BOOK REVIEWS

Reeves, Madeleine. 2014. *Border Work: Spatial Lives of the State in Rural Central Asia*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press. 292 pp. Pb.: $29.95. ISBN: 9780801477065.

Beyond attempts to demarcate space and authority, borders generate social relations and identities, and propagate effects through which the state constantly develops. As Madeleine Reeves explores, this is particularly relevant in the Ferghana Valley, where people live in a space intersected by different state borders and modes of existence. She explores these issues in superb detail and makes an important contribution to anthropological work on borders and Central Asian studies. Her long-term fieldwork produces intimate accounts of people's lives and their experiences living in a complex and little-understood part of Central Asia.

Reeves begins by describing the area, which includes parts of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. She discusses the intricacies of everyday life while drawing attention to how borders impact relations and contribute to the perceptions of authority and the state. She then focuses on the history of the border area. She does not examine the state-like formations from before the Russian colonization. Instead, she focuses predominantly on the legacy of the Soviet national-territorial delimitation and people's memories of the changing landscape in the region. She underscores how lines on maps do not acknowledge the complexity of life in the area. This has led to ongoing challenges as Reeves notes, 'The production of never-quite-national "national" republics discursively reinscribed the very "international contradictions" that were supposed to have disappeared with the 1924 delimitation' (p. 89).

She then follows this by tracing connections between remote parts of the Ferghana Valley to Russia. Despite the creation of national republics, Russia created its own distinct, local presence. For example, some mining towns received provisions direct from Moscow, the 'centre in the periphery' (p. 114), and created different modes of existence and senses of connectedness well beyond the immediate space. For others, the historical connection between the Central Asian states and Russia has disappeared, and migrant labourers are forced to hide themselves to avoid detection or find ways to obtain (real or fake) working papers to remain in Russia. These experiences, Reeves explains, represent practices and technologies that facilitate and limit connectedness.

Creating and crossing borders brings into focus the licit and the illicit, Reeves notes, as being '*constitutive* of a particular modality of power that thrives on the pervasive reproduction of uncertainty over the location of sovereign law' (p. 145, original emphasis). Her analysis examines transporting dead bodies over borders and being denied entry based on ethnic identity, using *chernyi vkhod* (black entrance) to get goods across the border, and inflatable rafts to carry people across rivers that act as borders. Rather than seeing the border as strict boundaries of state sovereignty, they are 'zones of possibility' (p. 165) where the borders are common spaces encountered by people and the soldiers 'manning' (a hint to the gendered relations of policing) borders.

Reeves argues this is quite different from accounts of borders and territorial security and this leads her to discuss those that impersonate the state and how sovereignty

is created through their actions. Whether it is someone travelling in an official car or the way they dress (or even influential criminals), they receive recognition of their role and their representation of authority. In this way, Reeves turns her attention to the border guards themselves and the ways in which they become agents of legitimate state violence that they have embodied through often painful hazing (*dedovshchina*) by older members of their units. In many places in the Ferghana Valley, however, soldiers are not isolated from residents, who sometimes complement the soldiers' meagre rations. This interaction breaks down formal roles and creates further complications for how and when authority is established.

The intense personal connections between communities that borders are meant to separate are particularly evident during conflict. Reeves recounts a case in which two Tajik school boys were beaten by border guards in Kyrgyzstan. The violence that ensued and a blockade between parts of a bazaar that spanned the border highlighted the ways in which debates sought to increase border security and increase the *étatization* of space through the establishment of clear boundaries. Through this, ethnicity came to the fore as a matter of distinction to explain the violence and to reinforce the need for stricter borders.

These issues provide a number of important areas for expanding our understanding of borders. However, one area that Reeves does not touch on is tax, which is central to creating a vision of the state. Taxes are imposed at different rates and across borders through export and import tariffs. The ways in which people transport goods across borders – as Reeves mentions through a *chernyi vhkod* (back entrance) or wrapped around people's bodies – are ways to evade tax and state authority. By subverting the official authority, they are appealing to another authority, one of locally driven needs overcoming administrative obstacles.

Another area of further examination relates to development activities. Reeves discusses the ways development organizations address conflict in the border region. She notes, however, 'When border as cartographic reality becomes the primary index of risk, interventions come to concentrate around it' (p. 99). This is an entirely valid critique and underlines the ways in which development can increase challenges to reducing conflict. Nevertheless, she does not discuss how the lack of state support, in some cases, creates parallel structures through the provision of development assistance.

Reeves' examination of borders in the Ferghana Valley offers a range of perspectives that contribute to ongoing debates and expand our views of how borders can be personal and demonstrate how licit and illicit blend to produce varying conceptions of authority and sense of space. This important contribution challenges views on sovereignty and territorial boundaries. It moves beyond debates that take borders and state power for granted and provides and engaging view through people's everyday lives.

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Constable, Nicole. 2014. *Born Out of Place. Migrant Mothers and the Politics of International Labor*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 259 pp. Pb.: $29.95/£19.9. ISBN: 9780520282025.

Women's labour migration from global South to global capitalist centres has received considerable attention in the last decade, bringing to light the highly gendered patterns of international migration. Underscored by global inequality, women from poorer regions became increasingly attracted to work as nannies, cleaners, health workers, caregivers and entertainers in the wealthier parts of the world, prompting a myriad of micro- and macro-social processes in both the sending and destination countries. In her recent monograph, Nicole Constable examines one aspect of this phenomenon: women not only as workers but as human beings finding and losing love, giving birth, creating and sustaining families, forging friendships as well as battling loneliness and betrayal in a bustling Asian metropolis. Hong Kong, with its complex colonial and neocolonial histories, provides a setting for this nuanced and subtle account of Indonesian and Filipina 'foreign domestic workers' (FDW) and their 'being in the world' (p. 32).

Constable's main arguments are seemingly simple: although, similar to guest-worker programs around the world, domestic workers are welcomed to Hong Kong as workers and not as people and citizens (p. 13), they never can be only workers. They find innovative ways to form relationships and keep sexual and family lives, albeit often of fleeting nature and without long-term prospects. Furthermore, although "domestics" are crucial for the prosperity and "good life" of Hong Kong citizens, they are excluded from the same rights and citizenship. Laws and policies are enacted to regulate these women to stay in the city only as workers and only for specific periods, determined by their employment (p. 177). Too often these regulations have the opposite effect, turning these women into over-stayers and illegal workers. Finally, their attempts of forming family life in Hong Kong often put in motion a "migratory cycle of atonement", a repeating cycle of migration and re-migration to reduce the economic pressures of the family back home and to avoid the social stigma of being a single mother in the more traditional settings of their places of origin.

