

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Agnieszka, Weinar, Bonjour, Saskia & Zhyznomirska, Lyubov (eds.) (2019) *The Routledge handbook of the politics of migration in Europe*, London & New York: Routledge. 466 pp.**

This handbook takes a regional perspective to the study of politics of migration. Research on politics of migration in Europe has previously focused mainly on West Europe, and hence a comprehensive 'European approach' to this subject has been lacking. The ambitious aim of the book is to go beyond the Western-centred focus by considering research in all geographical areas of Europe. It also aims to grasp the influences of the European Union (EU) in migration and asylum issues in Europe and beyond. The large group of contributors represents different disciplines, positions and areas of expertise in various European and North American locations.

The continental focus of the book is highly timely, as migration and asylum have rapidly become key themes in European policymaking. In the introduction, the editors, Agnieszka Weinar, Saskia Bonjour and Lyubov Zhyznomirska, remark that the European nation states have not perceived themselves as countries of immigration, although European history has been characterized by migration, driven by various reasons. The situation has changed dramatically. In the 2010s, the unexpected and 'record high' number of migrants and refugees have fundamentally shaken the European debate and produced consequences on different levels of policymaking. Despite the increasing European policy convergence in migration and asylum issues, this 'migration crisis' revealed how divided the continent is in its responses to immigration. Hence, the book raises an important question – in what respect is it even possible to speak about *European* migration policies?

The various contributions of the handbook are organized into eight parts that deal with governance, integration, institutions, irregular migration, labour migration, asylum and international protection, pan-European cooperation in migration management and migration research. The overarching question the book aims to study is the assumed exceptionalism of European migration and its study. The authors point to three specific migration-related tensions, which they perceive distinctly European. These are tensions between migration and mobility, immigration and social class, and between human rights and migration controls. One might argue that the second and third tensions are not

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particularly European features, but instead shared by other Western migrant-receiving states. The EU or European mobility which is not perceived as a migration issue is something that differentiates Europe from other migration areas. Hence, the book focuses mainly on non-European migration.

The first, and obviously the most fundamental tension between migration and mobility, has been previously raised by other authors (see Boswell & Geddes 2011). It is important to acknowledge that migration and mobility refer to two entirely different things in the European political discourse. Mobility relates to intra-European movement, a freedom of EU citizens, especially encouraged by the EU enlargement. Instead, migration refers to non-European movement of people and it is often perceived as a negative phenomenon. What seems to be a very European phenomenon is the heterogeneity in how international migration is defined and measured in different European countries. Anna di Bartolomeo demonstrates in her chapter on migration data (Chapter 34) that how the statistics on international migration in European societies are not easily comparable due to different national approaches and migration histories. This complicates the possibilities to understand migration and the political responses on common European level. The book ends up analyzing the issue by dividing different types of migration – irregular, labour, asylum – and by studying their more particular political responses. The choice is not only reasonable but also artificial and increasingly difficult in practice, as migration flows to Europe have become highly ‘mixed’.

According to the editors, the second tension in the politics of migration in Europe relates to immigration and social class. It is often claimed that Europe needs migration to boost its economic growth and demographic decline, but at the same time it is doubted whether Europe gets the ‘right’ kind of people. One of the features of European migration is that many migrants are accepted on familial and humanitarian grounds and their contribution to growth is not self-evident. However, European countries have a long history of selecting migrants which are considered the most beneficial for their hosts. In Chapter 26, Ravi Parekh and Carlos Vargas-Silva study the labour market impact of immigration in Europe, by focusing on three country cases: the UK, Germany and Turkey. Despite high policy relevance, this area has remained less studied in Europe, especially in the case of Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries. The authors notice how the high degree of variation in labour market regulation in European countries makes more general conclusions of immigration impacts impossible.

The public debate has considered migration a political problem of governance and management. That is why the part which focuses on governance deserves elaboration. The pan-European institutions, such as the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), have improved the legal framework of immigration and shaped common European practices. However, the EU is clearly a regional hegemon, which has influenced the politics of migration in Europe the most (see Geddes & Scholten 2016). EU integration has shaped European periphery by turning it into a transit zone managed by special measures. It has also narrowed the gap between West and East. The CEE countries have traditionally been sending, not receiving states, and immigration has not attracted much public attention. Interestingly, the rise of anti-immigrant sentiments has been especially intense in these countries making the EU integration in migration issues difficult. Hence, since the ‘refugee crisis’ in 2015, Western Europe has served both as a model and a scapegoat in the

public debate on migration. As Nora Dörrenbächer and Tineke Strik show (Chapter 5), the CEE countries accepted the formal EU rules on migration, but these were not implemented in practice. Currently, Brussels with its increasing competences in migration issues is seen as an enemy of national sovereignty. Hence, the opposition to migration and EU are closely intertwined and make the convergence and divergence of migration policies important research areas.

