

Book Reviews

I

Tumbe, Chinmay (2018). *India Moving: A History of Migration*, Vikings Penguin Random House India, 304 pages, e-ISBN: 978-9-353-05163-1

Migration has always been a heated topic and more so in current times when the politics of numerous political parties in the country depends upon this, which thereby results in many political battles being fought over migration and allied issues. Politics and emotions are both relying on nativism during the present times. So, if one has not had much exposure to the topic of migration, this could very well be the book for them. The first time I heard about 'India Moving: A History of Migration' by Chinmay Tumbe, Faculty at the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, I was psyched! How often is it that one gets to read about migration starting from the ancient times moving up to the contemporary society- all in one book. This work came out of the author's PhD thesis while at IIM Bengaluru and the research that he did post PhD.

Arvind Subramanian, the former Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister of India, adorned the book by writing a foreword wherein he remarks that the book should be read, savoured and applauded. The book is divided into six chapters which discuss everything from Indian Diversity to the Great Indian Migration Wave, from Diasporas to Partitions and from Displacement to Development. The first chapter itself begins with a quotation by the former Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru,

'India is a geographical and economic entity, a cultural unity amidst diversity, a bundle of contradictions held together by strong but invisible threads.'

Tumbe then goes on to talk about the diversity of the country. It then moves onto discuss migrations from ancient to modern times.

The next chapter is all about what the author calls the 'Great Indian Migration Wave' which he classifies as the world's largest and longest voluntary migration in history. He talks about both internal and international migrations as well as voluntary and involuntary migration. The author talks about

migration can be used as a tool to come out of despotic rules and in many other cases, to further improve one's living condition and quality of life on the basis of markers like religion, gender and obviously, caste!

In his own words, 'it ranks among the largest and longest migration streams for work in documented history. He argues that this phenomenon led to the rise of cities like Kolkata and Mumbai in India and Yangon and Dubai, outside of the country. This ultimately played a very important role in shaping the history of modern and contemporary India. Tumbe defines the features of the Great Indian Migration Wave and says that it is 'male – dominated, semi- permanent and remittance- yielding'. There's an interesting study that Tumbe did in Ratnagiri which is not just famous for its mangoes but also for man- goes (exporting man power) too. Migration, according to Tumbe was a 'well established tradition' in mid- 19th century Ratnagiri and it affected three principal castes. There are more case studies about Udupi in Karnataka, Density and Destiny (Saran in Bihar), Ganjam in Odisha amongst others, in this chapter.

Further, he talks about displacement arising out of dams and partition of India, about migrations from certain States (like U.P, Kerala, Bengal, Bihar) which he classifies as 'clusters' (coastal. Clusters and Gangetic clusters), slavery etc., just to name a few. He goes on to talk about the factors on which he has classified these clusters and their history which again has a lot to do with migration. He argues that more and more migration is a good thing because it enables people to benefit tremendously, which is not possible if one is stuck at one place. This benefit is in terms of money, facilities, exposure etc. A migrant network helps a lot if one belongs to that network in terms of jobs and information, which is why it's essential to get more and more people out there with the help of migration. In his study in the Konkan region, he found out that the upper castes have a much wider network as compared to other castes.

One outstanding thing about the book and more about Chinmay Tumbe's writing style is that it is very lucid and readable, which means that the book has been written in a non- academic style so that it can penetrate through the masses and reach readers outside of academia too. He has dexterously combined the disciplines of economics, history and mixed it up with sketches and literary references to paint a picture of why and how the people of India moved over the years. Looking at the endnotes and references of Tumbe's

book, it can be firmly stated that he stands on the shoulders of giants in the field of ancient, medieval as well as modern and contemporary history. Instead of looking at smaller, more pressing issue-based researches, Tumbe chose to look at Migration that stretches from the pre- historic times to the present times, also including the Rohingya migrations. However, he focuses more on migrations from the North and North – Western states and doesn't really probe deep into the migrations from the states of down South.

