

Book Reviews

I

Shelley, Toby. 2007. *Exploited: Migrant Labour in the New World Economy*. London: Zed Books, ISBN-978 1 84277 851 7 (Hb), pp. 183

Migration is a global phenomenon; its linkages with growth and development for the country of origin and the country of destination have been established in the migration discourse. However, there are many issues and challenges related to the current migration pattern; that range from abuse and exploitation of the migrant labour, the problem of irregular migration, in particular human trafficking and smuggling, the brain drain of skilled human resource to racism and xenophobia. Therefore, if anyone interested in knowing the shallow lanes of the glittering opportunity that awaits in the other part of the globe, then the book by Toby Shelley is the must-read. The author is a journalist with the financial times. In his two decades of journalistic effort, the author has reported extensively from the countries of the Middle East, North Africa and the sub-Saharan Africa region.

The focus of the book goes beyond the migrant labours “the fortunate few” that can accompany their family to new territory and convert their migration status from temporary to permanent. In its place, the purpose is to look deep inside the intricacies of the structure of the economy (capitalist system) that perpetuates migrant exploitation. The book offers a comprehensive account

that the migrant “abuse is not only widespread but is part of the structure of key industries in the Global North” (p. 6). It is the central line of argument that runs throughout the book. Although, the author main focus centres on the migrant labours in the UK but has taken inferences from other sectors in countries like Italy, Spain, Oslo, and the USA, employed as domestic labours, sex workers and as agriculturalists, making it cross-sectional study. For instance, in the introductory part itself, the author set the stage for further inquiry into how the Migrant workers that surround us, “doing jobs we shy away from, providing skills we no longer have, working hours we prefer to spend at home”. These words are powerful enough to grasp the kinds of menial jobs they are employed into that tied them to exploitation and abuse at the hand of the employer. As Shelley puts in ‘the political and economic changes have widened the prospects for labour and capital to ‘meet on a global marketplace’ but for millions of potential migrant workers, what brings them into the workforce is more convincing and stressful than what persuades an employer to take on a batch of foreign employees’ (p. 2).

The sequence of the book is clear-cut. This book has four chapters with a separate chapter on the introduction and conclusion. The first chapter “Migration in Context” glance at the increase in the rate of migration through the prism of historical perspective. It highlights the push and pull factors of migration as a basis of peoples mobility while laying equal emphasis on the various migratory tide. However, the chapter is also credited with providing a critical take to the “victim-villain dichotomy” of the undocumented migrant workers in Britain, in the domain of migrant trafficking (p. 25). Shelly also pictured how the government through inhibiting the movement of the

labour have created two classes of criminals- the workers (who want a job) and the smuggler (who smuggle goods and the migrant workers).

The second chapter “Migrant Labour” documents the migrant exploitation and abuse in the seven sectors; food industry, the cleaning industry, construction, transport sector (land, seas and Airports), hospitality, domestic labour, and the sex industry. The nature of the exploitation ranges from long and tedious working hours, lower wages, poor housing conditions, language barriers and abolishment of contracts, deceit and enslavement. In the subsections, the author tries to establish a relationship between economic necessity and the use of migrant labour in achieving the objective. Shelley’s study is based on data gathered from different secondary sources, journals and scholarly work. As an empirically sound chapter, the author has substantiated his arguments with drawing valid inferences from international laws, reports on Slavery Convention and International labour organisation convention concerning forced or compulsory labour, to name a few.

The third chapter “Impacts” discusses the impact of migrant labour on the economy as well as the society of the host country. It is an undeniable fact that migrant labour brings benefits for the host country, such as boosting the “national income” and “soaking up inflationary pressures”. For instance, the author quotes officials statistics generated by ITEM Club economists and argued that in Britain in the year 1997 to 2005, the net inward migration added 0.4 per cent a year to the growth rate. It further argued that without such migration, the potential growth rate would have been just 0.1 per cent. Shelley further remarked; the effect of migrant labour on the developing country’s population is more nuanced. It may be “negative if employers are

able to use migrants to price locals out of jobs or to worsen the conditions of those jobs” (P. 10).