Lately, the EU has strengthened external border surveillance and increasingly externalized migration/refugee processing into third states. The EU and its member states have been highly criticized because of their bilateral agreements with countries such as Turkey and Libya. The trend to use development aid tools to prevent migration to EU area is not considered to be in line with the European values or with more global commitments. This leads to the third tension outlined by the book, namely between human rights and migration control. This tension is especially clear in the case of asylum and international protection considered in the fifth part of the volume. The topics include the historical development of refugee protection in Europe and European efforts in the construction of the international refugee protection regime. Petra Bendel (Chapter 23) explains how international protection practices since the 1990s have developed from protection to prevention-based politics in Europe. Joanne van Selm questions the existence of common European or EU refugee policy (Chapter 24) and demonstrates the regional variation in protection systems. According to Natascha Zaun (Chapter 25), the differences are not only dependent on political will – they are more related to the administrative capacities of countries. This suggests that EU demands on asylum policy harmonization and burden sharing have put some countries (weak regulators) under serious pressure. For example, Southern European countries had to introduce their asylum systems almost from scratch and they have had serious problems in implementing EU directives.

The handbook provides a comprehensive starting point for students and scholars interested in different aspects of migration and refugee politics in the European context. Despite its ambitious aim of considering migration in the wider Europe and beyond the EU context, the book still mainly concentrates on EU member states and their practices. However, many chapters also help make sense and give ideas of the more general patterns of migration and politics in Europe. The book also provides a historical, more in-depth background for understanding the current difficulties of forming such wider European and especially common EU responses to increased non-European migration.

Hanna Tuominen PhD

University Lecturer (International Relations), University of Turku, Turku, Finland

Email: hanna.t.tuominen@helsinki.fi

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**Assmuth, Laura, Hakkarainen, Marina, Lulle Aija & Siim, Pihla Maria (2018) *Translocal childhoods and family mobility in East and North Europe*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 271 pp.**

This book investigates how family is practiced from the perspective of children growing up in 'mobile families'. The book studies mobile families, which have migrated from Latvia and Estonia to Finland, from Latvia to the UK and from Russia to Finland, and Roma families from Romania to Finland. Edited by Laura Assmuth, Marina Hakkarainen, Aija Lulle and Pihla Maria Siim, this collection of ethnographic field studies investigates how children view their lives and what matters to them during "the most intensely governed sector of personal existence" (p. 6). This is an interesting topic, as children are simultaneously expected to change, and be a symbol of the future, while staying the same, and adhering to cultural norms, which can create dilemmas and challenges, especially in a translocal setting.

To describe the mobile life of the families, editors use the concept of translocality. Translocality is defined as 'situatedness during mobility' and highlights the connections between multiple localities, often the country of origin and the country of residence. There is no clear division between the two, and this connection defines the families' everyday lives through relationships across borders, cultural differences and physical distance. Assmuth, Hakkarainen, Lulle and Siim (Chapter 1) argue that translocality entails considerations about the continued relationships and dynamics between the old and the new. Furthermore, the editors argue that theories of transnationality and migration are too focused on nationality and disregard sheer distance being one of the main factors that determine the translocal life (p. 7).

The book is structured by the intertwined concepts of embodiment, infrastructure and agency, which are defining translocal childhoods. These concepts are introduced and defined in Chapter 1 (Assmuth, Hakkarainen, Lulle and Siim). Embodiment refers to how translocality is specifically experienced through children's bodies, as mobility is experienced and negotiated through movement of the body. Moreover, the editors argue that sensitivity to embodied differences in skin colour, gender, disability and age are important components of a translocal childhood (p. 9). When parents decide to move to a different country, children have concrete embodied experiences of the journey and the surroundings such as the weather or being uncomfortable in a car seat for prolonged periods of time. According to the editors, infrastructure has a significant impact on the children's lives. They influence personal relationships with friends and family members and is determined by economic circumstances. The education systems the child finds her/himself in have consequences for the translocal lives of the families, as they influence where vacations are spent. The infrastructure is related to children's experiences of inequality or poverty both in the country of origin and the new country of residence (p. 11). Lastly, agency ties together embodiment and infrastructure. Anca Enache, Hakkarainen and Lulle argue that children's agency exists, but cannot be compared to adult agency, as it is constrained by both their parents' choices and institutional life. It does not follow a linear development and

