



Zeitschrift für Diskursforschung

Journal for Discourse Studies

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America's War on Whistleblowers
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Anschrift:

Prof. Dr. Heike Kahlert
Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Fakultät für Sozialwissenschaft
Universitätsstraße 150
Gebäude GD, Raum E1/325
44801 Bochum
heike.kahlert@rub.de

Britta Schneider

Rheindorf, Markus & Wodak, Ruth (2020): *Sociolinguistic Perspectives in Migration Control. Language Policy, Identity and Belonging*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

This edited volume introduces six studies on contemporary discourses on migration control in diverse socio-political settings. Besides analyses of discourses on migration control in public contexts, among them in newspapers or language policies, the book gives insight into the views and voices of those who experience migration control. The themes treated in the book range from Slovene language policy with regards to speakers of Serbo-Croat, negotiations of belonging and social positioning of UK migrants of Pakistani descent as expressed in vernacular literacy practice, biographical narratives in the US American Dreamers' movement and their functions in political discourse, discourse analytic perspectives on interviews about negotiations of ›fitting in‹ of economic migrants in the EU, historical discourse analysis of Austrian media within the discourse on migrants and refugees at the time of the so-called ›migration crisis‹ in 2015, and discursive struggles about Thai workers in Israeli farms, involving tensions between national discourse, Zionism, farmers' economic interest and workers' rights.

The introduction of the book by Markus Rheindorf and Ruth Wodak, called *Sociolinguistic Perspectives in Migration Control: An Introduction* embeds contemporary discourses on migration control in current socio-political climates of re-nationalization, which are interpreted as a counter-movement to globalization. In such climates, discourse practices of *securitization*, *culturalization* and *symbolic politics* contribute to cultural othering, implying that culture and language become crucial aspects in legitimizing tighter migration control. Constructions of migrants and their cultures and languages as ›threat‹ have a central function in these discourses. Thus, for example, widespread discourses on ›integration‹ typically entail a ›language requirement‹, where the acquisition of the language of the host country functions as a symbolic act of accommo-

dation from sides of migrants and where factual integration on job markets, in health systems or in housing play a marginal role. As the editors to the volume show, this role of migrant languages as ›threat‹ contrasts policies in which multilingualism are celebrated, such as EU legislation. Within the European context, national policies of EU states thus clash with policies from the higher EU level.

The questions to which the book intends to contribute are, firstly, how refugees and migrants are portrayed in politics and in the media and which social divisions are constructed in this context. Secondly, it is asked which sociolinguistic problems are salient in today's migrant societies, which is here linked to the question of ›how specific national politicians and political parties position themselves in relation to these groups‹ (p.10). The framing of this question is not easy to follow as it is unclear how sociolinguistic problems and politicians' positioning to specific groups (as suggested in the question) relate to each other. This is based on the fact that throughout the volume, it remains vague what exactly is meant by sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistic enquiry, in the sense of how social structure, social hierarchies and language use interrelate, is not a focus of the studies presented in this book as the orientation overall seems to be much more discourse analytic, with some studies having excursions into sociolinguistic questions. ›Sociolinguistic perspectives‹ here seem to be understood as asking about migrants' investment in language and as studying language policy – which are valuable research orientations but they are not ›sociolinguistic‹ in the classical sense and they are neither a central focus of the contributions to this book. As a third aim, it is envisioned to discuss what sociolinguistic theories and methodologies can offer to practitioners (p. 10). Again, the notion of sociolinguistics is not clarified, and offers to practitioners are hardly a focus of the contributions. Thus, the questions posed in the introduction, as well as the book's title, with its focus on sociolinguistics, do not seem to entirely fit the actual contents of the contributions. The fact that the book offers insights into voices of migrants, which is one of its major contributions, could have been mentioned more prominently in the introduction. These points of critique don't make the book less valuable, as the studies introduced

are highly relevant to understand the similarities and differences in discursive bases of discriminatory politics in different contemporary societies.