The fourth chapter “Government Response and Responsibilities” examines three strands of government policy responses towards migrant’s labours—determination of job allocation based on race, its enforcement, and policing of migrant employment- giving low priority to migrant’s rights. Based on the shreds of evidence gathered, Shelley remarked: “in all three policy strands the British government is at best inept and at worst wilfully negligent of the welfare of migrant workers, documented and undocumented” (p. 153).

There are some crucial points that the book offers. Firstly, the author undertook the task of explaining the categories/ variables used in the study to reach out to the maximum readers. For example, he makes a distinction between migrant and immigrant, but beware that “some of the sources quoted do not make the distinction” (p. 5). He further proceeds by defining what abuse is. He described abuse as an “exploitation over and above the norm imposed on indigenous workers” (p. 6). Shelley has further linked the increase in the productivity of the worker, to an enlarged level of exploitation. Secondly, Shelley argues that the dependence of primary industries on the migrant labours has increased significantly in the countries of the global North due to changes in the pattern of demography that has resulted into forced labours, ‘modern-day slavery for modern-day economies’.

The real breakthrough of the book is going beyond documenting the exploitation of the migrant workers to include modest proposals for improving

their conditions globally and with the hope for a shift in the trajectory of migrant labour policy soon; regularising the status of migrants; to ensure health and safety measures are adequately available with inspectors charged with their duties; granting legal status to forced migrant labourers; opposition to the radicalisation of entry to low skilled work in Britain; allocation of taxes made by migrant labours for the locals levels; curtailing the poaching of professional staff hailing from the developed world; enlarging the ambit of the labour movement to proffer assistance to migrant workers. Shelley proposals back on the principles laid down for organised labour requirement. The author further shares his optimism that these principles can provide a starting point for a discussion on the labour migration corridor that network with the capitalist system of exploitation across the global North.

In totality, this book is brilliantly plotted with a straightforward narrative structure that makes it an easy read. It is a perfect study for anyone interested in seeking insights into the migrant exploitation in the global North (economically developed nations). It will be informative to readers who wish to understand how the Britain government treats migrant workers as a factor of production without placing their rights high on their agenda. Instead, they left it to the labour movement, community workers and non-governmental organisations to defend the migrant workers. However, there are some limitations to work, as well. The author misses out on full chapter on what happens when the migrant's workers return to the country of origin and the effect it left on the economic structure of the host society, its addition could have broadened the ambit of the study. However, at the methodological level shortcomings, in chapter 3, the author has relied on

macroeconomics studies to substantiate his argument; some readers might find it challenging to comprehend. All-inclusive, this book would be helpful for scholars studying migration, labour laws and human rights abuse who are looking for a comprehensive work with elaborate use of global data.

References

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2. Toby Shelley. Frenwood Publishing. Retrieved from <https://fernwood-publishing.ca/authors/view/toby-shelley>

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II

Solé, C., Parella, S., Martí, T., S. and Nita, S. (ed.) (2016). *Impact of Circular Migration on Human, Political and Civil Rights: A Global Perspective*. Springer International Publishing: Switzerland. ISBN 978-3-319-28896-3. pp. 296

The book *Impact of Circular Migration on Human, Political, and Civil Rights: A Global Perspective* is an edited volume organized into three separate sections and a total of thirteen chapters. The first part of the book consists of an introduction and the first five chapters. This first section of the book provides an insight into how circular migration is currently being used as a policy tool. In this part, the impacts of circular migration policies

on the economic, social, and political lives of migrants, both at home and in their destination countries, have been aptly explored. The next section, which consists of only three chapters, looks into circular migration from the perspective of the migrants' agency and its transnational dimension. The final part of the book, which spans the final five chapters, discusses circular migration and its impacts on human development and citizenship rights and offers some concluding remarks on the issues addressed by the book. The text thus approaches circular migration from conceptual, policy, and practical perspectives, while adopting an interdisciplinary approach.

