



Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

John Welshman, **Churchill's Children: The Evacuee Experience in Wartime Britain**, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 288 pp., (ISBN13: 9780199574414), (paper).

Churchill's Children offers a fascinating exploration into the experience of evacuation through the perspective of children who were evacuated as part of the official scheme in Britain during the Second World War. Welshman's style captures precisely the world of the children with attention paid to the details they noticed about their environment: the sweets and foods available in their new homes, the habits of other children in the house, whether adults were kind or cruel, games played and battles fought with local children and the feelings of homesickness, loneliness or joy, sometimes experienced simultaneously by children separated from their families. This evokes the lived experience of the 'vaccies' (evacuees) that is seldom revealed in standard histories of the war.

Welshman's introduction foregrounds the book's special focus on memory, the role of reminiscence and the value of personal testimony. Welshman highlights the complexity of assessing narratives written from a 'child-like' perspective but from a distance of many decades from the events related. Welshman's approach is to keep the vividness of the child-like accounts, while providing contextual and explanatory information in keeping with a historical text and in this he is successful in balancing memory with historical evidence. The observation made by Welshman that public appeals for testimony tended to elicit responses from those who remembered being the last children chosen from the evacuation points prompts him to question the motivations of those who wanted a public forum for their stories, or, conversely, what stories would have been revealed by those who do not respond to such public appeals? Would more stories of abuse have emerged? Would a different 'history' be presented? Welshman's point regarding memory or stories of the exceptional is verified by my own reading of the book. The story of Mary Rose, physically and mentally abused by her foster mother stood out most from all the accounts as it was a shocking and unexpected narrative differing from the rural idyll depicted in many evacuation accounts.

The chronological approach to the history of evacuation in *Churchill's Children* also includes the personal stories of officials, civil servants, teachers, social workers and professionals involved in the administration of the evacuation scheme, some of whom also experienced evacuation through their roles in schools. Readers wishing to follow up on these aspects will be aided by Welshman's biographical details and the chapter based bibliographies on the more public figures included in the narrative.

Welshman's account of the scheme demonstrates the fact that the displacement of people through evacuation exposed the deprivation and poverty being experienced by many urban families. He is careful, however, not to present a homogenised account of evacuation as a move from urban poverty to rural comfort, highlighting the counter-narratives of children who went to cramped conditions in comparison to their city



homes. Welshman therefore gives a sensitive and balanced analysis of the claims that evacuees were dirty, lice ridden and socially atavistic. Examining the primary sources, Welshman argues that the evacuees often had different hygiene and social practices that were *interpreted* as dirty, but were in fact just simply based on a different lifestyle, living conditions and daily schedule. Similarly, Welshman offers an excellent analysis of the issue of clothing (and lack of it) for the children leaving the cities – even when examining official policies on resources he is attentive to the human aspects of the historical narrative.

The chapters examining the impact of evacuation are especially illuminating as to the psychological and emotional effects of “war strain” on children. The many psychological studies conducted on children at the time may be less well known to the general reader yet were important in the development of concepts such as separation anxiety and maladjustment in childhood and adolescence. Welshman also highlights the importance of examining the great diversity in experiences of evacuation, both positive and negative, and the vulnerability of children away from home when the latter is the case.

The day to day details of life as an evacuee are explored in almost forensic detail in this book and will appeal to readers interested in the material realities of wartime life as well as those who wish to immerse themselves in the child’s perspective on a momentous historical event. Welshman’s concluding observations that such a scheme would not be implemented now given our greater contemporary attention to child safety and abuse issues highlights the truly exceptional nature of this experience in modern history. *Churchill’s Children* will appeal to those who are interested in the history of children’s experiences of wartime events, scholars of personal testimonies and those with a general interest in the Second World War and its impact on families.

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Birgit Jentsch and Myriam Simard (eds.), **International Migration and Rural Areas: Cross-National Comparative Perspectives**, Farnham: Ashgate, 2009, 218pp, (ISBN: 978-0-7546-7484-9), (cloth).

