

Review af Peter Kivisto (2014) Religion and Immigration. Migrant Faiths in North America and Western Europe, Cambridge: Polity Press. 211 pp.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Cesari, Jocelyne (2013) *Why the West Fears Islam, An Exploration of Muslims in Liberal Democracies*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 381 pp.

The relation of Islam and Muslims with the West has been a major issue for furious debates not only in the academic circles, but in the political sphere as well. Especially after terrorist attacks in Western countries such as the last one in Paris (January 2015), the discussion about the presence of Islam in Western societies, about the integration policies of Muslim immigrants, or about the rise of Islamophobia are dominant and sometimes lead to disagreements and even conflicts. However, the rise of Islam has been highlighted already in the 1990s by Giles Kepel (1994/1991), while Samuel Huntington has been discussing the clash of civilisations since 1993. Many studies have been conducted in the meantime regarding the rise of Islamophobia, especially after the 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington (e.g. Allen 2010). Nevertheless, few studies have tried to answer the critical question: why the west fears Islam?

Why the west fears Islam is the title of the book under review. The author, Jocelyne Cesari, is a senior fellow at Georgetown's University Berkley Centre where she directs the Islam in World Politics programme. She is also the director of the Islam in the West programme based at Harvard University and has published extensively on Islam and globalisation, Islam and secularisation, immigration and religious pluralism.

The book, which is based on a 5-year research project funded by the European Commission, the MacArthur Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation, consists of two parts and seven chapters and includes 13 appendices, extensive notes, bibliography and an index. The first chapter includes a cursory review of public opinion surveys and political discourses in Europe and the United States over the last decade that actually put Islam and Muslims outside the West. This overview chapter is followed by the first part, which is entitled 'In their own voices: What is to be a Muslim and a citizen in the west'. Here the author analyses her research's findings, which are derived from 60 focus groups conducted in five cities (Paris, Amsterdam, Boston,

Berlin and London) between 2007 and 2010 and a survey conducted in Berlin in 2010. In these three chapters (2, 3 and 4) issues of identity, of group participation and of religiosity, political participation and civic engagement are being discussed. In the second part, which includes three chapters, the author analyses three main structural conditions that shape and solidify the symbolic boundaries between the West and Islam: the international context of the war on terror, especially after 9/11, the crisis of secularism and the global visibility of Salafism.

As it is stated in the introduction (p. xiv), Muslims are invisible in the West like black and Jews used to be. But in this context, invisible does not mean hidden or undetectable, since Muslims are in plain sight and highly scrutinised. It actually means people's incapacity to see and understand the reality of Muslims living in the West. However, through this book (and the project on which it is based on), the different aspects of the situation of Muslims in the West are studied and presented. The research includes policy-making analysis, empirical surveys, content analysis of political and religious discourses and mapping of existing knowledge on Muslims in Europe and the United States, combined with the production of original data (p. xv).

The book's crucial question (p. xvi) is how are the symbolic boundaries that place Islam 'outside' created or reinforced and the main goal is to combine the results and findings of existing studies with a less common examination of the collective norms and values that underline the current public discourse about Muslims. According to Cesari, this book shows that secularism is central to the European debates about Islam, while in the United States, the main issue is security in the post 9/11 context. However, after the attacks in Paris (2015) and the appearance of armed soldiers in the streets of the French capital or in Brussels, the critical question that has to be addressed is, if security has become or is going to become the main subject of the debate about Islam in Europe as well, but this is probably a question for another project and it is too early to answer it. Despite the differences that the author mentions between Europe and the United States, she stresses that this research shows that

what is at stake in both places is the challenges brought by Islam to two major secular principles, that is, private against public and collective against individual rights.