The authors have extensively explored the lack of conceptual clarity that surrounds the notion of circular migration. This book draws attention to the absence of common meaning of circular migration both among the academic and policy circles. According to the authors, there is still confusion as to what the term specifically connotes, even among those countries which have entered bilateral agreements to allow migrant workers into their labor markets. The case of Moldova and the EU is among those cases presented by the authors to show the ambiguity and vagueness in the notion of circular migration as a policy tool. Such ambiguities are mutually shared by the policies of both receiving and sending countries.

Having addressed the conceptual ambiguities and imprecisions surrounding circular migration, the text discusses the deficiencies in the implementation of circular migration agreements, and the lack of data-driven policymaking. The book underlines the importance of data-driven policymaking, which the authors examine via the examples of South African and Mexico-US migration policies. Specifically speaking, if circular migration is chosen be-

cause other avenues to permanent residence or citizenship rights are closed (see the example of the GCC in this book), it may instead leave the migrant in a vulnerable situation (Solé, 268). According to the authors, circularity should be part of a deliberate life strategy and, coupled with the freedom to choose between different options, that is when it is more likely to represent an added value to the migrant. In contrast, the association of circular migration with impermanency has repeatedly exposed circular migrant workers to the violation of their social, economic, and political rights. Intending to emphasize the discrepancies in circular migration-related practices and policies, this book sheds a light on how current models of citizenship (both the national and post-national) fall short of addressing some of the circular migrant workers' concerns. For this reason, the authors suggest, the ratification of migrant workers' rights should be guided by migrants' circumstances.

Practically speaking, the lived experiences of migrants contain different realities than what is commonly stereotyped. This is why, according to the authors, circular migration shouldn't be conceptualized nor analyzed in isolation from the daily lives of migrant workers. Subsequently, this book further challenges the notion of the so-called triple win by relying on the lived experiences of South Asian migrants to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) member countries. Through these examples, the authors attempt to demonstrate how circular migration may not always be the consequence of migrants' free choice. To further explain the issue, the authors analyze migrants' lived experiences and migration decisions *in relation to* the agency-structure debate. According to the authors' findings, circularity has never been accidental; it is part of the life of migrants. One particular quote out-

lines the phenomena, by bringing to light how “the rural Bolivian family has not stopped suffering the effects of the “chronic rural poverty” that forced them to use old migratory logics as new adaptation tools, with several local particularities and the generation of logics of practice that would later also be influential in the departures of the future generation.” (Ávila, 148).

Not only is circular migration thus ill-defined as a concept, mismanaged as a policy phenomenon, and unavoidable by nature; it also leads to inadvertent repercussions, both positive and negative. In this text, the relationship between circular migration and the flow of social remittances^[1] has been examined by relying on the experiences of Filipino potential migrants and returnees from Hong Kong and Saudi Arabia. The authors took the idea of human development as a benchmark to evaluate the relationship between the two. In other words, if circular migrants are to contribute to the development of their home countries, it is of utmost importance to provide them with (safe) opportunities to network and participate politically while being abroad. But, as the authors specify, “for that aspect to be acknowledged, development has to be conceptualized not merely in technical terms but in the wider concept of human and democratic development” (Rother, 213).

To summarize, the authors warned of the importance of refraining from a blinded appraisal or critique of circular migration. Policies, perspectives, and arguments concerning circular migration need to be corroborated by actual data. The different sections and chapters of this book were able to collectively examine the impacts of circular migration on economic, human, political, and civil rights development, while the findings have been vali-

dated by examining cases from different parts of the world. Such a comprehensive discussion at a conceptual, policy and practical level is indispensable to bring more clarity to the issues of circular migration. The extensive attention given to conceptual clarification, policy debates, and the lives of migrants makes this book useful to anyone interested in obtaining a deeper understanding of circular migration and its impacts on those involved. Particularly speaking, researchers and academicians working on the issues of labor migration and human rights, and postgraduate students specializing in migration studies will be encouraged to read this book. Policymakers and advisors to labor migration and human rights departments might also benefit from reading this text.