Further into the book, the author talks about merchants and discusses various merchant communities in India starting from the Sindhis, Punjabis to Gujaratis and Marwaris and the reasons behind their migration. The author also deliberates migrations of Muslim, Jew and Parsees too. Further ahead in the book, we find Tumbe discussing diasporas and there he talks about how the Gujaratis, Malayalis and Tamilians were key to the extension of their internal and international diasporas, during the colonial period. Partitions and Displacement is another chapter that's written rather interestingly. He starts with the Partition of Burma in 1937 and moves on to the Partition of India in 1947 and the birth of Pakistan which has been discussed from both Western and Eastern fronts in the book. The birth of Bangladesh which resulted from the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan in 1971 is also probed in. One will get a bird's eye view of migrations happening from Tibet, Sri Lanka and Kashmir region. The author could have given more emphasis on 'twice migrations' which is prevalent among the Sindhi and Punjabi community that migrated to the Indian side of the border during the partition of India in 1947 and then migrated to other parts of the world due to economic reasons mostly.

The last chapter talks about migration and development and that is what the author is arguing in the book that how migration is a wonderful thing and one shouldn't shy away from it as many a times, it opens better avenues for people than were available at their native place. Another interesting thing that Tumbe talks about in the book is Ambedkar and Thackrey and their different views on migration. Ambedkar on one hand, looked at migration as a very positive thing that uplifted his status and gave him a sense of dignity whereas Thackrey on the other hand, looked at migration from the point of view of a native. He also adds a third dimension of Gandhi ('cosmopolitan recommending fixity'). Overall, one can say that this thickly footnoted book can be an absolutely wonderful and a much- needed read for scholars and students who wish to investigate into or rather start out in the vast sea that

is Migration. It will help give an overview to the reader thereby making them understand the various nuances and types of migrations and they may ultimately be successful in selecting a topic from this reader and probe into it a little more.

The author takes into consideration and attempts to answer many questions as part of research for this book. He details the readers about the hotspots of emigration in India and talks about the size of the Indian diaspora. Tumble's book looks at how India has built by taking into account migration patterns and interestingly everything from literature, cuisine, music to folklore is all somewhere related to the history of migration. As is presently evident, foreign politics, trade, economy are also influenced by migration.

He also tries to point out towards the 'movement of certain communities' and the 'building of economic capital'. By the end of the book, readers will come to admire the sheer breadth of the book and will marvel at the fact that how the author was able to cover so many displacements and migrations in a single book. The book will surely open up a lot of debates that may eventually be probed into by researchers in the field of social sciences. For his methodology, the author has taken into deliberation not just economic factors to study migration patterns but also social and cultural factors which are critical demarcating factors. Tumble, a Faculty at IIM Ahmedabad also mentions that the logo of IIM-A was taken from one of the carvings in the *Sidi Saiyyed* Mosque, built by Sidi, who were a group of people that migrated from East Africa to India.

So, if one is looking forward to reading a seminal work on Migration that has been done by an economist, they will certainly find this book to be quite an absorbing read. However, if one has been working on migration from the lens of History, they will find certain sections of the book familiar but one could still read it to get a more surface level understanding of Migration in the context India. The book is more like an overview, which runs through centuries and hence, does not delve deeply into any topic. However, it would serve as a good reference book on the history of migration in India, from the ancient times. Although it's not the most comprehensive book on the History of migration in India, it's definitely a primer on migration in India.

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II

Gamlen, Alan John (2019), *Human Geopolitics: States, Emigrants and the Rise of Diaspora Institutions*. Oxford University Press, 352 pages, ISBN-13: 9780198833499.

The need to invest into human resources has become much more evident in these times where focus is on acquiring skilled and beneficial population rather than territory, yet this component has not got the requisite attention when it comes to studying world politics. ‘Human geopolitics’ by Alan Gamlen resurrects in unanticipated ways the major reasons guiding the impetus behind governments’ renewed willingness to engage their emigrant diasporas.

The book is a commendable effort to adequately address the imbalance among researches which tend to focus mostly on the issues related to immigration while sidelining the emigration policies emanating from the migrants’ origin states. The author has made sure that the book falls well within his area of expertise and is excellently balanced and well researched. The author, Alan Gamlen, is Associate professor at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia. Alan has to his credits commendable research work when it comes to international migration and diaspora related fields.

The author provides reader with extensively researched account of the shifting focus on human geopolitics which saw springing up of a plethora of institutions and ministries dedicated to emigrants and their descendants. The book explores and presents a picture of the new diaspora relations in this century of intense connectivity and globalization.

Gamlen argues that various institutions dealing with emigrants and diaspora are a very recent phenomenon with most of them coming into existence in late twentieth and early twenty first centuries. He notes on their importance that, “diaspora institutions are theoretically surprising because they project domestic policies beyond state borders in ways that seem inconsistent with the territorial definitions of citizenship and sovereignty that underpin the modern international system” (p. 68). A total of 118 states now have some form of institution that deals with the diaspora.

