

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Donà, Giorgia & Veale, Angela (eds.) (2014) *Child and Youth Migration. Mobility-in-Migration in an Era of Globalization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan. 252 pp.**

Aiming to contextualise accelerating migration across multiple borders as a defining feature of the contemporary moment, this anthology provocatively takes as its central premise that children are important actors in mobility and migration. The inter-disciplinary volume is edited by Giorgia Donà, Professor of Forced Migration and Refugee Studies at the University of East London and Angela Veale, Lecturer in Applied Psychology, University College Cork. The editors posit that children and youth are under-researched in migration and mobility studies and in broader 'research on globalization' (p. 11). Young people therefore remain largely invisible in 'our conceptualization of the world' (p. 11). The editors productively develop a new critical vocabulary with the aim to make children and youth more visible as active participants and decision-makers in migration processes. They are interested in teasing out the relations between children and family life trajectories, migration and mobility. For this purpose, they develop the notion of 'mobility-in-migration' to account for 'multidirectional and multitemporal movements that occur within individual, family and community migratory "arcs"' (p. 236).

Drawing on this concept as a clear red-thread, the 11 chapters include focus on various forms of distinctly situated forced and pleasure mobilities that are understood within large, long-term migration waves. Rather than focusing on static, bi-directional, large-scale migration flows, they are interested in accounting for the complexity of migrations that encompass local, circular, return and rural-urban 'ongoing, multidirectional movements' (p. 8).

The anthology is a true inter-disciplinary accomplishment, demonstrating the merits of much-needed dialogue on issues of migration between scholars from various fields, including anthropology, migration studies, political economy, economics, demography, sociology and geography. Written by both early-career and established scholars working in the UK, Ireland, the USA, Australia and Sri Lanka, the chapters provide rich child-centred empirical knowledge on child and youth migration in Africa, South America, the USA, Asia and Europe. The volume's breadth and depth is visible from the array of empirical foci: scholars respectively focus on trajectories of migrant youth moving between Bolivia and

Argentina; Nahua children from the state of Puebla and their circular migration processes to Philadelphia, USA; material consumption among adolescent rural-urban migrants in Burkina Faso; British-Chinese children of migrants and popular culture; material and virtual mobility among Rwandese youth; Nigerian transnational children and their imaginaries of mobility; welfare of children left behind by migrants from Sri Lanka; transnational parenting between France and Mali; and anti-child trafficking discourses. This way, child and youth mobility-in-migration is disentangled as material, symbolic, learned, imaginary and affective.

The contributors meticulously demonstrate how migration variously impacts upon individual, intergenerational and collective transitions from childhood to adulthood. For example, Donà's conceptualisation of Rwandese ad-hoc mobilities and pleasure, politics and sociality of 'ye-diasporas' (young electronic diasporas) has strong explanatory power to account for the ways in which various young migrant groups engage with social media platforms: 'networks of young people who live in the diaspora and use virtual spaces as a platform to connect with other diasporic and non-diasporic individuals for a variety of purposes from political to cultural, social to pleasure' (p. 133). Across the chapters, grounded theorisations are achieved through following subjects over time and space on the basis of a combination of multi-sited, multi-temporal, creative, visual and digital methodologies. Exemplary for methodological innovation is the 'netnographic e-transnationalism' approach also developed by Donà (p. 119). Analysing the role of digital spaces such as the Rwandan Youth for Change Facebook page as well as the government-sponsored *ingando* (solidarity camps) and *itorero* (cultural schools) in Rwanda and overseas, she demonstrates how multi-offline/material-sited and multi-online/virtual-sited ethnographic research on transnationalism can acknowledge the complexity of mobilities within cross-border migrations.

The rich portrait of child and youth mobility-in-migration could benefit from future engagements with additional frameworks such as children's rights, Internet research and feminist, critical race and post-colonial studies. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) could, for example, be used to assess state human rights policies and young migrant's experiences around prevention, protection, provision and participation. In particular, communication rights provide a understudied framework in migration studies scholarship

(Leurs 2016). Post-colonial and critical race perspectives could shed additional light on border control and the regulation of migrant bodies by acknowledging the colonial legacy of racial classification, surveillance, domination and social control. This way, especially the datafication of migration championed by the contemporary military–industrial complex could be questioned. We know that fingerprint databases such as the European Dactyloscopy (EURODAC) biometric database are used to distinguish between desired and unwanted bodies. However, there is a severe lack of empirically grounded, critical scrutiny of how young migrants experience and suffer from such dehumanised processing of biometrical data.

Engagement with feminist theory could trigger greater reflexivity from the side of the researchers as (often) privileged highly mobile subjects working on those marginalised by globalisation. Moreover, a feminist intersectional understanding of the life phase of childhood and adolescence could enable a more multi-layered understanding. For example, Meenakshi Durham argued that diaspora and coming of age are two metaphorical journeys that complicate belonging, identification and (I would add) mobility: ‘The psychological transition of adolescence, already charged in terms of gender and sexuality’, she argued ‘is then imbricated with the conundrums of the other transition—the diaspora identity that demands delicate negotiations of race/ethnicity, nation, class, language, culture and history’ (2004: 141). These viable additional perspectives offer additional future directions in an area of scholarship that definitely requires further study.

