law of some specific states in Europe. Two different aspects are especially important for the book's authors in this respect. One is the overall framework of regulation of both migration generally, and specifically seeking asylum based on persecution for sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression. This field of law seems to operate on ambiguities, partial recognition, and uncertainties (Kubal 2013) to simultaneously allow restrictions of migration and maintenance of "gay-friendly" appearances. The second aspect is scrutiny of the mismatch between rigid legal categories and actually lived experiences of people. In *Queer Migration and Asylum in Europe*, authors offer an analysis of Western expectations regarding the "correct" ways to be gay or lesbian, as well as the erasure of bisexual experiences as unintelligible within the categorical apparatus of asylum law. This rigidity of law results in a failure to recognize experiences that do not fit the preconceptions of the Western sexual imagination as falling outside of the scope of asylum legislation.

I think that the advantage of this book is not only in its precise focus or comprehensive case studies. From my point of view, the book achieves more than just bringing together a range of chapters under one cover. What it does is bring together a wide range of perspectives as well. *Queer Migration and Asylum in Europe* is written by scholars who have clear political standpoints, by activists, and by practicing lawyers. The authors of the volume's different chapters have their own relationships with both sexuality and migration: they matter for them as parts of their experience and of the compassionate jobs that they do. In my own research on migration, I have suggested regarding such a unity of different, sometimes incompatible, perspectives as a "queer coalition" (Kondakov 2017). The queer coalition is a notion that allows us to communicate a sort of unity unimaginable in "normal" circumstances. It is an assemblage that eventually creates that which we term migration or—more specifically—queer migration and asylum in Europe.

This book is an academic enterprise, but among its authors are activists and practitioners, and therefore the chapters' styles are accessible for different audiences. The exhaustive overviews of the European Court of Human Rights case law on sexuality and asylum may help judges to be better prepared to adjudicate relevant conflicts. Ethnographic experiences of migration and queer diaspora relationships in various countries around Europe may help activists to address the issues most pressing for the people they try to help. Above all, the book will certainly drive scholarly discussions further.

Alexander Kondakov, Assistant Professor, UCD School of Sociology

REFERENCES

Kondakov, Alexander. 2017. "Queer Coalitions: An Examination of Political Resistance to the Russian Migration Law." *Europe-Asia Studies* 69 (8): 1222–1241.

Kubal, Agnieszka. 2013. "Conceptualizing Semi-Legality in Migration Research." *Law and Society Review* 47 (3): 555–587.

Shtorn, Evgeny. 2020. *Khroniki Bezhenstva* [Refugee chronicles]. Saint Petersburg: Poriadok Slov.

FINDING WAYS THROUGH EUROSPACE: West African Movers Re-Viewing Europe from the Inside

Joris Schapendonk. 2020. New York: Berghahn. 230 pages. ISBN 9781789206807 (hardback).

Finding Ways through Eurospace is an ethnography of West African migrants' mobility pathways in and en route to Europe. It masterfully depicts the relationships, hopes, pressures, strategies, and bureaucratic balancing acts propelling the journeys of people whose freedom of movement is greatly restricted. It shows that despite the European Union's attempts to fence itself off from "unruly"

migrant mobilities, people find creative ways to sneak around ever-tighter border restrictions to travel, explore, and build livelihoods in Europe. By following the dizzyingly complex web of movements of a group of West African men and women, the book convincingly argues that cosmopolitan imaginaries are not reserved for the selected few. They drive the journeys of economically deprived people from African countries as much as the mobile lifestyles of wealthy Europeans. While the latter might have passports that enable them to roam the world carelessly, the former use their creativity and improvisation skills to navigate exclusionary sociopolitical terrains. By connecting different places within and beyond Europe, the African migrants depicted in the book do not just subvert nativist imaginaries. They redefine the very idea of Europe. Rather than engaging with it as a political entity divided by separate national territories, the individuals portrayed treat Europe as a postnational space—a "Eurospace," where national boundaries, sensibilities, and belongings do not matter.

Despite its focus on West African migrants, the author emphasizes time and again that this is not a book about migration. While it touches on key themes of contemporary migration studies, including transnationalism, refugee and border policies, asylum bureaucracy, place-making, and belonging, it aims to shift the field's conceptual boundaries. Inspired by the call to "de-migranticize migration studies" (Dahinden 2016), Schapendonk refuses to use migration as the dominant prism through which to analyze his informants' lives and experiences. Such an angle, he argues, risks essentializing their experiences by locking them into a migrant box from which it becomes impossible for them to ever escape. Instead of treating his interlocutors as bearers of migratory otherness, the author looks at them as highly agentive "movers" and the bearers of a new kind of Europeanness—as mobility experts who continuously transcend norms, rules, and expectations of what Europe or being European means. In my opinion this is the book's most important innovation. By developing a "trajectory approach" that follows and ethnographically captures the im/mobility pathways of West African individuals as they travel between European countries, it offers deep insights into their lifeworlds without ever reducing the complexity of lived experiences to one single analytical category (such as "migration" or "asylum"). The people portrayed in this book are more than migrants. They are multidimensional, affective, and creative human beings who have learned to navigate a world that is increasingly marked by inward-looking ideas and practices.

