

Review of Akman, Haci (ed.) (2014) Negotiating Identity in Scandinavia. Women, Migration and the Diaspora, New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books. 196 pp.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Akman, Haci (ed) (2014) *Negotiating Identity in Scandinavia. Women, Migration and the Diaspora*, New York & Oxford: Berghahn. 196 pp.

The book, *Negotiating Identity in Scandinavia. Women, Migration and the Diaspora*, addresses the issue of gender as a central theme in the study of migration and diaspora. The contributions are written by Scandinavian researchers from different disciplines with Associate Professor Haci Akman from Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion, University of Bergen, as the editor. The contributions offer diverse perspectives on the influence of gender on practices, positions and possibilities of women with either a migration history of their own or as inscribed in the migrant category due to their family history.

Three themes appear central across the book. First, one dominant perspective is how the policies and discourses on and discrimination of migrant women, particularly Muslim women, influence their identity negotiations and belongings. Thus, the articles by Pia Karlsson Minganti, Rikke Andreassen and Malene Fenger-Grøndahl all reflect on how the Muslim woman wearing a hijab becomes a symbol used by ongoing feminism discussions on freedom of women. In the discussions, the Muslim woman is positioned as either not free or freer in diaspora depending on the position of the debaters. A consequence of inscribing the Muslim woman in these debates is that they continuously need to defend themselves as Muslims living in a Scandinavian country while enjoying the possibilities of this context. Minganti suggests using Homi Bhabha's concept of 'third space' (Bhabha 1990) to understand how younger Swedish Muslim women explore and negotiate Muslim patriarchal structures as well as Swedish ideas of freedom. Her suggestion is not to understand these two positions as only a contradiction but rather as a potential for creating a third space. The idea of a particular Scandinavian freedom of gender appears as a kind of backdrop in all articles and informs as such also another theme across the contributions.

This second theme raises the question of how migration leads to new positions for women in diaspora as for artistic, political, educational and labour participation. Haci Akman gives the example of the Kurdish artist, Kwestan Jamal Ali, who in Norway uses her position in diaspora to speak up against oppression in her paintings. Mino Alinia points at new possibilities for Kurdish women in Sweden who, contrary to men, appear to enjoy social upwards mobility and new opportunities of influence as political activists. The same approach is repeated in Malene Fenger-Grøndahl's fascinating

portrait of Maria, a Chilean refugee in Denmark. Maria was not only educated in Denmark, but also found her own voice as an activist freed from traditional patriarchal structures prevalent among the activists in Chile. Also, Kariane Westrheim, Bolette Moldenhawer and Tina Kallehave in different ways examine the influence of education on diasporic identities. They demonstrate how access to freedom and equality in the Scandinavian context at the same time is structured and enclosed by territorial and ethno-racial stigmatisation, to use the words used by Moldenhawer.

A third theme that is discussed, by some of the contributors, is how to conceptualise and understand the concept of diaspora and the role of gender in that context. There is no consensus on how to (re)conceptualise the diaspora and not all authors relate to the concept analytically. Those who explicitly address the concept, in general terms, agree to keep the traditional emphasis on the relationship to a real or imagined homeland. Thus, to them, this relationship becomes identity and community formative. Without referring to the diaspora concept as such, Bolette Moldenhawer addresses the influence of having relations with both the country of origin and the country of residence by drawing on a conceptualisation of 'migrants' by Abdelmalek Sayad (2004) as 'simultaneously agents of emigration and immigration'. Hence, Moldenhawer emphasises identity formation as 'coming to terms with one's history of emigration and immigration' (p. 156). The lack of relating this definition of migrants' identity formation to a more traditional understanding of diaspora is unfortunately characteristic of the discussions across the contributions. The emphasis on the three concepts of the subtitle: women, migration and diaspora, differs considerably. Sometimes diaspora is just introduced as a word, which just as well could have been migrancy or exile, and sometimes the discussions on, for example, Muslim women is so general that it would apply to Muslim men as well. Also, the concept of migrant is in the title presented as a cover term that does not always seem appropriate when applied to people born and raised in Scandinavia. It is not clear if this is the reason for, for example, Minganti and Andreassen with their focus on younger Muslim women not to use the diaspora concept, or if the diaspora term more generally does not add to the discussion on Muslim identity formation in contrast to ethnic identity formation like Kurdish identity.