This book puts on the agenda child and youth migration and mobility. The editors also humbly and modestly realise ‘we are aware that we have only “scratched the surface” of child and youth mobility-in-migration (p. 243). Indeed, the book makes us realise more systematic dialogue, empirical research and theorising is urgently necessary to ‘fully capture the changing nature of global migration’ (p. 243). Nonetheless, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Taken together, the individual contributions move beyond analyses of migrations from the Global South to the Global North / West and shed new light on the complex interrelationships between inclusive and exclusive globalisation, agency and oppression. Bringing discussions on transnational, indigenous, e-diasporic and forced migrant youth together, the anthology is strongly recommended for students and scholars interested in learning how to thoroughly question predominant static notions of childhood and adolescence as a chronological, strictly age-bound universal social category. The book is also recommended to those interested in adopting a child or youth-centred epistemological and methodological research approach.

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Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Elena, Loescher, Gil, Long, Katy & Sigona, Nando (eds.) (2014) *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, New York: Oxford University Press. 747 pp.

As the world faces one heart-wrenching story of displacement and search for safe haven after another, particularly as a result of the ongoing turmoil in Syria, *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies* (hereafter, the *Handbook*) embarks upon a colossal task of definition, description, analysis, and to a limited extent, calling to action. Edited by experts with well-established trajectories of scholarship on peoples pushed to or already in exile, the *Handbook* represents a welcome effort offering substantial depth that should satisfy not only intellectual curiosities on various aspects – transnationalism, religion, gender, livelihoods etc. – of the larger topic but also inform the world of policy-making whose priorities often, if not always, differ from those of academics.

Editors Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long and Nando Sigona organised the *Handbook* around seven different parts focusing, respectively, on disciplinary approaches to forced migration, displacement spaces and scenarios, legal and institutional frameworks, underlying causes, lived experiences of refugees, solutions and regional studies. The geographic and thematic coverage offered by the contributors is remarkable. The *Handbook* chapters on rather less well-studied aspects of the field, such as children (Chapter 30) or disability (Chapter 33), in the context of forced migration, are most welcome. The organisation also reveals a particular characteristic of the field: its vast scope and blurry boundaries to which the editors draw some attention in the introductory chapter (p. 14). The *Handbook* does not delineate these boundaries once and for all, nor does it purport to have such an aim.

Among the many excellent chapters of the *Handbook*, of note to this reviewer is Nicholas Van Hear’s contribution (Chapter 14) on diasporas and transnationalism. Tracing the origins and growth of these two key concepts through different disciplinary streams particularly in regards to refugees, Van Hear first discusses how recent refugee diasporas came into being as a result of some of the troubling –and bloody– developments of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. These refugee-diaspora-forming events include the dismantling of the Soviet Union after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the war in the Balkans, various conflicts in Central Africa, Middle East and Latin America, as well as the U.S.-led campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq in the immediate aftermath of September 11, 2001. The author offers two helpful conceptual devices in this context, namely *near* diaspora and *wider* diaspora. The former refers to those who have settled in countries that neighbor their origin countries as a result of the events mentioned above, whereas the latter identifies those whose search for safe haven took them farther away. It may have helped if the author were a just a bit more conceptually clear for heuristic efficiency. In other words, just how near is near and how wide is wide? What are the criteria by which we should judge the nearness or the wideness of a given diasporic formation? As to transnationalism, Van Hear asks a critical question, which is whether it can be a durable solution. We are informed that refugees in near and wider diasporas engage with countries of origin through, for instance, remittances and at various – family, community, nation – levels. These transnational engagements help those left behind and caught up in conflict in the origin country sustain themselves. Yet, and as the author observes, one consequence of transnational engagements can be that they may inadvertently or deliberately reproduce inequalities back home or can impose undue financial

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or emotional burdens on members of a given diaspora who may be themselves struggling in countries near and far to have a semblance of stability and security. All in all, Van Hear's contribution to this volume is a welcome one, as the broader literature on transnationalism has tended to focus less on the transnational activities of refugee populations and more on other mobilities such as those due to labour migration.

Two quick quibbles are in order in regards to the *Handbook* as a whole. First, the editors' remark, rooted in a discussion they had in 2011, in the Preface that 'there existed no single, comprehensive work surveying the development of the multidisciplinary field of refugee and forced migration studies as it exists today' might be unintentionally misleading now. The four-volume, 1,414-page set *Refugees Worldwide* published by Praeger/ABC-CLIO in 2012 provides a welcome exception to this statement. Second, while the geographic depth of the *Handbook* is nothing short of extensive, this reviewer would have appreciated the inclusion of maps to supplement this depth. Future editions may consider adding maps, preferably colour ones, perhaps in the form of an interlude to the *Handbook*. This is likely to help readers to better familiarise themselves with the spaces and places of forced migration around the world.

