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BOOK REVIEWS

Boréus, Kristina & Mörkenstam, Ulf (2010) *Spjälorna i buren: En arbetsplatsstudie av ojämlikhet mellan kvinnor och män, invandrade och infödda*, Studentlittertur: Lund. 152 pp.

This book examines the inequalities in the Swedish labour market by illustrating ethnic and gender structures through the example of one Swedish work place; a real estate company in Sweden. The authors Kristina Boréus and Ulf Mörkenstam are researchers affiliated to the Department of Political science at Stockholm University. Through the example of the real estate company, they point to a range of organizational 'wires' that together could be a way to understand differences in salaries and segregated divisions of labour between women and men and between immigrated and Swedish-born employees in the Swedish society. They argue that if we do not consider the everyday practices of inequality, there is a tendency that the differences in salary and position become a question of the employees' degree of 'employability', but if we instead look at the work place as a bird cage we can also observe what hinders their social mobility.

As this book is written in Swedish, I would like to start with explaining the title, which is related to the metaphor of the bird cage that was first discussed by Marilyn Frye in her book *The Politics and Reality: essays in feminist theory* from 1983. The title of the book reviewed here is *Spjälorna i buren*, which translates to: The Wires of the Cage. Originally, Frye used the metaphor of the bird cage as a way to see the underlying power dimensions in a certain context. The authors argue that if we look too closely at just one wire in the cage, we cannot see the other wires, which might imply that we will miss the reason why a bird do not just fly around the wire any time it desires to but is instead locked into the cage. They also argue that even if you inspect each wire, you could still not see why a bird would have trouble getting out. Instead, you have to see the whole cage in order to understand why it is not able to act within it, which is the point of departure for Boréus and Mörkenstam.

The book explains why it is of importance to study inequality on the Swedish labour market from a workplace perspective and states that this is lacking in the Swedish context, where studies about inequality mostly have been conducted on a macro level. The authors therefore aim to add to that knowledge by focusing on what generates and maintains inequality at work.

The book is based on a range of data, including interviews and focus group interviews with janitors, observations and statistics from the company in focus. The authors use both what they call an outsider perspective, which is the way the company describes itself to the public and to its employees, and an insider perspective, which refers to the employees' perspective on the company.

The authors argue that the chosen company in focus could be seen as a 'Miniature Sweden', as it reveals similar patterns than the earlier research has shown on a national level related to gender segregation and ethnic division in the labour markets: women, for example, were over-represented in administrative positions, whereas men were over-represented in janitor tasks, and employees with immigrant backgrounds were underrepresented in higher positions The same patterns appeared when they looked at salaries, where Swedish-born men earned more than Swedish-born women and Swedish-born persons earned more than foreign-born persons within the company.

The book uses Bourdieu's (1977) theoretical term *cultural capital* to explain the patterns of inequality and segregation that are observed. The authors address how access to cultural capital, and the possibility to make their skills into something desirable for the company, were different between women and men, and between Swedish-born and immigrants at the workplace. One such interesting example of 'capitalization' is that the immigrants' knowledge of other languages could not be 'capitalized', which, on the contrary, the Swedish language could.

One main result regards differences to influence the work place. Earlier research has shown that immigrants have a tendency to be placed in sub-ordinated positions in the Swedish labour market and that Swedish-born persons have more influence over their work situation than immigrants (e.g. Mattsson 2005). In this book, the authors show that a similar pattern appeared within the investigated company, where (Swedish-born) men had more possibility to influence the work place than both women and people with immigrant background, and that people with immigrant background more often experienced discrimination than the other groups.

Another focus of the book is the local discourse of this specific work place. The authors define discourses as the type of social practice that existed in the work place, or, in other words, formal and informal rules for how things are to be done. In doing so, they show that social constructions of what is considered masculine and feminine work tasks exist and are practiced both formally and informally. The authors argue that this can be one explanation to the company's gender-segregated work force. Another discursive practice they found was that 'migranthood' was often viewed by the company as related to problems, especially when it came to

the people living in the apartments and houses that the real estate company owned. Areas with a high concentration of people with an immigrant background were thought as problematic and as demanding more resources. The authors hence argue that in a society where immigrants are often problematized, it is hard to believe that this would not affect the relationship between individuals of foreign and non-foreign background at a work place.