The book adds to literature on migration, transnationalism, diaspora and gender studies. Although gender has received increasing attention in studies of Muslims – often connected to migration – there is still a tendency to examine processes of migration

from the perspective of men, not least in the Scandinavian context. Thus, the idea of looking more into the role of the female migrant is relevant in order to understand how diaspora identities are formed not only by the belonging to both country of origin and country of residence, but also by gender. While each contribution of the book is interesting to read and some invite for new conceptualisations (like Moldenhawer), it is not always easy to identify a shared ground for discussion. Consequently, it is not a shared discussion of conceptualisation that makes the book worth reading. Rather, it is the empirical cases analysed in each chapter that present insightful readings of the conditions and circumstances that women migrants meet in a Scandinavian context. As for the influence of Scandinavia, this is not discussed explicitly, but as already suggested, two aspects of the Scandinavian context are touched upon in most articles: freedom on the one hand and discrimination and marginalisation on the other. The book invites the reader to explore how women with a migrant story of a sort navigate these two aspects and in the process of navigating, negotiate their identity as women with a migrant story.

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Faist, Thomas, Fauser, Margit & Reisenauer, Eveline (2013) *Transnational Migration*, Cambridge: Polity Press. 209 pp.

Introductory in nature, *Transnational Migration* offers short and insightful chapters that detail the conceptual essence of transnational migration as a field of study; the diverse units of analyses within the field and the multiple methodological routes to apprehend the field's enormity. *Transnational Migration* is timely, as over the past two decades, social scientists inclusive of sociologists, anthropologists and historians have been embroiled in understanding transnationalism or what the editors of the book, Thomas Faist, Margit Fauser and Eveline Reisenauer, refer to as transnationalisation. In the text, transnationalisation is preferred to transnationalism as the former delineates the processual nature of transnational migration. Closely linked to globalisation, transnationalisation or transnational migration underscores the varied social, economic, religious and political linkages created between 'here' and 'there', between two or more places, between home and host countries. Rather disparate, the literature on and conceptualisation of transnational migration needed a coherent guide into the meatier aspects thereof. Faist *et al.*'s text offers this guide. Pressing concerns in the text are the authors' attempt to disinvest migration theorists of the idea that the state as a geographical space is coterminous with the nation or other socio-political groups. As noted, transnational migrants demonstrate that the container of the state is not the unit of analysis, but rather a variable to be considered as part of the transnational social space created through migrants' transnationality – their socio-psychological, economic, religious and political activities between and across spaces. Contemporary migrants' networks criss-cross the globe in multiple ways. Faist *et al.* (2013) emphasise that these networks are not merely restricted to national or ethnic configurations as contemporary transmigrants create religious and political networks that transcend localised spaces or locations.

A conundrum that Faist *et al.* (2013) are unable to avoid, despite Faist's fine history in transnational migration studies, is a discussion of 'States and Citizens' (Chapter 6). In spite of their careful argument that transnational studies are not restricted by methodological transnationalism¹ and thus that the focus on nationality (to the near exclusion of other groupings in transnational studies) is questionable, the authors cannot avoid a discussion thereof precisely because the world as created by humans and reported by social scientists is bound, structured and divided by geography. This national division (arbitrary in many ways as a result of various colonisations and hence amalgamations of territories) embellishes the 'anomaly' that is transnationality, as states as containers of movement and socio-political activities, are arguably responsible for their citizens. The depth of this responsibility is brought into question by transnational movement as citizenship, the rights attached thereto and the obligations of the state towards its citizens and vice versa, become malleable. Transnational citizens are thus created as states recognise the value of citizens' social and economic remittances, particularly for emigrant countries of the south. This recognition translates into dual citizenship as further defined by respective states. In essence, transnationalisation speaks to humanity's reach as collectives and individuals made possible through globalisation. In the Anthropocene where humans have had an inordinate impact on the earth's ecological system, transnational studies highlight the myriad ways in which people connect across the world bringing south and north together and furthering links within the south.² While Faist *et al.* (2013) focus on economic and political reasons for movement, our movements are also impacted by ecological forces that in recent times are creating far-reaching transnational movements such as the Occupy Movement.³

Interestingly, Faist *et al.* (2013) consider similar movements in the final chapter, 'Transnationalising Civil Society' (Chapter 8), although these movements are peculiar to migrants' political and religious associations. Here, they argue that civil society as separate from the state, the family and the market offers a means to create, as argued by Antonio Gramsci, counter-hegemonic forces (Gramsci & Forgacs 1988). And yet, as they posit, civil society should not be conceptualised or radicalised as a 'repair shop' for the disease in modern society. Given the concise nature of the text, an elaboration on how diverse civil societies across the globe might create a groundswell towards a collectively humane and ecologically sustainable world order is impossible. Yet the possibility inherent in cultural and other changes wrought through and by migration for emigration and immigration countries is alluded to. This possibility is an interesting niche area for further investigation. As the authors intimate, 'The world across borders is constituted by transnational practices and this implies a research agenda tracing such practices' (p. 180).

