
Paik, Peter P. and Merry Wiesner-Hanks (eds.). 2013. *Debt, Ethics, the Environment, and the Economy*. Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 242 pp. Pb.: \$80.00. ISBN: 9780253009388.

This edited collection adds a welcome range of new perspectives on what has become a central issue for contemporary debate. One strength of the collection is the way in which it draws together research from a very diverse range of disciplinary backgrounds, meaning that even a reader who considers themselves to be an expert in this topic within a particular disciplinary field is likely to find something that provokes new questions and insights. In common with most strengths, there is a corresponding potential weakness, however, and throughout the collection there is something of a tension between the fresh insights gathered by this eclectic gathering, on the one hand, and a sense that the papers sometimes feel a little random in their juxtaposition on the other.

There are of course themes that usefully link at least some of the papers together and provide coherence to parts of this collection. Most notable is an attempt to understand the importance shifting evaluations of debt's meaning that draws together many of the papers. What emerges from these contributions is the importance of understanding how slippery a term "debt" can be and the importance of coming to grips with the ways in which shifting definitions of the term both reflect and shape changing social contexts and expectations of mutual obligation. Many of the authors posit a contrast between a "modern" conception of debt that is largely viewed as problematic and at least in part to blame for our current economic woes and a more "traditional" conception, some elements of which might usefully be integrated into a contemporary worldview. Pre-modern debt is described in this presentation as being an all-encompassing concept taking in all forms of moral obligation to a person's fellow human beings and to the environment that gave birth to them; a condition of general indebtedness into which one is born and from which one is not intended to escape. This is a conception of indebtedness that makes it a fundamental aspect of the human condition. Modern debt by contrast is presented as being the result of a "great transformation" in which debt becomes more narrowly constructed as a matter of financial and economic rationality of which individuals choose to contract and which in many cases they are then ideally supposed to wish to rid themselves.

The influence of classical historical, political, economic analyses, such as those of Marx and particularly Polanyi, on this position are clear enough. Moreover, for the anthropologist the contrast between these two forms of debt irresistibly conjures up the conceptual opposition drawn by Gregory in 1980 between "gift-debt" and "commodity-debt", with the traditional conception of debt that goes beyond the economic and can never be expunged drawing comparison with Mauss' depiction of the Gift as "total social fact" and an obligation that one never fully discharges but that ties one to others. It seems a shame, in fact, that Mauss' work is only explicitly engaged with in passing on a couple of occasions (admittedly to great effect in Kenan Ferguson's paper questioning the "modern" desire to be free of debt that is one of the highlights of this collection).

Such distinctions will doubtless evoke unease amongst many anthropologists whose discipline is still more deeply entangled than most in the grip of an un-reflexive

uncritical version of postmodern theory that views the drawing of any conceptual oppositions (except that between bad old-fashioned modernist theory and the morally superior postmodern theory that transcended it) with great suspicion. Furthermore, there are occasions in this collection where some authors write about the distinction between different conceptions of debt in a manner that seems to suggest that Western modern persons are simple caricatures whose conception of narrow economic debt leads them to entirely ignore their undying obligations to the social relations and physical environment that created the basis for their existence. The danger with such a simple reading is that non-Western persons end up becoming implicitly cast as noble savages whose wider conception of debt as an ongoing relation gives them more profound and less destructive relationship with each other and with their habitat. The potential political dangers of this tendency, most notably the tendency to demand that non-Western persons remain outside of history in their savage slot in order to redeem the perceived sins of Western moderns, are well known and have been a prominent feature in anthropological discussions ever since the publication of Johannes Fabian's *Time and the Other* in the early 1980s.

However, whilst it remains important to be aware of such potential dangers (most notable in this collection in the papers that deal with "environmental debt"), it would equally be a mistake if we allowed such an awareness to blind us towards what the best papers in this collection have to offer us. Here we find the distinction between different forms of debt described as an on-going and irresolvable tension and conflict that shapes emerging and evolving market economies. A good example is provided by Mary Poovey's paper *Demonizing Debt, Naturalizing Finance* that starts from a shift in the evaluation of debt in 18th century Britain that transformed debt from an unavoidable fact of life to an individual economic failing but goes on to explain how this was not the establishment of a fixed order to be opposed to what went before or could be found elsewhere but was rather the start of the creation of new tensions over the meaning of debt (in particular a tension over what kinds of debts could be transformed from failings into individually responsible investments in the self). The boundaries between these different conceptions of debt continued to be fought over as people attempted to shape the contours of capitalist political economies. At their best, the papers in this collection follow this lead in attempting to delineate examples of the ways in which shifting evaluations of the meaning of debt have shaped the world that we live in and as such it makes a thought-provoking addition to an important and growing debate.

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Rapport, Nigel. 2012. *Anyone. The Cosmopolitan Subject of Anthropology*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books. 228 pp. Hb.: \$39.95 / £25.00. ISBN: 9780857455192.

In *Anyone. The Cosmopolitan Subject of Anthropology*, Nigel Rapport takes the rather wide subject-matter of cosmopolitanism, presents different approaches throughout history, and finally proposes a novel idea of “Anyone” that combines the complex notions of universality and individuality. He moves away from culture, society and community and brings the individual to the focus of cosmopolitan studies.

The book is both gracefully written and well-organised. Even though each chapter contributes to the arguments of other chapters, they are still approachable separately. The book is divided into three main parts, each addressing a different key question. The first chapter is dedicated to a close analysis of historical founding moments of the term, followed by the presentation of the plurality of contemporary voices and conceptualisations. In this chapter, Rapport suggests the cosmopolitan project as a practical alternative to approaches based on a communitarian nature, such as nationalism and multiculturalism. The second chapter, titled *My Name is Rickey Hirsch*, forms the backbone of the book. Rapport takes the life-story of Rickey Hirsch, narrated in his own words, and presents him as the living, existing symbol of Anyone. He argues that Rickey personifies Anyone since the particular substance of his life is his and his alone, but the capacities he implements while moving through physical and social spaces as well as cultural symbolologies are human universals. This chapter is what identifies the book and differentiates Rapport’s approach from the previous understandings of cosmopolitanism. The third chapter examines how the individuality of Anyone fits into the impersonal and objective contexts of science and society. Here Rapport starts with the socio-political philosophies of Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, analyses the concepts of personal truth, distortion, and finally suggests a discourse of “cosmopolitan politesse”, which he sees as a cosmopolitan framework allowing Anyone to be accepted anywhere.

Rapport’s aim in this book is to shift the scholarly focus (back) from the general to the individual as the individual is the fundamental constituent of all social unities. For him, the individual experience represents a kind of absolute that not only deserves but ought to be set in the centre. However, even though Rapport sets the individual in the centre of cosmopolitan attention, he does not dismiss the communal, cultural, and general completely. Rather, he sees the cultural and community diversity as the tool-kit for individual self-creation and argues that the individual with his/her own potential and life project exists universally as an ontological reality. He takes the potentiality for change, decision making and agency in general as the basis of universality and combines it with the particularity of an individual.