Another conclusion in the book refers to the birdcage metaphor, arguing that there is a discrepancy between the self-image of the work place – being based on equality between women and men and between Swedish born and immigrants – and the actual inequality that existed at the workplace. One such example could be that the janitors with immigrant background were often used as interpreters when dealing with people with immigrant background living in the apartments that the company owned, yet this skill was not capitalized or rewarded in the same way as other skills needed. Employees who had well-spoken and well-written Swedish language were premiered with higher salary or by getting higher or administrative positions at the work place.

The strength of the book is that it has an ambitious aim to add to the knowledge base on what it is that generates and maintains inequality in working life in Sweden. It shows how situated knowledge is generated and maintained in a particular work place. However, the book does not convince me about what it is that shapes this situated knowledge and why it is maintained in this particular work place. The book does also have problems of convincing reader why this particular work place could or should be seen as a 'Miniature Sweden'. I think it has something to do with that the perspective of women with immigrant backgrounds is missing. Even if this was not a deliberate sample, there were no women with immigrant background working in the estate at the time of the study. Hence, it only represents part of the 'Miniature Sweden'. One could of course see this result as strength (if more explicitly discussed in the book) as it shows how women with immigrant background are seemingly invisible in the Swedish labour market. Another strength of the book is that it gives researchers and students a framework for how to study an organization in order to find underlying power structures. However, the birdcage metaphor might have served a better purpose if introduced in the beginning instead of at the end. This would have given the study a clear theoretical point of departure and it would also have given the reader an early understanding of the title of the book.

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Geiger, Martin & Pécoud, Antoine (eds.) (2013) *Disciplining the Transnational Mobility of People*, Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 259 pp.

This volume explores the ways in which contemporary migration politics strive towards 'disciplining' international mobility. Not too long ago, the main objective was for states (especially affluent destination states) to *control* their borders. But since the 1990s, Antoine Pécoud argues in his introductory chapter, the control objective has gradually been overlaid by the ambition to *discipline* international mobility, and migration management has become the new catchword in migration policy debates in the post-Fortress Europe-era. However, Pécoud emphasizes, 'This is not to say that the fixation with control has disappeared, or that immigration and border policies have fundamentally changed. Rather, it is to recognize that the objective of defending receiving states from unwanted migrants is both embedded in, and complemented by, the larger goals to organize human mobility and discipline people's movements and behaviours' (p. 1).

Discipline escapes simple definition, but instead denotes the broader configuration of discourses and practices that distinguish migration policy today. Among other things, disciplinary migration politics is characterized by its involvement of a broad range of actors at national, regional and international levels as states have realized that they cannot unilaterally impose order on transnational flows. It is further distinguished by its multiple methods: it does not only work through coercive measures but also through the subtle means of protection and persuasion, as well as the self-disciplining of individual migrants so that they willingly adhere to norms and rules that do therefore not need to be coercively enforced. Relative to control, discipline or migration management is presented as a more positive, humane and liberal approach to migration by its advocates. It ultimately also relies on the promotion of a particular world-view, which points to the importance for researchers to pay attention to discourses and representations.

The study of migration politics was long dominated by typical political science concerns with domestic policy process analyses and cross-national comparisons. This volume convincingly demonstrates not only that migration politics has changed towards greater complexity but also that scholars need to employ a broader set of methodological and conceptual tools to account for this new reality. It could therefore be read by scholars as well as student and interested publics. In its striving to re-orient the study of migration politics, the volume can be read as pertaining to a growing strand of scholarship that shares the same ambition (see e.g. Feldman 2011; Walters 2010) and that includes the editors' previous volume (Geiger and Pécoud 2010).

The volume is interdisciplinary in character, with contributors from anthropology, ethnology, geography, law, political science and sociology. The chapters cover a broad range of themes: European Union policy, civil society activism, marriage migration, anti-trafficking efforts, smart surveillance, Argentinian female migration and human rights, Cameroonian consulate officers, voluntary return, asylum and the controversies regarding the treatment of Thai workers in the berry picking industry in Sweden. The scholarship is overall sound and the themes are interesting, topical and in some instances novel. I cannot do them all justice but will concentrate on a few of the contributions.

Martin Geiger's chapter expands on the themes presented in the introduction, detailing the transformation of migration politics from control to discipline. This is an excellent contribution, which presents the ongoing paradigm change with attention to details as well as the broad picture. After an historical overview, Geiger traces how international actors and arenas have made their way into migration governance. International organizations, non-governmental organizations as well as informal arenas for discussions such as the Regional Consultative Processes have increasingly come to complement (and challenge) unilateral state action in this area. The most original part of the chapter discusses the emergence of a disciplinary, post-control-spirit and especially the invention and

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popularization of the term 'migration management'. In the early 1990s, the Commission on Global Governance commissioned Bimal Ghosh and collaborators to come up with recommendations for an improved migration regime. 'Migration management' was coined in this context (Ghosh 2000), and then taken up by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), which spread it in governance circles at the same time as the organization itself was expanding. The term has acquired ground, argues Geiger, because it managed to call for certain openness without challenging state authority, because it is fluid and escapes precise definition, and because it depoliticizes migration. It is clear that this concept has been instrumental for the practices and discourses of the wider disciplining measures, which the author also explores in the chapter.

