professional class with no "wife" at home makes the presence of immigrant women to provide services to those professionals, such as child care and housekeeping, an absolute necessity. Sassen sees this as the creation of a new "serving class" in the developed world and emphasizes the fact that therefore high-skilled immigration cannot be decoupled from low-skilled immigration. But the desire to exclude low-skill immigrants within receiving country politics combined with the need for their labor that exists in those countries ensures that the future of low-skilled immigration to developed countries will remain the most contentious area of global migration policy.

This volume is unique insofar as three essays (those by Sassen, Yúñez-Naude, and Leti Volpp) raise the important role gender plays not only in determining who migrates, but also the networks they use and how those migrants are constructed in the receiving country. The contributors also address issues of immigration integration in highly nuanced ways. With her microlevel study of one Chinese family in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century California, Mae Ngai shows how experiences of inclusion and exclusion can occur simultaneously within the same immigrant group. Her analysis of the Tape family's experience serves as a striking example of the complex social relations that can derive from a group's liminal legal and social status. This point is reinforced in the modern period by Kamal Sadiq's essay showing how unauthorized immigrants are able to construct a "documentary citizenship" for themselves in India, responding to their liminal status by constructing a new, more inclusive form of democratic citizenship for themselves.

A number of essays consider the interests and behavior of the state in constructing citizenship and in fostering (or not) immigrant integration. Sarah Song lays out three ways to foster civic solidarity within liberal democracy without violating normative commitments. Christopher Rudolph explores the intersection of immigration and national security, arguing that restrictive tendencies since 9/11 have been muted, when examined in historical perspective. Irene Bloemraad and Veit Bader examine official state policies for immigrant integration. Bloemraad argues that multicultural approaches, such as those used by Canada, result in faster and deeper integration than laissez-faire approaches like that of the United States. Bader takes this argument deeper, arguing both approaches are insufficient and that what is needed is a more pluralistic "associative democracy."

The three concluding essays debate the normative underpinnings of the questions of inclusion and exclusion within liberal democratic states. Stephen Macedo considers when immigration restriction might be normatively justified. Chandran Kukathas opens his essay by questioning why all borders can't be open, yet concludes that some limits are necessary in order for "borders" to continue to exist. Rainer Bauböck bases his argument for free movement on the grounds of universal liberty rather than global social justice, arguing regional supranational authorities (like the European Union) should be developed and allow multiple citizenships in order to facilitate the free movement of individuals across state boundaries.

As Smith himself states in his introduction, no one volume could do justice to the broad array of economic, political, social, and normative questions that arise from global migration. Yet, this volume does an admirable job of laying an impressive, comparative, and multifaceted groundwork to help readers gain some analytical traction on the many facets of this global problem. I could see these essays assigned in immigration courses to provide students with coherent and thoughtful discussions of what are challenging questions. The theoretical contributions are especially strong, showing how immigration problematizes Westphalian notions of national inclusion and exclusion. As Bauböck concludes, immigration control is a "moral dilemma" for liberal democracies, "a painful reminder that the ideals of liberal citizenship cannot be fully realized in a world where most people are deprived of fundamental liberties and the means to satisfy their basic needs" (p. 376). The contributions to this volume make clear that until we resolve this dilemma, liberal democracies like the United States will continue to fail to live up to their moral and normative ideals, to the detriment of us all.

International Migration in the Age of Crisis and Globalization: Historical and Recent Experiences.
By Andrés Solimano. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 240p. $85.00 cloth, $26.99 paper.
doi:10.1017/S1537592711002003

— Susan Y. Kneebone, *Monash University*

This book, by a Latin American scholar, is an excellent addition to the literature on international migration. Its particular strength is that it is written from the perspective of the current and historical economic implications of international migration. As one who has looked at the same issues from a legal and political discipline, I found this book fascinating and am sure that it will be welcomed by others.

The central argument book is that the "problem" of international migration will be solved by addressing core inequalities in the global economy. It is argued that a new institutional framework to deal with international migration needs to be created. However, the particular contribution that this book makes is to tease out the historical and economic reasons behind the core inequalities in the global economy and to confront fears about the level and nature of international migration from an economic perspective. Furthermore, the argument is thoroughly and clearly presented, with key points signposted and elaborated. Indeed, as articulation of a "thesis" it is a true gem.