Faist *et al.* (2013) argue that transnational research is strengthened through a research toolkit that is not bifurcated into qualitative and quantitative research. The authors speak about the importance of using both research designs to establish the scale of transnational migration and the content of transnationality. This 'mixed methods approach' underscores the need for 1) more biographical data on transmigrants, 2) a research focus across generations of migrants and stayers, 3) longitudinal research and 4) a comparison between generations of migrants and stayers to configure the longitudinal expression of transnationality (see Chapter 3). Academically, the authors thus encourage the crossing of seemingly rigid disciplinary boundaries.

A drawback of the book is the focus on south to north migration. In their favour, the authors state from the onset that their focus is

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particular to the south–north nexus. However, this recognition is insufficient to detract from the over-emphasis in transnational literature on south–north migration, or the stereotypical representations of transmigrants as moving from developing states to developed states. This bias effectively obfuscates the interconnected and bidirectional nature of contemporary migration. It further perpetuates the notion that all transmigrants are marginal in their home countries, whether so defined through class, race, sexuality, gender and/or landlessness. The bias denies the narratives of, for example, Aihwa Ong's (1999) interlocutors who live transnational lives by virtue of their transnational employment. In spite of this bias, the text remains seminal in the ever-expanding field of transnationalisation.

In short, *Transnational Migration*, as a readable and easily digested text, provides a concise history of transnationalisation and potentials for furthering contemporary research in the field. As Faist *et al.* (2013: 23) imply, transnationalisation remains an important field of research because 'migrants are continually engaged in translating languages, cultures, norms and social and symbolic ties'. The world is changing apace and migrants are often at the forefront of these changes. *Transnational Migration* is thus appropriate for entry level students who need to acquaint themselves with the conceptual framing of transnationalism/transnationalisation. Further, more advanced students, transnational theorists, fieldworkers and social scientists working in the field of transmigration will find this text a handy reference tool in their search to make further sense of a world and 'cultures' on the move.

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Hirvi, Laura (2013) *Identities in Practice. A Trans-Atlantic Ethnography of Sikh Immigrants in Finland and in California*. Studia Fennica Ethnologica 15, Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. 185 pp.

Identities in Practice is an ethnographic account of the process of identity construction, based on ethnologist Laura Hirvi's doctoral research with transnational Sikhs. A book that links diverse geographical and theoretical realms, it brings together content from her fieldwork with Sikh immigrants in Finland and the United States, and places it within an analytical framework on identity, transnationalism, diaspora and practice theory. Hirvi's main argument is that everyday attitudes and practices such as those pertaining to work, dress, religion and life-cycle rituals play a crucial role in the construction of identity – particularly in a transnational context. To quote Pnina Werbner (2005: 471), 'present theorisations of diaspora fail to engage adequately with the constitutive relations between intellectual creativity, diasporic quotidian popular culture, subjective consciousness and political action'. *Identities in Practice* can be considered to be a part of the growing canon of research that contributes towards redressing this oversight.

As outlined in the introduction, Hirvi's major goals are: first, to arrive at a better understanding of why Sikhs migrate, and second, to examine how the experience of migration affects people's daily lives and their sense of identity. The book is divided into seven

chapters: the first three chapters tackle the first question, while the remaining chapters attempt to answer the second. The introduction 'sets the scene' and gives a detailed insight into the theoretical and geographical context of the book, with a reflexive description of the process and the politics of doing ethnography. Chapter two gives the reader an idea of the migration history of Sikhs, with particular attention paid to the emergence and growth of the Sikh community in California and Finland. Chapters 3–6 each deal with a particular category of everyday practices that the author has observed to be integral to the process of identity making – notably, work culture, the politics of dress, religious and cultural practices, and life-cycle ceremonies. The final chapter contains the author's concluding remarks on what she terms 'the art of negotiating identities' (p. 158).

Rich in ethnographic detail, *Identities in Practice* is especially useful as a preliminary, exploratory account of the relatively recently established Sikh community in Helsinki, and sets a strong foundation for future research in the Finnish context. Hirvi's strategic use of data from two different sites is another noteworthy aspect – the exegetic tactic of counter-posing the field data from Helsinki with data from Yuba City gives nuance to each of the topics she explores. The fact that the Sikh community at one of the sites (Yuba City) is significantly older, and as a result, seen as a more authoritative source of transnational cultural practices by participants across sites is especially significant. This highlights the power dynamics at play within transnational communities, and serves to caution the reader from treating religious diasporas as a monolithic category.

One of the key strengths of this account of life in the Sikh diaspora is its ground up approach to the question of identity construction and community formation. Hirvi focuses on quotidian activities performed by individuals, and elaborates how each of these seemingly superficial and prosaic practices contributes towards creating a sense of identity.

