

**Andersen, Nina Trige (2013) Profession Filippiner. Kvinder på arbejde i Danmark gennem fire årtier, København: Tiderne Skifter. 274 pp.**

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## BOOK REVIEWS

**Andersen, Nina Trige (2013) *Profession Filippiner. Kvinder på arbejde i Danmark gennem fire årtier, København: Tiderne Skifter. 274 pp.*<sup>1</sup>**

In *Profession Filippiner* Nina Trige Andersen tells the story of the “49’s”, a group of women from the Philippines who came to Denmark in 1973 to work as hotel maids at the newly built SAS hotels which, at that time, were the most modern hotels in the world. She cleverly links their story to the present situation of the new generation of Philippine women migrating to Denmark to work as au-pairs. In doing so, she tells about changes in the labour market and in society both in Denmark and the Philippines, and in the case of the Philippines of no-changes, too. A strong message is that even though the women have sacrificed themselves to support their families financially, poverty is still a life condition for many in the Philippines and the demand to send money never ends. The book shifts between personal stories of four women, facts about migration, politics, religion and an analysis of the Danish and the Philippine societies.

Nina Trige Andersen has a degree in History and is working as a freelance journalist in particular writing for the Danish paper Information. She has specialised in Eastern and Southeast Asia and Northern Europe as well as global relations. She has a specific focus on labour market, migration, political economy, urban changes and cultural history. The journalistic approach means that the book cannot be compared directly with academic work within the field. Yet, the book fills out a huge gap in our knowledge about the life of migrants in Denmark as well as the dynamic relationship between migration and changes in the labour market.

Nina Trige Andersen describes a strong collective feeling among the “49’s” both at the workplace and outside. Not all take part in everything, but many become each other’s best friends. A majority of the women have an education, some even a university degree. They have many different reasons for migrating, but for all of them, the need to support their families is the prime one. These “49’s” are welcomed at the workplace and in society and despite intending to go back after a few years, many of them stayed on and some got married in Denmark. In general, they are content with their lives in Denmark, but it has not been an easy life. Most of them did not get their working-contract renewed after the first year, because of changes in migration regulations. In addition, the “49’s” did not get any support from the union; the union policy was to make employers hire unemployed Danish workers. But colleagues, middle managers and people from the Philippine community helped them to get new

jobs, for many as domestic workers, and over the years, they found better jobs themselves and gained a better relation with the union, too. The “49’s” community remains strong and they meet in the Catholic Church on Amager, in different Philippine organisations, and at parties and other social events they organize themselves. Some have friends outside the Philippine community and are involved in activities in their local community and in organisations e.g. in the trade unions.

This is in sharp contrast to the conditions of the labour market and the lives of the Philippine migrants today. Now the only job opening is as au-pairs. Working as au-pair counts as a cultural exchange programme even though most of the au-pairs and their families see au-pairing as a working relationship. The status as au-pairs means that they are not fully protected by labour market rules and regulations. In addition, the pay is low and the working conditions often poor. The trade union, FOA offers membership and internal network organisation to the au-pairs as well as help with work-related problems. Also the LO, the union confederation, works to improve the working conditions and the pay, preferably as the recognition of the au-pairs as workers. But because the au-pairs are not recognised as workers FOA and the LO cannot represent their interests in the bargaining system; they can only appeal to the families (employers) and the politicians or, in a few cases, go to the civil courts. The character of the work (alone, in private homes, flexible working hours) makes it difficult to make/join communities and to get Danish friends; also the effort to earn extra and to save up means that the au-pairs have less time for socialising. The church is still a gathering point for many of the Philippine women, yet it is less the Catholic churches and more the evangelist churches that attract the au-pairs. They are seldom active in the Philippine organisations and networks, but some have family relations to Philippine women already living in Denmark (see also Isaksen 2010, Liversage *et al.* 2013). The book only touches the fact that the working conditions for the older generations of Philippine hotel maids and other migrants working in the cleaning business are changing, too. Today the job as a hotel maid is characterised by a high and still rising working speed often in combination with temporary contracts and/or with short and shifting hours. The relationship to the employers has also changed for many of them. Many feel disrespected and not listened to in particular when they point to problems with the cleaning standard or the risk of physical or mental disabilities. The hotel maids are too tired to take part in social life after work, including trade union activities and migrant networks, and they are very concerned about