is affected by children's age, gender and translocality (p. 14). Thus, as the editors argue in Chapter 1, children's agency is 'a process of being and becoming'.

Part 2 elaborates on embodiment. Chapter 2 takes a closer look at how translocality is specifically experienced through children's bodies. Agnese Bankovska and Siim describe the physical and emotional journey of moving the body from the new country of residence to the old. In Chapter 3, Marta Balode and Lulle explore how transnational life affects identity negotiation through the naming of children. Airi Markkanen (Chapter 4) describes her approach to sensitive ethnography where she follows the principle of the hermeneutic circle in her research on Roma families' own perspectives on their mobile lives.

Part 3 describes the infrastructures that determine and affect the lives of the children (Chapters 5–7). In Chapter 5, Lulle and Siim describe the infrastructures that influence the summer holidays, often spent in places that are emotionally significant to the children such as places in the country of origin surrounded by family members and familiar pets and domestic animals. In Chapter 6, Hakkarainen investigates how inequality and economic awareness shape the lives and ambitions for the future of translocal children. Chapter 7 elaborates on school experiences in a new country of residence. Assmuth and Siim argue that the school can both be an empowering place and a place where differences become apparent creating obstacles for the children.

Part 4 ties together the book by discussing how the situations described in the previous chapters all influence the agency of the children (Chapters 8–10). In Chapter 8, Enache delves into the shifting agency of Roma children, who are often separated from their parents for longer periods of time. Hakkarainen examines in Chapter 9 how education can be a tool for Russian children to negotiate agency and identity in Finland. Lastly, in Chapter 10, Lulle discusses how agency changes throughout childhood to adulthood. Part 5 includes concluding reflections in Chapter 11 by Enache and Markkanen. They elaborate on the benefits of doing research with children. They argue, that children pay attention to details, which adults would maybe consider too insignificant to include. These details provide added perspectives that would otherwise have remained undiscovered (p. 258).

One of the main takeaways from the book is how food consumed in different places can not only have an ethnic feel to it but also be a way of fitting into the new society (Chapters 2, 5, 6 and 7). It is the most obvious sign of difference between places that children experience and carry a lot of emotional response with food. For example, the food in the new school is often perceived as worse tasting than the food the children already know and is a struggle for them to get used to (Assmuth and Siim, Chapter 7). At the same time, food was also used to set clear boundaries and make sense of the country of origin and the country of residence (Lulle and Siim, Chapter 5). Thus, many of the children enjoyed a certain dish when it was prepared for them by their grandmother during the summer holiday in the country of origin and dislike the same soup if it was prepared by their parents in the country of residence. Food can be seen as a symbol of the relationships connected to the situations where the food has been consumed previously.

The children are somewhat torn between a new life with material wealth, new friends, and everyday life and their grandparents, other relatives, and old friends from their home

town (Hakkarainen, Chapter 6). In some cases, these relationships were the source of longing that culminated in a much anticipated and enjoyed long summer holiday at the grandparents' house, and sometimes these relationships kept the children from integrating and building relationships with people in their country of residence, because their focus and longing remained in their country of origin. Some children expressed loneliness in the new country of residence, while others somewhat lost the connection with their country of origin, because their energy and attention were directed towards new relationships. In any case, relationships came with choices that had an impact on the everyday life of the children (Lulle and Siim, Chapter 5).

Chapters 4, 6 and 8 contain research on Roma families and stand out in comparison to the other families introduced in the book. Most of the described Roma families lived in poverty and faced daily struggles for survival, and meeting the basic needs for care for their children and themselves. While Markkanen (Chapter 4) remarks that some of the children seem sad at times, and that their occasional happy attitudes could be a coping mechanism (p. 99), this poverty and inequality are only touched upon briefly. Markkanen describes multiple racist encounters that could have been interesting to investigate further (p. 102). However, though the Roma portrayed are practicing family in a visibly contrasting way compared to the other families, beyond poverty, the children face the same challenges, and mention similar things to the other children featured in the book, to be significant to them.