Through the 'critical phenomenological approach' (p. 41) elaborated in the second chapter, the author examines the above arguments by highlighting the everyday experiences of not only the women, but also the children and men she met during two-year fieldwork research. Her deeply engaged research discovers the labyrinth of policies in the sending as well as destination countries that provide constraints and opportunities for migrant women and their countless, fast-changing and often inventive strategies to navigate these. She begins by framing FDW within the centre-periphery relations of Hong Kong and two of its less fortunate neighbours – Indonesia and the Philippines. In the public discourse and imagination in the countries of origin, FDW are both crucial providers and vulnerable victims or/and immoral women. This understanding builds on accepted norms of patriarchy and femininity upheld by dominant religions in respective countries: Islam in Indonesia and Christianity in the Philippines.

In Hong Kong, on the other side, the employers ideally want women who are 'obedient, nonassertive and whose sexuality is nonexistent or nonthreatening' (p. 58). The government thus prohibits workers from bringing their family members and institutes various requirements (e.g. the demand to live with the employer or the obligatory use of agencies with often exorbitant fees) to achieve a submissive workforce. As Constable notes, this goal is harder to meet with Filipinas who are in general better educated, have stronger social networks and more experience with Hong Kong bureaucratic system than with often younger and less educated Indonesian women, who are relative newcomers on the scene. While the FDW predominantly come from one of the aforementioned states, the partners and fathers of their children in Hong Kong have much more diverse backgrounds: they are of African, European, American or South or East Asian origin, most often are Hong Kong permanent residents or asylum seekers, and work in service, trade or construction.

The central chapter looks at practices regarding reproductive behavior – contraception, abortion, birth, and adoption. The author's good rapport within the FDW community enables her to go beyond commonsensical explanations on women's taking or not taking contraceptives, deciding on abortion or giving children up for an adoption. It reveals gendered norms of behaviour regarding romance, being a good parent, and pious individual. Furthermore, as she argues in the following two chapters, not only women's norms but also the state determine the conditions and outcomes of reproductive behaviour. Namely, the state's regimes of immigration and wider social control emphasise heteronormativity, in that the access or inclusion to local citizenship is contingent on the nature of a woman's and her child's relationship with the man and his status as permanent resident, refugee, asylum seeker or illegal immigrant. Here Constable, using de Certeau's notion of "tactics", illuminates FDWs' strategies not only to stay in Hong Kong, but also to buy time. As she writes 'the longer the mothers delay their return, the better opportunity they have to exert control over the circumstances of their return' (p. 192). In the meantime, some women decide to be at least "Hong Kong happy" understood as a distinct experience of migrants' impermanent and short-term attempts to find a kind of "normalcy" as lovers, mothers and wives.

In the concluding chapter, the author further illuminates how going home can often mean exchanging one set of oppressive gender expectations for another. Rare are women who find empowerment through past experience and who resist 'the migratory cycle of atonement' (p. 216) by which they attempt to prove to themselves and their families that they are worthy or/and want to redeem themselves for possible earlier migratory failures. Nicole Constable's close account of FDWs' lives, strategies and experience thus convincingly shows the blessings and dark sides of migration and points to the responsibility of both sending and receiving states to see these women not only as workers but also as human beings.

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Prentice, Rachel. 2013. *Bodies in Formation. An Ethnography of Anatomy and Surgery Education*. Durham, London: Duke University Press. xi + 295 pp. Pb.: $24.95. ISBN: 9780822351573.

Bodies in Formation offers powerful insight into the training of medical students and surgeons and the evolution of medical education. Prentice's work reflects on the relations between anatomy students and the cadavers they dissect, the bodies of surgeons and their patients, and the influence of technological innovation on these interactions.

The book begins with two descriptive glimpses into the clinical setting. In the first, a trainee surgeon narrowly misses a large artery and is guided past the accident by his supervisor, who remarks on the consequences evaded. In the second, a discussion is generated between three surgeons regarding the correctness of allowing students to kill their virtual patients in a simulated tool for laparoscopic surgical teaching. These two events set the premise of the book, in which Prentice establishes an understanding of the ontological duality of the human body in the minds of medical professionals: the body being a physical, anatomical construct for which pathology has a locational, organic existence, and the body as a manifestation of personhood and identity. Prentice describes the development of a 'perceptual syntax,' (p. 18) that allows physicians to discern between causes of symptoms by differentiating between a huge variety of pathological objects in their anatomical context; this is described as "object formation" and the author argues a fundamental difference between *object formation* – the biomedical understanding of disease as objects – and *objectification*, according to which the patient becomes amalgamated with their pathology and is ultimately dehumanised (pp. 16–19). The book demonstrates that object formation is a foundational part of biomedical training, especially in surgical training, where the practitioners learn to use their senses to identify pathology through vision, tactility, audition and olfaction. Surgeons navigate the body by shifting between a fixed "canonical" model of the human body (i.e. the standard textbook representation of a typical body) and a developed understanding of the "instantiated" body, meaning the body in its real diversity, accounting for the near infinite variations that exist from person to person. The use of both models contributes to the contention regarding the relevance of cadaver dissection in medical schools. (pp. 95–100)

The first two chapters of the book comprise nearly half of the text and focus on anatomy teaching through dissection in medical education; this reflects the pertinence of Prentice's fieldwork in anatomy to her central arguments. The decline of anatomy as a substantial core of the medical curriculum coincides with the disproportionate obsolescence of cadaveric dissection as the last remaining laboratory experience medical students receive. (pp. 69–77) What makes the author's perspective so insightful is her hands-on participation in anatomy classes; she reflects on the value of learning through such emotionally charged experiences and through the practice of exploration, '… as years have passed, I remember the tactile feel of sharp bone and thick muscle more clearly than I remember the smells.' (p. 55) Prentice discusses the shift in the culture of anatomists to acknowledge the poignancy of using cadavers and the encouragement of students to respect their cadavers' humanity as a lesson to develop the same regard for their patients' bodies.

The sensory, immersive and explorative values of dissection are contrasted with the benefits of modern problem-based teaching models and computer simulations, which provide the ability to manipulate the anatomy and practice repeatedly. (pp. 91–95) Prentice scrutinises the controversies in anatomy and the broader changes to medical curricula that cannot capacitate for dissection to be carried out as methodically and usefully as it should be. Anatomy is no longer a field of discovery or 'productive research science'; however, it remains an important 'basis of medical cultures and communications' (p. 83) and many anatomy proponents argue its relevance and persisting importance. Throughout the book the author makes reference to the bias that technological representations and simulators can introduce to teaching resources through the need to disassemble and construct the human body with mathematical algorithms and pixels: 'technology designers build their own assumptions about bodies, actions, and practices into their machines, assumptions that are changing medical practice.' (p. 20) The discussion is on-going between traditional anatomists and those hoping to innovate with technological development, which at this point remains idealistic as such accurate simulation software does not yet exist to provide a substantial replacement for cadaveric dissection. 'The epistemic anxiety that occurs when physicians sense that technologies are leading them away from the "real" body explains a significant tension in biomedicine that promises to become larger as treatment regimes such as decision protocols and evidence-based medicine, which aggregate and abstract information about bodies, become more powerful.' (p. 99)