their future. At work, most traditions, for example having lunch together, celebrating birthdays, and going out for a cup of coffee after work have disappeared. Hotel maids (and other cleaners) have very little job interaction and if traditions are disappearing, it weakens the working community. Moreover, outsourcing of the cleaning has meant that many hotel maids do not have the same employers as the other employees at the hotels or sometimes even different employers among them. This complicates community making and interest representation as well as common action against employers.<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to evaluate a book by a journalist for a scientific journal since it obviously has some shortcomings in academic terms. My major objection is the absence of methodological reflections: we know very little about the positioning of Nina Trige Andersen and how the data are collected; we know nothing about what is left out and about the construction of the analysis. On its own terms, the structure of the book means that parts of it are repetitious and I miss a livelier language. Together this makes the reading less interesting. On the other hand, it is the thoroughness and the many quotations together with the use of a comprehensive amount of written sources that give the book the substance and depth that makes it interesting to academics, too. The personal stories give insight into feelings of pleasure, in/justice, be/longing, happiness, sorrow, strength, sacrifice and obligations and how these affect the community building among migrants at the work place, nationally and transnationally as well as the inclusion of migrants into trade unions, the neighbourhood and other communities.

The book is an important contribution to modern Danish history and the journalistic approach makes it suitable for a broad group of readers. Academics and students as well as others, including trade union leaders, with an interest in migration and the Philippines and in changes in the Danish labour market would all gain from the book.

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**Blaakilde, Anne Leonora & Nilsson, Gabriella (eds.) (2013) *Nordic seniors on the move. Mobility and migration in later life*, Lund: Lund Studies in arts and Cultural Sciences 4. 225 pp.**

This anthology on retirement migration analyses the increasing mobility of seniors in light of changing conceptions of ageing and old people. Consistent with previous studies in the field of International Retirement Migration (IRM studies) contributors approach migration projects and themes from the perspectives of senior northern Europeans. However, they also challenge previous IRM studies that define retirement migrants as necessarily privileged. In contrast, the anthology takes into account a wider range of socio-economic backgrounds and positions among retirement migrants.

The anthology consists of seven chapters written by scholars from various disciplines, all of whom mainly use ethnographic methods in small-scale case studies. Taken together, the anthology seeks to demonstrate how mobility and migration in later life has implications for identities, feelings of belonging, family and friends, health,

policies and religious attachment. In the introduction, editors Anne Leonora Blaakilde and Gabriella Nilsson place their work within IRM studies and 'lifestyle migration.' They point out how pension rights and social rights of Nordic seniors are a fundamental precondition for their mobility options. The final chapter, written by architect Deane Simpson, widens the international scope and compares European to US North-to-South retirement migration.

Interestingly, the anthology does not only cover international migration, but also cases where retirees move within their own country of origin: two chapters focus on seniors who move domestically within Sweden to senior housing (Marianne Abrahamsson) or rural areas (Gabriella Nilsson).

Ethnologist Gabriella Nilsson's contribution discusses senior Swedes who move to the rural southern area of Österlen. She draws interesting parallels to international retirement migration when it comes to the meanings of class identities and social distinction in seniors' choices between different destinations like Florida, France and Costa del Sol in Spain. Nilsson argues that there is significant connection between the 'new' and the 'same' in the construction of the ideal retirement lifestyle and identity: freedom and security are simultaneous values when seniors create a 'home away from home.' Moreover, the possibility to display a continuation of lifestyle is a prerequisite to fulfilling ideals of autonomy and independence. Thus, Nilsson concludes that retirement migrants are doing 'the same' somewhere 'else' as a strategy to bridge the seeming contradiction between mobility and rootedness.

Two chapters focus on Finnish IRMs in Costa del Sol. In a very well-written chapter, gerontology scholar Antti Karsto curiously approaches the issue of (lack of) integration among Finnish seniors in Spain through the lens of eating habits. He discusses conceptions of 'meatball dependence' versus the cultural capital it entails among fellow Finnish IRMs to display a positive interest in Spanish cuisine. Theology scholar Jenni Spännäri's chapter examines the role of religious life in sustaining diasporic and transnational perspectives among Finnish IRMs. Spännäri's discussion on the central and multiple roles of Scandinavian churches to belonging and support in IRM destinations are further investigated by Eva Jeppsson Grassman and Annika Taghizadeh Larsson from Linköping University's National Institute for the Study of Ageing and Later Life. Through volunteer work and 'Swedish' traditions at Swedish churches abroad, IRMs co-create a home away from home. Furthermore, Grassman and Larsson pick up a recurrent theme throughout the anthology; contrary to images in media and research, IRMs are not necessarily wealthy, healthy and privileged.

In the subsequent chapter, Uppsala anthropologist Annie Woube elaborates on the variety of backgrounds among Swedish IRMs in Costa del Sol as well as the role of informal practices and voluntarism based on transnational competence. Woube's study includes IRMs who are permanent residents in Spain and have been working with service provision and mediation to the Swedish community. Drawing upon her rich ethnographic material, Woube analyses the important roles of intermediation and voluntarism among IRMs and thus, provides a deep insight into the organisation, daily lives and motivations of IRMs in Costa del Sol. Furthermore, she discusses how voluntarism among IRMs smoothen their transition from professional working life to retirement, while transforming financial capital to transnational capital.