The result is the idea of Anyone – a symbolic truce in the duel between universality and individuality. In his own words, Anyone is ‘the universal human actor who is not epistemologically constrained by the cultural traditions and communitarian mores into which he or she at present (perhaps accidentally) or in future dwells’ (p. 75). He argues that the recognition of the individual in the discipline of anthropology is both an empirical and moral essentiality as ‘nothing has greater value than a human individual

because he or she is a “perfect” embodiment of the human whole’ (p. 5). Even though Rapport spends pages and pages presenting a thorough analysis of the importance of the individual in cosmopolitan research, it just might be that he puts too little attention on the most important thing – connecting the individual, Rickey Hirsch, with the theoretical framework. It seems that Rickey is left to speak for himself, and the reader is trusted to connect all the dots by himself/herself.

On the side of the thorough analysis of the nature of cosmopolitanism and the ontological entity of Anyone, Rapport also presents the idea of ‘cosmopolitan politesse’, which offers a set of norms that serve as a universal ethic of polite human interaction. He finds cosmopolitan politesse to be the factor or medium that allows Anyone to live wherever, author his/her life, and possess the right to be universally recognised as himself or herself, not just a mere member of a social category or class. It can be seen as a moral high ground to interact with Anyone on a potentially global scale and allow Anyone to use his/her universal potential and become anyone else. Possibly, it could be understood that Rapport sees cosmopolitan politesse as a moral methodology to understand and create an interconnected cosmopolitan world. Even though Rapport is thorough and convincing in his argumentation, his proposal to take politesse as the framework where Anyone lives and moves might be overly optimistic since he seems to build his theory upon the impression that all human interaction is based on care about fellow individuals, politeness, and acceptance.

All in all, Nigel Rapport has managed to upgrade the collection of scholarly literature with yet another masterpiece. *Anyone* is well written, well organised, plus the wide range of references and presented approaches bring together an assembly of recognised and respected scholars, philosophers and writers. Rapport succeeds in substantiating his approach on cosmopolitanism in the context of other works and views with respect and grace. Therefore, the book gives a rather good overview of the matter of cosmopolitanism and should be a valuable and interesting reading for both those who are informed about the subject-matter and those who are new in this field.

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Wright, Christopher. 2013. *The Echo of Things. The Lives of Photographs in the Solomon Islands*. Durham, London: Duke University Press. 240 pp. Pb.: \$27.95. ISBN: 9780822355106.

This book is a collection of four chapters, some of them already published elsewhere, and focused on photographic attitudes and practices in villages located on Roviana Lagoon, New Georgia, in the Western Solomon Islands. The first chapter (*The Men of the Boat*) deals with colonial photography, its production and local reception, at the turn of the 20th century, and discusses the reality of the islanders' "first contact" with photography. Chapter 2 (*A Devil's Engine*) examines the local expectations and practices of the medium throughout the 20th century, again by questioning the status of photography as a "modern" technique imposed on "savage" people by dominant outsiders. Chapter 3 (*Photographic Resurrection*) is concerned with the role of photography as establishing a link between the living and the dead and shows how photography, as a mnemonic practice, is connected to 'preexisting Roviana processes of memorialization' (p. 15). Chapter 4 (*Histories*) discusses the way historical photographs from the colonial past are being appropriated and thus contribute to the writing of history from a local point of view. In the book's *Prologue* and *Epilogue*, the author discusses his method and approach.

The book owes much to the anthropology of photography initiated by authors such as Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Pinney. It is a very good example of what an 'ethnography of photography' (p. 17) should be: Wright is not only interested in the content of images, but in the "lives" of photographs as material objects produced by specific agents using specific techniques, looked at, touched, and transmitted within specific local configurations, their meaning being constantly subject to change. Methodologically speaking, this implies archival research on the social and political conditions of production of colonial photography and on its reception, interviews with local people regarding their attitudes towards historical and contemporary photographs, and observation of their practices both as producers and consumers of photographs.

A central concern of the author is to 'question the normative value of Euro-American models of photography and to "provincialize" these through an ethnography of Roviana photographic practices' (p. 13). Is photography a universal phenomenon? Does it have an identity as a medium? Are its expectations the same all over the world? (p. 60). The Solomon Islands case study is particularly pertinent here as photography is clearly an imported practice, whose introduction can be rather precisely documented (Chapters 1 and 2). Wright warns us however of the risk of considering local practices and attitudes through a schematic opposition between "modern" and "pre-modern" understandings of photography. Not only have Roviana people been able to understand and use the medium from the beginning (which means that the idea of photography was not alien to their visual culture), but the so-called Western understanding of photography, Wright argues, is not deprived of ideas of magic and ghosts commonly reported in narratives of non-European peoples' first contact with photography. 'For Roviana people,' Wright concludes, 'photography is a way of mediating modernity through mimetic practices, but there is a sense in which photography is not new for them. It is connected to previously existing visual and memorial formations' (p. 193).

The book offers a stimulating discussion of colonial photography and suggests that this is not only ‘a matter of Europeans imposing their own fantasies, their colonial vision, on docile populations’ (p. 32): on the other side of the colonial encounter, local people were able to construct their own images, or at least to play with them, for instance by responding to the European obsessions about headhunting and cannibalism. Wright also shows how photography was used by Christians missionaries to transform savage bodies into “Christian” bodies and suggests that contemporary attitudes towards old photographs reproduce this temporal shift between savage ancestors and today’s population. The book thus covers a whole range of issues related to the effects of photography on the formation of social groups. There are inspiring paragraphs on family photography and love photographs, whose circulation and conservation in albums are very similar to Euro-American practices (chapter 2), on the way photography has led to an ‘increasing individualization of memory’ compared to collective modes of telling the past (chapter 3), and on the articulation between photographs and other ‘processual monuments,’ such as skull shrines (p. 145).

Apart from being a detailed ethnographic account of the role of photographs in the lives of Roviana people, *The Echo of Things* is a highly valuable contribution to the study of vernacular photography which, due to scholars such as Geoffrey Batchen, has become so central to the history of photography. Its reading can thus be recommended to all those interested in the relations between photography and anthropology and in the current debates on the “nature” and “identity” of photography.

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Bennet, Andy and Paul Hodkinson (eds.). 2012. *Ageing and Youth Cultures. Music, Style and Identity*. London, New York: Berg / Bloomsbury Publishing. 196 pp. Pb.: £17.99. ISBN: 9781847888358.