Migration is an immense subject with many different strands and dimensions. It has long been the topic of research for population geographers, but is increasingly enjoying attention from a diverse group of researchers drawn from the disciplines of sociology, economics, politics and anthropology. Brigit Jentsch and Myriam Simard bring together a body of researchers from these diverse backgrounds with a common interest: migration to rural and marginal regions, a rapidly expanding field of research.

Fundamentally the book has a two-fold agenda; it aims to find a balance between examining migrants’ and receiving communities’ experiences while also informing theoretical debates. The latter marks a particularly valuable contribution given that to date research has been somewhat ad hoc. This is mostly due to the fact that policy-makers or service providers have typically commissioned studies on a case-by-case basis and, as a result, many fall short of contributing at a conceptual level. By setting out to address this gap, the book seeks to inform future policy and research agendas. It successfully maintains a delicate balance between empirical research and theoretical

analysis and as a result it makes for an extremely informative and interesting collection. I use the term 'collection' loosely here, for there are consistent themes woven throughout each chapter that make for interconnections, culminating in an integrated volume overall – an impressive feat in itself. The key themes that are critiqued relate to integration, broadly conceived as a two-way process, but acknowledging the flexible way in which this label is used. And so throughout the volume debates on migration related issues including labour market segmentation; spatial segregation; xenophobia; locality; social differentiation; civil society; and the state are all advanced.

From the start Jentsch and Simard set the tone of the book by thoroughly reviewing the major challenges facing rural areas, including the way in which some areas have in recent years attracted, mostly labour migrants – a shift from past trends when migration had an almost exclusively urban orientation. Some impressive figures illustrate the extent of this population movement, such as an increase in immigration by nearly ten-fold over the 1990s in North Carolina (p. 25), or from just over 3000 to approximately 8000 in ten years in Hendry, Florida. Similarly in Europe many rural areas with little or no history of immigration have become recipients of labour migrants: in one small town in Ireland the percentage of foreign nationals grew from 5.1 in 2002 to 17.9 in 2006 (p. 107).

But statistics can obscure the dynamics of migration. In the USA, Russia and Canada, its role in shaping culture and society has been significant historically. Russia ranks second among major immigrant receiving countries according to the UN in 2005 (outflanked only by the USA). Ivakhnyuk helpfully outlines past migratory waves of predominantly German and Chinese settlers in the one hundred years or so from mid-18th Century to Central Russia and the Far East Region respectively – the two areas that are the subject of her investigation. The geographic scale and the extent of the phenomenon is striking– the Central region boasts a population of 60 million, encompassing 30 provinces and covering 1.2 million square km. In both Canada and Russia although migrants are still attracted to rural and regional areas, this is essentially because of state intervention at the national and regional levels. Historically migrants to these countries were agricultural pioneers seizing opportunities to become landowners and agricultural producers. Recent proactive policies have been implemented to attract new communities to such marginal destinations, with contemporary migrants naturally opting to settle in urban environs. Nonetheless rural immigration continues to this day, partly as a result of these positive interventions. In this way statistics are critically probed throughout the volume.

The normal methodological and editorial challenges that arise as a consequence of undertaking this type of endeavour are evident such as definitions of rural; the plethora of labels assigned to the 'people who migrate' (migrants, immigrants?) and those from the longstanding recipient community (locals?) as well as the different connotations that may then be aligned with these chosen labels; the challenges of unravelling the contested notion of integration; or the lack of comparable datasets and bodies of literature. Having got these matters out of the way, the volume progresses with a series of chapters based on contributors' own primary research.