In this reviewer's opinion, the *Handbook* is a major and commendable undertaking worthy of serious attention. It should be useful to a wide range of readership, including upper-level undergraduate students, graduate researchers, policy-makers, resettlement agencies, NGOs involved in refugee affairs, as well as global bodies such as the UNHCR. This reviewer, for instance, plans to assign chapters from the *Handbook* in the 300-level undergraduate course he will be teaching on displacement and refugees at the University of Wisconsin. Graduate-level courses in various disciplines should benefit amply from Part I (Approaches: Old and New) of the *Handbook* in particular, given that history, sociology, law, international relations, political science, anthropology and geography have all found meaningful representation in the resource. Ethnographically oriented readers (including this reviewer, who is an anthropologist) are likely to find themselves home mainly in Part V (Lived Experiences and Representations of Forced Migration). Chapters in Part V stand out with their various emphases on refugee agency and voices, and academics' and policy-makers' shortcomings in heeding those voices (Chapter 29), the staggering estimate of over 20 million forced migrant children and the various approaches (mental health/social work; legal; ethnographic) towards studying this population (Chapter 30), women and gender in the world of forced migration, and how displacement, refugee identity and exile are experienced in gendered terms, and the urgency to critically question the scholarly as well as policy assumptions regarding women's spatial and political empowerment, visibility and equality in contexts of displacement (Chapter 31), challenges older refugees face in terms of adaptation, family life, health and social support (Chapter 32), problems disabled refugees encounter, for instance, in camps as well as urban areas due to lack of adequate access to educational, health care and sanitary facilities (Chapter 33), impediments before refugees' access to health services in asylum and resettlement contexts and the evolution of approaches in addressing refugees' mental health concerns (Chapter 34), the intriguing ways in which religion intersects with forced migration, as well as how the three major monotheistic faiths (Christianity, Islam, Judaism) have shaped the experiences of their respective adherents regarding the search for safe haven and aiding those who seek shelter (Chapter 35), and media representations of forced migrants, particularly the circulation of imagery leading to the creation of a

generic refugee picture, and refugees' efforts to produce their own media representations to combat stereotypes (Chapter 36). In addition, solution-oriented chapters found in Part VI deserve attention by scholars with an applied bent or stakeholders working in or seeking to engage with the world of global or local refugee policies. Scholars working within critical theory frameworks might be wishing there were more engagements in the *Handbook* with the works of thinkers such as Hannah Arendt or Giorgio Agamben than offered in a few chapters such as the ones authored by Gibney and Betts. Minor issues aside, the *Handbook* is a well-crafted and highly recommendable resource belonging in the shelves of any academic or policy institution interested, or willing to make a difference, in the ever-expanding world of displacement.

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**Jouili, Jeanette S. (2015) *Pious Practice and Secular Constraints: Women in the Islamic Revival in Europe*, Stanford: Stanford University Press. 258 pp.**

What is it like to be a pious Muslim woman in contemporary Western Europe? In *Pious Practice and Secular Constraints*, Jeanette S. Jouili explores how young Muslim women struggle to live a pious life in post-Christian, secular European societies. Trained as an anthropologist and sociologist, Jouili holds a dual Ph.D. from École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris and the European University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder). She currently works as an Assistant Professor in modern/contemporary Islam at the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Pittsburgh.

Building upon years of intensive fieldwork, Jouili critically examines European-born Muslim women's ambitions to live their lives fully according to the principles of Islam. Her focus is on young women in France and Germany who are active in Islamic institutions aiming to disseminate religious knowledge. She eloquently describes these women's search for what they call 'proper' knowledge about Islam, often in opposition to the 'uneducated', 'traditional' and 'non-reflexive' Islam of their migrant parents. She also describes how this quest for knowledge is part of a broader attempt at an ethical transformation, where women strive to become better Muslims by defeating their 'lower self'. In this sense, Jouili's findings show many similarities with those of Saba Mahmood regarding pious Muslim women in Egypt (2005).

What this book adds to the existing literature on piety is the author's analysis of Muslim women's striving for pious self-fashioning within the specific socio-historical context of secular French and German society. Concentrating on the Islamic practices of performing the five daily prayers, wearing modest dress (*hijab*) and modest behaviour (most notably reserved behaviour towards the opposite sex), the author reveals not only the challenges of living a pious life amidst all sorts of worldly temptations. She also demonstrates how her interlocutors struggle to implement these practices in a society that seems increasingly sceptical towards religion in general, and towards visible forms of Islamic piety in particular.

Jouili convincingly shows that Muslim women's responses to these challenges are 'rarely only about the practitioner's effort to pursue (...) individual practice, but also about the overarching

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duty to represent the Muslim community properly within European society' (p. 3). The women studied were well aware that Islam is commonly associated with women's oppression, and often explicitly positioned themselves against such popular perceptions. They seemed to live with the double consciousness that is typical for many members of stigmatised minority groups: they were not only concerned with carefully adhering to their religious duties, but also with the social consequences of their individual acts. For example, wearing a headscarf could either become an opportunity to positively represent the Muslim community or to further stigmatise it.