The third, fourth and fifth chapters examine the formation of the behaviour of medical professionals in relation to their practice, their interactions with patients and the culturing of their bodies to perform in their field and establish themselves within the profession. There is a clear image of the immersion of surgical residents in the clinical setting and the hierarchical framework to which juniors must orientate themselves in order to successfully pool together technical information, skills and demeanour from their seniors to meet an expected standard; much of this valuable teaching is informal and passed down in fleeting moments between corridors or after surgery. (pp. 122–123) Residents must develop an intuition that cannot be conferred without first climbing a notional hierarchy of knowledge and experience to acquire and embody 'higher-level skills' such as judgement, perception, emotional discipline and ethical reasoning. (pp. 117–118) This is in the context of increasingly bureaucratised restraints on working hours, which have protected patients and residents from exhaustion-induced errors, but have compromised the 'surgical ethos' of dedication and 'constant availability', leaving residents with less experience in the operating room. (pp. 123–127)

The final two chapters consider technological innovation within medical training with regards to the representation of the body by virtual means. Prentice also discusses the transferability of the articulatory skills gained from simulators and the potential limitations these methods of training have in relation to haptics and the use of other senses in surgical practice. The discussion surrounding the ability to make mistakes on simulators highlights the transformation of the learning experience as a 'form of exploration,' (p. 263) but the emotional connotation when working directly with human tissue makes for a more powerful learning experience as the residents are more compelled to refine their

skills and 'embody an ethic of doing no harm.' (pp. 259-263)

Bodies in Formation is an exhaustive ethnography of medical education and the surgical world, exploring many complex challenges faced by the rapid advancement of a field that is tenaciously rooted in tradition. Prentice has acquired a wealth of data from students, educators, researchers, surgeons, engineers and designers, as well as having directly participated in dissection and surgery. As a medical student with a special interest in medical anthropology, this reviewer has been able to identify strongly with the author's own first-hand experiences, which have also made the text accessible and fascinating to readers from non-medical backgrounds. Prentice has made evident that the dichotomy between traditional versus modern teaching remains unbalanced, as no technological advancements have yet adequately eclipsed the teaching of an embodied art.

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Eriksen, Thomas Hylland, Christina Garsten and Shalini Randeria (eds.) 2014. *Anthropology Now and Next: Essays in Honor of Ulf Hannerz.* New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books. viii + 316 pp. Hb.: $110.00/£68.00. ISBN: 9781782384496.

This volume is a celebration of the anthropological career of one of the most prolific, interesting and original world anthropologists in the last five decades. From his first fieldwork in an inner-city environment of Washington, DC in 1966, Ulf Hannerz, Professor emeritus of social anthropology at the University of Stockholm, has been pushing the boundaries of ethnographic research: from the study of a minority's "culture of poverty", to issues dealing with transnationalism and cosmopolitan studies. His influence in recent decades has been enormous, and Hannerz managed to produce innovative and thought-provoking books and articles, drawing upon his fieldwork experience that included the Caribbean, West Africa, as well as an example of what will later be called "multi-sited ethnography" ("among the foreign correspondents"). Several years ago, at a conference in Durham, he jokingly referred to his own work as being derived from "chance and serendipity", but there is more to it, as can be seen from the present volume.

The book brings together fourteen scholars from different countries and different anthropological traditions, all of whom have been influenced by different aspects of Hannerz's work. In recent years, some of them had been instrumental in developing important research projects in their own countries (Eriksen in Norway, as well as globally; Gingrich in Austria, etc.). In the *Introduction*, the editors set out to map trajectories of Hannerz's impressive scholarship, from the fact that he was bilingual from the beginning of his career, to the key question that can be derived from his concept of anthropology, '"Who are we?" or rather, "What does the word we mean?"' (p. 5).

In the first chapter, *Divided by a Shared Destiny*, Thomas Hylland Eriksen nicely connects his current research project (on "Overheating") with Hannerz's insights, especially when it comes to the fruitfulness of using conflicting views in the processes of constructing and appropriating cultural values. After all, Eriksen has himself been influenced by the idea of "cultural complexity" (the title of Hannerz's highly important 1992 book), and his current research project provides a quite solid ground for exploring interconnectedness of people's adaptive strategies with regard to their environment. In the second chapter, *Juxtapositions*, Brian Moeran shows how conflicting elements are used to produce a fabric of social cohesion in a Japanese community. Chapters 3–5 (written by Andre Gingrich, Christina Garsten, and Dominic Boyer) gradually move the focus of the book from the local (Gingrich masterfully revisiting his fieldwork in Yemen), to more global aspects of anthropology (as exemplified by Boyer's take on reflexivity in conjunction with Hannerz's idea of "studying sideways"). In subsequent chapters, this is picked up well by Thomas Blom Hansen, writing on anthropologists as cultural interpreters (with a subtle criticism of some recent trends, such as the "ontological turn" (pp. 122–123)), and Thomas Fillitz, who explores different knowledge practices. Helena Wulff re-visits the "studying sideways" approach, connecting it with her current research on Irish literature. The topic of migrations and aspects of transnationalism are dealt with by Gudrun Dahl, Ayse Caglar, and Ronald Stade, while João de Pina-Cabral revisits historical expressions

of the Portuguese as "the middle of the world". Finally, the book concludes with an interview with Hannerz (conducted by Boyer in September 2012), and with a list of his publications.

As far as *Festschrifts* go, this is a very good book. It is a timely celebration of the work of one of the most prolific and original anthropologists of the last few decades. However, this volume and its contributors also manage to push the limits of anthropological understanding: what is it that the future of our discipline brings? Moreover, who is going to interpret this future? In that sense, the structure of the book provides fertile grounds for a dialogue about the future of anthropology.

Among other things, Ulf Hannerz was able to see the importance of sharing knowledge and information between different anthropological traditions. He was the anthropology editor for the *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences* in 2001. He accepted my invitation to write an *Afterword* for the book on "world anthropologies" that this reviewer edited seven years ago (Bošković, ed., *Other People's Anthropologies: Ethnographic Practice on the Margins*, Oxford and New York: Berghahn, 2008). Approximately at the same time, he even proposed establishing an international journal that would present works of colleagues from "peripheral" (i.e., non-central) languages into English, thus making them accessible to wider (global) audiences, and providing for a much more meaningful market for the exchange of ideas. Although this last idea did not materialize (perhaps it will, as the need for better communication becomes more obvious on a daily basis), it shows a grasp of what we need at the moment. It is also nicely summarized in the title of the present volume: *Anthropology Now and Next* is primarily a set of general directions for dealing with fundamental questions of our globalising world in the years to come. These directions are informed suggestions – not fixed rules, as they cannot be used to interpret actual living human beings – and they will certainly depend on the context in which anthropologists find themselves. However, it is the only way in which anthropology can make itself relevant for the time to come.

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Jackson, Michael. 2013. *The Other Shore: Essays on Writers and Writing*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 205pp. Pb.: £19.95. ISBN: 9780520275263.