With extensive research on doing family in a translocal setting, this book brings attention to the somewhat overlooked perspective of the children that is often affected by the translocal choices of the parents. Attention is paid to the small details in life, which are especially noticeable in children, and which make up the big picture of childhood and life. The strength of this book is its take on children's agency as both existing yet limited and the sensitive approach to ethnographic field study. The combination of creative methods with more traditional style interviews makes this book a compelling read.

Concludingly, this is an excellent read for anyone interested in childhood studies and migration. The book should be read in its entirety and in a chronological order as it is the accumulation of small details that provide a picture of doing family in a translocal setting. Through the researchers' sensitive and experimental approach to ethnography, their own presence in the researched field becomes not a limitation, but an added nuance that provides more perspectives to the life of these children. Lastly, having grown up in a translocal environment myself, the book provided me with a level of insight that I did not expect, but thoroughly enjoyed.

Nina Svane Bruhn

Master's Student in Culture, Communication & Globalization at Aalborg University, Aalborg, Denmark  
Email: nbruhn17@student.aau.dk

**Hiitola, Johanna, Anis, Merja & Turtiainen, Kati (eds.) (2018) *Maahanmuutto, palvelut ja hyvinvointi. Kohtaamisissa kehittyviä käytäntöjä*, Tampere: Vastapaino. 243 pp.**

While the overall number of foreign-born individuals living in Finland is still small compared to Sweden or other European countries, the growth of the migrant population has been rapid in the last years. This puts pressure on integration services, and the need to develop the Finnish integration system has been discussed in several recent research reports (OECD 2018, Ala-Kauhaluoma *et al.* 2018), and in public debate, as well. The edited volume *Maahanmuutto, palvelut ja hyvinvointi. Kohtaamisissa kehittyviä käytäntöjä* offers valuable perspectives to this discussion by analyzing encounters taking place at different levels of the Finnish integration system.

The volume consists of nine chapters together with an introduction and an epilogue written by the editors Johanna Hiitola, Merja Anis and Kati Turtiainen. The focus of the volume is on *encounters that are linked to the welfare system*. In encounters, the participants negotiate meanings and search for shared understanding. Some of the chapters investigate the experiences of migrants as participants in institutional interactions with integration professionals, while others provide perspectives on the structural frames either supporting or impeding the encounters.

The chapters are organized into three different parts. The first part describes how the practices of the integration system create possibilities for both participation and exclusion. Chapter 1 by Tiina Sotkasiira analyzes metaphors used by the integration professionals to communicate the meanings, values, beliefs and feelings they have about the integration work. By analyzing these descriptions, Sotkasiira provides insights into how the autonomy, skills and welfare of migrants are acknowledged and supported in the integration system and identifies a need for more flexible integration services that would better consider the migrants' own goals and needs. Chapter 2 by Mulki Al-Sharmani, Sanna Mustasaari and Abdirashid Ismail describes how family disputes are negotiated in Finnish mosques and sheds light on the multiple factors contributing to the contexts relevant to the lives of some of the Muslim migrants living in Finland. In the third chapter, Riikka Homanen and Marja Alastalo show how the practices of compiling civil registers produce information about family relations for population statistics. Understanding these processes is crucial as statistics are often used as an important resource for welfare politics. The practices of registering migrants can also be in many ways consequential for the lives of individuals (see also Alastalo *et al.* 2016).

The chapters in the second part focus on the experiences of participants in the concrete encounters between integration officials and immigrants. This part starts with a chapter by Lotta Kokkonen who analyzes how immigrants with refugee background talk about the social support they have experienced in encounters and relations with officials. The analysis shows that these relations are often regarded as important, and especially language teachers and interpreters are seen as trustworthy persons who can be turned to when in need. On an interpersonal level, in particular, these encounters are important for creating a sense of belonging (pp. 116–119). Chapter 5 by Johanna Hiitola and Marja Peltola