The first study introduced is Kristof Savski's text *Migrants from Other States of the Former Yugoslavia in Slovene Language Policy: Past, Present and Future*. He shows negative representations of Serbo-Croat in Slovenian language policy and public discourse. The language was not a ›migrant‹ language in Slovenia before the end of Yugoslavia but speakers are today classified as Croats, Bosnians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Macedonians and Kosovar Albanians (summarized as ›Ex-Yu‹ by Savski). Despite, or maybe because of, typological similarities and mutual intelligibility between Slovenian and Serbo-Croat, there is a lack of collective rights of speakers of Serbo-Croat. Such rights are only given to communities categorized as ›indigenous‹ (Hungarian, Italian, Romani). Savski gives insight into the current language ecology based on histories of migration within Yugoslavia and the politics of this former multi-ethnic state. This explains why the first generation of migrants to Slovenia had little motivation to learn Slovene, where an interlanguage between Slovenian and Serbo-Croat emerged. Today's discrimination of Serbo-Croat, and of the interlanguage, is linked to the fact that Slovenian was perceived a more marginal language in Yugoslavia, while Slovenia's 1990s turn towards EU Western nations brought about the representations of the rest of former Yugoslavia as negative, associated with underdevelopment, war and political instability. The discrimination of Ex-Yu migrants is mirrored in language policies and the perception of migrants' language practices as ›false‹. The term *čefur* (see pages 28 ff.) is a negative representation of Ex-Yu Serbo-Croat speakers in Slovenian, which can be appropriated as self-ascription of resistance – there are interesting similarities to discourses in urban contexts in northern Europe on migrant ›others‹ that seem to be essentially class discriminations in the veil of language and culture (and are thus related to discourses of *culturalization* mentioned in the introduction). It is overall a very interesting case of a situation where new states were formed that produced new socio-cultural boundaries. The ›making of the other‹ is very obvious here, with similarities to discourses between mainstream societies and migrants elsewhere. The concept of

›indigeneity‹ (that is actually also enforced by EU policies) legitimizes the discrimination of a population who is constructed as other, irrespective of how similar they actually are, also language-wise. Savski here poses the central question: »when does a migrant become indigenou?« (p. 35), which leads to asking more generally what the function of discursive moves of exclusion are.

Tony Capstick's chapter *Resisting Discriminatory Immigration Procedures and Practices in the UK and Pakistan: A Discourse-Ethnographic Approach to Exploring Migration Literacies* focuses on migration literacy as practice of resistance to counter discriminatory immigration regimes and discrimination within the migrant community. It is one of the studies that give insight into migrants' voices. This is based on a four-year ethnographically informed study of transnational migration between Pakistan and the UK. The sites Capstick announces to study are micro settings of family homes, a solicitor's office, a take-away restaurant and a taxi office (however, there is actually no treatment of the taxi office). The methodological choice that allows for a transnational perspective on the space between the UK and Pakistan is an important development as national boundaries no longer necessarily define communicative practices. Overall, Capstick studies how his informant Usman negotiates discrimination. A focus of his contribution is resistance towards social divisions within migrant communities, and, to a lesser extent, towards discriminatory regimes of migration control. The author presents the socio-historical background of anti-immigrant discourses and policies within the UK and of the ethnic group of Mirpuris in Britain, which display inner social divisions, based on negative portrayals of marriage migrants and of ›freshies‹, where internalized racism within the group comes to the fore. The theoretical orientation of the study is based on literacy studies and Critical Discourse Studies, critical sociolinguistic studies, and on the theme of resistance in language and literacy resources. Methodology-wise, the study is based on coded data derived from ethnographic field observation, interview data and Facebook posts. The notion of literacy seems to encompass also oral practices, as Capstick includes a vignette (no. 1, p. 49) that is based on interview discourse and not related to literacy practice. The analysis of institutional texts of immigration is announced

but is not treated throughout the chapter. In the first of the three discussed vignettes, we see how Usman reports in an interview how he resists the ›freshie‹ identity that is ascribed to him by more established migrants at the workplace. Competence in English here plays a role in social positioning. The analysis of discursive strategies in the interview is based on concepts that, unfortunately, are not introduced (referential strategy, intensification strategy, collectivization, predicational strategy – a clarification would have been good to follow the argument). In the second vignette, Usman resists discourses on ›sham marriage‹. This is again based on interview data (›collected in the UK with Nadia‹ – the person has not been introduced before, see p. 54) that clarifies how, with the help of an immigration solicitor, the wording in an immigration application is changed to conform to the demands of the UK immigration office and to avoid the impression of a ›sham marriage‹. It is not very surprising that the solicitor has more experience in the register demanded for writing a successful visa application and it is difficult to see how using the solicitor's expertise is the informants' act of resistance through literacy practice. Finally, in vignette three, the reader gets insight into what is literacy practice in the more classical sense. A Facebook post of Usman is discussed as act of resisting intra-ethnic discrimination and the discourse of sham marriage. Usman portrays himself as father and successful migrant who belongs to the British community of Mirpuris. The analysis is here based on insight into language variation, which is interpreted as relevant in his positioning as responsible caregiver. Overall, the approach of including interview data in a chapter that suggests a focus on literacy practices in its title and theoretical framing is maybe not very lucky, and there are several inaccuracies in the text. The central benefit of the article is an insight into complexities migrants are faced with, having to negotiate demands from the intricate transnational social configurations in which they live, from institutional migration regimes to inter-ethnic power struggles that take place within and outside of the territorial national boundaries where they reside.

