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BOOK REVIEWS

Alarcón, Amado & Garzón, Luis (eds.) (2011) *Language, Migration and Social Mobility in Catalonia*, Leiden: Brill. 160 pp.

In the recent economic recession in the EU, Spain has been among the most affected countries. At the same time, Spain meets the same estimations as many of its European counterparts of not having enough labour to cover the demand even today and still less in the near future. The book edited by Amado Alarcón and Luis Garzón teases out an intriguing encounter of representatives of two Spanish-speaking and one Arab-speaking migrant groups in the bilingual context of Spanish and Catalan in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia. Until the 21st century, migration in Spain had mainly been internal, from lower income areas such as Andalusia, Murcia and Extremadura. Catalonia has stood out as the most prosperous region of Spain with one of the highest gross domestic product (GDP) in the country. According to the foreword by Carlota Solé, director of GEDIME (Group of Studies on Migrations and Ethnic Minorities), half of this GDP has been estimated to be produced by immigrants in 2000−2005.

In addition to the editors, the book combines articles from two more authors, Iskra Pavez Soto and Aitor Hernández-Carr (supported by Leonardo Bejarano as the interviewer of the Colombian participants), of the two-year study carried out in 2006−2008. All authors are members of GEDIME at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Among the studies that analyse the motives and consequences of leaving the home country or the adjustment or possible marginality in the receiving country due to economic and social reasons (see, for instance, Gratton 2007, Del-Teso-Craviotto 2009), this work adds an interesting axis of language to the factors in both situations. It examines the attitudes of migrants towards learning a new language in an environment where bilingualism of the receiving region and the use of one or the other language are associated to a certain social status, in possible hierarchical order. One important thing is the importance of the immigrants' own, native language in their identity formation or maintenance.

The working hypothesis of the authors is that knowledge of Catalan in this bilingual autonomous state of Spain has a positive effect on the migrants' social mobility (p. 7). This study operates with the central Bourdieuan concepts: symbolic, cultural and social capital, mainly with the first two. The divide between the instrumental and symbolic values is also applied to the results of the analysis.

The study parts from the definition of youth, linking it to the analysis of the second generation of migrants in Catalonia. Both migrant parents and their adolescent or adult children were interviewed. Without getting deeper into the role of youth in migration, I mainly look at the differences between the significance of Catalan in the construction of identity among these three groups of young people.

The groups studied were Argentinians, Colombians and Moroccans. The structure of the book gives the reader a chance to concentrate on each case separately: after two introductory chapters by the editors, Luis Garzón presents the case of the Argentinian second generation, Iskra Pavez Soto the Colombian and Aitor Hernández-Carr the Moroccan case. Each chapter also works independently in the sense that each of them gives a good overview of the situation of the respective migrant group, although the Moroccan background is introduced on a slightly more general level than the Latin American context. At the same time, it is true that there are significant differences that mark the Moroccan migration compared with the Latin American ones.

In the case of Argentinians, learning Catalan played a smaller role than the researchers had expected. Having escaped the military dictatorship in the turn of the decade of 1980s, the first flow of Argentinian migrants entered Catalonia at a moment when Spain itself was recovering from the Franco regime that had denied an official position to Catalan in the region. The second migration flow originated in the inflationary crisis experienced in Argentina in the 1990s. In contrast to the two other migrant groups, due to a different economic and social context to enter, the Argentinian first generation was privileged in their social position as middle class members whereas the second generation has had to adapt, and has also suffered from the working class environment where their parents settled at their arrival. Learning Catalan in school has not provided the Argentinian youth the means to enter the professional positions their parents had the chance to do when arriving in Spain. The effects of the economic recession in Spain to that new environment were harsher and have been shared by many other European countries and their youth.

There is variation even between the two Latin American groups. Colombian migration to Spain has its origins in a distinct bellicose situation than in Argentina. There are also more Colombian women who have come alone whereas for the Argentinians, maintaining the family union was more important. A lot of the Colombian migration consists of Colombians marrying a Catalan. Thus, for a spouse of a Catalan, learning the language becomes more of a personal matter and raising the children bilingual more natural. The working possibilities are also strongly gendered and because of that, a little more attention to the gendered differences would have given the study an even more sage tone.