Bas Schotel approaches migration management from the perspective of legal theory. The empirical focus is migration management in the EU, but the points that are made are relevant for migration management discussions also in other contexts. The main argument is that migration management runs counter to the rule of law. In rule of law, the asymmetrical relationship between authorities and individuals is made explicit, which makes it possible for the weaker part to claim and receive protection. The optimistic ring of migration management catchwords such as 'win-win-win solutions' overshadows this asymmetry and thus removes the trigger for rule of law. Moreover, in migration management the concern is with flows rather than individuals: 'The target of immigration policy is not a legal norm subject who is required to obey the law. The central target of migration policy is an object, that is, a flow, which "is to be managed"' (p. 75–76). Migration management, therefore, challenges the rule of law, which may have adverse consequences for protection of migrants' rights.

Another very different but very stimulating contribution is Anne-Marie D'Aoust's chapter on marriage migration. D'Aoust commences in the important observation that while marriage migration is the main mode of entry in the EU as well as in the U.S., it is relatively neglected in research, which instead tends to privilege labour migration. She argues that marriage migration has become increasingly securitized in legislation and political discourse. Relying on Michel Foucault, she develops the fruitful notion of 'technologies of love' as a conceptual tool capturing the diverse disciplining practices concerned with assessing 'true' relationships and detecting 'fake', 'grey', 'arranged' and 'forced' marriages. The author convincingly demonstrates that 'though migration management might have become increasingly tool-based, technocratic and de-politicized, emotions such as love nonetheless act as crucial technologies in regulating who can be let in, and who "belongs"' (p. 105). And the end result is asymmetrical demands on migrant marriages, which need to display higher levels of affection and love than is ever required from other marriages.

The volume approaches discipline in its many guises and submits it to a comprehensive theoretical treatment. Nevertheless, a few questions remain that could have merited more attention. One concerns the definition of discipline and the role of Michel Foucault therein. Several contributions refer to Foucault's famous notion of discipline as a particular mechanism of power (Foucault 1995), whereas others use the term in a more everyday sense. Another unclear point is the relation between migration management and discipline, which sometimes appear almost synonymous. Finally, the volume could have discussed more in depth the role of neoliberal economic globalization for the transformation from control to migration management and discipline. Despite these weak spots, the volume makes an excellent contribution and should be read by anyone interested in recent trends in migration politics.

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Hjarvard, Stig & Lövheim, Mia (eds.) 2012 *Mediatization and Religion: Nordic Perspectives*, Gothenburg: Nordicom. 210 pp.

Is accounting for an overlap between religion and the media a meaningful task? Most scholars researching the interface between religion, media, and culture, would answer in the affirmative. Religion is not a phenomenon bound to the domain of institutions and creeds. Ever since the 'culturalist' turn in media and religious studies, it has become increasingly acknowledged that religion is both performed and proliferated through digital media and pop culture products (Morgan 2008). The media provides a platform for the development as well as negotiation of narratives by both individuals and groups as they meaningfully navigate the world. Yet in what way is contemporary religion changing, and with what theoretical framework should we approach today's religious landscape?

Back in 2008, Stig Hjarvard, professor of Film and Media Studies at the University of Copenhagen, directed our attention to the central role which the media has come to occupy within societies. He termed the process whereby the media is autonomized to such an extent that other institutions are forced to submit to its logic, with certain key roles once belonging to them being conferred instead to the media, as the 'mediatization' of society (Hjarvard 2008). Pairing up with Mia Lövheim of Uppsala University's Department of Theology, the two have now edited *Mediatization and Religion: Nordic Perspectives*, a collection of essays by scholars of comparative religion, media studies and theology, exploring the contemporary state of religion within the mediatized landscapes of Finland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

The book is framed in accordance with the 'culturalist' perspective in media and religious studies, whereby communication is seen not so much as a means of transmission, but of constructing a meaningful world (Carey 1989; Morgan 2008: 2-3).