Anna de Fina discusses *Biography as Political Tool: The Case of the Dreamers*. She understands small biographical narratives as tool in the political arena and shows how identity claims of

Dreamers in individual biographies can be strategic acts of resistance in US migration politics. The *Dreamers* are young migrants who have been taken to the US by undocumented parents and have started to be an identifiable movement with the political aim of naturalization in the US. Insights into their biographical narratives, and their function in political struggle, give, like Capstick's text, access into discourses of migrants and their reactions to populist discourse. The methodological approach that pays respect to storytelling and narrative analysis is a relevant complimentary methodological approach to, for example, CDA, as it has a focus on the agency of those that are typically written *about* and *who*, in strategic practices of using accounts of biographical narratives, construct a collective identity to gain a voice in the political arena. The narratives, as de Fina argues, interrelate with large-scale political discourse as she also studies changes in the biographical accounts according to specific socio-political moments, where there are differences in strategic identity claims under the presidencies of Obama and Trump. The theoretical-methodological framing is based on discourse theory and story-telling as tool to resist dominant framings, with an interest in narrative structure, the conceptualization of narratives as identity work, particularly in biographical narratives and relations to the analysis of narratives in political speeches. The specific narratives of *Dreamers* are analyzed on the basis of biographical and autobiographical stories from the movement's website and posted on Facebook from 2015 to 2017, covering Obama's presidency and Trump's campaigns and elections. De Fina introduces background information on the *Dreamers* movement, gives general insights into storytelling practices among *Dreamers* and then analyzes their storytelling practices, the identities produced and the changes of self-representation in different political contexts. Biographical and autobiographical accounts display narratives that report on achievement, deportation, activism, fear of deportation, or defy prejudice. Besides micro insights into the narratives, de Fina also studies the topics found in data set, focusing on high frequency word counts, which change over time (see p. 79). Under Obama, the presentation of self as deserving citizen appeared to be common; under Trump, the tone changes to a more combative,

fighting stance that, portraying injustice, calls to action. The study brings to the fore the arbitrariness and instability of national discourses of citizenship rights in an age of global movements. Through the focus on personal, individual narratives, the reader understands migrants as actors and recognizes the underestimated role of the genre of (auto-)biographical narrative in political discourse.

Jo Angouri, Marina Paraskevaidi and Federico Zannoni present the chapter *Moving for a Better Life: Negotiating Fitting in and Belonging in Modern Diaporas*. They illustrate complex constructions of home, old and new, in narratives of people who migrated for a better life. This is another account of the perspective of migrants, discussing how they struggle to construct belonging in relation to societies of ›home‹ and ›host‹ and focusing on a cohort of people that is not often represented in today's accounts of migrants as homogenous, negatively stigmatized group. The study is based on discourse analytical approaches to interviews with 12 participants. The interviewee's backgrounds remain unclear as it is only mentioned that seven report to have migrated to Italy and five report to have migrated from Greece (p. 95). The interviewees are categorized as ›economic migrants‹. The chapter includes a five-page theoretical discussion of identity construction and another two and a half pages on constructions of belonging, which give elaborate insight into the current debates on these topics. After a methods section, the discourses of ›fitting in‹ in the historical context of the financial crisis of 2008 are discussed and analyzed with methods of critical discourse analysis. As there is very little information on the sampling and participants, the argumentation is not always easy to follow. And yet, it is an important finding that discourse dichotomies of ›us‹ versus ›them‹, ›here‹ versus ›there‹ or ›now‹ and ›then‹ remain important anchor points in these discourses, even where ›in-between-ness‹ is constructed. Job opportunities and ›self-development‹ are central arguments for these individuals to migrate and there are ambivalent conceptualizations of home as site of oppression and/ or safe space (p. 101). A construction of an ›in-between space‹ implies a perceived marginalization that is sometimes taken positively but fitting-in entirely is a »quasi-impossible task« (p. 107). It is overall interesting to see how