Moroccans are more geographically dispersed in Catalonia than Argentinians or Colombians. There are also differences in the order of arrival in the country: single young men have been the pioneers in the settlement of Moroccans in Catalonia. But, the birth rates show the real willingness to settle and this number has increased rapidly among Moroccans in Catalonia (p. 97). As with the Argentinians, there have been two major migratory cycles which has created the existence of two same-age groups with different backgrounds of Moroccan youth in the Catalan communities.

In addition to the native language not being Spanish, religion is also a significant factor that distinguishes Moroccans from Latin American migrant groups. Moroccans have found the most convenient outcome by recognising the importance of learning two foreign languages and especially on the symbolic level. The second-generation Moroccans, in spite of the visible differences and marginalisation due to class questions or hindrances created by the Spanish legislation of acquiring the nationality or work permit, were more appreciated in interaction between Catalans and immigrants than, for example, Argentinians who resented learning Catalan for it being 'useless' for them.

The chapters proceed in a relevant order and the only problem arises with the relation of the concluding chapters, deducible in themselves, to the previous ones: central concepts are not applied in the same way by different writers and that complicates the formation of a whole. The findings seem to be somewhat contradictory: this book seems to argue that the greater the loss of social capital caused by migration, the more reluctant the migrants are to admit even the instrumental value of Catalan to them. A clear agreement between the writers on the concepts used would have given a more condensed core to the message this book wanted to emit. The synchronisation of the individual style choices could also have been reached by a little more editorial effort.

Other kind of linguistic editing is also recommended: the English translation 'people is' or 'people has' (*sic*) unavoidably gives a somewhat ignorant picture of the informant even though as a linguist, I am tempted to guess there was nothing incorrect in the original. As this study was on the significance of language in certain social contexts, even details matter and a closer proof-reading would have given the final polish to this otherwise praiseworthy work that opens new angles to the situation of migrants in bilingual environments.

The material left the reader definitely curious as a source for possible future studies. In addition to the generational focus, gender and religion could offer other important variables with a possibly notorious impact in the construction of identity of the youth interviewed for this study. After the publication of the book, a reverse phenomenon has taken place: Spanish youth have started to look for work opportunities in Latin America.

Regardless of minor shortcomings mentioned above, I find this book definitely useful in Latin American Studies and in any academic programs that concentrate on encounters between two or more cultures. Its current topic relates to the recently collected material which proves that besides being instrumental in communication, language is also essential in a person not just on an individual but also on a communitarian level. As a Finnish reader, it is easy to relate to the bilingual situation even though the historical experience as a host country is different.

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Alba, Richard & Waters, Mary C. (2011) *The Next Generation: Immigrant Youth in a Comparative Perspective*, New York: New York University Press. 369 pp.

Global migration has profoundly changed the face of receiving nations, as growing ethnic, racial, and religious diversity is absorbed by domestic populations. Concerns about the successful integration of newcomers places the generation of native-born immigrant children at the forefront of the debate. As this growing population comes of age in Europe and North America, policy makers and researchers view the fate of the second generation as a barometer for the long-term well-being of their ethnic communities in the broader societies in which they have settled.

In this recently published volume, distinguished American scholars Richard Alba and Mary C. Waters bring together noted immigration specialists to discuss how well the children of immigrants are thriving in Europe and North America. The contributors raise questions about how contexts of reception, documentation status, race, ethnicity, discrimination, and educational attainment impact integration outcomes for the children of immigrants. What is unique about this volume is its comparative and interdisciplinary focus that addresses questions about varying immigration outcomes on both sides of the Atlantic. Highlighting case studies of second generation integration across Europe and North America, *The Next Generation* provides valuable insights for social scientists, policy makers and educators into factors impacting the life chances and employment opportunities of immigrant children.

In an era when global economic instability reverberates throughout Europe and North America, the publication of this comparative volume could not have been timed more appropriately. As the children of ex-colonial nations and the post-WWII low-wage labour migrants enter the job market, investigators find variable patterns of integration and marginalisation among their ranks. The pathways to success can be traced to resources provided by family and community, as well as support gained from educational and social institutions. Yet, discrimination and structural barriers contribute to patterns of integration among particular ethnic groups settled in host nations. Case studies measuring immigrant integration outcomes in Austria, Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United States, successfully

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illustrate how national contexts, immigrant culture, and a family's transnational engagement combine to influence the long-term success of the children of immigrants.

