number of cases that have not been found and investigated) as substantial. But despite this admission and despite the increase in the absolute number of fraud cases, the authors go on to say that they believe research fraud is rare and does not represent a major characteristic of science (p. 198). They somewhat awkwardly emphasize the continuing role of Mertonian norms as ideal guides, while they acknowledge the weaknesses of the scientific control systems and the mounting pressures on individual scientists (p. 196).

Moving on to the organizational level of research fraud, however, Ben-Yehuda and Oliver-Lumerman make revealing observations. Employing the useful term "organizational field," they note a recent change in the general ambience of scientific research: it now involves various stakeholders, all of whom want to avoid having future cases of fraud. This easily leads to more bureaucratization and regulation. Another sign of bureaucratization and industrialization of the scientific enterprise is, for instance, the idea of counting impact factors to measure scientific productivity. Meanwhile, fraud discovery is now a matter of self-interest for an emerging set of "moral entrepreneurs," which may explain why fraud has become so visible.

The authors warn against organizational overshoot in the attempt to monitor and control scientific research. A climate conducive to innovation needs to be maintained! (This has been the tenor of the last half-century's fraud and misconduct committees.) But the very same requirement for creative freedom can be a breeding ground for scientific misconduct. Indeed, elsewhere the book suggests that one reason for the large number of cases of medical fraud might be that university-trained scientists have later moved to work in hospital-connected research laboratories with much stricter control standards.

The book ends on a delicious sociological note on the gap between formal policy and actual practice. These two can, in fact, be seen as completely decoupled. The formal policies and rules that an organization adopts after a fraud incident mostly represent its reaction to outside pressures, our authors note. In actuality, the organization will try to *minimize* control by handling needed changes informally. This decoupling is what makes it possible for scientific organizations (and journals, associations, funding agencies, etc.) to "protect their researchers, and the scientific work conducted within them, from the imposition of close monitoring of research activities and heavy reporting demands that may restrict and hamper high-quality research" (p. 201). Are we here, then, presented with an already extant, "dark" solution to the problem of creative freedom versus institutional control in research?

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Living on the Margins: Undocumented Migrants in a Global City, by **Alice Bloch** and **Sonia McKay.** Chicago: Policy Press, 2017. 216 pp. $42.95 paper. ISBN: 9781447319375.

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As immigration has raised new cultural and security concerns and fears of economic displacement, right-wing populism has been on the rise and politicians in Europe and the United States have enacted more policies to restrict migration and immigrant rights. With the media mostly sensationalizing these issues, it is easy to overlook how the increasingly punitive immigration regimes in Europe and the United States are affecting the lives of migrants who seek safety, freedom, and better opportunities in the West. Filling an important gap, Alice Bloch and Sonia McKay's *Living on the Margins: Undocumented Migrants in a Global City* investigates the working and social lives of undocumented or irregular migrants in contemporary London. The book draws on powerful and engaging interviews, conducted in 2012

and 2013 when the UK economy was in a downturn, with 55 undocumented immigrants from Bangladesh, China, and Turkey, as well as 24 ethnic enclave employers, most of them migrants themselves. Contributing to the literatures on undocumented migration, social networks, and labor and ethnic relations, the authors vividly show how undocumented migrants in London survive in an increasingly hostile UK environment, how they use social and family networks in the process, and how differences in gender, ethnicity, and power relations color their experiences.

The book is clearly structured and has eight chapters. The introduction reviews debates about undocumented migration (including terminology), social capital and networks, and work and ethnic enclaves, as well as presenting the book's methods, data, and research ethics. Chapter Two discusses national, EU, and international laws and policies relating to immigrants and asylum-seekers in the United Kingdom, underscoring that undocumented migration is very much a problem constructed by states and their increasingly restrictive immigration and citizenship regimes. Chapter Three explains the complex motivations migrants have for coming to the United Kingdom, which vary by country of origin, ethnicity, and gender. This chapter also makes clear that there is no linear path to becoming undocumented, and many of the immigrants interviewed for the book drifted in and out of legal status at different times. Chapter Four examines the labor market experiences of undocumented immigrants, highlighting cross-country, gender, and class differences in how immigrants found their first job in the United Kingdom, the type of work they did, and the pay they received. The authors point out that while undocumented immigrants are structurally constrained and experience precarious labor conditions, they nonetheless have some individual agency over their work lives.

