

complex landscape of Italian local party politics. The book is ambitious in its analysis of the changing nature of these campaigns, their contents and workings, as well as the social strategies implemented by political actors.

The study suggests that context, campaign, and local party conditions jointly drive the politicization of migration. Researchers interested in studying the politicization of migration will need to consider how national political dynamics influence local discourse and vice-versa, and the role that social media, increasingly significant in the everyday, plays in electoral campaigns.

The book contributes to the migration literature by showing that an analysis of immigration as a whole is inadequate to understand its politicization and suggesting that a more fruitful approach is the examination of multiple dimensions and how they are made salient or marginal at different times.

Castelli Gattinara's empirical investigation also contributes to scholarship on politics and electoral campaigning by showing that competitive factors within an issue matter more than competition over issues.

While the book advances our understanding of the politics of migration in general, it does less so on the politicization of forced migration in the contemporary world, an issue that is significant for the readers of *Refuge*. The focus on (im)migration as a prototypical policy issue means that the concept of (im)migration is left unpacked, and discourses about refugees and asylum seekers are missing, rendering their position invisible as a policy and scholarly issue.

Giorgia Donà is professor in the School of Social Sciences, University of East London. The author may be reached at g.dona@uel.ac.uk.

The Politicisation of Migration



Edited by Wouter van der Brug, Gianni D'Amato, Didier Ruedin, and Joost Berkhout
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The *Politicisation of Migration* is an effort to grapple with how political issues emerge and develop, especially immigration into Europe (the volume is actually about immigration, from asylum seekers to those classified as “coloured” in the United Kingdom). The collection of essays draws together conclusions derived from a European grant investigating how public opinion becomes public policy in different EU member states. In this regard, it is important to note that it is not an edited volume in the traditional sense, i.e., a volume that offers a spectrum of scholarly opinion on a topic. Rather, *The Politicisation of Migration* is a report on a research project with multiple contributors. This explains why the introduction is written as if the editors wrote each and every chapter, and it explains why chapter 2 indicates the methodology deployed throughout.

The study positions itself at the empirical end of comparative migration studies and seeks to examine politicization in former colonial countries with long histories of immigration (since the 1960s), namely the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Belgium. The study also concerns itself with two countries with guest workers but “without a colonial past” (20), namely Austria and Switzerland, and two new immigrant hosts, Spain and Ireland. Elisions occur even here—though airbrushing is required to erase Austria's imperial past—in an effort to frame the topic as the study of the politicization of new immigration in a variety of member

states. “Integration” is also a target of the research, and it is also worth noting that the data used in this study comprise claims made in mainstream newspaper articles. There is a technical section at the end of the book justifying this approach.

Chapter 3 discussed the politicization of immigration in Austria by analyzing the *Kronen Zeitung* tabloid and the left-leaning *Der Standard*. Over a fifteen-year period, according to the authors, the salience of immigration as a political issue increased in Austria, though discussions and claims were dominated by mainstream voices (apparently a “top-down” phenomenon). Chapter 4 discusses the politicization of immigration in Belgium. Of course, the authors have an especially interesting challenge here, considering Belgium's political and linguistic lines. The authors show that there are considerable differences between French-speaking Belgium, where immigration was not especially politicized, and Flanders, where immigration is becoming increasingly salient. The role of anti-immigration parties is notable in the latter context, as is the role of migrant advocacy, but there is a sense that the centre has dominated the extremes in Belgium. Chapter 5 provides a summary of demographic and legislative changes in Ireland, focusing especially on asylum seekers, but absent a discussion of the Common Travel Area with Great Britain. The author comments on the undifferentiated positions of the major political parties on immigration from

outside the European Economic Area and the consensus that kept extremist positions off the agenda, in part as the result of pro-migrant voices. In Ireland, migration studies scholars who were active during the 2000s, most notably Steve Garner, debated the curiosity of increasing racism alongside a growing economy. It is a shame that no connection is made to this research. Chapter 6 discusses the Netherlands, and the chapter seems to operate with far more latitude than more formulaic contributions. Indeed, it seems to fulfill the mandate of the book more broadly, providing interesting insights into “triggering” (an unfortunate term) events, from 9-11 to the murder of Theo van Gogh in 2004. Chapter 7 offers a rather thin and trendless discussion of the example of Spain, though “trendless” is an interesting research outcome. Yet again, we see that major and well-organized political parties exercise a powerful role in societal debates. Chapter 9 on Switzerland makes an interesting set of observations about the politicization of immigration around Muslims, and the authors may have much more to say about the sociological construction of religious affiliation and country of origin intersectionality. Finally, the book includes a chapter on the United Kingdom, though again absent a discussion of the Common Travel Area. And again, one sees a case in which the politically extreme politics remain at the fringes of immigration politicization.

The concluding chapter offers broad observations. The authors conclude that a simple grievance model does not explain the politicization of immigration. There follows some discussion of the power of bottom-up groups and voices vs. top-down political groupings, mostly political parties. As the discussion refers to an earlier (perhaps overstated) study that emphasized activism and social movements rather than mainstream political theory, it is difficult to assess the

insights offered. Other topics include the prominence of official voices in the media, though the effects of political parties “getting ahead” of activists or events is not considered.

A new comparative form of migration studies has emerged in the EU in symbiotic relation to EU policy and funding. This book is an effort to comparatively study non-European immigration as a political issue within this realm. The book achieves its aims and points the way to future research opportunities. However, researchers may consider placing greater emphasis on processes that transcend the borders of member states rather than re-inscribing methodological nationalism. In this vein, matters of space and scale might be worthwhile considering, from questioning the data from a city to considering forms of media that pick up on local perspectives (knowing that national newspapers will always offer easier access). Moreover, future researchers, having read this study, may also wish to consider the ways in which we frame immigration more broadly. The contributors here conclude with ostensibly social-scientific statements, such as, “The movement of millions of immigrants to Europe since the 1960s has changed these societies fundamentally,” and the “politicisation of migration is not directly driven by the foreign population” (195–6). Martin Heidegger once observed that every intellectual inquiry is guided by what it is seeking, and the new comparative migration studies is no exception: the hope expressed here is that a scientific and comparative European migration studies actually exists.

Mark Maguire is head of the Department of Anthropology at the Maynooth University. The author may be contacted at mark.h.maguire@nuim.ie.

Diaspora Lobbies and the US Government: Convergence and Divergence in Making Foreign Policy



Edited by Josh DeWind and Renata Segura

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First a word of warning: this collection of essays, which is written mainly by political scientists and IR specialists, was not assembled with a multidisciplinary readership in mind. Furthermore, the terms *refugee* or *forced migration* rarely appear in its ten chapters. Framed by carefully—if also rather narrowly—defined questions that are of interest mainly within the discipline of political science, the book is focused exclusively on how diasporas (also somewhat idiosyncratically defined) engage with a single national government, that of the United States. Still, the book may

contain useful insights for those interested more broadly in the exercise of power and influence by refugees operating within a global refugee regime.

The editors’ introduction is valuable in introducing non-political scientists to a distinctive disciplinary perspective. It provides a concise summary of how political scientists have tackled questions about the relationship of migrants and the US government in the arena of foreign policy, contrasting constructivist from essentialist and empirical from normative approaches. Overall, the book may serve mainly