Even though the research focuses on the Nordic context, it is put forth 'as an attempt to join the international dialogue on media, religion, and culture (p. 9)'. Thus, not only does it highlight recent theoretical developments in the field, but it discusses them from a unique regional perspective. For the Nordic context is one in which secularization has clearly left its mark, and where the media occupies an important yet non-confessional public role. Of course, even though the Nordic countries are understood as being secular, this does not

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entail an assumed eradication of religion, but the observation that religious institutions no longer occupy as prominent a socio-cultural role within them.

Mediatization and Religion consists of 10 chapters, divided into four sections. Included in the first section is an explanation of what mediatization is, as well as a discussion of the relationship between the Lutheran church and public media. In the next section, scholars explore the mediatization of social conflicts in the Nordic context. Then, in the third section, we are shown how changes in a media environment can affect and give rise to new forms of religious identity. And finally, the line between religion and popular culture is blurred.

The reader of *Mediatization and Religion* will come to realize a number of things. Such as how the media play a central role in the representation of religious institutions, pressuring them at times into acts of 'self-mediatization', whereby they must turn to media channels in order to defend themselves from criticism. We also learn how the internet and social media has come to affect both the religious socialization of young persons and the way in which pastors reach out to their congregations. The media provides a platform for the negotiation of individualized forms of religious identity, as well as the proliferation of supernatural content.

Of all the themes treated in the book, it was the concept of 'banal religion', as developed by Hjarvard (2008) in his previous work, which I find most interesting. In contrast to the coherent narratives of religious institutions, banal religion is understood as those supernatural elements which, given our cognitive pre-disposition towards certain imaginings, arrest our attention, elicit emotions and remain salient in our minds. Media institutions have appropriated these banal elements of religious thought in a secular manner, transforming them according to their own logics. This form of mediatized religion is emotion-driven, intuitive and entertaining. The supernatural elements in a pop culture product like Twilight, for example, as Line Nybro Petersen points out in her essay, works to draw consumers in, changing the way they imagine certain mythical figures. Not only that, but through acts of self-representation, such as writing a blog or attending movie premieres, fans are able to performatively express their identity as part of a community of like-minded persons, engaging in what Peterson terms 'emotional transcendence' (p. 177).

However, this raises the question, does the feeling of being a part of something 'larger than life' necessarily mean one is doing religion? Are sports fans doing religion when they gather in an emotionally charged atmosphere to celebrate and identify with their team? It seems appropriate to me to distinguish between say *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* fans who share spells within an online community (Pike 2007: 163) and those who do not. Clearly, religion dwells within popular culture, and clearly religion is a dynamic aspect of culture, but does this mean we should consider the mediatization of supernatural content as a new form of religion in itself?

Liv Ingeborg Lied addresses this in her essay, expressing concern over the distinction scholars may make between an assumed proper religion and the various non-institutional forms found within popular culture. For her, banal religion is but one mode of contemporary religion (pp. 194-196). This leads me to wonder then, whether the mediatization of religion does not therefore call for a reassessment of the issues pertaining to a definition of religion. What is it that makes a system of communication religious as opposed to secular? Clifford Geertz was of the opinion that religion entails an ethos grounded in a particular world view that orders reality, whether systematically or obscurely (Geertz 1973: 89-98).

Even if the practices of *Twilight* fandom entail acts of self-representation, through which persons negotiate a sense of identity as belonging to a likeminded community, supernatural imagination often remains just that-imagination. A pop culture product may change the way in which we *imagine*- as in, hold an image of- the devil, vampires, angels or aliens, but it does not necessarily mean it will affect how we make sense of them as really existing spiritual subjects (cf. Lynch 2010: 49). Should our investment in a popular product or practice be a bit more than emotion-driven, intuitive and entertaining for it to be considered religious? These are all questions that *Mediatization and Religion* could have done more to address.

However, that being said, *Mediatization and Religion* will be of value to both students and scholars alike, within and without the Nordic context. It will prove accessible even to those who are unfamiliar with any of the previous literature on the media–religion interface. It is sure to open them up to, as well as spark an interest in, the agency of media institutions and the dynamics of contemporary religion. Grounded in empirical research, with each essay clearly written, *Mediatization and Religion* will have newcomers to the field, even from outside of the Nordic context, questioning the role of the media within their immediate environment. The book clearly demonstrates that the study of religion is anything but irrelevant. On the contrary, religious change is tied up with larger socio-cultural processes, with the contemporary state of religion revealing something about the mediatized society in which we live.