He mentions a critical consequence of these institutions as he writes that

they can at times appear to potentially interfering with the freedom of exit of migrants, with the sovereignty of other states, and with democratic processes of the origin country. This implication of diaspora related policies on the world politics need to be looked into much more carefully as for the time being, their impact on world politics has largely been underestimated.

The author has deeply researched about the theoretical underpinnings involving diaspora, emigrants and their countries of origin, along the lines of political geography. The author in his empirical research, has relied on both qualitative and quantitative data from interviews, surveys and study of relatable policy documents thus collecting a wide array of primary data. The book is a very important addition in the study of this very little explored field of diaspora and emigration. Studies and research work on such topics have preoccupied themselves with either single case studies or generalized observations which could not be exported to other cases as well. This book is a refreshing break from that practice as it tries to build on various important concepts to develop a concrete theory concerning policy making with regards to the emigration.

The central argument that Gamlen forwards, revolves around a distinction between three epochs that followed each other, starting from the end years of twentieth century to the early twenty first century, i.e., from a “world of nations” to a “world of regions” to a “governed globe”. The author has dealt with a huge number of cases and has conducted case studies of countries like Israel, Mexico, Eritrea, India and others. Gamlen has very skillfully touched upon the local contexts and the immediate causal factors for springing up of institutions for emigrants and diaspora in these countries and provides a chance to look at these issues from the origin state’s lenses while simultaneously throwing light on the global implications of these local policies on the wider human geopolitics at the international level.

The book feels like going through the modern world history from an alternative perspective that comprises of the viewpoint of emigrants and the diaspora as well as the various organizations and institutions concerning them. The author associates the rise in diaspora institutions with post-colonialism, as to how it led to the unraveling of fascism, coming up of the state of Israel, end of cold war with disintegration of the Soviet-Russian empire, democratization processes worldwide, regional integration in Europe and elsewhere, and the development of a global migration regime.

The book provides a major contribution when it comes to trying to give an all-encompassing theory that explains the springing up of diasporic institutions in the recent decades. A major takeaway from the book that has been discussed in the ending chapters is that this rise of human geopolitics as a separate field from territorial politics is attributed to the United Nations' efforts to "create a global governance regime for migration."

I would personally recommend the book particularly because of the objective stance that the author has taken towards the subject. Gamlen has with utmost sincerity put forth both the positive and negative aspects of migration policies in the present International structure. While exploring the possibility of increased cooperation and a multipolar world order, he has also touched upon the limitations such as the recent anti immigrant sentiments being experienced in many first world nations. Moreover, the author talks about the misunderstandings and overlapping claims which could lead to animosity and even direct conflict which was evident in the tensions between Russia and Ukraine over Crimea.

However, some questions were left unanswered in the book. The author failed to explain as to why despite such importance of diasporic institutions in recent times, many countries do not still have or even making any visible effort towards building any such institutions? Also, not all the states started building institutions since late twentieth century, for example states like Italy, Poland and others had similar institutions even before world war II. The author would have done a great work if he could have talked about these exceptions and related them to his central argument in the book.

Yet, despite all the shortcomings, the book by Gamlen, *Human Geopolitics* should be opted and must be recommended to all who are searching for good material and well researched in depth account of the states' policies related to migration and diaspora in this highly globalized twenty first century. This book is the one, particularly for those who are pursuing their scholarly work in immigration and related fields and also gives valuable insight to related think tanks and policy makers thus making their decisions and analysis more informed.

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III

Ghosh, Partha S. (2016), *Migrants, Refugees and the Stateless in South Asia*. Sage, New Delhi, pp. 356, ISBN: 978-93-515-0854-0 (HB).

Migrants, Refugees and the Stateless in South Asia is a meticulous text which offers a comprehensive picture of different dimensions of migration in South Asia. Partha S. Ghosh has taken up the colossal task to bring out crucial differences between migrants, refugees and stateless people in seven out of eight South Asian states, namely, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, with the exception of Maldives. This work addresses important questions of forcible repatriation, desirability of a regional refugee regime. The commitment of the author to make this book as comprehensive as possible has been fulfilled as it cogently deals with migration, ranging from theory, political connection, security variable, aspect of rehabilitation, legal dynamics and cultural and psychological dimensions. The discussion includes wide-ranging examples of Muhajirin to West Pakistan, Bihari Muslims, Lhotshampa of Bhutan, Chin Burmese refugees, Tibetan refugees and eviction of Chinese Indians.