The chapter on work and work ethic is particularly interesting as analyses of work culture are curiously under-represented in the literature on diasporas – perhaps because it is not a phenomenon that occurs strictly within the bounded domain of the diasporic community. Hirvi's decision to examine attitudes towards work enables her to shed light on this important yet overlooked point of intersection between majority and minority cultures. She makes effective use of this approach by outlining how work is a domain that enables individuals to 'work out' (p. 70) their identities in relation to their multiple life worlds. Hirvi illustrates this by elaborating upon how Punjabi-Sikh cultural concepts such as *izzat* (honour) and *dharam* (duty) are utilised by transnational Sikhs to claim the identity of the 'good immigrant' and position themselves as respectable, hardworking members of the larger Finnish and American societies.

The chapter on dress dedicates itself to examining the politics of dressing – particularly in terms of culturally appropriate performances of gender. As Divya P Tolia Kelly (2004: 677) remarks, social relationships with visual and material cultures can uncover the sometimes occluded power of political identifications shaped though race, gender and sexuality. Describing the attitudes of her informants towards gendered practices such as tying the turban for men and wearing the modest 'Punjabi dress' for women, Hirvi looks at how individuals negotiate the norms of the various cultures they are exposed to in transnational contexts, and thereby stresses upon the fluid nature of the concept of identity. The main take away from this chapter is that clothing offers Sikh men and women a creative means to fashion identities for themselves according to the (perceived) demands placed by the situational context. For example, several of Hirvi's female informants create outfits combining Western

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and Indian elements such as leggings, *chunnis* (shawl), etc. that can be easily modified to fit the cultural contexts they find themselves in. Thus, they actively negotiate a compromise between their own tastes, expectations stemming from peers as well as from cultural and religious traditions (p. 103).

While it contains interesting details regarding individual participants' attitudes towards aspects of dress – including expositions of the rationale behind the creation of 'bricolage outfits' (p. 104) – this chapter would have benefitted from greater engagement with the considerable body of literature on transnational material culture and aesthetics (e.g. Werbner 2005, Mankekar 2005, Dudley 2010, 2011). Parminder Bhachu's (2004) examination of the general phenomenon of ethnicised consumption in Britain, including food and music, to ground her study of the Punjabi suit in the country would have been an especially useful ethnographic case for comparison.

The description of food culture is another appealing aspect of Hirvi's analysis of everyday activities that are critical to personal and social boundary marking. Hirvi's experiential account of how she learnt to make *rotis* for *seva* in the company of Sikh women at the *gurdwara*, and her description of the various kinds of food served at Sikh pre-schools and Sikh parades make for evocative reading. However, food culture is mostly referred to in the context of public diasporic spaces created by Sikh religious and cultural organisations, to the exclusion of the private sphere of the home. As Claude Fischler (1988: 275) notes, food crosses the border between 'outside' and the 'inside' and this 'principle of incorporation' touches the very nature of a person, becoming the basis of a collective identity. A more extensive and directed analysis of how cuisine and commensality contribute to the construction of identity at multiple levels of organisation would have been a useful addition to fortify the central thesis of the book.

The final chapter ties together the key insights from the preceding sections and solidifies Hirvi's argument that a significant amount of identity-work in transnational spaces happens through performative acts in the everyday sphere. She concludes with an astute hypothesis regarding the underlying object of these practices – that 'the maintenance and transformation of practices can be seen to stem from an urge toward intelligibility: to create identities that make sense both to the persons who are enacting them and to the others around them' (p. 164).

A word on the grammatical, stylistic and spelling errors that are peppered throughout the text - these detract from the overall reading experience, and future editions would stand to benefit from closer editorial attention. To conclude, well-researched, neatly-structured and easy to follow, Hirvi's insightful portrayal of Sikh lives in Helsinki and Yuba City is a good guide for researchers setting out to study the Sikh transnational experience, and is of general interest to researchers interested in the micro-processes that aid the continual fashioning and re-fashioning of identities.

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- Kivisto, Peter & Wahlbeck, Östen (eds) (2013) *Debating Multiculturalism in the Nordic States*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan. 345 pp.**

Debating Multiculturalism in the Nordic States addresses the problem of combining diversity with the paradigmatic emphasis on equality, typical of the Nordic States. This diversity is, first, based on the existence of traditional ethnic or linguistic minorities in the Nordic countries, whose voice started to be heard from the 1960s or 1970s. Secondly, the diversity is caused by immigration that started in Denmark and Sweden already after the Second World War and increasing in the 1960s and 1970s, while immigration to Norway and Finland is of more recent origin. The traditional approaches to diversity were denial or assimilation, but since the 1960s, multiculturalism has been officially endorsed in Sweden, Norway and Finland, while the Danish official position to it has from the very beginning on been critical. Today, there is widespread criticism against multiculturalism, which seems to have intensified in the past 10 years. This anthology of articles presents the debate on multiculturalism in four Nordic countries (i.e., excluding Iceland) and their country-specific historical contexts. Some articles focus on local policies and everyday life too: neither debates nor government policies tell the whole story about the relations between majorities and minorities. The authors are social scientists, lawyers and anthropologists, some with a background in civil service.