turns the focus on how the sense of ‘otherness’ is created and experienced in encounters between immigrant parents and officials in different contexts related to childcare and education. Drawing on interviews done with the officials, the authors show how, on the one hand, immigrant parents are sometimes categorized as ‘others’ and how, on the other hand, the officials sometimes adopt a critical stance towards such categories and replace them with inclusive descriptions (pp. 128–135). In Chapter 6, Veera Rautavuoma and Kati Turtiainen highlight the importance of mutually understandable language in encounters and examine the meanings given to interpretation services by professionals working in family services. The analysis shows how the talk by officials is often loaded with different terms and concepts that cannot be directly translated into another language (pp. 155–159). Rautavuoma and Turtiainen point out the need for language awareness among all the participants in such encounters – the officials, in particular (see also Tiililä 2017, Koskinen, Vuori & Leminen 2018). Even if the interpreter is present, one should be critical about her own language and take the recipient into account in language use.

In the third part, the writers’ lens focuses on interactional relations in the everyday lives of immigrants. Chapter 7 by Olga Davydova-Minguet and Pirjo Pöllänen is an analysis of the experienced welfare by Russian women living in Eastern parts of Finland. The chapter illustrates the different meanings that family relations, work and income have in the lives of these women. In chapter 8, Merja Anis and Riti Esberg report a review of studies focusing on unaccompanied children in European countries. The chapter is a comprehensive presentation of the perspectives discussed in the existing studies and shows that while there are ethical challenges in doing research with and about these children, there nevertheless is an accumulating amount of studies that help us understand the themes related to this type of increasing mobility in today’s world. The last chapter is written by Kati Turtiainen and Jassin Rezai who present a story about a Finnish young adult with refugee background. They focus their analysis on the meaning of the close relations, i.e. family relations, in the process of developing one’s own identity as a young adult living in a new country.

The volume ends with a brief discussion with concrete advice on how to support immigrants in different types of encounters in the welfare system. The epilogue clearly shows that one of the aims of the volume is to provide rather concrete guidance for officials working in integration services. In my view, the volume is well fitted for this target group: it helps to gain a deeper understanding on the lives of some immigrant groups in Finland and to critically reflect on our own practices in relation to the integration processes. The volume might also be useful in some university courses. However, there seems to be an explicit aim to design the book for other audiences than researchers. This is observable for example in that the methodological choices and ethical questions have not been discussed in depth in the chapters – even if the researched topics would merit such discussion. This is probably a deliberate decision made to make the book more accessible for practitioners and is also understandable because all the authors have covered similar issues in their other scientific publications that the reader can turn to for finding more information.

Even if the volume is comprehensive as it is, there are some themes that could have been covered more in detail or that call for more research. Because the volume focuses



on encounters, one could have expected also microanalytic perspectives on interactions between officials and immigrant clients. A microanalytic perspective could provide understanding that would help to support interaction in challenging situations in which the participants do not share similar linguistic or cultural resources. In addition, the role of language in different types of encounters would also have merited more attention. Some of the chapters illustrate the complex processes, e.g. in finding and filling in all sorts of different forms and papers that are omnipresent in the Finnish integration system, but none of the articles pays attention to the details of these textual practices. The role of language as a central part of different encounters in public services often remains unrecognized in research (see Tiililä 2017; Lilja, Luukka & Latomaa 2017). Yet, linguistic practices are central in defining the experiences of both clients and officials in these encounters.

All in all, the volume is valuable especially because it offers new insights into everyday practices in the integration system and provides new ways of seeing and conceptualizing integration. In addition to being a topical contribution to themes relevant to the current public debates, the volume also addresses issues that have been less researched in studies focusing on migration, such as the role and meaning of social support experienced in encounters with integration professionals or the interactional use of category terms that either construct migrants as others or critically reconstruct presentations of otherness.

Niina Lilja

University Lecturer (Finnish as a second language), Tampere University, Tampere, Finland  
E-mail: niina.lilja@tuni.fi

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**Sandset, Tony (2019) *Color that matters: a comparative approach to mixed race identity and Nordic exceptionalism*, Oxon & New York: Routledge. 196 pp.**

*Color that matters: A comparative Approach to Mixed Race Identity*, authored by Tony Sandset at Oslo University, sets out to examine 'the ways in which mixed ethnic identities in Scandinavia are formed along both cultural and embodied lines' (back cover). The majority of studies on mixed race identities are conducted in English-speaking countries, although there has been a significant increase in the amount of literature produced on mixedness outside of the English-speaking context over the past few years. Edited volume such as *International Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Mixedness and Mixing* (Edwards *et al.* 2012), *Global Mixed Race* (King-O'Rian *et al.* 2014) and *Mixed Race in Asia* (Rocha & Fozdar 2017) or special issues in different journals (Chito-Childs 2018; Rocha *et al.* 2018) can be named as some of the most recent examples and attempts in addressing the global aspect of mixedness. Despite the attention on mixedness globally and the fact that mixed population in the Nordic countries is increasing, the field of mixed race studies has not taken off in the Nordic context and is still often missing from the global perspectives on mixedness.