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Martikainen, Tuomas, Saukkonen, Pasi & Säävälä, Minna (eds.) (2013) *Muuttajat: Kansainvälinen muuttoliike ja suomalainen yhteiskunta*, Helsinki: Gaudeamus. 376 pp.

Emigration and immigration have been part of Finnish history for a long period of time. The reviewed book *Muuttajat: Kansainvälinen muuttoliike ja suomalainen yhteiskunta* highlights this and many other qualities that tend to be overlooked in a current public discussion on migration taking place in Finland. By bringing together 23 scholars

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and experts on migration studies, the editors, Tuomas Martikainen, Pasi Saukkonen and Minna Säävälä, make a noteworthy contribution to the discussion about increasingly multicultural Finland and its immigration, citizenship and integration policies. Right from the outset, a reader becomes aware that the issue of migration touches on a number of topical questions in Finnish society, ranging from economics, demographics and political participation to issues such as media, welfare and education, to name but a few. The book tries and succeeds in tackling with a great number of them.

The book consists of four main parts, each part comprising three to four chapters. The first part deals with migration mainly as a structural level phenomenon. Its chapters focus on migration flows in and out of Finland, migration legislation and immigration and integration policies. The second part examines the relations between and effects of migration on families, housing and last but not least health and social welfare in the Finnish context. The third part discusses migration from a perspective of integration by providing information on the interconnections between migration and education, language learning, employment and Finnish labour market. The fourth and final part contains articles about ethnic group relations and acculturation, political and civic participation and media. By including all these topics into one volume, the book produces mass of information on how migration influences Finnish society and what are the particular outcomes of the Finnish society for the living conditions of immigrants making their way in the country.

The chapters are written by renowned Finnish anthropologists, sociologists, economists, social psychologists, political scientists, linguists and other experts. The styles used in different chapters are coherent and the chapters are of consistent quality. The editors have done a good job in selecting the experts and gearing their work towards a cohesive volume. A critical reader could, however, ask why so few scholars working at universities outside the capital of Finland are invited to contribute this volume? Research on migration and ethnic relations is conducted, for example, in Joensuu, Kuopio, Oulu, Tampere and Rovaniemi. The more regionally balanced inclusion of authors could have highlighted the Finnish particularity of being a geographically large, yet sparsely populated country. In such setting, migration produces different social, political, economic and cultural effects than in bigger, centrally located cities.

The book appears to have a double purpose. First, its chapters have a practical aim of describing the state of affairs in relation to its particular subject. Second, they work as an introduction to research that has been conducted in Finland pertaining to the topic of the book. The best articles effortlessly combine these two objectives and succeed in combining the exploration of different levels of social structure, e.g. institutional and individual, as well as the relations that hold among them. Thus, the book functions as a kind of a handbook for those interested in migration in Finland, and my supposition is that this has also been the objective of the editors. The choice of language, i.e. the fact that book is written in Finnish and not in English may be taken as an indicator of the editors' interest in seeking for audience among Finnish-speaking high school students as well as outside the usual academic readership.

In this respect, I find the size of the book to be both its greatest asset as well as its weakness. It is a definite strength that by reading this book one gets a good overview of migration-related research conducted in Finland. The book also provides background knowledge to many burning political questions concerning, for example, the economic effects of migration, discrimination or the role of immigrants in the Finnish labour market. There is plenty of discussion going on in Finland on migration and it appears that people eagerly charge into this debate with little research-based knowledge on the topic. In fact, the debate often seems to take place on the basis of politicized, even fictional notions of immigration and immigrants, rather than on researched realities. Books like this one make information available for anyone considering participation in the public debate and policy-making on migration in Finland.

On the other hand, the decision to include so many authors with such different research interests has come to mean that to a degree the book lacks the 'oomph', i.e. a critical and insightful question that would bind all the chapters together and make the book, in its entirety, a very interesting reading. The questions asked and answered are manifold, all related to migration and Finland, but there is no shared argument or lines of argument that would run through the book. Without such critical viewpoint, the book may come across as a 'politically correct' presentation of Finnish migration studies. After finishing the collection of articles, a reader is left a little confused as to what the editors as a team have to say about the choices that have been made in Finland to deal with globalization and migration. A concluding assessment about the strengths and weaknesses of chosen policies and their outcomes in people's everyday lives is missing from the book. This would have been particularly useful as exactly these questions are topical, yet sensitive and much fought over, in Finnish society.