In the important chapter 'A Challenge to the Danish Welfare-State. How International Retirement Migration and Transnational Health-Promotion Clash with National Policies', ethnologist Anne Leonora Blaakilde discusses some policy implications of the IRM

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phenomenon, which is a crucial issue at an international level - for instance, when it comes to the conditions for retirement and mobility Ageing Europe. Blaakilde's contribution highlights the case of Danish IRMs in Spain as well as Turkey, and the ways in which welfare state policies condition the mobilities of retirees. She stresses aspects of health migration within the IRM phenomenon, in contrast to the tendency for IRM studies to focus on the concerns of active and upper-middle-class groups. Blaakilde demonstrates how the Danish state correspondingly bases policies on images of affluent migrants, supporting the migration opportunities of these groups as opposed to those with lower incomes, and thereby constructing economic inequalities among migrants.

In sum, this anthology offers a wide variety of experiences, parallels and contrasts within the increasing and expanding phenomenon of Nordic retirement migration. The editors have made an excellent job in providing a coherent collection of texts with consistent quality, highlighting a number of crucial and critical themes that previously have been understudied. It would have been interesting to also include the case of Norway, but this was perhaps not available at the time of the book project. In addition, while the anthology claims an intersectional perspective, it would have been relevant to include more research on gender, sexuality and race in conditions for mobility in later life. Finally, it would also have been relevant to include perspectives beyond those of Nordic retirees, like for instance the experiences and conditions of actors who reside in the destination areas of retirement migrants and are impacted by 'Nordic seniors on the move.'

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**Brems, Eva (ed.) (2014) *The Experiences of Face Veil Wearers in Europe and the Law*, United Kingdom: Cambridge. 307 pp.**

This edited volume addresses the current legal restrictions on religious dress in selected European countries, by arguing the justifications for these bands are not founded in facts. Drawing on real life accounts and experiences of Muslim women who choose to wear face veils, this book uses insider perspectives as the basis for dismantling the legal justifications for so-called 'burqa bans.' Edited by Eva Brems, a professor of human rights law at the Human Rights Centre in Ghent University, Belgium, this volume features contributions from fellow law scholars as well as anthropologists and sociologists conducting qualitative research aimed at understanding the motivations behind wearing face veils and the implications of religious dress in secularised debates about public safety, identity politics, and paternalistic protection against women's oppression.

Motivated by the growing trend of local governments banning the Islamic face veil in her home country of Belgium, Brems' edited work is a timely edition to the current landscape of literature focused on understanding the recent nationwide bans of face veils in both France (2010) and Belgium (2011). Researching into the legal justifications for the bans, Brems alongside her colleagues at the Human Rights Centre began to see a complete gap between what lawmakers assumed to be the oppressive reasons behind veiling and the lived reality of women wearing the veil. In order to address this gap and critically assess the troubling trend of trumping religious and human rights in justification for public safety and appeals for social cohesion via a secular European identity, this collective work contributes new insights to the current discourse on religion, gender and the state. In particular, this book addresses feminist

discussions on agency, systemic power and women's bodies as political projects.

Assessing the idea of agency, Brems, Yaiza Janssens, Kim Lecoyer, Saila Ouald Chaib, Victoria Vandersteen and Jogchum Vrielink, all contributing authors, use an ethnographic study of women in Belgium to explore the many reasons why women may choose to wear the veil, such as cultivating a closer relationship to God or feeling a sense of serenity and beauty. Using narrative examples, the authors assert because veils are inherently polysemic, they cannot be narrowly defined as mere symbols of male oppression and therefore, legislation built upon the argument that women who veil are forced to do so is not representative of the vast majority of women's experiences and void as a legal justification.

Complicating this dialogue further, contributing author Dolores Morondo Taramundi critiques feminist arguments that focus on ideas of agency and individual choice at the expense of underplaying the complex system of power relations and oppressive structures behind individual motivations. In essence, individualism can obscure the social nature of structures of oppression. Morondo Taramundi highlights this point by citing how individualism is a discourse predominately rooted in a western point of view. In the debate of the veil, she connects how dominant western discourses of individualism assert that to be equal is to not to wear a veil; therefore, women who veil are not recognised as expressing individual choice, but are viewed as oppressed and in need of paternalistic legal safeguards to achieve equality. This western rooted understanding of what constitutes equality overlooks the systemic power embedded within the very discourse that claims to 'save' Muslim women.