In writing *The Other Shore*, Jackson engages the complex world of writing and writers. He is, of course, a highly accomplished author, both inside and outside of anthropology. In a way, he is studying his own kind, but approaches it as we expect he would: both personally and anthropologically.

The book is fascinating throughout, with Jackson's personal stories highlighting the aspects of the writing that he is exploring in that chapter. His exploration of why writers write is provocative and engaging: 'the need to belong to lifeworlds wider than their own, to feel that they can act on the world rather than merely suffer its actions upon them…' (p. xi). Each point has an added gravity in that it is sourced from his personal experience as a writer and not simply from studying writers.

Jackson sets out on his exploration with a clear argument in mind. He states, 'My argument is that writing is like any other technology of self-expression and social communication' (p. xi). While this is no doubt true of his exploration, writing has a strong hold on Jackson. Such a hold can be seen in how he describes writing: 'In the act of writing, as in spirit possession, sexual ecstasy, or spiritual bliss, we are momentarily out of our minds' (p. 3).

Connecting writing with almost transcendental experiences furthers the somewhat other-worldly vision he holds for the art. In discussing an abandoned idea for a book, Jackson says that he learned 'what is means to be possessed by another, by the shadow side of oneself, and how one might understand the connection between the characters that take over a writer's life and the personae he or she might take on' (p. 18).

At times, Jackson relays the conflict he and those around him felt in his dual-world identity: writer and anthropologist. He speaks of some colleagues telling him he needed to decide between being a writer and being an anthropologist. It is interesting and compelling to see a sort of existential struggle between worlds that need not be separate. That perhaps is the fundamental strength of anthropology as a field: it facilitates entering so many other fields. In fact, Jackson notes this about ethnography, describing it as his entry method into different worlds, realms that fuelled his anthropological and non-anthropological writing. Jackson speaks several times of concepts of identity, which raises a question in the readers mind when considering ethnography. As we study, are we one person, perhaps characterised as an academic, but morph into another person, a writer, when we attempt to set to words out experiences? Is not such a dual personality almost required to do justice to the story in which the anthropologist has participated?

There are great insights to be gained from Jackson's book. One that resonated with this reviewer was a rather small but significant sentence. Jackson, in discussing a talk he gave at a workshop, says, 'I wanted to demonstrate that detail determines good writing, not bright ideas. Ideas will come to light, but only if one first yields to the ethnographic particulars' (p. 128). This is simple, yet impactful. Too often, writing, academic and non-academic alike, falls victim to advancing the next idea, something that gains notice and citations. That said, details speak truth and build both a reputation and a concept

of trust in the author. With this as a foundation, the bright ideas that result are fact-based, and more durable than those ideas that are leapt to instead of built.

Jackson's book is an accessible, poignant exploration of what it means to be a student of the human condition. The book, like its author, bridges worlds, uniting anthropology and writing to form the basis for examining identities and our engagement with other worlds, real and imagined. This book could easily find a place in an English class, yet also be perfectly at home in an anthropology course. Really, it would be at home any place where people wonder how and why they write and what this means to the world around them.

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Born, Georgina (ed.). 2013. *Music, Sound and Space. Transformations of Public and Private Experience*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press. xv + 358 pp. Hb.: £65.00. ISBN: 9780521764247.

Music, Sound and Space is an interdisciplinary collection of essays and research reports on different projects connected to music and sound studies. It originated in an interdisciplinary conference, 'held at the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities at Cambridge University Congress' (p. 4), which brought together scholars from different academic backgrounds, including the humanities, music, anthropology, psychology and ethnomusicology. Due to its origins, the book contains a diversity of topics connected to the broad themes of sound and space: from a more technological outlook on the MP3 format to detailed music analyses discussing the creation of space in these pieces of music to psychological approaches discussing the effect of music on patients as well as prisoners; travelling from European, urban western spaces, to Islamic communities in Kenya and aboriginal societies in Canada.

The introduction describes different theoretical approaches regarding the theme of the book, e.g. space and music, the phenomenology of musical publicness and privacy, social mediation and socio-technical mediation. The following chapters have a more practical approach and are grouped into four parts: *The Design of Mediated Music and Sound*, *Space, Sound and Affect in Everyday Lifeworlds*, *Music Identity, Alterity and the Politics of Space* and *Music and Sound: Torture, Healing and Love*.

The first part contains essays that connect technology to music and modern sound installations as well as exemplifying songs in terms of the creation of space, all of them having (at least partly) a more technological outlook.

While the first part concentrates on music itself, the construction of space within music and technical advances connected to new ways of listening to music, the second part of the book moves on to a more sociological approach, containing chapters on the effect of music in everyday lifeworlds, focusing on the recipients of music. Its focus lies in music and sound within particular spaces and how it affects the listener and makes them concentrate more or less; using music to seal oneself off into a private music space or private sounds made public like 'private', bodily sounds suddenly made public in the hospital environment, etc.

The third part focuses on private music becoming public and considers religious music and sounds. It contains chapters on what kind of sounds are to be kept private or public, also discussing religious music and sounds, how music becomes political and creates boundaries and shapes communities and is connected to other social interactions and rituals.

The fourth part has a more psychological approach. It describes how music is used and what affects it has – as a form of therapy and with it the transfiguration and development of the self and one's own identity as well as for torture or harassment, taking away the right for silence as well as surveilling prisoner's sounds, and how phonographic technology affects the psychology of music.

The book gives insight into many different projects and views on the broad theme of music. Since it is not connected to anthropology directly, the chapters of use for research in anthropology have to be found specifically. However, it is not only of use for academic research as a whole but one can also just freely read a few chapters; the theoretical part of the introduction is not essential to understand the individual chapters. The individual chapters can be understood without the context of the book, however reading it in its entirety provides another level to the overall reading. Most chapters have a very practical approach, describing the applied research and everyday phenomena such as listening to MP3s, music in workspaces or religious sounds and music in open spaces. To those who are interested in interdisciplinary approaches and the anthropology of music, this is an interesting book that opens insights on different topics and approaches.

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Endressen, Cecilie. 2012. *Is the Albanian's Religion really 'Albanianism'? Religion and Nation according to Muslim and Christian Leaders in Albania.* Wiesbaden: HarrassowitzVerlag. 275 pp. Pb: 56,00 Eur. ISBN: 9783447065610.

The relation between Albanian nationalist ideology and religion has been attracting the attention of researchers of nationalism because of its specificity: unlike all the other Balkan nationalisms, and many other European nationalisms, religion was not considered an element of the nation, but as a divisive factor, preventing national unification. As such, laity has been at the heart of the dominant Albanianist discourse since its beginnings, and later on, with the creation of the Albanian state, at the heart of the state and nation-building policies. This is not the case, of course, for all Albanian populations in the Balkans, and it was not exactly the case in Albania either. As Nathalie Clayer explores in her work, religion was used in various ways as a channel for different expressions of nationalist ideologies. Nevertheless, the dominant Albanianist ideology has aimed, and to a wider extent has achieved, to keep itself separated from religion, and to keep an eye on religious institutions, so that they would not turn the population against the nation. From 1967 to 1990, this went to an extreme, when the communist dictatorship banned religion and any religious practices.

