Sarah Kunz. 2023. *Expatriate: Following a Migration Category*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 304 pp.

This book critically examines the term 'expatriate' as a socially constructed and evolving category in migration studies. Drawing on ethnographic and archival research, Kunz explores how the category 'expatriate' has been historically and contemporarily shaped by race, gender, and class, revealing its exclusionary implications across various contexts.

Apart from the introduction and conclusion, the book consists of six chapters. The first of these, Chapter Two, examines how the term 'expatriate' was used in colonial and post-colonial Kenya. She shows that the term was racialized and gendered, being used only for white male migrant workers, while Indian and African migrants were excluded from this label. Notably, Kenyan-born white men received expatriate status just before independence, highlighting how the term helped maintain racial hierarchies. This historical analysis anchors Kunz's argument that the expatriate category is not neutral but is deeply intertwined with power structures. Chapter Three interrogates the field of International Human Resource Management (IHRM) literature, where Kunz finds similar patterns. Scholars in this field consistently refer to white men as expatriates, marginalizing other migrant groups. This racialized and gendered framing shows how academic discourse can reinforce exclusionary categories, limiting the understanding of diverse migrant experiences.

The fourth chapter examines how the term 'expatriate' applies within the Royal Dutch Shell Group of Companies (also known as Shell or the Group). Here, the expatriate category was not only racialized and gendered but also classified by class. After the regionalization of the 1990s, Shell's 'international staff,' mainly white men recruited by headquarters, were expected to work abroad extensively and had access to central management roles. In contrast, 'regional staff' recruited by national operating companies were limited to specific cross-posting assignments, with careers managed within their respective companies. Women, despite providing significant social, emotional, and organizational skills, were not labelled as expatriates, revealing gendered exclusion in Shell's policies.

The following chapter examines contemporary usage by exploring how international mobility remains racialized. She argues that possessing a western passport and embodying whiteness conditions one's ability to cross international borders for visits or settlement casually, and the capacity to 'bend' or break migration regulations relatively effortlessly, thereby proving crucial for expatriate life and privileges unavailable to most of the world's population. According to Kunz, expatriates are often portrayed as skilled labourers whose work "'adds value' to the host country, which in turn justifies higher salaries and privileged status" (p. 168). The author, however, emphasizes that "migrants inhabit the expatriate category differently based on intersections of racialisation, citizenship, gender, and class" (p. 173).

Chapter Six analyses the Expatriate Archive Centre (EAC) and its 2015 exhibition, *Expat Impressions of The Hague*, and it further illustrates the complexity of the term 'expatriate.' The EAC defines "anyone who lives temporarily in a country other than their 'home' country" (p. 189), yet its archival practices reveal contradictions. For instance, the Shell Ladies Project (SLP) categorized regional staff, often relocated for short postings, as less 'expatriate' than the 'permanently temporary' international staff. This, according to Kunz, reflects marginalization

within the marginalized group. The EAC's focus on temporality inadvertently reinforces racialised and classed readings of expatriation, while its exhibition emphasizes English-speaking expatriates, eclipsing guest workers from Turkey and Morocco.

Chapter Seven critiques new IHRM categories, such as 'inpatriates' and 'self-initiated expatriates' (SIEs). She argues that IHRM literature normalizes asymmetrical corporate power by framing inpatriates' unequal treatment as a rational response to their 'foreignness,' thus sanitizing racism and xenophobia. Similarly, SIE research predominantly focuses on "white citizens from the Global North" (p. 222), with female or minority SIEs relegated to second-class status. This focus on white, often male, SIEs from developed countries underscores persistent biases in migration scholarship.

Kunz's work offers a compelling critique of the expatriate category, exposing its role in upholding racial, gender, and class inequalities. By analysing the historical and current uses of migration in Kenya, IHRM, Shell, and the EAC, she highlights the need to examine migration categories critically. Her suggestions, such as rethinking recruitment to challenge biases, provide pathways to more equitable frameworks. Sarah Kunz's writing in *Expatriate* is sharp and engaging, combining big ideas with real-world stories. Furthermore, by exploring the term 'expatriate' across different contexts and periods, Kunz prevents her book from feeling static or overly academic, instead emphasizing its complex and evolving nature. However, the book sometimes uses migration terminology that may confuse newcomers. Still, its importance remains strong: in a world with tightening borders, unpacking the concept of 'expatriate' is not just scholarly reflection—it is a call to challenge divisions rooted in race and history.

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