Like many of the authors of this book, other academics, particularly postcolonial feminists, have also explored how western essentialising can have epistemologically violent consequences that result in perpetuating a colonial mindset and proposing uninformed legislation, such as the veil ban (Mahmood 2001; Predelli 2004; and Pui-Lan 2003). These works look at how dominant colonial discourses from European and American women and men promote a mindset in which white men strive to 'save brown women from brown men' (Pui-Lan 2002: 65). Western dominated ideas of equality and individualism often do not recognise agency embedded within religion and as Morondo Taramundi cites, there is an ethnicisation of sexism; wherein women's bodies become the battleground for ideological projects of the state to enforce western understandings of equality, social cohesion and behaviour. These ideas have also been echoed by other scholars in the past in an effort to decolonise theoretical discourse (Enloe 1990; Nader 1989). Citing Spivak's seminal work centred on the nonability of the subaltern to speak, scholars such as Kwok Pui-Lan elaborate further to explain that 'the important point is not whether the subaltern can speak, but whether she can be heard, and under what conditions' (Pui-Lan 2002: 68). In the case of the recent legislation, Muslim women are not only unheard, but are not even being included in the dialogue that would seek to ban a form of their religious expression. That is why this book is an important and timely addition to the current dialogue. By drawing on the real life stories of those who veil, women are no longer agentless bodies, but intelligent and insightful contributors in the ongoing debate.

While there is an emphasis on the insider perspectives of women who choose to veil, I found that as a text overall, there were too few scholarly contributions, which cited and relied on gathered qualitative data. The book does explain the many methodological challenges to locating and interviewing women among the relatively small population of those who wear full face veils; however, I think a more robust study in the future with a larger sample of narratives would

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benefit the overall argument. This book centers predominantly on France, the United Kingdom and Belgium; however, in the future, further analysis on places where this debate is gaining momentum, such as Germany, and Nordic countries, such as Norway, would be a fruitful addition to the current analysis and add additional qualitative narratives to the ongoing research.

Overall, this book draws on an academically diverse group of scholars to contribute a nuanced analysis on the current debate surrounding face veil wearers in Europe and I think it would be suitable for a university class as well as anyone interested in expanding their perspective on the current issue of legal bans on the face veil in Europe today.

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**Johansen, Nicolay, B., Ugelvik, Thomas & Aas, Katja Franko (eds.) (2013) *Krimmigrasjon? Den nye kontrollen av de fremmede*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. 295 pp.**

The book *Krimmigrasjon? Den nye kontrollen av de fremmede* (Crimmigration? The new control of strangers<sup>3</sup>) edited by Nicolay B Johansen, Thomas Ugelvik and Katja Franko Aas discusses some of the ways in which the management of migration and criminality tend to overlap in legal frameworks, professional practices and everyday experiences. From the points of view of criminology, law and sociology, hybrid mechanisms of control and sanctions are discussed through 14 empirically informed chapters. Empirical focal points include statistical and historical accounts of the migration–crime nexus, imprisonment of foreigners, transnational prostitution, specificities of the Norwegian legal frameworks and implications of international frameworks and strategies. The book refers mostly to the Norwegian context but pays due attention to key implications of international agreements such as the Schengen-cooperation and the Dublin-agreement. An important strength of this book is that it provides investigations of key legal and policy structures as well as paying due attention to cultural issues pertaining to the ambivalent and problematic role ascribed to 'strangers' (Simmel 1964).

The book title and its thematic allude to the concept 'crimmigration law' coined by American legal scholar Juliet Stumpf (2006). The concept describes how criminal law and immigration law overlap to the extent that we can now talk about a hybrid 'crimmigration law'. The editors open by referring to the ambiguous status of camps established to hold foreigners while they await authorities' decisions or actions. Such institutions are not classified as prisons and those held there are most often not convicted prisoners. How then, should

we categorise these buildings, the people who stay there and their experiences? This edited volume takes on such questions by mapping out some of the main paradoxes and problems in legal frameworks, policies and professional practices related to 'strangers'.

From different legal angles, Annika Suominen (Chapter 7) and Bente Puntervold Bø (Chapter 8) demonstrate how the use of penal instruments to increase the efficiency of immigration control and the use of incarceration of foreigners as a tool to prevent criminal activity are problematic practices since immigration control in principle should differ from penal control. Drawing from studies of professional practice, Helene Gundus and Marit Egge (Chapter 12) describe how offenders with an 'unclear citizenship' status are excluded from re-integration measures otherwise provided by the Norwegian welfare state. They show that in contrast to offenders who are Norwegian citizens' police officers and social workers focus on a swift dispatch out of Norway rather than successful integration into society for youngsters who are not citizens. In the penultimate chapter, Knut Kjeldstadli (Chapter 13) appropriately makes it clear that professional practice fluctuating according to class and ethnicity is not a new phenomenon. Having a 'loose' or indecent lifestyle was basis for one fourth of the deportations following the Foreign Act of 1901 and 'devious behavior, like fist fights or adultery, was punished more harshly if the offender was a poor stranger' (p. 230). The ways in which class and similarity play into more current events related to migration, legitimacy and belonging is successfully shed light on also in Thomas Ugelvik's contribution on the much debated Marie Amelie case (Chapter 4).