The number of international migrants has recently been calculated at 214 million (IOM, *World Migration Report* 2010, p. xix.). In 2005, as Andrés Solimano says, the figure was 150 million (p. 4). A great number of such international migrants are migrant workers (Report of the Global Commission on International Migration [GCIM], *Migration in an Interconnected World: New Directions for Action,* 2005, Chap. 1). As the author explains (p. 4), the main feature of such migration is that it has created a segmented labor market in which more favorable policies apply to "knowledge workers" or "talent elites" than to unskilled or semiskilled workers (see Aihwa Ong, "Latitudes of Citizenship: Membership, Meaning and Multiculturalism," in Alison Brysk and Gershon Shafir, eds., *People Out of Place: Globalisation, Human Rights, and the Citizenship Gap,* 2004, Chap. 4). The reality is that the bulk of international migrant workers fill these latter occupations.

Solimano explains that a substantial proportion of international migrants (about 10% to 20% of the total) can be described as having an "irregular" status. That is, such migrants entered a country legally and then overstayed (see Box 3.1 at p. 43). He suggests that irregular migrants tend to lack the protection of local labor laws that apply to regular workers. As non-nationals, they also lack the protection that citizenship status provides (see pp. 46, 47, 48 (Box 3.2), 194).

The author looks back at trends in international migration over the last 150 years. As he explains, a paradox that emerges from this backwards glance is that international migration was "an important engine for economic growth" in "New World countries" such as Argentina, Australia, Canada, and the Unites States (p. 1), but that today these are often the countries that "try to stem the very tide that they . . . are creating" (p. 3). He argues that the "tide" began to change in the mid-twentieth century, with stagnant economies and demographic changes affecting many of these New World countries.

Solimano sets out to unsettle many of the myths and clichés that discussion of international migration attracts. He explains that historically, capital and labor often went in tandem to nations that offered better opportunities, thus leading to income convergence across nations (p. 2). He argues that as a result of migration, greater inequalities exist today *among* (rather than within) countries than they did historically (p. 10). This shows us that there is a causal link between migration and development, as the difference between "north" and "south" and the development gaps in source countries today (p. 199) are a result of out-migration. A large focus of the discussion is upon the problem and economics of brain drain (p. 69 ff).

Solimano, however, qualifies our understanding of the patterns of south–north migration (which are the usual explanations for the resistance of developed nations to international migration). He quotes figures (pp. 5, 118) that demonstrate that there is a not insubstantial flow of south–south migration, particularly in Latin America. A central plank of his thesis is that the determinants of international migration include developmental gaps, no matter how great or small. Providing that there is some chance of improvement elsewhere, there will be migration. As Solimano expresses it, migration is a "multidirectional" process (p. 6), rather than simply south–north.

This book thus challenges some current approaches to research on international migration. Historically, migration was both a consequence and mitigation of income disparities in our global society (p. 10), but today there is resistance to this idea. Solimano's discussion further suggests that the importance of remittances in correcting imbalances has been overstated. He explains that the evidence shows that remittances are relatively concentrated in 20% of recipient countries, which capture about 80% of the world total (p. 63). His conclusion is that while remittances have some potentially positive effects on improving the overall problem, it is a small effect (p. 65).

Although the book engages strongly with the economics and history of international migration, it also raises some key philosophical issues. For example, the position of migrant workers as non-nationals, noncitizens, has already been noted. Unsurprisingly, the author refers to Karl Marx's views as evidence that there is "causality from economics to laws, values, institutions and ideology" (p. 45). This does not set out to be a treatise on human rights, but they are clearly in the author's mind. At page 6 he poses the question: "Are goods and capital more important in globalization than people?" At page 194 he concludes: "Defining migration frameworks that balance the economic gains of immigration with the laws of the receiving countries and the rights and social protection that immigrants deserve must be a priority in the years ahead." However, some important points are not mentioned. For example, there is no discussion of the fact that migrant workers, whatever their status, are treated poorly in destination states, not only those who are "irregular" or "illegal." An international treaty provides a normative framework (the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers), but it has been ratified by few countries.

There is a somewhat idealistic view expressed in the book to the effect that countries of origin should be more responsible for the plight of their labor "exports" (pp. 16, 200). As Solimano explains, the lack of domestic economic development and limited labor market opportunities are at the root of most international migration (p. 199). While he is correct in principle when he explains that the well-being of such workers is the responsibility of the origin country (p. 16), in practice such countries lack the resources to act. Further, their ability to intervene directly is limited. Often their hands are tied by bilateral arrangements that favor the wealthier "receiving" state, and the origin country is relatively powerless. This is certainly the

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reality in the Southeast Asian region. But Solimano's examples are based largely on the Latin American experience (of which a pervasive feature is U.S. "tolerance for irregular migration"—see p. 165). Thus, this book gives us insights into some regional differences.