To make the book more accessible, I suggest a shorter, concise version of it to be published, perhaps on-line. My greatest concern is that in its current format the book draws the attention of those who already have a fairly good knowledge of migration issues or students who come across the book as part of their curricula. Due to its immense size, it may however leave cold those who preserve little previous interest in the subject matter and who might thus be in the greatest need for this kind of information.

Rather than offering significantly new insights into the research topic, the book presents an eminent selection of Finnish migration research from the past years and refers to academic discussions that many of the authors have previously been involved in. As such, it is a carefully edited and long-awaited contribution to the scholarly debate on migration and multiculturalism in Finland.

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Rytter, Mikkel (2013) F*amily Upheaval: Generation, Mobility, and Relatedness among Pakistani Migrants in Denmark*, New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books. 234 pp.

Mikkel Rytter's *Family Upheaval* is a rich ethnography of Pakistani migrant families in Denmark. Focusing on relations between migrant parents and second-generation adult children, as well as with their extended family who remains in Pakistan, he considers how relatedness is negotiated generationally and transnationally and, in turn, shapes notions of identity and belonging. Rytter thus examines what he refers to as the 'destructive-productive' forces of family, whereby 'what it means to be and to do family' (p. 4) is not only contested and eroded, but also re-defined and transformed. The long-term fieldwork on which the book is based – conducted from 2001 to 2008 in Copenhagen – offers an in-depth perspective into the dynamics of such families. Rytter's attentiveness to processes of familial connection, dis-connection and re-connection marks an important contribution to studies of transnational and migrant families, many of which present the family as a resource for migration and settlement, particularly in the face of hostility from 'receiving'

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societies. His focus on (migrant) families is timely because families are often seen as a moral barometer for the wider society, making them key topics of public and policy concern. Placing Muslim migrant families from Pakistan at the centre of investigation enables the reader to understand how the socio-political context in Denmark and globally with regard to concerns about terrorism and state securitization following the events of September 11, 2001 contributes to family upheaval. The book, therefore, provides a new and crucial vantage point on the legal, social and moral regulation and (re-) constitution of migrant families.

Divided into four parts that serve as entry points into the dynamics of Pakistani migrant family life, Rytter's book deftly combines attention to the macro-level of the nation-state and wider global context and to the micro-level of lived experience. The first chapter in Part I: Histories begins by detailing changing Danish immigration and integration discourses since the late 1960s and early 1970s when many Pakistanis arrived in Denmark, before highlighting how the events of September 11, 2001 transformed Pakistani migrant families into the 'usual suspects' who pose a potential but perpetual security threat. In discussing the migration projects of these families who largely moved from rural Punjab in Chapter 2, Rytter demonstrates the ways in which the so-called economic migration and family migration are intertwined at the level of everyday life. He lays the foundation for understanding the moral and symbolic stakes these families face(d) in trying to create lives in Copenhagen. In turning to settlement and community formation processes, Rytter goes on to reveal the rivalry between families as they vie(d) for higher social status in the nascent Pakistani community. At the same time, their efforts to raise their families and become successful are interpenetrated by an increasingly hostile Danish context that creates conflicts between the generations over whether to stay or move (back) to Pakistan and fuels competition within the community.

Through the compelling stories of numerous couples, Part II: Marriages examines how the decision of whom to marry among second-generation Pakistanis shapes their trajectories and future lives. Its analysis of the convergence of internal family dynamics and external interventions in the form of restrictive Danish legislation on family reunification, and the contradictory and painful consequences that follow, makes this section the strongest in the book. Chapter 3 highlights the emergence of love marriages among young Pakistanis in Denmark and the ways in which it challenges the preference of parents and extended family for arranged endogamous marriages, but dovetails with those of the Danish nation-state, which views a person living in Denmark to be a 'good partner choice' (p. 78). Those who decide to engage in a transnational marriage with a spouse from Pakistan face numerous legal obstacles to reunifying in Denmark (Chapter 4), which, in order to navigate, may entail couples moving to southern Sweden, at least temporarily, while they try to meet the state requirements necessary to live in Copenhagen. In this way, we see how the 'territorial border of the nation-state' becomes a 'moral boundary' that dictates whom to marry and how to arrange familial life (p. 103). Chapter 5 links this discussion of family-making to questions of belonging vis-à-vis Danish society, tackling how images of the 'family of Denmark' are invoked discursively to assert who is a 'real' Dane.

