

citizens' understanding is stratified by differential possession of economic and educational capital' [ibid.]. This book is a rich source of inspiration and a valuable contribution to sociological studies of economic issues.

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Louise Ryan, Umut Erel and Alessio D'Angelo (eds): *Migrant Capital: Networks, Identities and Strategies*
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'Multiculturalism is dead!' seemed to be the general cry a few years back, when politicians in the Netherlands, UK, and Germany publicly admitted that undesirable trends had emerged in Western societies. These included increased inequality, which reinforced ethnic cleavages and seemed to subject certain ethnic groups to marginalisation, poverty and social exclusion, negative attitudes, and increasing social distance between natives and some ethnic groups, especially visible minorities, increasing resentment, and rejection on the side of immigrants, leading to the formation of parallel societies. Policy-wise the answer has come quickly and swung in a different (almost the opposite) direction. We are now witnessing an increased focus on 'civic integration' programmes, with their explicit focus on intensive language learning, civic education classes, social education, and so on. The assumption is clear.

Immigrants are lacking in these dimensions and therefore fail to integrate.

While policies have swiftly changed direction, policy-makers have devoted less time to understanding why multiculturalism has failed (if it indeed did). Part of the answer should come from academic research that focuses on the inner mechanisms of integration. It is clear now that it is not enough to assume that integration depends on migrants exclusively, or that providing resources and a liberal legal framework is sufficient. Immigrants' integration is the result of much more complex mechanisms, at the centre of which are notions such as 'social capital', 'associations', or 'networks'. The seminal work of Bourdieu [1986], Coleman [1988], and Putnam [2000] on social capital has founded a rich research field in immigration studies. The concept (in all its complexity) is an ideal entry point to understand how immigrants negotiate their new social contexts. But more important than its own richness is the fact that social capital, and all the other forms of capital that migrants possess and develop, is not an end in itself, but a means to understand more complex mechanisms, which involve the connections immigrants develop through formal and informal networks. *Migrant Capital* brings a significant contribution to understanding these mechanisms by focusing on 'why, how and with whom migrants form networks' (p. 4) and by interrogating 'the extent to which social, economic and cultural capital are generated within these social ties' (p. 4).

The book's twelve chapters are structured into three sections. After discussing different forms of capital, the volume brings into focus migrant networks as the drivers and enablers of civic engagement and contextualises them. Section 1, 'Capitals', includes four chapters, which build on the notion that immigrants carry and develop different types of capital: social capital, cultural capital, and linguistic capital. The four studies illustrate how these

forms of capital interact and shape the immigrants' integration in the host societies. A more refined discussion focuses on how these forms of capital interact with gender, class, and racial stereotyping (such as in Chapters 1 and 3) and their positive and negative consequences for migrants, and on the impact of migrants' roles (for example, caring for and caring about their extended families, as in Chapter 4) in generating and mobilising social capital.

Section 2, 'Migrants' Activism and Civic Engagement', comprises three studies, which build on the discussion of 'capitals' and add to it by exploring the relationship between different forms of capital, organisations, and networks. The studies explore questions such as: How does social or cultural capital impact immigrants' involvement in organisations? Does participation in organisations or the mere existence of immigrant networks shape the individuals' capitals? And if yes, how? The answers confirm some of the previous wisdom, such as Anderson's [1991] expectations that virtual networks and media boost nationalism (Chapter 6), and that organisations, regardless of the way they are created, take on a life on their own and promote their agendas in cooperation and conflict with other organisations (Chapter 5). The studies also illustrate that theories which expect networks/organisations to have an overwhelming positive effect need to be re-considered. There is plenty of evidence indicating that a positive effect (understood as increasing social capital, engagement, integration in multiple arenas of the social and economic life of the host society) occurs only if an organisation's agenda, network, and interaction style create an environment that corresponds to migrants' expectations, interests, and skills. For example, virtual networks, studied in Chapter 6, can be dense and varied, but their full potential is realised only in the case of those who are computer literate. Similarly, Chapter 5 shows that organisations were per-

ceived as useful by their members and users to the extent that they were cooperative, tapping institutional and community resources and circulating these resources.

Section 3, 'Embedding and Integrating Networks', moves a step forward and looks at the embeddedness of immigrants and their networks. As such, embedding is developed as a multi-layered and multi-spatial concept, the full understanding and theorising of which requires a departure from the simplistic assumptions that networks produce positive effects, and instead to rely on research that sheds light on issues such as the composition of networks, the meaning of the relationships within networks, the relative social location of actors within networks, or the flow of resources between elements of the network (Chapter 8). For example, Chapter 9 illustrates that within the same ethnic network in an ethnic enclave there can be several levels of embeddedness: on the one hand, the strongly embedded Indian shop owners, and on the other hand, their Indian employees, with low embeddedness, linked to their circular migration patterns. Similarly, Chapter 10 illustrates how the networks' embeddedness is shaped by the legal environment for migration, and how in turn they shape the paths of later arrivals.