Scholars will be all too familiar with the challenges facing rural areas – often one of economic stagnation caused by agricultural restructuring and due also to the exodus of rural youth and of the economically active. While some places have witnessed in-migration of lifestyle migrants, most of the areas studied within this volume have at some time in the recent past faced overall decline. This was especially prominent in the case of Russia where, although the challenges of depopulation; out migration of

young; and an ageing population are very similar to those faced by many other rural areas across the modern industrialised world, the scope and scale of these problems is extraordinary. For instance a staggering '13,000 Russian villages lost their inhabitants completely, and 'simply disappeared from the map between...1989 and 2002' (p.158). The Russian government has encouraged migration through policies targeted towards a specific population who could demonstrate connections to that country. Meanwhile the affirmative approach of the Canadian government reflects its desire to counter an ageing rural population and to redress the imbalance caused by the majority of migrants choosing to settle in urban environs. Those who do settle in rural areas tend to select the more prosperous provinces of British Columbia, Ontario and Alberta. The regionalisation of immigration policy has thus been evident, not least of all in Quebec which forms the focus for Simard's contribution. It represents a microcosm for immigrants' settlement pattern within Canada overall: despite attempts to redress the spatial imbalance of immigrants, in 2006 only 13 per cent of immigrants to this state were located in rural areas. Progressive policies have been employed including one to attract GPs to rural areas, thereby plugging a gap in professional skills while also addressing the rural/urban imbalance. This policy and its effects are further scrutinised right through the chapter.

Many existing studies limit the scope of integration and migrants' experiences to matters economic. In fact, and as the Canadian research illustrates, all aspects should be considered including social, economic and cultural. The fact that migrants cannot be simply reduced to economic agents is returned to throughout the book. We learn how many of them make choices around the family unit and give consideration to matters such as opportunities for children, professional options for spouses, quality of life and broader community relationships. Their aspirations are temporal, changing over time and accordingly their attitude to work in general and their willingness to work in poor conditions more specifically alters over their life course. This can remove the feature that made them attractive employees in the first place and employers may go elsewhere to recruit more recent and eager arrivals. These contribute to retention rates and need to be better understood as a key component of integration.

Nonetheless, evident across many of the case studies is that twenty-first century migrants are commonly valued as a development resource, filling gaps in labour markets. Contrary to popular belief across the globe of 'migrants stealing local jobs' this research clearly shows how local people prefer to take on less menial jobs than those that are often accepted by migrants. Indeed in Greece the rural youth were shown to delay entry to the labour market in the absence of jobs deemed to be acceptable. Thus many migrants to rural areas in all of the countries examined within this volume – Greece, Scotland, Ireland, Russia, Canada and the USA – tend to work within agriculture or fill labour shortages elsewhere in manufacturing and service sectors. Their desire to survive economically often means that at least in the period following their migration, many are inclined to accept menial jobs. In Greece we learn of older migrant communities being displaced by newcomers and of social differentiation within migrant groups: migrants move to other economic sectors following regularisation. On the one hand this perpetuates the prevalence of newcomers within the agriculture sector, but equally significantly this mobility illustrates the ability of longer established migrants to advance socially and economically. It is clear that not all groups progress accordingly: farmer immigrants in Canada are apt to become more fully integrated within rural society than seasonal, unskilled labourers. This is largely as a result of the fact that farmers take decisions at the family level, cognisant of other family member:

they are less independent or mobile than the semi-skilled seasonal immigrants who face precarious working conditions along with discrimination and poverty. Emerging overall then is a mosaic of different settlements of inter and intra-connections, mostly due to the heterogeneous nature of 'migrant' communities.

The array of employment sectors populated by migrants in the case studies, particularly the USA is notable. Many are upstream or downstream from agriculture including meatpacking, lumbar processing, food manufacturing, fruit harvesting. Other industries such as mining; recreation and tourism; manufacturing; and construction provide employment for immigrants. But such menial jobs are not without their own problems and it is somewhat predictable that 'monotonous...arduous, gruelling, and hazardous' is the regrettable terminology used to describe these jobs. Consequently migrants' vulnerability through low wages, long hours, and overcrowded dwellings is noted.

