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Ayşe Çağlar and Nina Glick Schiller. Migrants and City-Making: Dispossession, Displacement, and Urban Regeneration. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018. 280 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-7056-7.

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Migrants and City-Making builds upon Ayşe Çağlar and Nina Glick Schiller's voluminous contributions to migration studies and urban theory through a long-term study of urban transformation and migrant emplacement in three economically marginalized cities: Manchester, New Hampshire, in the United States; Halle (Saale) in Germany; and Mardin in southeastern Turkey, close to the Syrian border. In contrast with scholarship in migration and urban studies that has foregrounded the study of ethnic or neighborhood communities, hometown associations, or "ethnic entrepreneurs" in global cities (Eckstein and Nguyen 2011; Rath 2011; Watson 2009), the authors ask how regeneration agendas have been implemented in what they call "disempowered" cities and explore the place of migrants in both narratives of urban revival and policies of urban regeneration.

At the core of the study is an analysis of the relationship between spatial transformation, trajectories of debt-driven investment, and economic dispossession of marginalized populations, both migrant and nonmigrant. Mardin, Halle, and Manchester have each promised economic recovery through the promotion of tourism, the celebration of migrant businesses, and the channeling of resources into urban reconstruction. Each has sought to present itself as migrant-friendly city in an effort to address economic decline. Each, however, has been enmeshed in policies of neoliberal restructuring that have created barriers to economic inclusion even as they have celebrated the promotion of ethnic "difference." To make sense of these dynamics, the authors focus on what they call "multiscalar relationships of power" and "dynamics of emplacement" in each of the three case studies.

Çağlar and Glick Schiller argue that studies of migrant incorporation, even those attentive to long-standing critiques of methodological nationalism, tend to ignore the ways in which particular locations are constituted by multiscalar networks of differential power. They embark, instead, on what they call a "multiscalar analysis of daily sociabilities": an approach that places particular, located experiences "within the specific conjunctural configuration of multiple institutional social fields of uneven power of globe-spanning, national, regional, urban, and local institutions" (p. 12). Empirically, this means drawing attention, for instance, to the ways in which small business owners in Halle were priced out of the city center through economic strategies and immigration policies that favored the arrival of professional migrants in order to brand the city as a beacon of the "knowledge economy" (chapter

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2); the way that religious membership in a born-again Christian community enabled forms of claim making through the mobilizing of global networks of Christian Pentecostalism (chapter 4); or the way that Turkey's celebration of Mardin as a place of religious and ethnic diversity and tolerance was linked to the country's attempts to present itself as a viable candidate for the European Union membership (chapter 5).

This analysis of multiscalar regeneration projects is coupled with a concern with the forms of emplacement available to migrants within them: that is, the forms of connection and interaction that link an individual to people and institutions both within the city's social fabric and beyond it. Chapter 2 explores small business ownership as one critical form of urban emplacement in post-reunification Germany. Focusing on the case of Halle (a city in former East Germany), the authors show that city authorities initially sought to promote migrant businesses as a means of regenerating the economy after German unification in 1990. Yet regeneration efforts increasingly led to the economic and geographical marginalization of small businesses, including those owned and run by newcomers to the city, through higher rents on storefronts, the reconstruction of research and industrial facilities, and the revaluation of urban public space. Chapter 3 explores migrant emplacement through the everyday forms of proximal sociability that migrants forged with neighbors and coworkers in conditions of shared precarity. Drawing on ethnographic material from Halle and Manchester, the authors show how forms of practical, legal, and moral support materialized across neighborhood and ethnic lines. This leads them to critique both the direction of urban regeneration initiatives (often premised on the figure of a migrant outsider who needs to be "integrated" into the urban fabric) and the analytical frameworks through which migrant incorporation is typically analyzed in the scholarly literature (e.g., Vertovec 2007 on superdiversity; Eriksen 2010 on cultural integration). Rather than assume that migrants will necessarily forge bonds with others from their national or ethnic community, Çağlar and Glick Schiller suggest, we should, instead, focus on "domains of commonality" and "sociabilities of emplacement": that is, ask "how, where, why, and within what structural contingencies city dwellers build domains of affect, mutual respect, and shared aspirations" (p. 124). They illustrate this with a series of vignettes: long-term residents who sponsored the applications of incomers by providing legal support through connections with their elected officials; neighbors who offered one another calling cards, food, and conversation; coworkers who shared workplace knowledge, information about the job market, and legal support. These friendships, the authors argue, cut across divides between employer and employee, between legal statuses, cultural and religious backgrounds, and languages. Indeed, the sociability was often grounded in the shared precarity of Manchester's transforming economy.

Chapter 4 considers the role of transnational religious institutions in forging migrant emplacement, focusing on global networks of born-again Christian Pentecostals in Halle and Manchester. Even as city leaders characterized such congregations as sites of cultural and religious difference, the members of the Pentecostal churches themselves endeavored to act on the institutional and legal circumstances in which they found themselves so as to assert their membership and their rights.

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The authors use the concept of "social citizenship" to explore these acts of claim making, arguing that it was precisely their informants' religious beliefs (the affirmation that there is "no power except for God") and their church networks (which linked to centers of power beyond the immediate locale) that allowed them to counter their experience of economic, political, and legal marginalization within the city and to assert "place-based rights and identities" (p. 155). Significantly, however, these same global networks also limited the reach of these claims of political membership, for while migrants' daily sociabilities often united people in antiracist struggles, their membership in transnational Pentecostal organizations also linked them to an imperial US foreign policy grounded in "neoliberal governance, inequality, and nationalist attacks on migrants" (p. 176).

