

Steel wheels: *The Age of Migration* 5.0

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As with all previous editions, the fifth edition offers substantial updates and developments. The addition of de Haas as a third author in this edition has had noticeable impacts on the shape and content of the book. *The Age of Migration* does not simply report on or contribute to the field of migration studies; it has done more than any other book to define that field.

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The first edition of *The Age of Migration* came out in 1993, in time for me to cite it in my final year undergraduate thesis – just the kind of authoritative overview that an undergraduate can use to raise their game. By the time the second edition came out, in 1998, I had given up my non-governmental organization job and enrolled in a graduate programme, for which it was a core text. The third edition, in 2003 coincided with the completion of my PhD and the fourth edition came out in 2009, the year I convened the MA in Migration Studies at the University of Sussex, for which it was appropriately enough, the core text. And here is the fifth edition; it sits on my shelf next to the other four. How many books do we own (and keep) *all* editions of? This is certainly the only one where I can make that claim – an illustration of the tremendous significance of this book. *The Age of Migration* does much more than simply report on a field of study; it has in very important ways shaped that field. It is still an essential reference in much academic work, the core text of choice of the growing number of migration-focused graduate programmes around the world, and its title has entered the public domain as shorthand for its central argument about the importance of contemporary migration. Academic publishers are delighted if they sell more than 500 copies of an academic text; *The Age of Migration* already has sales in the tens of thousands, a spin-off website and translations in several languages. A new edition is as close as academic publishing gets to a sure thing – world-famous scholars setting out an all-encompassing argument for the significance of global migrations. It is the academic publishing equivalent of a new tour by the Rolling Stones.

Yet, unlike the Rolling Stones, the ageing rockers Stephen Castles and Mark Miller have rejuvenated the group for this edition with the involvement of Hein de Haas. De Haas is an astute choice of co-author (and not only for his comparative youthfulness). De Haas's international reputation has been in the ascendant for some years and his post as deputy director of the International Migration Institute (IMI) at the University of Oxford gives him the credibility that this kind of undertaking requires. What is more, his reputation is based on the kind of authoritative, big-picture overviews of

major topics like migration theory, or migration and development, that inform *The Age of Migration*. De Haas usefully complements the areas of speciality of the existing two authors. Since the last edition, Castles has returned to Australia, leaving de Haas as the only author based in Europe. In addition, de Haas's established expertise on North Africa has been complemented recently by his leadership, with IMI co-director Oliver Bakewell, of the African Migrations research theme at IMI. Finally, de Haas brings a modest degree of diversity to the authorship – he shares the experience of many international migrants of living and working predominantly in a language that is not his mother tongue; this perhaps explains the sudden appearance of 'language' as a significant index entry, absent from earlier editions.

As usual, there are substantial changes between this edition and the previous edition of *The Age of Migration*. Some of these changes can be attributed to this expansion of authorship. All authors are no doubt responsible, but the refocusing of the migration theories chapter (chapter two) bears the hallmark of de Haas's theoretical interests, particularly the large Determinants of Migration (DEMIG) project, which he directs. The chapter is now clearly focused around a threefold consideration of theories between macro/determinist, micro/agency and meso/network theories. Of these, the agency section has shrunk in favour of a much more detailed assessment of a variety of network approaches that encompasses accounts of individual migrant agency and transnational links as well as more middle-level understandings of migrant systems. A third new section complements this focus with an elaboration of theories of migration transition, from Zelinsky onwards. This section offers an alternative to focusing on only a single element of the micro/meso/macro triad, unifying networks and systems with a broader time/space framework that includes national and international economic and political changes. Although transition theories have firmly modernist associations, suggesting unitary, linear progressions, modelled significantly on the Western European experience, there is enough emphasis on variability here to alleviate those concerns.

Several of the sections from the theories chapter of previous editions, particularly those focused on the state, have now shifted to chapter three. Previously called 'Globalisation, Development and Migration', this chapter now has the more purposive title 'How Migration Transforms Societies' and is roughly divided between elements of transformation of receiving societies and origin societies. This polarized analysis is probably heuristically justifiable, but it does lead to some odd divisions. Examination of migration and development obviously comes in the later half on the transformation of origin societies, even though it is widely argued that it is far easier to establish the positive development impact of international migration on destination areas. The very short 'gender and migration' section sits rather awkwardly in the section on transforming destination societies, although the transformation of gender relations surely qualifies as a more general social impact of migration. Nevertheless, there are other more positive results of this change. De Haas's influence is once again obvious in the relabelling of the 'migration and development' section as 'the migration and development debate'. This more post-structuralist turn from empirical analysis to consideration of the forms of categorization, language and development of that analysis provides an insightful way of presenting these highly politicized debates.