Connected to the issue of job quality is that of the creation of quality jobs. The editors ponder the extent to which rural businesses survive as a result of cheap labour supplied by migrants. In their absence uncertainties around viability and sustainability arise. For instance, rather than wither as a result of labour deficits emerging from demographic, structural or social challenges, Greek agriculture has flourished. Modern Greek agriculture is depicted whereby family farms hire external labour and are able to improve in a more general sense through enhanced organisational structure, expansion and modernisation. Critically, the reader is reminded of the intangible contribution of migrants to the fabric of Greek society as they help sustain a traditional way of life, but questions can also be raised in relation to the extent to which migrants prop up untenable businesses. Evidence from Scotland points to the very real danger of the creation of a bottom segment in the labour market as businesses shift employment practices to employ agency staff. This has the effect of providing cheap labour thus allowing businesses to demonstrate economic efficiency. Here also we learn of a very complex relationship between labour supply and demand resulting in labour market segmentation: hiring queues mean that employers rank particular ethnic groups according to stereotypes around workers' attitudes or they simply confine recruitment to social networks. Further fragmentation occurs as a result of on-the-job training with subsequent limited prospects for migrants to progress as they are confined to practicing these particular skills. Although the authors note that these processes occur in larger organisations, they remind us that the impact is more marked in the type of smaller enterprises that characterise rural Scotland.

The cases illustrate a complex relationship between national and regional policies. Migration policies are developed and administered at the national level and so do not necessarily take account of regional disparities. The Canadian example demonstrates synergy between federal and regional policy approaches. Tension can emerge where mismatch exists as in Russia where the federal government articulated concern over potential Chinese expansion. As the author points out, the reality is of a declining economic and demographic area that is in need of migrants and of an adjacent country i.e. China with the largest prospective resource. Unsurprisingly local officials were thus more constrained than their national counterparts regarding Chinese immigration. Meanwhile the overarching European policy position is one of encouraging migration to achieve the desired levels of economic growth. However national policy instruments within that region, while not in opposition, suggest more reactive state responses to migration with the Irish study providing a case in point. Striving for a model of active engagement between different cultural communities, it failed to iden-

tify an agreed and legitimate framework as legislation struggled to remain relevant and appropriate to the unfolding and unanticipated situation. In reality the unanticipated nature of migration resulted in migrants existing on 'temporary, conditional and discretionary' terms (p. 101). Fire-fighting was apparent as evidenced by Cork Vocational Educational Committee's literacy service that in 2006 catered for 650 learners over and above the 250 that it was funded to accommodate (p. 112). Thus the piecemeal nature of policy provision was inadequate on a number of accounts: it failed to consider the need for a cultural shift in order to achieve goals and it did not explicate the role of the voluntary sector in daily processes of integration. Equally the response by the Greek government seemed defensive and restrictive through for example limits on collective action and reports of poor treatment of migrant labourers.

But this volume does not simply analyse institutional and policy arrangements. It demonstrates how it is at the level of the local community that individuals interact and so local rural communities can significantly ease or impede the integration process. Even so, there is one caveat to this on which the book is clear: receptiveness is felt at the neighbourhood or community level through interagency support but this cannot replace mainstream statutory support, nor indeed can it overcome insufficient planning or inadequate funding for services to support migrants' needs. Different patterns emerged across the various countries with the Russian case encapsulating many of the dynamics.

The integration of migrants to the Central Russian Region later in the 1990s who were typically from states that had earlier been part of the USSR, such as from the Central Asian region, was less smooth than prior waves. They were educated and qualified to work as professionals and it is this feature that appeared to affect the integration process – presumably because they competed for jobs and also enjoyed a reasonable quality of life. Unfortunately the reader is left guessing on this matter and it would have been interesting to discover exactly how and why their adaptation was more difficult.