‘Post-subcultural theory ... in its exploration of postmodern consumerism and the reflexive construction of identity ... a presentation of youth culture as an age-specific and age-limited category confined in most understandings to the teens and early twenties’ (p. 1). This conceptual grasp of youth culture is taken within *Ageing and Youth Cultures* and re-appropriated to more accurately represent the ageing groups currently active within music scenes. Music ontology, encompassing all the countless elements making up the varying genres spread out across the world, has seen, in the past 40 years or so, a dynamic shift marked significantly by the eruption of a multitude of branching off subgenres. As the genres become increasingly distinct, they also begin to adapt a visage of identity for those partaking in them, identities that prove more and more difficult to carry on into ageing bodies because of both physical limitations and sociological pressures or norms placed post-youth persons.

This multi-authored collection spans four sections with three chapters each, and covers a wide range of topics, genres and styles to create a rather cohesive image of what life consists of for those who have passed the *standard* age for participation in their particular music scene. Whether adaptation has taken place in the form of reduced frequency of participation, adherence to more conservative clothing styles or role-switching to that of teacher or mentor, this book takes time to explore each avenue, albeit briefly. The inability of ageing members to keep up with youth cultures is not necessarily a new topic, but in present-alternative style cultures the insistence on living young without regard for ageing into adulthood has put pressures on those who run the natural course up to it.

The first section’s focus on ageing, image and identity is clearly the heart of the collection and thereby serves to allow the proceeding sections leniency as to how they can accommodate the topic of old versus young. Choosing to theme this opening section on ageing in straight edge, queer and female rave scenes is a strategically smart decision as it covers cross-genres while simultaneously hitting upon gendering, sexualising and drug use (or lack thereof) to cement them as a base to continue on in the following sections. Unfortunately, with each chapter being done by a separate author this flow of ideas is not able to reach its full potential due to either repeating fundamentals already covered previously or by lacking cohesion found within single-authored texts. This sectioning can benefit those who seek information for more specific means or who wish to use only certain aspects, while the differing units allowing the reader to not miss important theoretical information which could have been found elsewhere – this is instead placed conveniently inside the context of each chapter.

The more obvious struggles of the ageing process come in physical limitations which Fogarty, Tsitsos and Gibson address through B-Boying, slamdancing and general rock concert participation. Tsitsos and Gibson highlight the changing role of the older participants into mentors and teachers, with Tsitsos particularly emphasising the knowledge that the elders retaining being able to best the younger generation simply through a

repertoire of moves. While the older group can be seen teaching classes to pass on their knowledge, one must wonder if they feel themselves losing who they are by giving up their secrets while simultaneously seeing their skills live on through a younger generation. Traversing along this path, we may also find that a reduction of willing participants to continue with these types of dancing may be found as revolt by the youth of the scene to produce something in their own image, thereby reaffirming the dichotomy between youth and age. Continued research down this conduit could produce beneficial research to further understand the stance of those ageing into the scene.

The last two sections involve the responsibilities and communities of those in the ageing subcultures and, much like the previous half of the book, offer different case studies to represent alternative scenes. The responsibility section follows a fairly well-trod area of individuals either abandoning previous activities that stood out as ostensibly *youth* or adversely finding ways in which to stay active through various conduits amongst the younger members of the scene. The following (and last) section involving communities of ageing subculture members reads as a feel-good story that exhibits a positivist attitude based around individual ties amongst members. These chapters capture members retaining their identity amongst outside influence and even examples of social accommodations via youth camps and a decrease of job availability being hindered by alternative appearance.

The book is holistically an introduction to the research being actively done within post-youth culture scenes and as such provides only brief case study results that leave questions left to be answered which should be found in follow-up research, yet this is also dependent on the author of the chapter. The multi-authoring offers an appreciated multi-view, allowing the reader to see several different viewpoints, but also creates a wavering of quality found between chapters dependent on the skill of the authors themselves. Overall, the book sets the tone for an emerging social system, distinctive in its acceptance and re-accommodating of age within youth culture and provides a framework for further research to continue.

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Davis, Elizabeth Anne. 2012. *Bad Souls. Madness and Responsibility in Modern Greece*. Durham, London: Duke University Press. 331 pp. Pb.: \$25.95. ISBN: 9780822351061.

National psychiatric reform in Greece was done in the context of the nation's accession to the European Union in the early 1980s. The humanitarian project or the 'democratic experiment' (p. 4), as the author calls it, put focus on deinstitutionalisation and shifted psychiatric treatment away from custodial hospitals towards outpatient settings. Reform was about fostering a new attitude among patients – an attitude of care for oneself, of responsibility. As the author notes, the focus on community-based treatment, which stresses patient responsibility, makes for a new ethical development in psychiatry. For the author, responsibility does not signal a notion that refers merely to the discourse of psychiatric reform – it is also a cultural encounter, an emergent ethical conceptualisation of life, 'engaging identification with an enigmatically Western modernity and its moral goods of progress and freedom' (p. 12). The new focus on responsibility does not merely affect the patients themselves; it is dispersed, forming a collaborative network in which patients, therapists, families and community members are inserted. There is a conflict here, however, since patients should strive to become responsible citizens, yet their condition prevents them from doing so. What emerges is a kind of complemented subjectivity, a 'collaborative mode of ethics' (p. 14) in which therapists aid the patients in the attempted goal of achieving responsibility. However, as the author says, '[I]n these relationships, designed to expand the responsibility of patients in proportion to their freedom, therapists occupy a shaky ground between guidance and coercion' (p. 14).

The book is organised around three main topics: truth, culture and freedom. The first part addresses the question of truth by looking at diagnosis and 'suspicions of deception' (p. 4), which emerge in the encounter between therapists and patients. Clinical diagnosis is recognised as the primary way 'by which psychiatric knowledge attains to truth' (p. 59). Truth, however, is mediated through speech, and it is here that the question of 'the unknown' emerges as a significant problem. As the author states, '[D]iagnosis is the focus of my own analysis because it so clearly demonstrates the arena in which the play between what is known and what is not known in the clinic is routinised in practice' (p. 60). Communication between therapists and clients aims at engaging the issue of responsibility in relation to mental illness. The focus is put on 'experiences of mental illness that appeared to resist treatment' (p. 17). Therapists attribute treatment failure to deception by their patients, struggling to discern the truth and lies through 'diagnostic and practical logics' (p. 17). Clinical diagnosis, then, is understood as a 'truth game' (p. 55). The author suggests that there is an absence in psychiatric language 'for naming what patients wanted when they did not want help' (p. 109). While intentions are delegated to the register of the consciousness, secret motives appear in the register of unconsciousness. Therapists suspect patients, but patients also suspect therapists and, as the author points out, a salient effect of the mutual suspicion is the actual solidification of intimacy in the therapeutic encounter.