even ›easier‹ paths of migration of relatively well-off migrants within Europe see ›fitting in‹ as complicated or even impossible, how national ascriptions of identity continue to be central and how binaries of ›us‹ and ›them‹ are reconstructed with qualitative and moral attributes (p. 109). The authors conclude that there are ever-changing positions in the processes of migration, who are in a constant state of ›in-between-ness‹ and thus argue strongly against the discourses of dehumanizing othering that present migrants as homogenous and alien group.

The editors Markus Rheindorf and Ruth Wodak contribute to the book with their chapter *Building 'Fortress Europe': Legitimizing Exclusion from Basic Human Rights*. They study the discursive legitimization of restrictive asylum policies and the normalization of far-right positions in changing Austrian policies and laws that prevent migration in the context of migration patterns in the years 2015 and 2016. A focus is on changing constructions of the figure of the *migrant* in newspapers, which they see as related to changing border policies that legitimize ›Fortress Europe‹. The authors present a discourse-historical analysis of media discourse and combine a quantitative approach that uses corpus analytical methods, with a qualitative to the same data that focuses on legitimization strategies. The theoretical embedding ties the study to media representation of refugees, research on discrimination and exclusion, the study of legitimization and argumentation and the multi-level methods of the discourse-historical approach. Based on the methodological steps of the latter, the historical and immediate context is given by introducing the history of immigration to Austria since WW2, Austria's integration policies, the establishment of discursive ties between migration and threats of terrorism and crime, and the specific discourse on migration in Austria in 2015 and 2016, where a quantitative increase of migration led to almost all mainstream parties aligning with position of right-wing party on migration and asylum (see p. 119). To better understand how this is achieved in discourse, the authors relate to the study of legitimization, which is understood as seeking for normative approval for policies and actions. Pragmatic, semantic, stylistic, interactional or social means, drawing on particular argumentation schemata (here distinguished in four types, authorization, moralization,

rationalization and mythopoesis), are the points of interest for the qualitative analysis of legitimization. The empirical study is based on corpus of 5739 texts from Austrian newspapers that include lemmas on migrants and refugees. The quantitative analysis is based on an elaborate research design that studies frequencies of lemmas, collocates, intercollocation and key collocates per month in the months from August 2015 to January 2016. Finally, a number of typical texts was selected for the qualitative study of legitimization strategies (expanded regularly to avoid privileging dominant patterns). The results of the study show that there are peaks of references to lemmas relating to individuals who migrate. While there was a brief moment of solidarity in summer and autumn of 2015, there is a shift from uses of the term *refugees* to *migrant* and the majority of uses collocate with negative items such as abuse of system, burden, legality of claim, threat (p. 131). There is a consistent collocation pattern with numbering/quantification of both refugees and migrants. Overall it can be shown that there are stark changes in how people who migrate are presented, shifting to the representation of migrants as threat. In the qualitative analysis, 210 texts (15 per month) are chosen, in which several constant topoi occur that legitimize the discursive shift to a negative representation of migrants, among these numbers as authority, the concept of burden in a moralization strategy to reject migrants, humanitarianism (moralization), constructions of ›reality‹ (concept of ›factual limit‹, expert authority and theoretical rationalization as legitimization strategy), abuse (in relation to what is constructed as ›economic migrant‹), a reference to nature/culture of migrants (particularly in relation to the gender of migrants, where expert authority legitimization is also brought to the fore), the construction of threat as obvious fact (instrumental rationalization), and relations to pressure, law and order. This study stands out for its systematic and methodologically elaborate approach and gives a very convincing account of media discourse, how it represents the figure of the migrant and how this contributes to shifting discourse. The chapter demonstrates a model case, on the one hand, of how quantitative and qualitative methods can be combined fruitfully and, on the other hand, of a situation in which right-wing positions are legiti-

mized over time in mainstream media – and then quickly become part of legal regulation.

