

auf die Instrumentalisierung der Sexualität verwiesen wird, im zweiten Teil auf die ideologische Fokussierung der Gewalt. Mit dieser Unterscheidung soll die Ausrichtung der Gewalt gegen die Frau als Frau oder als Repräsentantin/Symbol einer definierten (Verfolgten-) Gruppe aufgezeigt werden. Die Autorinnen betonen abschließend, dass sexualisierte Gewalt gegen Frauen nicht ausschließlich als Ausdruck der Frauenfeindlichkeit begriffen werden kann; mindestens ebenso wichtig sind Rassismus, Antisemitismus, Heterosexismus und Eugenik, die sich jeweils mit Frauenfeindlichkeit überschneiden.

In seiner hervorragenden und umfassenden Darstellung sexualisierter Gewalt gegen Frauen in Konzentrationslagern, die die Autorinnen jedoch keineswegs zu einer simplifizierenden Darstellung und Interpretation verleitet, ist das vorliegende Buch unverzichtbarer Bestandteil einer Auseinandersetzung mit nationalsozialistischer Vergangenheit. Darüber hinaus liefert es durch seine Differenzierungen im Gewaltbegriff auch wesentliche Einsichten und Anregungen für die Analyse sexualisierter Gewalt im Allgemeinen.

Patricia Zuckerhut

Antoun, Richard T.: Documenting Transnational Migration. Jordanian Men Working and Studying in Europe, Asia, and North America. New York: Bergahn Books, 2005. 325 pp. ISBN 1-84545-037-X. (New Directions in Anthropology, 25) Price: \$ 88.00

The “old man” of anthropological studies on Jordan has spoken again. Over 40 years after his first fieldwork stay in the Jordanian village of Kufr al-Ma, Antoun is now looking back, reflecting on the changes that have occurred since then and how the village has become a nodal point in a network of relationships as a consequence of transnational migration. This ethnographic account is based on decades of personal relationships with generations of village inhabitants and in-depth familiarity with the local, national, and transnational circumstances. What makes this book unique is its long-term perspective, the inclusion of pursuing education as a major reason for migration, and that it has a focus on a sending rather than host communities. Its very descriptive style makes it easily accessible to a variety of readers.

Antoun begins his study with a clear designation of what he intended it to be: “an in-depth anthropological case study of the experience of transnational migration of villagers from one community, the village of Kufr al-Ma, in one country in the Middle East, Jordan” (1). He also clearly spells out the main goals of the book: firstly, “documentation . . . It aims to provide a record of both change and continuity – to record the variety of visions,” and, secondly, “humanistic: to provide an account of the migration experience from the migrant’s perspective” (2). By making documentation the primary aim of this study – as the title clearly indicates – Antoun guards himself against legitimate criticism of under-theorisation of the concepts and issues involved.

The book is divided into eight chapters and an introduction. The introduction sets the framework, describing the background of the study, research methods, a brief overview over migration movements in the 20th-century Middle East in general, specifically in Jordan, and, finally, introducing the village setting.

In the first chapter, Antoun examines the army as a vehicle for national and international mobility. In this fairly lengthy chapter, he discusses the significance of the Jordanian army, which continues to play a crucial role in the society. The one aspect of the army that is particularly relevant for the study is the fact that army personnel are sent abroad for short- or long-term missions or training, and are, thus, seemingly exposed to different cultures. Antoun insists that upon their return and (early) retirement from the army most of them put their experiences (and training) to good use and, therefore, reflect “attributes of modernity” (69). He comes to the conclusion that the “impact of the migration experience abroad . . . on the attitudes and worldviews of migrants is unpredictable and determined by a complex set of factors” (75).

In the following five chapters, Antoun examines the experiences of individual migrants to five different destinations respectively – Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, England and Germany, Greece, Pakistan, and the United States. While this division into geographical areas makes some sense, it precludes a rigorous and comparative discussion of some of the issues involved. These and other questions are instead taken up in each individual chapter resulting in considerable repetition and at times cumbersome reading. The issues that are at the heart of Antoun’s enquiry are how “these remarkably diverse student experiences affect[ed] the views of Jordanians regarding leading social questions in Jordan such as women’s work outside the home, birth control, unemployment, and regarding their own identity and upbringing in a tribal, peasant village” (169).

Migration to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, as discussed in chapter two, was mainly labour migration. The author provides the reader with detailed financial accounts of the migrants from Kufr al-Ma to a wide range of localities in Arabia. Yet, the examination of attitude change regarding the issues outlined above remains inconclusive. What the majority of migrants to Arabia have in common is that they returned to Jordan and started more or less successful businesses with the money they had earned there and invested “at home.” It is unfortunate that Antoun does not comment on the devastating consequences of the Gulf War for Jordanian migrants (only a brief reference is made in the introduction and in chapter six), who were forced to return to Jordan after King Hussein’s controversial stand on Iraq.