The second part continues with the topic of suspicion, put in the context of cultural difference. In the clinical setting, cultural differences in Thrace appear, within

the context of transcultural psychiatry, as ‘etiologies of pathology’ (p. 17). Symptoms broadly fall into two categories: on the one hand, somatic complaints are attributed to a traditional culture, associated with Greeks and Turks while, on the other hand, the culture of Gypsies is associated with ‘behavioral symptoms of personality disorders’ (p. 18). At the same time, the author notes that ‘cultural pathology’ is also explained materialistically – the explanation of pathology recognises the context of ‘extreme poverty and marginality’ (p. 18). Moreover, as the author notes, ‘... this political-economic account of mental pathology, which implicated therapists as agents of state care, was at odds with the relativism framing their transcultural diagnostics’ (p. 18). The author suggests that this context of mental disorders and therapeutic relationships speaks of a different kind of ethical culture, which goes against the discourse of responsibility and the ‘liberal “rights culture”’ (p. 123) of psychiatric reform.

The third part deals with freedom. The author observes how participation in treatment is stimulated, and she observes how two techniques – therapeutic contracts and group therapy – are engaged in order ‘to bind patients to particular modes of responsible behavior’ (p. 216). In the case of therapeutic contracts, the reciprocal responsibility of therapists and patients to each other is formalised through contracts that are at once ‘metaphorically legal’ (p. 221) and moral. The contracts are an elaborate tool through which the state engages therapists as responsible subjects that provide ‘care and support’ (p. 219), while it engages patients who in exchange for the benefits received are called upon to fulfil the duty of being – or becoming – responsible citizens. Group therapy is comprised out of a similar logic: ‘Group therapy in the hospital clinic functioned less as a space of open expression and listening than as a site for the inculcation of the value of personal responsibility’ (p. 228). For the author, the liberalisation of patient care – through psychoactive medications and the mentioned techniques – is premised on the understanding of patients as autonomous subjects, yet, as the author notes, there is a discrepancy here: if legal and political freedoms are attainable for the patients, this is not the case for the ontological freedom that these techniques require. Hence, the author suggests that it is precisely this gap that ‘helps account for the intractability of severe pathology under psychiatric reform’ (p. 18).

Although it can at times appear quite challenging, *Bad Souls* is a very well written book, weaving together a lucid ethnographic narrative and a sophisticated theoretical analysis. The book clearly demonstrates how reform aimed at constituting autonomous and responsible subjects can result in relationships of dependency, intimacy and debt.

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Iosif Ross, Anamaria. 2012. *The Anthropology of Alternative Medicine*. London, New York: Berg / Bloomsbury Publishing. 185 pp. Pb.: £17.99. ISBN: 9781845208028.

In *The Anthropology of Alternative Medicine*, Anamaria Iosif Ross undertakes to provide a ‘concentrated anthropological synthesis’ (p. 2) of alternative medicine. She asks ‘... how do persons and communities decide who is healthy and who is sick? What are criteria for inclusion and exclusion? What are the solutions?’ (p. 19). The ambition is admirable: to ‘clarify the value and meaning that medical approaches contribute to the lives of patients, practitioners, and communities, in context’ (p. 9). The other purpose is to reinvigorate the ‘discourses and categories now used to label and analyze the experiences of health, illness, and healing’ (p. 36).

Alternative medicine consists of a wide variety of approaches and practices, often originating in distant cultures and periods. According to the double-blind, placebo-controlled testing that is the hallmark of Western biomedicine, alternative therapies do not work. Adherents of alternative medicine, however, claim it is efficient due to its holistic approach. In Ross’ view, it is also characterised by its ‘elusive social spirit’ and ‘subversive and grassroots qualities’ (p. 150).

The first chapter, *Alternative medicine in the 21st century*, states that ‘mainstream health practitioners and institutions are increasingly eager to co-opt holistic and alternative practices’ (p. 8). It also introduces key concepts in medical anthropology, anthropological approaches to alternative healing, cultural constructions in health care and the difference between biomedicine and traditional medicine. The second chapter is organised around ‘flow’, the ‘quintessential vital principle’ and ‘empirically descriptive key term’ (p. 41), which appears to be a common idea in the topics treated, for example water and equilibrium in religion, homeopathy, energy, life-force, the powers of the sun, food industry, dowsing, herbs and alternative consumption movements. ‘Spirit, consciousness, and trance’ (Chapter 3) discusses altered states, shamanic consciousness, hypnosis, symbolic and faith healing, pilgrimage, mental illness and Ayurveda. The third chapter, *Body, movement, and the senses*, is dedicated questions like the multidimensionality of healing work, tactile experiences, music as life, aromatherapy and polytheistic medicine. In her conclusion (Chapter 5), Ross expresses the hope that alternative medicine will gradually become recognised and integrated into biomedicine.

The book contains some empirical studies of alternative groups in Romania, such as Hesychasm (or rather neo-Hesychasm), Reiki healing and a millenarian natural food movement, which have an empirical basis and among other things illustrate how Orthodox Christianity is integrated into a New Age set of ideas and practices. In addition, each chapter has questions for class discussion and essay writing, as well as recommended literature and film.

An important point is that ‘culturally speaking, practices and beliefs endure because they have social power, they fulfil needs and they yield benefits’ that can be ‘cognitive, emotional, social, material, or physical’ and hard to quantify (p. 9). Ross claims that she will not prove or disprove the ‘scientific validity of particular practices under discussion’ (p. 37), yet recurrently asserts that the health benefits of alternative therapies

are ‘increasingly supported by scientific data’ (p. 3). One of her ‘dominant concerns and assumptions’ is that the role of the senses in healing ‘goes much beyond current Western conceptions and approaches’ (p. 10), and she appears to share the idea that the distinction between ‘natural’ and ‘supernatural’ reflects an ‘ethnocentric and scientific bias’ (p. 30). That is one of the reasons she eventually rejects the term “alternative” altogether, due to its “fractured” and “hegemonic” flavour. Instead, she prefers the term “integrative medicine”, even though, in her view, that too echoes the ‘colonial, imperialistic, and modernistic ethos of incorporation’ (p. 150).

A major weakness of the book is that it neglects power structures, economic aspects or gender roles within the alternative field itself. The perspectives conveyed are top-down and set in a scientific or pseudo-scientific discourse (healers, course instructors, etc.), which are not necessarily the same as those of the patients/clients. Ross also de-emphasises significant historical, cultural and socio-religious differences, for example between folk healing/medicine in pre-modern societies and modern alternative medicine in the West, although alternative medicine is a product of the modern, disenchanting world and not just a reaction to it.

Two main assumptions permeate the author’s discussion of what alternative medicine is and does. The first assumption is that biomedical treatment has many shortcomings and is closely related to negative modern capitalist structures and interests. While some of this explains particular concerns of alternative medicine in the 21st century, there are some recurrent logical fallacies in the arguments (straw man, biased, sweeping generalisation, false dilemma, perfectionist fallacy and suppressed evidence). The second assumption, or claim, is that alternative medicine is natural, holistic, and efficient, also in scientific terms. The argumentation is weak here too, for example with repeated appeals to unnamed authorities, tradition, nature, probability, common practice, popular belief, etc. None of this would have been problematic had the author not conflated the emic categories and explanations of alternative medicine with anthropological analysis.

