

Scales" (97–118), das der Geschichte der spanischen Dominanz auf den Marianen, insbesondere auf deren größter Insel Guam gewidmet ist. Durch den schon ins Jahr 1521 datierenden ersten Besuch eines spanischen Schiffes dort und die seither in jährlichem Abstand oder noch dichter stattfindenden wiederholten Besuche von Schiffen der Manila-Acapulco-Route, über die Bemühungen spanischer Mönche, die Bevölkerung zu christianisieren, und den spätkolonialzeitlichem Influx chinesischer, philippinischer und anderer Zuwanderer entsteht ein deutliches Bild der intensiven, wenn auch nicht von großen Bevölkerungszahlen gestützten spanischen Landnahme.

Ähnliches ist hinlänglich und besser für die Philippinen bekannt, und es will daher nicht einleuchten, warum das in diesem Buch (breit aber nicht sehr klar gegliedert und kaum mit konkreten Daten und quantitativen, nachprüfbareren Aussagen) im entsprechenden Kapitel 3 wiederholt wird. Zwar bemühen sich die Autoren um breite Auswertung der Fachliteratur, und sie haben auch aus einem Dutzend Archiven unveröffentlichte Quellen herangezogen, doch diese Informationen verarbeiten sie in generellen Aussagen eigener, oft ungenauer Diktion, nicht hingegen in Zitaten; und sie machen nicht ausreichend präzise Quellenangaben, sodass der kritische Leser sich hier ausgebremsst fühlen muss.

Es fragt sich, ob wir in der anthropologischen und historischen Wissenschaft Bücher dieses postmodernen Stils brauchen, ob sie uns in der objektiven Erkenntnis der Geschichte weiterbringen, zumal wenn man, vor allem im "Epilogue. The Lingering Lake and Archipelagic Hispanization" (119–131), hier und dort mit Sätzen konfrontiert wird, die sprachlich kaum verständlich sind, weil sie einer völlig überflüssigen ideosynkratischen Terminologie folgen, sehr metaphorisch und/oder faktisch fast ohne direkten Realitätsbezug sind, wie z. B. "Within the ranks of cliometricians, Castilian cognoscenti sought to diminish the impact of the eighteenth-century Franco-British expeditions" (122); "The conceptual Spanish Lake also died alongside the literal one with the diplomatic surrender to Germany and the United States" (127); "Throughout this monograph we have ... painted the Spanish Lake in the hermeneutic hues of the conceptual and the imagined" (131). Und schließlich nährt eine, zugegebenermaßen marginale Stelle im Buch, deren faktische Basis ich partiell überprüfen konnte, den Verdacht, dass zwar viel Aufwand mit der Durchsicht von Archivquellen und gedruckter Literatur getrieben wurde, die Verarbeitung aber eher nachlässig ausfiel. Auf S. 127 heißt es in einer längeren Passage, in der Adolf Bastians Eindrücke von der kolonialen Situation referiert werden, "He [Bastian] lauded ethnographic collection efforts associated with German firms – Otto Finch, Jan Kubary, and Otto Semper ..." Wo sie dieses Urteil in den Schriften Bastians gefunden haben, legen sie nicht offen. Außerdem ist keiner der drei Namen korrekt geschrieben. Es müsste heißen "Otto Finsch", "Johan Kubary" und vermutlich "Carl Gottfried Semper", denn ein Ethnograf "Otto Semper" ist mir nicht bekannt. Sollten diese Fehler bereits Bastian unterlaufen sein, wäre eine Korrekturanmerkung nötig gewesen. Wenn außerdem nach dem Urteil der Autoren die

Beziehung dieser Personen zu "German firms" als wichtige Beobachtung Bastians gilt, sollten sie auch sagen, mit welchen "Firmen" Beziehungen bestanden haben. Kubary hat 1869–79 für die Hamburger Firma Godeffroy und 1888–91 für die "Neu-Guinea Kompagnie" in der Südsee gearbeitet, bei den anderen sind mir die "Firmen" nicht bekannt. Man könnte nun argumentieren, dass das sehr nebensächliche Bemerkungen seien, aber, da der Koautor Buschmann bereits das Buch "Anthropology's Global History. The Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea, 1870–1935" veröffentlicht hat, das in derselben Reihe erschienen ist wie das vorliegende, sollte er die Fakten und Namen doch besser kennen und im vorliegenden Buch korrekt und einigermaßen vollständig vermitteln.

Berthold Riese

Coe, Cati: *The Scattered Family. Parenting, African Migrants, and Global Inequality.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014. 244 pp. ISBN 978-0-226-07238-8. Price: \$ 27.50

With this challenging exploration of Ghanaian transnational immigration and childcare, Cati Coe combines a powerful ethnographic analysis spanning generations and continents within the context of Ghanaian history, transnational immigration, and global capitalism. Coe argues that immigrants, aiming to create a better life for themselves and their families, are enmeshed in relations of global capital and host country national policies that result in "scattering families." Parents want to be close to their children, emotionally and through frequent communication, but they are separated by national borders, immigration policies, and economic constraints.