The third chapter follows two migrants to Germany and England, reflecting on their diverging strategies of “acculturation,” “assimilation,” and “living on the border” (118). The impact of their stay abroad on their lives upon their return to Kufr al-Ma remains again inconclusive. Significantly, the chapter ends stating

that “the course of Jordanian society . . . will depend” (133).

Migration to Greece, which is described in chapter four, was for me one of the most interesting parts of this book. During the time I stayed in Jordan I met countless people who had gone abroad to study, but I never heard of anyone going to Greece. This makes me wonder, how representative the destinations described by Antoun are for Jordan, or whether they are typical only for Kufr al-Ma. In Greece, the migrants integrated most fully into the host society, several of them marrying Greek women and settling there for good. The high degree of integration seems to be a result of not only individual attitudes and of life patterns, but also of the cultural similarities between Jordanian and Greek rural worldviews, norms, and values.

The situation of the migrants to Pakistan, which is the focus of the following chapter, appears to be radically different from Greece mainly in terms of religion and language. Again, contrary to my own experiences and expectations, the largest number of migrants in Antoun’s sample had gone to various parts of Pakistan, following one pioneer. They all returned to Jordan, without having learnt the local languages, and with only one of them having married a local woman. But the students’ experiences were so varied that Antoun concludes with regard to the impact of this experience on their worldviews that it “would be difficult, if not impossible to establish causal links between a particular migration experience and particular views on social questions in the home country” (169). In fact, he argues that the “diversity of viewpoints . . . is the significant factor” which appears to be an attempt at avoiding conclusive statements.

In his eighth chapter, Antoun looks at the situation of migrants from Kufr al-Ma to various parts of the United States. This is by far the longest chapter of the book, but most of it consists of unrefined data, straight from the notebook it seems. The reader learns how the four migrants have responded to Antoun’s questions, but the analysis of this remains shallow.

The following chapter contains an examination of intergenerational relationships, mainly based on one particular family in Kufr al-Ma. Here, Antoun focuses on the father-sons relationship, and how this has been affected by migration abroad. He concludes that these bonds remain intact despite the critical views on “village customs” developed by the migrants upon their return.

It is not until the final chapter that Antoun moves beyond the raw data of his research and attempts to place his case study in a broader, comparative perspective. The chapter appears more like an “add-on” and the discussion focuses very strongly on questions of acculturation, integration, and adjustment. What seems to be important for Antoun is to emphasise the resilience of the community in the Diaspora situation, including norms and values that originate in the sending community. He concludes with the observation that “the family and the local community – not the national community –

continue to fill the imagination and the emotions of sons and daughters whether they are found in the diaspora or at home” (310).

One aspect that is completely missing in this ethnography is a gendered analysis, which Antoun considers impossible due to him being a male researcher and, therefore, a lack of access to female respondents. Given that all the migrants in this sample are male, this would have been a highly interesting issue to discuss. In a sense, however, this falls in line with the general lack of theorisation in this book. It remains true to its title and merely describes or documents. Another drawback of the study is the inconsistent use of names, letters, and numbers for his respondents, which impedes considerably on readability and understanding. I also would have expected more historical depth, given Antoun’s long-term familiarity with the situation. This ethnography contains valuable details and a wealth of information for readers interested in Jordan and/or issues of transnational migration and diaspora communities from the Middle East. Some of the chapters would make useful case studies for course reading lists. Focusing on single chapters would also circumvent the repetitiveness that runs through the book.

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Bonnemère, Pascale (ed.): *Women as Unseen Characters. Male Ritual in Papua New Guinea*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. 254 pp. ISBN 0-8122-3789-7. Price: \$ 49.95

Male ritual life – that is, rituals concerned with initiating young men into the male corporate group, equipping them with certain skills, or enhancing and protecting their beauty and health – has long been a rich and productive field of enquiry for anthropologists of Melanesia, providing a lens through which to examine gender, sexuality, embodiment, violence, and male domination. Because indigenous discourse about these rituals often emphasized the necessity of male secrecy, the seclusion of boys away from the village, the removal of “female” substances from boys and/or the addition of “masculine” substances to them, it has been easy to assume that these rituals are “men’s business” in which women play no role whatsoever – that one of the aims of these rituals is exactly that, to eclipse female agency, if only temporarily. Through careful ethnographic exegesis and analysis, the scholars in this edited volume challenge that assumption and demonstrate not only that women played key (if often quite small) roles in these rituals, but also that the examination of women’s roles in male ritual adds to, and in some cases subtly changes, the interpretation of these rituals.

For example, it is well-known that male initiation rituals often entail the removal of young boys from their mothers into an exclusively male realm, and it is this male realm and the rebirth of the boys by the male corporate group that has received the most analytical attention. However, through an examination of mothers’ ritual practices, as well as the taboos they follow during their sons’ ritual seclusion, some of the