

BOOK REVIEW/ COMPTE RENDU

Castañeda, Ernesto. *A Place to Call Home: Immigrant Exclusion and Urban Belonging in New York, Paris, and Barcelona.* Stanford University Press, 2018. pp. 208, \$25.00 paper, (9781503605763).

In *A Place to Call Home: Immigrant Exclusion and Urban Belonging in New York, Paris, and Barcelona*, Ernesto Castañeda explores how immigrant incorporation and sense of belonging are shaped by social processes in different cities. The author explores city-level differences by drawing on original data including ethnography, interviews, and surveys, which he collected through years of research in sending and receiving countries. A comparative study of New York, Paris, and Barcelona and two groups, Latin Americans and North Africans, it contributes to the growing literature that compares how policies and contexts of migration affect immigrants' and their descendants' long-term settlement experiences on both sides of the Atlantic.

Castañeda starts, in chapter 1, with a concise argument for considering both immigrants' subjective feelings of inclusion and objective measures of their incorporation. The study compares immigrant groups with similar backgrounds and socio-economic status. They are Latin Americans (mainly Mexicans) in New York, North Africans in Paris, and Latin Americans and North Africans in Barcelona, who make up the largest immigrant groups in their respective cities. He examines integration outcomes in various domains (labour market, politics, housing, and intermarriage). Given the comparative nature of the book, he outlines the main grand narratives at the national and city levels that help explain integration outcomes and immigrant well-being: models of integration, minority rights, and religious tolerance. Furthermore, he examines the conditions and immigrants' understanding of their conditions before migration, which influence immigrant long-term settlement experiences and their well-being.

The next three chapters focus on how the immigrant groups fare in each city and their experiences of urban belonging. Each chapter examines how the context of reception shapes immigrant integration and how immigrants feel about the city's inclusiveness. Castañeda asks how closely subjective feelings align with objective integration outcomes.

Chapter 2 examines the urban belonging and varied integration outcomes for Mexican immigrants in New York. It situates New York as an immigrant destination in the long history of American immigration policies and nation-building. Mexican immigrants feel they belong and are socially integrated because New York City leaves incorporation to the immigrants. Since the US has a de facto multicultural liberal system, it is open to immigrants who maintain their cultural practices and organize along ethnic, cultural, or racial lines. Castañeda finds that Mexicans in New York are integrated well because of the availability of jobs, even though many, before immigrating to the city, overestimated what they would earn. Although many Mexican immigrants lack legal papers and a safety net, and despite the high cost of living, they still insert themselves in New York's social fabric through religious and political activities (46).

In chapter 3, Castañeda argues that Arab North African immigrants and their descendants feel marginalized and excluded from Parisian society. They lack political voice and urban belonging. In the cultural realm, the strong preference Parisians have for their own culture burdens immigrants and their children, which leads to social exclusion. Due to France's strong welfare state, most immigrants have direct relationships with state bureaucracies; thus, they are administratively incorporated into the French welfare system. However, this can erode group solidarity, weaken social capital, and impede their ability to act collectively. Furthermore, they are also residentially segregated from the native population by living in the *banlieues*, low-income housing in the suburbs. Despite citizenship and a social safety net, many children of North Africans are not socially integrated.

Chapter 4 shows that Latin American and North African immigrants feel welcome in Barcelona, yet their normative expectations about integration become reversed. Latinos report that they feel less welcome than they expected before migration, while North Africans feel more welcome. One reason for this is Barcelona's location in Catalonia, an autonomous region in Spain, with a strong nationalist movement and its own local language (Catalan). Spain has a top-down multicultural model of immigrant integration (similar to Canada's); thus, within Catalonia immigrants enjoy cultural rights, an extension of minority rights for local residents. Surprisingly, language became a barrier of incorporation for Latin Americans. The locals speak Catalan, while Latin Americans speak Spanish, which Catalans see as a proxy for Madrid's control. They feel unwelcome because they are identified as non-Catalan. In contrast, North African immigrants expected that Spain's anti-Muslim history would work against their integration; yet, they experience less personal and institutional discrimination in the city than expected. They can

practice their cultural traditions, and many North African men date local women. The author argues that immigrants' positive perceptions of Barcelona are influenced by municipal interventions, economic integration, and social contact with other Barcelona residents even though they may have experienced residual racism.

Chapter 5 moves on to different avenues of religious expression in the three cities. Castañeda focuses on how immigrants express their worth through their religious affiliation: Catholicism in New York and Paris and Islam in Paris and Barcelona. He argues that although the three countries have freedom of religion, and separation between church and state, they are actualized differently in each location. These differences shape the forms of inclusion or exclusion, and how immigrants are incorporated (125). Whereas, in New York, Mexican immigrants expressed their religious and ethnic identity by celebrating the Virgin of Guadalupe; in Paris, collective religious identity is not expressed among Mexican immigrant professionals, who follow the French model of immigrant incorporation. In Barcelona, Catholic identity has shown limited efficacy in encouraging bonds between newcomers and natives. Catalanian ethnic and regional identities trump religious commonalities. Islam is a contentious topic in France; immigrants adapt by downplaying public displays of Islam. They often feel that their religion and cultural traditions are stigmatized and not respected. French Muslims feel isolated from one another as they are not encouraged to publicly display their religious affiliation. In contrast in Barcelona, Arab North African immigrants can identify with each other on the basis of a common religion as they have spaces to do so. The author offers an insight that religion can be both dividing and unifying force in shaping immigrant integration and well-being.

In chapter 6, Castañeda brings the book's themes together, and discusses the structural, institutional, and individual factors that affect how inclusive each city is toward immigrants. He highlights the contextual factors that shape immigrant incorporation and belonging such as institutional integration channels, access to legal residence, economic and political integration. Immigrants in New York and Barcelona are more structurally integrated into the social life of the cities and have a greater sense of belonging than their counterparts in Paris. In the first two cities, immigrants perceive more opportunities, even though Paris has more generous social welfare and economic benefits (145). In other words, an objective measure such as welfare benefits might not predict immigrants' well-being. In contrast, despite long work hours and being undocumented, immigrants feel relatively better off in New York.

Although Castañeda has presented an impressive array of data through interviews and surveys, immigrant voices get lost when the author writes about structural and institutional differences between cities. While I would have liked to see more interview data, the book makes valuable contributions to the fields of immigration and urban studies. The author demonstrates that contexts of reception matter to immigrant well-being and incorporation.

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