Owing to the trajectory approach, the book offers a mosaic of stories about the protagonists' crisscrossing movements through Europe and Africa. There is no focus on particular individuals or places. The ethnographic stories unfold in the asylum seekers' shelters, shared accommodations, and cafes or bars in the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, or Greece to which the trajectory approach has taken Schapendonk. Some of the book's characters only appear intermittently—in short but powerful vignettes—as the author catches them in between journeys. Others reappear in different places and life stages, allowing for a deeper engagement with their struggles and experiences. The scattered ethnographic writing style resulting from the trajectory approach might not always be as easy to follow as more conventional ethnographic accounts, but I believe that it fulfills a crucial task. Schapendonk does not impose linearity onto experiences that are not linear, but forces the reader to take notice of his interlocutors' dynamic, messy, and fragmented realities.

The book is divided into two parts. While Part I zooms in on West African movers' navigations—the sociocultural practices they deploy to find their ways—the second part discusses how they locate themselves within Eurospace and engage with their position at the margins of European societies. Taken together, the chapters create a captivating ethnographic picture of a remarkably persistent sense of

cosmopolitanism that keeps propelling West African people's journeys to Europe, even if many of them end in enforced returns and are marked by a high degree of uncertainty.

Unsurprisingly, Schapendonk's boldness in terms of writing style and methodological and conceptual innovation provokes many questions. I admire his attempt to rethink the mobility pathways of people from Africa beyond essentializing and often simplistic migratory categories, but the book does not always succeed in escaping the very limitations it sets out to unsettle. While the author rightly critiques social scientists for treating the migrant as an exceptional, non-ordinary figure, the empirical focus remains on the same categories of mobile people and the same sociocultural phenomena that migration and mobilities scholars have studied for a long time. Introducing new terms such as "movers" to describe the groups in question does not necessarily result in an entirely new conceptual grammar. It proves how difficult it is for mobility scholars to truly overcome historically engrained ways of thinking and writing about non-European mobilities. However, this is just a minor objection I have to an overall beautifully written, thought-provoking book.

Finding Ways through Eurospace will be of interest to migration and mobilities scholars across the humanities and social sciences. The author's ability to turn ethnographic findings into compelling stories also makes the book accessible to nonacademic readerships. Despite—or perhaps because of—its efforts to set itself off from conventional migration studies, it is a crucial contribution to migration and mobilities research.

Annika Lems, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale

REFERENCES

Dahinden, Janine. 2016. "A Plea for the 'De-Migranticization' of Research on Migration and Integration." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39 (13): 2207–2225.

ILLEGAL: How America's Lawless Immigration Regime Threatens Us All

Elizabeth F. Cohen. 2020. New York: Basic Books. 272 pages. ISBN-13 9781541699847 (hardback).

The criticism of the work of Border Patrol in the USA reached its critical point in 2018 when the newly elected president—Donald J. Trump—officially adopted a "zero tolerance" approach toward migrants, legitimizing the family separation policy. Under this policy, migrant children and their parents who entered the country through illegal channels were separated, and although a few months later President Trump abrogated the policy as a result of a huge wave of criticism, thousands of migrants remain separated to this day (Los Angeles Times 2020). In *Illegal*, Elizabeth A. Cohen looks at the prolonged process of migration policy formation. By examining the establishment and work of organs responsible for migration control in retrospect, the author conveys the logical conclusion that over the course of time, America's immigration regime has been formed by nativist, sexist, and racist Americans for "secure" and white America, and that it poses a great danger to law and order in the country. Cohen's book has seven chapters, but could be logically divided into two parts: first the introduction and conclusion to the current situation, and second the history of immigration enforcement agencies, such as Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).

The introduction to the present circumstances is captured in the book's introduction and Chapters 1 and 2. Cohen vividly illustrates the current immigration crisis in America, but in her view, the crisis comes not from an inability to control immigration, but instead from regular physical and emotional abuse of migrants by workers at immigration agencies, infringement of citizens' rights, and preconceived opinions of all migrants as criminals. After briefly narrating her own past