The call for a new institution is dealt with briefly. Those wanting more direction could consult Chapter 6 in the GCIM Report.

Overall, this is a thoughtful and insightful book that should be in the library of anyone interested in the history and economics of international migration.

Taking Local Control: Immigration Policy Activism in U.S. Cities and States. Edited by Monica W. Varsanyi. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010. 320p. $65.00 cloth, $24.95 paper.
doi:10.1017/S1537592711002015

— Ronald Schmidt, Sr., *California State University, Long Beach*

State and local governments in the United States have attempted to control and shape the influx and impacts of immigrants throughout the country's history. Still, the US national government has claimed nearly exclusive control over "gatekeeping" issues of immigration policy since the early twentieth century, and state and local governments have been largely responsible for policies dealing with immigrant integration. Perceiving themselves under unusual pressure and strain from the inflow of new migrants in the last several decades, and frustrated by the failure of the US Congress to adopt a comprehensive immigration reform law in 2006–7, a number of cities and states have adopted policies aimed at reclaiming a local role for controlling the inflow of immigrants, and particularly unauthorized immigrants.

Produced under the auspices and sponsorship of the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California, San Diego, the edited volume under review brings together a high-quality and multidisciplinary selection of discrete studies presented at a May 2008 conference at the Center. The papers have been rewritten and edited for this volume. Though not organized in this way, the papers address a number of important issues generated by these state and local government activities.

The *first* issue addressed by the volume is how best to explain the increased efforts by state and (mainly) local governments to affect the influx and/or status of (especially undocumented) immigrants in their jurisdictions. Two main theories are presented by multiple authors: 1) Immigrant-driven demographic change has generated social and/or cultural changes in many localities that seem threatening to many people, and these perceived threats have resulted in legislation aimed at controlling or expelling the new residents. The major problem with this theory, as noted by several authors in the volume, is that some of the localities legislating on this issue are not among the communities most affected directly by contemporary immigration, and only some (not all) localities experiencing this demographic change have adopted restrictive legislation. Thus, 2) the analysis by S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Tom Wong (Chapter 4) finds that Republican Party dominance, and not social or cultural change, is the most powerful variable for explaining municipal government legislation that aims to reduce the influx of migrants.

A *second* issue addressed (in the introductory essay by the editor and in another multiauthored essay, Chapter 2) is the jurisdictional question of the limits on state and local authority to attempt to influence the settlement of immigrants in their territorial spaces, a subject that remains unsettled in the courts in a variety of ways.

The *third* question in focus here concerns just *how* state and local governments have attempted to influence the influx of (especially undocumented) immigrants into their jurisdictions. This question receives the greatest attention in the book. With the exception of one chapter on inclusionary policies (Chapter 3), most of the analyses focus on efforts to control, restrict, and/or repel the migrants from the localities under study. Generally, these have involved one or more of the following: 1) helping to enforce the national government's immigration policy, either by direct referral of undocumented immigrants to US Department of Homeland Security's Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents or through so-called 287(g) agreements; 2) policing to restrict the employment of undocumented immigrants through various forms of worksite regulation (e.g., requiring employers to use ICE's e-Verify system to check employment-related documents, regulation and/or restrictions on immigrant day-labor sites, criminalizing the employment of undocumented workers, etc.); and 3) providing incentives to undocumented migrants to "self-deport" by, for example, making it very difficult for them to rent housing, to obtain a driver's license, as well as to secure and keep gainful employment.

A *fourth* question concerns the *effects* that these state and local government efforts have on the country's overall policy approach to immigration, on the localities under study, and on significantly impacted subgroups of the population (including the immigrants in question). Most of the authors seeking to address this question (primarily through case studies of particular states or localities) indicate that it is too early to answer it with any degree of confidence, and this reviewer certainly agrees. Moreover, the approaches to understanding the effects of these policies vary widely among the authors who address this question at all, especially as the authors come from several social science disciplines.

These are all-important questions, and there is a wealth of valuable information in this volume regarding how to answer them. As is typically the case in edited volumes of collected papers, apart from the general focus of the book indicated in the first paragraph of this review, there is no central theme or overarching analytical framework that