

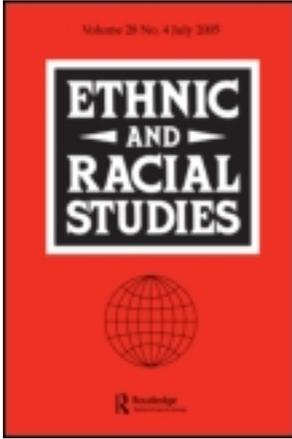
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Book reviews

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Book reviews

Umut Azak, **ISLAM AND SECULARISM IN TURKEY: KEMALISM, RELIGION AND THE NATION STATE**, London: I. B. Tauris, 2010, xv + 234 pp., £54.40 (cloth).

The hegemonic conceptualization that regards Republican Turkish history as a clash between the ‘secular center and religious/conservative periphery’ not only misinterprets the social formation by dividing it into two mutually exclusive and homogenous entities, but also ignores the fact that neither secularism nor religiosity/Islam are immune to political discourses. Recent studies, however, suggest that the political confrontation was not between secularists and Islamists but between two camps, both of which claimed to possess the genuine forms of Sunni Islam and secularism. Umut Azak’s book, in this regard, is one of the most comprehensive attempts to express this idea, which rightly emphasizes that Kemalist secularism not only aimed to separate politics from religion but also, paradoxically, to constitute a specific and public form of religiosity against a supposedly wrong form: ‘good, secularized Turkish Islam’ versus ‘bad, reactionary Islam’.

Since the Kemalists have developed a different understanding of Islam against ‘reactionary’ Islam, the author rightly rests on the assumption that ‘fear is the underlying characteristic of secularism in Turkey’ (p. xi). Thus, the (re)production of Kemalist secularism depends on the (re)production of this fear of reactionary Islam (*irtica*). In this manner, invoking specific incidents during the period of the Turkish Republic’s foundation has become a particular form of politics, ‘politics of memory’, to keep this fear alive. Umut Azak, thus, examines these specific incidents in different chapters (the Menemen Incident, the Malatya Incident, Said Nursi, and the *Nurcu* movement in chapters 1, 4, and 5 respectively), and clarifies how Kemalist discourse articulated them around a ‘politics of fear’ in order to impose its own definition of secularism.

The author, concurrently, indicates two important moments which contributed to the formation of two competing political identities. The first one is the attempt by Kemalists to nationalize (Sunni) Islam (chapter 2). In this context, the recital of the *ezan* (call to prayer) in Turkish reveals the peculiarity of Turkish secularism, as Azak points out by noting that institutionalization of the Turkish *ezan* ‘illuminates the particular discourse of secularism instituted in the early Republican period, which imagined a Turkish Islam vis-à-vis *irtica*’ (p. 46). The second moment is the debate concerning the *ezan* (chapter 3). The Turkish *ezan* symbolized a ‘true, genuine’ form of Islam for Kemalists in the single party period, but it was contested by a new, conservative discourse during the multi-party period. Thus, in parallel with the two competing definitions of Islam, two competing definitions of secularism, ‘Kemalist secularism versus alternative secularism’ (pp. 76–81), emerged.

By extending her arguments, it is possible to elaborate secularism as an ‘empty signifier’, in the Laclauian sense, in the Turkish context. With the intervention of conservative discourse, secularism turned out to be an empty signifier: a signifier of the lost fullness of society, defined by ‘presence of its absence’ by both sides of the political camps. Against Kemalist secularism, the conservative definition articulated a liberal conception in that secularism was defined as the freedom of religion and conscience, but this freedom was limited to the Sunni Muslims of the periphery; the religious freedom of non-Sunni Islamic communities was never recognized.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the (re)discovery of Alevism as the carrier of authentic Turkish culture and the source of genuine Turkish Islam, and to the contribution of some Alevi to this perception by defining themselves as true Turkish Muslims. Although discussing the historical roots of such a perception is illuminating, it is also unconvincing since the 'Alevi-Kemalist alliance' and Alevism as 'an authentic and Turkish Islam to counter "bad Muslims"' (pp. 138–76) are accepted as self-evident notions shared also by contemporary Islamist conservatives. Should we understand from this that there were no 'good Sunni Muslims' in the Kemalist imaginary? Although we read between the lines that the alliance was, in fact, between left-wing Kemalists and Kemalist/nationalist Alevi because some Kemalists had seen Alevism as divisive for national unity and a new generation of Alevi had already started to participate in socialist organizations, Azak's insistence on 'Kemalist secularism's articulation with the newly emerging Alevi identity' (pp. 171–2) is not convincing enough. Thus, despite the fact that she depicts a perception among Kemalists of Alevism as the national religion, this chapter is better read as the continuation of the 'ambivalence', which was established in the pre- and post-Republican period and included Alevi as 'authentic/pure-Turks', but excluded them as 'divisive and heretic subjects' at the same time. The primary goal of Kemalist secularism has always been to construct a 'rational, national' Sunni Islam, never to establish Alevism as a national religion.

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Jacques Bertrand and André Laliberté (eds), **MULTINATION STATES IN ASIA. ACCOMMODATION OR RESISTANCE**, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, xx + 330 pp., \$32.99 (paper).

The post-World War II period of decolonization across Asia led to the often uncomfortable assimilation of ethnic groups with multiple cultural and religious loyalties into nascent post-colonial states. In the remaking of post-colonial Asia, fledgling independent states produced systems and political leaders that tended to emphasize nation-building projects centred on homogenizing ideologies. Partial transitions toward democratic rule in Asia over recent years have enabled forcefully resurgent ethnic minorities to articulate wide-ranging demands for redress from this post-colonial legacy in the form of democratic accommodation, various types of autonomy and federalism, and even secession via the (re)creation of independent nation-states at the extreme end of the political spectrum.

In *Multination Asian States*, Jacques Bertrand and André Laliberté bring together regional experts to explore the challenges of managing pluralism in deeply-divided Asian societies. The contributors consider nine case studies involving aggrieved minorities in Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Burma, the Philippines, China, and ex-Soviet Central Asia. Collectively, they offer rich insights into the relations between state and non-state actors that assist, impede, or preclude accommodation of minorities as full and equal citizens. While most of the substantive chapters do not speak strongly to each other – as indeed they cannot given the tremendous variations within and between individual countries – Bertrand and Laliberté provide thought-provoking comparative introductory and concluding commentaries that skilfully situate the empirically-based chapters within integrated themes. The Introduction usefully contextualizes Asian experiences of sub-nationalism within wider historical trajectories of uneven integration in post-colonial African, Middle Eastern, Latin American, and Eastern European states. In the Conclusion, the editors position the domestic case studies within 'the international context of the (mis-)management of multinationality in Asia, specifically the enduring relevance of the colonial legacy, the Cold War, regional conflicts, and the "war on terror"' (p. 264).

The volume departs from a common tendency among academics and analysts to privilege the ethnic bases of mobilization, instead focusing on competing nationalisms (p. 19). This

does not mean that the authors ignore or overlook the 'pervasive ethnic logic' that frequents discussions about ethnic minority claims to a separate identity and state responses (p. 257). Rather, they remain mindful of the need to avoid exaggeration of ethnicity as the sole or even primary motivation for pursuing recognition as 'nations'; this approach is helpful in encouraging thinking beyond ethnic composition and towards new forms of identity and models of integration.