In fact, as Sandset argues, the usage of concept of race in academia itself is still controversial and reluctantly seen in the Nordic countries. Sandset finds that while academic interests related to immigration and integration are widely found and research field is well established in Norway, there is no research on mixed ethnic identity and, furthermore, there is no mention of the notion of mixed people. He writes "mixed ethnic descents are often bracketed with other ethnic minorities as 'just another minority story'" (p. 24). The issue is that 'there is no field' (p. 21) called mixed race studies in the Nordic countries today. This book is a significant and important contribution in the field of racial and ethnic studies and critical mixed race studies since it is the first book on mixed identity in the Norwegian context.

One thing that the readers should know about the book is that the analysis on mixed race identity is based on discourse analysis. 'The lived life of mixed colors' refers to the discourse and performance of race and ethnicity not on self-identification process and identity formation. The title is a bit misleading for a reader looking for a similar analysis of mixed race identities found in books such as *Mixed Race Identities* by Miri Song and Peter Aspinall (2013) in the UK context, as Sandset's book provides a different kind of analysis of mixed identity and mixed experiences. What is central in the book is the discourse of race and ethnicity on official documents in the US, the UK and Norway. How mixed Norwegians understand the discourse of race, ethnicity and being Norwegian and perform their skin colour is examined as an example of how race and ethnicity matter in Norway.

The book is structured in seven chapters, which is divided into four parts. The first introduction chapter starts off by the author sharing his personal experience that forms his academic interest in the topic. He moves on and introduces three components of books inspired by French philosopher Gilles Deleuze's and sets the agenda and research statements of the book. Sandset addresses how the body is forgotten in the discourse of ethnicity and challenges the scholarship that often overlooks the importance of skin colour and body

in Norway and the Nordic context through analyzing the role of skin colour for persons of mixed ethnicity and race in Norway which is “a blind spot in the Nordic region” (p. 4). Part 1 consists of two chapters presenting the methodology and theory. These two chapters presents a clear state of art of critical mixed race studies in general and in the Nordic region and elaboration on the previously stated three research statements. Furthermore, the chapters include discussions on his theoretical inspirations, which are Michel Foucault and his concept of discourse, Judith Butler’s theory on performativity and Bruno Latour’s notion of assembling, and move on to presenting his empirical material which he bases his analysis on. Sandset also gives an extensive and valuable reflexive account on his position being of mixed ethnic decent himself and what that entails in the research process.

Part 2 titled *Epistemic documents, racialized knowledge and mundane language* analyzes different types of official discourse of race and ethnicity. More specifically, Sandset analyzes how race and ethnicity are defined in UNESCO Statement on Race, Oxford Dictionary and the Webster Dictionary, census forms in the UK and the US and finally the Norwegian documents which include linguistic definitions, census forms and legal debate around the new hate crime act which was introduced in Norway in 2005. In the analysis, Sandset displays how the concept of race gets conflated with the concept of ethnicity and culture and reproduces racialized understanding of belonging and what it means to be Norwegian.

Part 3 consisting of two chapters explores 22 interviews that Sandset conducted with people of ‘mixed ethnic background’ living in Oslo. The chapters consist of rich interview materials, and personally as a scholar of race and ethnicity are the most interesting chapters tapping into the question of mixed identity. Through analyzing the discourse of how mixed persons define themselves as Norwegians despite being aware of their ‘non-Norwegian appearance’, Sandset concludes how the categories of ‘Norwegian’ and ‘ethnic Norwegian’ are highly racialized in everyday discourse. Moreover, he examines how ‘non-white bodies’ are performed. The responses to the ‘where are you from’ and ‘what are you’ questions that people of mixed ethnic background choose varies. Interviewees words reflecting how some choose to emphasize their Norwegianness and others choose to perform their non-white stereotypes are interesting. Part 4 which is the last chapter of the book summarizes two points nicely: race and ethnicity are ‘two sides of the same coin’ rather than two different concepts and ‘bodies matter and are made to matter’.