This book has eight chapters, including the introduction. The arguments of the book fall logically, with definitional issues at the outset. There is an ambiguity around the terms- migrants, refugees, illegal settlers or stateless persons. A distinction is brought out in the usage of concepts like migrants, refugees and stateless persons. In terms of how they are defined in the Western context and in contrast how they are used in the South Asian context interchangeably due to lack of legal regimes. The author has categorised migration and refugee movements in South Asia in eight broad categories of Partition-related uncertainties, failure in nation-building, inter-ethnic conflict, open or virtually open borders, war related qualms, developmental and environmental effects, statelessness or virtual statelessness and intra-regional and extra-regional military interventions.

The first chapter elaborates on the theories of migration to mapping the South Asian scene. It takes account of the 50 million migrants, refugees and the stateless, where they are located, reasons for crossing borders, their rehabilitation, etc. In the past six decades, there has been movement of millions of people across the intra-regional national boundaries owing to

virtually unenforceable international borders in South Asia. Migrants coming from Bangladesh to India and Pakistan, hosting refugees from Myanmar; Nepal receiving migrants from India and Bhutan, sending migrants to India, etc. are some of the examples of fluidity of south Asian borders. Even though it had discussed the theories, the approach of this book is primarily empirical citing cases of Partition refugees, Tibetan, Afghan, Indian Tamil, Sri Lankan Tamil, Rohingya Refugees et al. The theoretical dimensions have figured largely circumstantially as most of them are West inspired migration research and has limited usefulness for comprehending the South Asian scene. This work goes beyond the Western theories of migration in primarily two ways, firstly, Western theories of migration only takes account of indentured labour migrations during colonial times or labour migrations to gulf countries in recent times. This work brings in a discussion of post-partition and other refugee movements. Secondly, it brings out the limitations of Western inspired migration research for an understanding of the South Asian context, which has little discussed the aspect of collective violence which is critical for any explanation of cross-border migrations in South Asia. Ghosh brings out the relevance of collective violence and collective memories as a prime cause of migration in South Asia, whereby people migrate in search of security for life. In other words, how the fear psychosis plays its role as evident in the case of Kashmiri Hindus who left for Jammu and Delhi in early 1990s and several other examples.

Ghosh has studied the interconnections between migration, politics and national security. This is studied in the context of how the issue of Kashmiri refugees continued to figure in the political discourse of Azad Kashmir, Bangladeshi migrants and inner line permit system in Assam. It raises the lesser known concerns of Bhutanese government conceiving their nationalism in ethnic terms and emphasizing cultural nationalism of Drukpas and the political connections of Lhotshampa and Nepal resulting in their exodus to Nepal. The author has explained how one of the important factors in interstate migrations and refugee movements is civil war in which neighboring state invariably gets sucked in. This creates security-related tensions between the two.

In chapter four, the author has discussed four national relief efforts as experienced by India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal. The remaining four states are not relevant as they are not a refugee-receiving country. It includes the discussion of partition refugee cases of Delhi and Calcutta. But

not limiting it to them rather, is a comprehensive description of the Tibetan refugees, Bangladeshi liberation refugees, Indian Tamil and Sri Lankan Tamil refugees, Chakma, Afghan, Myanmarese refugees. The Bangladesh experience is discussed in context of agreement with Chakmas and finding ways to repatriate, Rohingya refugees. It offers a detailed account of the repatriation measures taken by South Asian states.

In the fifth chapter, Ghosh takes up the issue of legal dynamics. This chapter tried to address the question whether it is desirable to have a regional refugee regime. The surprising aspect is the lack of a legal regime. No South Asian state has signed the UN refugee convention of 1951 except for Afghanistan. The author points out that ‘even without any refugee-specific legal regime, India and Pakistan have handled millions of refugees.’ The Indian refugee protection regime can be seen in seven frameworks as pointed by a senior supreme court lawyer of India, Rajiv Dhavan. These frameworks are – the citizenship regime, fundamental rights, the statutory framework, India’s obligations arising out of its international treaty obligations, judicial interventions, the SAARC framework, the Model Law of Refugee Protection. To this Ghosh adds two further frameworks of – the bilateral framework and the informal framework. Many refugee issues in South Asia have either been tackled through bilateral cooperation without invoking state or international laws or simply by informal mechanisms without taking recourse to legal processes at all. It is seen that the SAARC’s political agenda is limited and often states rely on bilateral resolution. There can be witnesses a lack of official enthusiasm, strong misgivings expressed by security agencies that porous borders may lead to unmanageable refugee entries. Despite this, a benign indifference can be noticed among the South Asian states. There is an unusual empathy towards the refugee seeking people.