But then again, as a text whose scope is global, one expects an adequate, systematic inquiry into the progress made as well as the challenges encountered by some regional and global institutions working on the issue of migrant workers' rights. While this book has devoted one of its sections – *section II* - to discuss circular migration vis-a-vis migrant agency, an uneven emphasis has been apportioned to structural factors shaping circular migration and its impacts. Lastly, except for a few wording problems and lack of a concluding section in the fourth chapter, this text remains informative and thought provoking.

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[1] Peggy Levitt has brought attention to social remittances as the “ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving – to sending-country communities” (1998: 927).

III

Carter, Marina. 1995. *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius 1834-1874*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, ISBN-10: 0195632966, pp.343

Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius 1834-1874 is a descriptive work by historian Marina Carter, which deals with the character of the nineteenth century indentured migration. This book offers a comprehensive account of Indian indentured labor in Mauritius, particularly, the transition from migrants to settlers. It provides an exhaustive account of how labor recruitment evolved through years and living conditions on the plantation between 1834 to 1874.

This text moves beyond the prevalent perspectives of officials, planters and historians. Historians like Hugh Tinker saw indenture as ‘a new system of slavery’, but for Carter it offers a static view which does not incorporate changes over time in the conditions of indentured workers. In contrast to these approaches, the revisionist studies have brought a new dimension to the historiography by the use of quantitative data which has destroyed stereotypes of official accounts. Most studies on indentured migration have assumed that either recruits were obtained by deception or those who were unemployed voluntarily engaged in it. The issue of how recruitment of bonded labour system was maintained has been scarcely explored. Carter’s

study comes as a breakthrough, which explores the means by which Indian indentured workforce was recruited for Mauritius through the use of returnees.

Most of the literature available are historical studies of indenture but this particular work relied on local correspondence between the Mauritian immigration Office and its emigration agents in India, petitions and statements of Indians under indenture. The arguments in the book are substantiated with statistical tables and graphs. Carter has taken archival data in a systematic way, adding temporal dimension to it which marks the systematization. The temporal aspect becomes important as it was in 1834 that indentured immigration began and 1874 represented a watershed in the history of indenture as it marked a slow process of retreat and reform. This book can be classified under old diaspora but unlike other studies of the period which had primarily relied on records, this work takes account of an important category of 'returnee'.

Carter has provided a wholistic picture of indentureship in the eight chapters, beginning with the ideological and economic foundations of the system i.e. as 'great experiment' testing the proposition of free labor as more productive than slaves; while economic foundations being that of cheap labour supply. She offers a discussion of push and pull factors of migration, who migrated, from where, their religious and caste profiles, the experience of the voyage, at the depot, modes of controlling workforce through mechanisms of pass system and labour contract. This text also takes account of migration of women not in terms of an escape but the issues they faced with in the colony i.e. their dependency on men as they were not directly recruit-

ed, their vulnerability due to imprisonment of men, etc. Carter's study is admirable for the attention that it pays to gender, bringing out three images of women like immoral, polyandrous; secondly, that of reproducers of labor force and thirdly, women as small planters and heads of households.

The book includes an elaborate discussion on family, culture and religion in the plantation context. It sheds light on how the estate labourers refashioned their cultural, traditional symbols and practices in Mauritius, which they had carried over from the old society. Indenture was generally seen as destructive for family, but Carter emphasized on the stability of family and how people were able to recreate the sacred topography of India in Mauritius with their religious traditions, symbols, festivals and temples. It distinctively acknowledges the presence of caste in diaspora and its transformation in immigrant cultures from structure to culture. In her discussion of such aspects she has marked a shift from other scholars writing on the same issue.