*Body and colour* are the central concepts in the book. In the analysis of official discourse of race and ethnicity, Sandset makes a clear argument how the rhetoric of decent and ancestry seen as a matter of ‘culture’ is strongly tied with the idea of biology and body. Even though the word race is dismissed as an outdated term by the mixed ethnic Norwegians, it is clear through their discourses that it is their body and ‘colour that matters’ in their daily experiences, as the title says.

As I stated before, this book is of a significant contribution to the global mixed race literature, being the first Norwegian contribution in the field. The book consists of rich theoretical discussions with empirical material. The book is recommended to all scholars and students interested in the question of not only race and ethnicity in the Nordic context but also mixed identity and experiences in a global perspective. The book is also

recommended for those who are interested in discourse analysis. One question that I have to the author is why he chose to call himself and his informants as persons of ‘mixed ethnic background’, catering to the Norwegian discourse rather than ‘mixed race background’ despite the choice to state ‘mixed race identity’ in the title and the conclusion which clearly says that colour matters.

As the book ends with a statement “An endeavor such as this should end not with a tidy conclusion but with wonder and further questions” (p. 177), I would, in the future, personally like to see the author dive deeper into the question of identity, not only through the discourse analysis of body and performance but also through identity theories (see Jenkins 2005; Brubaker & Cooper 2000).

Sayaka Osanami Törngren

Senior researcher, Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare, Malmö University, Malmö, Sweden

Email: sayaka.torngren@mau.se

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**Kallio, Heikki, Kotkas, Toomas & Palander, Jaana (toim.) (2018) *Ulkomaalaisoikeus*, Helsinki: Alma Talent. 646 pp.**

*Ulkomaalaisoikeus* provides a comprehensive overview of Finnish migration law with a focus on so-called third country nationals (i.e. non-European Union [EU] citizens). It introduces the different forms of entry into the country, such as work-related migration and international protection, the residence permit system and the removal of aliens from the country. The editors Heikki Kallio, Toomas Kotkas and Jaana Palander are legal scholars affiliated to the University of Eastern Finland. Kallio works as Senior Lecturer in Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure and Kotkas as Professor of Jurisprudence and Social Law. Palander is the member of the Multilayered Borders of Global Security (GLASE) research project, which examines changes in the global security environment.

The book is written in Finnish, a choice readily justified by the fact that as a field, migration law currently remains, like the editors note, somewhat undeveloped in Finland. The Finnish word 'ulkomaalainen' (or 'ulkomaalais-') translates to 'foreign' or 'alien', so the literal sense of the title would be 'law on the foreigners or aliens', which follows the term used in legislation ('ulkomaalaislaki', Aliens Act). As Palander observes in the first chapter, the field of *ulkomaalaisoikeus* is understood as covering a wider area than migration law, including all norms that address the legal status, rights and obligations of foreigners residing in Finland. In international literature, however, such distinction is not made, so in the term more commonly used is 'migration law', which is why it will be used in this review as well.

The book opens with a brief outlook, written by Palander, on the systematics of Finnish migration law, including its central legal sources, concepts and principles. Since migration law belongs to the field of administrative law, the second chapter by Ulla Väättänen moves on to analyze the interrelationship of the Aliens Act of 2004 (*ulkomaalaislaki*) to general administrative law and Administrative Procedure Act of 2003. This provides the reader with a contextualization of this branch of law in a broader legal framework of administrative law. In the third chapter, Kallio describes the general rules regarding the entry to Finland and residing in the country.

Chapters 4–7 address the different grounds for obtaining a residence permit. The right of the foreigner to work is examined by Kallio in Chapter 4, and the right of a foreigner to study by Palander and Jaakko Hyytiä in Chapter 5. The legal norms regulating international protection are explained in Chapter 6 by Juha Similä. Chapter 7, written by Palander, focuses on family reunification and the rights to respect for family life.

Chapter 8 is written by Suvianna Hakalehto and Katriina Sovela. It addresses the evaluation of the best interests of the child in the context of migration law. National migration law is affected by a growing body of international human rights norms, most importantly the case law from the European Court of Human Rights and the EU Court of Justice as well as the recommendations from the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, which makes the chapter an invaluable contribution to the fields of both child law and migration law.

