

explaining these complex policy results. One variable is world regions. Among Muslim-majority countries, the tolerant cases are almost entirely in West Africa. A regional distinction is also visible between Western and non-Western Christians. This distinction is important to test the next variable: the political regime. Democracies have less government-based religious discrimination than authoritarian regimes among non-Christian and Orthodox Christian cases (p. 267). Yet, half of all countries in the analysis are non-Orthodox Christian-majority, and among these cases, democracy is not associated with more toleration. Christian-majority countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, regardless of whether they are democratic or authoritarian, have, on average, less government-based religious discrimination than Western democracies. This is the most surprising and noteworthy finding of the book.

Documenting examples in various Western countries, including Germany, Norway, and Switzerland, Fox indicates how these countries have imposed restrictions on Muslims' and Jews' religious practices, such as ritual animal slaughtering, burials, children's circumcision, and teachers' and students' headscarves in public schools (pp. 1–4, 35). Why do Western democracies appear to be, on average, more intolerant than many nations in other regions? To answer that question, while analyzing Western countries, as well as the rest of the world, Fox explores additional variables concerning characteristics of the state and of the religious minority.

Regarding characteristics of the states, religious and secular ideologies are the pivotal variable. If the state embraces a religious ideology, in terms of having an established religion, then it is more likely to have government-based religious discrimination against religious minorities. This does not mean that all secular states are tolerant toward minorities. Fox stresses that certain types of secular states are very intolerant. He cites my (2009) *Secularism and State Policies toward Religion: The United States, France, and Turkey*, which documents how “assertive secularist” French and Turkish states were intolerant toward religious minorities. Fox also points to communist states, which have embraced extreme versions of assertive secularism and yet pursued various discriminations against religious minorities.

With regard to the characteristics of the religious minority, the crucial variables are whether that minority is perceived as a cult/security concern or an alien element/existential threat. If the state's security apparatus perceives a religious minority as a cult or a security concern, then that minority becomes likely to face governmental discrimination. Perceptions are also important for societal religious discrimination and its governmental consequences. According to Fox, societal religious discrimination is not directly associated with government-based religious discrimination unless there exist some triggers. The effective triggers are whether a religious minority is

perceived as foreign or an existential threat. Such perceptions not only fuel societal discrimination against that minority but also make the societal discrimination a cause of governmental discrimination against it.

My main criticism of this important book is its writing style and general structure, which are highly specialized. For those who study religious freedom, the book provides important data and insightful analysis. Nonetheless, for nonexperts, it includes too much jargon, and the way it presents the data in overly detailed tables makes it difficult to engage with. Nonspecialists can use this book as an encyclopedic source, but using it for teaching purposes, especially to undergraduate students, would be challenging.

If the book's writing style and structure were more accessible for a broader readership, then its theoretical implications would have a wider audience. This is important, because the book's conclusions are relevant to political science in general, beyond the particular field of religion and politics. Political science, at least in the United States, has for decades been dominated by the rational-choice perspective, which overemphasizes the role of strategic behaviors while undermining the significance of ideologies. This book challenges that domination by documenting how religious and secular ideologies have shaped government policies. Another theoretical contribution of the book is its challenge to the emphasis on legal codes in the literature analyzing state policies toward religion. Fox reveals that, despite the existence of laws guaranteeing religious freedom in most countries' legal systems, their governments' discrimination against religious minorities is due to the impacts of authoritarian regimes, discriminatory ideologies, and negative perceptions.

In sum, *Thou Shalt Have No Other Gods before Me: Why Governments Discriminate against Religious Minorities* is a must read for those who are interested in religious freedom worldwide. This important analysis is relevant to both theoretical debates in political science and the recent authoritarian tide in world politics.

Why Control Immigration? Strategic Uses of Migration Management in Russia. By Caress Schenk. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018. 392p. \$73.50 cloth.
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— Andrei V. Korobkov , Middle Tennessee State University
Andrei.Korobkov@mtsu.edu

Caress Schenk's monograph represents the most thorough and comprehensive book on the evolution and the major goals and structural elements of Russian immigration policies yet published outside the Russian Federation (RF). The author, an American scholar who has lived and taught in recent years in post-Soviet Kazakhstan, offers a very interesting perspective on the evolution of Russian immigration policies. Within a 30-year period

since the USSR's dissolution, Russia has turned from one of the most isolated countries into the center of one of the three largest immigration systems in the world. This study of RF immigration policies offers plenty of information, not only about the political and socioeconomic impact but also about the public perception of immigration processes and the role of immigrants in the Russian society. Thus, it becomes a very useful tool for anyone interested in understanding the evolution of the Russian state, politics, and society in the post-Soviet period.