In *Pious Practice and Secular Constraints*, Jouili succeeds exceptionally well in her attempt to understand her interlocutors' pious life projects 'from within', while also maintaining a critical distance. This is exemplified in Chapter 4, where she elaborates on Muslim women's perspectives on gender equality. She notes that the women's quest for religious knowledge can foster emancipatory tendencies, in the sense that it enables women to criticise restrictive family and community environments for their 'non-authentic' and 'oppressive' traditions. In doing so, Jouili shows that striving for Islamic piety and striving for women's empowerment are not mutually exclusive. However, she also notes that her interlocutors' emphasis on 'authentic' and 'legitimate' knowledge of Islam also entails an affirmation of the authority of male scholars – particularly those considered the most reliable in deciding what religious knowledge is authentic and legitimate and what is not. As Jouili writes (p. 104), 'the more conversant the women became in orthodox Islamic doctrine, the more they affirmed it'. This critical perspective is an important strength in the book.

An aspect that the author could have elaborated further is her conceptualisation of the Islamic revival movement. Jouili explains much of her interlocutors' statements and practices through their affiliation with 'revivalist institutions', and throughout the book she repeatedly refers to 'revival activists', 'revival circles', 'mainstream revival Islam', 'active members of the revival movement' and 'revival Muslims'. In her introduction, Jouili rightfully describes the rise of an Islamic revival movement in post-war Europe aiming to provide Muslim migrant communities with religious education, enable Muslims to maintain their Islamic ways of life in secular European societies and establish an orthodox European Islam beyond ethnic boundaries. It seems that the institutions where Jouili conducted her fieldwork easily fit within this movement. However, the book unintentionally gives the impression that the Islamic revival is a clearly delineated movement, while it remains somewhat unclear what Muslim thoughts and practices may count as revivalist and what not. As a result, it remains unclear whether the book's major findings could also apply to Muslim women striving for pious lives without being directly affiliated to institutions such as those studied by Jouili.

Another question that the book evokes is whether these young Muslim women's intense occupation with piety is exclusive for young Muslims, and if so, whether this should be explained through their age or through their belonging to a specific generation of Muslims in Europe. Does this occupation remain permanent, or is it a temporary phase? In terms of future research, it would be valuable to include women (and men) of different age groups, and/or to study how Muslims' pious life projects change when they go through different stages of their lives. Regardless, *Pious Practice and Secular Constraints* is a well-written analysis that deserves to be on the bookshelf of anyone interested in contemporary Islam in Europe. It is a well-written, timely addition to the scholarly debate on Islamic piety that offers an abundance of theoretical insights, and it is a must-read

for graduate students as well as senior researchers in the field of gender and Islam.

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## References

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**Kundnani, Arun (2014) *The Muslims are Coming! Islamophobia, Extremism and the Domestic War on Terror*, New York: Verso. 336 pp.**

In his book *The Muslims Are Coming! Islamophobia, Extremism, and the Domestic War on Terror*, Arun Kundnani offers an alternative view on the War on Terror and unveils the divisive counter-terrorism strategies by the US and the UK through their state policies and practices, overwhelmingly on race and religion. This is a useful text for anyone who wishes to understand the intricate circumstances and responses to othering and the overgeneralisation of the diverse Muslim community right after the attack on the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001, well known as the 9/11.

The book is the outcome of three years of extensive research by the author, and it analyses particular cases of counter-terrorism activities and interventions that challenge the prevailing attitude manifested on both sides of the Atlantic. It highlights the situation of American and British Muslims and explains how, within the brief period of the fall of communism, a new essential enemy has been created by the West.

Kundnani explores the domestic front of the War on Terror and argues that radicalisation has become the lens through which Western society views Muslims in the 21st century. He starts the discussion by stating that 'Terrorism is not the product of radical politics but a symptom of political impotence' (p.10). He states that Islamic radicalisation is a myth that 'emerged as a vehicle for policymakers to explore the process by which a terrorist is made and provides an analytical grounding for preventive strategies' (p. 116). While starting with the US and the UK, the author stretches his discussion to the shores of Europe and narrates the politics of fear that has been installed in the Western security doctrine.

In the earlier sections of the book, Kundnani discusses on how the life of Muslims in the US and the UK changed in the wake of the 9/11 and the subsequent attack in different parts of Europe. It also analyses how the ideas of 'culture talk, embedded surveillance, identity and racial segregation and the idea of pre-criminalizing' (p. 27) have been materialised in the Western security doctrine. Islamophobia, according to Kundnani, is inherent in Western societies since the crusades and the 9/11 have undeniably contributed to that by forming it as an integral part of terrorism and security studies. However, since the new millennium, the wider political consequences established Muslim as an eternal enemy; contrary to the less significant individual prejudices existing a few decades back. Even today, how a social problem such as the sexual harassment in Cologne in last December turns into an issue for new 'security policy setting' targeting newcomer refugees is, to some extent, a manifestation of the politics of fear that Kundnani highlights throughout his book. In recent years, when Europe is experiencing the largest wave of refugee influx, the findings and analysis of this book makes it even more relevant to understand the current discourse and securitisation of the immigration policies.