In this particular work Ghosh goes beyond his shibboleth of political and security centric debates over migrations and successfully digs into the areas of migration of culture, music, violence, displacement on memory and other related areas, offering rich data and insights. It focuses on the impact of migration on cultural productions such as literature, music, painting, etc. which is one of the strengths of the book. South Asian migration shows how cultural forms and productions move alongside migrating humans. The bone of contention is that migration leads to mix of inventiveness ranging from music to culinary practices. The discussion is made rich with various examples ranging from the case of Chinese workers in India who started

worshipping Indian deities to the migration of music back and forth between India and West Indies through the experience of indentured labour. The connection between migration and cinema is also brought out. Ghosh not merely provides a superficial discussion of impact on culture by confining to music and cinema rather goes deep and also unravels the impact of Partition migration on other art forms like painting, photography, Bhojpuri drama.

Ghosh emphasizes on the need to explore the negative domain of migration like migration of diseases which has not been explored much, however it forms an important issue to be addressed. He has written at length about migration, refugees and its relation to political and security dimensions and this work can be seen as an extension of his earlier writings. Despite the enriching knowledge offered, there are certain gaps in this book. It has left out some important issues which the author himself acknowledges. For instance, while he explored the impact of Partition refugees on Hindi and Bengali cinema, there was no discussion of the impact of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees on Tamil cinema and other artforms. Another area which remains unexplored is the issue of undocumented Bangladeshis in India. Since the book is preoccupied with the colossal task of mapping issues of migrants, refugees and stateless people in the South Asian region, it tends to overlook the intricacies of a particular migrant or refugee group. However, it remains an engaging book, extending migration research in newer domains. It succeeds in documenting a nuanced account of migrants, refugees and stateless people in South Asia. This book would make an interesting read for scholars on migration, refugee studies, South Asian studies.

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IV

Buchanan, R. H. (Ed.). (2018). *Go Home!*. Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 320 pages, ISBN - 1936932016

“Go Home!” is an inclusive collection of experiences of immigration and diaspora. The book contains essays, short stories and poems written by thirty-one Asian diaspora writers, powerfully holding volume up on

the feeling of being away from “home”. Some pieces reflect on White supremacy discrimination on the basis of color, while others explore the notion of home, which is often a hardship endured by people who are away from their cultural origins and are on the move. This collection expands the definition of “home,” and sets forth several elements that form the idea, including identity, emotion, tradition, the sense of taste and so on. As a Chinese-American who grew up in Taiwan and is currently living in London, each short work depicts a subtle sense or emotion of an immigrant’s experience which I highly relate to but could never find the right words to express. This book sets off as an outstanding introductory for those who do not have an immigration experience to explore this common and critical issue. As migration is a natural human behaviour, it would be particularly emotive for readers who themselves are immigrants.

The politics of identity is rooted in the branding of oneself and determines how a person exists in the social world. Amitava Kumar, one of the authors in this book, questions himself on “when it was that I stopped thinking of myself as a new immigrant” in the essay, “*Love Poems for the Border Patrol*,” presenting the dynamic nature of identity. The essay further mirrors many immigrants’ frustration concerning their identities, the fundamental: Who am I? Where should I call home? It is possible for an immigrant to develop a feeling of one’s identity being blurred by losing the ability or environment in which they can use their mother tongue or having a lifestyle distant from one’s culture of birth. Entangled with identity, the concept of home become particularly confusing, it and makes an immigrant even more vulnerable to the fear of belonging nowhere.

Home keeps people in or out and defines whether a person is considered part of the whole. Being away from home sometimes make people feel like an outsider; being considered a refugee in many American’s eyes, Rowan Hisayo Buchanan “*knew inarticulately that she was an outsider.*” What exactly does it feel like to be an “outsider?” People inevitably feel more alert, uncomfortable, and often are more aware of the surroundings when they’re outside of their “homes” which often seems like double torture as they are reminded by locals that they’re outsiders. In Muhammad Amirul bin Muhamad’s word, it’s “delicate”. This delicacy is based on a series of factors an immigrant may be forced to tolerate, which can include language barrier, fragility, fear of the unknown, which often results in a loss of courage and confidence to speak, communicate, etc. or to be true to oneself.