In chapter eight of the book, author discussed the impact of indenture based primarily on statistical data. Between 1846-1871 percentage of males employed in sugar cultivation fell and the Indians working for proprietors gradually diminished in favor of job-contracting system. Some Indians were now planters in their own right, others entered commerce, primarily, transport sector. Old immigrants purchased small plots of land and moved off estates. The only real beneficiaries of indenture and those most likely to become coolie millionaires were the *sirdars* and job-contractors whose wages and benefits far outweighed the earnings of ordinary labourers. *Sirdars* received higher wages and double rations from planters and became money lenders and shopkeepers. Overall only a minority of immigrants were able to profit

from the indenture. Indentured servants did become settlers in Mauritius, but their status remained insecure and dependent upon the acquisition of property and wealth in sufficient quantity.

One of the objectives of this study has been ‘to chart shifts in strategies of labour mobilization from tacit acceptance of male-dominated migrations to espousal of family settlement’ (Carter 1995:6). It emphasizes those areas of migrant experience which were outside the realm of official world, for instance the role of returnee migrants or *sirdars* in creation of migrant streams. Unlike the Tinkerian school, which tended to minimize the impact of family or group migration on the indentured experience, Carter emphasizes on the opportunities created from migration and the ability of the individual indentured laborers to shape their own destiny. Its premise seems convincing that labour migration in Mauritius can be classed as somewhere between the *Kangani* and indenture models. *Kangani* being a labour recruitment system in parts of Southeast Asia under British colonial rule. Under this system, the recruitment was taken up by the *Kangani* (the foreman), an Indian immigrant himself, who would directly recruit migrants from India.

This book deals with three important categories of *sirdars*. First category is of *sirdars*, who were elected by the planters or labourers to supervise the field labour and also involved in returnee recruitment; second category is that of *settlers* who emerged from the rank of indentured servants and often followed the path leading from indenture to *sirdari* and ultimately, to the purchase of land and acquisition of status of small planter. Third category is *returnee* i.e. dissatisfied with the quality of migrants dispatched by commercial collectors, planters began to send back Indians who had worked

well to recruit others, who often recruited amongst their own kin or village community. Carter has brought out the important role of returnees in indentured migration. Returnees played a significant role in labour mobilization as well as in reduction of capital wastage in recruiting. They were also important transmitters of information to new recruits about the changing conditions in colony. Returnees transformed the image of overseas destinations from an unknown to a known world for potential migrants.

Marina Carter achieves the task set out, i.e. to go beyond the official correspondence and colonial discourse, presents a range of new data and insights into the mobilization of indentured labourers and their patterns of settlement overseas. This meticulous text brings out the distinctive pattern of labour migration that emerged in Mauritius, distinguishing it from slavery and other forms of migration. There are some limitations to the work as well, as it leaves one important area unexplored: namely, the emerging nature of the relationships between the Indians and the ex-apprentice populations as the two groups struggled. Another shortcoming in Carter's work is the lack of definitions for the variables used in the work like 'servants' and 'settlers.' Nevertheless, it remains an engaging book offering a nuanced understanding of indentured labour. This book would be resourceful for scholars studying history, migration and diaspora.

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IV

Jardón Hernández, Ana Elizabeth (2017). *International Migration and Crisis Transition Toward a New Migratory Phase*. Springer Nature. ISBN 978-3-319-43898-6, pp. 130.

The United States of America and Mexico shares one of the largest migration corridors in the world. The migration between these two nations has always attracted scholars and policy-makers for many reasons. The border control, undocumented migration, detention, deportation, and the developmental aspects are some the key areas which are indeed the features of this migration. Mexico to the U.S migration is seen as a strategy of getting more opportunities and better living. However the lives of migrants are not easier in the United States. They face various challenges due to government policies and market conditions prevalent in the U.S.