In addition to describing key paradoxes and problems in legal frameworks and professional practices, this edited volume thus pays attention to some of the issues related to the ambivalent position of the 'stranger' in media coverage, public opinion and different policy areas. Nicolay B. Johansen's contribution (Chapter 6) successfully merges these two levels of analysis and shows how exclusions, ranging from being denied medical and economic assistance to omission from statistical accounts together with different forms of retribution, create a 'funnel of misery' (elendighetstrakt) through which unwanted foreigners are efficiently disposed of and dispatched. The chapter convincingly demonstrates how the issue of 'crimmigration' is relevant both due to its practical implications and to its cultural underpinnings. The issues brought to light in the book are highly complex and the result clearly benefits from having brought together researchers with radically different approaches to the issue of crimmigration. It is commendable that several relatively inexperienced researchers have been invited to contribute to the dialogue that the book is aiming to strengthen. With very few exceptions, the differences in conceptual apparatus presented in the contributions do not come off as obstacles to the reader, but rather as interesting new angles to a similar problematic. A couple of the contributions do stand out as quite a bit weaker than the rest and as a whole the chapters would have benefitted from being a bit more streamlined. It would also have been interesting to see more cross-referencing between the different chapters. Having said this, the introduction and epilogue written by the editors are clear and pedagogically presented resulting in a useful framework for reading the additional contributions.

My overall evaluation of *Krimmigrasjon?* is that it is very a readable and pedagogic piece of scholarly work that offers a Norwegian take on highly relevant and topical international debates. It has succeeded in its ambition to provide a truly multidisciplinary approach to a topic that clearly benefits from insights from different fields. The quality of the contributions to *Krimmigrasjon?* does, however, vary and some of

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the chapters could have benefitted from more stringent editing. Due to its pedagogical style, this book is well-suited for students in a wide range of fields dealing with issues related to migration.

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**Martikainen, Tuomas (2013) *Religion, Migration, Settlement. Reflections on Post-1990 Immigration to Finland*, International Studies in Religion and Society, Leiden & Boston: Brill. 174 p.**

Tuomas Martikainen, a professor of Ethnic Relations at the Swedish School of Social Science at the University of Helsinki, Finland, has written a book about current issues of religion, migration and settlement. The themes of the book have become even more topical after its publication since questions of European-born/-based jihadism and religious confrontations in Europe and Middle-East have been in the focus of public discussion during 2014. The book *Religion, Migration, Settlement. Reflections on Post-1990 Immigration to Finland* deals with issues related to multiculturalism and integration in a large scale, but it also discusses questions related to religious movements and identifications in late-modern Finland. Even if it does not give clear answers, it makes a reader ponder how concrete problems and conflicts in religious and cultural landscape could be discussed and seen from multiple perspectives. The book consists of 10 different parts that are based on Martikainen's previous works and writings on Finnish migration and religious studies. Martikainen presents a number of different angles to the topic, and he then focusses on two national religious complexities: Christian Orthodoxes and Muslim immigrants in Finland.

Martikainen first introduces to the reader Finnish and European migration history and religious landscapes. He writes about characteristics of post-1990 or late-modern Finnish society: how immigration has influenced on it, what kinds of trends can be seen in the changing Finnish society and in its relation to religion. For example, till the beginning of 1990s, Finland has been in the periphery of great immigration movements, such as labour migration waves that took place in many European countries in the 1960s and 1970s, but after the 1990s, the situation in Finland changed and immigration became a more accurate political issue. Thus, quite recent experiences of immigration and small, but heterogenic Muslim population (mainly Somali-, Kurd-, Iraqi- and Kosovo Albanian refugees), and 'older' religious minorities from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, (e.g. Muslim Tatars from Russia) make Finland a unique example of immigration processes and religious movements in relation to other Nordic/European countries (pp. 121–124).

