was fearful of traitors "hidden amid Hawai'i's large Japanese population" (130). Due to the protests from the Japanese-American community in Hawaii and the support of the Pearl Harbor survivors, the National Park Service modified the film, deleting the cane cutter and trimming the narration.

Chapter 4, titled "Theming America at War," traces the expansion of the Pearl Harbor museum/memorial complex at which receives approximately 1.8 million visitors every year today. The complex has been expanded over the years, adding the "Bowfin" submarine museum in 1981, the battleship USS *Missouri* Memorial in 1998, and the Pacific Aviation Museum in 2006. In this chapter, the author discusses a controversy in 2008 over the permanent exhibit "Battle of Ni'ihau" at the Aviation museum because it questioned loyalty of the Japanese-Americans in Hawaii and disregarded the context of Japanese American internment. Due to social and political pressure from the Japanese-American community, the museum revised the exhibit title to "The Ni'ihau Zero Incident" and deleted a false claim that the incident finally convinced President Roosevelt to issue an order of the internment. While the museum altered the exhibit, it more or less continues to portray the monolithic Japanese and Japanese American enemy and stress the bravery of the Native Hawaiian martyrs.

Chapter 5, titled "Making a New Museum," demonstrates that "history-making at the *Arizona* memorial is not a linear, continuous, or coherent process" (243). While the new museum included a modest discussion of a Hawaiian perspective on the Pearl Harbor attack which had been excluded, the museum fell short of displaying panels on the Japanese attackers as persons although both the American and the Japanese survivors had been working tirelessly on reconciliation. It is noteworthy, however, that the new museum features an exhibit on Sadako Sasaki, a two-year-old survivor of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima who died from leukemia a decade later, and the story of her paper cranes in order for visitors to associate the Pearl Harbor attack with the importance of world peace.

Chapter 6, titled "Pedagogy, Patriotism, and Paranoia," discusses week-long teacher workshops that originally began in 2004. In 2010, the Sean Hannity Fox News program labeled the workshop as anti-American and outrageous. To White, this controversy is a reminder that studies on war memory are not necessarily academic and that even one dissatisfied participant can stir nation-wide controversy with a help by the mass media. Apparently, critics of the workshop never understood the importance of developing critical analytical thinking skills by examining multiple perspectives of the event and were only interested in the military history of Japan's attack of Pearl Harbor.

The volume is thought provoking, and anyone who is interested in war and memory, the Pearl Harbor attack, peace education, historical reconciliation, and public history will probably find the book insightful and enlightening.

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Youkhana, Eva (ed.): Border Transgression. Mobility and Mobilization in Crisis. Göttingen: V & R unipress, Bonn University Press, 2017. 197 pp. ISBN 978-3-8471-0723-1. (Interdisziplinäre Studien zu Lateinamerika, 2) Price: € 35,00

One of the pressing issues of our time is the phenomenon of mass migration and border transgression. Currently, public awareness in Europe is focused on (forced) migration from Islamic countries of the Near East and Africa. The compilation of articles in this study is dedicated mainly to processes of migration from Latina America to Europe and is based on papers from the international conference on "Border Transgressions. Mobility and Mobilization in Crisis," held at the Interdisciplinary Latin America Center of Bonn University in May 2014. Therefore, the "migration crisis" experienced by many countries of Europe in the second half of 2015 is not reflected in any of the articles included in the book. Considering the rather decisive statements in several contributions to the edition it would have been interesting if authors had made an update prior to publishing their articles.

In the introducing chapter, E. Youkhana briefly presents the book, which is divided in three parts. Part I consists of a critical discussion of established paradigms for explaining migration processes, part two shows empirical cases from Latin America and Spain of migrants' struggles to challenge, negotiate, and mobilize citizenship and belonging, while the third part is dedicated to the transnational level, dealing with the question of how belonging is produced and identity is constructed.

Part I comprises 4 chapters with articles dedicated to discussing and criticizing established paradigms in migration theory.

M. J. Guerra Palmero contributes an article dealing with the complex situation of women's migration in the context of a global economy. On a few pages and with scant arguments she brings up issues like human rights, citizenship, cultural and political demands, and gender perspective, but her main subject is the concept of "feminization of survival," explaining: "… the feminization of survival refers not only to the subsistence economy in which whole communities depend on women, but on the fact that now governments also depend on the income of women inscribed in cross-border circuits. Remittances by emigrants are a fundamental aspect of this phenomenon" (26). Finally, she concludes that debates about citizenship and migration from a gender perspective require revision: "… we must analyze how a greater political weight can be given to their [women migrants, H. M.] marginal and marginalized presence, which is, nevertheless, central to the globalized economy" (32). Guerra Palmero argues well in this regard but brings up far too many important and complex issues to be treated in an article. What is missing is a clearly structured and adequately developed thesis, following, say, the inherent dynamic of gender-biased migration in relation to human rights, or effects on host societies, or effects on societies of origin.