In this book, Cecilie Endressen explores an issue that had not previously been investigated: 'what the nation means to people who in their vocation represent exactly what the Albanians have been urged to disregard: religion' (p. 1), and what the nation is then, to current Albanian clerics. The questions raised for investigation are whether Albanianism is a concept the clerics identify with and in what ways, what does it mean to be Albania, is there any relation between God and nation, is there a conflict between nation and religion, are religious differences relevant, what do clerics think about inter-religious relations, and what reinforces Albanian unity and what obstructs it? In order to do this, she has organised an extended fieldwork, during which she conducted interviews with nine Sunni clerics of the Albanian Muslim Community, four Sufi clerics of the same community, three clerics of the Bektashi Community, five clerics of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and three clerics of the Albanian Catholic Church. As primary sources, Endressen uses books and articles written by various clerics after 1990.

Guided by a rich theoretical literature on nationalism, religion and symbolism, the book is organised into three parts. The first provides a background for the book: the research methods and theoretical framework are explained. She also introduces a summary of all religious communities that exist today in Albania. This part also provides a history of national homogenisation and of the marginalisation of religion during the 20th century in Albania.

In the second part, the author explores a concept for each chapter: what clerics think and how they conceptualise religious tolerance, salvation and religious differences, religious diversity, family and life rituals, the folk, the faith, and the fatherland. The last chapter of this part explores how space, symbols, power and resources are shared in the public sphere. In this part, Endressen argues that the clerics identify with all cultural identities present in Albania, the national, the state, the religious community and the global

religious community. However, depending on the situation, some identifications become more prominent than the others.

In the third part, Endressen deals with myths and identities, and how myths become an instrument to reconcile both nation and religion in the clerics' worldviews. Albanian clerics share basic myths of distinction and sameness, and the way they rearrange and redefine them is such that it expresses their national unity and their interreligious rivalries, without contesting the boundary of national identity.

Where does the importance of this book lay, apart from the fact that its subject is new? The importance lays in its findings. Studies by Albanian scholars about religion and nation tend to essentialise religious tolerance and indifference among Albanians. According to these studies, Albanians primary identify themselves according to ethnicity, and not according to religion. Certainly, Endressen is not the first scholar to challenge such views and deconstruct such narratives, but what she does here, is to analyse every detail of this relationship especially for the period after 1990, and reveal to us that indeed the Albanianist ideology not only has primacy against religion, but it also subjugated religious identity to an Albanian identity, and to a certain extend homogenised discourses of clerics from all four religious communities. This finding is not only important for our knowledge about Albanian society but has a theoretical importance also for the sociology of religion.

She also challenges the widespread scholarly believe that religion does not matter in Albania. Endressen argues that religion is central to many people. By reconciling the concepts of religion with those of the nation, Albanian clerics see the nation as imbued with religion, and vice versa. As Endresen concludes: 'their profession is religion, while the nation is the "continual background" for the interpretation of the world, god and each other' (p. 243). To clerics, religion, and not atheism, is central to Albanian national identity. They also claim to be protectors of national culture and values. However, depending on the issue, the clerics also disclose attitudes of prejudices and discourses of othering. Albanian society is, then, in a sort of equilibrium where religious differences do not seem to be harmful, but they are problematic and do exist.

Last but not least, Cecilie Endressen renders the debate on researchers as outsiders and insiders of societies where they are doing the study, completely irrelevant. Her intimate knowledge of history, documents and sources about religion in Albania, and her theoretical preparation to analyse them in the best of ways show that intentions and efforts, and not origin, are the bases for a well-written study.

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Stryker, Rachael and Roberto González (eds.). 2014. *Up, Down, and Sideways. Anthropologists Trace the Pathways of Power (Foreword by Laura Nader)*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books. 272 pp. Hb.: $105.00/£65.00. ISBN: 9781782384014.

As the world is being rapidly transformed, anthropologists are required to improve their methodology to deal with complexity and uncertainty and to move from the specific to the general. Anthropological concepts, such small, simple, "exotic" and "other" have been abandoned by as scholars struggle to make sense of the hugely complex and interlocking realities of today's world. The essays in this volume are inspired by one key paper by Laura Nader, *Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained from studying Up*; where, criticising the anthropological tendency to settle for the study of simple and marginal societies, she advocates for examination of power structures as they impact those at the bottom and at the margins. Rather than taking a one-dimensional view of reality, the "vertical slice" approach, of looking at each phenomenon as linked to the top and sideways, has been taken up by the contributors to this volume, in deference to Laura Nader's work. Each of the ten chapters in this volume, address one key theme, mostly those not addressed by conventional anthropology. These themes are again divided into three broad categories of *Studying Wealth and Power*, *Studying Environment and Subsistence*, and *Studying Relationships and Bureaucracy*. A key concern running through all these papers is one of "indignation" (p. 7). In other words, these papers are not directed towards mere ethnographic description but take a critical stand against injustice and inequity and attempt to get to the roots of causes of sufferings of ordinary people. Hertz (p. 64) offers a comprehensive definition of what it means to be "Up" and what it means to be "Down"; the former is when one's decisions affect many others and the latter when one is affected by decisions taken by others.

The range of topics included in this volume is kaleidoscopic and addresses many issues of key concern, such as medical facilities, down policies, etc. The three papers in Part 1 are dedicated to the analysis of the internal working and ideology of the giant organisations that control the world. The papers includes one on the philosophy that dictates how debts and debtors are treated in the USA, where the doctrine of "personal responsibility" pins down the individual debtor but gives relief to the "corporate" debtor in the name of the right to make profits. The others deal with the role of the IMF in the financial crises in the South East and the manner of working of the ILO headquarters in Switzerland. Interestingly, while studying the working of the ILO, Hertz comments "society is shaped as much by drift as by decision"; in other words, the agencies themselves are controlled by their own bureaucratic procedures.

The second section is closer to popular anthropological discourses on the land rights of indigenous communities, dam building and the indigenous knowledge of food growing. Grandia examines the disastrous effects of World Bank policies on the indigenous Q'eqchi people of Guatemala, who were dispossessed of their land and living by the so-called agrarian reforms proposed by the World Bank. On a more generalised level, the plight of the Q'eqchi is shown as analogous to many other Third world communities, who face dispossession as a result of "plunder" by large corporations. Gonzalez

recounts another "modern tragedy" as the Zapotec people, pioneers of production of the crop maize, are marginalised on their own lands. NAFTA, in the name of development, pushed the interests of seed producing companies like Monsanto for whom corn was not a "plant person" but a commodity (p. 118). Pursuing similar lines, Urteaga- Crovetto, takes up the case of the Camisea project in Peru to show that increasingly the state is losing its sovereignty and giving way to the private profit-making players in the name of liberalisation. The states, ideally committed to the welfare of the people are now pushed into serving large corporations instead. What is touted as "national development" actually serves the interests of the few, often global, elite.