The most fundamental changes in this edition concern the regional chapters, of which there are now four following the addition of a completely new chapter on 'Migration in the Americas' (chapter six). This new addition replaces a two-page section on 'North America and Oceania' in the European chapter and an eight-page section on 'Latin America and the Caribbean' in the chapter on Africa and the Middle East of the previous edition and obviously provides much greater detail. It gives an account of historical migration patterns and policies in five sub-regions: USA and Canada; Mexico and Central America; the Caribbean; the Andean Region; and the Southern Cone. This is well balanced and right up to date with a short analysis of the impact of the global financial crisis and contemporary responses to irregular migration. It also allows for the expansion of those other chapters to focus exclusively on Europe (chapter five) and Africa and the Middle East (chapter eight). Chapter five is updated to include a consideration of the impact of the financial crisis on Europe, but chapter eight is completely restructured, again presumably a result of de Haas's influence. This more detailed account presents a much more comprehensive picture of migration in Africa and the Middle East, beginning with colonialism, but extending rapidly through migration to the Gulf and to China, to a historical analysis of migration within the continent. This new focus on 'South-South' migration is also a feature of the fourth regional chapter on the Asia-Pacific region, which has new sections on 'contract labour in the Middle East' and 'Labour Migration within Asia'. Although this is still predominantly a book on South-North migration, this expanding focus reflects an important change of emphasis in discussions of international migration in a whole variety of venues, both theoretical and applied, confirming the book as an important reflection of the dynamics of these discussions.

Special mention should be made of the companion website, which has existed since the fourth edition, although I had not really noticed it or made much use of it in that edition. This was a mistake as it is actually a valuable additional resource with a sample chapter, an additional chapter (an updated version of a comparison of Australia and Germany that was cut from the third edition), photos and regular updates. The fourth edition website was updated in 2009, with a discussion of the impact of the financial crisis, and again in 2010, with a reflection on migration and climate change after the fifteenth meeting of parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change at Copenhagen in December 2009, a precursor to the new section on climate change in this edition. This edition flags the website more obviously, with links at the end of each chapter to supplementary material. There are currently twenty-three of these additional case studies, all well tied into the argument of the book, and these will presumably be updated when major developments (and the spare time of the authors) justify. The hard copy book should therefore be interpreted not as a standard fifth edition, but more as edition 5.0. For such a popular book, this is an important step. It recognizes the dominance of web sources in teaching and researching migration and, if successful, it will ensure that important elements can be updated as the empirical context changes.

In a book as broad and all encompassing as *The Age of Migration*, everyone is sure to find topics that they would like to have been covered in more detail. It is impossible to address all of these, but one or two stick out. The most frequently highlighted omission is surely migration that does not cross international borders,

beyond the note in the introduction of the number of people thought to be involved (740 million), before the clear statement that the book is solely about international migration. The ambition of the conclusion is also scaled back in this edition from 'Migration and Mobility in the Twenty-First Century' in the fourth edition, to simply 'Migration...' here. This has been commented on in every edition, but it seems especially like a missed opportunity here given the growing significance of discussions of internal migration, particularly in relation to development, and the pioneering work of de Haas in comparing the development impact of international and internal migration in Morocco more than a decade ago. A second omission is highlighted by the subtle shift from 'Migrants and Politics' (chapter twelve in the fourth edition) to 'Immigrants and Politics' (chapter thirteen in this edition); although migrants' political relationship with their countries of origin is discussed briefly, this downplaying of its significance occurs at a time when policies and associated theoretical interest in emigration policies is growing.

Doubtless others could find other topics that they would like to have seen covered but have been overlooked or passed over with few details, but this does not detract from the incredible achievement that the book represents. My final critique is not entirely fair as it is one that the authors can do nothing to address. Like the Rolling Stones themselves, these ageing white male rockers are particularly unrepresentative of their audience, and even less so of international migrants in general. This is still true of a large number of professional academics working on migration, including myself and several others writing these reviews – and the authors have done more than many to address the lack of representation of large sections of society in professional academic or research careers. Still, after more than two decades of postcolonial studies and feminist theory, we know that this matters. I speculate above that the addition of an author who must operate in a language other than his mother tongue may have contributed to the very significant increase in references to language in relation to migration. Authors of other backgrounds might well have added different emphases, so there is a sense that some of the omissions in the book may be systematic. Reflection on or acknowledgement of the positionality of the authors at some stage in the book may encourage broader reflexivity on the nature of representations in migration studies in general. The book is now so important to the formation and development of academic work on migration that this kind of pioneering reflexive approach would have a much wider impact than in the case of many other texts.

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