Drawing on the theory of 'segmented assimilation' (Portes & Rumbaut 2001), this volume investigates key variables widely thought to bear on second generation integration trajectories. Three broad modes of incorporation outlined by this theory include upward mobility with ethnic retention, standard integration into the 'mainstream' and downward assimilation into urban youth subculture. Yet, case studies presented in this volume provide complex and sometimes counterintuitive findings that illustrate broad differences between national institutional settings and their impact on groups being absorbed. For instance, while Muslim Pakistanis in Britain utilise ethnicity as a form of social capital to propel their children into higher education and middle class culture (Modood), Turkish communities in Belgium are unable to translate ethnic resources into upward social mobility (Karen Phalet and Anthony Heath). Meanwhile, Italian immigrants in Belgium, who possess EU membership and a perceived cultural affinity to the host nation, are readily absorbed into the mainstream.

While ethnic disadvantages experienced by some immigrant groups may be tied to the level of perceived 'cultural distance' they express in comparison to their host culture, not all research in this volume identifies culture as a critical variable related to second-generation welfare. In their study on early childhood education enrolment among minorities in the United States, Donald J. Hernandez, Nancy A. Denton and Suzanne Macartney find that ethnic disadvantages experienced by second-generation Mexican children correlate more strongly with socio-economic status and structural effects than with familial cultural orientations. The study identifies factors such as poverty, mother's education, parental occupation and language fluency as asserting more influence on Mexican-American children's access to early education than does their ethnic culture. Similarly, in France, education is deemed to be an important variable impacting minority population welfare. Yet, when controlling for education and socio-economic status, Roxanne Silberman finds that the Magrebins of Algeria face persistent ethnic penalties and labour market exclusion in France. This study implies that ethnic discrimination, in combination with educational and labour market disadvantages, remains an important aspect of the second-generation decline among these ex-colonial French minorities.

It is particularly noteworthy to consider why some national groups are upwardly mobile while others get stuck in urban poverty. Holding the winning tickets in the United States and Canada are second-generation young adults of White, Afro-Caribbean and Asian origin, whose educational attainment exceeds that of same-aged mainstream Whites (Jeffrey G. Reitz and Ye Zhang). Pakistanis similarly thrive in Britain by utilising ethnic strategies to access higher education (Modood), a resource that may serve to mitigate against other barriers to inclusion. Conversely, low-skilled labour migrants such as Mexicans, Africans, Magrebins and Turks, find their mobility to be limited in Europe and the United States. Compounding the adverse effects of low skills and education levels is the persistent issues of documentation status and discrimination that hinder intergenerational mobility (Susan K. Brown, Frank D. Bean, Mark A. Leach, and Rubén G. Rumbaut).

What emerges from this broad panorama of second-generation integration patterns are bimodal immigrant trajectories being fed at the top by immigrant professionals, and the bottom by low-skilled immigrant labour. Members of the second generation falling within these two categories find themselves benefitting from or hindered by a variety of factors, not least of which are documentation status, language skills, parental education and occupation and ethnic discrimination. Yet, in spite of the challenges faced by a number of groups in this study, Alba and Waters point out the net gains achieved by the second generation in comparison with the starting point of their parents. Overall, the outlook is more optimistic for immigrants and their children than social scientists have previously predicted.

While the scope of this edited volume is wide and covers a range of critical variables impacting integration outcomes, two important topics are omitted. A discussion of state laws and immigration policies is sidestepped in this volume, yet these variables bear heavily on the ethnic, racial and cultural diversity of nations. For instance, recent immigration legislation in the United States has galvanised widespread discrimination against newcomers from Latin American, effectively leading to a racialisation of documentation status. Another silent actor in the drama is the politicisation of anti-Muslim sentiment, particularly following September 11, 2011. The growing population of native-born Muslims in Europe and North America has created a backlash among nativists, who portray religious difference as a barrier to full inclusion in Western-style democracies. This volume might have benefitted from a more detailed discussion on the roles immigration policy and religious identity play in the integration dynamics of the second generation.