It's a harsh reality that outsiders experience as they seek to satisfy their craving for acceptance and understanding from others. In "*Esmeralda*", a short story written by Mia Alvar, a migrant cleaner desperately looks for connections between herself and the splendid city, despite living and working in the city for nineteen years. Another author, Fariha Róisín, speaks of her experience as a Muslim and the experience of realizing that she is Muslim. There was no religion class based on her beliefs that she could be assigned to in school and she was foreign to Christian Hymns. She had encountered men with inequitable assumptions of women and had been offended by French authorities who clearly misinterpreted her religion. Being in a place where people did not understand her culture, Róisín's identity was invalidated, which made her wonder whether she should look for understanding from others.

Chang-Rae Lee illustrates the mixed feelings of confusion, frustration, shamefulness, and fearlessness of her mother as a first-generation immigrant in "*The Faintest Echo of Our Language*." The language barrier, political alienation, and social estrangement had constructed contradictions inside her when she was raising Lee in the United States. For instance, her pride of being a Korean, demanded her to teach her son to hold on to his Korean origin, and to never forget where his "home" truly is. But, concurrently, she taught Lee the importance of learning English without which he could have never become a "true American." His mother's story depicts the struggle that a lot of immigrants endure, as well as how they contrive to handle the disparity between the culture of their hosting countries, and their unbreakable linkages with their origins.

Mohja Kahf's poem, "*My Grandmother Washes Her Feet in the Sink of the Bathroom at Sears*," reveals the tension and conflict between Muslim religious rituals and American culture, which the latter considers inappropriate, unhygienic, and even "a contamination of American standards". The young American Muslim woman as a multicultural actor in this poem was stuck in the middle of two ethnical identities, witnessing how the lack of understanding, stereotype, and disrespect took effect, and how minorities suffer from discredit. The poem provides an excellent example of the way many Americans see Muslims, that creates a climate of hostility which Muslims must often experience. The experience of Muslim women being harassed for wearing hijab in the Western world is also mentioned in "Meet a Muslim." These women may come across discrimination, sexual

harassment, abuse, or even murder only because of the way they represent themselves—respecting and complying with their religious regulations and customs. Being at a place where one's ethnical identity is not commonly recognized and accepted can be tormenting to immigrants, negatively impacting their ability to prosper.

“East or West?” this was the question Esmé Weijun Wang had been asked by a flight attendant during an in-flight catering service, as if her choice of food would define who she was or wanted to be. Food is often a prominent cultural indicator, so it's fair to say that an immigrant's origin can be traced back by his/her palate. Raised by her Taiwanese parents in Michigan, Esmé regards the taste of Taiwanese cuisine as the taste of home. For people in the diaspora, the culinary experiences of their cultures of origin are memories in which are rooted their sense of identity. Food can also act as a barrier, reminding people that they do not fit in, or that they are away from what they are familiar with. In *“The Words Honey and Moon,”* a newly-wed man was uncomfortable eating American food in a restaurant during his honeymoon. The frozen and canned vegetables, as well as the oversweet orange *sherbet* with artificial coloring that his wife ordered, shocked his taste bud, and spurred feelings of being unsettled and remote.

The literary works in this book guide readers through the moving, nuanced, and exceptional experiences of immigrants. Although it seems like there is a pattern in the experience of being a part of a scattered population, these short works show that it varies from story to story, from person to person. Most works center on the searching of home and the sense of belonging, where readers are able to find traces of how these authors dug into their memories, identity, and feelings throughout the writing. Others do not seem as relevant to the overarching topic set in this anthology, which is a bit harder to connect with. The editor included works centering on various topics, which to some extent scattered the focal point of this book. The topic of the book could have been better highlighted had the selection of works been more focused. Nonetheless, the collection put together several remarkable pieces and left readers, especially those with experiences of migration, with many thought-provoking questions. To an immigrant, what does “home” refers to after land-crossing? How can we create a more inclusive society where every individual of any background can belong? And, most importantly, how can we empower immigrants to find their voices?

