

as Fong's takes a nuanced view of the various actors and their perspectives. For both bodies of literature, Fong's discussions of issues as diverse as filial nationalism; social relationships as the foundation of identity; and patriotic sex and romance provide fascinating insights into Chinese young people's identity and their conceptions of social roles and connections, and sheds light on how (this particular group of) Chinese people see the world, and their relationships with others within it.

While Fong's research is undoubtedly a welcome addition to existing literature, the book could have benefited from a stronger sense of purpose and a more cohesive analytical framework. As such, the ethnographic material Fong employs often hints at interesting larger issues but does not go on to explore them. The book's structure is such that the majority of the theory Fong refers to is set out in the introduction, and is rarely mentioned again through the main body. Without contextualizing the material within a broader explanatory framework, it is difficult to reconcile the interesting but often contradictory vignettes and anecdotes Fong describes. For example, Fong discusses how some students became more defensive abroad than they had been at home of China's policies around political and religious freedoms, whereas others became more critical (160). However, she does not explore where or how these views might have originated, why they were stronger in some than in others, what larger trends this phenomenon might imply, nor does she situate the observations in relation to findings from other literature and research on these questions. Structurally, a final chapter that weaves together the theoretical points made in the introduction with the observations throughout the main body of the text would provide a satisfying conclusion to the book. As it stands, while Fong's ethnographically rich descriptions certainly reflect the nuance and complexity of the students' experiences, without being woven into an analytical framework, they leave the reader somewhat at a loss as to what the larger implications are.

Merriden Varrall

**Ghodsee, Kristen:** *Lost in Transition. Ethnographies of Everyday Life after Communism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011. 206 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-5102-3. Price: £ 14.95

This book is a collection of stories, each of which focuses on a particular theme relating to individuals' experiences of postsocialism. The stories are short, written in a simple style, that is accessible and easy – as well as a pleasure – to read. Each story makes a pertinent point relating to the post 1989 changes through the perspective of personal experiences (primarily but not only in Bulgaria). The author clearly states that the aim of the work is not intended for scholarly peers, but for students and nonspecialists (xii). If this is the intention, then Ghodsee has successfully achieved her goal and in the process made a number of other important contributions (discussed below).

It is in the "Preface" and the "Afterword" that the author draws the ideas together from the collected essays,

identifying the main focus of concern: to explain the nostalgia that populations across Eastern Europe express for their former lives under state socialism – an issue, Ghodsee says, which seems "incredulous" to us in "the West" who understood the system to be both "oppressive and unsustainable" (xiv). In the "Afterword" Ghodsee returns to this issue and offers some reasons for both the nostalgic views towards socialism and the cynicism towards postsocialist (neoliberal) reforms (179).

The 16 short stories that make up the main body of the book provide a set of fascinating personal experiences of postsocialism – covering a wide range of themes. Although all the stories have considerable value, I will only briefly mention three here. Chap. 1 titled "Contraband," tells the story of travelling in the carriage of a train where fellow travellers are trying to smuggle goods across the border. The tension between Ghodsee and the other young men in the carriage builds until she eventually learns, after a tense encounter with the officials at the border, that the goods being smuggled are Heinz tomato sauce! Chap. 4 titled "Hair" made a particular impression: the story of a young Bulgarian Muslim called Yordanka, who leaves her small native town in south Bulgaria in order to find employment in Sofia (to earn money her family desperately needed to cover the costs of her father's medications). In Sofia she is exploited by the owner of a shoe shop who does not pay the full promised salary every month. Eventually Yordanka returns home, worse off than when she had left, despondent and forced into selling her long hair to make ends meet for that month. Then there is a story titled: "New Carpets for Old Kilims" (chap. 6), which tells of how villagers trade their valuable old antique kilims for cheap synthetic carpets to Sofia traders who sell the antiques in the West for excellent profits. The story provides an interesting commentary on issues relating to markets: the exploitation of individuals with limited information concerning how the market functions, immoral entrepreneurs who take advantage of such distorted information flows and the possible role of the state in regulating such arguably corrupt and exploitative activities. These stories underline aspects of postsocialism that are all too familiar to ethnographers working in the region – themes relating to poverty and survival, migration, market exploitation, and cross border trading. In the process the author reveals some of the reasons why native East Europeans might be nostalgic about socialism; highlighting some of the many everyday problems that individuals face in the new capitalist "free" market economy in contrast to the security socialism offered in terms of employment, health, education, and a stable future.

It is in the introductory chapter that Ghodsee provides a personal documentation of how her knowledge and interest in socialist states developed over a lifetime and how she managed in the process to overcome stereotypes. Although not a stated intention of the work, the chapter also provides a documentation of one US citizen's struggle and commitment to counter a lifetime of Cold War propaganda and stereotypes of the socialist Other. In many ways I found this discussion as important and relevant as the stated theme of the work. It is hard to appreciate, for

anyone not raised in one of the two countries at the heart of the Cold War, the degree to which perceptions about the world were shaped and distorted by Cold War relations. This chapter provides a valuable insight of how US understandings of the rest of the world were shaped by the Cold War, and how much hard effort it takes to undo the effects of such an upbringing and recognise the humanity of others demonised by Western propaganda. Thus, more than just a valuable account of postsocialist experiences, the book also provides a focus on USA citizens' experiences during the Cold War and following.