As the meaning of national citizenship is negotiated in an increasingly pluralistic and globalised world, the values that coalesce diverse populations under a single national flag become more significant. Inclusion implies a social pact between a nation and its citizens. This agreement requires residents to uphold core ideals and behaviours, and in turn, promises them equal access to education, health care and employment. Managing differences is imperative if modern nations are to thrive, particularly at a time when economic instability threatens to enhance long-standing social cleavages. *The Next Generation* adds to this discussion by providing key insights into the forces shaping outcomes for the future generations of native-born immigrants and the societies in which they live.

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Most popular and scholarly discussion of the Cuban diaspora to date has focused on Miami, the best-known destination for Cuban émigrés. In contrast, social anthropologist Mette Louise Berg's *Diasporic Generations: Memory, Politics, and Nation among Cubans in Spain* offers the first sustained study of the Cuban diaspora in Spain. With rich ethnography, convincing analysis, and clear prose, Berg introduces the reader to Cubans in Spain while posing a sharp critique of diaspora studies. She argues that to employ the concept of diaspora productively, scholars must attend to the tenuous nature of diasporic communities, especially to the ways in which individuals' experiences of displacement are often more incommensurable than shared.

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Given that Berg's overarching goal is to emphasise the diversity of Cubans in Spain, particularly regarding their self-identification as Cuban, Spanish or both, she opts to explore the political and temporal, rather than simply the spatial dimensions of mobility. This leads her to follow two seemingly contradictory impulses that ultimately work well together. On the one hand, Berg insists that we take a long historical view of Spanish–Cuban relations. Due to Spain's long colonial reach in Cuba, many people in early 20th-century Cuba identified as Spanish (and had extended families in Spain). Many of Berg's research participants only came to self-identify as Cubans upon arrival in Spain; having left Cuba, these individuals found their previous understandings of themselves as Spanish upended by their experiences as newcomers to Spain. Berg usefully taps the historical and familial connections between Spain and Cuba to highlight the contextual nature of diasporic subjectivities and shifting attachments to place within an argument about the continuity of movement between Cuba and Spain over time.

On the other hand, alongside this story of continuity, Berg frames her book around a series of ruptures, those between what she calls 'diasporic generations'. Rather than the conventional definition of generations as groups designated by biological age, Berg understands diasporic generations as rough groupings of Cubans who left Cuba and entered Spain during the same time period. Each diasporic generation's successive subjectivities reflect shared memories of Cuba shaped by a particular moment of departure from the island, and a particular context of reception for foreigners upon arrival in Spain. Berg identifies three main diasporic generations of Cubans in Spain, and devotes the central chapters of the book to describing each in turn.

Berg calls the first diasporic generation 'The Exiles'. These are Cuban-born individuals who left Cuba in the period immediately following the revolution and through the early 1980s. Berg describes these émigrés as the most fervently attached to nostalgic memories of pre-revolutionary Cuba, especially Havana, which are reaffirmed through narratives of longing for Cuba. The feeling of loss for the 'exiles' is amplified by legislation preventing return visits to family and friends left behind. The 'exiles' are also the most politicised of the three generations Berg describes, having defined their lives in Spain in terms of a loss of territory and home that they blame on Castro's reforms. Many express deep reservations about social contact with later arrivals from Cuba, due in part to fears of Cuban government spies and surveillance, and a general mistrust of anyone who was willing to stay on the island post-revolution, or who came of age under Castro. Upon arrival in Francoist Spain, Berg argues that this 'exile' generation found Spain disappointingly poor, but felt comfortable with Franco's conservatism and enjoyed a sense of social and cultural superiority due to perceptions of Spanish backwardness.

