

BOOK REVIEWS |

Kibria, N.; Bowman, C., and O’Leary, M. (2014). *Race and Immigration*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 297 pages. (ISBN: 9780745647913)

Studies of immigration do not often intersect with discussions about race and its implications for the U.S. society. It is probably due to methodological problems of focus: while demographers investigate diverging destinies of different population groups, they ground their explanations in persistent black/ white divide. However it may be hard to introduce immigrants into this framework because of lack of reliable statistics and longitudinal studies; which may be especially true in the case of recent newcomers to the USA.

Nazli Kibria and his co-authors make race – immigration nexus central in the book. They ask a question whether the “American Dream” works for the new settlers and what structural inequalities hinder upward social mobility of the immigrants. Providing an overview of immigration policy and its change over a hundred years, the authors argue that the policy has not just reflected the racial order, but shaped and reified it as well. In *Race and Immigration* the authors investigate how contemporary rhetoric of “colour-blind” society masks other emerging divides, which limit immigrants’ opportunities while they work out their way to the American Dream. Modern racism does not easily fit into the traditional models of black and white segregation. Cultural traits and language, character and behaviour play out for creation of new divisions. Institutions, employers and general public assume that immigrants from different places share common characteristics, which allows to justify “otherness” and seclude them into specific niches.

I find the chapter on connection of immigrants’ occupational strategies and race especially interesting. Kibria, Bowman and O’Leary discuss formation of ethnic occupational niches; and the dual role that they play in creating job opportunities, and limiting employment mobility of immigrants. They indicate that the process of occupational racialization occurs across a broad spectrum of jobs, when different ethnicities are valued for specific roles, understood as “natural” for them. Race and ethnicity becomes markers, which replace skill and qualifications. Occupational racialization intersects with gender as well, when women of some ethnic groups are viewed as naturally “familial”, or “caring”, while men presumably have intrinsic inclination for manual labour. The same happens in many other parts of the world; for instance, in Russia where ethnonym Tajik becomes equal to “labourer, good for construction and dirty work only”. In my opinion, the book would benefit from cross-national comparisons, but it may become a topic of further publications of the authors.

It is very interesting to follow the authors’ discussion how the notions of “good /bad immigrant worker” serve to reinforce existing social inequalities. In the hour-glass structure of immigrants’ occupation the notions of skills and status become related to race. “Good worker”, who has required high qualifications, but is also willing to accept lower wages in comparison to American-born whites, has a good chances to climb the ladder of vernacular statuses. The authors provide good examples, how immigrant



groups, who displayed entrepreneurial qualities and entered various businesses, become considered “whiter” in terms of social status. Similar processes, but with a negative sign, occur at the opposite side. Immigrant groups get locked in ethnic occupational niches, when low English proficiency, problematic documentary status and marginalization reinforced racialized stigmas. Race and ethnicity intersect at this point; and different ethnic groups of immigrant succeed previously marginalized racial groups in terms of occupation and apprehension.

Race and Immigration is a timely and insightful book. While government continues to toughen migration policy and border control due to emerging global challenges, new immigrant groups face rejection and exclusion. It is very important to understand the mechanism of creation of new social divisions. The authors did an impressive job in calling for reflexivity in dealing with contemporary framework of “colour-blind” society, which masks growing inequalities. This criticism is vital for academics, who aim at understanding migration and social processes.

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Vollmer, B. A. (2014) Policy Discourses on Irregular Migration in Germany and the United Kingdom. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 297 pages. (ISBN: 9781137307552)

Bastian Vollmer, in this book, analyses how the legislative measures and instruments have been created and adopted for dealing with irregular migration while also examining overall the nation-states' responses to irregularity in human mobility. Vollmer rightly points the fact that irregular migration has been high up on the political agenda for many years and now there is a need for critical assessment of it. He tries to do just that as he examines the facets of the interdependency between irregular migration and policy responses or policymaking.

He begins with a natural science metaphor where there is a habitual reaction to an external stimuli. Thus he aims to analyse the nation-states' reaction against the external stimuli in the case of irregularity. As author, this is an alerting system that nation-state categorises and evaluates the unknown just as human beings develop against unknown objects and the ways in which state controls its borders by restricting who moves in and who moves out. As a consequence of increasingly restrictive policymaking, as claims, however, that ever more moves labelled "illegal" or "irregular". The legislative measures, restrictive policies and their outcomes are discussed. Due to its nature, irregular migration cannot be discussed outside the context of legislative measures. Percentage of United Nations (UN) member states with policies to restrict immigration have risen from only 7 percent in 1976 to 40 per cent in 2002. He asks: what went on during the policy-formulation process?