The book does give a certain overview of issues relevant to adherents of alternative medicine and is informative about the discourse. On the whole, it is unfocused and lacks a firm analytical grip on what comes across as a series of random and unfounded claims about various unrelated topics. The result is a lot of strange statements like ‘magic has its rightful place to reclaim’ (p. 82) or that the U.S. government banned certain Apache rites of passage ‘because they conflicted with Judeo-Christian views of puberty and menstruation’ (p. 110).

While Ross purports to explore how ‘alternative etiologies and therapeutic methods are constructed, imagined, or contested in time and space’ (p. 9), she does not take into account relevant studies of alternative medicine in the West in the 21st century or the paradigm’s historicity, above all the influence from Theosophy and New Age. The magical and religious ideas that underpin it are not sufficiently analysed, although they are essential to understanding why alternative medicine (and the author) interprets history, science, religion and cultures the way it does.

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Ingold, Tim and Gisli Pálsson (eds.). 2013. *Biosocial Becomings. Integrating Social and Biological Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 288 pp. Hb.: £55.00. ISBN: 9781107025639.

In contemporary social anthropology and related disciplines, there are at least three sources of great excitement about potentially paradigm-shifting renewed relationships – and serious integrations – with natural sciences. These are the “Anthropocene” proposition, in which humans are viewed as a geological force; new neuroscience research on the brain as highly “social”; and new epigenetic research on how environmental, including “social”, influences on gene expression may lead to transgenerational epigenetic inheritance, thus perhaps resurrecting long-abandoned Lamarckian notions on evolution itself. I view Tim Ingold and Gisli Pálsson’s *Biosocial Becomings* as a project gathering its major impetus from epigenetics. This edited volume juxtaposes new biology with diverse ethnographies, but fails at a stated goal of biological/social integration, instead envisioning an ambitious new “Anthropology of Life”.

The book is based on a European Association of Social Anthropologists 2010 conference panel. Panel participants later set up, within the association, an official *Biosocial Becomings* network, highlighting their long-term ambitions. In the volume’s introduction, Ingold voices this ambitiousness. Ingold attacks “Neo-Darwinism”, referring here disapprovingly to genetic determinism and biology-privileging instances of evolutionary genetics, evolutionary psychology, “sociobiology”, “meme theory”, etc. He envisions a new “biosocial”, processual, developmental (ontogenesis-privileging), and relational evolutionary theory, akin to “evolution’s theory of relativity”.

The following core chapters’ topics and approaches are diverse, which readers may alternatively perceive as rich or as lacking cohesion. Pálsson calls for a deconstruction of “biology” and its merger with “society”, positing certain Arctic peoples’ person-naming practices that centre social relatedness as a form of “indigenous epigenetics”. The volume’s only biological scientist, Fuentes, introduces a new biology – one of processes (*becoming*) and endpoint-less dynamics rather than of states (*being*) and optimality-striving – to a social-anthropological audience. Integrating much new and old literature, Ramirez-Goicoechea provides a highly informative overview of a new biology, particularly of epigenetics and its implications for organisms as both objects and *subjects* of evolution.

Next arrives the transition point from biology to different kinds of ethnography. Chatjouli explores ethnographically how persons with a genetic disease “naturalise” experientially their biomedically mediated life and how gene-centrally informed medical policy may in turn influence the developmental unfolding of people’s lives and biologies. Vaisman writes that new biotechnology forced an Argentinean court to create new ontology in order to *see* person and body simultaneously from two perspectives, one social-affective, one genetic. Götsch describes the high degree of intersubjectivity, shared cognition, and intention in a group of people working mentally as if “one brain”. Mangiameli treats aspects of Ghana’s Kasena people’s religion as a philosophy of (unpredictable) *Becoming*, where things or animals attain “sacredness” through their sociability

and self-making. Drawing from Ingold's "meshwork", Laterza et al. walk through the wayfaring paths of a sawmill, noting the "overlap" of humans, machines, wood, iron and other elements. Praet shows that in Animisms' ethnocentric ontologies, "humanity" and "life" are restricted, but can be made and maintained by culturally specific social effort: thus, foreign people are "not human" and wild animals are "not alive". Al-Mohammad introduces instability and failures into Ingoldian conceptualisations of Heidegger's "being-in-the-world", using one security guard's precarious life events as an example of "falling-out-of-the-world".

Finally, Pálsson calls to draw on new approaches to evolution – where the genetic and cultural overlap and Darwinian selection and variation are social – to replace atomistic accounts with an extended, entangled notion of the *Anthropos* and of life. He wants an "Anthropology of Life" to bridge the discipline's biological-vs-sociocultural divide and address life's interconnected, more-than-human *becoming*.

As the above summary shows, what this book is *not* is "Integrating Social and Biological Anthropology". On the one hand, all the chapters make unique contributions. The book is dense with sophisticated thought, openness and vision, especially on evolution, life, and a more ambitious anthropology. As sources, the epigenetic paradigm and Ingoldian theory dominate. On the other hand, the core chapters proceed from biological to ethnographic, revealing a "sandwich" structure. Indeed, for panel-based edited volumes, eclecticism and internal disconnection are typical. Here too the separated disciplines and eclectic chapters are still "being" – friendlily side-by-side, but not talking (or referring) to each-other. They are not "becoming" a "dynamic and entangled" conversation on biosocial realities or between the two anthropologies. Characteristically of contemporary anthropology, the medical-anthropological chapter (Chatjouli) comes closest to integration.

What this book *does* become is an excited and dedicated call to social/cultural anthropologists to take notice of, engage, and participate in new biologies. While essentially becoming-themed ethnographic works by social anthropologists dominates the book core, there are also two current-state-of-research overviews on epigenetics and other new biological research (Fuentes and Ramirez-Goicoechea). The occurrence of such, almost textbook-like, overviews written *for* social scientists reflects some anthropologists' readiness and excitement about the theoretical promise of new biology for integrating our two divided sub-disciplines and beyond. Thus, Pálsson states the volume's goal as opening up a space for 'theoretical developments that take the merging of the biological and the social for granted' (p. 248).

I support such a social-anthropological call to engage and goal to integrate, but will note some accompanying problems. Firstly, there is a danger of instrumentalising particular accounts of natural sciences, rather than integrating with them. At points, the editors refer to epigenetics without naming it or engaging its specifics and scientific uncertainties, instead *rhetorically* implying certainty in a vast, generalised reconceptualisation of evolution. This might be premature, similarly to how cultural anthropologists and others have run with the concept of the Anthropocene, perhaps without taking into account the lack of geologists' consensus about the concept's applicability. Beyond critiquing Neo-Darwinism, the book neither gives space to contrarian arguments and debate

nor homes in on the uses of social anthropology to biological anthropology and other biosciences. Thus, it reproduces the isolation of academic disciplines.