In the last section, in the paper on "caring", the author, a nursing specialist and anthropologist, shows how the corporatisation of health care, and the transformation of "care giving" to a money-making venture from a "service", impacts the ordinary patient who become "victims" of the large companies and profit driven ideologies of governance. This section has papers on the "global outsourcing of parenting" or the circulation of children through adoption that goes against the anthropological understandings of cross-cultural values of family life and children. While parents are flooded with enticements from adoption agencies that treat children almost like commodities, these parents also have their own agency and their ideas of what family means to them; such that the interaction is two ways, both up and down. Kliger's paper deals with a completely new and probably very American concept of memory reconstructs as legal devices. At a more general level, it raises questions about what science is and how scientific is validity constituted, especially in regard to the objective status of truth. Another paper examines the disappearance of the Soviet Union that again puts a question mark on truth, as the very basis of identity constructions disappear overnight. What is up and what is down become problematic in situations in which power hierarchies are redrawn almost instantly.

These chapters confront anthropologists with a set of challenging questions on the scope of the subject and provide a guide for future research. One central contribution of this volume is to tell us that anthropology, as a humane science needs to be always concerned with the victims of this era of liberalisation. In a sense, anthropological concern with the marginal remains but to be understood in a broader methodological perspective contextualised within the larger power fields existing in the world. As most contributors have specialisations other than anthropology, it also brings out the interdisciplinary nature of the subject.

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Inhorn, Marcia C. and Emily A. Wentzell (eds.). 2012. *Medical Anthropology at the Intersections: Histories, Activisms and Futures.* Durham, London: Duke University Press. 352 pp. Pb.: $25.95. ISBN: 9780822352709.

Medical Anthropology at the Intersections, edited by Marcia Inhorn and Emily Wentzell, is the result of a collaboration of prominent medical anthropologists. It is the product of a conference of the Society for Medical Anthropology at Yale University in 2009, entitled *Medical Anthropology at the Intersections: Celebrating Fifty Years of Interdisciplinarity*, which marked an opportunity for authors at the conference to expand on their plenary talks. The book is written in three parts: *Histories*, *Queries* and *Activisims*, and beautifully describes the development of the discipline throughout history by focusing on the 'ways in which it has come to intersect with numerous other disciplines' (p. 1).

The first part, *Histories*, features the authors Emily Martin, Lynn M. Morgan and Lawrence Cohen and assesses the intersection of anthropology with three fields: feminism and technoscience studies, medical history, and international and area studies. Martin brings her topic to life by using her own professional and personal development to describe how anthropology was shaped through its connection with the ever-changing topics of feminism, science and technology studies. Morgan uses the case of the Chinese 'baby towers' (p. 45) and embryo collection by Western anatomists in the early twentieth century to reflect on the importance of confronting difficult historical actions. She also illustrates how the links between anthropology and anatomy helped to shape our understanding of the Chinese 'disregard for infant life' (p. 45). In his chapter, Cohen gives a critique of the historical use of area studies and the problematic intersections between medicine and anthropology that resulted in a warped study of cultures seen through a prism of post-war colonialism and cold war politics.

The second part, *Queries*, is co-authored by Didier Fassin, Arthur Kleinman and Margaret Lock, and encourages the reader to re-evaluate some fundamental notions within anthropology concerning the fields of global health, mental health, and genetics and genomics. Fassin speaks of globalisation as a new form of hype that is enthralling activists and politicians world-wide. He warns of the phenomenon of 'new problematizations' (p. 113), i.e. the act of renaming an old problem without actually finding new solutions, and he questions whether globalisation is really as new as it appears. Fassin argues that "global health" can be either interpreted as meaning worldwide or universal health; a geographical understanding versus an idealistic notion, while the term "health" has the dual meaning of individual versus collective and social health. He thus reflects on the complexity of global health, its potential for abuse by Western powers and how anthropological research continues to develop our understanding of it and thus plays as important a role in activism as conventional humanitarian work does.

Kleinman concentrates on the future of the intersection of medical anthropology with mental health. He laments that the field of mental health has declined in popularity and outlines some important questions for it in the future. These questions cover the overlap of 'social suffering' (p. 118) with mental health problems, whether it is time to abandon the concept of stigma, the lack of adequate services in psychiatry to those most

deprived and most in need due to the 'psychopharmacological paradox' (p. 124). For future studies, Kleinman suggests a re-evaluation of how advances in neurobiology will affect anthropological work in the field of mental health.

Lock turns her attention to the relatively recent emergence of genetic testing. She reflects on how important scientific developments in genetics are prompting anthropologists to resume the old nature/nurture discussion. By tracing the history from Mendelian genetics to today's postgenomic era, she discusses the profound effect that the application of the 'genetic embodiment' (p. 129) can have on individuals as well as society.

The third part, *Activisms,* is written by Rayna Rapp, Faye Ginsburg, Merrill Singer and Richard Parker, and covers the active side of medical anthropology that works towards a better world. Co-authored by Rapp and Ginsburg, the first of the three chapters reflects on the intersection of medical anthropology with disability studies. Both authors are the parents of children with disabilities and thus their research and disabilities rights activism is strongly shaped by their experiences. An overview of important works regarding disability sets the scene for the chapter and results in a call for medical anthropology to drop its reluctance to incorporate disability studies more centrally into its field.

Singer illustrates the difficulty and frustration that anthropologists face when attempting to use their research to help shape policies on local, national and global scales. As a solution, she looks to the movement of 'community-based organizing for social change' (p. 185), inspired by Saul Alinsky, as a more effective way for medical anthropologists to bring about significant change.

Parker takes us back to the start of our journey through the developmental stages of medical anthropology. He continues the theme that Martin touched upon in her chapter at the start of the book: the intersection of medical anthropology and gender. Parker makes a move from the much researched feminism to the 'range of sexual *others*' (p. 211, his emphasis) and reflects on the impact HIV and AIDS, population control and the development of sexual rights has had on the works of anthropologists regarding gender, sexual health and LGBT issues.

As someone about to embark on a career in clinical practice, this reviewer has been inspired to contemplate the wider social and cultural context of health and illness that have been highlighted by this excellent book. All contributors go beyond the discipline of anthropology by making connections between medical practice, wider society and different cultural contexts, and I would recommend the volume highly to anyone wishing to learn more about the history, progress and futures of Medical Anthropology.

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Wilcox, Melissa M. 2013. *Religion in Today's World. Global Issues, Sociological Perspectives (Contemporary Sociological Perspectives Series)*. London, New York: Routledge. 584 pp. Pb.: $69.95. ISBN: 9780415503877.

Melissa M. Wilcox, Associate Professor at Whitman College in Washington, teaches sociology of religion and conducts research on issues related to gender and sexuality, particularly religious identities within LGBTQ communities. *Religion in Today's World. Global Issues, Sociological Perspectives* in the series *Contemporary Sociological Perspectives* correctly emphasises that religion is an undeniable social and political force in today's world. To a great extent, the selected texts reflect Wilcox's own research interests. The book is a combination of a course reader and a textbook and explores religion's sociopolitical aspects from a variety of theoretical angles and in different contexts.