In tracing the historic roots of "irregular migration" beginning from the World War II, Vollmer provides an original, systematic approach and new viewpoint to the development of this concept since the 1970s and developed. Country analyses are subdivided into three time periods: 1973-1983, 1983-1990, and 1990-1999. The primary research objective is to unravel historical evolution of discourses on irregular immigration and control systems and their underlying logic in Germany and the UK.

This volume differs from the existing literature as it brings an interdisciplinary and bottom-up or inductive approach (historical approach) by integration a method developed from linguistics (discourse analysis) and public policy/comparative politics (policy analysis). It helps to understand the processes observed in two contexts.

For Vollmer, the objective of this study is to deconstruct the discursive evolution of the policy domain or irregular migration policymaking and historicize the competitive mobilisation processes of 'policy frames'. Using discourse and policy analysis, this text traces the origins of particular policy ideas and explains why migration systems and frameworks in Germany and the UK were fundamentally different, and their policy responses to irregular migration have converged to the point that they are now very similar.

After definitions and descriptions of the opening chapter, in the second chapter, "Policy Discourses, Frames, Methods", he examines the general framework of the field of policy making and the relation between policy frames and actors. Two cases of restrictive responses by nation- states were examined separately in chapter 3 (entitled "England") and chapter 4 (entitled "Germany"). Chapter 5, "Comparative Meta-Frames" compares the two countries in order to discern the particularities and characteristics of the policy field as a whole. The readers can comprehend that why two 'most different' cases reacted similarly although they have a different historical background about migration. In conclusion, Vollmer gets back to a broader perspective to offer something with a wider application. Vollmer presents a comprehensive assessment of irregular migration and the nation-states' response to it in terms of policies.

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Biradavolu, M. R. (2008) Indian Entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley, the Making of a Transnational Techno-Capitalist Class. Cambria Press, 237p. (ISBN: 9781604795277)

Monica Biradavolu in this book attempts to understand and answer how the first generation skilled migrants from India to the United States, joined the workforce in the software industry and later switched their roles to transnational entrepreneurs; in two major techno capitalist areas located 8700 miles away from each other, namely Bangalore and San Jose.

Divided into six chapters, the first chapter provides an historical insight on formation of Silicon Valley, which transformed the city from an agricultural land to the world's largest IT hub. It lays emphasis on a unique triangular matrix - the government, entrepreneurs and Stanford University that gave birth to a number of entrepreneurial ventures and startups. The author has followed a logical sequence in describing historical aspects that lead to the development in this region.

The author critically evaluates the patterns prevailing in the work culture of Silicon Valley that attracted and fostered entrepreneurship amongst Indian IT professionals who arrived there as employees on H1B or L1 visas. Arguments presented in this book state Indian migrants do not lack in human capital and they possess qualifications that are required by general market. Hence, they do not occupy or take over employment opportunities that are ignored by the native population.

This book portrays an optimistic picture in describing success factors that lead to the growth of an entrepreneurial community in Silicon Valley. Focusing on the background of these migrant entrepreneurs in this region, it showed two important aspects - one that ignited competition amongst these professionals as they got involved in new ventures and secondly, despite of such a competitive environment there was a mutual cooperation when it came to learning and sharing of necessary resources, information and ideas. This pattern is not mentioned in the earlier literature theories of immigrant entrepreneurship.

However, this book does not cover the aspect of those Indian entrepreneurs who failed in their ventures nor does it cover any early challenges faced by them while they returned to India after living in the United States. It also does not cover the pitfalls and limitations in the immigration system of the United States hindering the growth of transnational entrepreneurship and general entry for highly skilled professionals.

India, in the early 19th century, was predominantly an agricultural country, with a relatively low literacy rate. However, it was astonishing to see how this country managed to produce not just a competitive workforce at an international level, but also proved themselves pioneers in the field of science, technology and entrepreneurship. This later, saw a rise of Indian IT professionals as heads of global companies not only in India but also in other developed nations. At the end of this chapter, the author suggests re-forms in the immigration policies of the United States in order to remain internationally competitive and attractive.

The third chapter forms the core of this book, where the author provides the past traits of Indian IT professionals, who do not come from any kind of entrepreneurial background and belong to a middle-class society. Using Gereffi's value chain model, the author draws reasons, how Indian companies developed the ability to provide higher value added services that lead the shift in movement of people (body-shopping) to movement of jobs (out-sourcing) and creation of two trans-capitalist regions. Indian companies scaled up the value chain and were able to provide customised services.