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V

White, Roger (2010). *Migration and International Trade: The US Experience since 1945*. Edward Elgar Publishing, Massachusetts. 226 pages. ISBN: 978-1848446960

The globalised world has witnessed intensification and intermingling of various activities. Migration and trade are one of them. Various works have highlighted their relationship, but most of them paid less attention to factors that underlie this relationship. The book, *Migration and International Trade: The U.S. experience since 1945*, tends to fill this void. Trade is not only about the exchange of goods and trade; instead, it involves multitudes of activities and end number of processes. This book, besides establishing a complimentary link between trade and immigration, also reflects upon those processes. Roger White, an economist and a professor of Economics at Whittier College, wrote this book.

The concerns for the book are understandable in the context in which it was written. This book is grounded in the liberal understanding of trade in IPE (International Political Economy), especially Ricardo's *Comparative Advantage theory*. It was published in 2010 when the recession finally ended, but the economy of the USA was lagging, and the unemployment rates were pretty high. U.S. economy grew at around 3% in late 2010. This book was a response to that crisis. The five sections of the book provide a detailed analysis of the trade-immigrant relationship in the context of the U.S. It is accompanied by a description of factors that underlies this relationship.

In the book, the year 1968 is taken as a breakthrough year in the immigration policy of the USA. The 1965 Immigration Act, implemented in 1968, opens up the entry of immigrants from around the globe. He looked into the differences between immigrants from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Europe to USA (Pre-1968) and the immigrants from other countries to USA (Post 1968) in terms of their capacity to exert pro-trade influence between their home and host country. His empirical analysis is restricted to the period between 1992 and 2006.

White offers a brief history of immigration in the USA by dividing it into 5 phases and later tries to establish its link with the immigrant-trade relationship. This book also comes up with specifications and variables to provide an objective understanding of the prevalent scenario. This book is full of classifications. For example, the very initial argument of the author is based on a *two-channel model* that shows the effects of immigration on trade. Immigrants affect trade through direct and indirect channels. In the direct, he mentioned *preference effect and information bridge effect*, and in latter, *cultural bridge and enforcement bridge effect*.

There are some crucial takes from this book. Firstly, this book highlights the role of immigrants in encouraging trade between home and host countries. This book shows the capacity of immigrants to act as trade intermediaries by acting as *de facto* intermediaries, resolving asymmetries of information and enforcement contractors. In other words, it can be said that they work as enablers for bilateral activities. For example, in Chapter 6 on trade facilitating infrastructure, White saw a link between transaction costs, quality of trade facilitating infrastructure (both *hard and soft*) and immigrants. He came to the conclusion that superior infrastructure can reduce the distribution margins that leads to lower product prices and consumer welfare. When there is poor TFI, immigrants have more significant opportunities to become intermediaries and reduce transaction costs.

Secondly, it helps in breaking some of the long-held myths related to immigrants. In contemporary times, many western nations have overstated/overestimated the losses related to immigrants, but the author refutes such presumptions. He shows that the host country's residents' loss depends upon the skill sets of immigrants. For example, in the post-1960 era, there was a considerable decline in the skills of immigrants in the USA. The wage-earning and unemployment effects were instead very minor. He highlighted the immigrant induced welfare implications for the host country.

Moreover, labour demand keeps a considerable balance with labour supply in the USA. So, immigration induced adverse labour outcome is unlikely. Therefore, the author recommends policy for the USA based on immigration that is selective and allows skilled immigrants from countries of the post-1968 cohort to increase trade with such countries. It is not possible in cases of unskilled workers because former are more connected to social and business networks at home.

Third, White also keeps in mind the subjective aspect of public opinion regarding the immigrants. He found the perceived cost of immigration among public higher than the real. Therefore, he suggested a policy change that should be accompanied by an effort to change public opinion regarding the impact of immigrants on aggregate employment. It could lead to socially optimal outcomes. However, these are difficult to achieve, and as he said, is impeded by political expediency and lobbying. This further points to the need to study the real cost and benefits attached to immigration that could prove to be a game-changer in contemporary times.

Fourth, the humanitarian aspects are not side-lined for economic imperatives in the book. Although White suggested an Immigration policy that would allow skilled immigrants to come to the U.S., he argued that it should be supplemented with continuing efforts to accept refugees and asylum seekers on humanitarian grounds. It can give space for refugee integration initiatives that can better utilise the skill sets of refugees. In contemporary times, we have ample examples of countries who have tried to integrate refugees through inclusive policies.