Berg terms the second generation of Cubans in Spain 'Children of the Revolution'. These Cubans are a bit younger than the average 'exiles', and were largely educated under Castro, in pro-revolutionary boarding schools. They often came from families that supported the revolution, but they eventually decided to leave Cuba, frustrated by a lack of economic opportunities and freedoms at home. Unlike the 'exile' generation, 'Children of the Revolution' did not long for a romantic, pre-revolutionary Cuba, nor did they define their Cubanness in terms of exclusionary national politics, instead opting for an emphasis on Cuban-expressive culture, food and future-oriented discussions of Cuba. Berg argues that this generation is nonetheless deeply affected by Cuban national politics. The 'exiles' refuse social relationships with this second generation, and the Cuban consulate in Spain considers them traitors to the revolution and obstructs their ability to visit Cuba. In response, Berg suggests that the 'Children of the Revolution' have developed something of a cosmopolitan ethos to counter the nationalist politics surrounding Cuba and Cubans abroad. Unlike their conservative counterparts in the 'exile' generation, 'Children of the Revolution' were expressly anti-Franco and welcomed Spain's transition to democracy. Yet, 'Children of the Revolution' were more dismayed than 'exiles' by the difficulty of integrating into Spanish society, where they felt they were cast as racially other.

The third and final diasporic generation of Cubans in Spain has arrived since the mid-1990s, many as dancers, artists, and students who defected while abroad on work or student visas. Berg labels this group 'the Migrants'. This is in part because they have arrived in Spain at the height of Spanish concerns over rapidly rising migration, and have thus faced growing anti-immigrant sentiment and an expanding web of Spanish migration policy and bureaucracy. This generation is the most diverse, both in terms of racial and ethnic identification, and in terms of geographic origin, as 'the migrants' come from all over Cuba, rather than primarily Havana, as was the case with previous generations. Recent arrivals are also less educated than the 'exiles' or 'Children of the Revolution'. They have left Cuba during a period of scarcity on the island, they describe their departure from Cuba in terms of labour migration and a search for socio-economic opportunity abroad, and they find the transition to capitalist consumerism in Spain more shocking than previous generations. Class differences between 'migrants' and the previous generations of Cubans in Spain, in addition to starkly different memories of Cuba—migrants remember deprivation and have none of the nostalgia for a luxurious Havana that 'exiles' harbour—has meant that many in this generation identify more with the other growing groups of global migrants in Spain, especially those from other parts of Latin America. When 'the migrants' do discuss Cuba or engage in Cuban-focussed activities, they do so largely in terms of expressly apolitical, 'humanitarian' projects aimed at sending material aid to Cubans, regardless of political affiliation. Among Berg's research participants, 'migrants' were the most likely to marry Spaniards, but they were also the most likely to face barriers to social acceptance in Spain, because of growing anxiety about migration.

Berg's analysis is original and compelling. The central chapters on the three diasporic generations give a clear sense of the different historical moments in which these groups left Cuba and arrived in Spain. Yet more analysis of moments of interactions between generations might be helpful. Those moments that Berg does include are among the most powerful in the book, illustrating the discord and disassociation, and ultimately the deep mistrust that shapes interactions among people who share a provenance but whose political engagements with Cuba remain unthinkable to one another. One might also ask why Berg chose to leave a chapter of analysis that combines brief discussions of gender and diaspora, diasporic memory, and bodily experience and metaphor for the end of the book, rather than integrating this analysis into the ethnographic chapters. And while Berg mentions key moments in Spanish politics or migration law in passing, and alludes to the racial politics in Spain that cast Cubans as racially other (and thus complicate their self-identifications as White and of Spanish origin), developing these threads further might offer readers a fuller sense of Cubans' lives in Spain.

Overall, Berg has written a superb book. The ethnography is impressively detailed and far reaching. Berg includes descriptions of Cubans in Spain and anecdotes from fieldwork in Cuba as well, and the result is a complex, nuanced view of Cuba and its diaspora

across several generations. Berg offers this historical depth without sacrificing ethnographic richness, which is especially commendable. She demonstrates well the diversity of Cuban diasporic experience, and both the challenges and benefits of the concept of diaspora as a lens for anthropological research. Berg points the way towards a productive diaspora studies approach by exploring diasporic memory and subjectivity as processual, contested, and political. This book does double duty in its scholarly contributions, as it fills critical gaps in both research on Cuba and its diaspora and on migration in Spain, even if the former contribution is more strongly emphasised. The sophisticated theoretical and ethnographic insights will engage senior scholars and graduate students, and the clear writing style will be accessible to undergraduate students as well. *Diasporic Generations* is a welcome addition to the anthropology of migration and diaspora, Cuban and Latin American Studies, and European Studies alike.