The book ‘International Migration and Crisis Transition toward a New Migratory Phase’ written by Ana Elizabeth Jardón Hernández is one attempt to portrait the picture of Mexican migrants during the global economic crisis of 2008-09. Ana Elizabeth Jardón Hernández is a fulltime researcher and professor in the Center of Research and Studies on Mobilities and International Migrations at the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico. Her major contributions are on Mexico-U.S. migration, remittances, development and poverty.

In this book, the author has written about the transformations in the Mexico-U.S. migration due to economic crisis of 2008-09, where her focus is to address the issues of Las Vueltas (*one of the seven communities located in the southwest region of the Municipality of Coatepec Harinas in Mexi-*

co) communities. In the past community has witnessed a steep decline in the population due to migration. The book is organized in five chapters including its introduction and conclusion and its length is just 130 pages.

The first chapter is the introduction of the book; where the author has discussed the different reasons of Mexico-U.S. migration, changing pattern and demography of migrants and how these changes are associated with the 2008 international economic crisis. Apart from this, she has discussed strict U.S. policy on migration and the Las Vueltas communities.

The second chapter of the book is about the changing pattern of Mexico-U.S migration. Here four factors of migrations are suggested a) the economic crises in Mexico, b) the economic restructuring and demand for labour migrants in the U.S., c) the changes in American migratory policy and d) the maturation of migrants' transnational networks. Altogether these factors suggest that expected income is just one of the many reasons that motivate for international migration. The changes in the policy from recruitment to restriction are the main reason for the different migratory pattern between the nations. During the crisis of 2008-09 Latin American migrants recorded a higher unemployment rate than those of the migrants from other countries (p.11).

The third chapter of the book is about changing phases of Las Vueltas migrants to U.S. Historically, the migration of Mexicans to the U.S. can be divided into different phases with some specific characteristics of migrants such as- how do they cross the border? Do they have proper documentation or not? How long they stay? etc.

Many individuals who migrated after the crisis to the U.S. have decided not to return home because they realize that this is not a convenient moment to do so. Post-crisis undocumented migration from Las Vueltas communities has declined. In this chapter, many examples of migrants have been given where some migrants were severely affected due to crisis and also due to lack of proper documentation. Some of the migrants who stayed for long and obtained citizenship were in a better position as they were getting the benefit of social security. Despite everything, the Mexican migrants want to stay in the U.S. because the condition at their home is even worse.

Chapter four of the book is about the strategies of migration. Here the author has given some examples from her study where she found that without migration, life of Las Vueltas communities would have been very pathetic. If they do not migrate, they would not be able to meet their needs. Even internal migration has been seen as a strategy due to the pressing need to obtain resources to satisfy their basic needs. Although this strategy does not provide an income equivalent to a Mexican migrant in U.S., it still represents an option for entering labour markets that is significantly better than what can be earned in Las Vueltas. So the case of Las Vueltas is for survival.

Chapter five of the book concludes the study. The Mexico-U.S. migration is an age-old process which has seen many changes in the past. The Las Vueltas communities have also faced difficulty due to the crisis of 2008-09 and their flows have come down due to restrictions and government policies. Many migrants have lost jobs and they were forced to return. Knowing the situation, they have found alternative strategies to survive. They have started working locally and to earn more they have diversified their work

towards agriculture, animal husbandry etc.

In this book, the author has put her words clearly and the book revolves around its theme. It makes it easier for readers to understand. The book is written with the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods which broadens the readers' vision and knowledge. The qualitative research tool was used to conduct interviews and quantitative research tool was used to statistical analysis of population survey data.

The book delivers plenty of information on Mexico-U.S. migration. As the book addresses the issue of migration during a crisis; one expects more information on remittance and developmental aspects, which is missing in the book. Further the sample size that is taken in the book to study the crisis is very small and study lags empirical findings. Overall it is a good book to take a look at Mexico-U.S. migration, and migration and its linkages to the crisis. The book can help researchers of sociology and development studies who wish to study international migration in the underdeveloped region in general or Mexico-U.S. migration in particular.