Even so, the importance of Schenk's research goes way beyond these formally stated goals: she offers a thorough and well-balanced analysis of Russian policies and the current situation in the migration sphere, avoiding the ideological biases and political stereotypes that are characteristic of many pieces of research dealing with both Russia and highly politicized migration issues. An especially valuable feature of the book is the comparative perspective it offers: the author considers other major immigration centers, showing both the differences and similarities in migration flows and the policies of Russia and such states as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Italy—regardless of the types of political systems in particular migrant-receiving countries. These findings are interesting and important, especially under current conditions when we witness the intensification of discussions in regard to migration policy reform, the rise of anti-immigrant populist movements and trends in public opinion, and the tightening of immigration regimes in the major receiving countries, including the current policies of the Trump administration in the United States.

In this sense, *Why Control Immigration?* by focusing on Russia, brings a very important perspective to the much wider discourse concerning the issues of migration policies, human rights, governmental reform, and political populism in the United States and the Global North in general. In particular, Schenk clearly shows the importance in both Russia and the West of the informal mechanisms of migration regulation. Another universal feature seems to be the existence of a “magic circle”: public pressure on the governments to introduce curbs on legal immigration leads to the introduction of restrictive measures, giving results opposite to the expected ones. The growing numbers of undocumented migrants have to stay for longer terms to avoid the risks of entering a country, which lead to the growing public irritation, and so on—that is, restrictive governmental migration policies lead to growing numbers of undocumented migrants and the increasingly permanent (or at least long-term character) of immigration. These conclusions should serve as an important lesson to migration policy planners in the West, sending a particularly clear signal to the current US administration.

The author demonstrates a thorough familiarity with both Russian and Western academic discourses, NGOs, and governmental sources dealing with the issue of post-

Soviet migration. In addition to her analysis of various published and internal governmental and nongovernmental materials, she conducted numerous on-site interviews. The book is well structured and follows a clear logic. After an overview of previous migration research and theoretical work, Schenk discusses the evolution of Russian immigration policies and governmental structures under the Yeltsin and Putin regimes and the dynamics of the immigrant flows to the RF during the post-Soviet period. The discussion concentrates on the balance between the governmental and nongovernmental, formal and informal mechanisms of migration regulation; the interests of the federal and local authorities; and the interplay of socioeconomic and political considerations in the formulation and execution of migration policies. Special attention is given to two such mechanisms developed during Vladimir Putin's tenure: a more restrictive and centrally controlled system, based on immigration quotas, and a more permissive and slightly more flexible system at the local level, relying on labor migrant patents.

After a thorough discussion of the main factors influencing the formulation of migration policies and the choice of particular migration regulation mechanisms, the book offers a comparative overview of the situation and migration policies in three key immigration regions: Moscow, the national capital and the largest migrant-receiving center; Sverdlovsk Oblast, a major industrial center with a relatively lax immigration regime; and Krasnodar, one of the leading agricultural regions bordering on the RF ethnic regions and foreign states of the Caucasus—with the latter two serving as regional sources of migrants to the RF. The Krasnodar case is also very important, because this region has been marked by consistently highly restrictive policies and xenophobic rhetoric of the regional government toward migrants.

Thus, *Why Control Immigration?* offers a valuable comparative perspective on migration policies both internationally and within the RF. These features of the book, along with the wealth of data and the thoroughness of analysis, make it an invaluable source for any academic, NGO representative, or governmental official interested in understanding the RF's migration situation and governmental policies. But the importance of Caress Schenk's research goes far beyond that, making the book a very useful tool for anybody interested in understanding global migration and policy trends in immigrant-receiving states in general. *Why Control Immigration?* also offers an unconventional view on the structure and functioning of the Russian government, the factors influencing the decision-making process, the balance of formal and informal mechanisms of governing, and the government's interaction with NGOs and other elements of civil society in the RF. Considering the current world and US political trends, I hope that the author will continue her research, looking, in particular, at the populist components of

immigration politics and governmental policies—both in Russia and the other migrant-receiving states.

