

John Wrench and John Solomos, eds. *Racism and Migration in Western Europe*. (Oxford, Providence: Berg, 1993) \$39.95.

This collection of fifteen essays edited by Wrench and Solomos is derived from the proceedings of a 1991 conference on "Racism and Migration in Europe in the 1990s," held in England and organized by the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations at the University of Warwick and the Public Policy Centre of the Department of Politics and Sociology, Birkbeck College, University of London. The purpose of this international meeting was to bring together scholars working on these topics and to examine the European situation today. The proceedings analyze the social and political debates surrounding immigration in European countries, where the need to accommodate greater racial, ethnic, and religious diversity has been accompanied by growing intolerance and hostility towards immigrants. Since resolving social questions raised by immigration has become a priority for most governments and since the European Union plans to harmonize policies, legislation, and rights, this volume fulfills the need for greater international exchange and cooperation between researchers and policy makers. The present collection points to similarities in immigration, and sources and forms of racism in Europe as a whole, but also to differences due to specific socio-historical situations.

The book is organized into three main sections. The first deals with the historical and contemporary factors which have led to the presence of large groups of non-European immigrants in Europe. It identifies global mechanisms of migration and their relationship to economic and social links between host countries and countries of emigration, previous migratory movements, international trade and investment, and demographic and political factors, all of which interact in complex ways. Certainly, the growing gap between economic, social, and demographic conditions in north and south (and east and west) will continue to fuel mass migration. Common assumptions, such as the belief that aid for development to third world countries will slow down emigration or that regularizing the status of illegal workers will solve immigrant unemployment, are questioned. Stephen Castles points out that the severe disruption caused by the development process will lead to increased immigration from poorer countries, at least in the short run. And, illegal immigrants do not always come forward when given a chance to regularize their situation, because this makes them less competitive in the job market.

One common difficulty in resolving immigrant questions is the unwillingness of most European governments to admit long-term settlement of their guest workers, and the resulting ad hoc and

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inadequate policies. In truth, their goals are seemingly irreconcilable: how to preserve the sense of national identity along with increasing ethnic diversity, how to reduce welfare expenditures while offering services to those who need them, and whether and how to confer citizenship to immigrants.

Racism is shown as changing over time, targeting different groups, and varying in intensity. It is expressed through different discourses, and the appropriateness of categories such as “race” or “ethnicity” to describe immigrants in different social and political positions is questioned. Fear among certain sectors of European populations (the aging or the economically vulnerable) appears to be a major source of racism. It is a response to the drastic dissolution of—and often profound disillusion with—traditional cultural, economic, and political models. Wieviorka’s article on the French context shows that some sources of racism are shared by most European countries, i.e., a sense of dislocation caused by the decline of classical industrial societies and end of the working class movement. New racism stresses not so much inferiority as it does difference—and assumed unassimilability—of newcomers and calls for their eviction. These migrants are perceived as not making enough of an effort to adapt to their new societies and as responsible for societal problems. The sense of “invasion” comes at a time of transition, uncertainty, and anguish over the construction of new European identity and over questions on how this identity will relate to established national boundaries.

The second part looks at specific developments and practices in particular countries: England, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Sweden. The topics investigated concern the often hidden and subtle forms of discrimination encountered by immigrants in the workplace and their recognition as a minority group with special needs. A major focus of this section is the need to do away with institutionalized structured inequality. Immigrant associations in the Netherlands, Sweden, and France are increasingly the channels through which immigrant problems and expectations can be expressed to local, regional, or national authorities. These associations are an important element in the social fabric of immigrants, but they also serve as valuable social policies. Countries such as Spain and Portugal, traditionally countries of emigration, have now become countries of immigration, but are not represented in this collection.

The last section concerns issues and debates which strengthen the argument that the study of migration and multicultural societies should be a social science in its own right, with a strongly multidisciplinary approach in its theory and methodology. While no one doubts the need to establish a dialogue between researchers and policy makers in various countries, this is no simple matter, since there are problems of terminology, differences in the disciplines of

the researchers and, consequently, methodology, theoretical orientations, and models.

Notably absent in this collection are the voices of the immigrants themselves. How do they see their situation? What are their expectations, goals, and responsibilities? Are ethnicity and assimilation mutually exclusive or do they not relate to each other in a dialectical manner? Psychological and cultural factors are not stressed in these essays, yet they are crucial for explaining attitudes, beliefs, stereotypes, and informing the quality and texture of daily group contact. One is left with other questions: Is it always a manifestation of racism to ask questions? One gets the impression that it is when reading Small's or Teun Van Dijk's contributions (the latter's analysis of discourse, however, is excellent, for discourse plays an important role in the reproduction of racism). There is no mention of anti-racist organizations or of success stories in the immigrant communities. Yet these do exist, just as in the United States minorities are increasingly attaining positions of influence as judges, doctors, educators, or politicians.

In all fairness to the editors, they know that they do not deal with all aspects of immigration and racism, and Solomos and Wrench have produced a very interesting and useful collection of papers which begins to give some answers to the questions on the causes of and possible solutions to European racism today.

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Crawford Young, ed. *The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism: The Nation-State at Bay*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993) 305 pp., \$49.50 hard cover, \$17.95 paper.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. *The State of the World's Refugees: The Challenge of Protection*. (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1993) 191 pp.

Interest in ethnic conflict and identity politics has led to an increase in the number of works attempting to understand this phenomena. The two works examined here follow in the same tradition.

Crawford Young's recent collection of essays is a companion volume to his earlier *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism*, which was first published in 1976. This new collection of essays, which grew out of an NEH Seminar for College Teachers, examines some of the recent trends in the study of ethnicity. In his opening essay, Young distin-