

täuscht. Mit zahlreichen Ironien werden allgemeine Aspekte der beruflichen Qualifizierung während des Studiums behandelt, aber auch die Werbesprache von Institutswebsites und mancher Studienordnungen bekommen ihr Fett weg. Münzels Ratschläge für Studierende scheinen mir allesamt richtig zu sein, obwohl ich mir als EmpfängerInnen seiner Empfehlungen eher Erstsemester oder noch nicht Studierende vorstellen kann, während sich die restlichen Texte des Bandes eindeutig auf Studierende aller Semester beziehen.

Eine ernüchternde Ergänzung ist Antje van Elsbergens einführender Text, in dem sie über ihre Erfahrungen sowohl als Studienkordinatorin als auch in ihrer Funktion als Mitorganisatorin der Ringvorlesung berichtet. Als Feedback seitens der studierenden TeilnehmerInnen ergab sich offenbar, dass die Mehrheit auch nach Ende der Veranstaltung diffuse und oftmals wenig realitätsbezogene Berufswünsche äußerte. Ein bemerkenswerter Befund angesichts der Vielfältigkeit der Beiträge und ihrer sehr klaren Sprache. Fast möchte man meinen, dass ein Ethnologiestudium auch so etwas wie eine Flucht darstellen könnte und viele Studierende die unangenehme Frage des Danach am liebsten möglichst lange vor sich herschieben wollten. Aber ist das nur ein Marburger Problem? Vielleicht ist es noch immer für viele Studierende so, wie Konstantin Kosten schreibt: „Das einzige, das mir von Beginn an völlig klar war ..., ist, dass ich nur etwas studieren konnte und wollte, bei dem ich mit dem Herzen dabei bin. Ich wusste: Ethnologie soll es sein, nichts Anderes – egal wie schwer zu erblicken die beruflichen Möglichkeiten damit auch sein sollten“ (87). Also nichts wie etwa ein Jurastudium in Brasilien, wo sich 90 % der Absolventinnen gezielt auf die sehr schwierigen Prüfungen staatlicher Stellenausschreibungen mit hohem Lohnniveau vorbereiten. Allerdings braucht man auch auf dieser Seite des Atlantiks gewöhnlich eine Portion Idealismus, um als Anthropologe vollberuflich zu arbeiten.

Der vorliegende Band ist nicht wie ein US-amerikanischer Berufsleitfaden gestrickt und wird damit der allgemeinen Situation der Ethnologie in Deutschland wahrscheinlich eher gerecht. Natürlich müssen sich Studierende der Ethnologie während ihres Studiums zusätzliche Kenntnisse durch Praktika und Kurse aneignen. Sonst haben sie nämlich überhaupt keine Chancen außerhalb des sehr engen universitären Arbeitsmarktes, und damit hat sich in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten dort also kaum etwas verändert. Die Möglichkeit einer universitären Berufslaufbahn als Ethnologe im Ausland taucht übrigens nur bei Mark Münzel als eine Art indirekter Kommentar auf.

Der allgemeine Grundton des Bandes ist ein vorsichtiger Optimismus: Ja, man kann von der Ethnologie leben, aber man muss sich sehr frühzeitig nach möglichst vielen Seiten hin umschauen, denn in Deutschland wird das Fach noch immer nicht als Beruf, sondern eher als Berufung verstanden. Im Gegensatz dazu gibt es in Brasilien beispielsweise die offizielle Berufsbezeichnung *antropólogo* – und auch einen ganz anderen, deutlich größeren Arbeitsmarkt für unser Fach. Dass aber alle Anstrengungen auch in eine tiefe Sackgasse führen können, davon zeugt der Ende 2016 erschienene Roman „Die Hoffnungsvol-

len“ von Anna Sperk. Der vorliegende Band aus Marburg kann mit Sicherheit dazu beitragen, das Studium der Ethnologie trotzdem noch hoffnungsvoll zu gestalten.

Peter Schröder

Amrith, Megha: *Caring for Strangers. Filipino Medical Workers in Asia.* Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2017. 226 pp. ISBN 978-87-7694-193-2. (NIAS Monograph Series, 134). Price: € 19.99

Megha Amrith examines the experiences of Filipino migrant health workers – primarily nurses – living in Singapore. Her study is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Singapore between 2008–2009, as well as two months spent in the Philippines. In Singapore, she interviewed Filipino health workers and domestic workers, and made observations at a hospital and a nursing home. In the Philippines, she visited nursing schools, spoke with nurses, and accompanied a key informant on a trip home from Singapore to visit family. The unique contributions of this book are twofold: Firstly, it focuses on an intra-Asian experience of nurse migration, specifically, the cultural, professional identity, and aspirational elements of the experiences of health professionals migrating to a more developed Asian country, a place that is at once familiar and foreign. This contrasts with most studies of nurse migration, which examine migration from developing nations to the West. Secondly, this ethnographic study goes beyond the common statistical and macro-level descriptions of migration patterns to capture the experiences of “identity, belonging, and community” of Filipino migrants abroad, as well as how their personal experiences with class, status, interethnic relations, and labour differ from their premigration expectations and aspirations.