Cultural and religious backgrounds of migrants are seen to be part of the integration process, and those have also been in the centre of the public and political debates in Finland. In his book, Martikainen discusses the theories of John Berry (Berry *et al.* 2002) and Stephen Castles and Mark Miller (Castles & Miller 2003, 2009) and many others to show how segments of integration and settlement are in a continuous dialogue with the society and its institutions. Nowadays, immigrants' religions test the boundaries of several sectors in the

society, as Martikainen writes (p. 33). The use of religious symbols or religious sites can create tensions as well as dialogue between immigrants and the wider Finnish society. Immigrants are challenging, for example, the established place of religion in public life as in Turkey, where a question of immigrants' shrines and Muslims' mosque became a big issue in public discussion and in a local newspaper in the late 1990's. People who objected the mosque in the city said that a mosque does not belong to the Finnish landscape, and the mosque became a symbol for Islamic religion and wider cultural contradictions in the city (pp. 77–81).

Integration and settlement are intertwined with questions of religion and cultural tradition, and they are never separable from the wider society. Martikainen argues that religious groups, associations or integration do not appear in one form, but they are in constant move and under construction: author emphasises the practical and societal processes between immigrant groups, authorities and society. He reminds the reader that immigrant groups that settle into a new society create new forms of religious and cultural practices as they keep some of their old traditions and adapt into new cultural practices. Thus, cultural adaptations, integration and new forms of religious traditions cannot be explained through simple descriptions of immigrants' background or culture, but as a relational process between an individual and the society, in relation to social environment and even to global movements and markets that create new belongings among new generations.

Best parts of this book can be found between the chapters and lines: how processes and interconnections are intertwined in the society and in the culture. On the other hand, immigration has impacts on the society and on the other economic factors, historical development and governance effect on immigration and settlement as well. European and Finnish societies have been predominantly Christian, and the issue of multiculturalism is especially related to groups of Muslims coming from elsewhere. However, nowadays, movements inside Europe can consist of Finnish-born Muslim as well as immigrants from all around the world. Martikainen also reminds that we should not forget that also many of the migrants inside Europe are Christian (p. 50). However, despite the emphasis on cultural hybridity and complexity, the focus of the book is strongly on Muslims and Islam. It shows that Islam as a religion cannot be ignored and it has become a part of European and Finnish society and politics.

How does the future then look like according to Martikainen? First of all, it is deeply connected to question of how migrants' children who have born in Finland - so-called second generation - will settle and develop new religious forms in future Finland. As the author puts it in the last chapter: 'young people simultaneously represent a threat and an opportunity' to the society (p. 138). The second generation will show in the future, how these issues change - at least for now, it seems that religion will stay in the focus what comes to immigrants' cultural settlement.

The book *Religion, Migration, Settlement. Reflections on Post-1990 Immigration to Finland* gives an illustrative overview of current trends in religion and migration studies in Finnish context. I personally favoured the clear structure of the book. Wide and problematic concepts were discussed together with more specific aspects of religion and religious processes. Martikainen does not give clear answers to questions such as what religion is or what it is not. Instead, he draws attention to numerous simultaneous processes that influence in the society. What I was missing was deeper concentration on each topic - although it would probably have made the book more ponderous to read. Instead, separate sections made the book easy and interesting to read as topics and

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perspectives changed in each chapter. It was also rewarding for the reader that the author had articulated his thoughts clearly. With all the knowledge of Finnish religious landscape - and, especially of Islam in Finland - the book is worth reading for anyone who is interested in interconnections of migration and religion.

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**Take, Marianne (2014) *Politisk integrering. Innvanderer-organisasjoner som skoler i demokrati og byråkrati*, Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk. 194 pp.**

When migrants establish their own organisations, does this lead to political integration or do migrant organisations lock their members up in their own ethno-national groups? That is the question that Marianne Take tries to answer in her new book 'Political integration. Migrant organisations as schools in democracy and bureaucracy'<sup>4</sup>. She does so by studying the interactions between local migrant organisations in Oslo and the municipal authorities. A key question is: how do the authorities facilitate migrant organisations' activities, and how do migrant organisations take these opportunities to participate politically? The author holds a PhD in political science from the University of Oslo. Currently, she works as a senior researcher at Norwegian Social Research (NOVA) at the Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences.

Her work is a welcome contribution: not only to the growing amount of research on migrant organisations and political integration, but also to the public debate about immigrant integration in general. Take argues that political integration is an important aspect of immigrant integration that is all too often overlooked. Contemporary integration debates are usually about culture. As she says at the very start of her book, the problem is that 'the majority society cannot demand that people with a minority background take over the cultural values of a country, but it can require them to adapt to democratic processes and bureaucratic schemes.' Political integration is important; because the ideal of a democracy is that everyone, who is affected by democratic process, participates in these processes.

Take understands political integration as a two-way process that includes a growing political participation of the organisations and/or their individual members and adaptation to bureaucratic practices. On the one hand, the majority society gives migrants rights and opportunities to participate and be represented in democratic institutions. On the other hand, political integration only works if minority groups actively make use of these rights and opportunities.

