

Immigrants at the Margins: Law, Race, and Exclusion in Southern Europe. By Kitty Calavita. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Pp. xx+257. \$75.00 (cloth); \$39.99 (paper).

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Immigrants at the Margins is an excellent critique of current immigration policies in Spain and Italy. Kitty Calavita's main argument is that despite great (and genuine) interest in integrating immigrants, immigrants in Spain and Italy are excluded from equal participation. This is primarily due to the structural contradiction between, on the one hand, *the desire to reduce immigrants' difference* and bring them into mainstream life, and on the other hand, *the strong material need for immigrants' difference* to fill the space at the bottom rungs of both countries' labor markets, which in turn allows locals to occupy higher positions. In short, the material need for immigrants' difference, which Calavita argues Spanish and Italian laws and policies codify rather than challenge, offsets integrators' best efforts to reduce immigrants' difference precisely because immigrants are useful to employers insofar as they are different from locals (p. 64).

The book begins with an overview of how Spain and Italy were transformed into immigrant-receiving countries, with a focus on their main immigration laws (including the liberal Turco-Napolitano law passed in 1998 in Italy, the liberal LO 4/2000 law passed in 2000 in Spain, the restrictive Law 8/2000 passed later that year in Spain, and the restrictive Bossi-Fini law passed in 2002 in Italy). In a fascinating analysis of how immigrants' "otherness" is legally constructed through the reproduction of contingent illegality (p. 72), Calavita shows how the recent restrictive laws have hardened immigration policy in both countries: they have curtailed the rights of both legal and illegal immigrants, shifted the orientation of immigration law from serving to policing functions, and most important, linked immigrants' work contracts more closely to their legal status. Many immigrants therefore have no hope for legalization, especially if they are contract workers with no option to legalize or if they work in unstable jobs with irregular contracts in the underground economy. Others face such a complicated bureaucracy of application requirements and renewal deadlines that they frequently fall into illegality despite their best efforts. In both cases, the interdependence between the "temporary and contingent" labor contract, work permit, and resident permit systems creates a catch-22 that traps many immigrants in a vicious circle of illegality (pp. 41–45). That "there are still relatively few permanent legal residents in either Spain or Italy, largely because of the near impossibility of piecing together five or six years of uninterrupted work and residence permits" (p. 43) demonstrates how even immigrants who become integrated into the legal mainstream are not guaranteed to stay there permanently, since they can lapse back into illegality if they do not qualify for renewal. This

is similar to what Cecilia Menjívar describes of Salvadorans and Guatemalans in the United States who are caught in a permanent state of “liminal legality” (“Liminal Legality” [AJS, 111 (2006): 999–1037], demonstrating how Calavita’s critique of immigration policy in these two “new immigrant destination” countries extends theoretically to several traditional immigrant-receiving countries as well.

After a critical discussion of the term “integration” and an overview of Spanish and Italian efforts at integrating immigrants, Calavita superbly details the difficulties immigrants have accessing healthcare and housing, connecting them to the difficulties they have accessing work and legal status. Because these factors are interdependent, she shows how they are not only “markers of social exclusion,” but how they also “compound that exclusion” (p. 123). For instance, immigrants’ inadequate housing and spatial segregation not only demonstrate the failure of integration efforts in Spain and Italy but “reproduce that marginality” by confining immigrants to certain geographic spaces and confirming locals’ racialized fears about the negative impacts immigrants will have on their host societies (p. 117). In healthcare, Calavita’s emphasis on the use and misuse of *bureaucratic* or *administrative discretion* is paramount. Whether or not an immigrant can cut through the red tape to access health care depends largely on which bureaucrats he encounters along the way; some bureaucrats discriminate against immigrants outright, denying them services to which they are legally entitled, while others demonstrate goodwill and may even go to great lengths to assist immigrants. This creates bureaucratic variation in immigrants’ access to services, a finding worthy of greater attention in these countries and others.

The book ends with a discussion of how immigrants in Spain and Italy are racialized. As cheap and flexible labor, they not only occupy menial economic positions but are kept in a precarious legal status by the law. Then, due to the very poverty and outsidership that these conditions produce, they are criminalized “both literally and symbolically” (p. 156). *Immigrants at the Margins* is essential reading for anyone interested in the failure of immigrant integration in post-Fordist economies. Calavita firmly argues that this failure is produced and reproduced *not* by immigrants themselves, but rather by the demands of receiving societies’ economies combined with the laws that their governments enact.

Beyond Memory: The Crimean Tatars’ Deportation and Return. By Greta Lynn Uehling. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. Pp. xii+294. \$75.00 (cloth); \$24.95 (paper).

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Beyond Memory is a fascinating work that focuses on the understudied social group of Crimean Tatars, who, after having been occupied by the