"The Scattered Family" opens with a tale about Irene, a middle-aged Ghanaian woman whom Coe met on a long-distance bus ride, and details Irene's life as an immigrant in the United States. This anecdote raises the issue of distributed parenting and fostering, and serves as segue to subsequent chapters on the Ghanaian immigrants, their children, and extended family members. The introduction unpacks the "repertoires" that Ghanaians of all ages draw upon to make sense of, and cope with, their lived experiences of immigration, separation, and family life. Repertoires, as a set of cultural resources or frameworks, include ways of speaking, thinking, and feeling about family and kinship relations that help to "mobilize material resources, and people in ways that are considered normal and natural" (5) to Ghanaian migrants. Coe elaborates further on the repertoires of family life as: multiple, habitual, and conscious, enacted, and enmeshed in relations of power, and she notes that the performance of repertoires can be reshuffled and reformulated, as new situations arise or as people learn from their own or others' successes or failures. This reformulation results, in part, from the risk encountered in the transpositioning of a familiar repertoire into a "new domain" (e.g., immigrant experience), where one is uncertain about the outcome of such a shift.

The first chapter provides an overview of the history of Akuapem in Ghana, and family relations and chang-

ing repertoires of kinship (expectations and obligations) across generations and in various spatial contexts, including debt repayment through family labor or pawning of children. Children are seen as an investment in the future security of the parents, but intergenerational tensions arise when parents are working and living in the US and depend on relatives for foster care. Even children born in the US are sent to Ghana for fostering, schooling, and/or proper socialization away from the influence of their American peers. Underpinning this discussion is the emotional impact, on parents and children, of the economically-driven need for migration and fosterage. The notion of “distributed parenting” is described in chapter two, where Coe presents her findings from numerous interviews with foster parents in Ghana. Historically, grandparent fostering was a common and accepted practice as parents migrated for work. The contemporary influence of Christianity and middle-class lifestyles, however, means that there is stigma attached to fostering. Middle-class status is reinforced, in fact, by parents not fostering out their children, but this class-based ideal creates a tension for urban, educated, middle-class immigrant parents abroad, for whom fosterage in Ghana resolves both economic and social problems.

Chapter three examines international immigration and fosterage in light of US immigration law, which encourages educated immigrants, and provides family reunification or the green card as options for entering and staying in the country. Ghanaians opt for family reunification to bring children and other family members to the US, but DNA testing and other “proofs” of a family relationship are required by US immigration law, making reunification difficult. The US immigration law not only challenges Ghanaians’ own “repertoires” of how family is defined (beyond the US’s nuclear family and blood relatives), but it also undermines the spirit and intent of family reunification and limits immigrants’ options for responding to family obligations and reciprocities when abroad.

Chapter four highlights the high costs of childcare in the US, and the better employment opportunities and salary levels for Ghanaians educated in the US as compared to elsewhere. The US provides weak societal and institutional support for raising a young child when compared with other countries, and the costs for children care in the US are prohibitive. Ghanaian family members are not allowed to come to the US to support childcare (which is seen as a “work” option not family reunification), thus, middle-class immigrant parents draw upon a flexible cultural repertoire when adjusting to such constraints and foster their children in Ghana. Remittances support fostered children, foster parents, and other family members. Ghanaians draw sharp distinctions between the US and Ghana when childcare practices are examined, as noted in chapter five. If parental concern about a child going wayward arises in the US, parents send the child to Ghana for fostering or to boarding school, so the child can be appropriately disciplined and socialized. The child may return to the US to benefit from higher education and the opportunities this affords. Chapter six shifts the focus and discussion to Ghana, where poorer relatives foster

the children of middle-class Ghanaian transnational migrants. Paradoxically, in Ghana, urban middle-class Ghanaians would normally be expected to foster the children of poorer relatives. Remittances may be increased as a form of reciprocity for foster parents and care for children, yet there is reticence about these arrangements, as foster parents may feel that remittances are inadequate, and parents may worry that their children are not cared for properly.

The views of young people / children, expressed in chapter seven, reveal their emotional repertoires and feelings of contentment and discontent about fosterage. They convey more unhappiness about their positions than their parents who live abroad. Children may feel attached to a foster parent, or feel the foster parent’s care is lacking. They may view material goods from parents as a symbol of love, but express feelings of loneliness, lack of intimacy, and absence of maternal/paternal love. Fosterage and parental absence creates a tension between parents, children, and foster parents. There is a disjuncture between what middle-class, Christian Ghanaians regard as appropriate for their children and what is possible. Those in Ghana question fosterage, but immigrants in the US are forced to rely on it to get ahead financially and provide for their children.

“The Scattered Family” vividly conveys the hardships immigration brings to Ghanaian families. The book’s conclusion notes that while the US benefits from the human capital that it attracts, its immigration policies ensure that it is mainly better educated and contributing immigrants who are admitted. Parents are delayed in reuniting with their children and other relatives who, at a certain age, might be viewed as a drain on US state resources for education or health care. Coe’s concluding section takes aim at self-serving US immigration laws, which can be changed as US circumstances change (i.e., an increase in local unemployment could make immigration more difficult). Thus, the role of immigrants in supplying labor serves global capital, but workers are susceptible to risk as they are ultimately dispensable. Coe’s book enhances the growing body of literature on New African Diasporas, with its rich ethnography of Ghanaian families in the United States and Ghana.

Louise de la Gorgendière

De Groot, Joanna, and Sue Morgan (eds.): *Sex, Gender, and the Sacred. Reconfiguring Religion in Gender History.* Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2014. 337 pp. ISBN: 978-1-118-83376-6. (Gender and History, 25/3) Price: € 25.90

This edited volume on religion is published in the Special Issue Book Series (Volume 25, Issue 3) of the interdisciplinary journal, *Gender & History*, and resulted from a two-days international symposium held in September 2012 at the University of York. The questions raised at the conference were in what ways an analysis of religion might help rethinking “the current frameworks and narratives of histories of gender and, conversely, how ... a focus on gender and sexuality [might] illuminate the