The book provides a thorough analysis of various aspects of political participation and adaptation to bureaucratic practices. Take notes that local migrant organisations in Oslo have little or no ambitions to be politically active and to influence the majority

society's political institutions. Very few of them work for democratic mobilisation, for example, by inviting representatives of political parties when there are upcoming elections. An exception is the Council of Migrant Organisations in Oslo, which consists of representatives of local migrant organisations. Contrary to the organisations that it represents, the Council aims to achieve change in national and municipal institutions so that all people in Oslo have equal access to their services.

The author suggests that the low political ambition level of the local migrant organisations may partly result from the fact that the Norwegian state authorities and the municipal authorities in Oslo have done little to stimulate the organisations' political mobilisation. The authorities do fund activities to increase the political participation of individual members. The goal is then to make individuals with a migrant background use their voting rights or to become active in a political party. Migrant organisations are supposed to serve as 'schools in democracy' by providing arenas for socialisation.

However, the authorities do not aim to actively include migrant organisations in political processes and have given little information about the Norwegian political system. Throughout history, many groups in the Norwegian society have been included in the Norwegian political community through nationwide membership-based organisations. This does not seem to apply to migrant organisations. While the local migrant organisations are membership-based and democratically governed, the national organisations are set up as foundations or resource centres that are not membership-based. They do not have any formalised connections with the local organisations. Migrant organisations that are membership-based only get funding from the local authorities. This means that there are many small local migrant organisations that aim to preserve the culture and traditions from their members' country of origin. They have little political influence in the majority society.

The authorities do make clear demands to migrants to adapt to specific bureaucratic schemes. In order to be membership-based and democratically governed, the local organisations must have a minimum of internal bureaucracy. That is why migrant organisations have to learn how bureaucracy works in Norway and how they can manage their own bureaucratic affairs. The Oslo municipality's Unit for Diversity and Integration (EMI) gives the organisations elaborate training in how to administer a formal organisation in Norway. The authorities strongly control to what extent migrant organisations fulfil the administrative requirements set to volunteer organisations in Norway, such as writing statutes and activity reports. If a migrant organisation wants to cooperate with or get funding from the municipality, its leadership thus has to adapt to Norwegian administrative practices. These practices are embedded in cultural traditions and national identity. Take concludes that migrant organisations' adaptation to Norwegian bureaucratic schemes has become the most central part of political integration.

Take's work provides many valuable insights in the interactions between migrant organisations and the municipal authorities, particularly the effects of funding requirements and administrative training. Her study is well embedded in the scholarly literature and her conclusions are credible. Besides, the book is a good read. Take writes in an accessible style without doing harm to the complexity of the matter. This makes her book also valuable for undergraduate and postgraduate students who are looking for a concise introduction to the scholarly debates about (among others) integration, multiculturalism, citizenship, political representation and transnationalism.

The book has one minor weakness that results from the choice of source material. The material regarding the local organisations

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consists mainly of statutes and funding applications (and a number of interviews with the organisations' leadership). An in-depth study of the organisations' inner life was outside the framework of this study. The book thereby gives insights in the formal purposes of the organisations, but not on their actual achievements regarding the political participation of individual members. The question to what extent migrant organisations function as schools in democracy is therefore not fully answered.

Nevertheless, there are few books in the market that provide such a strong analysis of the interactions between local migrant organisations and the municipal authorities. On top of that, it is well written and highly informative. In short, it is a must-read for anyone interested in migrant organisations and/or political integration.

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**Voloder, Lejla & Kirpitchenko, Liudmila (eds.) (2014) *Insider Research on Migration and Mobility. International Perspectives on Researcher Positioning*, Farnham & Burlington: Ashgate. 206 pp.**

In *Insider Research on Migration and Mobility* editors Lejla Voloder and Liudmila Kirpitchenko bring together 11 case studies exploring different aspects of being and becoming an insider when conducting field research. The book does not attempt to offer a fixed definition of what constitutes insider research. Instead, it poses the question of what it means to be an insider in a research context as its starting point. With case studies focussing mainly on Australia and Europe, the chapters explore the processes through which insiderness emerges during the research encounter and look at how researcher positioning influences the research process as well as shapes knowledge production. Lejla Voloder's introduction focussing on theoretical considerations concerning insider research sets the tone of the volume. The subsequent chapters, while drawing on rich ethnographic material, never lose sight of the conceptual, ethical and epistemic implications of conducting insider research.