Though the editors indicate that the chapters are geographically assembled – beginning with 'states in South Asia and continental Southeast Asia' (p. 24) – chapter 2 by Anthony Reid is about 'Revolutionary State Formation and Indonesia', a country that is typically associated with 'maritime' Southeast Asia. This minor quibble aside, the volume is soundly structured as the Indonesian and Malaysian examples in Reid's excellent essay set the scene for subsequent chapters dealing with post-colonial nation-building agendas modelled on 'post-revolutionary unitarism' that have spawned national cultures which symbolically celebrate diversity while institutionally rejecting it (p. 50).

Refreshingly, this volume does not present 'democracy' as the only viable integrationist model for sub-state nationalist movements. Despite the (theoretical) tendency of liberal democracies towards the processes of negotiation and compromise, the chapters on South Asia in particular show evidence that democracies may be just as repressive of nationalist minorities as undemocratic regimes. In the case of India, Rajeev Bhargava explores why the 'composite-culture mindset of the democratic state, interpreted to mean a historically evolving syncretism' has failed to develop a nuanced response to minority disaffection in the periphery (p. 74). Sumit Ganguly and Sujit Choudhry tackle similar issues on more limited scales in their examination of minority repression in Pakistan and Sri Lanka respectively. Jacques Bertrand, in his chapter comparing Indonesia with the Philippines, goes further by arguing that democratic accommodation via autonomy may become 'eroded or even nullified after it is extended as symbolic recognition' (p. 165).

In addition to the case studies involving democracies and quasi-democracies, the volume provides examples of how undemocratic regimes handle unresolved national identity questions. The chapters on Burma's multinational society by Ardeth Maung Thawngmung, on the 'Virtual Taiwan Nation' by André Laliberté, on China's treatment of Tibetans by Gray Tuttle, and on late Soviet and post-Soviet responses to mobilized groups in Central Asia by Edward Schatz, provide in-depth analysis of the strategies used by undemocratic regimes to contain and subvert sub-state nationalist agendas.

Multination Asian States makes an important and timely contribution to the growing literature on sub-state nationalist minorities in Asia. Its significance lies in the exemplary quality of the essays, in the critical comparative analysis provided by the editors, and in the coherent emphasis throughout the text on the 'nation' in its varied and contested Asian forms. This book will appeal to a wide geographical and multidisciplinary audience and is a 'must read' for anyone with an interest in national identity, sub-state nationalism, nation-building, and forms of minority accommodation within nation-states.

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Tiziana Caponio and Maren Borkert (eds), **THE LOCAL DIMENSION OF MIGRATION POLICYMAKING**, IMISCOE Reports, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010, 195 pp., £27.50 (paper).

One of the interesting aspects about migration and immigration policy formation is that it typically occurs at the national level, even though the impacts are felt at the local level. In Canada, which is where my perspective is anchored, it is the federal government that drives immigration policy, but cities, municipalities, and local NGOs that implement the settlement services that immigrants and migrants access.

In *The Local Dimension of Policymaking*, editors Tiziana Caponio and Maren Borkert argue that this discontinuity exists elsewhere, and that they seek to 'provide a contribution to the existing literature on local-level migration policymaking by presenting a number of studies carried out in very different national contexts' (p. 24). Either directly, or indirectly, each chapter points to the gap as problematic, but also notes that the solution is not to simply grant or remove autonomy from local governments.

The editors group the contributions to the volume into three policy domains: the legal-political, the socio-economic, and the cultural-religious domain. The chapter on Switzerland, written by Marc Helbling, represents the case study on the legal-political domain. Socio-economic factors are handled in chapters by Tiziana Caponio, Can M. Aybek, and Floris Vermeulen and Rosanne Stotijn. Finally, the chapter by Aude-Claire Fourot addresses the cultural-religious domain. I will also group my summary of the chapters by this division.

Helbling's chapter on naturalisation policies in Switzerland describes a situation where local political actors have considerable freedom in migration decision-making. This arrangement, though it lacks standardization, provides those with direct exposure to newcomers control over the naturalization process. In many ways, this seems to be an obvious location for such a decision, but that is not to say that it is without problems, such as potentially discretionary acceptance decisions. In a defence of the process, however, Helbling uses what seems to be logistic regression analysis (I was unable to find any mention of the estimation technique) to argue that naturalization hinges on how people perceive their nation, the naturalization criteria, and the decision-making process. Although this conclusion is defensible, the sample (75 for two of the three regressions) is, in my opinion, too small to include ten independent variables, but this no doubt reflects my sociological disciplinary bias.

The three chapters on socio-economic factors provide further food for thought. In the first of the three, Caponio uses the examples of multiculturalist policy implementation in Milan, Bologna, and Naples to urge us to overlook traditional units of policymaking. Can M. Aybek makes a similar case for Germany in the following chapter, using the participation rates of immigrants in vocational programmes in Munich and Frankfurt as examples. The discussion of socio-economic factors is rounded out by Floris Vermeulen and Rosanne Stotijn. They compare youth unemployment in Amsterdam and Berlin. Each of these chapters are well-written and important contributions to the book's central theme.

Aude-Claire Fourot's chapter singlehandedly addresses the cultural-religious domain. Fourot looks at how municipalities handle religious pluralism in the Canadian province of Quebec. This has become something of a hot topic in the Western world in recent years, so I read this chapter with great anticipation. Fourot finds that, as in other chapters, local factors affect the implementation of a basic human right. Unlike most other chapters in the text, however, here it seems that local factors act as a hindrance to policy implementation.

Each chapter shows that local factors matter for understanding how policies are implemented, but until I read the concluding chapter I felt that that the book failed to develop a set of best practices for future migration policymaking. In the conclusion, however, Caponio masterfully pulls all of the chapters together, and provides the overarching framework I was looking for. I would have found this framework useful for understanding the earlier chapters, and wonder if this discussion should have appeared in the introduction rather than the conclusion.

I was somewhat surprised to see little mention of the tertiary/not-for-profit sector. It is these groups that are becoming more central to understanding how policies are implemented and even, at times, made at the local level. Why aren't they included as the important factor that they are?

These comments aside, this book will be of interest to those interested in immigration issues, as it represents a worthy attempt to understand the gap that exists between local and national policymaking and implementation.

Maria Elena Cepeda, **MUSICAL IMAGINATION: US-COLOMBIAN IDENTITY AND THE LATIN MUSIC BOOM**, New York: New York University Press, 2010, xii + 255 pp., \$22 (paper), \$65 (cloth).

In *Musical ImagiNation*, Maria Elena Cepeda substantiates the argument that contemporary popular music constitutes a site where Colombian identities are imagined. She uses the term 'musical imagiNation' to highlight the discursive connections between music and identities, both national and transnational. She argues that this 'musical imagiNation' assumes critical importance against the stark reality of violence and corruption plaguing contemporary Colombian politics. The crisis in Colombia (seen through the lens of colonialism and neo-colonialism, implicating European and the US powers) has shaped the development of diverse, hybridized popular culture, especially music, both in Colombia and its US-based diasporas. Riding on the Latin music boom of the late 1990s, Colombian popular music icons began to engage with the globalized music industry, generating profits for the industry *and* remaking individual and collective identities as Colombians, US-Colombians, and Latino(a)s.