The second article by Y. Riaño develops the notion of space as an approach for studying transnational migration. Space in this respect is thought of as a social pro-

duction grounded in a material base, formed and transformed by actions of individuals. This socially produced space is characterized, according to the author, by three dimensions: materiality, social practice, and meaning. Additionally, power relations and time play an important role in transnational migration studies because places are changing, and the social space is different for each migrant dependent on gender, class, and/or ethnic group the individual belongs to. Riaño's contribution offers some interesting thoughts for the study of migration processes of individuals looking for work. For refugees fleeing terror and violence the concepts presented are not comprehensive enough.

M. Schwertl analyzes the usefulness of different materialistic approaches for ethnographic studies on migration and border regimes, taking a closer look at effects produced by the impact of actor-network theory on ethnographic migration and border studies. Her article is the only one not focused on examples of Latin America and, therefore, takes into account the refugees crossing the Mediterranean. She has detected three different ways to use the materialist-semiotic approach: 1) new practices in using technology, e.g., smartphones leading to the connected migrant; 2) following things, artefacts, and materials, e.g., barbed wire; 3) zoom in on specific situations. After a thorough analysis of texts written by scholars mostly from the last decade, she comes to the following conclusion: "Thus, I would argue, following things and materialities around is of little interest to migration and border studies. Rather, new materialism should be used to follow actor-networks or to zoom in. Because then, agency is not lost but our view on it is becoming more agnostic and accepting of the fact, that agency is spread and disjunct" (64). Schwertl's article comprises a comparably broad perspective, but due to her very structured text nevertheless manages a comprehensive argumentation in a basically theoretical conception.

J. C. Velasco's contribution is the last one in the first part. His rather philosophical article starts with a paradox: In a world of ever deeper globalization, border control and the building of fences and walls are increasing fast. Commodities and services have torn down nearly every border, while people from the Global South are confronted with ever higher obstacles to border crossing. According to the author, borders "… do not always work in the same way, nor do they have the same effects on everyone" (73), since people from the Global North generally face few obstacles to cross borders everywhere. Velasco analyzes the dialectical relationship between borders and justice. Borders are a precondition to exercise justice, at the same time borders limit the scope of justice. Additionally, borders limit not only physical but also political, social, and cultural space. The concept of nationality plays an important role in limiting this "space," with the inherent consequence of including individuals with the same nationality while excluding all others. Since nationality offers a series of rights and opportunities to a group of individuals, it prevents a much bigger group from enjoying the same rights and opportunities, shown drastically by the example of a cheap migrant workforce. Nationality as a contingent characteristic is, in this respect, utterly unjust. So, in conclusion, Velasco claims that, as a condition for justice, borders should be open as their function is not to impede exchange and movement but to regulate them. Velasco's text is in some respect provocative at the same time as it is brilliantly structured and argued, although his conclusions are somewhat visionary and not easily put in practice.

Part II is about contesting, negotiating, and mobilizing and, therefore, it deals with migration in practice. All three articles are classical anthropological fieldwork studies relying on small groups intensely studied.

The first contribution, "Negociando fronteras," is by Y. Guevara González. In the wake of several developments with huge impacts, like the NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York in 2001 and the war on drugs in Mexico since 2006, Mexico closed its borders to Belize and Guatemala, therefore cutting off the usual route of South-North migration. Humanitarian organizations, transport companies, hotels, and *coyotes* (smugglers of refugees) all had to reorganize their services. The author follows the way of one specific path, via Flores in Guatemala to Mexico and the USA, emphasizing the need of social relations and trust between migrants and smugglers. Guevara González concludes that crossing borders always produces collective knowledge about paths, dangers, obstacles, and the network of support around the migration process, knowledge which may be used as a platform of opportunities a migrant uses along the process. She also hints at one point seldom focused on in migration studies: the affective relations that result from the process of transit between migrants and smugglers (96).

"Times of Crisis and Times to Return?" is the headline of an article by G. Herrera and L. Pérez Martínez. Their case describes the return migration of Ecuadorians from Spain, USA, and other countries to Ecuador along the axis of gender and class. The migration stories of a total of 32 families, all originating from a community near Quito, is analyzed from three perspectives: Transnationality, migrants as subjects in a social structure, and gender. The transnational perspective sheds light on return migration as part of a process where social capital is facilitating this practice, but it includes inequalities and conflict. The social capital is strengthened by the strong community ties which are maintained even in (in this case) Madrid. According to the authors, more men than women return to Ecuador, probably because of the specific situation migrant women are in. They generally work in the care industry (domestic and public) while men generally work in construction and related jobs. The financial crisis since 2008 hit men more than women and women experience greater freedom in Madrid due to possessing their own money. In contradiction to the general assumption, Herrera and Pérez Martínez conclude: "Our findings suggest that return processes and labor and social integration are more closely connected to the cultural and social capital accumulated before migration than to the capital acquired during migration" (114). The exception is sometimes financial capital, but this also can be lost as shown in the

crisis of 2008. Another conclusion is that return migration is not necessarily a given that the specific migration process shapes the conditions for transnationality.