In my view, this is a very interesting and well-grounded book based both on primary and secondary data and makes it a great work on Islam in the west, discussing all the major themes that dominate public debates, for example, liberalism, secularism, terrorism, integration policies, and so on. What, I think, is more important, though, is the qualitative focus groups that were conducted in five western cities, because they give the opportunity to the reader (and the researchers of course) to come close to what Muslims themselves think and how they feel living in western countries, either born or have come as immigrants. This, in a way, is a plain description of what Cesari calls *homo islamicus* (p. 4). It is of great value to have documented Muslim's own voices, because basing our analyses on what others think about Muslims is only the one side of the coin. Furthermore, I would support the author's conclusion that the clash is not between civilisations, but between essentialised and inverted perceptions of Islam and Muslims that reinforce each other (p. 141).

In such a well-grounded work, it is difficult to find any criticism to make. Some secondary points, though, could be mentioned. The first is related to the cities selected for the research, which all belong to North and Central Europe and the United States. I think that the South could offer further insight in this project because high numbers of Muslims live there, for example, in Italy, Spain, and Greece, both nationals and immigrants. I understand that a single project cannot cover every aspect of an issue under research, especially when it is related to Muslims in the west, but I would say that a future project could include Muslim populations of the south as well. Another technical comment could be that the main text of the book stops in page 145 and is followed by approximately 160 pages of appendices. I am not implying that this is necessarily problematic, but maybe if some of the data presented in these appendices were part of the main text, it would probably make the book and its argumentation more easily accessible to the average reader. Of course, the book, in my view, addresses principally to the academic community (scholars, researchers, students) who will absolutely be benefitted both from the analysis as well as from the appendices and exhaustive notes at the end of the book. It is true that a single research is incapable of covering a research topic, but I would risk arguing that this is one of the finest works done in the field and needs to get special attention.

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Kivisto, Peter (2014) *Religion and Immigration. Migrant Faiths in North America and Western Europe*, Cambridge: Polity Press. 211 pp.

In Europe, visible religion in the form of Muslim veiling, minarets and mosques and so on on one hand and religious legitimated terrorist attacks such as the London bombing in 2005 on the other have attracted most of the attention in European research on connections between religion and immigration. In the book, *Religion and Immigration*, Peter Kivisto presents and discusses a broader approach to the role of religion in research on immigration by primarily drawing on studies from North America. Peter Kivisto is Richard A. Swanson Professor of Social Thought at Augustana College and was Finland Distinguished Professor at the University of Turku from 2009–2012. In the introduction, he points at the tendency within migration research until the beginning of the 1990s to lend much time to ethnicity, race, class, gender, and less to religion. Since the 1990s, he argues, especially research into sociology of religion has given attention to religion as a key aspect of immigration. The aim of the book is to explore the existent studies for knowledge, to identify central themes in the research, and to point at shortcomings and thus, further areas for research.

Based on thorough reading of research on religion and immigration, Kivisto leads the reader through four key aspects of this huge field of study: first, the relationship between ethnicity and religion; second, the organisational aspects of religion after immigration; third, transnational aspects of religion; fourth, the influence of the church–state relation in immigrant religion. The examples and arguments are mainly based on studies of Christian immigration, but also Hindu, and to a lesser extent, Buddhist and Muslim immigration to America with the exception of the last aspect (the church–state relation) that finds its example material from the context of Muslim immigration to Western Europe.

The overall focus is on how immigration may lead to reconfigurations of religious identity and institutions. In chapter 2, focus is on religion's role in the immigrants' identity work. Kivisto argues that three key themes have been subject of discussion within research on religion and immigration when it comes to integration and acculturation or - in other words - the preparedness to being transformed. Without using the term intersectionality, the first theme is about the relationship between religious and other identities, primarily ethnicity and gender. Of interest is the uncoupling of ethnicity from religion, not least in the second generation, and how men may keep up the leading role in church, while women challenge religious-based values. The second theme is about religion as an aspect of psychological adjustment, while the last theme in this chapter looks at immigration as a so-called theologising experiment. In the new country, religion offers refuge from alienation in the form of psychological well-being, and also respectability through religiously-based civic engagement on the one hand and a pious commitment on the other.