Multiculturalism 'is presence of several cultures within a defined territory and the overriding question is how these cultures can coexist', as defined by Hugo Stokke in his neatly structured and easy-to-follow article 'Nordic multiculturalism: Commonalities and differences' (p. 75). In a more normative scientific discourse, it means affirmative recognition, but it is not meant to promote segregation, not to mention social exclusion. Multiculturalism does not mean either – or it should not mean – relativism where all values are equal and debates arising from diversity are politically incorrect. These are some standard criticisms against multiculturalism, if the concept is misunderstood. However, we must admit that, the concept is rather vague even in scientific discourse not to speak about political jargon.

Some distinction between multiculturalism as an independent goal drawing on human rights and a means for social integration must be made. Multiculturalism means recognition of heterogeneities but it should not mean inequality. In the Nordic countries, equality is produced by redistribution, which is supported by homogeneous behaviour: all citizens (or at least households) work and contribute to the national wealth, to public provision of social protection to the benefit of all. Does recognition of heterogeneity put this equalitarian model at risk, do we give up the idea of promoting equality if we

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endorse heterogeneity, and is there a trade-off between these two policies? Additionally, do minorities have rights *a priori* or are they only given by the majority: there is multiculturalism as an independent value and multiculturalism from above, a means to promote integration. In principle, Finland with two state languages and two national religions could serve here a good practice: this heterogeneity has been a part of state-building. Nevertheless, there is also a very strong ideological element in the Finnish society, emphasising the homogeneity of the population. These are some of the key issues analysed and discussed in the 13 chapters by 13 authors of the anthology.

Minority rights are contested in everyday life, as the rise of populist xenophobic parties from all Nordic countries illustrate. According to the Multiculturalism Policy Index, Sweden is the most multicultural country, while Denmark is not, Norway and Finland are closer to Sweden, having adopted a large bulk of their policy-making from the earlier Swedish experience. This ranking is supported also by the share of ethnic minorities, which in Sweden is much higher than in the other three countries, mainly due to immigration. However, research into everyday encounters in Sweden shows cases of major segregation ("Multiculturalism from 'below': Reflections of an immigrant ethnographer" by Ewa Morawska), and there is positive multicultural practice in Denmark, with Copenhagen as the paramount case ("Let's get together": Perspectives on multiculturalism and local implication in Denmark" by Garbi Schmidt). There is some criticism concerning the present index, which is of rather recent origin and most probably will be developed further.

The book shows how policy-making is based on social and administrative constructs. Sune Laegaard speaks about political framing of diversity and its implications, showing how a large range of policies can be framed as immigration policies, resulting in equaling immigration policy as more general 'value politics'. In Denmark, this recently led into administrative reforms in the field of immigration policy that attempted to make immigration somehow an overarching theme in Danish politics; these reforms are now revoked, but policies are mainly continued. The Finnish case might have been as illustrative showing how difficult it has been for policy-makers to capture immigration as a phenomenon, classifying it first into the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, then into the Ministry of Labour, moving it then to the Ministry of Interior and finally splitting the responsibility between the Ministry of Interior and the new Ministry of Labour and Economy.

Yngve Lithman's text on Norwegian multicultural debates compares them to mainly Sweden but his article is of more general relevance. He relates the differences found among countries to history, the strength of the state of Sweden compared to the much younger Norwegian state, which was not brought into existence until European national awakening in the late 19th century. In Sweden, also the concept of 'folkhem' was developed with a perspective of a strong patron state, while civil society is livelier in Norway. This liveliness is for good and for bad: the case of Anders Breivik shows the weakness of an active civil society, and the reaction of the Norwegian population to Breivik's crime shows its strength.

These are some ideas of the anthology, reading of which is recommended to anyone interested in minority policies or welfare regimes. The book is a very good review of Nordic debates on multiculturalism and immigration and it contains important theoretical elements to address the debates scientifically. Minorities are focused less than immigrants: although Greenland is far away, it might have been useful to read more than just a footnote about the status of Greenlanders in Denmark. In the reviewer's opinion, the Finnish

minorities also receive limited attention: it is stated that the major immigration wave from Finland to Sweden in the 1960s and the 1970s was considered non-problematic, since culturally, there is little difference between Finland and Sweden. Yngve Lithman, who worked in the Swedish Ministry of Labour in the 1980s, writes that the acclaimed home language lessons in Swedish basic education were introduced due to the pressure from the Finnish Government. Mats Wickström describes the transition from assimilation to integration in Swedish immigrant minority policy in general terms and recapitulates, among other things, the long-standing fight for the right to private basic education in Sweden showing the Jews and – surprisingly, although this actually should not be any surprise – Estonians at the forefront.