The twelve chapters draw on studies that cover not only a great geographical span (from UK to Australia), but also a wide array of methods (from biographical approaches to network analysis and quantitative data analysis). In addition to illustrating the richness of the topic and its ability to lend itself to research with a variety of lenses, the volume brings two clear contributions. The first is the recognition that one cannot understand immigrants' capitals and social networks without taking into account the context in which the migrants move. Although it has not been the explicit goal of the volume, it emerges clearly from several studies that the context of reception opens or closes opportu-

nity structures for their integration. For example, Chapter 10 shows the effect of immigration legislation on migrants' path to legal status. Chapter 5 illustrates that policy changes affect the formation of Kurdish organisations in London. Chapters 11 and 12 in turn show that the policies that govern entry (economic migrants vs refugees and family reunification) shape immigrants' access to local resources as well as their subsequent access to geographical spaces or networks associated with upward trajectories or dependency. By bringing the context back in, the volume allies itself with the ambitious literature seeking to understand the complex mechanisms that see institutions and social processes not only as triggers, but also as moderators of opinions, attitudes, and behaviours.

The second contribution of this book is the continuous dialogue with the theoretical literature on social capital and social networks. Although the presented studies are strongly embedded in existing research on social capital and networks, they do not hesitate to take a critical stance. Several authors explicitly call for dropping an exclusively positive interpretation of effects of social capital and/or networks and for recognising that reality is more complex. For example, strong bonding capital may mean strong social capital within a given community, but could equally mean high dependency of some individuals on the networks in community (Chapter 8). Similarly, the studies included in Section 1 call for moving away from the simplistic understanding that immigrants have a deficit of capital or that they carry with them forms of capital which may or may not 'fit' the host country/society. This call is explicit in Chapter 4, but all the other studies, with their careful and nuanced interpretation of forms of capitals and the processes in which they are engaged, support this view. Last but not least, the authors call for a renewed effort to theorise the link between immigrant networks, organisations, net-

works of organisations, and individual outcomes such as trust in institutions and (forms of) political participation. Ultimately, the attitudes towards the host country and its institutions are important signposts for immigrants' integration. In this context, revision of classical theoretical expectations derived from Putnam's work on the transmission of trust is important. Does the high degree of associational participation in a group, which leads to higher levels of trust, imbues with trust also individuals who belong to the group, but do not participate themselves? Similarly, Paxton [2002] has asked whether the isolation of organisations in their respective networks shapes their members' trust. This is not a trivial issue, given the fact that many migrants' contact with host societies occurs through (immigrant) organisations. Theoretically, contact with an isolated organisation might launch immigrants on a path of limited information and low access to needed resources, with a potential negative impact on the integration trajectories.

To conclude, *Migrant Capital* is a worthy addition to the literature on immigrants' social capital, its forms and impacts. It rests on case studies which use state-of-the-art methods and theoretical perspectives. The volume speaks to all immigration scholars. It sets an important stone in the mosaic of studies focusing on immigrants' integration through the lenses of social capital and networks literature, and it adds a great deal of insightful reflections. More importantly, astute readers will find many ideas for future research, which are waiting to be explored.

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Paul Marx: *The Political Behaviour of Temporary Workers*

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This book aims to describe and clarify the political views and behaviour of temporary workers in different European countries. It analyses temporary workers' policy preferences, party preferences, and voting behaviour, and also discusses whether temporary workers are politically alienated.

Marx presents several theoretical assumptions on the political preferences and behaviour of temporary workers. First, according to the risk-based approach, insecure (temporary) workers have a higher political demand for generous welfare state policies and protection against the material consequences of job loss. Second, the insider-outsider theory also predicts that outsiders (temporary workers) support social protection. But this theory seems to imply that a more relevant factor for outsiders is the removal of mobility barriers in the labour market (such as job security regulation, protecting insiders). Another political interest of temporary workers is the expansion of active labour market policies, which help outsiders, but are financed mostly by insiders. Based on these interests, insider-

outsider theory expects insiders to support social democratic parties, while outsiders are expected to support market-liberal parties. Another possibility is that outsiders become frustrated with unresponsive political elites and therefore support radical parties or withdraw from politics. Third, Marx advocates an argument reconciling the two previous perspectives. He expects temporary workers to support small left parties (because of the insurance motive postulated by the risk approach), but not the social democrats (because they tend to support the interests of insiders). Moreover, small left parties allow voicing frustration with mainstream parties. Fourth, the author presents a social psychology perspective. He argues that temporary workers could experience relative deprivation if they expect to be stuck in a cycle of temporary work and unemployment. As relatively deprived temporary workers could attribute responsibility for their unfavourable job situation to the government, they are expected to vote against the incumbent government.

Based on his analyses, Marx concludes that temporary workers are more in favour of the welfare state and less in favour of job security regulations compared to permanent workers. Furthermore, his evidence demonstrates that temporary workers tend to support new left parties, such as greens, but also far left parties, albeit to a lesser extent. Contrary to the risk approach, social democrats seem to get little support from temporary workers. Next, Marx shows that temporary workers are more likely to hold the government responsible for their job situation and to vote against it. However, these tendencies are conditional upon negative expectations surrounding the future job situation. Finally, Marx does not find support for the hypothesis that temporary workers can be described as politically apathetic or alienated. General tendencies of lower political interest, efficacy, or trust among temporary workers seem to be ab-