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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

2 James Hampshire, *The Politics of Migration*. Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA:
 3 Polity Press, 2013. Pp. 224. \$69.95 (hbk); \$24.95 (pbk); ISBNs 0745638996
 4 and 978-0-7456-3899-7.

5 In 2013, the United States welcomed nearly a million lawful permanent res-
 6 idents. Simultaneously, Homeland Security detained tens of thousands of
 7 migrants—including thousands of unaccompanied minors fleeing violence
 8 in Central America—and an acrimonious Congress failed to pass compre-
 9 hensive immigration reform. The contradictory nature of US immigration
 10 policy is typical: Liberal states around the world exhibit a similar tension
 11 between openness and closure in their migration policies. What causes this
 12 paradoxical combination of inclusion and exclusion?

13 James Hampshire's *The Politics of Migration* is an ambitious synthesis
 14 of what political science tells us about how the liberal state influences and
 15 regulates migration through policy. He argues that the response of liberal
 16 states to migration can be explained by four conflicting facets: representa-
 17 tive democracy, nationhood, constitutionalism, and capitalism. Nationalism
 18 and representative democracy generally encourage restrictive immigration
 19 policies, whereas constitutionalism and capitalism usually lead to more ex-
 20 pensive policies.

21 Chapter 2 addresses the politics of closure. In the last century, liberal
 22 states carried out explicitly racist policies that treated immigrants as threats to
 23 national identity. Though explicitly racist language has largely disappeared
 24 from mainstream liberal politics, far-right political movements have seized
 25 on the language of culture to a similar effect. Since opposition to immigra-
 26 tion is largely identity based rather than driven by economic motives, it is
 27 hard to change. Surveys suggest that the public tends to be “moderately
 28 anti-immigrant” (p. 21), so nationalism affects democratic politics. Politicians
 29 respond to public opinion, often in a political environment partly shaped by
 30 far-right European parties with explicitly anti-immigrant platforms.

31 Why, then, have liberal states not reduced the number of immigrants? In
 32 Chapter 3 on the politics of openness, Hampshire answers that nationalism
 33 and representative democracy are counterbalanced by capitalism and consti-
 34 tutionalism. In a competitive, global economic environment, politicians and
 35 administrators find that their own interests are closely aligned with the inter-
 36 ests of multinational corporations. Governments treat the global competition

37 for highly skilled migrants as a key element in promoting growth. They also
 38 support provisions for low-skilled labor migrants to meet the demand ei-
 39 ther for temporary migrants or for officially condemned but in fact tolerated
 40 irregular migrants to fill low-status, low-wage jobs.

41 Legal and moral commitments to freedom and equality also constrain
 42 liberal states' migration policies. Liberal states can no longer use explicit
 43 racial or ethnic criteria to exclude migrants. National laws permit significant
 44 family migration and national and international laws create obligations to
 45 asylum-seekers. Finally, the measures that liberal states can take to exclude
 46 and remove irregular migrants are limited by rights enforced by courts and
 47 lobbied for by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). These four facets
 48 help explain why migration policies are so often fragmented, contradictory,
 49 and highly contested.

50 After laying out his framework in the first three chapters, Hampshire uses
 51 it to analyze migration governance in the liberal state (Chapter 4), multilat-
 52 eral and international migration governance (Chapter 5), liberal citizenship
 53 (Chapter 6), and integration policy (Chapter 7). Hampshire judiciously can-
 54 vasses the literature, but he does not hesitate to take positions on contentious
 55 issues and to suggest future avenues of research. Hampshire's analyses are
 56 usually compelling, but, on occasion, he is insufficiently charitable to posi-
 57 tions in the literature that he opposes and too brief in making his case.

58 One instance of Hampshire's lack of charity occurs in the account of
 59 why citizenship matters (pp. 110–16). His account rests on a rebuttal of the
 60 claim that postnational membership coupled with universal human rights is
 61 replacing territorially based citizenship. Hampshire's enumeration of ways
 62 that citizenship still matters for many rights refutes the radical claim that
 63 "citizenship has become irrelevant for rights" (p. 112), but this claim has been
 64 unambiguously rejected in the last decade of work by transnational scholars
 65 such as Thomas Faist, Nina Glick Schiller, and Peggy Levitt. Hampshire is
 66 correct that the state matters for migration studies, but transnational scholars
 67 do not deny this; rather, they contend that *how* it matters cannot be fully
 68 understood by approaches like Hampshire's that take the state as the only
 69 unit of analysis.

70 This is partly a result of Hampshire's disciplinary blinders. *The Politics*
 71 *of Migration* exemplifies James Hollifield's call for political scientists to bring
 72 the state back into migration studies (p. 2). Given this goal, it offers an ex-
 73 cellent overview of the state of the art in the political science of migration
 74 by explaining migration policy as a function of domestic politics and—to
 75 a much more limited extent—by multilateral negotiation between states.
 76 Nonetheless, it also shows the limitations of work confined by the discipline
 77 of political science and the need for an interdisciplinary approach. For ex-
 78 ample, Hampshire includes capitalism as one of his four facets that explain
 79 migration policy but provides little sustained discussion of how it comes to
 80 affect policy. One reason for this is that an investigation of capitalism would

81 necessarily require going beyond the state to consider how its policies are
82 buffeted by transnational, multinational, and global institutions.

83 These criticisms should not detract from Hampshire's accomplishment.
84 *The Politics of Immigration* is one of the best books available on the pol-
85 itics of migration and is the first place to turn for anyone looking for an
86 introduction to the political science of migration.

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