In the fourth chapter, the author describes transnational Indian entrepreneurs as hyper mobile and their activities made them global agents as they had gone beyond the phase of brain-drain labour movement.

The last two chapter focuses on the three pillars - education, family and networking that fostered entrepreneurship amongst Indian IT professionals working in Silicon Valley. The author puts forward an argument on economic transnational activities, where she advocates the entrepreneurial practices of Indian immigrants in this sector must be viewed as a form of transnationalism from 'below'.

Overall, the author rightly justifies the arguments put forward and opens a new scope of research in the study of transnational professionals to evolve further as transnational entrepreneurs not just in the software industry but also in the case of academicians, doc-tors, scientists and as top level managers in international organisations in other developed economies. However, the author seems bias in describing more success factors.

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Sirkeci, I., Elcin, D., Seker, G. (ed.) (2015) Politics and Law in Turkish Migration. London, UK: Transnational Press London, 190p. (ISBN: 978-1-910781-00-5)

The book – consisting of 11 articles – collects essays on legal regulation and migration policy making strategies with particular emphasis on Turkey and the EU. This book comes at a timely moment as Turkish politics and public discourses revolve around the nexus of humanity, as well as a diaspora empowerment, domestic community cohesion and sovereignty within Turkish Republic.

While the book is particularly pertinent for grasp of new calls that have emerged in the past years in the Near East region, it also contributes to the understanding of a migrant’s protection mechanism, non- refoulement principle and their impact on humanitarian mainstream in modern migration Turkish policy. Quite interesting and informative essays by Deniz Eroglu (p. 25-39) and by Doga Elcin (p.39-51), are comparing Turkish national law and international law towards Syrians. For a long time the refugee protection and asylum rights are extended under Turkish national law only to Europeans, making Syrians temporary “visitors” on the territory of Turkey. The incorporation of non –refoulement principle into 2014 Law on Foreigner and International Protection (p. 40) was a right shift in policy to encompass longer-term solutions that was needed.

The essays written by Floris Vermeulen and Ayten Dogan, Emily Joy Rothchild, Mine Karakus tell readers how do Turkish migrants respond to this rather hostile political and legal environment in Germany, spatializing their existence within certain social and ethnic urban enclaves such as Berlin and Hamburg. Two other authors - Nils Witte with “Can Turks be Germans? (p. 105-119) and Necdet Coskun Aldemir with “The Second Generation’s Discovery of Transnational Politics via Social Media” (p.119-137), search for an answer on questions how do Turks in Germany navigate and negotiate the various “internal” borders within Germany? How do they resist, reproduce, or redefine these boundaries in their daily practices?

The book also raises topics for discussion on Turkish diaspora and its impact inside and outside country. Mapping migrants experiences in Germany, Selcen Öner shows the invention of a new mechanism of power which had very specific procedures, completely different instruments and a new equipment, i.e. Turks community organizations and their support Turkey’s EU membership as a way to “positively affect Turkish immigrants without German citizenship” (p. 165).

Also, the book offers some other points for a further discussion. One of them is terminology used by essays’ authors. Annalisa Moticelli and Dr. Cluth already mentioned that “a negative approach”, i.e. term illegal migrant ... is “evident of lacking legal measures governing this area” (p. 15). However both authors repeatedly used this term (p.24, 29). Another point of discussion is comparison between migration inflows from Mexico to the USA and from Syria to Turkey (p.5). The examination of the complex relationship between newcomers and the immigration system in the USA and Turkey is needed to cast more light on fundamental questions about the nature of migration and its different approach (search for a job vs. search for a secure) in both countries. More detailed analysis also required a thesis on a lack of politicians with migration background in west European countries, in particular Germany (p.71). Such rate strongly depends on political level (municipalities or federal level) and migration communities. The amount of politicians with Turkish roots in Germany is significantly higher than

represents with another migration background (i.e. Spätaussiedler or so called German Russians).

Summing up, the book is a collection of essays that is theoretically grounded in broader legal revision of current Turkish immigration law and its application, making it an essential contribution to our understanding of migration influx inside and outside Turkey, as well as its impact on modern state policy formation.

The book's audiences may range from students, who wish to learn about migration trends within EU and Turkey, to young academics in early stage of their career, who searches for legal and policy-based analysis on Turkish migration approach, associated with its humanitarian strategy and its diaspora network.