An important premise of Cepeda's work is the idea that popular musicians and consumers are not mere pawns of the music industry, although she never dismisses the significance of the music industry's political economy. Musicians' and consumers' agency in meaning making must be reckoned with. Departing from this premise, she concludes that Colombian transnational popular music by icons such as Shakira, Andrea Echeverri, and Carlos Vives has become a vehicle whereby alternative Colombian identities are re-imagined 'bottom up' – alternative both to a stereotypical Colombian identity tied to drug-related violence and to identities manufactured by the Colombian state.

Cepeda's assertion of agency for the musicians proves more effective than her argument for consumer agency. This is the result of her empirical focus and methodology. She engages in cross-media analysis of print media, music recordings, and MTV performances, focusing on the Latin music boom (chapter 2), Shakira (chapters 3 and 6), Andrea Echeverri (chapter 4), and Carlos Vives (chapter 5). Cepeda offers close readings of key songs and MTV performances with attentiveness to textual and visual nuances, juxtaposing music styles, lyrics, embodied performance, and extra-musical texts such as contemporary novels. Largely left out, however, are the voices of the transnational audiences. This void weakens her claim that popular music has a crucial impact on the *collective* re-imagining of national and transnational identities. Media analysis that leaves little room for the audience, while instrumental in unearthing the discourses or ideologies underpinning the power relations in the making of music, has the side effects of foregrounding, yet again, the voices of those with more access to cultural capital – be it the producers, musicians who have made it, or published critics. Silenced are the very people whose identities and subjectivities are shaped by and shaping contemporary music production.

Cepeda's analysis nonetheless stands on its own strength, grounded in her explication of complex social contexts in which popular Colombian music is made and disseminated: contemporary Colombian politics, migration patterns, the Latin music boom, and the evolution of various music genres – rock en español, punk, and vallenato – as they are related to Colombian regional cultural and politics of race, class, and gender. As such, this book is a significant contribution to US Colombian Studies, Latino Studies, Ethnic Studies, Media Studies, Cultural Studies, and American Studies. The critical lenses of these interconnected disciplines have ostensibly shaped Cepeda's feminist-of-colour politics that comes through in her decoding of music and MTV performances, informed by critical discourse analysis' attention to discourses (hybrid in genres: text; music; and movement) as well as the power relations these discourses both produce and inhabit. She skilfully weaves analyses of race, gender, class, and nation and offers multiple readings of a singular texts or performances, including readings against the grain that foreground unexpected moments of resistance and agency by the oppressed (such as the figure of sexualized, objectified Latina women embodied by Shakira). In doing so, Cepeda stays true to her premise that musicians

and consumers are not duped by the industry, and transnational citizens are not puppets of manipulative states. They are active participants of the musical and performative discourses that produce their hybrid subjectivities. The promise of ‘musical imagiNation’ cannot be underestimated in a world where the travel of people, music, and imagery can no longer be contained by national borders.

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Brad Christerson, Korie L. Edwards and Richard Flory, **GROWING UP IN AMERICA: THE POWER OF RACE IN THE LIVES OF TEENS**, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010, 219 pp., \$19.75 (paper).

Despite all the progress made since the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the United States is still deeply stratified by race – in terms of educational attainment, income, health, and other social and economic indicators. Why is this the case, and could the ways in which young people of various racial backgrounds are socialized be producing these disturbing, yet consistent outcomes? In *Growing Up in America: The Power of Race in the Lives of Teens*, the authors – Brad Christerson, Korie Edwards and Richard Flory – address these important yet complex questions.

Using the data from the National Study of Youth and Religion (collected from 2002–3), the authors attempt to provide ‘an intimate yet comprehensive view of racialized socialization experiences of youth in the United States today’ (p. 10). Through this large survey data and in-depth interviews from a sub-sample of participants, the authors focus on four particular socializing agents: family; peers; school; and religion. The authors posit that through these institutions, young people come to understand the world and their place in it. Moreover, they argue that these socializing agents and the young people’s engagement with them can provide an instrumental framework for a better understanding of the relationship between socialization in adolescence and socio-economic disparities as adults.

In terms of the findings, the present study offers some new insights into the role various socializing agents play in the lives of young people of different racial backgrounds. However, some may suggest that the most significant contribution of this book lies not with the descriptive findings themselves but with the ways in which the authors *interpret* these findings – the narrative with which they cogently pose the possible ways in which different socialization processes may play out in the future as the youngsters engage with the larger social, economic, and political world as adults. Building on the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu’s cultural and social capital and Ann Swidler’s ‘cultural toolkit’ (i.e., a reservoir of habits, skills, style, and knowledge from which individuals draw on to engage the world), the authors introduce the concept of *capital portfolio*. Comparable to an investment portfolio, capital portfolios are various combinations of cultural, social, human, and religious capital that teens access in their current and future participation in the wider society. The authors contend that the composition of these capital portfolios not only varies based on the race of the individual, but they also yield quite different ‘dividends’ in terms of opportunities and payoffs in the stratified American socio-economic system.

The authors also note that the adolescents differ not only in the level of participation and the general conception of the four aforementioned institutions (in terms of how these institutions related to their lives), they also vary in the ways in which they perceive and interact with the main ‘players’ in these domains (e.g., parents, friends, teachers, and God). The youngsters in their study were explicitly or implicitly socialized to interact with these players in certain ways, and these relational dynamics were often contingent on the race of the participants. The authors then put forth a sombre idea: for adolescents of non-white backgrounds, what is deemed or taught as the appropriate and expected norm in their ‘micro’ socio-cultural context may ultimately limit or hamper their mobility in the ‘macro’

American socio-economic system as the 'rules of engagement' are set by the ones in the majority group using the dominant (read white) algorithm or paradigm of their own socialized upbringing. As a result, the diversified racial socialization of young people becomes part of the larger machinery in sustaining and reproducing the racialized hierarchy in the American socio-economic order when they enter adulthood.

Overall, readers will find *Growing Up in America* engaging and thought-provoking. The authors have indeed produced a book that is both broad and intimate, presenting a wide-ranging picture of how youngsters of different racial backgrounds perceive their world; and at the same time, giving life and voice to these teens through mini bio-sketches and excerpts from in-depth interviews. In addition, they raise a number of critical issues on racialized socialization that warrant further discussion and examination. Perhaps if there is any weakness in the study, it may be that at times that the authors seem to overstrain themselves packaging the adolescents' socialization processes in neat boxes of various forms of capital (i.e., cultural, social, human, and religious) when the data does not always seem to neatly align or appear convincingly clear. Such is often the case when dealing with complex and 'messy' issues like race. Nonetheless, as a whole, this book is a worthwhile read and an important contribution to furthering our understanding of how race plays out in the lives of young people in the United States.

© 2011, Steve Song
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John Connell, **MIGRATION AND THE GLOBALISATION OF HEALTH CARE: THE HEALTH WORKER EXODUS?**, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2010, xii + 260 pp., £69.95 (cloth).