The aim is to engage students and general readers by providing them with a set of analytical tools to navigate independently through complex and often controversial socio-religious issues and form their own opinions. To that end, five thematic sections with sub-headlines present different theoretical and empirical readings, mainly with a sociological or anthropological perspective. Each section begins with an essay by Wilcox herself, which pedagogically outlines and summarises basic concepts and problems related to the topic of the section. In addition, each section has a series of questions for use in the classroom. A rich glossary index includes short definitions of the bold-faced key terms from the main text.

The first section, *What is Religion?*, presents some fundamental aspects related to definitions of religion and the study of it, such as the difference between substantive and functional definitions, qualitative and quantitative approaches, Freudian, Durkheimian, evolutionary and social constructivist perspectives, as well as a basic introduction to questions of secularisation, privatisation of religion, and subjectivisation. For beginners, this is probably an informative introduction. In the first reading of the subsection *Defining religion*, however, Talal Asad's important essay on Western, Christian biases in the study of religion does not appear to be a natural second step for those readers without a more solid background in theories of religion and secularisation.

The next subsection, *Imagining Religion's Future*, presents some of the main positions in the contemporary secularisation debate, such as Peter Berger's secularisation thesis from 1967, his renouncement of it three decades later, and Steve Bruce's arguments regarding why Berger 2.0 is wrong. This is followed by Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead's instructive article on contemporary religious change.

The second section, *Religion and Social Institutions*, the most globally oriented section, is introduced by Wilcox's essay on religion, state, and nation, which among other things outlines the core ideas of Robert Bellah's *Civil Religion in America* and Max Weber's theories of capitalism and Protestantism. However, that does not sufficiently prepare the ground for the following articles related to *Religion, State, and Law* and *Religion and the Nation*, especially since three of them deal with non-Christian Asian contexts.

The third section, *Religion and Social Power*, is wisely divided into *Theorizing Religion and Power* and *Enacting Religion and Power* on gender issues. Wilcox's third

essay, *Religion, Oppression, and Resistance*, is better tailored to the readings than the previous ones and give an instructive overview of the way Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, W. E. B. Du Bois and Bruce Lincoln have analysed the relationship between religion and power.

The fourth section, *Religion and social movements*, distinguishes between religion *in* social movements and religion *as* social movements: a good analytical and pedagogical move. In particular, L. A. Smith and Lori G. Beaman's chapter on Quaker political activism is a sophisticated study of the political expressions of a religious tradition.

The last section, *Religion, Local and Global* covers *Religion, Immigration, and Transnationalism* and 'religion and violence, local and global'. The latter title is not precise since the 'local and global' aspect is hardly thematised. However, a special section on religion and violence which covers both the Heaven's Gate mass suicide, Holocaust trauma and Christianity's role in domestic violence does make sense, although the parts dealing with millenarianism would have enhanced the previous section on *Religion and Social Movements*.

In the table of contents, one or two sentences concisely summarise the points of each reading. These are crystal clear and suited to giving the readers a access to the texts, since some of them might otherwise come across as opaque and inaccessible for beginners, such as Saba Mahmood's *Agency, Gender and Embodiment*. More extensive introductions of this kind at the beginning of each text would have made the connection between case studies, theory and the structure of the book more visible and been particularly useful for new students.

Despite the focus on internal diversity, marginalised voices and minorities, the book does not completely avoid North American parochialism. The overwhelming majority of the more than 30 readings are studies of Western contexts, almost all of them from the USA, while Southeast Asia and Africa are completely absent. To strengthen the theoretical perspectives on global religious tendencies, perspectives from scholars like Peter Beyer, Olivier Roy or Grace Davie would have been pertinent.

Although a more coherent editing would have been desirable, and some of the readings are less interesting, Wilcox's book offers a number of key texts and nuanced in-depth studies and successfully demonstrates the intricate relationship between religion and society. The emphasis on religion's contextual, fluid character enables the readers to acquire a deeper understanding of religion's destructive as well as progressive potential. This is particularly important at a time when public debate about religion is often reduced to essentialist, simplistic arguments, most prominently in the fruitless discussion of whether religion is 'good' or 'bad', whether the Islamic State 'represents Islam' or 'has nothing to do with Islam', and so on, when it is more constructive to ask *how* and *why*. From that perspective, *Religion in Today's World* is a valuable contribution.

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Cassidy, Tanya and Abdullahi El Tom (eds.). 2015. *Ethnographies of Breastfeeding. Cultural Contexts and Confrontations*. London, New Delhi: Bloomsbury Academic. 255 pp. Hb.: $94.00. ISBN: 9781472569257.

Giving birth is a life-changing event, whether the baby is a woman's first or her fifth, or whether the woman is a surrogate. A new life means new responsibilities and new opportunities, and it is the job of parents, health institutions, and society as a whole to do their best for the new child. One of the most important aspects of new life is a baby's development, which is impossible without proper nutrition. It is parents who choose whether to give the baby breast milk (largely recognised as the healthiest option for a baby) or formula milk. *Ethnographies of Breastfeeding* is about these choices, how they are made, and what society, organisations and families can do to increase the quality of babies' lives by providing them with access to breast milk exclusively for at least six months, as recommended by the World Health Organisation.

Academics and researchers from the medical, social, and anthropological fields have come together to discuss the issues, traditions and possible solutions to making breastfeeding as natural as possible, drawing from examples from all over the world. Underlying this research is a problem that many countries are facing now: low percentages of breastfeeding. Many women begin their baby's life by breastfeeding, but few last for the recommended amount of time.

Professionals in their respective fields have written twelve different articles concerning breastfeeding. These articles can be divided into three groups. The first group discusses European breastfeeding culture, particularly as found in Ireland, Great Britain and France. The second discusses the possibilities and challenges of promoting milk banking as a solution for preterm babies and for mothers who do not have milk. Finally, the last group of articles explores the relationship between AIDS and breastfeeding, and is based largely on research conducted in African countries.

The variety of topics covered in this book can be viewed as both a strength and weakness. Such diversity offers a broad look at issues connected with breast milk. Readers can compare problems that mothers face across different countries, and come away with a general idea about the global status of breastfeeding. However, the book lacks deeper information and topical analysis. Each problem or theme is described quite briefly and would benefit from further research.

Some may find the geographical map of the book confusing; research is drawn from several countries across four continents. This offers a global perspective on specific issues, but again, a reader looking for a deeper analysis within any specific region will not find it.

Almost every chapter is enriched with citations from interviews with women, which gives a deeper impression about what they are experiencing, whether it is breastfeeding or donating milk for milk banks. Especially enlightening are interview samples from mothers who have been diagnosed with HIV/AIDS and must choose whether or not to breastfeed despite their baby's needs. Their struggles are largely framed by societal pressure and the opinions of their doctors.