Amrith outlines the context that encourages nurse migration from the Philippines to Singapore in chapters 2 and 3. Singapore is a hub for migrants, with 1.6 million of a 5.5 million population being “nonresidents” in 2015. With its “high tech” economic focus, Singapore suffers from a shortage of workers in occupations considered “dirty, dangerous, and demeaning,” leading to the international recruitment of feminised labour, including both domestic workers and health workers such as nurses and caregivers. Meanwhile, the Philippines exports labour as a state policy to encourage economic development through remittances. Almost 10 percent of the Philippine population lives overseas, with almost 20,000 professional nurses and 12,000 caregivers leaving the Philippines in 2014. Migration for Filipino nurses is associated with social mobility, with the ultimate goal being migration to the West, particularly the United States. However, since the application process to migrate to the U.S. typically takes three years, many migrate to places such as Singapore to gain work experience first. Overseas migration represents an opportunity to increase income and quality of life, and provide a return on investment in education for the family. Yet the desire to migrate represents both aspiration and good citizenship, by helping the family financially – and also bad citizenship, by absencing oneself from social and care obligations back home.

Chapters 4 and 5 examine how Singaporean labour conditions and cultural assumptions often conflict with Filipino nurses' expectations, aspirations, and sense of professional status. In the Philippines, nurses are associated with middle-class professionalism and their work is focused on medical tasks, while in Singapore, they fulfill more care-related tasks such as bathing, bedside care, and elder care – duties that are seen as the role of family members in the Philippines. Furthermore, they encounter stereotypical associations of Filipinos with low status, domestic and unskilled care labour. Hence, their expectations of social mobility through migration are undermined by the reality of ethnic stereotypes and the less professional nature of care work expected of them in Singapore. Similarly, their expectations that they will share "Asian values" with Singaporeans are challenged by cultural prejudices that stereotype them as backward and as maids. Singaporeans assert a First World superiority, while Filipinos react by asserting their superiority as more authentic English speakers, more spiritual people (as Catholics), and more caring and family-oriented. In spite of these clashes in ethnic relations and expectations, Amrith points out that nurses do develop bonds of trust with their patients, sharing intimate activities as well as some sense of shared Asianness and sometimes, class identity.

Chapter 6 examines the relations and social boundaries between Filipino nurses and Filipino domestic workers in Singapore. While one might expect social solidarity among Filipino migrants, Amrith demonstrates how nurses engage in boundary maintenance to separate themselves from lower-status domestic workers, given the similarity in care work between these two groups. While domestic workers spend time socializing at the Filipino "Lucky Plaza" on their Sundays off and are involved in community life, nurses avoid this venue and live quiet, private lives at home. Amrith explains that nurses not only seek to separate themselves socially from lower-status, "immodest, noisy, and morally-inferior" domestics; they also see themselves as only temporarily in Singapore on their way to better things. Thus, they spend their time planning their future migrations abroad, connecting with home, and resting in their apartments, rather than investing in a larger Singaporean Filipino community. Domestic workers, in contrast, lack private space since they typically live with their employers, have less possibility of onward migration, and therefore seek to build a social life outside of their isolating domestic work.

Chapters 7 and 8 explore Filipino migrants' sense of Singapore as a transit city, a temporary home on the way to somewhere better, usually the West. Importantly, Amrith adds nuance to studies of migration, by writing not just about migration as a series of circular movements between home and elsewhere, but rather, a sense of moving "on and on" in search of home. Nurses spend a lot of time preparing to move on, by studying for exams, contacting recruitment agencies, putting in applications, and networking, while imagining a future home elsewhere and living quiet lives in Singapore without putting down roots. They romanticise "home" in the Philippines and maintain

social ties there, but do not imagine it as a place to live in the future. While they may struggle overseas, they construct narratives of success and when they return home on visits, display symbols of conspicuous consumption, all the while hoping for a better life in the West. Some, however, get stuck in Singapore, unable to move on, and begin to reimagine it as home. Life in Singapore thus represents a series of tensions – between living daily life and imagining a future elsewhere, between aspirations and harsher realities of labour and social conditions, and between a desire for community and a distancing from it through class, aspirational, and ethnic distinctions.

It is these tensions that are at the heart of Amrith's analysis. Her unique contribution is this exploration of the particular tensions experienced by semiprofessional migrants, a group often ignored in favour of studying low-wage, unskilled migrants. In Singapore, this group's identity and aspirations depend upon boundary maintenance within their own ethnic community, while attempting to reaffirm their professionalism in a society that does not afford them the status they expect. Throughout their migrant experience, they attempt to negotiate their place in the world in relation to diverse others, and alter their self-understandings and aspirations in the process. This study aptly demonstrates the layers of complexity involved for migrants who attempt to establish a sense of identity and belonging abroad – not simply examining difficulties in belonging that result from cultural differences – but also those that result from complex gender, class, and inter- and intra-ethnic dynamics as well as perceptions of oneself and one's place in a globalized world.

Jen Pylypa

Atkinson, Will: *Beyond Bourdieu. From Genetic Structuralism to Relational Phenomenology.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016. 175 pp. ISBN 978-1-5095-0749-8. Price: € 19.90

Pierre Bourdieu's influence on a vast array of disciplines, from anthropology to literary criticism, art history, geography, and beyond is evident in the continued engagements with his work well over a decade since his death in 2002. His audiences reach across the globe, and scholars take up different aspects of his work depending upon their own interests and their readings of his prodigious body of writings. This leads to multiple uses and adaptations of Bourdieu's key ideas, and selections from the menu he set out for us of tools for thinking about social life. One of these is the concept of field, which Bourdieu developed in the course of both his understanding of state power (operating in large part through the bureaucratic field) and of the ways in which social domination occurs through strategies to deploy and enhance the value of symbolic and cultural capital in various fields (academic, literary, artistic, economic) that are what Bourdieu considered to be subregions of social space.

Will Atkinson is a sociologist based in the U.K. who, in "Beyond Bourdieu," brings a psychological-phenomenological reading to Bourdieu's analyses of social life and aims to extend Bourdieu's thought, particularly his