Secondly, unfortunate slippage occurs in the book: from arguments about humans to arguments about life or evolution generally (anthropology's anthropocentrism); from organisms' mutual entanglement, e.g. the human microbiome, to denying species' existence; or from modern biotechnology's biosociality to denying general timescale difference between human-(bio)social processes versus the entirety of world's biological processes.

Finally, there is a danger of instrumentalising idealised accounts of indigenous ontologies, in order to conflate those with one's own theoretical, sometimes political or cultural/academic anti-hegemonic, agenda. This well-meant, but orientalist tendency troubles anthropology's current 'ontological turn' and to some extent also surfaces in this book.

While failing to integrate the Ingoldian and other social anthropologies with epigenetic and other new biology, *Biosocial Becomings* presents its readers with significant intellectual, even existential, challenges. It envisions a bigger, more ambitious Anthropology in which the social and biological finally merge, as the focus moves from essences and states to relations and processes. It challenges us to re-define ourselves and others – as human and other *becomings*. However, the million-dollar question remains: on the becomings of life, where and how *could* epigenetic studies and diverse ethnographies dialogue?

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Grønseth, Anne Sigfrid (ed.). 2013. *Being Human, Being Migrant. Senses of Self and Well-Being (EASA Series)*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn. 184 pp. Hb.: \$85.00 / £53.00. ISBN: 9781782380450

This might merely have been one more book about contemporary migrants in Europe; however, it goes beyond anonymous categories of “labour migrants”, “exiles”, “refugees”, “asylum seekers”, “hybrids” or “transnationals” by suggesting individual migrants’ experiences of everyday life, rather than closing them into social hierarchical terms. *Being Human, Being Migrant* is a comprehensive six-chapter volume about migrants’ experiences, not so much in geographical but more in existential terms. The authors focus on how people negotiate, perform and creatively react to changing environments, while cultural and social shifts challenge migrants’ mundane practices and perceptions of the new environment as much as understanding of the old one.

The insightful introduction edited by Anne Sigfrid Grønseth familiarises the reader with the principles of the phenomenological perspective on everyday life. She argues that migrants, living on borderlands, experience, perceive and conceive the overlapping life-worlds, their power regimes and moralities and that, therefore, they realise that none of these worlds, practices or beliefs are actually fixed and pre-set entities. Such a position requires a dynamic and creative reaction of a person involved in migration to the situation *here* and *now*, and also to past and future dreams.

Barbara Pinelli in the first chapter talks about how one asylum seeker, Rolanda, a Togolese woman in Italy, finds herself in-between the fantasy world, the plans of “possible lives” and vulnerability. The suffering she is forced to experience is the violent result of state institutions that keep people like Rolanda waiting for years and years before they are allowed (or not) to start creating the life they wish to live. Although it might seem that she is vulnerable on economic, social and political bases, she is not seen as a victim. It is contended that her imagination is a powerful and active resource of self-making because it is an urge toward change.

In the following chapter, Anne Sigfrid Grønseth shares a story of Tamil refugee woman Malar, living in Oslo, and how she narrates her life as “living in a tunnel” between being Tamil with Tamils, and Tamil with Norwegians. Despite her forced re-orientation in a new society, her horizons widen when she becomes more flexible in re-creating and negotiating what it means to be Tamil for her and her children. The argument is that only when practices of different worlds are not understood as erasing differences but as mutually constructing human identity, an active creation of well-being and future visions starts.

The third chapter, by Maruška Svašek, gives a biographical narrative of Anna, a Dutch woman just before her remigration with a family to Holland after many years spent in Northern Ireland. The author is aiming to show how story telling proposes perceptions of past, feelings and emotions as processes that are always in relation to new future prospects. It is stressed how Anna moves in time and space while defining, reconsidering and redefining her notion of self in the past with a dose of judgement on her psycho-social development from the perspective *here* and *now*.

The next chapter continues the idea of the adaptive consciousness by exploring how memory functions in the mind of a migrant when the ongoing life is so much disconnected from the pre-migration period. Naoko Maehara analyses Naomi's diary, who, as a Japanese woman in Ireland, has felt a sense of loss when the new environment evoked nothing from her homeland. However, it is shown how new sensory responses and emotional associations are learned; Meahara argues that building fresh memories in a new place helps to achieve novel bodily senses of being-in-place. Thus for a migrant, such intrapersonal relationship with the physical and social environment always involves a dynamic play of memory and the continuity of one's self and is a necessary base for the start or improvement of well-being.

Christina Georgiadou, in the fifth chapter, takes a in-depth look at negotiations in everyday life of two Afghan refugee men in Athens. It is a theoretically driven, but attentive and reflexive account of how everyday life, as the arena of one's personal power and a result of bio-political restrictions, is a useful tool to actually stress the hope and faith that people have when they experience fear and pain. In this chapter, people are creatively driven to connect memories of the past, practices in the present and hopes for the future; this process of invention in everyday life builds personal life trajectory, and it is the embodied well-being in the present as much as a realisation of possibilities of the future.

The last chapter, by Maša Mikola, talks about how home for asylum seekers in Slovenia is actually anti-home because of the merely provisional and conditional freedom there. Taking an example of a self-harm act of two asylum seekers in the Asylum Home, it is suggested that such behaviour is a response to the control of bodies and identities that is experienced there. Mikola sees this situation as a way of making oneself present in the system where asylum seekers are seen as "those without presence", as a shout for breaking the silence and searching for the missing conversation about commonalities between "me" and "other".

In an epilogue, Nigel Rapport discusses how migrants are confirming the human and moral capacity to dwell in and upon changes, however, their experiences are not that pleasant and humane in many respects. The authors of this volume remind us how important it is to see migrants as humans, because human nature within them is not lost despite the economic, cultural or social limitations that they are experiencing. It is a book for scholars who are dealing with various migration issues either in quantitative or qualitative manner, which emphasises that behind numbers or labels there are individual stories, experiences and hopes.

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Macdonald, Sharon. 2013. *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*. London, New York: Routledge. 293 pp. Pb.: \$36.75. ISBN: 9780415453349.

The aim of the book is to acquire a new perspective on the position of the past in different parts of Europe in the case of museums, heritage and memorials. Europe's land and city spaces are covered with the products of collective memory work – heritage sites, countless memorials, museums, commemorative plaques and imaginative art installations – through which the past is preserved since these products remind us of histories that might otherwise be lost. Macdonald provides an insightful argument that Europe has become a “memory-land” – obsessed with the disappearance of collective memory and its preservation.