Fifth, the author has borrowed from other fields and discipline. For example, the primacy and recency effects are derived from the field of psychology. White directly applied it to US-immigrant trade link by arguing that the influence of immigrants coming from the countries in the pre-1968 phase may reflect the primacy effect and the post-1968 countries may reflect a recency effect. White concluded that the influence of immigrants from the pre-1968 countries (Canada, Australia, New Zealand) would be lower than the post-1968 home countries (other countries) and thus have fewer opportunities to exert pro-trade influence due to, inoperability of *preference channel and information bridge effects* in pre-1968 phase due to few immigrants and availability of goods and overexploitation of the information asymmetries.

Sixth, this book also looks into the manifestation of cultural relationships in economic exchange. For example, in Chapter 5, he showed how the differences and variation in consumer preferences of host (the US) and home country residents, can impact the immigrants' ability to exert a positive influence on U.S. imports from their home countries through preference channel or by information or cultural bridge effects. White also talked about how immigrants can act as intermediaries to reduce the de-merits of cultural dissimilarities and avoid hindrance of trust and rapport between the home

and the host countries. So, what others might have seen as a drawback in the bilateral relationship, he referred to it as an opportunity to exert positive influence. The cultural understanding helps us to move beyond the formal relationships between states and shows the inner dynamics of bilateral trades that are beyond the jurisdiction of the state and is enforced at people to people level. He also found variation in influences of immigrants across product classification, home country and immigrant characteristics. Also, the sequencing of chapters makes it easier to understand the concept. The sequencing of chapters is deductive. White starts with a general understanding of trade-immigrant relationship by using some of the existing literature on this issue. Then, he deduces his arguments to the case of the U.S. The initial chapters establish a framework in which the later chapters can be easily understood.

However, at the methodological level, there are few limitations. Part III of the book, *Examining the U.S. immigrant–trade link*, is meant for those who are experts in understanding econometric specifications and models like the *Augmented Gravity Model*. People from other disciplines might find it challenging to comprehend. Nevertheless, one can surely find comfort in understanding the author’s observation at the end of those chapters and could make a sense out of it. A similar problem can be seen in Chapter 7. In that chapter, White tried to measure the cultural distance between the U.S. and immigrants’ home countries. He used Inglehart’s WVS (World Value Surveys) and EVS (European Values Surveys)- based measures of cultural distance. These value surveys contain information related to the beliefs of individuals, their attitudes and values. His calculation of cultural distance is based on TSR (Traditional Authority v Secular Rational Authority) dimension and SSE (Survival values v Self-expression values) dimensions. The significant elements of these dimensions are subjective, like adherence to family obligations, obedience to religious authority, quality of life issues. He also employed Pythagorean Theorem, and one has to resort to the concluding observation to understand the whole idea of the author. WVS has been conducted since 1981 in almost 100 countries. It investigates socio-cultural and political change. However, scholars like Thomas Hurtienne and Götz Kaufmann found its intrinsic assumptions static and bias. They pointed out that questions used in the WVS questionnaire are based on certain assumptions of different things like ‘emancipation’, ‘democracy’, and ‘modernisation’. Moreover, these terms could have different meanings for different people. Therefore, they found it ‘one-sided, math-focused instru-

ment' and affirming or falsifying the dominant class ideology only.

One must also look into another aspect of the relationship that could add further interest in such research. Recently, it has been argued that immigrants promote export not only to their home countries but also the other countries. So, it points to expanding our understanding of what Oleg Firsin called as "proximate" countries. The proximity measure is contingent upon common border or linguistic or cultural factors. These factors point to business networks, communication and foreign market information as trade facilitators. So, immigrants stimulate exports to the countries which are geographically or linguistically proximate to their home country because channels that are applied in case of home countries can cross the borders. In the age of the interconnected world, this argument seems feasible and viable because it takes care of the overall impact of trade-immigration link.

In totality, the book has been able to achieve its stated goal of showing the underlying factors in the trade-immigration link. It helps in understanding the interdisciplinary nature of the phenomenon of migration. He borrowed from the discipline of sociology, International Political Economy, and political science. White has been able to maintain a delicate balance between subjective aspects and their objective explanations. Not only he describes what has happened, but he also provides some prescriptions on what could be done for better policy decisions and better-informed public. This book is useful for anyone interested in understanding the essential link between Immigration and Trade, precisely how U.S. immigration policies impact its trade outcomes.

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