

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.

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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

to remind more readers from other disciplines who are in search of general observations that refugees often seek to influence policy at the national rather than the international level, and that they do so by engaging with the governments of the nation states to which they have been relocated rather than through engagement with the governments of the regions they fled. Given the framing of the book, readers will necessarily learn little about how the occupants of the many crowded refugee camps of the world may seek influence with the United Nations or with the many NGOs that together powerfully shape a global refugee regime. In fact those camps, or the agency of refugees living in them, scarcely appears in this volume.

Still, readers interested mainly in refugee issues on a global scale will likely find something of interest here, most likely in one or more of the book's case studies (Jews, Palestinians, Irish, Cubans, Ethiopians, Haitians, and Iraqis). Most of the case study diasporas featured in this book were formed by migrants who viewed themselves—and often enough were also viewed by the world at large—as refugees and exiles at the time of their migrations: the structural differences or differences in subjectivity that might distinguish labour migrations from movements of refugees or exiles is not a central concern of this volume. Instead, the overall purpose of *Diaspora Lobbies and the US Government* is to understand how differing types of diaspora engagement can produce what the editors call the convergence or divergence of diaspora and US national interests. Thus, the two main subsections of the book contrast Israeli and Palestinian diasporas to identify conditions that foster convergence or divergence, and studies of the Irish and Cuban diasporas that at times successfully influenced US foreign policy are contrasted with less successful and even failed efforts by Ethiopians and Haitians.

A useful first chapter by political scientist Gabriel Sheffer may well invite debate. It distinguishes diasporas from transnational communities—a distinction, however, that is not adopted consistently by the authors of the seven case studies. A concluding chapter by political scientist Tony Smith also offers a longer-term historical perspective that is potentially useful to social scientist readers but that left this reviewer (a historian by training) unimpressed: the chapter seems out of date and presented few historical examples that would be new to those already familiar with recent historical scholarship on the complex relationship of immigrants and US foreign policy. Neither does it address an issue that has been tackled by historians, notably the

very different efforts and outcomes when immigrants seek influence within the executive and legislative branches of the US government.

The strength of this book is the analyses of the seven groups that are studied in detail. Collectively they illustrate the main diaspora goals identified in the introduction—facilitating the immigration of relatives, preventing expulsion of relatives from the United States, achieving legitimacy and recognition as an ethnic group, influencing policies toward themselves or their homelands, establishing coalitions with other diasporic groups, and achieving greater freedom for economic activities with the homeland. At the same time, most authors of the case studies range well beyond the analytical concepts (divergence, convergence; diaspora, transnational community) of the volume's introduction and tell quite granular, varied, and very specific stories of diaspora politics. In doing so, the case studies deconstruct the “US government” and “diasporas” that dominate the volume's title and point not only to lobbying undertaken by diaspora groups but also to the importance of electoral and party politics, the identification of key allies in the executive and legislative branches of government, and diverse institutional forms of ethnic group organization and mobilization. Many of the authors call attention to the sharp internal conflicts within the diasporas they study, thereby raising questions about the role of conflict and solidarity in distinguishing diasporas from transnational communities, as Sheffer suggests in his chapter. The contribution by Joseph E. Thompson on the North Ireland Peace Process is especially effective in portraying change over time, and the complex and shifting ideological and social interactions between Irish-Americans, Ireland, and the changing coalitions of American governmental advocates for peace. Offering analysis over a shorter and more recent time scale, Walt Vanderbush's chapter on the Iraqi diaspora and the invasion of Iraq can also be highly recommended.

Those seeking a more interdisciplinary starting place for their studies of power and influence in the global refugee regime are unlikely to start with this volume. Still, the selective and motivated reader is likely to find some nuggets of insight here.

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