The inverse care law in which those areas and populations with most medical need are the least well served appears to remain as the most succinct and accurate description of contemporary global health care systems as it was when Tudor Hart used the inverse care law to sum up the situation in post-Second World War South Wales. In his excellent text John Connell peels away, in a detailed, informed and thorough way, the interdependent, multiple dimensions of health care need and provision *between* nation states and global regions and *within* nation states and global regions. What Connell is especially good at is not only showing the frightening ways in which complex changing health care needs elide being adequately met as the migratory trajectories of skilled health workers reconfigure and shift, but also the complex geographies of these. For example, Connell notes that 'some 36 of 47 Sub-Saharan African countries fall short of the minimum WHO standard of 20 doctors and 500 nurses per 100,000 people. Several have fewer than five doctors and 50 nurses per 100,000 people. Uganda and Niger have six or seven nurses for 100,000 people while the USA has 773, yet migratory flows are primarily from the former to the latter' (p. 16). For Connell it is not only the flow of skilled health workers (SHW) from source to destination countries but also the movement of SHWs from rural to urban areas and intra-regional movement which also creates uneven geographies of health advantage and disadvantage.

While this process of exodus may be multiply constituted, Connell shows how the health care gap between needs and responses tends to be configured in a similar way – i.e., it is widest for the poorest and most vulnerable populations and in the poorest places. Connell does not play down this aspect of health worker migration. He stresses that the costs of migratory health care providers are 'unevenly borne by the poorer source countries with the primary benefits elsewhere' (p. 203) but he does suggest that migration is not the only factor to cause strain and exacerbate health care need. Connell points to the importance of a multi-factored approach to understanding health needs: poverty itself; chronic underfunding; financial crisis; as well as more 'hidden' variables such as the health of health care workers – Connell makes the sobering point that in Malawi, the health worker shortage is not caused

by migration but by the deaths of health workers mainly from AIDs-related illnesses. In a similar vein *Migration and the Globalisation of Healthcare* notes that the interdependent nature of the migratory healthcare relation means that the remittances sent by migrant workers back to source or 'home' countries make a significant contribution to the financial flows and economic capacities of those developing countries. It is this approach – the acknowledgment of the complex, contradictory, and labile interplays of pressures, demands, and outcomes – that characterizes Connell's position.

But, in the context of illuminating this multi-factored approach, it is the processes of migration that are at the heart of this book. It is the movement of *people* – often women – and the political, national, social, economic, and emotional impacts, consequences, and costs of this that Connell examines. In other words, Connell goes well beyond a dry, 'de-humanized' market demand-labour response analysis of global health care relationships by bringing people back in to migration studies. He achieves this quite cleverly because *Migration and the Globalisation of Healthcare* is not a monograph nor is it based on qualitative data sets. While the book begins with two short epigraphs, there are no more personal life stories. It is through an argument and discussion that takes into account cultures of migration, aspiration and ambition, financial and career incentive, family responsibilities, senses of connection to migrants' countries of departure, and so forth that migrant health workers are humanized by Connell. It is a project that especially gives the book interdisciplinary value and enriches migration and health care and globalization studies.

Organized into ten substantive chapters, the book shifts from an early overview of what it describes as the 'geographies to need' – the patterns of disease in developing and developed worlds and the changes within these – through the various mutations of globalization from immediate post-colonial and more linear migratory arrangements to the contemporary highly complex 'carousel' chains and networks of healthcare to later chapters which consider the rationales for migration, the opportunities afforded as well as the perils of being a migratory health care professional. Policy interventions are considered towards the end of the book and Connell argues that the different national and transnational policy responses to migration and recruitment of migrant SHWs and the negative impacts of this have been largely ineffectual in the context of entrenched and varying degrees of inequity and income disparity between nations. The book concludes that given the unlikely rebalancing of the vast global social and economic disparities, the migration of skilled workers will become more intense as the demand for those skills increases. The primary beneficiaries of this phenomenon, Connell suggests, are always going to be destination areas and/or countries rather than source areas/countries. Correspondingly, the different but always significant costs are highest for the source places and for the individuals and their families who make up the migratory exodus. *Migration and the Globalisation of Healthcare* is a humane academic and policy-relevant text. It also powerfully evidences some of the material complexities, meanings, and social justice impacts of globalization.

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Nancy C. Dorian, **INVESTIGATING VARIATION: THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL SETTING**, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 350 pp., \$45.95 (paper).

Nancy Dorian began investigating the Gaelic of East Sutherland (ES) in the 1960s. Her new book, stemming from a new phase in her research, takes us back to this setting. It focuses on linguistic variation which turns out to be unrelated to social class or other social subgroupings. Dorian's two essential questions are: how does idiosyncratic linguistic variation coexist with a homogeneous population, and how should linguists understand this possibility? Dorian discusses one such set of communities in ES.

In chapter 1, Dorian presents the ES Gaelic language, a cluster of dialects found among a dwindling population of former fisherfolk in three villages – Brora (B), Golspie (G), and Embo (E). In the 1960s, Dorian was struck by the particular convergent and divergent morphological and phonological features of these people which differentiated the villages. The most salient singularities were found in E, mostly associated with age. In fact, these fisherfolk were a linguistic ‘aberration’ in the region as English had predominated all around for half a century. In B and G, speakers of Gaelic were all over the age of fifty and formed small groups (3.6 per cent and 4.6 per cent respectively); in E, Gaelic speakers were more numerous (38 per cent), which was accounted for by greater geographical isolation. In chapter 2, a historical-sociological overview of the setting underlines the closeness to the sea, the predominance of fishing, and demographic features. From a social-cultural viewpoint one may speak here of the populations of those three villages as widely homogeneous. Chapter 3 reminds us that by the 1960s, little remained of the fishing character of B, G, and E. The Gaelic-speaking fisherfolk were ageing and their Gaelic was far from uniform. In each village Gaelic exhibited features of its own. Age-related lexical and grammatical variations were prominent (especially in E), and while the influence of English was also evident, style variations tended to correlate with gender, types of audience, and topics. Above all, personally-patterned variations often appeared in dialect mixing.

Chapter 4 introduces and describes the resources people recruited in B, G and E. The data yielded are extremely varied, encompassing elicited and free speech gathered in two steps: from 1963 to 1978 and from 1991 to 2008. The results show firstly that E’s inhabitants, in the 1960s and 1970s, used more Gaelic than in B and G. In the latter however, fluent Gaelic was more grammatically conservative. Personally-patterned variations prevailed in B and G, as well as in E. Further on, Dorian analyses individual phonological realizations of morphemes and variation in morphological alternatives, considering a broad selection of variables, from lexical items, conjunctions and prepositions to grammatical features. In chapter 5, she singles out eighteen variables. Among others, ‘in’, ‘along with’, and ‘when’ which yield five variants each in E’s Gaelic. Statistics gauge personally-patterned variation according to age, sex, and proficiency. Chapter 6 follows those eighteen variables with respect to E’s family networks, and concludes that past or present household and kinship membership hardly affect the use of distinct patterns. In chapter 7, Dorian asks about community norms and correlations with identity. Here she points out findings such as differential appreciations of replies in English to Gaelic discourse, or the frequency of codeswitching.

In chapters 8 and 9, Dorian feels entitled to assess that she found ‘persistent and apparently socially neutral disagreement on variants among siblings or close kin and age-mates who share deeply similar backgrounds’ (p. 273). She reminds us of similar findings reported by researchers who worked with isolated communities and accounted for them with factors such as the absence of codification in oral languages or the absence of social stratification. Dorian sees these works as corroborating her own conclusions and is convinced that linguistic elements in her case characterize people’s own personal styles. However, she emphasizes that her findings are representative only of a homogeneous setting, essentially distinct from urban settings. Variation cannot correlate with class and ethnicity in the absence of class and ethnic differences. This does not mean that language is homogeneous. It only means that variation derives from individual preferences manifesting themselves in coexisting socially neutral variants.