While looking into the historical context of discrimination and the social segregation of the immigrant Muslim community, Kundnani

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argues that these settled immigrants in Western countries have grown up in societies that usually treat them as a 'problem to be solved' rather than as fellow citizens with an equal opportunity (p. 31). Kundnani savages the process of criminalisation of Muslims by the security force as if terrorism is inherent in Muslim DNA. He discusses the infamous COINTELPRO (counter-intelligence programmes) and the radicalisation modelling, which identifies 'terrorists' through the process of pre-radicalisation, identification, indoctrination and action (p. 12). Under the notion of pre-criminal theory, how the Muslim Americans has been brought under full surveillance is portrayed by the author with substantial evidence. The ideological self-policing through deployment of informants, use of agent provocateurs and community engagement to collect intelligence information from the Muslim communities has been well reflected.

Discussing the articulation of intimidation, use of agent provocateurs and extra-judicial killings, Kundnani points out the inertia of the policy planners to look into the other causes of terrorism and thus oversimplifying the complex terrorism discourse by 'dealing only with the Muslims'. Referring to the Hollywood classic *The Russians Are Coming*, Kundnani offers a thought-provoking interpretation of the politics of fear that has been a dominant feature of the US policy throughout history (p. 18).

While explaining the emerging popularity of the counterterrorism studies and research in the Western academia, Kundnani criticises the *culturalists* and the *reformists'* approaches in security studies that have sprung up in recent years. He asserts that radicalisation scholars also, to some extent, are to blame for the current situation because they 'systematically failed to address the reality of the political conflicts' that rephrase terrorism (p. 120).

Kundnani reiterates that 'radicalization scholarship becomes a prospectus for mass surveillance of Muslim populations' in the hands of the police department and questions the featuring of Muslim youths in the radicalisation incubators and the ultimate radicalisation signatures (p. 136). Perhaps, even more, important was the representation of Muslims in the mainstream media outlets. On the basis of numerous examples, Kundnani argues that the media played the frontrunner role in cultivating the tensions in the Western society and creating the divisions along the line of religion. He criticises the CNN and BBC's fact-finding stories and investigative report to bring the visibility of *Muslimness* in the face of a terror suspect.

He stresses the substantial importance of the formation of the Global Islam and how it takes a new shape after 9/11. He presents how and why Muslims from different cultural backgrounds were, in a way, forced to get united under the umbrella of Muslim *ummah* in response to the continuous state-sponsored discrimination in the social, economic and political life in the West. He brings the analysis of French scholar Oliver Roy, who argues that the notion of a globalised Islam is not the product of any specific 'Islamist organization' rather a broad sociological trend that has developed across Europe as a result of racism against Muslim migration.

Apart from the discussion on terrorism and extremism, Kundnani sheds some important light on categorisation of Muslims between moderate and fundamentalist, which triggers further division in the society. This search for 'good heart Muslims' and the boundary line between moderate and extremist are constantly shifting and putting the moderate Muslims in a precarious position of continually being inspected for evidence that they really have 'distanced themselves from Islamist ideology' (p.108). Kundnani observes that the clumsy binarism between moderate and extremist Muslim created further complexities for the counter-terrorism activities by oversimplifying Muslims as 'Salafis were extremist, Sufis were moderate' (p.108).

Although the author presents strong evidence in favour of his arguments and the details are concrete, there remain some minor criticisms to Kundnani's analysis. The book shifts frequently between the UK and the US. They may be grand allies, but they have differences in their histories, values and the levels of interactions with Muslims. Also problematic is his tendency to place all Muslims in the same boat, whereas, in reality, the socio-cultural, political and economic diversity within the Muslim countries is far beyond imagination. As there is no unique Christian world, the Muslim world is also an illusive concept.

In addition, there are some state- or community-sponsored harsh realities that many Muslim countries are encountering, which Kundnani neglects in his discussion, including the rejection of liberal and progressive values in some countries (for example, Saudi Arabia and Iran), which are intolerant to individual freedom and diversity. Nonetheless, this state interference in individual life choices, to some extent, are responsible for shuttering the image of the Muslim communities all over the world.

All in all, the book is more than recommendable for anyone who is interested in taking a look behind the curtains of the War on Terror in order to see its logic and its later consequences, which are evident till date. Take for instance, the Paris attack in November 2015 and the sexual harassment case afterwards in the German city of Cologne on New Year's Eve. There is an alarming tendency to link up such cases with Muslims either by the 'appearance of Syrian passport' next to the terrorist dead body or the 'Arab or North African' face of the assaulters, which set the pretext of the Western policy towards Islam and unfortunately, the policy still looks xenophobic, if not anti-Muslim.