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Plüss, Caroline & Chan, Kwok-bun (eds.) (2012) *Living Intersections: Transnational Migrant Identifications in Asia*, Dordrecht: Springer. 279 pp.

This new anthology, published by Springer as No. 2 in its book series *International Perspectives on Migration*, consists of in total 13 contributions of which the majority are revised and expanded versions of selected papers from the 'International Workshop on Transnational Migrant Identity in Asia: Intersecting Cultural, Social, and Economic Dimensions', which took place at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore in 2009. The anthology is mainly recommended for those having a research interest in Asia and for those who are engaged with intersectional analyses. The articles are all focussing on migration issues in a specific geographical region in Asia which is often called Pacific Asia, namely Northeast and Southeast Asia, broadly meaning Asia east of Tibet and Burma, and the different studies all concern contemporary migration movements within that region or between Pacific Asia and the West.

The authors all have more or less strong social science-oriented backgrounds, and the principally qualitative sociological approach is evident when it comes to methodology with semi-structured and structured interviews as being the most utilised method in the chapters. The common theoretical perspectives in the anthology are transnationalism and intersectionality analysis, mainly seen through the categories of ethnicity, class and gender, combined with a somewhat modernist understanding of identity formation and a specific migration studies reading of Bourdieu with cultural capital and capital conversion as the central concepts and which in their turn are operationalised in connection with issues of integration and adaptation and the possibilities for migrants to accumulate new skills and resources.

The book includes an introduction by the editors and a concluding chapter by Caroline Plüss. The eight remaining authors are mainly affiliated to Pacific Asian universities, just like the editors who are based in Singapore and in Hong Kong, respectively. Seven of the contributors are of Asian origin, while seven are women.

In the anthology, the reader is able to meet migrants from or to countries like China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Burma and Singapore, as well as several minority groups. The first chapter, written by the two editors, maps out the purpose of wanting to bring intersectionality analysis into Asian migration studies to be able to understand the complex layers of identities among migrant populations within the region, and including such migrant groups as return migrants, circuit migrants, serial migrants, irregular migrants, labour migrants, educational migrants and internal migrants, as well as the Bourdieusian approach to cultural capital in a migration setting. One example of this in the book is the Parsee Indians in colonial Hong Kong who emphasised their 'Britishness' in relation to the less 'British' Chinese as a way of gaining positions and resources and thereby forged new cultural capital by the way of capital conversion.

Henceforth, I have chosen to sum up the contents and the results of a selected number of chapters which have in common that they stand out in terms of either the empirical material or the operationalisation of an intersectional analysis. As Pacific Asia is both post-imperial (China and Japan) and postcolonial (practically all Pacific Asian countries *including* China and Japan) and post-WWII and post-Cold War, and above all pre-, high and postmodern, under- and overdeveloped and poor and rich at the very same time, besides being highly multilingual and multireligious, as well as multicultural and multiracial, it is a region which has its own logics – something which is no doubt obvious when reading this anthology on Asian transnational and intersectional migration studies.

The second chapter, written by Chan, is partly autobiographical and deals with the return migrants in Hong Kong who left the British colony before the Chinese takeover for Western countries (including Sweden), but who have returned to nowadays Chinese Hong Kong. It is estimated that 300,000 mainly highly educated Hong Kong Chinese left the city before 1997, of whom perhaps more than half, if not more, have returned. Based on interviews with both men and women, the author argues that many of them returned since they had harboured idealised images of the West before they emigrated, and some also talk about how they ended up in ethnic and racial 'ghettos' in big cities in North America and Europe. The fifth chapter, written by the editor Chan and Chan Wai-wan, tries to tease out a typology of different return migrants in Hong Kong, who mainly have lived in Canada, by focussing on the emotional and affective sides of memories of migration: How are the hybrid identifications that these return migrants had in Canada lived out when they come back to Hong Kong, and how do they deal with their experiences with Western multiculturalism? The chapter finds that the vast majority of returnees fall into a category called émigré conformists, while a minority can be divided among the categories of innovators, ritualists, retreatists and rebels.