Finally, the work also raises some interesting issues concerning ethnography and the boundaries between ethnography and ethnographic "fiction." Ghodsee writes in her "Preface" that she is using ethnographic "snapshots" that take place between the observer and observed. These "snapshots" provide useful insights into different worlds making an analysis of this "raw" ethnographic data unnecessary (xiii). The technique, nevertheless, raises more questions than answers. For example, the reader only learns in the "Afterword" that some of the characters in the chapters were fictional (185) – Yordanka was one of them – although a reference is made to four of the essays being short stories based on fieldwork written in the 3rd person, in order to distinguish these from the more ethnographically factual accounts written in the 1st person (xiv). Such a blurring of ethnographic data with fiction raises important questions concerning methods. For example, if we develop fictional characters – who nevertheless remain true to various practices and events taken from fieldwork data (as Ghodsee appears to have done in this case) – then is this pushing too far the boundaries of acceptability in terms of ethnographic research? And if so, why? How is this significantly different from changing the names of people and places for the sake of anonymity? Such boundaries between the ethnographic method and fiction are worthy of further exploration.

In short, and in line with its stated aim, this book has much to offer both students and nonexperts of the region (especially in the US, which clearly is the intended market for this work). But its value goes beyond the concern with postsocialism, as the stories also throw light on one US citizen's experiences of growing up during the Cold War. For readers willing to apply critical reflection on the topic of how Cold War relations influenced views in the West, then this work also makes a valuable contribution by revealing something about the perception of the Socialist Other in the US.

Deema Kaneff

**Goddard, Michael:** *Out of Place. Madness in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2011. 173 pp. ISBN 978-0-85745-094-4. (Social Identities, 6) Price: \$ 70.00

Goddard's "Out of Place" provides a welcome contribution to the relatively thin literature on what may be classified as psychiatric conditions in Papua New Guinea, and to the field of psychiatry and ethnopsychiatry more generally. Through the introduction in particular, and woven throughout the book, is a clear critique of the ethnocentric

assumptions which presume the "mental" basis of social disruptions which are classified as "mental illnesses" by psychiatry and ethnopsychiatry. This critique frees Goddard to understand Kakoli praxis in terms of its broader links to social relations, relations between the living and the dead, and social change.

The book is arranged into six chapters, with the first and second addressing the broader context of psychiatry in Papua New Guinea. The first chapter provides a welcome account of the establishment and consolidation of psychiatry throughout the colonial and early postcolonial period, illustrating its contribution to social control of disruptive individuals. The second chapter makes this social control aspect even clearer by contrasting the practice of detaining individuals, treating them with medication and sometimes with electro-convulsive therapy, and the expectation of understanding and care provided by a mental health service.

Chapters 3 to 6 introduce the key ethnographic context of Goddard's study, the Kaugel valley of the Papua New Guinea Highlands, and in particular the Kakoli people. These chapters provide a number of in-depth case studies of particular individuals who are classified as *kekelepa* (mad, crazy) by the Kakoli, and allow for the building of Goddard's argument about the social construction of madness in this ethnographic context. The case studies show the range of *kekelepa* behaviour: from short term behaviours that spontaneously disappear, to longer term disturbances in behaviour and social relations. Most of the case studies relate to men, and whether this is simply by chance, or whether men are seen as more likely to behave in disturbed ways is unclear. These case studies are the strongest part of the book, as the detailed accounts allow Goddard and the reader to work through the key elements in each case, and to understand the inherent dynamism in each. In particular the case of Hari highlights the fine balance between people who bring innovation or change to a group, and the sense that someone may now be out of touch or outside of sociality due to their experiences with postcolonial systems of education and employment.

Through these well written and accessible case studies, Goddard makes the clear argument that these people who are classified as *kekelepa* can provide a window onto a more general understanding of Kakoli social life and culture. He also clearly shows that such cases cannot be understood once abstracted from their context and treated as cases of "mental illness" with labels such as schizophrenia.

While providing a valuable study of psychiatry in Papua New Guinea, this work could have made an even stronger contribution had it engaged with the bodies of literature around emotion, personhood, and morality. Since the time of Goddard's original doctoral dissertation in the 1980s, a vast literature has been produced about cultural understandings of emotion. This includes, for example, the work of Jean Briggs, A. L. Epstein, Lila Abu-Lughod, Catherine Lutz, Michelle Rosaldo, and Unni Wikan. Given that the praxis that Goddard describes often relates to understandings of appropriate or inappropriate emotional displays or interactions, such literature is clearly relevant.