Even within a generally receptive community; pockets of resistance can create localised tensions and pressure points, such as the fact that in the Russian Far East, older people and individuals hiring migrants have more positive attitudes than those that exist among the younger population and non-employers. But this is not always clear with contradictions over the extent to which these rural dwellers accept newcomers – even so we are presented with a scenario that ably stresses issues of closed mentality, receptiveness and circumstances. In this region spatial differentiation produces ethnic enclaves whereby Chinese residents live cheek-by-jowl with Russian citizens but have little interaction with them. From a Russian perspective relations with the Chinese seems to have been troubled for some time as evidenced through negative public rhetoric such as disparaging statements from government officials (p. 166) about Chinese citizens or the seemingly preposterous cucumber affair whereby it was alleged that Chinese farmers were attempting to poison local people; the circulation of misinformation e.g. inaccurate maps (167) or myths of political extremism (p. 166); and contradictions over historical issues such as the invasion of Chinese territories. Meanwhile the research suggests minimal involvement by Chinese migrants in social life; employment of exclusively Chinese workers; unwillingness to learn the Russian language; and a general reluctance to embrace Russian cultural life. Given the future anticipated rise in Chinese migrants in the immediate term, this is a major challenge for Russia. I was unclear on the extent to which the local communities contributed to

the positive integration of Chinese migrants or whether this group was perceived across Russian society as something of a threat.

Throughout the volume we return to the knock-on impact of migration on local, often ill-equipped or under-resources services resulting in social and economic tension. The contributors identify subtle and important differences for recent arrivals including language barriers, physical appearances or cultural differences and so questions of discrimination in small communities are raised. Equally importantly however, the authors stress the positive aspects of migratory movements, citing the way in which new arrivals convey 'vitality, determination, diligence and other assets that can breathe new life into towns that might otherwise be failing' (p.33). Stereotypes seem to be rife with media portrayals in this area of migrants as revitalisers of declining villages; hard-working, highly productive and without the alcohol related problems that encumber many of the local population. Quite different from the mono-ethnic, homogenous population that centred on agriculture, these new communities result in a diversity that is not always well understood. Some of the chapters describe exotic cuisines, obscure music and new traditions underlining the human dynamics of integration, embracing this as a two-way process. Symptomatic of the quality of the narrative throughout the volume, these accounts stimulate the senses and evoke strong images in the reader's mind.

Reflective of more contemporary debates, this collection fruitfully transcends statistics to achieve a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of rural migration. This is undoubtedly a major strength of the book, but it also reveals a weakness. The fact that this is a fairly new area of study means that there is a lot of ground to cover if the analysis is to be meaningful in terms of themes, concepts and data. In some parts the reader is left struggling to bring everything together and for those less familiar with contemporary debate, they may find it difficult to retain focus. For instance Jensen and Yang's chapter (two) which is probably the most compelling of the book, a complex picture is illustrated through a thorough and far reaching analysis: structural matters are not neglected with due attention given to micro-relations. Attracted to places that are relatively vibrant economically, we learn how immigrants tend to be poorer, underemployed, and less well educated. But they are also less likely to use means-tested welfare programmes; they are more likely to be homeowners; more inclined to be in better health; and more likely to have access to health insurance. With many different factors to synthesise readers already acquainted with various migration discourses will be challenged with the abundance of ideas contained within the volume. Even so, by dealing with migration as a dynamic and multi-faceted phenomenon, the contributors raise numerous interesting questions, many of which are fundamental to migration research and will no doubt help set the agenda for future research.

Overall the book is well written, logically structured and clearly presented, employing charts, maps and tables appropriately. A welcome resource, the collection will prove useful to students new to migration studies, particularly those in postgraduate studies and research. Finally it is likely to influence the direction of future research by provoking debate among scholars who already have expertise in this area of research.