The book is organised around three central themes. Part I addresses the multi-layered and context-dependent nature of insiderness. The chapters in this section focus on negotiating insiderness in research settings where the researcher would not necessarily be considered an evident insider. They explore the role of research participants in drawing and re-drawing the boundaries between insiderness and outsidership that sometimes take different shape than expected. Michele Lobo anticipated that years of living in Australia would go some way towards making her an insider when conducting research on intercultural encounters in public spaces in the Australian city of Darwin. However, as a Melbournian, she was deemed an outsider as a southern Australian in a northern city. Instead, her Indian background and migrant status was what enabled her to connect with Aboriginal research participants. It was their 'position outside white hegemonic space as Indigenous and migrant ... that created a connection' (p. 32).

Also looking at creating connections, Farida Fozdar writes about her experience of researching interaction between Maori and white New Zealanders. As a woman of mixed Indian Parsi and American background who had spent most of her life in Australia, she thought of herself as an outsider, yet, paradoxically came to be seen as an insider by both groups. Her work highlights 'similarity and difference may be more aligned with attitudes than phenotypical features, ethnic, racial or national status' (p. 47). People look for similarities that will

enable connections across social boundaries and this 'cosmopolitan' approach is instrumental in seeing the researcher as enough of an insider to be worth engaging with.

Part II of the book looks at the ethical and methodological issues that emerge when one's research intersects with one's personal life. Derya Ozkul's chapter on her work with Turkish and Kurdish Alevi migrants in Germany is particularly interesting. Although her Turkish background could be viewed as grounds for an insider position, her membership of the Turkish Sunni majority makes her very much an outsider among a persecuted and muted religious minority. Nevertheless, Ozkul did negotiate a strong degree of insiderness. She argues that 'the emotive and sensitive proximity of the researcher to the research participants generates bodily effects, which vitalise or alienate the researcher within the research process' (p. 118). It was embodied reactions to specific events, such as outrage at a news report and the mutually familiar smell of tea and *simit* (Turkish bread ring), that connected her with the research participants and positioned her as an insider.

The final part of the volume focusses on how researcher positioning informs the production of academic knowledge, thereby highlighting its situatedness and contingency. Like Ozkul, Petra Andits argues for the recognition of the emotional aspects of fieldwork. As a Hungarian from Hungary studying Hungarians in Australia, Andits' fieldwork encounter was marked by suspicion informed by the participants' previous experiences with the Hungarian state. Andits explores how these emotional responses affected her interactions in the field and how the knowledge produced was shaped by the participants' reactions to her positioning.

Another contribution worth highlighting is Angela Lehmann's chapter on the Western expatriate community in the Chinese city of Xiamen. As someone who had been living in Xiamen as a member of this community before taking it up as a subject of study, Lehmann found herself 'negotiating a somewhat blurred ethical line' (p. 157) between friendships and informants. Her prior personal connection to the social networks she was now trying to navigate for research purposes did not facilitate her entry into the field but rather created tension, hesitancy and gossip. Yet, it was precisely these challenges created by her insider position that led Lehmann to uncover the key findings of her research.

The main strength of the volume is the way it uses specific case studies to highlight that insiderness is primarily about building and negotiating human relationships. What was identified as instrumental by the contributing authors is the importance of 'active participation in the lived experience of the group' (p. 191). Challenging the insider-outsider binary, the chapters explore the fluidity of researcher positioning. Insider status is not a position determined by the researcher's membership of a particular group, for example, ethnic or national, but rather emerges from the interaction between the researcher and the researched. The researcher's position moves along a continuum and she can be an insider one minute and an outsider the next. Proximity and difference are produced through interaction during the research encounter and what establishes one as an insider often surprises researchers themselves.

While the book brings together research looking at a wide range of migration contexts, most chapters concentrate on Europe, Australia and New Zealand. It would be interesting to compare these case studies to how the insider-outsider dynamic plays out in non-Western contexts. Lehmann's article on China is the only contribution looking at a non-Western setting; however, it deals with a Western researcher studying Western migrants. One wonders how, for example, a Chinese researcher might go about negotiating a degree

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of insidership within that particular group of people. Then again, the selection of the studies presented in the book can also be seen as a result of the researchers' personal biographies and the situated knowledge those biographies produced.

Another aspect that could be elaborated further is the authors' conceptualisation of migration and mobility that now often remains in the background. While the relevance of insider-outsider positioning is heightened in the context of migration, much of the book's findings could be applied to any research encounter. On the other hand, the general applicability of the key theoretical insights could be seen as a strength of the volume, which can be of use not only to migration scholars, but to anyone engaging in field research.

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## Notes

1. Do you want to read the book but cannot read Danish? Nina Trige Andersen is planning an English edition of the book
2. The discussion about the working life of hotel maids and other cleaners today builds on data produced in my research project L.L. Hansen 'Workers solidarity/ies – between crisis and renewal', FSE 2013-2015
3. The English translations from this book are made by the reviewer.
4. The English translations from this book are made by the reviewer

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