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In chapter 3, the perspective moves from the individual and group experiences to the organisational changes that follow from immigration. Kivisto particularly discusses R. Stephen Warner's concept of 'de facto congregationalism' (1993) with which Warner points at the immigrant religions' adaptation to a new context and its organisational structure of religious institutions. In the US, he argues, the religious pluralism facilitates a congregational order constituted by those who assemble rather than by the church hierarchy. The concept has been criticised for its US normativity and urban bias, and Kivisto adds the lack of awareness of the influence of the sending country and a more specific questioning of Warner's assumption of immigrant congregations becoming ethnically exclusive. Despite this critique, Kivisto defends Warner's approach.

Whereas many of the studies that Kivisto mentions in chapter 2 and 3 take point of departure in the context of where the immigrants reside, chapter 4 looks into transnational aspects of religion and immigration. After giving a short and precise description of the transnational turn within migration studies, he points at religion as global - or transnational - in several instances. Thus, professional immigration in the form of missionary work is also creating transnational relations. As for transnational relations due to general immigration, he builds his argument on Peggy Levitt's categorisation of three different transnational models (2004): extended, negotiated, and recreated transnational religious organisations. The extended type refers to already global religious organisations like the Catholic Church that integrates immigrant groups in its well-established networks. The negotiated type applies to religious groups with a shorter institutional history that emerge organically from below rather than top-down, while the third type is already established religious traditions that are relocated or transplanted into a new national context. Kivisto uses this tripartition to present different types of transnational religious groups, emphasising the need of awareness of the particularities of different religious immigrant groups due to different faith, different national origin and the religious landscape of receiving countries.

Yet another level of complexity is added in the final thematic chapter (chapter 5) that explores the influence of the church-state relationship on immigrant religion, emphasising that the role of the state is not levelled despite what appears as increasing cross-national connections and influences. In particular, Kivisto discusses the possibilities for immigrants to practice their religion depending on the national context. He argues that existent research seems to address immigrant religion as a particular challenge to Europe due to its secularism and state-religion models. Especially, Islam and Muslims are examined as contestants of the European secular model. Thus, the chapter describes how religion (read: Islam) becomes a barrier because of the religion-state relationship of the receiving countries, and what follows of Islamophobia and prejudices.

The book gives a very welcome and unique introduction to relevant research perspectives on religion and immigration useful for students as well as researchers within studies of religion and studies of migration. Kivisto leads the reader competently into a huge research literature, while also pointing at the need for more theoretical development. Despite many ethnographic case studies in the American context, the theorising is very much embedded in time and place, or in other words, in religion and (national) context. This case and context-bound theory is not necessarily easy to directly apply on other contexts, Kivisto argues. Occasionally, he also points at relevant methodological issues such as the tendency to study immigrant religion among the active participants of denominations and institutions while ignoring the everyday life religion.

Only one concern should be raised and that is the placement of immigrant religion as trouble in a Muslim-in-Europe context. I am not contesting Kivisto's argument that this approach recently and predominantly has been explored in a European context. However, it leaves the impression that immigrant religion, or more specifically Islam in Europe, is trouble while it in North America is in harmony. To point at the national contexts as crucial for how religion is reconfigured due to immigration is, of course, of greatest importance. However, I find it unfortunate that Europe becomes - I assume unintentionally - the epitome of anti-religion and anti-Muslim sentiments, without discussing why the same problem seems not to be explored to the same degree in North America. Hence, it would have been interesting with a more critical discussion of the research approaches and their genealogy; for instance, why the chosen example material on religion in Europe primarily appears as political analyses, and even includes anti-Muslim immigration studies written by journalists, compared to the example material on North America, which is mainly ethnographical. Furthermore, I would have loved to learn more about the growing literature on Muslim practices and institutions in Europe that has a sociological or ethnographic approach and not least how it differs from or is similar to American findings. Maybe this is precisely the strength of the book. It presents a knowledge that invites for further comparison and exploration across diverse contexts and faiths and offers a profound and empirical rich material that helps the reader navigating within the research field of religion and immigration.

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Könnilä, Paula (2014) *Sisua ja mañanaa. Suomalaiset Espanjan Aurinkorannikolla*¹, Turku: Siirtolaisinstituutti/Institute of Migration. 431 pp.