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Keith Jacobs, **Experience and Representation, Contemporary Perspectives on Migration in Australia**, *Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, 176 pp, (ISBN: 978-0-7546-7610-2), (cloth).*

This book deals with crucial aspects of phenomena and processes related to migration in Australia. It talks, among other things, about migratory identities, relations and encounters among migrants and non-migrants in various locales, the politics of national belonging and multiculturalism, media representations of migrants, representations of migrants in literature and cinema and transnational practices. All these have been examined and discussed within the Australian geo-social context. Now, from the start, I have to stress that a superficial reading of the book would lead to the notion that it is comprised by un-connected fragments related to immigration and 'ethnic' relations in Australia. Indeed, the author himself labels his work as 'selective' (p. 3) that is, "...a book that considers some of the different representations of migration in the Australian context by drawing upon a selection of recent scholarship in the area" (p. 4). Nevertheless, I think that the book is not a collection of un-connected fragments because - by drawing on different disciplinary orientations, issues and fields - it allows the reader to reach a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of migratory experiences and representations of migrants in Australia and beyond. This is a major advantage of the book. Another advantage is that it shows, mostly indirectly, how migratory experiences, representations of migrants and cultural constructions of belonging and nationhood, are linked to real unequal relations of power and domination. In this way Jacobs' work transcends the specific context of which is about and has wider implications and repercussions.

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The book is divided into three parts and ten chapters. The first part (Understanding Migration) is an introduction to the overall aims and rationale of the book, paying special attention to migratory subjectivities, a brief historical review of Australian migration and cultural politics, ethnicity and race and to insights from psychoanalytical theory regarding migration and personal identity (see p. 24). I find the latter very valuable as psychoanalysis can teach us a lot about the role of the unconscious in the mechanisms of categorisation, labelling and the construction of the 'other', as their acute relevance is more than obvious in the case of migratory movements into 'nation-states'.

The second part of the book starts with the examination of some phenomena and processes related to "migrant encounters in ethnic neighborhoods" (p. 34). In this section, Jacobs discusses the notion of 'place' and its relations with immigrant identities and experiences, how "...places are actively mediated through the prism of race, ethnicity and culture" (p. 34) and the peculiarities of the experiences of refugees in various Australian cities. Jacobs proceeds to the next section by offering a concise but comprehensive account of the history and dynamics of Australian cultural politics, focusing on the rise and then decline of Australian multiculturalism. The author shows how cultural politics create and modify different versions of national identity, facilitate or legitimise securitisation of migration and power relations of exclusion and discrimination. The last Chapter of this part is dedicated to the discussion of 'media portrayals of migrants' (p. 61). Jacobs discusses thoroughly the role of the media in mostly negative representations of immigrants and refugees and in constructing the simple, politically 'useful' and dangerous binaries of 'good/bad, us/them, right/wrong' (p. 61). The role of media rhetoric and discourse in constructing these binaries becomes more evident in page 68, where Jacobs offers some terms that two

Australian newspapers use in order to describe migratory movements, migrants and refugees. Examples of those terms include, among others, ‘awash’, ‘swamped’, ‘weathering the influx’, ‘waves’, ‘tides’, ‘floods’ and so on (p. 68).

The last part (Contemporary Australian Identities) starts with a discussion of Australian identities (p. 77). Thus, in Chapter 6, the author theorises national identity in general, reflects on various debates about Australian identity and offers a series of concrete empirical examples about the construction of national identity in the country. The next two chapters are dedicated in the discussion of immigrant representations in literature and cinema. Chapter 7, focuses on the ways migrant literary writing and migration-related literature in general represent ‘home’ (see p. 102) and they make ‘sense of dislocation and strangeness’ (p. 103). Chapter 8 discusses how migration-related cinema films either reproduce “otherness” (pp. 115-116) or challenge dominant discourses on migration and migrants (p. 115). Chapter 9 is about transnationalism and transnational practices. In this chapter, the author discusses crucial issues related to transnationalism (pp. 119-121), space and politics (pp. 121-122), postcolonial theory (pp. 122-124) and globalisation (127-129). Finally, Chapter 10 concludes the book by offering a brief account of “the shifting boundaries of migration” (p. 132), through pointing to the most central arguments made in each part and chapter.