Business and Social Crisis in Africa. By Antoinette Handley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. 230p. \$99.99 cloth, \$26.99 paper.
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— Megan Hershey, *Whitworth University*
mhershey@whitworth.edu

In the early 2000s, at the height of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, several high-profile firms in Botswana and South Africa began providing their employees with anti-retroviral (ART) drugs. Though an expensive undertaking, these firms opted to take a long-term approach to protecting their interests while promoting a social good. In her illuminating analysis of the political economy of business responses to social crises, Antoinette Handley asks why firms would make such a decision. Handley helps us see businesses as actors that are situated firmly between their sociopolitical contexts and the demands of making a profit. Although we have historically overlooked business as a key player in the provision of public goods, Handley's work reveals that, in some cases, firms can take a powerful stand by actively seeking constructive solutions to social crises.

Business and Social Crisis in Africa is divided into five well-developed chapters. Chapter 1 sets out the study and the interesting puzzle; it also operationalizes constructive and unconstructive responses thoroughly, providing a terrific model for those teaching political science courses. Chapter 2 explores a largely nonexistent business sector response to HIV/AIDS in Kenya and Uganda, whereas chapter 3 considers the more robust responses of some South African and Botswanan businesses (particularly in the mining sector). Chapter 4 shows that the findings of chapters 2 and 3 hold in the particularly challenging context of political violence, in which the state may not just be absent from the solution but also an active cause of the problem. Chapter 5 offers thoughtful comparisons of South Africa to other countries outside Africa, including India and South Korea, to illustrate the generalizability of Handley's findings. It also warns against reliance on the private sector for public goods, because it lacks the ability of the state to ensure their universal distribution (p. 192).

Using the contexts of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and protracted political violence, Handley explores how, under some conditions, African businesses respond effectively to crises, often before a sluggish state can react. These constructive responses to crises can only emerge when firms have developed a good degree of what Handley calls "business autonomy," or the ability to act "independently of and perhaps even in opposition to the state" (p. 6). Throughout the book, she pushes against our assumptions

that businesses will always act like "roving bandits," as she builds on Mancur Olson's work to show when and how firms begin to define their interests in more nuanced and long-term ways, developing beyond a focus on short-term profits. *Business and Social Crisis in Africa* reveals that, under the appropriate conditions, businesses can both harness and transcend their primary societal role as employers to offer robust and essential responses to serious problems in their countries.

This book draws on cases from across eastern and southern Africa, using a nested case design that begins with two country cases in each of the regions hit hardest by HIV/AIDS (Uganda and Kenya, Botswana and South Africa) and follows with two countries that have experienced contemporary political violence (electoral violence in Kenya during the 1990s and 2000s, and anti-apartheid violence in South Africa during the 1980s and early 1990s). The comparative study is thoughtfully designed, allowing Handley to isolate factors that led to stronger business responses to HIV/AIDS in the southern, rather than eastern, African cases (chapters 2 and 3) and an ultimately constructive response to apartheid-era violence by firms in South Africa (chapter 4). The two chapters on HIV/AIDS, which look at each region in turn, are paired beautifully, carefully following the same structure and engaging with the particulars of each case, while keeping the comparative argument in plain sight. These chapters would be an excellent model to use in class for those teaching comparative politics.

Building a strong case using an effective mix of qualitative fieldwork (including dozens of interviews) and document analysis, Handley argues that firm- and societal-level factors, as well as the timing of a crisis, can combine to allow firms to offer "a response to crisis that enhances the broader public welfare" (p. 11). Larger firms were better able to respond, as were those operating in a context where firms and capital were more centralized (p. 143). Labor relations are also uniquely key to this process in two ways: workers can "translate or transmit" societal problems to management to help them better understand the severity of a crisis (p. 12), and a history of labor disputes can teach a business's decision-makers "the art of negotiation and the need for political settlements" (p. 148). This was especially the case in South Africa where Handley notes that average citizens had a more hostile view of business (because of the history of colonization and apartheid) than in Kenya, where small entrepreneurs dominate and there is less animus toward business.

Another particularly interesting factor that Handley explores is firms' reliance on skilled labor; during the peak of the HIV/AIDS pandemic she finds that agricultural firms in east Africa were able to lay off, and easily replace, relatively unskilled workers who fell ill (p. 73), whereas businesses' reliance on expensive-to-train highly skilled