There are tens of thousands of North Europeans who have moved to Spain in search for a better climate, cheaper living costs and more relaxed life compared to their countries of origin. This book investigates the lives of Finnish people on the Costa del Sol. The book aims to find out how they live and how they define and experience Finnish and Spanish cultures. One of the main goals of the book is to show that the community of Finns on the Costa del Sol is much more diverse than it has usually been thought. Although the majority of Finns on the Costa del Sol are retirees, this book also investigates the lives and views of youth and of people of working age. Paula Könnilä, the author, estimates the number of permanent and seasonal Finnish migrants on the Costa del Sol to be about 16,000 people (of whom about 7500 are permanent residents) and she has included in her study people who stay in the area either permanently or for over 3 months a year. Könnilä divides the Finns on the Costa del Sol into four categories: permanent migrants, transnational migrants (who have an open option to return to Finland), seasonal migrants and super-tourists who spend 3-month-long vacations in Spain.

A general goal of the study is stated to be finding information on the Finnish migration to the Costa del Sol and on the life changes that the migration causes them. The research questions include why Finns have moved to the Costa del Sol, how their lives have changed when they have moved there, their future plans as well as their experiences of identity, cultural adjustment and welfare. The research material consists of a survey of 540 respondents (54% response rate) and 50 interviews. In addition, Könnilä claims to use ethnographic material. There are 11 empirical chapters in the book: Finns on the Spanish Costa del Sol; Motivations and migration, Finnishness; the New living environment and new habits; Identity and adjustment; Social networks and interaction; Welfare and the quality of life; Youth; Work and Entrepreneurship in Spain; As an elderly person abroad; and Planning the Future.

Könnilä defines the study to belong to social sciences - in between social psychology, sociology, social policy and ethnography. The book has over 400 pages and it provides a remarkable information package on the lives and views of Finnish people on the Costa del Sol. The data gathering process is impressive - it is clear that a lot of time and effort have been put into the study. As Könnilä states, existing research on Finns on the Costa del Sol is outdated and this book provides an extensive account of the contemporary situation, including the recent economic crisis in Spain that has obviously affected the lives of Finns there as well.

The study states that climate is the main reason for why Finns move to the Costa del Sol. People also consider life to be healthier and more interesting there than in the cold Finland. The existence of a Finnish school facilitates the migration of families with children. Many have also moved because they have family and friends in the

area. The respondents claim that their lifestyles have become more active and more social once they moved to Spain and they have more hobbies there. People also state to have adjusted well into Spanish culture. Most are content with their lives and living arrangements in Spain, although many complain about the disputes within the Finnish community there. More than half of the respondents are planning to live part of the year in Spain also in the future.

Könnilä writes that although the Finnish people on the Costa del Sol mostly socialise with other Finns, they also have contacts with Spanish people and most have studied some Spanish although only about 10% claim so speak it well. A central theme in the book is the Finnish identity and how it becomes defined and even strengthened in Spain. Above all, Finns become defined as honest and strong; they have the guts to survive even difficult situations. The Spanish *mañana* mentality is described as a cultural characteristic that is difficult for the Finnish people to adjust to although at the same time, the Finnish respondents appreciate the fact that Spanish lifestyle is more relaxed than the Finnish one. The book also contains recommendations for how to improve the lives of Finnish people on the Costa del Sol. The recommendations include providing inexpensive interpretation services, a central information desk, a subsidised Finnish retirement home and improvements in the functioning of the European social insurance card.