The seventh chapter, written by Plüss, is based on life narratives of 15 Chinese Singaporean circuit or repeat migrants who have lived or are living in usually not just one but several foreign countries due to education, work or family reasons. The gendered aspects of different experiences become obvious when several Singaporean women talk about their lives in Western countries in generally positive terms compared to Singaporean men. The eighth chapter, by Yoonhee Kang, is about a phenomenon which is common in certain countries in Pacific Asia and especially in the more Confucian countries of South Korea and Taiwan, namely the phenomenon of so-called wild geese or astronaut families where the husband stays in the home country to work and the wife and the children are living in another, usually Western or a more Westernised Asian country such as Singapore, to get an education and, above all, to learn English, sometimes for many years in a row. In Korea, over 10% of pre-college students live abroad for this reason, with the sole purpose of gaining cultural capital in the form of English language proficiency and Western culture.

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The ninth chapter by Gracia Liu-Farrer, looks at the Chinese migrant minority in Japan which just superseded the Korean so-called *Zainichi* minority in absolute numbers, previously and historically Japan's biggest national minority. However the 600,000 Chinese in Japan are divided according to migration history and according to origin including different Chinese provinces, and this fact has consequences for diaspora formations. The last chapter, written by Plüss, sums up the main findings of the anthology's contributions, and concludes that migrants in Pacific Asia are living in the intersections of multiple categories and entities whether it is about class and gender or nation and empire, and that their identifications or disidentifications are both hybrid and transnational.

On the negative side, many of the texts in the anthology tend to make use of sometimes strong and simplistic wordings and analyses which can border on a black-and-white perspective. Furthermore, an intersectional analysis mainly means that the categories of nationality, ethnicity, gender and class are analysed, while there is not much mentioning neither of sexuality nor race and Whiteness. However, on the whole *Living Intersections: Transnational Migrant Identifications in Asia* is a book worth reading to gain an insight into and an understanding of a region which not only contains a large proportion of the world population itself but which also possesses and provokes interesting research questions as it becomes increasingly diversified and transnationalised, and in the end it might even be possible to talk about a resurrection of a combined Chinese-Japanese empire of some sorts in Pacific Asia, although such a prediction or even idea is of course thought provoking to say the least.

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Thiara, Ravi K., Condon, Stephanie A. &Schröttle, Monika (eds.) (2011) *Violence Against Women and Ethnicity. Commonalities and Differences across Europe*, BudrichVerlag: Leverkusen-Oppladen. 426 pp.

Violence against minority women has lately become a hot debate in the European context. The public and often one-sided picture of marginalised women oppressed by their families and especially victims of male violence is controversial as it flourishes especially in the racist discourses of extreme right and their xenophobic arguments. Studies that have focussed on analysing media representations of migrant women and girls show how topics such as 'honour related violence', female genital cutting and forced marriages have become a self-evident way of describing the everyday circumstances and destinies of thousands of women and girls living in Europe (e.g. Bredström 2003; Carbin 2008; Keskinen 2009). The media representations characterise women and girls as victims of their own culture which is often described in overwhelming and homogenising terms. It is surprising that the strong interconnection/image between violence and migrant women is so prevalent because there has not been much statistical research done which would critically scrutinise these particular phenomena.

The book *Violence Against Women and Ethnicity* shows that many of the European surveys that try to tackle violence against women in minority contexts include serious methodological and ethical problems that fail to make comparisons between countries or even to get a manifold picture of the phenomena. Thus, simplified stigmatisation of specific groups of ethnic minority women due to abusive partner relationships cannot be confirmed by the existing empirical data (p.191). Relating to this, it is surprising that the image of broad spread violence in minority contexts has been taken for granted in many countries. This is one of the most important results that the book *Violence Against Women and Ethnicity* brings about.