In the final chapter, Iair G. Or and Elana Shohamy present their text 'Youth should be sent here to absorb Zionism': *Jewish Farmers and Thai migrant workers in Southern Israel*. The authors show different positions in a debate on the role and status of Thai migrant workers that is embedded in specific national, (Zionist) ideals, human rights discourse and economic interests. They start with information on the specific situation in a rural area of Israel where more Thais than Jews live. The farmers see themselves as pioneers who protect Jewish land and are important for Israel's security and economy – but rely on Thai workers and are therefore by some framed as capitalists who exploit workers. Or and Shohamy introduce a complex historical-discursive situation that includes concepts of Zionism that impact in particular ways on national discourses of belonging and territory, where the farmers understand themselves as 'securing' the territory for Jews. This clashes with global economies and the economic interest of farmers, and, at the same time, with the state's role in protecting the rights of workers. The study is mostly based on an analysis of discourse as found on local websites, periodicals, newsletters and news items in national press and includes one item from a linguistic landscape study (p. 149). The third section illustrates the main positions of the debate, which is based on ten news items. Generally, the whole article, and also this section, is very well written and a highly interesting account of conflict between farmers' perspectives, human rights activism, the state, civil society and Thai workers. Not all information can be clearly traced to specific documents and, particularly in the overview section, it is not always clear where information stems from. In the following section, the authors focus on three media reports, one from the farmers' perspective, who wish for more support (and less taxation) from the state and who construct Thai workers as »part of the family«. They perceive the state as a threat that no longer supports them in saving the territory for the purpose of securing the state of Israel. The second text is from a workers' NGO, who criticize harsh living conditions of Thais, their exploitation and discrimination; there are also different voices presented from the comments section to the article. The third analyzed

text is a report on the economic crisis of farmers that is based on a decline of the demand of products. The tensions between representing farmers as example of true 'Zionism' (from which Israeli youth could learn 'true' national values) or as capitalists who are only interested in profit here come to the fore very clearly. Overall, the discourse struggle in this context is very illustrative of economic discourses on the right to profit and their legitimacy in contexts of ideologies of national belonging (as found elsewhere) – where the migrant worker has a particular role to play as legitimizing both positions, at the detriment of human rights to fair and stable living and working conditions.

To come to a general evaluation of the book as a whole, it can be said that it gives a comprehensive and highly interesting account of contemporary discourses of migration control, where different geographical locations are inspected, displaying similarities and differences in how migrants are perceived, and showing the overall role of discourses on migration in the shaping of post-national, neoliberal economic regimes in an age of global mobility. The book presents detailed insight into specific national and regional histories, also from lesser debated settings, and from different perspectives, among them public media, civil society's responses and migrant voices. Also, there is an interesting mix of methodological perspectives that include CDA, historic discourse analysis, quantitative corpus analysis, policy analysis, ethnographic observation, study of language use in context, narrative analysis and interview analysis. Particularly the insights into discourses of migrants (a focus in three of the six studies) are enlightening but, in contrast to what is framed as central questions in the introduction, there is actually little about how migrants deal with institutional regimes of migration control (with the exception of the study on the *Dreamers* movement) and the topic of language problems or investment in language is not a central theme. Again, as mentioned in the beginning, this is not to say that the book isn't a highly valuable collection of studies, it is, however, slightly unusual in its framing through its title and introduction, also based on the use of the term *sociolinguistics*. Altogether, the studies show the continuing relevance of discourses and institutional infrastructures of the nation-state, which functions as a switch-board

between economic interest and national ideology. Discourses on migration, as the ones presented here, display a general trend of constructing migrants as 'unwanted other' whose discrimination and construction of non-belonging is discursively, and then often legally, justified. Global neo-liberal economies and national logics of exclusion here seem to operate at the same time. National discourses of migration control thus overall allow for the legitimization of cheap labor by including but discriminating against particular cohorts of the population, thus enabling global economic systems to exploit vulnerable mobile people. They at the same time legitimize the total exclusion of those who do not promise capitalist profit (as in the case of constructions of *Fortress Europe*, see also Mezzadra/Neilson 2013). The collection of studies in this volume thus is a welcome contribution to better understand the role of migration discourse in contemporary societies and the discursive moves of identity and belonging of those who migrate therein.

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Anschrift:

Prof. Dr. Britta Schneider
 Juniorprofessur für Sprachgebrauch
 und Migration
 Europa-Universität Viadrina
 Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät
 Große Scharrnstr. 59 (Büro: AM 122)
 D-15230 Frankfurt (Oder)
 BSchneider@europa-uni.de