Chapter Five changes the perspective to ethnic enclave employers, discussing how they experience being small business entrepreneurs in an increasingly restrictive immigration climate, when, why, and how they hire undocumented workers, and how they view and treat these workers. While such employers are often portrayed as ruthless and taking advantage of undocumented workers, this book offers a more nuanced account of the wide range of motives and contradictions that guide employers' decisions and actions. Chapter Six considers the social lives of undocumented workers, highlighting how networks of families, friends, and acquaintances from work, church, or community organizations helped them to find work and social protection. But because these networks often consisted of other (undocumented) immigrants and people of the same ethnic and linguistic group, they could become barriers to progress. Chapter Seven examines the detrimental effects of being undocumented, with a focus on migrants' exclusions from basic welfare, health, housing, and police services. The conclusion reviews key findings along the themes of social networks, the consequences of migration policies, the concepts of risk and migrant agency, and the impact of class, gender, language, and ethnicity on the lives of undocumented immigrants.

One strength of the book is its contribution to social network theorizing, urging scholars to scrutinize immigration legal status. The authors use social networks and social capital as central frameworks to analyze the daily lives of the undocumented Bangladeshi, Chinese, and Turkish workers they interviewed. In the context of immigration and immigrant integration, other scholars often view social networks and social capital as uplifting, helping immigrants overcome race, ethnicity, and language barriers when searching for economic, social, or cultural opportunities in their new surroundings. In *Living on the Margins*, immigrant workers did not enjoy the same advantages of social networks and social capital, making the case that traditional theorizing on social networks may not apply to undocumented immigrants because of their disadvantaged structural position in society. The book makes clear that even though social networks offer protection and support, they can also be restrictive because of the constraints of workers' undocumented status. In several cases, the effect of undocumented status was so debilitating that the relatively poor network resources

that workers could tap into—support from ambivalent family members and other undocumented immigrants—served to trap them in cycles of precarious employment, poorly paid jobs, and socially isolated lives.

A second strength of the book is its unique empirical material and comparative approach to studying the working and social lives of undocumented immigrants. While there is growing scholarship on the daily lives of undocumented immigrants on both sides of the Atlantic, we do not know as much about the employers who hire them to work in their businesses. This book is perhaps unique for its two-pronged methodological strategy of interviewing both undocumented migrants and the ethnic enclave entrepreneurs who hire them, consequently offering a very rich account of the challenges and contradictions that both workers and employers face in navigating the UK's increasingly punitive immigration regime. The book also stands out for its comparison of three immigrant groups, from Bangladesh, China, and Turkey. Through this multiplicity of groups, the authors are able to describe a wide range of experiences in migration motivations and trajectories, as well as working and social lives of immigrants, and how they vary by country of origin, ethnicity, gender, class, language, length of stay in the United Kingdom, and immigrant category (e.g., asylum seekers, visa overstayers, and ''border jumpers'' or clandestine migrants).

The book, however, could have been stronger in its comparative analysis. The authors describe well the diversity of migration, work, and social experiences among their interviewees, but they could have done more to analyze and explain similarities and/or differences throughout their book, for example, by focusing on some explicit and focused comparisons—women versus men, longer-established migrants versus recent arrivals, and visa overstayers versus clandestine migrants—across the three countries of origin. As a scholar of migration issues at the city level, I was also surprised and disappointed by the lack of discussion of the importance of local civic and political context for migrants' and employers' experiences. Even though the book is about migrants and ethnic enclave employers in

London, there is virtually no discussion of how and to what effect city policies and services, local government officials, and local community organizations intervened (or not) in the process of immigrant integration. How did local actors and local context matter for the working and social lives of undocumented immigrants who call London home? To what extent were local actors and local organizations able to mitigate the increasingly constraining effects of UK and EU immigration and citizenship policies? Such questions are central to the growing scholarship on the local turn in immigration in Europe (and the United States), and attention to them would have made the book even more powerful.

Overall, this book is a very welcome addition to the literatures on undocumented migration, social networks, and labor and ethnic relations. It illustrates well just how precarious the daily lives of undocumented workers are, the challenges faced by their employers, and the role of state policies in creating the many hardships experienced by undocumented workers and ethnic enclave employers alike. The book's vivid firsthand testimonies and accessible narrative make it recommended reading for both students and academics, especially those interested in immigration and immigrant integration, social networks, labor studies, urban sociology, and qualitative methods.

Manet: A Symbolic Revolution, by **Pierre Bourdieu**, translated by **Peter Collier** and **Margaret Rigaud-Drayton.** Medford, MA: Polity Press, 2017. 586 pp. $45.00 cloth. ISBN: 9781509500093.

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How do ''symbolic revolutions'' come about? Pierre Bourdieu dedicated his 1998 to 2000 lectures at the Collège de France to this question. Like he did with Flaubert in *The Rules of Art*, he chose to approach it through a single case study, that of the painter Édouard Manet, an artist who completed