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V

Brehony, Noel (2017), Hadhramaut and its Diaspora: Yemeni Politics, Identity, and Migration, London: I. B. Tauris. ISBN: 9781784538682, pp. 320.

The valley of Hadhramaut stretches over 370 miles, which has helped preserve a unique local Hadrami identity for centuries. Establishment of two influential Kingdoms Qu'ayti and Kathiri was the result of Hadrami diaspora in India, and they dominated Hadrami politics until the early 1960s. Hadhramis limited their activities almost exclusively to the Indian ocean, rather than developing a global diaspora on Gujarati or Cantonese lines. This contrasted with other Yemenis, who went as labourers to Europe and North America. Hadhramaut is one of the largest governorates in Yemen in terms of area. Within this vast region, Hadhramis were active since centuries, because of migratory nature they travelled far lands in Indian ocean mainly in Indonesia, Malaysia, south-western India and the Deccan, both shores of the Red Sea, and the Gulf of Aden, and the East African Littoral and islands down to Comoros. This immigration has profoundly affected the host countries as well as Hadhramaut itself.

The editor of the book Noel Brehony is one of the acclaimed authors and experts of the middle east region, notably Yemen, which offers deep insight and analysis from diverse perspectives. He works extensively on Hadrami and Yemeni history and diaspora.

The book is divided into three parts, Part I, sheds light on Hadhramis in Yemen and its politics since the 1960s, concerning Hadrami Exceptionalism, Hadhramaut's social structure, agriculture, and migration. In the first Chapter, Saadaldeen Talib and Brehony discuss Hadhramaut in South Arabia in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) and later in Yemen Arab Republic (YAR). They also shed light on the rise of marginalized groups like Houthis in the north, Al-Hirak in the south, and Al Qaeda

in several parts of Yemen. Other important areas highlighted are Yemeni Arab spring of 2011, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) deal and its failure, war and its impact on Hadhramaut, and the future of Hadhramaut. The chapter offers three exciting and possible options viz Hadhramaut in a federal Yemen, in independent south, and an independent Hadhramaut.

In Chapter 2, Thanos Petouris discusses the socio-political changes that took place in the region during the middle of the twentieth century. This chapter is an attempt to answer the question of the putatively exceptional position of Hadhramaut as a geographical and political entity and its contribution to the politics of southern Arabia. It also discusses the distinction between premodern and modern Hadrami identity as a result of changes in Hadrami diasporic communities. In Chapter 3, Helen Lackner mainly focused on the socialist reform of the 1970s and how it changed social relations and self-perceptions of the various group. She further discusses the reversal of the situation after the unification and relevance of these changes in the ongoing chaos of the region.

Part II explores the status Hadhramis in the diaspora concerning the Atlas of Sayyid Uthman ibn Abd Allah ibn Yahya of Batavia (1822-1914), diaspora in Indonesia and revival of Hadhrami diaspora, migrants of Hadhrami origin in the Philippines, hiring of Yemeni mercenary for abroad, issue of citizenship and belonging among the Hadhramis of Kenya, Hadhrami diaspora through the lens of trade.

In Chapter 4, Nico J.G. Kaptein discusses the publication of Sayyid Uthman, which is on the colonial historiography of Indonesia, lithography, and

the users of his Atlas. In chapter 5, Kazuhiro Arai throw lights on the Hadhrami diaspora in Indonesia and revival of Hadhrami diaspora, Indonesian visitors in Hadhramaut, the connection between two countries, publications on Hadhrami religious figures in Indonesia, accessibility of Southeast Asia from Hadhramaut, and finally the history of South Yemen (1937-90) and unified Yemen 1990 to the present.

In chapter 6, William G. Clarence-smith discusses the Arab Muslim migrants in the colonial Philippines with Hadhrami connection, settlement of Muslims in the Philippines and resistance to colonialism, collaboration with colonialism, independent Ulama and Islamic reform, trade and shipping, and the Hadhrami presence after independence in 1946.