If Pakistani migrants, even those in the second generation who were born in Denmark, are treated as 'not-quite-real' Danes, their ongoing relationship with Pakistan, the focus of Part III: Homeland, is no more straightforward. Rytter begins by examining some families' decision to return to Pakistan in pursuit of an idealized image of the happy extended family, before moving on to explore the contested ideas among different family members regarding Pakistan. His attentiveness to how people's orientation towards the 'homeland' shifts over the course of their lives underscores the importance of approaching migration as a long-term project, which he was well positioned to capture through his extended fieldwork. In the subsequent two chapters, we see how conflicts over which country should be considered the 'homeland(s)' of the 'family' play out generationally and transnationally in migrant families and within the local Pakistani community.

The last part of the book, Part IV: Afflictions, focuses on *kalu jaddu* (sorcery) as a space for and means of negotiating problems in local and transnational family life. More specifically, suspicions and rumours of sorcery among kin offer a way of making sense of familial conflicts and personal adversity. *Kalu jaddu* is thus an example of the 'destructive-productive' force of family life, which can corrode shared ideas of relatedness and break down familial relations, while also enabling new ways of relating to be created. Rytter notes that many educated second-generation Pakistanis are reluctant to acknowledge sorcery as a possible explanation for their misfortunes because it is associated with a 'village mentality' held by 'cultural' people and 'traditional' families from rural origins (p. 170). However, he argues that *kalu jaddu* is better understood as a modern discourse and practice that both reflects and speaks to the uncertainty and flux generated by family upheaval and the non-recognition of Muslims migrants in Danish society. His argument taps into current thinking in African anthropology regarding witchcraft as a part of modernity, rather than a remnant of tradition, and signals an interesting comparative point. Including the perspectives of non-migrant kin in Pakistan and the 'cultural-religious Punjabi universe' more generally (p. 195) would have made a valuable addition to this part of the book in particular.

The book's strength is its nuanced, historically dynamic approach to Pakistani migrant families and the ways in which this particular social and historical moment of securitization and suspicion conditions their negotiations over relatedness, identity and belonging. Rytter's much appreciated deconstruction of the family as a monolithic social unit does, however, have the downside of making it difficult to grasp a sense of what might be called familyhood. Consequently, the affective dimensions of familial conflicts are not made as explicit as they might be. Similarly, his focus on the family means that the wider social lives of the first and especially the second generation receive less attention. While the closing of the two community organizations introduced in Chapters 7 and 8 suggest the decline of national affiliation among Pakistanis, there are only glimpses of the new social ties being created. A consequence of these (inevitable) choices is that interesting questions, for example, about emergent forms of identity along religious lines that enable younger Pakistanis to transcend their second-class status in Denmark, fall outside the scope of the book. Given the richness of the material presented, these points reflect the ideas of what else can and indeed should be explored in future research. The book will be of great interest not only to anthropologists of South Asian diasporas but also to the growing and interdisciplinary field of family and marriage migration scholars who are attuned to the tremendous and contradictory powers of nation-states to (re-)shape families and other intimate relations.

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Triandafyllidou, Anna (ed.) (2012) *Irregular migration and domestic work in Europe*. Who cares? Farnham: Ashgate. 232 pp.

Demographic changes of ageing population and women's active participation in labour market in Europe has increased the demand of domestic workers. In several European countries, a change from a family model of care to a so-called 'immigrant in a family model' is taking place (Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck 2010: 8; see also Chapter 4 in this publication). On the one hand, the growing need of domestic workers in industrialized countries has caused a brain drain amongst care workers in several sending countries (Hochschild & Ehrenriech 2002). On the other hand, the need of domestic workers provides an opportunity in particular for non-European immigrant women to gain access to labour market. In comparison to other occupational sectors, domestic work is popular among irregular immigrant women who do not need to fear a police raid, because they are working in private homes. The reverse side of the situation is the mutual dependence between the employer and employee where the employer often is in a stronger position.

Irregular migration and domestic work in Europe. Who cares? gives a thorough illustration of the irregular migrant domestic workers' working conditions and limited access to social and health services. The book also explores the domestic workers´ transnational family relations. This publication shows how several migrant women with irregular status find an occupational strategy to go further in their lives after that their employment rights have been maltreated by their employers. The book is edited by Anna Triandafyllidou who is a professor at the European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced studies in Florence, Italy.

The book consists of eight country cases covering Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain. These cases focus on three core features of irregular domestic work: working conditions, health issues and family life. Attention is also given to types of domestic work, i.e. if the workers are so-called live-in or live-out with one employer or many employers. The chosen countries have all a long history of domestic workers residing from Non-European countries. However, it would have been interesting to read about irregular immigrant domestic workers' living and working conditions in Northern and Eastern Europe as well.

