scholars on the subject of environmental racism and justice, *Toxic Communities* by Dorceta Taylor is really exceptional both in the manner of presentation and scope. The book does not only explain environmental racism and justice within American society, it also makes an in-depth analysis of why the problem persists. Another unique feature of the book is the detailed analysis of several perspectives and contributions of other researchers before a conclusion is reached. This indicates the extent to which the author is familiar with the discipline.

The author relied on many years of experience studying and teaching at the School of Natural Resources and Environment at the University of Michigan, where she also serves as field studies coordinator for the Environmental Justice Program to write this book. The quality of the book indicates that Dorceta Taylor is one of the few specialists who have in-depth multidisciplinary knowledge of environmental history and justice research.

Undoubtedly, this book will appeal to scholars in disciplines such as environmental studies, ethnic and racial studies, law, economics, political science, history and urban studies.

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Cities and social movements: immigrant rights activism in the US, France, and the Netherlands, 1970-2015, by Walter J. Nicholls and Justus Uitermark, Oxford, Wiley Blackwell, 2017, 270 pp., EUR 23.99 (paperback), ISBN 9781118750667

Cities and Social Movements is a well written and a very rich book about the history of immigrant rights activism in three different parts of the world. It is rich in its historical descriptions and even though at first I thought it was going to be too much in terms of comparing different geographical and political contexts and looking back in time, the book does provide an interesting perspective on how we can make sense of the general hardening of attitudes and policies towards working-class immigrants and the persistent struggles to extend rights and protection to this population. By analysing the geography of resistances and mobilizations in the United States, France and the Netherlands over the past 40 years, it shows how in all three contexts immigrants were first expected to work and then disappear but have become resilient political subjects claiming their right to the city. In an era of restrictive migration policies both in Europe as well as in the United States, this book about the last 45 years of immigrant right activism could not be timelier.

The book consists of three parts. The first part is about the birth of immigrant right activism. All three cities under the study had the highest concentration of immigrants in their respective countries and all three cities possessed a high density and diversity of activist organizations. The second part of the book is about urban landscapes of control and contention and examines government control strategies during the 1980s and 1990s. It identifies the government control strategies that contributed to producing differences in terms of immigrant rights activists' capacities and methods to assert rights claims. The third part is called new geographies of immigrant right movements and examines the effects of government control strategies on mobilizations. In the United States, the authors show that a rather weak strategy of political integration during the 1980s and 1990s provided the space for rights activists and their union allies to consolidate into a new hub of rights activism. In France, political integration essentially marginalized older left-wing immigrant associations and their second-generation comrades which resulted in a fragmented movement, the professional (mostly white, male and national NGOs) and the more informal (mostly undocumented and strongly female and highly localized groups). In the Netherlands, political integration neutralised older left-wing immigrant associations and depoliticized the NGO sector. Immigrants continue to resist government restrictions but their battles have been highly individualized and scattered throughout the country.

Cities and Social Movements draws heavily on insights from geography. It, for example, draws on the work of Doreen Massey and her relational and global view of place. Massey argues that places are not constituted by some long internationalized history but are constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting together at a particular locus. The authors rightly claim that we cannot fully understand how social movements evolve if we bracket them off from the lived geographies of people. A relational approach is developed which examines how and why the networks develop in specific places and evolve across space. The book also examines the relational qualities of places that make it possible for deprived and stigmatized outsiders to tap into rich resource pools and build powerful struggles for rights and equality in inhospitable countries.

Cities are very central in the book and it is shown how cities are potentially relational incubators for social movements. Nicholls and Uitermark describe cities as *frontline sites* because they produce spaces of exclusion and daily experiences of injustice as well as offer spaces with opportunities that can support activism. The standard geographical criticism that social theory inadvertently portrays space as a passive backdrop instead of a constitutive force thus applies to social movement theory too. The national arena has often been taken as the principal spatial arena of social movements and local struggles have largely been viewed as reflections or variants of national trends. This methodological nationalism has made it difficult for scholars to take apart national social movements and examine the geographical elements that constitute them. This book clearly demonstrates how cities have played important roles in fostering the struggles for the rights of immigrants in their receiving countries and not just their right to the city.

It is also shown in a convincing way that even though national governments try to reinforce their territorial power by developing deeply penetrating and far reaching bordering strategies not all those involved in this process comply passively. Migrants develop subversion tactics by evading detection, appealing decisions or simply by refusing to cooperate. It is shown how immigrants produce a multiplicity of resistances and struggles which can in turn have disruptive effects on the general order of things.

The claims around geography and a relational perspective are very strong. At the same time, the authors are also trying to show the limitations of governmentality theory in the domain of immigration which I found less convincing. Their thinking on government control is informed by the Foucauldian tradition but their focus is more on the cracks, disruptions and unevenness of governing projects. They acknowledge that states embrace certain rationalities to think about the populations and develop technologies to deal with the risks associated with these populations and methods to intervene through banishment and discipline, researching deep into grassroots. But these governing strategies also generate resistances and are inherently incomplete. I think this observation in itself is not very new and I would have liked the authors to integrate this argument with their relational take on cities and social movements which is a very inspiring framework that helps us understand how and why social networks constitute movements by clearly also tracing *where* they develop. As a geographer, I missed maps in this book and a more systematic overview of the different trajectories the three cities had gone through in terms of resistance but overall it is a very important contribution to the literature on cities as well as on social movements.

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Dilemmas of inclusion: Muslims in European politics by Rafaela M. Dancygier, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2017, 264 pp., £24.95 (paperback), ISBN: 9780691172606

In her book *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*, Rafaela Dancygier addresses the dilemmas political parties in Europe face when considering the electoral inclusion of minority candidates. She explains how incorporating Muslim candidates can potentially expand parties' support bases but can also turn off some core supporters. In deciding the inclusion of Muslim candidates, therefore, parties must consider the reactions of their supporters. Right-wing parties must choose whether to incorporate Muslim candidates and risk offending their