Another successful part of the book is the chapter *Between 'le Corps Maternel et le Corps Erotique': Exploring Women's Experiences of Breastfeeding and Expressing in the U.K. and France* by Charlotte Faircloth, in which the author compares British and French breastfeeding traditions. The author paints a picture of a mother's daily life in these countries and explains why they breastfeed the way they do. The comparison reveals similarities and offers deep analysis into the differences of breastfeeding traditions in these two countries, including the different attention that breastfeeding can get. The feminist movement's influence on breastfeeding and how working mothers are combining work and bringing up a child is emphasised.

Another interesting topic, that of "milk relatives", is covered by two authors, Rosella Cevese and Abdullahi Osman El Tom, in two different articles. The tradition of wet nursing in Muslim countries often brings families closer. For this reason, the concept of milk banking in Western countries with large Muslim immigrant populations can be problematic, since the anonymity of a milk bank is unacceptable according to Muslim tradition.

Each article is unique, but I would like to highlight additional strong research regarding surrogacy and breastfeeding; *Breastfeeding and Bonding: Issues and Dilemmas in Surrogacy*. Health organisations are striving to encourage mothers to breastfeed, but in the case of surrogacy, it is clearly impossible. The authors of this article give examples of mothers who breastfeed babies that they have carried or who donate their milk. It also discusses different hospital policies regarding surrogate mothers feeding "their" babies.

This book would be interesting not only for academic purposes but also for any new mother who is interested in issues of breastfeeding and the experiences of mothers around the globe. This collection of research can hopefully inspire further research, as well as solutions to increasing the number of breastfeeding mothers.

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Benson, Michaela and Nick Osbaldiston (eds). 2014. *Understanding Lifestyle Migration. Theoretical Approaches to Migration and the Quest for a Better Way of Life* (*Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship Series).* London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 237pp. Hb: £65.00. ISBN: 9781137328663.

Lifestyle migration as a theoretical and conceptual framework has been used to explain the migration of relatively affluent populations; as various scholars have noted that, despite the increasing evidence of various privileged forms of migration in general, they remain poorly understood and collectively conceptualised. The aim of the book *Understanding Lifestyle Migration* is to develop further conceptual and theoretical models for understanding this phenomenon. The eleven contributors within the book reflect on the theoretical underpinnings of the current research while also developing further understandings of the privileged forms of migration through the application of social theory. As such, the book also reflects on how lifestyle migration studies can contribute to the wider debates within migration studies, as well as how lifestyle migration research can be related to studies on consumption and identity. Furthermore, the dialectic relation between structure and agency is highlighted throughout the book, because the contributors recognise the value of the social science debate for developing further lifestyle migration research. Although the book introduces specific case studies dealing with privileged forms of migration, the volume is a rich source of references on mobility and the cultural mechanisms behind mobility and is, as such, a valuable reading for students, researchers and academics in the fields of anthropology, geography and sociology, specifically for those dealing with topics, such as migration and tourism.

The introductory chapter, by the editors of the book Michaela Benson and Nick Osbaldiston, forecasts the development of the lifestyle migration field thematically, theoretically and conceptually, while also discussing possible contributions of this field to understanding migration more generally. Lifestyle migration research, for example, deals extensively with the cultural mechanisms of migration while migration studies do not often examine the intersections of culture and migration. The introduction is followed by Mari Korpela's contribution in which she discusses individualism and lifestyle migration, using empirical examples (of various researchers as well as her own ethnographic data gathered among lifestyle migrants in India). Korpela convincingly argues that although the sociological theories of individualisation and late (or reflexive/liquid modernity) explain lifestyle migration to some extent, defining lifestyle migration as a celebration of the individualisation of reflexive modernity is, in her view, a rather uncritical analysis that does not lead far.

In the next chapter, *Negotiating Privilege in and through Lifestyle Migration*, by Michaela Benson, the author discusses at greater length the notion of privilege, observing that privilege is structural and systemic and how it is negotiated through the practice of lifestyle migration. In doing so, Benson compares two case studies: the British in rural France and North Americans in Panama.

Brian A. Hoey brings to light on the subject of American lifestyle migrants, theorising the "fifth migration" in the United States. Through the review of relevant literature on migration between rural and urban areas in the United States and drawing

on his extensive ethnographic data, Hoey suggests the need to combine macro and micro levels of analysis and orients his chapter towards the future, asking himself what might be the next (or fifth) migration to follow the suburbanisation that defined the patterns of twentieth-century residential development and cultural norms in the United States.

The chapter with the rather provocative title of *Jumping Up from the Armchair: Beyond the Idyll in Counterurbanisation*, by Keith Halfacree calls the reader's attention to the fact that there is a need to consider the longitudinal development of migrant subjectivities. In this way, Halfcree opens an important question about how, through post-migration lives, the lifestyle sought as well as the imaginaries attached to this lifestyle may be transformed.

Similarly, Noel Salazar's contribution to this volume reveals how lifestyle migration does not always come with a happy ending. On the basis of two Belgian cases, he shows how there are very real possibilities that a quest for a better life might also end in failure. Vannini and Taggart continue to develop this discussion in their contribution entitled *No Man Can Be an Island.* This title is literally the core message of the article, as the authors point to the fact that there are many contradictions between imagination and experience, one of them being the ease of separation or the separation itself. As such, the chapter does not only explain the difficulties of removing oneself from the "ills of civilisation" but it questions the whole idea of the possibility of separation as the dream of escape (from technology, consumerism, structure) is often enabled by the same structure.

Osbaldiston's article argues that an over-reliance on theories such as "reflexivity" or "individualism" tends to disable researchers from historically embedding the phenomena of lifestyle migration. Starting from that premise, in his contribution the author develops a more historically nuanced approach to lifestyle migration.

The concluding article, by Karen O'Reilly, discusses the importance of social imaginary for lifestyle migration, but she also emphasises that social imaginary is an ambitious concept that has a tendency to become imprecise. She sets out a suggestion aimed at various scholars employing this concept, which would, in her opinion, benefit from thinking through its various elements more systematically. In other words, it is useful to take into consideration external and internal structures, laws, grand ideas, discourses that pre-exist a given agent and to relate them to the practices of daily life, active agency, and the outcome of these practices. The concept of social imaginary itself, used in many of the discussions in this volume, is one that attempts to make sense of agency and structure in interaction, while imaginaries are shown both as action and structure. While her discussion is not new to the field of lifestyle migration, it opens up an important question of the precision that should be applied when dealing with social imaginaries. To achieve this, she proposes a rather concrete approach by conceptualising the structure and agency separately, while also always understanding them in interaction.

This brings us to the fundamental anthropological challenge of moving back and forth between different levels of granularity and of understanding interconnections. To achieve this, as O'Reilly together with Billig (2013) reminds us that we have to approach our case studies with precision and reflect on the 'imprecise jargon that reifies complexes of things while discounting people and actions' (2014: 211).

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