Debating Multiculturalism in the Nordic States is a great introduction to multiculturalism in Nordic states and its historical roots. It sums up and contributes to the discourse on the compatibility of diversity with the Nordic welfare regime as the regime has been defined by Gösta Esping-Andersen. The book also comments extensively on the anti-multiculturalism rising in our countries; nevertheless, this trend has until now had little influence on policy-making. Even in Denmark, with restrictive immigration policy (gate-keeping), there is little criticism concerning the integration policies for ethnic minorities. While showing the importance of debates and framing in policy-making, the book indicates also a need for comparative studies into the chances and choices of life of minorities in Nordic countries. The issue remains, why labour market access for minorities is so difficult also in countries with a high multicultural profile? The interaction between heterogeneity and inequality and how to address them will remain on the agenda of the Nordic countries: there are no simple answers.

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Nyers, Peter & Rygiel, Kim (eds) (2012) *Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement*. London: Routledge. 188 pp.

In current times, when the news are full of stories of the rising support to right-wing populist parties in Europe, the increasing numbers of migrant bodies washed to the Mediterranean coasts and when scholars are engaged in analyses of the retreat from multiculturalism and transformations of racist speech, it is refreshing to read studies on migrant activism, power of migratory movements and the challenges these pose to dominant understandings of borders, sovereignty and (human) rights. *Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement* is a book that does exactly this. Edited by two leading researchers in the field, Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel, and including nine contributions from scholars based in the UK, Spain, Brazil, Australia, Canada, Hong Kong and Hawaii, the book provides important insights to the theoretical discussions on mobility rights and citizenship, as well as presenting empirical studies on activism by asylum seekers and undocumented migrants and local initiatives to claim citizen rights to all inhabitants of the area, irrespective of citizenship status.

The book seeks to examine the 'possibilities and impossibilities of migrant activism' in an era characterised by the securitisation of migrants, strict and selective immigration control, and new ways of regulating access to citizenship for example through citizenship tests. According to the editors, the aim of the book is to elaborate on three major themes and their relations: an analysis of the novel *citizenship*

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forms that are emerging in the wake of *migrant activism* and contestations to the global migration regime, as well as a theorisation of the *politics of movement* that builds on the analyses of the two first-mentioned. Following an autonomous migration perspective, the book departs from understandings of mobility as a productive force that creates new modes of citizenship and political subjectivity. Thus, instead of focusing on the restrictive and controlling aspects of global migration regimes and viewing migrant activism as a response to them, the contributors in the book view mobility as a resource for migrants and border control as way to seek to govern the unruly migratory activities. Migratory movements and migrant activism are also discussed as citizenship practices that challenge conventional, state-centred understandings of what citizenship is, who is entitled to it and through whose actions it is enacted. The editors argue for an approach to study 'migrant citizenship from below', as it occurs in the claims-making processes and negotiations of belonging and rights by non-citizen migrants in the varying contexts of social movements, work places, and everyday interaction with authorities and NGOs. Through such acts, non-citizen migrants produce themselves as political subjects and claim citizenship rights and, by doing so, present a rupture and a challenge to these rights, as defined by the state. These acts also question the binary of citizen/non-citizen and instead introduce more fluid and interactional perspectives on the relation between differently positioned actors.

Like many anthologies, this book is a combination of excellent analyses on the previously mentioned topics and some less developed chapters that seem to have been included, more with regards to the relevance of topic or geographical area than to their conceptual and analytical clarity. Nevertheless, the book as a whole is well-written and provides many theoretical and empirical epiphanies for an interested reader.

In her article, Alina Sajed provides a well-argued analysis of North African Muslim activism in France, focusing on two kinds of movements: (1) different Islamic organisations and the formation of Muslim diasporic identity in them, and (2) North African women's groups that make claims for women's rights while navigating between French republican models of citizenship, secularism, and gendered and racialised power relations. She explores the ambivalent and even troublesome relations of migrant women's movements and Muslim-based organisations, pointing out the dilemmas involved in embracing a secular emancipatory ideal of women's rights. However, Sajed shows that more nuanced approaches have been developed by the anti-colonial feminist movement that questions French republicanism and builds on solidarity within the post-colonial margins.