All in all, the book makes a very good read. It is very informative and at times illuminating and is characterised by a balance between theoretical insights and empirical examples and findings. The author goes a long way into contemporary migration-related literature to offer us meaningful and constructive understandings of the processes through which migratory experiences and representations are formed and transformed. Nevertheless, in some instances, the titles of some sections or subsections should correspond more accurately to their content (for example the subsection on ethnicity and race, pp. 18-24). Furthermore, some extremely interesting and innovative insights, such as the psychoanalytic approach to the formation of the identity of migrants, could be discussed more analytically and extensively. Finally, although chapter 2 is titled “Migration, Identity and the Cultural Turn” (p. 17), the repercussions and the consequences (both positive and negative) of the cultural or linguistic turn for viewing social phenomena and processes, including migration-related phenomena and processes, are not discussed. Finally, I have to stress that the above comments do not compromise my strong conviction that this book is of great value and will serve as an important resource for anyone seeking to understand the complexities and dynamics of migrants’ identities and experiences.

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Raivo Vetik and Jelena Helemäe (eds.) **The Russian Second Generation in Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve: The TIES Study in Estonia.** *Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press - IMISCOE Reports, 2011, 242 pp, (ISBN: 978-90-8964-250-9), (cloth).*

This book is the Estonian country report of the international research project known as TIES, the acronym for The Integration of the European Second Generation (<http://www.tiesproject.eu>, accessed 11 July 2011).

Launched in 2005, TIES is an internationally comparative survey project that seeks to produce comparable information about 1) how the children of foreign-born parents are integrated into the country of immigration and 2) the variables that affect their integration. The project seeks to determine the causes of immigrant integration in these cases by comparing the same immigrant groups (by country of departure) in different cities (divergent comparison) and different groups in the same cities (convergent comparison). The compared immigrant groups are the same in all cities. The comparative information produced by TIES helps integration policymaking by showing which aspects of integration are general and which are specific to a group, a city or a country. This information can be produced only by means of a comparative research design, which is the key advantage of TIES in comparison with previous similar projects.

The TIES studies concentrate on cities, specifically, fifteen cities in eight countries and three focus groups in these cities. Estonia joined the project in 2006. It is important that a country with a Communist/Soviet history be included in TIES; Estonia's societal context is very different from the other TIES countries, which are non-Communist states from the original fifteen European Union member states.

As the second TIES study (the first, in 2008, focused on Amsterdam and Rotterdam), the volume examines the situation of second-generation Russian immigrants in two Estonian cities, Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve, and deals mainly with different sectors of immigrant integration, from employment to education and housing, with less attention devoted to possible causes of immigrants' integration.

In an introduction, nine articles and a conclusion, the authors portray Estonian societal and migration history as well as the integration situation of second-generation Russians living in Estonia today.

Contextual information is provided for migration patterns (Nastja Sokolova), integration policies (Raivo Vetik), returns to human capital (Kristina Lindemann), education (Kristina Lindemann and Ellu Saar), income inequality (Rein Vöörmann and Jelena Helemäe), housing (Liis Ojamäe and Katrin Paadam) and the sense of belonging in Estonia (Gerli Nimmerfeldt). In short, the findings show that the integration of second-generation Russians into Estonian society is deeply affected by the societal context and the tensions between the Estonian majority and the Russian (speaking) minority. The great impact of the post-Communist societal context seems to be the main difference in the Estonian cities in comparison with other countries studied by TIES.

In my view, showing the profound impact of the context is the book's greatest strength. The weaknesses are merely theoretical and relevant mostly to those academics who wrestle with the dilemmas of human capital theory.

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Elisabeth Eide and Kaarina Nikunen, **Media in Motion: Cultural Complexity and Migration in the Nordic Region**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011, 296 pp, (ISBN: 978-1409404460), (cloth).