The book provides a detailed report on the lives and views of Finns on the Costa del Sol. A few aspects of it are, however, somewhat problematic. Certain theoretical frameworks are introduced (for example, transnationalism and identity) but the literature references are limited and rather old and there is no overall theoretical framework for the whole study. In fact, the book is more descriptive than analytical: the survey responses and the interview talk are taken as a truth without further analysis. The book also contains rather essentialising views on Finnishness and Spanishness and it would have been useful to deconstruct these discourses. Moreover, class differences are not taken into account at all, which is a shortcoming. The study pays surprisingly little attention to possible problems that Finnish people on the Costa del Sol have. It is emphasised that there is a need for a social worker and for inexpensive interpreter services but there is not much information on why these improvements are needed; what are the problems that lie behind such requests. A more analytical approach would have deepened the outcome of the book and using more ethnographic material, which the author claims to have, would have been useful in this respect. For example, it is mentioned that the Finnish people have adjusted well to the Spanish culture; ethnographic examples would have made this argument more convincing. How does this adjustment appear in their everyday lives? We now rely on what people reply in survey answers or say in interviews but we do not know what they actually do in their everyday lives. Moreover, the fact that the author is a long-term resident on the Costa del Sol herself should have been reflected on more carefully as her role as an insider may have affected her conclusions.

Könnilä defines the Finns on the Costa del Sol as migrants but I am not convinced that this definition is the most appropriate one. The main weakness of the book is that it has no reference at all to the quickly expanding research literature on lifestyle migration (see e.g. Benson & O'Reilly 2009; Benson & Osbaldiston 2014). Lifestyle migration refers to a phenomenon where citizens of affluent industrialised nations move abroad in order to find a 'better quality of life', usually in places with warm climates and cheap living costs. There is particularly rich literature on lifestyle migration to Spain, for example, Per Gustafson (2008) has written on Swedish in Spain and Karen O'Reilly (2000) on British on the Costa del Sol (for a bibliography on lifestyle migration literature, see for example <http://www.uta.fi/yky/lifestylemigration/bibliography.html>), yet this book makes no reference to that literature. This lack of references is somewhat justified by the emphasis of the book on Finnishness but locating this study into the field of lifestyle migration studies would have given the book more relevance than merely informing Finnish people of the lives of Finns on the Costa del Sol. After all, there are people of several other nationalities - for example, Germans, British and Swedish - who are leading the same lifestyle and face similar joys and challenges in Spain.

Although the study can be criticised as an academic research, such criticism is perhaps somewhat unjustified. This study is not intended for (lifestyle) migration scholars but for Finnish people who live on the Costa del Sol, plan to move there or who want to know about the lives of Finnish people there. The target audience becomes clear already in the choice of the language: the book is written in Finnish. The book is also a useful source of information for policy makers and administrators who need to manage the consequences of this increasingly popular phenomenon. In spite of the fact that the book contains some repetition and errors in compound words and syllabic writing, the clear writing style gives it potential to reach an audience outside the academia, which presumably has been the goal from the beginning.

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Silbereisen, Rainer K., Titzmann, Peter F. & Shavit, Yossi (eds.) (2014) *The Challenges of Diaspora Migration: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Israel and Germany*, Farnham: Ashgate. 327 pp.

Diasporas and their homelands - an issue that never goes out of fashion with researchers, and the book under review shows for very good reasons. Despite the comprehensive research that exists on diasporas who yearn for the homeland, who fantasise about their homeland, who are torn, who return, and lately, how nation states with substantial diasporic populations like Israel and Germany attempt to manage these the multiple facets of (presumed and actual) home countries, diasporic binds, policy, and identities offer an amazing amount of research foci to which this edited volume offers a substantial contribution. The *Challenges of Diaspora Migrations* allows crucial insight by focussing on challenges faced by diasporic 'returnees' in their (presumed) ancestral, homelands from a psycho-social perspective, and by specifically zooming in on the effects of 'homecoming' for adolescent 'returnees.' The richness of the volume certainly benefits from the areas of expertise of the editors: Yossi Shavit is a sociologist, the background of Rainer Silbereisen is psychology, and Peter Tietzmann is a sociologist who specialises in human development, and studies of adolescence.