Finally, chapter 5 explores the brief moment in Mardin's history when Turkey's ambition to join the EU created a window of possibility within which displaced Syriac Christians could find new opportunities for emplacement. As part of a drive to demonstrate Turkey's tolerance of religious and cultural difference, the Turkish state and a host of international actors (temporarily) facilitated migrants' return, reestablishing property rights and promoting the development of abandoned Christian communities. This "globally mediated emplacement" (p. 183), however, created new challenges for the displaced Syriac Christians, many of whom were confronted with losing their legal entitlement to land through laws that allowed the state to reclaim untilled land or to seize land that had turned to forest through lack of use. The authors' multiscalar analysis shows how US-Turkey and EU-Turkey relationships in the mid-2000s created a particular historical conjuncture in which return became an internationally sponsored, if politically fraught, project. The Syriac minority and the previously dispossessed and displaced Syriac returnees were emplaced in Mardin as part of an array of social and political forces of city-making that were tied to attempts to make the city attractive to international investment: a process of "capital accumulation by dispossession" (p. 207) that limited Syriacs' political power and rendered their rights as minorities "ephemeral" as Turkey's hopes of EU membership waned after 2015.

The three case studies provide an important reminder of the many ways in which migrants and their movements are both constituted and constrained by multiscalar dynamics of regional, national, and international power that create particular configurations of possibility and marginalization. This analysis is significant, both for migration studies and research on urban dispossession. Most current discussions of social inequality, downward social mobility, and injustice, the authors argue, "fail to account for the systemic nature of the multiple massive dispossessions taking place around the globe as a new conjunctural alignment emerges" (p. 209). They make a compelling case for what they call, following John Clarke (2014), a "conjunctural analysis" that involves multiple globe-spanning actors and intersecting social fields of power (p. 211). They also illuminate the potential to think across diverse case studies—in this case, of three cities each of which, for distinct historical reasons, is marginal to global configurations of power.

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These insights will make the book valuable to scholars of social and urban theory. It provides a trenchant critique of perspectives that are too static in their understanding of dynamics of emplacement, too reifying of ethnic or neighborhood communities as units of analysis, or insufficiently attentive to the global configurations of power that structure migrants' possibilities for economic flourishing, legal inclusion, and political voice. Its programmatic and didactic approach will make *Migrants and City-Making* a useful teaching tool for students of migration and urban theory. The argumentation is bold and restated at multiple points in the book.

These same features, however, mean that the book's treatment of existing anthropological scholarship often comes across as sweeping and overgeneralizing. In part this is a question of the imbalance between claim and explication: the ethnography is sparse, often reduced to illustrative vignettes, and while these vignettes are evocatively drawn, the ethnography rarely drives the analysis. Few of the 200 interviews conducted for the book make it into the text. We thus hear few of their informants' voices and develop little sense of the durable complexity of lives navigated in changing political configurations over the course of the decade and a half of research. Categories such as "city leaders," "political officials," "city planners," and "white Germans" are invoked as categories of description, with little sense of the internal differentiation that makes these categories both heterogeneous and contested. The argument would be more persuasive with more showing and less telling.

Second, and related to this, the authors are often cavalier in their treatment of existing bodies of scholarship. We are told that urban ethnographers have "repeatedly disregarded" multiscalar structural forces (p. 127); that scholars of migration have privileged the figure of the migrant entrepreneur at the cost of a wider relational analysis of precarity (p. 101); that in studying neighborhoods, bazars, and markets anthropologists "fail to explore how these sites are constituted by multiscalar networks of differential power" (p.10); that studies of migrants' everyday lives are "haunted by binaries of difference" (p. 11); and that anthropologists of transnational migration have championed multisited ethnography because of "their limited view of the local" (p. 10). For each of these claims it is possible to find nuanced and ethnographically grounded counterexamples. Indeed, much recent anthropological scholarship on migrants' economic practices, tactics of legal navigation, trade networks, imaginative horizons, or attempts to sustain family relations across geographical distance is grounded in critical interrogations of the complex geopolitical dynamics with which those practices and relations are imbricated (see, indicatively, Alpes 2011; Chu 2010; Lucht 2011; Marsden 2016). Such authors may not be invoking the language of "multiscalar structural power," but they are certainly attentive to the conjunctural institutional and geopolitical relations that enable certain kinds of migrant emplacement and that foreclose others.

Third, and most importantly, the book is characterized by a tension—that is never entirely resolved—between an emphasis on migrants' and nonmigrants' shared experiences of displacement grounded in economic dispossession and the empirical finding that certain kinds of inclusion were foreclosed to those marked as religiously, ethnically, racially, or sexually "different," to those lacking the right legal status, or

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to those, such as Mardin's Syriac Christian returnees after 2015, who moved at the wrong time. While the need to see beyond an "ethnic lens" in both scholarship and ethnographic practice is well taken, it remains an empirical question which political and legal configurations lead *certain* migrant bodies to be marked as "different" and foreclose possibilities for emplacement on equal terms with long-term residents.

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