*The Muslims Are Coming* is an important and moving investigation of the costs of the War on Terror for those who have been its targets and a vivid testimony of how the West has made a post-communist enemy and, in some ways, ignited Islamist terrorism. With sharp analysis, Kundnani captures what it feels like to be a 'suspect population' in the era of the war on terror. The book offers alternative opinion to international security agencies, policing trends and options to reckoning history. The reasonable doubt to the whole securitisation modelling that has been observed by the author makes the book an important contribution to future policy direction and new knowledge development on terrorism in Western public discourse.

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**Ødegård, Guro, Loga, Jill, Steen-Johansen, Kari and Ravneberg, Bodil (2014) *Fellesskap og forskjellighet*,<sup>1</sup> Abstrakt forlag AS: Oslo. 200 pp.**

This book is a contribution in the continuing process of understanding how Norwegian civil societies are changing due to increasing immigration and diversity. The four authors are researchers from research milieus in Oslo and Bergen, dealing with immigration, integration, values and religious aspects. In their field studies, the authors have asked: How do organisations, such as sports clubs, schools and humanitarian organisations, work locally? What challenges and possibilities do they see when facing diversity and integration, and what strategies do they have for their organisations in this regard? The answers and considerations are based on four case studies in four local communities in Oslo, Drammen, Bergen and Trondheim, four of the largest urban areas in the country. Apart from their own research, the discussions rely on insight from a broad

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spectre of existing research in the field. In this way, the book is also a good introduction to important discussions within the field of integration.

The main assertion of the book is that civil society can function as an integrating arena provided that an institutional linking function of a (preferably publicly financed) coordinator is present. To leave responsibility for integration to local actors alone is not efficient enough. A successful diverse society relies on local authorities' ability to link different organisations together, avoiding that some cultural, religious or ethnic groups exist on the outskirts of society without contact with other parts of civil society.

Integration in civil society is presented as a two-way process. It is not only the immigrants themselves who must be willing to change their ways to fit nicely in to the Norwegian context. Civil society must also change the way it is organised so that new groups can find their place. The authors claim that even though individuals may seem to reflect on this aspect, the willingness to change does not go far enough. Initiatives for integration are still characterised by representatives of the majority population reaching out to individual immigrants. This is in contrast to basic principles for civil society, claiming that activities are created together in groups of people with common interests. The structures and culture within voluntary work is still closed and unavailable, and make it difficult for new groups to enter into positions. The authors distinguish, though, between organisations for leisure activities, and humanitarian organisations established first and foremost to offer help and support to marginalised groups such as immigrants. Humanitarian organisations, like the City Mission and Red Cross, will have as an outspoken goal to strengthen opportunities for individual participation in society at large, while leisure organisations would provide integration through participation, belongingness and identity within the group.

The Norwegian title of the book *Fellesskap og forskjellighet* could be translated into English as 'Community and Distinctiveness' or 'Fellowship and Difference'. The title initiates a reflection on the concept 'diversity' and how to create fellowship when we belong to different groups, cultures and have different ways of living, different values and languages. The authors reflect on this through the concept of social capital.

Non-governmental organisations are described as agents of social capital; bridging, bonding and linking social capital. Based on Putnam's three types of social capital, combined with Woolcock's conceptualisation of linking social capital (Szreter & Woolcock 2004), the authors offer a theoretical framework to better understand civil society in a Scandinavian context. Linking capital is extensive within Norwegian voluntary organisations, providing the opportunity for members willing or able to take on responsibility, to influence on decision-making, even all the way in to the governmental quarters, through democratic structures. Challenges with integration are linked to the lack of representation of minorities in these structures (Wollebæk & Segard 2011). One following conclusion is that organisational structure and culture for minority representation must be developed to support the process of integration. The authors highlight the responsibility of local political authorities to take an active part in establishing cooperating networks between themselves and local voluntary organisations.

Though it is mentioned, the danger in linking political forces and non-governmental work to closely to each other is not discussed extensively in the book. The danger of co-optation, where financial incentives from authorities give top-down directions and strongly direct prioritisation within the voluntary organisations, is a well-known challenge and dilemma in the voluntary sector (Nordvall 2007, Elwood

2006). The advice at the very end of the book is that top-down initiated integration must be avoided while stability in financial support and long-term competence building will give the best foundation for a sustainable bottom-up integration process within the voluntary sector. It would have been very interesting to reflect on how this dilemma could be dealt with. It may be questioned how realistic it is to overcome the financial power structure only with good intentions.

There is also a chapter provided for religious organisations. Congregations are, according to the book, one type of voluntary organisations where ethnic minorities and immigrants show more frequent participation than the ethnic majority. The lack of research in this context of religious organisations is surprising, and the authors pinpoint an important area for future research. The Scandinavian secular context differs from the rest of the world, when dealing with religious life and religious activities. While religious organisations are regarded in the same line as other voluntary organisations in, for example, American studies (Putnam & Campbell 2010), religious organisations are met with scepticism and are more easily marginalised in secular societies like Sweden (Rothstein 2012). Again, a balanced view is given in the book, on the one hand promoting the possibility of segregation and value-conflict. On the other hand, the field studies show that religious organisations, on the contrary, can function as a stepping stone into other parts of society.