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Hackett, S. (2013) *Foreigners, Minorities and Integration: The Muslim Immigrant Experience in Britain and Germany*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 277 pages. (ISBN – 978-0-7190-8317-4)

Foreigners, Minorities and Integration: The Muslim Immigrant Experience in Britain and Germany (2013) seeks to expand the existing literature on Muslim immigrant communities across Europe by exploring the extent to which integration into a host society is possible. Hackett's comparative study of Bremen and Newcastle upon Tyne, covering the 1960s to the 1990s, reveals a new perspective on the multiculturalism debate, particularly the question of whether Muslim communities assimilate fully into Western society. Hackett analyses three core issues that underpin social integration and compares her findings to reach a different conclusion from the existing historiography. Through assessing the sectors of employment, housing and education, she explains that 'this work aims to bridge the gap between what are well-developed, yet overwhelmingly separate, bodies of literature, particularly at a local level'(p. 9). Whilst much recent scholarship has focused on larger cities that are home to substantial Muslim communities, Hackett provides an original, thorough and rare insight into previously neglected areas.

The first chapter focuses on the employment sector in both cities and the extent to which this has been the main reason for integration, or lack thereof. Hackett suggests that it is often the 'desire for self-employment and economic independence' (33) amongst Muslim communities, rather than discrimination that leads to a significant number of individuals opening their own businesses. She also posits that this tendency can be seen more evidently in Newcastle upon Tyne than in Bremen, due to Germany's 'comparatively delayed emergence of economic autonomy' (34). Such a hypothesis may be supported through investigating the types of immigration that took place. In Newcastle upon Tyne the South Asian Muslim communities arrived at the beginning of the nineteenth century as a form of colonial migration, whereas the Turkish Muslims in Bremen arrived as part of a restricted *Gastarbeiter* (Guest worker) scheme in the post-war years due to a shortage of labour. Although the Turks in Bremen arrived in the 1960s under the guise of seasonal work, Hackett argues controversially that Bremen did more to ensure integration was possible if the rotational principles of the *Gastarbeiter* scheme were found to be unsustainable. Consequently, Hackett has determined that Bremen's Turkish population, like Newcastle upon Tyne's South Asian community, has integrated into the employment sector at a higher rate and to a greater extent than those

in other areas of Germany. Hackett's study argues that this phenomenon is due to the other sectors working in conjunction with each other, but is also indebted to the way that the two cities welcomed immigrants from an integrationist perspective. Previous historiography suggests that integration is easier for ethnic minorities who inhabit larger towns and cities, yet by demonstrating that this is not always the case, Hackett's study redresses a gap in the existing literature.

The second chapter focuses on the housing sector and how the placement of Muslims in both cities has aided their integration into wider society. Hackett argues that although there has been some degree of vandalism and harassment from the local population, 'choice has often triumphed over constraint amongst Muslim migrants in both cities' (148). Hackett supports such a reading through a perceptive analysis of housing trends, as well as the creation and implementation of housing policies by the local council in Newcastle upon Tyne and the governing body of Bremen. It is often asserted that concentrated levels of migrant groups in particular areas undermine integration, yet Hackett counteracts that, particularly in Newcastle upon Tyne, that Muslims have 'clearly benefited from belonging to relatively small and close-knit communities' (225). The third chapter analyses the education of Muslim youth in both cities, which Hackett perceived to be the least integrated sector. Although this book highlights education to be the area in which young Muslims struggled the most, Hackett argues that this does not mean, for the majority, that integration failed on this level. In contrast, this study suggests that while there was certainly some levels of discrimination and an obvious language deficiency for many Muslim youths, 'there is no doubt that both cities often surpassed the British and German standard' (214). Bremen in particular is commended within this work for its ground-breaking foresight regarding the education of *Gastarbeiter* children, something to which little regard was given throughout the rest of Germany in the 1960s. Hackett maintains that because of the way that local authorities anticipated permanent settlement in Bremen and Newcastle upon Tyne, they 'awarded a vast amount of attention to the educational provision of their respective migrant schoolchildren' (216), thereby aiding the integration of successive generations through schools and adult evening classes.

The three core chapters focusing on each sector reveal consistently a strong correlation with one another, each time reinforcing the extent to which integration has been achieved by the primary migration groups. Hackett argues that Newcastle and Bremen demonstrated parallels early on through the way that they amalgamated ideas and policies, which she explains 'developed for the most part as a result of local conditions and concerns' (220). She concludes by emphasising that, although both groups have integrated much further into their respective host societies than is commonly perceived, 'it is colonial immigrants who succeed in identifying with the cultures of their receiving societies the fastest...expos[ing] the extent to which former guest-workers are catching up' (228). Whilst Hackett's work on the social integration of Muslims is primarily historiographical, this work is essential reading in its contribution to interdisciplinary literature on migration, particularly the way that it portrays the studies of history, sociology and demographics as complementary of one another.

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