No Borders as a practical political project is the topic of Bridget Anderson's, Nandita Sharma's and Cynthia Wright's chapter. The authors make a compelling argument for mobility as a fundamental human activity, the freedom of which should be granted for every person in addition to the freedom of *not* being moved. They argue that border control is essential for capitalist economies seeking to secure adaptable and cheap labour force. *No Borders* – politics challenges both this exploitative logic and the nationalised system of (citizenship) rights. The rejection of borders and the distinctions these create may seem a utopian project, but the authors argue that it is in fact a very practical agenda carried out every day in different parts of the world, for example, in efforts to promote 'common rights' instead of nationalised rights.

The chapter by Heather Johnson explores the 'moments' of solidarity that are emerging between citizens and migrants at global borders. Through an analysis of such moments at Tanzanian refugee camps, Australian detention centres and the Spanish city Melilla

in North Africa, Johnson develops a critique of traditional citizen-centred approaches to political activism that would emphasise the capacities and means available for the citizen activist. She asks what can be gained by approaching moments of solidarity from the asylum seekers' and migrants' perspective and shows how citizens' activities are better seen as one part of the process instead of treating these as the enabling factor of political activism. Building on feminist theory and new citizenship studies, she argues for the need to recognise the everyday activism of irregular migrants and non-citizens, as well as the momentary solidarities between citizens and non-citizens.

Three chapters depart from an understanding of the city or local spaces as central for an analysis of citizenship and activism. The chapters by Jean McDonald and Vicki Squire and Jennifer Bagelman examine efforts to establish sanctuary cities in Canada and the UK. Campaigns like *Don't Ask Don't Tell (DADT)*, *No One Is Illegal - Toronto* and the *City of Sanctuary* movement in the UK take their starting point in grassroots level change and claims-making towards local authorities, professionals, city councils and NGOs to practice equal rights to all inhabitants in the area, disregarding whether they have formal citizen rights or not and ensuring that social, health and educational services can be used also by undocumented migrants without the fear of detention or deportation. Such acts can be viewed as processes that 'undo' migrant illegality and as a 'regularisation from below' that creates city spaces where also undocumented migrants can work and live safely, while at the same time, reconfiguring notions of belonging and community. Squire and Bagelman, however, draw attention to how divisions by state of citizen/non-citizen and pastoral separations of undocumented migrants into the 'worthy' and 'unworthy' can also be part of the practices of the sanctuary movement. They elaborate an analysis of the movement activities as 'mobile enclaves of sanctuary' to highlight the moments and interactions that contest and move beyond such power relations and categorisations.

The book ends with Anne McNevin's chapter that analyses public recognitions of the role that undocumented migrants play in local economies and city life in Los Angeles, together with migrant activism and claims of being formally recognised. She shows that the acts of citizenship performed by undocumented migrants are often based on a 'politics of presence', that is, the take-up of public space that simultaneously defines migrants' presence as legitimate and normalised. She emphasises the embodiedness and place-specific nature of public spaces and calls for citizenship studies to develop such research agendas.

While the book is well-argued and thought-provoking, some minor issues can be raised. The introductory chapter opens up a rich variety of themes and perspectives, not all of which are discussed at length in the following chapters. In some chapters, the theoretical frame is also given such a central role that it somewhat overshadows the empirical analysis, examples of which seem more to be added as descriptions of a predetermined argument. Overall, the book is perhaps stronger on theoretical perspectives and conceptual elaborations than on vivid and inspiring empirical analyses of activism and enacting citizenship 'from below'. This should, however, not be considered a major problem, since social movement studies include a wide array of empirical, largely descriptive studies on activism and a theoretically grounded, rigorous contribution to this field is more than welcome. The book is highly recommendable reading for scholars in migration and border studies, ethnic and racial studies, sociology, political science and international relations studies.

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Saukkonen, Pasi (2013) *Erlaisuuksien Suomi. Vähemmistö- ja kotouttamispolitiikan vaihtoehdot*, Gaudeamus: Helsinki. 252 pp.

Finnish political scientist Pasi Saukkonen continues in his latest book, *Consideration of the development and alternatives of Finnish minority and integration policies*. This new book deepens the analysis of minority policies, focusing on language rights and analysis of national model of multiculturalism. The starting point of the analysis is quite widely shared notion that at European level, different versions of minority and integration policies have failed. Consequently, Saukkonen characterises the confusing situation that nowhere in Europe, including Finland, there seems to be ideas about how to proceed in order to realise the basic European principles like 'all the people are different'. In Europe, all societies are multicultural in descriptive sense, people from different cultural backgrounds inhabit European states. In addition, the ideology that all people should have equal opportunities and possibilities to live their lives in the framework set up by legislation is widely accepted in Europe.