What we learn from this excellent research and refreshing book is that, contrary to some of the major hypotheses prevailing in the literature, linguistic variation is not always explained by sociocultural or demographic variables; it may, under given circumstances, coexist with social and cultural homogeneity and principally give expression to individual diversity.

Adrian Guelke (ed.), **THE CHALLENGES OF ETHNO-NATIONALISM: CASE STUDIES IN IDENTITY POLITICS**, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, xiii + 257 pp., £57.50 (cloth).

Challenges of Ethno-nationalism, a collection of contributions edited by Adrian Gulke, is divided into three parts: case studies; contrasting perspectives on Irish conflict; and comparative analysis of ethno-nationalism, beside the introductory chapter. The contributions are stimulating and informative and therefore recommended for scholars and students of nationalism, as well as folks in the policy communities.

Ramon Maiz, in ‘We aren’t the peasants of the seventies’: Indianism and ethnic mobilization in Bolivia’, charts the rise of Morales’ indigenous movement in Bolivia by showing the growing importance of identity politics in the country. Emel Akcah, in ‘Reading the Cyprus conflict through mental maps: an interdisciplinary approach to ethno-nationalism’, argues that hopes of an end to the intractable conflict which grew with the prospect of European Union membership for the island that could have allayed Turkish Cypriots’ fears of their minority status should the partitioned island be unified, were dashed when Greek Cypriots rejected the negotiated terms in a referendum. Emel Akcah employs an innovative, interdisciplinary approach to explore the different mindset of the two rival communities, using mental maps to bring out people’s emotions, perceptions, and values that underscore the psychological dimension of their relationship with the territory. Olga Malinova, in ‘Defining and redefining Russianness: the concept of empire in public discourses in post-Soviet Russia’, distinguishes four different meanings of empire in the Russian context. This ranges from conception of Russia as a country that is bound to encompass many people and ethnic groups to Russia’s right to be a major power exercising influence beyond its borders. She argues that Russia’s ultra-nationalism, inasmuch as it is not foreseeable, is only found in the imagination of alarmist Western commentators. Ksenia Garbenko, in ‘Picturing a revolution: photographic representation of the Orange Revolution in the Ukrainian newspapers’, analyses the photographic representation in Ukrainian newspapers of the non-violent mass mobilization, known as the Orange Revolution, that compelled the authorities to accept a re-run of the 2004 presidential election which reversed the outcome and gave rise to a new government noting that this underlines the country’s deep linguistic and regional division. Sangu Kumer Raji demonstrates how the impact of market liberalization and globalization caused the rise to power of Hindu nationalists in the 1990s. Klaus-Jurges Nagel, in ‘How parties of stateless nations adapt to multilevel politics: Catalan political parties and their concept of the state’, shows how the institutional architecture was established after Spain became a democracy to accommodate regionally-based ethno-nationalism under that title. Jennifer Todd, in ‘Equality as steady state or equality as threshold? Northern Ireland after the Good Friday (Belfast) Agreement’, examines the role of the equality agenda in the Northern Ireland peace process. Todd draws a distinction between equality as a steady state and equality as a threshold portrayed from the Good Friday Agreement. Niall O Dechartaigh, in ‘Nation and neighbourhood: nationalism, mobilization and local solidarities in the north of Ireland’, employs the example of Northern Ireland to demonstrate a very significant difference between state fraud nationalism and counter-state nationalism. He takes it up from the perspective that the state possesses the wherewithal to embed itself on a national scale, unlike counter-state nationalists citing the example of how local support sustained the campaigns of the IRA. Collián McGrattan, in ‘Ideology, policymaking and path-dependent change’, argues that Irish nationalists who promoted the cause of a united Ireland by wholly peaceful means have been maximalists through out the violent era. John Coakly, in assessing the capacity of federal systems to accommodate a set of territorially-concentrated ethnic groups, notes that of the twenty-four functional federal systems, internal boundaries of the federation and those of putative ethnic homelands do not coincide, notwithstanding this, pressure from ethno-nationalist for recognition of ethnic communities through autonomy or the institutionalization of federal arrangement. Dermuid Maguire’s ‘Local space and protest in divided societies’, explores the

dynamics of protest mobilization and state response within what he calls 'ethnic-national locale'. Using Northern Ireland and Israel, he argues that the battles between the state and protestor over control of space and time tend to be fraught in divided societies. In the last chapter, Rob Aitken examines the application of consociationalism in the Northern Ireland peace process and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Aitken accepts that consociationalism can contribute to peace and an end to violence in the short term, but runs the risk of polarization that occurs in the course of violent conflict. However, he identifies differences among consociational settlement and argues that the Good Friday Agreement is more flexible than the Dayton Peace Agreement.

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Ayhan Aktar, Niyazi Kızılyürek and Umut Özkırıklı (eds), **NATIONALISM IN THE TROUBLED TRIANGLE: CYPRUS, GREECE AND TURKEY**, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, xxiii + 276 pp., £60 (cloth).

The illusion of the ideology of nationalism is to appear natural, ever-present, and timeless unless one starts studying its history and development in a given context. This book attempts to undertake this arduous task in the context of Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey. The contributions stem from a conference on nationalism which for the first time brought Greek, Turkish, and Cypriot scholars together at the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Cyprus in Nicosia in 2006. The editors aim to provide an alternative framework to understand nationalism that goes beyond the established narratives within the official discourses of the three polities. The overall theme of the volume is to show how Cyprus has always been the 'playground' of the nationalisms in Greece and Turkey, and how these nationalisms affected one another, still hindering resolution of this prolonged international conflict. In the first part of the book, authors consider Turkish and Greek nationalisms respectively. Ayhan Aktar focuses on 'demographic engineering' implemented to homogenize the population and the so-called Turkification policies put into practice in the 1920s in the economic and cultural realms. Suavi Aydın addresses a peculiar aspect of Turkish nationalism – the so-called Turkish history thesis of the 1930s – which aimed to utilize disciplines of anthropology and archaeology to attribute a scientific basis to the claim that Turks are part of Western civilization. In his concise narration, Özdoğan explains how the nationalist symbols in Turkey were created by glossing over the historically multi-ethnic character of Anatolia which included Armenian, Greek, Kurdish, and Laz people. Renée Hirschon brings the reader's attention to a critical but often ignored aspect of Southeastern European history – its Ottoman past – and its influence on the development of national identity. Through the example of the controversy over omitting religious affiliation from identity cards in Greece in the early 2000s, she demonstrates how Greek polity operates with a 'mindset and definition of communal identity' that has been inherited from the Ottoman millet system (p. 75). Spyros Sofos and Umut Özkırıklı remind the reader how nationalism has not been the only 'option' available to the political elites in both Greece and Turkey, whose main aim was to modernize and not necessarily nationalize their societies. Harry Tzimitras discusses the way in which Greece, which appears to build its foreign policy on international law, has used it selectively to suit its nationalistic purposes.