The author makes use of an anthropological perspective to evaluate the role of the heritage today by attempting to understand the assumptions people make while organising their life worlds and how they feel in this process. The author follows a fundamental premise in anthropology, because she tries to show how to recognise the specificities of her own anthropological research while simultaneously identifying broader patterns. One of the intriguing and lingering questions this study raises is whether there are ways of seeing, doing and feeling the past that are habitual and can be found not only in Europe, but also in other parts of the world. She asks this question on the grounds of her own research, which renders it obvious that there are similarities or convergences between different parts of Europe. She builds on the argument that ‘there is a distinctive – though not exclusive or all-encompassing – complex of ways of doing and experiencing the past within Europe’ which is ‘a repertoire of (sometimes contradictory) tendencies and developments’ (p. 2). Therefore ‘the European memoryland is characterised more by certain changes underway than by enduring memorial forms’ (p. 2).

While further developing and exploring how the past is conceptualised and represented, Macdonald offers an insightful concept that enables a broad frame for understanding memory and history as a part of ‘memory phenomenon under investigation’ - ‘past presencing’ (p. 16) which is presentist and concerned with the relation of the past to specified moments of time – while focusing attention not only on how the past was made present in the past but also on the “past presencing” in the present.

The book is divided into two principal parts although the division is far from absolute. In the first part, Macdonald's writing derives from the assumption that anthropological approach can contribute to the research of European memory debates, so she provides an enriched full range of contemporary research and their methodological discussion on “past presencing”. Through a wide range of case studies from across Europe, Macdonald mentions the numerous academic engagements of collective memory in Europe produced by scholars of memory, history and heritage. This part highlights the diverse ways in which the past is conceived and put to work to create European history and identity.

Employing past presencing as an empirical phenomenon of how different people experience and produce the past in the present, Macdonald discusses the challenges anthropologists experience in approaching past presencing, which she understands as a multi-temporal challenge. The author also seeks to explore nostalgia as only one of the modes in which the memory phenomenon “looks back” in the past and renders it obvious

that memories are not just naive understandings of how the past looked like, but are a part of people's perpetual articulation of their relationship to each other and to the present. Therefore, nostalgia is seen as an affective and reflective selection and 'a mode for comparing and evaluating possible ways of living' (p. 219–20).

In the second part of the book, the author deals with specific dimensions of the memory phenomenon based on different extended case studies of heritage, including museums, public sculptures and monuments. She pays particular attention to the understanding of commodification of heritage and authenticity while first attempting to understand inauthenticity. Drawing on her own fieldwork conducted in the Island of Sky in Scotland, the author turned her research perspective to the ethnography of how people understand heritage by studying their life stories through the use of heritage and directing her research focus towards people's work, feelings and relationships while understanding the act of witnessing via heritage that makes the past a part of their lived experience. Macdonald draws attention to the understanding of the fact that the presence of market does not necessarily bring a loss of authenticity of the heritage and states that the awareness of this risk – who will control what happens with heritage in the future – is what leads to reinforcing the authenticity discourse as means of enabling participants to establish a boundary between what is 'true to itself' and what is not (p. 135).

Museums and monuments played significant roles in creating homogenous national identities, so they represent key sites for examining the identity transformation. Macdonald addresses a question if they are capable of generating more fluid, multiple and transnational memories and identities and answers it by stating that they are capable of 'articulating more fluid and transcultural identity formations that they have previously done, though they may sometimes struggle with aspects of their existing form and the perhaps conservative expectations of public' (p. 186) while also stating that exhibitions and public sculptures help encourage the making of a more fluid and plural public sphere. Macdonald's research that is performed in a wider European context shows patterns and discourses around the "musealisation" of everyday life together with "cosmopolitan memory". It became more difficult to "do nationness" in the way it used to be done since it is not the nation being displaced by cosmopolitan memory, but we are witnessing the process of the nation presenting itself as cosmopolitan by using widely shared pasts as part of its own. Macdonald insightfully shows that the cosmopolitanisation of memory does not require breaking of the nation by examples such as the UK's inauguration of a Holocaust Memorial day as part of a pan-European project.

Researching the past presencing in practice on different examples, Macdonald clearly shows that memory is never only about past but is strongly connected with the presence and the future and that there are distinct patterns of (re)configuring the past in the present at work. However, the author does not entirely succeed in pursuing the comparative analysis of these radically different uses of the past. For example, while writing about Europe's memorylands in the case of post-communist Europe, Macdonald points out only to "ostalgie", then just briefly mentions the existence of other post-socialist nostalgias and then moves quickly to another topic without going really deep and truly explaining these distinctions.

Common European cultural heritage, based on diversities, is today seen as a crucial factor for imagining Europeanness and Europeanisation. What makes this book engaging is its contemporariness, since it discusses the fundamental question that European Union is nowadays asking to be able to establish communality despite its political and economic hegemony: what unites Europe and its citizens? Macdonald's book represents a promising starting point for further research regarding the absence of cultural belonging, problems in defining European cultural heritage and how to transmit and preserve it.

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Boissevain, Jeremy. 2013. *Factions, Friends and Feasts. Anthropological Perspectives on the Mediterranean*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books. viii + 310 pp. Hb.: \$95.00. ISBN: 9780857458445.

In this book, Jeremy Boissevain has collected sixteen of his previously published works, to a lesser degree altered and with notes, and additionally written an Introduction. These works, published since the 1960s and presented in a more or less chronological order, offer a cross section of the author's scientific career and show the pathways of his research interest. To a lesser extent, they also talk of his life and the support of his wife, friends and colleagues. Some of the chapters feature detailed descriptions of concrete localities and communities while in the others the author places the topics arising from his fieldwork into a broader context. The texts speak about social stratification, everyday life marked by political attitudes, factionalism and patronage, familial relations, migrations, revitalisation of rituals, processes instigated by the tourist industry, etc. In other words, about how different social actors – people that hold political power and the ones that do not, corrupt individuals and groups and those dependent on their help, economically and socially distinguished and marginalised, “insiders” and “outsiders”, tourists, civil society and local population affected by tourism, etc. – all weave a thick social network. The author dives into this network with his analytical apparatus.

In the first two chapters of the book, under the joint title *Patterns*, the author places us in the space of the Mediterranean, discussing the connection between the climate and social behaviour and the Mediterranean sea as the place of cultural, religious, ethnic, political and economic diversity, a place of division and not encounter, a place of stereotypes, prejudice and xenophobia. In the subsequent three chapters, under the title *Communities*, he familiarises us with the localities of his fieldwork: the Maltese village, the Sicilian town and the Italian community in Montreal. Writing out the history, as well as the economic, political, social and cultural characteristics of these localities, the author spends the most time on the description of social relations. He elaborates this topic to more detail in the part of the book entitled *Questions and Puzzles*. Two chapters in this part touch upon British anthropology and the development of the anthropological interest in investigating Europe. In the subsequent section, titled *Ritual, Insiders and Outsiders*, he defines the process of the revitalisation of rituals; while using his observations of the development of tourism on Malta, he deals with topics pertaining to the anthropology of tourism. Lastly, *Reflections* features a text in which the author, in accordance with new research, corrects his previous theses and reflects on his fieldwork.