In the European context, Finland has a long history of minority policies. For instance, the language rights and political rights of Swedish speaking minority have been guaranteed in a manner, which has been internationally regarded exemplary. Until 1980s, the orientation in Finnish political life was to take into consideration the political and cultural differences in order to prevent intensification of conflicts. Finland was culturally quite homogeneous nation state. But after beginning of 1990s, the situation has changed quite rapidly as a result of immigration. The political consensus has been broken or at least shaken, which became evident in the parliamentary elections 2011, in which the populist and immigration critical The Finns party was one of the winners.

Saukkonen states that the immigration and needs of so-called new minorities (Russian, Estonian, Somali, Iraqi, etc.) have been taken into consideration by new legislative and administrative measures in Finland. Even though the policies have been quite successful, Saukkonen rightfully underlines that the discussion about the future of Finland's minority policies is still quite underdeveloped. He asks, for instance: is language policy based on two national languages (Finnish and Swedish) still valid in the present circumstances and can it be maintained in the future? Have the status and rights of two traditional minorities Roma and Saami been defined in a durable manner? In this respect, it is more than obvious that answer is no, because for instance, Finland has not ratified the ILO169 convention, which concerns the rights of indigenous people to the land that they have traditionally inhabited. Finland has not been able to ratify the convention due to inadequate legislation related to the Saami landownership rights. Roma people have raised complaints concerning their rights and opportunities in the labour market, education and housing. Also, racism against Roma and Saami people as well as other minorities has been reported frequently.

Saukkonen also asks what it means that the immigrants are required to live in Finland as Finns do.⁴ He continues asking, which cultural habits or traditions regarded as 'genuinely' Finnish are native Finns willing to give up. His general conclusion is that Finland, as well as other countries, will evidently change due to immigration, which is an unavoidable result of globalisation. The Finnish society has to come to terms with integration, which causes costs to the society. However, the alternative, the failure of integration policies can become even more expensive.

Saukkonen seeks the answers or proposals for new policy measures mainly from Belgium, Sweden and Netherlands, which he

regards more equivalent to Finland than Germany, France and UK. Larger European countries have surely had their own specific ways to manage differences during last decades. According to Saukkonen, the main problems of recent Finnish immigration policy have been caused by the lack of ability to prepare for long-term changes in immigration. He states that the Finnish immigration policy has mainly reacted in the current situation. In addition, he notes that often the immigration policy measures have been ineffective due to lack of resources.

Saukkonen notes that even though Finland is not ethnically, especially multicultural country (if it is measured in the number of immigrants, which was in the end of year 2012 less than 5% of the population), it is a multiculturalistic country, meaning that multiculturalism as an ideology has had a strong influence on the immigration political choices during last two decades. Saukkonen draws attention to the discrepancy between the ideological emphasis and the reality in Finnish minority and integration policies. He concludes that sometimes the public rhetorical image of integration policy constructed by politicians and practical measures applied in integration policies does not have very much in common. The same applies to Finnish minority policies: Finnish politicians are willing to give an impression that, for instance, Sami rights have been safeguarded, but in reality, for example, some state institutions and legislation have serious shortages.

Saukkonen's newest book is invaluable contribution to Finnish discussion about minority rights, immigration and integration policies. He does not even hesitate to present some important policy recommendations. He proposes that Finnish language policies should be renewed so that it would be based on differentiation of national languages, official languages and recognised minority languages. National languages include Finnish, Swedish and Sami language (or three Sami languages spoken in Finland). Sami language should be an official language in whole Lapland, which could be quite difficult to accomplish in practice. At the moment, Sami language can be used in northernmost part of Finland, which has been defined as Sami home area. Recognised minority languages should get more resources and language groups could be given partial cultural autonomy. He proposes that Roma language and Karelian language should belong to this category. He has excluded Russian language from this category but it could be included because Russian-speaking minority is the biggest new minority (more than 50,000 inhabitants) and it has long historical roots. In addition, Saukkonen makes a proposal concerning religious organisations in Finland. He recommends that none of religious organisations (churches) should have a specific status in the society but still society could recognise some religious communities. These policy recommendations are worth considering. This book can be recommended to academicians, politicians, social workers and so forth, who are interested in or deal with issues related to multiculturalism, immigration and integration.

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Notes

1. Methodological nationalism is a research focus on the state as the 'container' for socio-cultural, religious and political processes.
2. These latter linkages are not discussed in the text.
3. The global Occupy Movement was born out of the protests against Wall Street in the US in 2011 as a result of the global

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financial crisis. Aimed at creating less hierarchically organised global societies the movement, with 'branches' in various countries, including South Africa, Denmark and Malaysia are sustained by those who feel alienated from a global political economy that underscores the accumulation of wealth at the expense of the impoverished and the middle-class.

4. Here a proverb 'Live in Roma as Romans do' has been applied in the Finnish society.