In the second part of the book, the reader is invited to engage in the complex history and politics of Cyprus. Michalis Michael discusses how twentieth century historiography in Cyprus was put to use to evaluate past events within a national framework even though such a framework did not exist at the time. Niyazi Kızılyürek narrates a comprehensive account of the Cyprus problem for the first-time reader of the conflict between Greek and Turkish communities on the island, and demonstrates the birth of Turkish nationalism as a reaction to its Greek-Cypriot form. Caesar Mavratsas invites the reader to reflect on the recent

developments in Cyprus and analyses the reasons why Annan Plan was rejected in 2004 by the Greek Cypriots in a referendum. Mavratsas is highly critical of the Greek Cypriot community's approach to a possible solution to the Cyprus issue because it considers that Cyprus is a 'Greek polity' and equality between the Turks and Greeks will not be possible because Turks are an essentially 'inferior' and 'barbaric' minority group (p. 215). This mentality hinders solution of the conflict. In this context, it is worth highlighting the two cross-cutting issues that repeatedly emerged in the volume. First is secularization, or lack of it, in the context of Greek nationalism which has historically driven the nationalist projects in both mainland Greece and in Cyprus. Secondly, a latent orientalist approach towards the common Ottoman history that undermines contemporary critical engagement with the forces of modernization/Westernization in the Southeastern European context. These two issues would perhaps constitute the basis for further research which can explore how nationalism is lived and experienced on the ground on a daily basis in Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey. It is hoped, therefore, that this worthy volume will only pave the way for more compelling studies that also incorporate sociological and anthropological perspectives in the analysis of nationalism in this troubled triangle.

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Ian Law, **RACISM AND ETHNICITY: GLOBAL DEBATES, DILEMMAS AND DIRECTIONS**, Harlow: Pearson Education, 2010, xi + 244 pp., \$55.00 (paper).

The academic study of racism and ethnicity has expanded enormously over the past forty years or so. This has partly been the natural result of disciplinary development: from the narrow concern with 'race and ethnic relations', primarily in the US and the UK which characterized the field in the 1970s, interest has expanded under the impact of feminist, post-colonialist, and antiracist politics to incorporate all sorts of topics from refugees to socio-biology to genocide and ecological migration. Moreover, many of these topics necessarily require an international perspective, widening further the ambit of the terms *racism* and *ethnicity*. Whilst this has unquestionably been to the good of research, with many innovative and imaginative connections being made between, say, different forms of inequality and modes of discrimination, or between different social formations and forms of 'ethnic' politics, it can sometimes present a headache for those teaching in universities; the pedagogic and curriculum requirements of teaching a degree programme have rarely proved as elastic as the range of topics now connoted by the study of 'racism and ethnicity'.

For this reason (but certainly not only this one), Ian Law's new text is a very welcome addition to the resources of those of who study and teach undergraduate and Masters level programmes about these topics. It does an excellent job of providing an accessible conspectus of the field of racism and ethnicity, from the historical groundings of key terms such as 'race' to migration and asylum and current forms of European exclusion. Particularly welcome is the detailed attention to the situation of Gypsies, Roma, and travellers in Europe, an issue that is sometimes overlooked (especially in US-based texts).

The book's nine chapters take the reader methodically from the historical formation of race ideas, showing how they have been a resource not only for those seeking to oppress and exploit, but also for those seeking to challenge and resist this exploitation, to contemporary debates about migration, asylum, and exclusion. *En route*, Law considers racial science and genomics, migration, racist violence and antiracism, exclusion and discrimination in Europe, and the representation of racism, ethnicity, and migration in the news media. The final chapter, 'Prospects for a post-racial, post-ethnic world', offers some suggestive thoughts on group claims for recognition and 'global racial crisis'.

Law's use of unusual examples (Russia, Myanmar, Hawaii, Italy, China, and Japan for example) enlivens the text, and is a useful corrective to the more customary focus on 'race

and ethnic relations' in the US and the UK, whilst the author's winningly-accessible style will prove an aid to the student challenged with a limited attention span. A further help to teachers (and students) is provided by the activities provided at the end of each chapter, many of which make use of relevant websites, and by the short list of further reading (the items in which, oddly, are not listed in alphabetical order).

Unsurprisingly in a book of such ambitious scope, there are topics that readers will feel deserve fuller treatment. My reservation is with the implicit deployment of a particular theoretical approach in the text. On the whole, Law does a fair-minded job of reviewing a number of sociological perspectives on racism and ethnicity, but his own approach rests on a form of social constructionism that occasionally blunts the force of the often compelling material analyses he advances. The difficulty is that the question of agency, the sense of who is doing what to whom, is one constantly raised by the telling historical illustrations, yet answers to it are frustrated by the use of agent-less formulations that leave the reader puzzling to figure out what is meant. For example, early on we are told that 'Western culture was delimited and often constructed through race' (p. 7) which, besides begging the question of what is being taken as 'Western culture', trails in its wake a further series of questions about the processes by which this was managed, who was doing the managing, and about what might count as persuasive empirical evidence for such a claim. Of course, such generalizations are to a certain extent unavoidable in a text with large objectives, yet it is a text with avowedly progressive sympathies; the use of entities such as 'Western culture' does not help the reader to identify appropriate targets for reform.

Nevertheless, this is a well thought-out book which accomplishes its key aims and does so in a clear and engaging manner. It boldly undertakes to bring together an increasingly disparate field and has accomplished this very effectively. It makes interesting connections and, best of all, has greatly eased the task of those of us teaching undergraduate and Masters programmes dealing with racism and ethnicity. I recommend it highly.

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Bertha Ochieng and Carl Hylton (eds), **BLACK FAMILIES IN BRITAIN AS THE SITE OF STRUGGLE**, Manchester University Press, 2010, xv + 322 pp., £60 (cloth).

The purpose of this substantial collection of writing is to contribute to the continuation of theoretical and practical debates about black family life in the UK. The book brings together a wide range of authors whose work engages with academic and public perspectives in different ways. The authors share an African heritage and the editors argue that it is their privileged status as 'insiders' that aids their understanding of key issues affecting black families. The fifteen chapters are linked in demonstrating the strength and resilience of black families in various areas of social life and, as a consequence, the collection represents a refreshing riposte to research that has often stigmatized them. The wide variety of themes covered includes education, the labour market, music, social policy, sport, and religion and spirituality.

The key emphasis of the collection on black families as a site of struggle enables the various contributors to reflect on the wider structural processes that shape black families' experiences and to avoid legitimizing racialized understandings of black families by focusing on individual behaviour. Many of the contributions draw attention to the persisting and disturbingly familiar positioning of the white family as the racialized norm against which the black family is assessed and provide a reminder of how the challenges faced by black families are not the result of entrenched cultural pathology or personal inadequacy.

The contributors collectively show how members of black families are skilled cultural navigators who imaginatively maintain African and Caribbean cultural practices and social and kinship patterns whilst responding to the challenges of living in white-dominant British

society, such as everyday experiences of discrimination. For example, Bertha Ochieng and Tracy Reynolds highlight this with respect to child-rearing practices and both draw attention to the need to understand the significant, changing role of the black extended family in approaches to child-rearing.

Changing family forms and practices is in fact another important theme that links the various contributions to the collection as the authors show how black families have adapted and are still adapting to the challenges of living in British society. Franklin Smith presents an historical profile of black families in Britain and explores a range of areas of social life to show the adaptable resilience of black families. Trevor Gordon explores the socio-economic factors that impact on black family life by focusing on the rites of passage and family bonds that have sustained black families over time.