The main objective is to elaborate the irregular domestic work discussion by exploring three topics, which are closely related with the 'global care chain' discourse (Hochschild 2000): (1) 'the notion of career' discussed for irregular immigrant workers; (2) the interpretation of 'legality and irregularity, which emphasize the blurred borders between these two concepts and (3) the irregular domestic workers' right and opportunity to have a family life (see also p. 3). This publication also aims to give a critical assessment of the policy solutions done by policy-makers in different European countries. Beneath I will discuss some of the core topics explored by the authors.

The introductory chapter *Irregular migration and domestic work in Europe. Who cares?* by Triandafyllidou outlines clearly the main objectives and challenges of the publication. The descriptive chapters are written by both junior and senior scholars from diverse disciplinary approaches, such as anthropology, ethnic and migration studies, political science and sociology. The authors' multidisciplinary backgrounds give a most welcome input to the contemporary discourse on the global care chain. The country cases represented differ from each other partly due to the academic interests and backgrounds of the authors. Each author has conducted between 10 and 15 interviews for their country case. The quotations based on interviewees' working and living experiences give an additional richness to the chapters. All chapters illustrate the precarious working conditions of irregular migrant domestic workers, who often are women. These precarious conditions are characterized by underpaid hours, the refusal of written contract and a weak bargaining position especially among lived-in domestic workers. The country case chapters show the importance of social networks, information and access to NGOs, which can help the domestic workers to obtain improved working conditions and help with family reunification.

The regularization of migrant domestic workers has been improved amongst others by a so-called cheque-service system in some of the member states of the European Union. The first country case chapter deals with the irregular migrant domestic workers in Belgium. Here, Marie Godin highlights the role of the state intervention called as 'cheque-service' system, which enables services by domestic workers to private users. The original aim was to include unemployed Belgian workers to the labour market and not specifically foreign workers. The cheque-service system has enabled the first formal job opportunity for those immigrant women who have been regularized. The change from 'employer–worker' to the 'employer–client–worker', where the tasks of the domestic worker may go beyond the written tasks in the work contract, is mentioned as a weakness in this system. Similarly, Michaela Maroufof discusses in her chapter the situation of the domestic immigrant workers who reside in Greece irregularly. This chapter shows how difficult it is for immigrant women to obtain regular residence status and formal work contract. Specially, the migrant workers can find themselves in precarious position if they lack social networks and formal documents. In 2011, the Greek state introduced a cheque-service system including also employees' social security contributions. This cheque-service system may improve the position of the domestic immigrant workers with residence permit and open a dialogue towards regularization of immigrant domestic workers in Greece.

The weak bargaining position and exploitation of domestic workers is discussed by Sally Daly who analyses how the domestic work is still not valuated as work, which could be part of the work-permit system. The devaluation of domestic work done by immigrant women leads to diverse forms of exploitation of domestic workers, in particular of the live-in ones. Daly states that the crucial importance for the domestic immigrant women is to regularize their status, which would give an opportunity for them to claim for their rights.

The surviving and regularizing strategies of undocumented domestic workers is explored by Paola Bonizzoni who demonstrates how half of the Italian work force working off the book were employed within the domestic sector (around 200 000 persons). Informal work can partly be explained as cultural tradition, where working 'in black' is perceived as normal practice. Several of the informants have faced not only violations of their work relationship but also with respect to family life and health. For example, many of the live-in domestic workers had experienced stress and burn-out due to overwork and heavy responsibilities. The regularization of domestic work is seldom provided by the employer due to fear of possible penalties. The final *chapter Irregular migrant domestic workers in Europe: major socioeconomic challenges* written by Anna Triandafyllidou and Thanos Maroukis consists of an analysis at the European comparative level of the current situation of irregular migrant domestic workers. It outlines both common and diverging standards, policies and practices in respective countries described previously.

All previously described chapters include rich descriptions of the irregular migrant domestic workers´ access to healthcare services and their struggles to stay in contact with their family members left behind or to support the ones who stay with them in Europe. This publication shows the need for further claims-making for migrant domestic workers and a need of change of our social perceptions; otherwise, there is a risk that the domestic workers' labour conditions and access to social security remain unchanged, as Tania González Fernández (p. 206) states in her chapter of the Spanish case. I would have expected a somewhat more thorough discussion of the domestic workers rights to a family and to their transnational family ties, but these topics may work as inspiration for further studies. This publication is an important asset to the literature on global migration and global care chain discourse. I recommend this book for scholars within migration studies, political sciences, social sciences and related fields.

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