The author uses three key words that mark these texts in the title of the book – factions, friends and feasts. I see *factions* and *friends* as representatives of numerous relationships and groups that he points out: family, neighbours, parish members, associations, political parties, unions, clubs, patrons and clients, etc. The author analyses various degrees of visibility, duration and formality of these social networks. He is interested in the social structure, social status and social mobility of the individual, creating and maintaining social connections, the asymmetry of power and the relationship of dependency of one individual on another. More than once, he emphasises the dynamism of society and the non-homogeneity of communities. For instance, while analysing Italian migrant community in Montreal, he emphasises that it is not a ‘united whole’, but is segmented by social principles

into ‘many conflicting and competing groups – family, generation, region, religion and politics’ (p. 104; we could certainly continue the author’s list). By analysing these processes, the author clearly dissolves the syntagm “the Italians of Montreal”, demonstrating the complexity of every “community” and that it is necessary to direct attention to the divisions, tensions and conflicts, both the long-standing, and the situational and temporary ones.

Feasts is the third key word in the title, which the author uses as a framework for the analysis of social networks, connections and conflicts. Additionally, by placing the data he came to in a broader European context encapsulating the work of other authors, Boissevain demonstrates the revitalisation of European rituals, pointing out the causes of the increase in their number since the 1970s. According to the analysis, one of the causes of the increase in the number of public events is tourism. It came as an interesting topic of research on Malta where the author could follow the changes in representation of the country and attitudes towards tourists. There he could himself change his own attitudes towards tourism – from the positive (by which he considers that tourism certainly has an influence, but that it cannot be marked as destructive, as had been pointed out by some authors; the author ascribes to tourism roles on different levels of identification) to the later much less optimistic one. In this context, he also added to his scientific work a dimension of applicability by making, on the basis of research of opinions of the local community, a report and recommendations for the development of tourism in Mdina.

In the Introduction, the author situates his scientific work within the frame of British anthropology, within which he was educated, saying that he actively wanted to distance himself from the structural-functional paradigm. In the book, he also speaks about the persistence of paradigms and scientific shifts and about the development of the interest for investigating Europe among British anthropologists. Reading about how and why, according to Boissevain, British anthropologists started to consider Europe as the place of their research one needs to be aware that the author accesses these questions from within – from the perspective of British anthropology. Other European anthropologies (under different names) have had significantly different development paths and have not considered Europe to be an unknown territory as described from the author’s position of British science.

The author’s works, thus collected in one place, show his continued interest for specific topics, which enabled him to correct individual ideas in accordance with new research insights. The author has written many interesting pages speaking about agency (by which, as he says, he wished to challenge the perspective on social actors as passive, which was the opinion in the days of his anthropological development). Moreover, he has written about moments of connection and being a community and moments of conflicts, borders and points of difference (geographical, social, economic, political, etc.), dynamism, complexity and non-homogeneity of social groups and relations. I trust the reader will be inspired to think about the various topics, for instance whether Europe is a ‘more cheerful place to live in’ (p. 210) because of its feasts, in which ways the Mediterranean sea is today ‘a divide, not a bridge’ (p. 21) and how our lives are marked by mutual struggles, hierarchies and the asymmetry of power.

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Behar, Ruth. 2013. *Traveling Heavy. A Memoir in Between Journeys*. Durham, London: Duke University Press. 248 pp. Hb.: \$19.95. ISBN: 9780822357209.

'I love to travel.

But I am also terrified of traveling' (p.3).

This autobiography of well-known anthropologist Ruth Behar is the story of a migrant traveling the world, including her country of origin, exploring her own immigrant story as well as the stories of others. In a style one may characterise as “confessional”, Behar is eager to offer the reader detailed insights into private, even intimate aspects of her life – well against a common anthropological mode of writing. *Traveling Heavy – A Memoir in Between Journeys* is an autobiography as well as a report of most of Behar’s fieldwork. Students or others seeking to pursue a career in anthropology may find this to be an inspiring piece of writing. The same may apply to those who are interested in studies of migration and diaspora – or moreover, which are part of the same. Behar’s story is an example of handling the fear of traveling, of boarding planes, of leaving places one is fond of, of *traveling heavy*.

The book consists of three parts, focusing on different stages of the author’s life, starting with *Family*, then *The Kindness of Strangers*, and finally *Cuban Goodbyes*. The first part of the book portrays the early years of Ruth Behar’s life. It is the story of a daughter to immigrant parents, becoming an immigrant herself at the age of four. Behar is born in Cuba into a Jewish family, her father a Sephardic Jew from Turkey and her mother Yiddish with a Polish/Russian background. Her parents and grandparents came to Cuba from Russia, Poland, Turkey and Spain, to flee anti-Semitism in Europe and find a home in Cuba. After the Cuban revolution, however, under Castro’s rule, religion no longer was all that welcome in Cuba. The Behar family moves to Israel and after a brief stay settles in New York City in 1962. Behar writes about her time in the “dumb class” in junior school due to her poor English, about growing up in Queens and Forest Hills, and vacations on Miami Beach for which her parents worked hard to earn money for, selling fabric, envelopes and shoes. The girl from the “dumb class” turns into a diligent reader, moving onto college and grad school, often at the top of her class. Starting out wanting to become a writer and poet, Ruth Behar then chooses anthropology as her desired subject, thus choosing a profession that implies a high rate of traveling. She does her first research in a small village in Spain, and also starts recollecting and compiling the history of her family, albeit not always to their delight.

The second part of the book deals more with Behar’s travels for research purposes. She makes the point that however much and often she travels, traveling always demands quite an emotional effort. In her early years of traveling, she often finds ways for her husband and later her son to accompany her on her journeys, or to accompany her husband on his journeys. She writes of lucky charms and rituals for her travels, and of bonds she makes with the people she meets in the field. Behar combines the private with the professional; her research-travels are often based on a personal urge to search and travel to places and people affiliated to her own background of migration and diaspora. She writes and films about the “First World Summit of Behars” in Béjar, Spain, and traces

the trails of her Jewish ancestors in the town of Goworowo, Poland. However, the place she probably travels to most often is Cuba.

Behar's first return to Cuba occurred in 1979 after which she is unable to return until the early 1990s due to the tense relations between the United States and the Cuban government. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Behar finds means and ways to start visiting Cuba on a frequent basis. These journeys are the focus of the last part of the book. Behar stays for weeks and months on the island, taking students along, doing research, visiting old and making new friends. She studies the small Jewish community that is left on the Island, and traces the paths of those that leave the country as she once did. She travels to Cuba so often that traveling becomes less burdensome, and Behar discovers the amenities of "the freedom to travel anywhere in the world". It seems as if the book closes with these specific journeys to Cuba, perhaps because they bring something akin closure to the author's fate of being forced to leave and *traveling heavy*.

'So now I'm a traveler; but I always remember I started out in life being an immigrant' (p.5).

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