The collection also provides a wealth of evidence of various social inequalities that continue to blight the lives of black people and their families. Black families' unequal access to housing, welfare, and healthcare services is the focus of a chapter by Alice Sawyerr, Carl Hylton and Valerie Moore, whilst Jerome Williams highlights inequalities in the labour market to argue that black people still face significant barriers to accessing equal opportunities.

The editors of this collection are mindful of the inherent pitfalls in taking for granted a uniformity of experience and identity among people and families categorized as black. Likewise, they recognize the drawbacks of using the term 'black' to refer to a group of people who are incredibly diverse in terms of both their origins and present position in UK society. Despite their explicit recognition, the collection is, perhaps inevitably, open to criticism on both counts. All in all though, the key themes covered in the book will be of interest to scholars and students of the black diaspora as well as being of practical relevance to professional organizations working with black families.

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Jeffrey O. G. Ogbar (ed.), **THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE REVISITED: POLITICS, ARTS AND LETTERS**, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 2010, 272 pp., £15.50 (paper).

This is a useful volume for those who wish to acquaint themselves with, or delve more deeply into, the oft quoted flowering of African American arts and literature in Harlem in the period between the end of the First World War and the coming of the depression in the early 1930s. This was a period of rapid urban development with the growth of black ghetto areas in the major Northern US cities consequent upon the migration northwards of significant numbers of African Americans from the impoverished South. The novelty and relative freedom in the Northern cities juxtaposed with the ongoing and developing constraints of the new urban racial order in the context of the relative national prosperity and economic growth of the 1920s led to a flowering of African American culture and arts which is characterized by the editor as displaying a unique blend of hope and frustration. Racism took a new form in the Northern cities but it opened up new channels of interaction and mutual influence with immigrants of European origin and residents with a longer history of settlement in the Northern cities.

The volume takes Harlem as emblematic of these relatively new urban racial milieux and points out that some of the work attributed to the renaissance was actually undertaken in other cities such as Chicago and Washington DC. The dramatists, artists, writers, musicians, and editors that composed the African American cultural elite were part of the 'talented tenth', identified by du Bois as leaders who were from more privileged backgrounds and sometimes maintained more prosperous lifestyles compared to the bulk of the population whose economically-constrained lifestyle is described well by Jacob Dorman. Squeezed by

relatively high rents, low wages, and long working hours, most residents of Harlem had little leisure to enjoy the finer things of life. Such conditions contrast greatly with the lifestyle of du Bois and his family and the 'Charles and Diana' wedding of his daughter to the poet Countee Cullen that was to be the society wedding that symbolized the coming out of the 'new negro'.

The cultural creativity of the elite producers of the renaissance thrived within the interstices of the constraints and opportunities of the new structural situation of African Americans. The chapter by Salamone on Duke Ellington interestingly conveys the contrast between the racially-restricted code of the Cotton Club where he developed his reputation purveying 'jungle' and dance music to the segregated audiences with the 'tanned, tall and terrific' dancers and his subsequent opportunities to promote and perform his sacred music with its universalistic values at venues in the US in the 1960s and in Westminster Abbey in 1973.

In another interesting chapter, Matusevich relates the generally rewarding experiences of African American visitors, students, and workers to the USSR in the early days of the new regime where they were struck by the lack of racism compared to the US, the relative degree of privilege afforded them in Soviet life, and the easy access they had to the Soviet elite.

All together, this is an interesting and valuable source for those with an interest in the sociology of arts and US race relations.

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J. Eric Oliver, **THE PARADOXES OF INTEGRATION: RACE, NEIGHBORHOOD, AND CIVIC LIFE IN MULTIETHNIC AMERICA**, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010, 199 pp., \$18.00/£11.50 (paper).

Much has been written about ethnic relations in America, particularly on mutual relationships between white and black populations. However, according to Oliver's perspective, the future of American race relations is still uncertain. The reasons that lead the author of this book to think this are many: the persistence of residential ethnic segregation; the growth of the arrivals of new ethnic groups to American cities (Latinos and Asian populations); the maintenance of social stratification on ethnic bases; and the non-disappearance of the negative attitudes between racial groups, among others. In fact, J. Eric Olivier reminds us of the contradictory, segmented, and/or limited explanations of the social scientists; while for some racial diversity promotes antagonism, for others this diversity reduces it. On the other hand, the author reminds us too that the debate about 'race is not over; what is more, it maintains high levels of confrontation in the public discourse.

In this context, Oliver tries to shed some light on America's racial future. In particular, he tries to connect the *racial construct* with residential segregation and attitudes inter-groups. To do this, he uses a quantitative methodology based on individual surveys and the census. The author notes that his work is not a comprehensive study of racial attitudes in America; an ethnographic approach would be necessary to explain why people hold negative attitudes toward others. The data sources are several sets of surveys and the census records from 1990 to 2004 (a full description of these is given in Appendix A of the book). Despite the limitations of this type of information (which the author himself indicates in the Introduction), he recognizes that the data provide a full range of measures of individual racial attitudes and civic involvement; in sum, they 'provide a remarkable picture of the different ways Americans views themselves and people of the other races, depending on where they live' (p. 11). These races are whites, blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans.

The central argument of the book is that America's patterns of spatial and social integration present some paradoxes for the future of its race relations, as announced in the book's title. The first is the *paradox of diversity*. Living among people of other races may

generate both an increase in racial animosity as well as a decrease in it. The key is the context: a metropolitan level (macro level) produces a growing racial intolerance, but a neighbourhood level (micro level) decreases it.

The second is the *paradox of community*. Living in a neighbourhood with people of other races may generate better attitudes toward these races, but at the same time generate less interest in community affairs. For most people, living in neighbourhoods with the same racial group provides a feeling of community not available in the general society, but reduces connections with other groups and with the general interest.

It seems that the author offers a third paradox to which he does not give a name, but which is perhaps the most important: that the change towards greater racial recognition entails, in fact, a decline in racial or ethnic differences. This paradox could be called the *paradox of integration*.

The book is divided into seven chapters, preceded by an Introduction. In the first chapter, Oliver tries to explain why the residential context affects the interracial contact and attitudes. The second part (chapters 2 to 5) presents different interracial attitudes in different residential settings, based on a detailed analysis of empirical data. Chapter 6 is dedicated to displaying the impact of integrated neighbourhoods on the social cohesion and on the interest in the affairs of the large society. Finally, in the last chapter the author thinks over the future of interracial relations in America.

This book covers topics such as recent immigration, ethnic diversity, racial attitudes, segregation (residential and social), and social cohesion in American life. Its contributions in these areas are very interesting: rigorous analyses of extensive empirical data; empirical connection between racial attitudes and areas of residence; the addition to this type of analysis of new immigrant groups (Latinos and Asians), and so on. But perhaps one of the most interesting things is the approach of integration of the newcomers in America. In this sense, the author is courageous because he addresses a difficult subject. In his final remarks a question hangs in the air: with the new immigrants, will there be real multiculturalism in America, beyond the phenotypic differences of assimilated populations, or beyond the cultural differences of socially marginalized populations? This is an important question for the near future of *Multicultural America*.