The geographical focus of the volume lies on Germany and Israel in comparative perspective. Based on the *raison d'être* of these two countries, they invite the immigration of those they define as ethnic Germans and ethnic Jews, respectively, by way of their legal frameworks. With the breakdown of the Soviet Union, both Jews and Germans left in unprecedented numbers for Israel and Germany. Yet, the experiences of both countries vividly demonstrate that the mere categorical vehicle of 'ethnic' German or Jewish descent is a rather dubious concept as the 'returnees' showcased that settling in the 'homeland' is beset by a whole batch of problems due to differences to the native German and veteran Israeli populations (however, incoherent and internally diverse these are), and that tensions as well as disappointments come into existences between the immigrants and the veteran populations as both groups assumed the existence of more similarities than actually exist in reality. This rather clouded view bases on the specific meta-narratives that underpin construction of both the national identities in common discourse and in the legal sphere in both case studies. The authors of the different chapters of this book do diaphora and migration studies a great favour with their in-depth approaches that dismantle the myth of a shared ethnicity as an assumed panacea, as their careful analysis offers to clues to policy makers as well as social workers and legal professionals who deal with the problems caused - at times unwittingly - by the immigrants.

The book is broken down in four parts along the core themes: societal integration (part I), transition and adjustment upon immigration (part II), transitions within the country and future option (part III) and implications for research and policy (part IV). The first part offers insights into the specifics of co-ethnic immigration to

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Israel and Germany, respectively and the reasons that underpin the decision to immigrate. While for experts of either country, this part offers little novel insights, it is important for all those who are not country experts. By this token, the structure of the volume makes it suitable for non-country experts alike, which is commendable. The first three chapters of the second part go into the depth of language acquisition as a parameter within the adjustment process; the next three delve into different aspects of the well-being of diasporic immigrants. Of particular interest is the focus on adolescents that runs through all chapters. While the introduction did already drive attention to the generational differences between the immigrants and the following chapter clarified that while children and adolescents are massively impacted by their family's migration, the decision to migrate is not theirs. What this means in detail comes through in two chapters of section two in particular. These two chapters look in detail at problematic behaviours of adolescent immigrants. Chaya Koren and Steffen Zdun focus on everyday experiences of violent and non-violent male adolescents. This comparative focus allows understanding parameters that support specific behaviours, and by the same token, their finds can be used to design programmes to prevent or ameliorate existing violence. In the following chapter, Steffen Zdun follows up on this trope further and assesses desistence and persistence of delinquency amongst male adolescent.

The third part offers equally fascinating insights: three out of its five chapters examined different aspects of romantic relationships of adolescents. Two chapters deal with expectations of immigrants compared to natives/veterans in Germany and Israel, respectively, while the last chapter asks if acculturation can modify ethnic differences. Bernhard Nauck and Anja Steinbach deliver the gem of the volume: despite its quantitative focus, the sheer intimacy that the respondents were willing to share seeps through and furthermore, the chapter offers some very interesting results due to the comprehensive scope of the research agenda. One striking result is that ethnic German immigrants engaged in romantic relationships with members of the majority and their own minority group alike, while Jewish immigrants in Israel sought out partners that belonged to the Hebrew-speaking majority. Language, the researchers found is a key parameter to understand what underpins the encounters. The more advanced the language level of the immigrants, the more likely they are to engage with the majority. Language, the researchers found, is an actual and symbolic vehicle. Comparatively, Turkish adolescents and Arabic-speaking Israelis follow the opposite pattern: they seek out partners who have the same language background from their own minority, due to lacking a 'shared' language with German and Hebrew speakers, respectively - with language being used as symbolic means of distinction.

The final part offers valuable policy recommendations by drawing attention to specifics of the immigrations to Israel and Germany and putting them into a comparative context to undo the myth of the uniqueness of the diasporic immigration in both countries. In their contribution, Leyendecker *et al.* focus on immigrant parents who so

far were in the undercurrent of the book. The authors argue forcefully to support the parents in raising bilingual immigrant children. The reasoning of the researchers is as logical as compelling: this way, the children and the parents keep a shared language and the familial bond remains intact, it is not severed into creating helpless immigrant parents, and well-adjusted children of immigrants, but it creates an equilibrium within the family unit that enables communication and decreases the risk of marginalisation, alienation and non-understanding between members of the same family. The last chapter ties in with this very humanistic approach: it outlines general social policy implication and lessons that can be learned from the mass migration of ethnic Germans and Jews.