The book consists of 23 chapters and is divided into five thematic sections: 1) Building and shaping knowledge about violence against women in Europe; 2) Making the links; 3) Forms and effects of violence against women; 4) Responses to violence against minority ethnic women; and 5) Is it a question of (their) culture and (our) honour? The contributors are a combination of academic researchers, activists and NGO workers who have extensive experience in the field of tackling violence against women and in developing new tools, practices and interventions to combat the phenomena. The book strives to get a manifold understanding of violence against women in a minority context that is both complex and controversial. The aim is to criticise often hegemonic culturalist explanations of violence against women, but at the same time to look for ways of analysing violence in a context that does not minimise the existence and consequences of violence in women's lives. This is done by offering viewpoints from qualitative and quantitative research projects that look at violence both from the structural level and as lived experiences of women themselves. An even more multidimensional viewpoint to the theme of the book is offered by the articles of several practitioners in the field that critically look at interventions, practices and projects developed in the field. Thus, the voices in the book do not solely belong to academics, but also to practitioners and migrant women themselves.

Common to all chapters in the book is the aim of avoiding racialisation and marginalisation of women with a migrant background: 'Ultimately, the goal is to understand differences within and between social and cultural groups without essentialising them' (p. 92). A red thread that would connect all the contributions besides this common topic is hard to find, which is also understandable in such a massive reader. Some common features, however, describe all the chapters. Firstly, they are bound together by an intersectional approach first highlighted by Kimberley Crenshaw in 1989. Crenshaw stated that for Black women the intersectionality experience is more powerful than the sum of their race and sex, and that research and action that do not take intersectionality as a starting point and as a tool of analysis cannot address the ways in which Black women are subordinated. The motivation behind an intersectional analysis is thus to investigate how, for example, race, gender, class, ability and their identity formations interact on different societal levels contributing to social inequality. Even though intersectionality is a widely discussed concept in feminist theory, especially in Black and postcolonial feminism, the authors of the book state that particularly in the field of violence against women it is a relatively underdeveloped theory and practice.

For most of the contributors, intersectionality is a tool that underlines women's multiple subjectivities and forms of oppression. The relevance of an intersectional analysis is argumented by showing 'how male violence is an instrument in the reproduction of a gender system, but have different effects depending on social and racial factors' (p.127). Therefore it is unethical to look for a common experience that would characterise all women who have been victims of violence against women. Secondly, the intersectional approach emphasises the importance of analysing racist discourses and practices that are embedded in violence against women. By this the contributors mean that migrant women who are suffering from violence are also marginalised in the society by a discriminating system that denies them full rights and a legal status. This is described, for example, in Monika Schröttle's and Nadia Khelaifat's chapter: 'In addition, some migrant women might still be dependent on their husbands regarding

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their residence permit. The current residence act in Germany, similar to that in other European countries, in forcing many women migrants to stay in violent relationships for several years, has to be criticised intensively and changed fundamentally in order to better protect women and their children' (p. 201). The strict immigration laws also hinder the integration of women to working life and decent living standards. Violence cannot be explained without taking into consideration the socio-economic context, immigration histories and new societal situations in which women are living. Violence against women is not a factor that can be traced back to the country of origin and its 'culture'. It is a system of power relations and subordination within the family and outside that is constructed in the host society. Thus the intersectional approach helps to disassemble the gender relations that are often self-evident and racialised. This is shown in a fascinating way, for example, in Christelle Hamel's chapter where she shows how also men, boys and sexuality are racialised in the discourses concerning culture and violence. 'The ethnicization and racialization of sexual and sexist violence stigmatizes and devalues young men of immigrant parentage, so making those of French parentage more desirable'. (p.118)

The book would have benefitted from a more dense selection of articles and an introduction describing common concepts. Now the reader is easily confused with the differences and nuances between 'domestic violence' and 'partner violence', migrant, immigrant and minority women. The analysis of the intersectional approach could have been developed further: what does an intersectional approach mean in practice? How is it carried out, for example, in social work and welfare services? The reader *Violence Against Women and Ethnicity. Commonalities and Differences Across Europe* is, nevertheless, a necessity to all those working in the field of violence against women; researchers, civil servants and NGO activists around Europe. Stereotypical images of minority women, girls and families are not only persistent in openly xenophobic discourses but also elsewhere in the society. In many NGOs, this particular discourse has also become a legitimate way to argue, for example, for greater acceptance and more funding for the struggle against violence against women. Thus also well-intentioned practices and discourses might include hierarchisations of women and their living situations.

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