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Stephen K. Rice and Michael D. White (eds), **RACE, ETHNICITY, AND POLICING: NEW AND ESSENTIAL READINGS**, New York: New York University Press, 2010, v + 535 pp., \$35.00 (paper).

This volume of twenty two chapters is a comprehensive tour of classic and contemporary studies on the intersection between race, ethnicity and policing, and thought-provoking glimpses at the future opportunities and challenges scholars face in researching racial profiling. Stephen K. Rice and Michael D. White succeed in familiarizing the reader with the main theoretical and methodological concerns in seeking to understand when and how race and ethnicity influence police action within diverse communities and the broader implications that these interactions hold for state-society relations.

The editors divide the book into four sections. The first section explores the theoretical, conceptual, and methodological history of interdisciplinary social science research on race, ethnicity, and policing. An excerpt from Jerome H. Skolnick's work on policing in the late 1960s suggests that the dimensions of danger and authority particular to the labours of the police endow them with unique 'working personalities' (p. 15) through which they interpret the world around them. Much subsequent research has leveraged Skolnick's work to analyse whether the police interpret race and ethnicity in ways that trigger specific assumptions and consequently actions. The next chapters provide insights into the early methodological innovations in measuring racial profiling, including John Lamberth's study on 'driving while

black' on the New Jersey Turnpike in the early 1990s, in which he finds that black drivers are nearly five times more likely to be stopped by the police than others. Finally, the section concludes by discussing how the interaction between the police and citizens shape the former's legitimacy, the ways in which the contexts of neighbourhoods, cities, and towns affect police and citizens' perceptions of each other, and how the US Supreme Court has enabled racial profiling as part of an expansion of discretionary police authority.

The second section of the book focuses on methods and opens with a comprehensive overview of the methodological tools researchers rely on to establish benchmarks for the quantitative estimation of racial profiling. The growing use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to map the spatial distribution and dynamics of race, crime, and policing is then discussed before an important argument is made for the greater incorporation of qualitative methods as part of an effort to derive more fine-grained insights into police-citizen encounters. The concluding chapter in this section tackles the challenges of conceptualizing and operationalizing racial profiling.

After introducing the reader to the seminal theoretical and methodological debates in the study of race, ethnicity, and policing, the third section of the volume explores contemporary research. Among the novel arguments in this section is the case made for scholars to shift their focus from how race may induce a police stop and instead consider the racial dynamics of interaction between the police and citizens once a stop has taken place. The next chapter underscores the analytic value of such a shift by identifying how citizens' demeanours during traffic stops affect their probabilities of being arrested. The adherence to broken windows theory is then challenged through a study that reveals how the growing practice of police stops and frisks of citizens in New York City has reached a point of diminishing returns in terms of yielding arrests, which suggests that the continuation of the practice is more likely driven by political and institutional imperatives. The final two chapters in this section explore the racial and ethnic dimensions of police shootings and use of TASER technology.

The volume's concluding section outlines the dimensions of a future research agenda. Among the key issues researchers must tackle are the significant gaps in our knowledge of how racial profiling affects the growing US Latino and Muslim populations. Several chapters provide important prescriptive insights into the development of internal and external police oversight mechanisms to foster accountability and democratic policing. Finally, the book concludes with a brief but provoking essay by Bernard E. Harcourt in which the author argues that the dominant use of actuarial methods for predicting criminal behaviour and allocating law enforcement resources is counterproductive because it can encourage crime by non-profiled populations, produce a disproportionate incarceration of profiled-populations, and narrow the state's conceptualization of just punishment.

This volume is not only a necessary read for anyone seeking to understand the past, present, and future of the study of race, ethnicity, and policing, but also highlights the need for more interdisciplinary and multi-method research on this major issue.

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Anna Triandafyllidou (ed.), **IRREGULAR MIGRATION IN EUROPE: MYTHS AND REALITIES**, Farnham: Ashgate/Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations Series, 2010, 328 pp., £60 (cloth).

The past few decades have seen increasing debates about irregular migration, which have, in the absence of empirical evidence, generated contrasting discourses on this issue. This edited book, which is an outcome of the Clandestino European research project, aims to provide some evidence in order to distinguish between myths and realities. Much of the book gives an overview of irregular migration in fifteen European countries and of the role of the European Union in regulating irregular migrants. It is intended as a handbook, with each

chapter covering the situation in one country and being similarly organized, including: an estimation of the size and features of irregular migration based on existing statistics and literature; the main pathways into irregular status; and the ways these modes have changed over time. The chapters also analyse the national immigration policies that have consequences for irregular migration. The book also assesses policy-related discourses regarding this population as an indicator of sensitivity or intolerance towards irregular migration over the last two decades.

The introductory chapter highlights some of the key trends in European Union policies on irregular migration. Anna Triandafyllidou and Maria Ilies underline that although European Union policies against irregular migration were present in the mid 1970s and especially in the mid 1980s with the Schengen agreements, they began to aim directly at irregular migrants only in the 2000s. Before this, the measures were part of the general attempt to manage migration. In the 2000s the EU's policies against irregular migration acquired two new features: external and internal border controls, including the extension of sanctions against employers in most EU member states. This leads Triandafyllidou and Ilies to describe the European Union policy regarding irregular migration as 'global' and 'comprehensive', although its effectiveness remains to be proven (p. 37). The rest of the book deals with nation-states' situations and, by so doing, implicitly highlights both the failures and successes of these EU policies.

Despite the harmonization process of irregular migration policies in Europe and increased repression since 2000 in all European countries, irregular migration varies indeed from one country to another and is dealt with differently by nation-states. However, some trends are perceptible by European regions. South European countries such as Spain, Italy, and Greece are new countries of immigration, but they host a level of irregular migration comparable to that of traditional countries of immigration such as the UK, France, and Germany. These new immigration countries demonstrate a higher level of tolerance both toward irregular migrants and irregular work (which is easier to find than regular work). Irregular migrants are included in the host society through periodic regularizations. East European countries show some similar trends too: irregular migration is a recent issue and seems only temporary, as these countries are still considered transit countries by irregular migrants. North-continental countries present fewer similarities. For instance, whereas irregularity is a relatively recent issue in the UK because the country formerly offered enough ways to migrate legally and then work, it was tolerated in France as a mode of immigration until the 1970s when France saw an increase in legislative immigration policies. Since then the French government has, however, continued to initiate regularization programmes. Finally, irregular migration has remained an understated issue so far in Germany. The reasons for this diversity of tactics are not explained in this volume, nor is the absence of the Scandinavian countries, for which the reader has to turn to other sources and make his or her own analysis.

Triandafyllidou and Dita Vogel conclude the book by drawing attention to similar trends among all European countries, which provide a complex picture of the impact of irregular migration policies. They argue that if the number of irregular migrants resident in each country has decreased from 2000 to 2008 – which must also be related to the enlargement of Europe and regularization programmes – the number of irregular migrant workers has not. With the same logic, if irregular migrants are not able to enter European countries irregularly, they find legal ways to migrate and then overstay irregularly. In other words, repressive policies have not prevented irregular migration, but have changed the characteristics and modes of illegality.

To conclude, I can say that while this book fulfils its aim to provide evidence that allows the reader to cast a critical eye over political and media debates on irregular migrants, it

must be thought of as a tool and a starting point to develop future analysis and critical comparisons of national similarities and differences.

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