Apart from the already mentioned concept of co-optation, the aspect of gender could also have been more extensively explored both in the case studies and in the book in general. Gender has, apart from ethnicity, shown to affect the patterns of social capital. Men and women form different and separate social networks within especially religious organisations, like mosques or churches, or in sports teams (Predelli 2003, Borchgrevink 2002). Patterns of gender have shown to explain some of the differences in democratic power and social capital. This is mentioned Chapter 2 under membership and representation, but could also have been an interesting contribution to the discussions towards the end of the book.

What is also mentioned in the book, though few places, are the resources found within already well-integrated immigrants. When newly arrived or less integrated immigrants get in contact with well-established minority organisations where leaders themselves or parents have been through similar integration processes, there is an opportunity for building individual social (and cultural) capital, not only one-to-one (as mentioned), but as a community and fellowship. Organising seminars in Norwegian laws and child-raising culture, for example, is something Muslim and Christian congregations provide for newly arrived immigrants (Aftenposten 2011). The congregations act as a bridge-builder between immigrants and Norwegian authorities, and as an agent for a diverse Norway. Linking minorities in this way to local authorities, enabling them to take part, not only in the implementation of integration strategies, but also in deciding on which strategy to choose, may be one important feature in an emerging diverse society.

Considering the rapidly increasing number of people searching sanctuary and improved life conditions in the western European countries, knowledge on integration is becoming more relevant than these authors could have foreseen at the point of writing. The knowledge is more welcomed than ever, and the target group has surely widened. I recommend this book to anyone interested in understanding integration processes in general, but more especially I recommend it to teachers, researchers and students dealing with welfare policies, voluntary sector and immigration processes.

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**Portes, Alejandro & Fernandez-Kelly, Patricia (eds.) (2015) *The State and The Grassroots. Immigrant Transnational Organizations in Four Continents*, Oxford: Berghahn. 338 pp.**

*The State and The Grassroots* is a well-edited collection of essays on transnational immigrant organisations in the U.S. and some European countries. Editors and contributors of this volume argue that the issues of migration, development and integration have conventionally been studied with an individualistic focus, that is, an organisational focus is missing. Therefore, they focus on a variety of transnational immigrant organisations (e.g. hometown associations, alumni organisations) with the aim of illustrating their impacts on (i) socio-economic development in origin countries (e.g. India, Morocco, Mexico and Colombia), and (ii) integration into destination societies (e.g. Belgium, France and the U.S.). The volume focuses mainly on hometown associations, immigrant philanthropic organisations, professional/alumni organisations and some immigrant diaspora organisations. The vast majority of the organisations examined in the volume are from 'the same research design' called CIOP (Comparative Immigrant Organizations Project) (pp. xii–xiii). This database does not seem to include, say, immigrant religious networks and organisations, but exclusively professional associations, relief organisations, and so on. The volume is divided into two main sections: while the first focuses on immigrant organizations in the U.S. (Chapters 1–6), the second examines cases from Europe (Chapters 7–10).

In the introduction, Alejandro Portes revisits the theoretical debates on the migration–development–integration nexus. He argues that

transnational immigrant organisations (e.g. Chinese, Mexican, Indian and Dominican) play significant role in both 'promoting development programs in the home countries and the integration of immigrants into American society' (p. 13). As such, he posits that sending and receiving states can enhance transnational organisational mobility as (i) sending states view immigrant organisations as agents that transfer capital, technology, etc., and (ii) receiving states are open to co-development projects (p. 17-18). In light of these, in Chapter 1, Min Zhou and Rennie Lee examine four types of Chinese transnational immigrant organisations in the U.S.: extended homeland associations, economic/business organisations, alumni associations and professional organisations. These organisations develop four types of border-crossing activities: hometown projects, philanthropic activities, cultural events and professional conventions, which, the authors argue, eventually impact both homeland development and integration into American society.

Natasha Iskander instead examines the formation of Mexican hometown association (HTAs) in the U.S. and the role of the origin state in it (Chapter 4). Hometown associations are depicted as organisations established by migrants with the aim of (i) maintaining cultural identity and sustaining tangible connections with the homeland, and (ii) supporting co-ethnics in the settled country (p.111). Iskander particularly focuses on a governmental programme called Three-For-One or 3x1. This programme is designed by the Mexican government to encourage Mexicans living in the U.S. to contribute to the development in their origin country. Forming a hometown association and registering it with the Mexican federal government are compulsory for taking part in this programme. Iskander's contribution to the volume clearly illustrates that relations with the homeland governmental bodies at state, federal and municipal levels are crucial not only in the formation of (Mexican) HTAs, but also in opening 'spaces for collaboration and contest over the articulation of transnational civic identity' (p. 133). That is, for Mexican government HTAs are seen as (i) channels through which Mexican government can reach out to, mobilise and generate (economic) input for homeland development, and (ii) significant actors that facilitate homeland connections and help to maintain cultural identities.