In chapter 7, James Spencer discusses the issues around mercenaries and soldering generally and those relating to indigenous soldiers in Yemenis in particular, Yemenis security providers in the diaspora, the role of Hadhramis in commercial security operations, the status of Yemeni soldiers, colonial era, Hadhramis in Hyderabad, post-colonial era, patterns of recruitment, Islamist fighters, Muwalladin as fighters, and local soldiers as a communications channel.

In Chapter 8, Iain Walker discusses citizenship and belonging among the Hadhramis of Kenya. Like other communities, Hadhramis were able to maintain a unique identity in coastal areas of Kenya, and after independence, they formally became the citizen of Kenya but keeping their identity alive. Moreover, while Kenyan or Yemeni passport is a sign of identity, but Hadhrami identity is based on a deep historical understanding and recogni-

tion of belonging that is inscribed in. Performed through daily practice, in various places, and various spaces, that in national terms sees Hadhrami as being at once both/ neither Kenyan and/nor Yemeni.

In chapter 9, Philip Petriat discusses the role of non-sada merchants and how these non-sada groups traded in a network form in the 20th century. Not only among Hadhramis but also the non Hadhramis was the distinctive feature and how these non Hadhramis work like a nodal point connecting different groups extending over a larger area while stressing on the methods adopted by A. Cohen. Network analysis of Hadhrami migration provides us with tools for comparison with other dispersed communities.

Part III is short and precise and has only one chapter and conclusion. In chapter 10, Leif Manger talks about the challenges encountered during his research on Hadhramis diaspora. This chapter identifies three challenges: defining diaspora, historicizing globalization, and understanding of historical agency. Other topics emphasized in this chapter are historical realities of early Indian ocean migration, Hadhramaut region before the sixteen centuries, and being a Muslim in the Indian ocean world.

This book concluded by Bujra, where he discusses the research issues concerning the Hadhramaut and Hadhramis and recommendations for further research. Role of the Hadhramaut Research center (HRC) and the purpose of HRC and how it will help the young Arab researcher in carrying out research.

Although the book has covered an extensive range of topics, it also has some shortcomings. The author has not investigated the plight of Hadhrami

communities in the diaspora, mainly Hadhramis in India, which is one of the largest migrant community in India. The book has also not highlighted the critical aspects of diaspora like the assimilation, adaptation, and integration processes of Hadhramis in the host countries and the declining role of the Hadhrami diaspora in international politics and foreign policy. There is relatively less discussion on the ancient Hadhramaut and Hadhramis and their role in the spreading of Islam in other foreign lands. The rich historical heritage of Hadhramaut still needs much attention apart from the Islamic perspective.

Notwithstanding the above gaps, this book fills an important research gap in the subject. It has effectively touched many parts of Hadhrami or Yemeni life in general, like how Yemen is dealing with the devastating war for years. After looking at the quantity of literature produced on the Hadhrami diaspora in the past one century, this book serves some purpose and needs to be translated in Arabic as well as other local languages of the Indian ocean realm.

This book has a limited audience; still, this book gets readers from different social science subjects. This book is primarily for researchers working on Yemeni diaspora or Hadhrami diaspora, but it also includes people from varied allied subjects like diasporic studies, geography, history, anthropology, international relations, and foreign policy.

The chapters in the book illuminate many aspects of Hadhramaut, Yemen, and the diaspora, but show that research on these issues, though impressive and attracting the attention of leading scholars, is still comparatively unde-

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veloped. The chapters regarding Hadhrami exceptionalism, the revival of Hadhrami diaspora, Yemeni fighter abroad, diaspora or network, and paradigms of research is a groundbreaking work that highlights new insights in the Hadhrami diaspora instead of traditional diaspora concepts. The research issues regarding Hadhramaut and its people at the end of this book, which is a beacon for a new researcher in Hadhrami diaspora.

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