Overall, this volume allows for extremely valuable insights, although the focus of the book on adolescents is not clear from the title, unfortunately, which might lead to some researchers of childhood and adolescents overlooking a volume that stands out as one of its kind. The editors managed to pull chapters together that allow to understand specifics of the immigration to Germany and Israel but they did not forget the wider, comparative context. While this makes the volume accessible to other experts of migration or diaspora studies, this volume is not an easy read: one needs an advanced understanding of migration theory, and a firm grasp on social research methods to enjoy what is on offer in detail because the research is quantitatively based and the arguments as well as detailed figures presuppose a comprehensive background to enjoy them in their fascinating details. For this reason, the volume offers great points of discussions with students to showcase both theory, and methods, while for professional researchers themselves, the sheer richness makes for a challenging yet, extremely rewarding read.

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Vilaça, Helena, Pace, Enzo, Furseth, Inger & Petterson, Per (eds.) (2014) *The Changing Soul of Europe: Religions and Migrations in Northern and Southern Europe*, Farnham: Ashgate. 265 pp.

The Changing Soul of Europe is the latest addition to a series produced under the auspices of the Arts and Humanities Research Council and Economic and Social Research Council, Religion and Society Programme - a large programme of interdisciplinary work, comprising 75 research projects looking at religion across the world in historical and contemporary perspectives. Numerous studies have established the important relationship between religion and migration in terms of supporting migratory processes, influencing experiences of migrant settlement and affecting transformations in religious practice in sending and destination societies (Hagan & Ebaugh 2003; Levitt 2007). The aim of this volume - a collection of 12 essays from scholars based in a number of European countries, edited by Helena Vilaça, Enzo Pace, Inger Furseth and Per Petterson - is to

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explore this relationship in the context of Southern and Northern European (Nordic) migrant-receiving societies. The rationale for this dual geographic focus is explained clearly and convincingly. These are areas of Europe with important differences in terms of their historical religious traditions (Protestantism in the Nordic countries and Catholicism or Orthodoxy in the South), the relationship between religion and the state and its nation-building projects and secularisation trends amongst 'native' and established populations.

Furthermore, these are regions with significantly different migration histories.

The Nordic countries have emerged since the fall of the Soviet Union as important immigration destination countries, with the scope of this immigration becoming increasingly wide from the early 1990s as a result of globalisation processes and these states' comparatively generous asylum and refugee resettlement policies. In contrast, the Southern European states covered in the volume - Italy, Portugal and Greece - were until recently known as countries of emigration. But while emigration levels (particularly amongst the young) remain high following the financial crisis, these states are now also countries of immigration for Eastern and Central Europeans as well as for those fleeing war, persecution and poverty in more distant climes. Despite these key differences, the editors argue that the Nordic and Southern Mediterranean regions have, in common with other European states, a 'soul' dominated by Christianity and expressed in a physical landscape of Christian religious buildings and calendars based around Christian holy days and festivals. Immigration is altering this 'soul' and the multiple modes and forms that this alteration takes are the focus of the individual chapters of the volume.

The volume is arranged into two sections. The first sets out to provide a general examination of theoretical issues surrounding the topic of religion and migration, while the second section is empirical in focus, consisting of nine chapters, of which each explores a different facet of religion and migration in a Nordic or Southern European context. Turning first to the opening theoretical section; the contribution by Enzo Pace provides a welcome reminder that we should not alone be interested in the study of migration and religion from a particular perspective of sociology of religion, but rather should consider these phenomena as a 'bifocal lens' through which to examine social change, as 'religion and migration actually reveal the intensity and complexity of the social change we are facing' (p. 11). While Pace's metaphor of 'the four knights of the Apocalypse' is rather opaque, the discussion it frames offers useful insights into the variety of forms that the conflict, transformation and hybridisation that may result from immigration-associated religious practices can take in different societal contexts. The second contribution from José Madureira Pinto is presented as a response to Pace, troubling some of the arguments made within the preceding chapter's 'knights of the Apocalypse' section and introducing a discussion of the economic structures of destination states as an important factor in shaping migrants' religious practices and their societal impacts. This focus on state policies is carried through into

the contribution from Tuomas Martikainen, who provides a helpful general discussion of the 'context of reception' as a determinant of migrant religious incorporation, in terms of state policies around immigrant inclusion, welfare state structures and church-state relations. The chapter closes with a case study, which applies the theoretical discussion thus far to observation of immigrant religious incorporation in Finland - for example, Finland's comprehensive welfare state has meant that churches (and immigrant churches) have traditionally had limited involvement in delivering welfare services in a way that differs from those states with less generous welfare provision.