Chapter 6 deals with the factors that 'block' transnational mobility and engagement of Vietnamese forced exiles and refugees in the U.S. The authors underscore that migrants' status (i.e. refugee, labour migrant) are important in terms of homeland ties. Because of governmental policies, Jennifer Huynh and Jessica Yiu write, Vietnamese political exiles could not freely visit or invest in their homeland from 1975 until 1994. That is, institutionalised barriers blocked Vietnamese exiles' transnational mobility. It was only after the 'normalization of the US-Vietnam relations in 1995' (p.161), Vietnamese immigrants in the U.S. had the chance to free travel to and invest in their origin country. In fact, as the authors underline, Vietnamese philanthropic activities were blossomed following a series of regulations that eased transnational mobility.

Essays in section two focus on transnational immigrant organisations in Europe. For example, in Chapter 8, Thomas Lacroix and Antonie Dumnot deal with Moroccan immigrant organisations in France. They examine the structure and evolution of Moroccan immigrant organisations with a particular reference to vertical and horizontal vectors (i.e. inter-generational and voluntary work in both settled and origin countries). Until mid-1990s, it is argued, Moroccan organisations were more committed to the local needs of immigrants; then, they have become more interested in and more committed to homeland development projects (education, health, infrastructure, etc.). As the authors successfully capture, there are two dynamics behind

this shift: emergence of a new Moroccan middle-class, and co-development projects developed by both sending and receiving countries.

In Chapter 9, Gery Nijenhuis and Annelies Zoomers address whether transnational activities of Ghanaian, Moroccan and Surinamese organisations based in the Netherlands enhance homeland development. They focus on how organisations affect change here (encouraging integration in the Netherlands), there (development and poverty alleviation in the areas of origin) and in between (bridging/expanding networks to third destinations). The findings of Chapter 9 suggest that there is a considerable difference between respective organisations' impact on homeland development, which is strongly related to their 'fund-raising and subsidies' (p. 257); yet, overall, immigrant organisations in the Netherlands play a critical role in both homeland development and connecting immigrants with their country of origin.

In Chapter 10, Hector Cebolla-Boado and Anna Lopez-Sala focus on immigrant organisations in Spain with a particular focus on Spain's integration approach, which, they believe, is the key factor in facilitating immigrant transnational activities, i.e. development in the country of origin. The authors contend that immigrant organisations have become transnational when Spanish local, regional and national governmental bodies embraced co-development approach (p. 287). That is, co-development, as part of the top-down integration project, is critical for immigrant associations' transnational activism.

In the concluding chapter, Patricia Fernandez-Kelly examines the relationship between assimilation (integration) and transnationalism by drawing on the literatures on assimilation, transnationalism and globalisation. She underscores two axes: horizontal vector (connecting immigrants and organisations across borders) and vertical axis (intergenerational transmission). She focuses on the relevance and importance of social class in the formation of and participation in transnational organisations. She argues that 'transnational organizations represent strategic sites facilitating reciprocally constitutive process involving immigrant assimilation and globalization' (p. 296). She posits that second generations engage transnational activities both as a means of economic gains and recasting origin identities, whereas transnational engagement of first generations mainly refers to a negation for membership in different territories. In short, based on her theoretical discussion and the case studies presented in the volume, Fernandez-Kelly claims that transnationalism and integration are mutually reinforcing, not antagonistic.

Despite the fact that this volume is a significant contribution to the scholarly debates on the migration–development–integration nexus, there are still some points to be made. First is about a lack of sufficient discussion on the relationship between transnationalism and integration. For instance, in some chapters (e.g. in Chapters 3 and 5), the authors do not discuss how or to what extent transnational immigrant organisations impact integration into settled countries, but concluded that transnationalism and integration are mutually reinforcing; in other words, they claimed that transnationalism contributes to integration without actually discussing it. Second is about sampling of empirical studies presented. As most of the chapters benefit from the same research design and sampling (i.e. CIOP), the volume lacks any insights regarding, say, immigrant religious networks and organisations, as well as their possible impacts on the homeland development and integration into the settled countries. That is, apart from thin mentions regarding the impact of religious networks on the formation of transnational mobility in Chapters 3 and 6, one could argue, major transnational religious organizations (e.g. Christian, Muslim), a substantial part of transnational immigrant transnationalism, are not within the scope of the volume.

Overall, *The State and The Grassroots* is an insightful volume that makes a significant contribution to the scholarly field on transnationalism with a particular reference to the migration–development–integration nexus. I would recommend this volume to anyone interested in organisational transnationalism, homeland development and integration.

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## Notes

1. The title in English: *Fellowship and differences*. The English translation is made by the reviewer.

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