This volume introduces recent empirical research on migration and the media in the Nordic countries. The research articles aim to shed light on the currently changing political and demographic climate in the region, characterized by strong welfare state

models and fairly recent history of diaspora groups (particularly in Finland). The purpose of the volume is to address the heightened political tensions around multiculturalism and migration in the Nordic media.

The volume consists of fourteen studies. The first looks into the media policy debate and sharing of 'good practices' to support multiculturalism (Islamic television) across two European countries. The following two studies involve fieldwork with media professionals about diversity/multiculturalist work in Swedish and Norwegian newsrooms. Chapter 5 brings to the fore the views of 'minority actors' regarding their exposure in the media. The next three chapters analyse media contents and representations of Roma beggars Norway, rape by 'foreign' perpetrators in Finland and East Asian culture in Sweden. Chapter 9 explores diaspora issues in Norwegian migrant cinema. Chapters 10 and 11 look into migrant representations in Danish and Finnish television. New technologies and transnational connections are examined in the next two studies, and the last two chapters cast some light on the appropriation of the media by the audiences.

By and large the book is concerned with media representations on difference. The Nordic media is described as featuring rather contradictory discourses on culture and migration. They might, on the one hand, be characterized by 'cosmopolitan optimism'; yet, on the other, by a 'demographic discourse' on migration flows embracing nationalist-cum-racist sentiments. While the media might provide a symbolic arena promoting integration, diversity and individuality, it at the same time reproduces essentialized 'us' and 'them' dichotomies.

The studies in the volume cover a broad range of media and examples where diversity/distinctions are 'made'. Some differences are drawn between well-established public broadcasting services in the Nordic countries, and transnational or diaspora media from satellite television to online forums and journals that offer alternative spaces of belonging in a global community.

Of the attributes under the umbrella term 'diversity', the focus is on ethnicity, although gender-ethnicity intersection is specifically looked at in two articles. The studies have employed mostly media content analysis or interview methodologies with a range of foci from subject/identity positionings to time perspectives to connections allowed for by new technologies. The approaches feature both agents' subject positionings such as those where the migrants appropriate the media for certain purposes (such as language learning), to those where they are – implicitly or explicitly – 'othered'.

The studies are for the most part country-specific, i.e. not comparative as such. However, some interesting theoretical parallels are being drawn across the different studies regarding various ways for 'othering'. These comprise the binary positionings of Victim/Villain Other, Adaptive Hero Other; the integrationist Dialogic Other; the Silent/Silenced Other in the colonial context; or the Ambiguous Other where the Others themselves present their group as homogenous and not diverse.

The Nordic media contents on migration have so far been something fairly little researched a topic. Yet it may be asked as to how distinct the Nordic media discourses actually are in comparison to, say, Anglo-American discourses. How far can the book's premise, i.e. the welfarist and historical context explain how media messages are constructed, sent, received and interpreted in times of global intertextuality facilitated by new media technologies? Furthermore, although the Introduction succeeds in setting the theoretical scene, the reader might want to know a bit more about the cur-

rent demographic differences between the five Nordic countries, as there is some variation there.

According to the editors, most of the Nordic research on the media and migration draws on the classic works by the likes of Stuart Hall, Edward Said or Homi K. Bhabha with the focus on representation, identity or hybridity. It is argued that the Nordic whiteness discourse tends to prevail; for example, the under-representation of journalists with minority background is noted. Indeed the editors call for some self-reflection regarding issues around 'falling into the minority trap', the media's role in identity work and the status of national boundaries to allow for more complexity and a multiplicity of views. For example, Eide's discussion on 'banal journalism' in Chapter 5, calling for Geertzian-type 'thick' journalism instead of 'thin' comes across as a useful critique of today's 'frozen' journalism that at worst remains in the past whilst societies move on.

Overall, this volume reads as an up-to-date introductory text for anyone with an interest in the role of media as constructing and recycling identity politics, albeit with a regional focus. It usefully acknowledges the importance of the media for public discourse-power without claiming to technically 'measure' its impact.

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