To end Part II, L. Jüssen writes about "Animating Citizenship through Migrant Labor Struggles." She starts with an explanation of the concept "citizenship," a concept that according to her is somewhat static from the state perspective where citizenship is defined by laws, regulations, and politics. In contrast, the individual perspective is dynamic and defined by everyday life: neighborhood, work place, home, friends, etc. The author studied several (female) household workers' associations in Madrid, where newcomers find help through a migrant network, and the generally isolated household workers have a space to gather and interchange. Jüssen describes the political struggle of these associations using protest demonstrations, street theater enactments, and other actions. In her conclusion she states: "With the example of Latin American household workers in Madrid, it was shown how the development of agency as *activist citizens* can lead to political innovations that improve life and work situations for individuals and groups in spite exclusivist legal and social borders and regimes" (132).

Part III deals with "Constructing Identities and Belonging across Borders." The article "Migrants' Religious Spaces and the Power of Christian Saints" by E. Youkhana is about the role of sacralized objects. According to her, they play an important role in societies, as people are influenced by power groups, institutions, and the like using sacralized objects to achieve their goals. Youkhana explains the role of the Catholic Church in colonizing Latin America and the syncretism resulting from a forced Christianization as introduction to her subject: the struggle between an Ecuadorian migrant association and the Spanish Catholic Church over the interpretative dominance of the "Virgen del Cisne." Originally brought by members of the association as a replica from Ecuador in 2005, the virgin's following rapidly grew and made her an important saint in Madrid, especially among migrants from Latin America. Therefore, the Church tried to control and take advantage of it. The ensuing struggle over power, money, and new notions of belonging among migrants resulted in yet another copy of the saint, one for the Church, one for the association. Youkhana concludes that both parties in the conflict used the figure of the "Virgen del Cisne" for their own interests, to bind its followers, and, thus, create emotional and cognitive identifications by symbolic valorization. The "Virgen del Cisne" is thus used as an economic and political resource and is also employed representationally for the politics of belonging in each case (153). Youkhana's article is excellent in its composition, with sound and convincing arguments and a story from everyday life that fits neatly with her theoretical statements. Lamentably, the article contains many editing errors, which complicate reading.

R. F. Rodríguez Borges analyzes migration and mass media, especially newspapers. After a lengthy discussion of communication theory, he proceeds to analyze articles in different Spanish newspapers in the wake of the influx of African migrants to the Canaries in 2006. He lines out that media headlines very often use words associated with fear, threat, and assault when it comes to the influx of migrants, thereby trying to convince their readers of the threat, insecurity, and danger inherent to the migration process. With this, he describes a well-known phenomenon of mass media.

The last contribution is by M. Ruiz Trejo who deals with "A Feminist Anthropology Approach to the 'Transnational Radio Field'." The influx of migrants to Spain from Latin America since the 1990s brought about a huge amount of generally informal radio stations in Madrid, run by Latin American migrants. Their listeners are generally fellow migrants, but also family members and friends in their countries of origin. The author describes her investigation approach, then proceeds to the special situation of this type of radio concerning the advertising market. She writes about who runs the radio stations (generally men), about what is broadcast (romantic songs, greetings), about power relations, machismo, and other themes. Every one of these topics is interesting and should be treated according to its importance. Regrettably, her short article does not provide enough space to do this, leaving the reader in a state of dissatisfaction.

"Border Transgression" is a heterogeneous edition with articles of different quality levels. Judged by its ambition – to discuss established paradigms on migration and offer new ways of explanation – it more often fails than succeeds. In the first part, dealing with theories, there are some very useful insights, two properly structured and argued articles (Schwertl, Velasco) but no structure combines the different approaches and ideas into a more coherent set of ideas. As a result, each article stands just for itself. The same problem holds for the next two sections. The articles of Part II are generally vivid, dealing with interesting themes but with no relation either to each other nor to the articles in the first part. And just the same is true for Part III which is in any respect the weakest part. As already stated, Youkhanas' article stands out, but like the others it has no relation to the other articles in the edition.

In conclusion, "Border Transgression" is a compilation with some interesting and well written contributions, many of them concerning migration processes from Latin America to Spain. The edition does not focus on a common idea, theory, or goal, which makes it somewhat arbitrary in its theoretical orientation.

Harald Mossbrucker