This brief focus on the Finnish example segues nicely into the second, empirical section of the volume. Although rather uneven in terms of length and level of analytical detail, this is an interesting selection of case studies dealing with the religious incorporation of migrants from a range of national backgrounds and religious traditions. The volume's editors identify that much of the public discourse and academic scholarship around immigration and religious change in Europe has focussed on Islam and the volume attempts to correct this bias by incorporating a majority of empirical chapters focussed around immigrants from non-Islamic cultures (Annalisa Frisina's and Inger Furseth's respective contributions on young Muslim women in Italy and Norway are exceptions). Instead, most of the chapters whose focus is the experience of a particular ethnic or religious group of migrants deal with those of various Christian backgrounds; including Catholic Byzantine and Orthodox East Europeans (Helena Vilaça), Latin American Catholics (Roberta Ricucci), Brazilian Evangelicals (Donizete Rodrigues), and Orthodox Ethiopians and Eritreans (Anne Kubai), while the chapter from Jørn Borup includes the Vietnamese Buddhist experience in Denmark. A notable omission is any consideration of the religious incorporation of non-Muslim South Asian migrants; a group whom authors such as Jacobsen (2008) have identified as amongst the most publicly visible new religious presence in Nordic states.

As well as giving attention to a variety of ethnic and national groups, the chapters highlight not only migrant incorporation and religious transformation in religious institutions themselves, but also in sites such as schools (Per Petterson), and the street and other public spaces of leisure and consumption (Frisina and Furseth), supporting Pace's earlier assertion of religion and migration as a 'bifocal lens' through which to consider broader processes of societal change. The case studies reveal a varied picture of degrees and modes of migrants' religious incorporation, focussing both on the changing nature of migrants' religious practices and organisation, as well as the changes migration effects on established faith institutions within destination societies. Elisabeth A. Diamantopoulou's discussion of the impact Greece's new status as a state of immigration has had on debates around shifting the Greek Orthodox Church from an 'ethnocentric ideology' towards 'a principle of ecumenicity of Christianity' is particularly interesting in this regard (pp. 74-75), while a strong contribution from Kubai considers the complex ways

in which African congregations within Swedish churches operate as 'arenas for inclusion in exclusion' (p. 157).

Given the focus placed on the role of 'destination context' - for example, welfare state models - in Pinto's and Martikainen's earlier theoretical contributions, it is a little surprising to not see these ideas discussed in more detail in some of the empirical chapters. It would have been fascinating, for example, to learn how the economic collapse of Greece, EU-imposed extreme austerity and the associated rise of xenophobic groups such as Golden Dawn had impacted on migrants' religious incorporation. Similarly, the volume's concluding chapter, while doing a good job of drawing out important themes from the individual contributions, does not adequately follow through on the earlier promise to explore how the differing contexts of migration, state-religion relationship, secularisation and welfare state models of Nordic and Southern European states impact on the religious incorporation of migrants. Some explicit (even if brief) comments on this from the editors would have provided a stronger note on which to close the volume and added to its overall cohesiveness. Overall though, this is a very interesting and readable collection of essays that sheds new light on some lesser-known contexts of migrant religiosity in Europe and will be a valuable addition to the libraries of students and scholars concerned both with the individual Southern and Northern European contexts under study as well as those with more general interests in migration, religion and the societal changes the relationship between these phenomena may engender.

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Notes

1. The title of the book in English: *Guts and mañana. Finns on the Spanish Costa del Sol*. All English translations are made by the reviewer.

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