The legal framework regarding the removal of foreigners from the country is described in Chapter 9 by Kallio. In Chapter 10, Kati Korsman and Mirjami Paso focus on the due process and appeal in Finnish migration law. Chapters 11 and 12 address the social rights of foreigners. Toomas Kotkas describes their rights to social security in Chapter 11, and Chapter 12 by Eeva Nykänen concludes the book with a discussion regarding their rights to social and healthcare services.

Migration law is generally speaking a fast-moving area of law, which thus far has not attracted very much attention from Finnish legal scholars. However, a comprehensive introduction to the field of migration law was published relatively recently, in 2016, which describes, interprets and systematizes Finnish legal norms that regulate migration (Aer 2016). This book covers partly similar themes, but its scope is at times broader, covering important issues such as the social rights of foreigners in Finland. The author team includes academics and professionals working in migration service and courts, which brings certain variation to the style and standard of writing, and clearly also richness to the approaches chosen.

While the existing literature offers a coherent and comprehensive introduction to the field (Aer 2016), the novelty of the book at hand is that it provides the reader with more diversity and at times more in-depth analyses. For example, Palander's chapter on family reunification affords the reader with a subtle analysis of how the requirement of sufficient subsistence plays a key role in family reunification.

Most European countries require as a condition of family members' entry the family to demonstrate that it will not need to rely on welfare benefits for basic social security. Of the Nordic countries, Finland and Norway have relied heavily on income requirements in their immigration policies. With the introduction of temporary laws in 2016, Sweden also adopted income requirements as means to restrict family migration (Borevi 2018). The restrictions are often framed either as necessary from the perspective of maintaining or promoting social cohesion or as economic necessities, and the required high levels of income make family migration virtually impossible for a large number of families, especially in the low-income groups to which many migrants belong (Staver 2014; Pellander 2016; Mustasaari 2017). In considering whether a person meets the income requirement or not, it matters a great deal what counts as 'income'. Some forms of support, such as the unemployment benefit or parental support, count as income. Palander mentions, in particular, the labour market subsidy, which is not counted as income although it is a form of support intended for unemployed persons who enter the labour market for the first time or who have not worked long enough to be eligible for unemployment benefits. The way in which social benefits are categorized thus determines the eligibility for family reunification for many families (see also Palander 2017 for more detailed discussion).

The task of covering a vast amount of topics and large amounts of legal sources and jurisprudence and yet keeping the examination on a coherent and scholarly level is a difficult one. At times, the reader might wish for a more critical analysis of the legislation and case law. For example, in Chapter 8, which focuses on the best interests of the child, the authors mainly refrain from critiquing the cases and settle for describing the jurisprudence and development of the legislation. It could be argued that many of the cited cases give rise to a far more profound critique from the perspective of the rights of the child. For example, the

case of KHO:2013:97 demonstrates several problems – both normative and procedural – with how the best interests principle is understood and applied in practice. The case was about whether or not an exception should be made to the income requirement on the grounds of the best interests of two children concerned, whose mother was Algerian but who had been both born and raised in Finland. I have argued previously that this case brought to the fore painfully clearly how the best interest test might work to construct a non-belonging identity to the child concerned (Mustasaari 2016). In this case, the integration into Finnish society of these children was challenged on the basis of their identities marked by ethnicity, language and position as a second-generation migrant. However, their integration was not evaluated in material terms, for instance, by hearing the children about their circumstances or other people significant to the children, e.g. staff of their schools or nurseries.

The book is a must read for anyone interested in the regulation of migration in Finland, with the obvious limitation concerning the language it is written in. The fact that the authors are legal scholars and practitioners shows in the adopted approach and style, which is rich with details and definitions. On the whole, the outcome is clear and well balanced. This book is without doubt an important contribution to the emerging field of legal studies on migration in Finland.

Sanna Mustasaari

Postdoctoral Researcher, Faculty of Law, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland

E-mail: sanna.mustasaari@helsinki.fi

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## Notes

1. In English: Migration, services and welfare. Evolving practices in encounters. The English translation is made by the reviewer.
2. Exception is the work by scholars in Denmark such as Bang Appel & Singla 2016; Skadegård & Jensen 2018.
3. The title of the book *Ulkomaalaisoikeus* can be translated in English as 'Finnish Migration Law'.