

fluence the identity of groups and individuals? Religion, ethics, and morality are the main aspects of this section. Islamic and Jewish NGOs are presented as spaces for negotiation on convictions and identity. The third case of volunteer tourism in Peru questions the commodification of "doing good" and poverty.

Part 3 bears the title "Methodological Challenges of NGO Anthropology." Although the difficulties and peculiarities of NGO research are being voiced in various chapters, a whole part is explicitly dedicated to this topic. For Erica Bornstein, NGO researchers face the challenge to set the limits of and to position themselves within the empirical field. Her refreshing writing style, despite the sensitive subject matter, makes her contribution more of an invitation than a discouragement. To underpin her arguments, the following contributions present two contrasting attempts how to handle these challenges. Finally, Christian Vannier and Amanda Lashaw, the two other editors, provide a conclusion with once again an explicit focus on the second generation of NGO Anthropology. Today, NGOs are omnipresent and thus is their impact. This requires more reflection on methodology and ethical attitudes.

In some years, this edited volume may well be quoted as an important milestone for anthropologists who do not want to refuse the study of modernity and related controversies. Not only because it declares the world that circulate around the NGO-form as the new object of study, or because the book complies a vast range of regional areas highlighting the challenges and chances of global, cross-regional phenomena. But also because the volume opens and answers important questions on contemporary society: The authors tackle the intersections of norms, practices, and power structures at play between international donors, state politics, and NGOs. Meanwhile they provide insights into relevant societal topics such as environment, gender equality, and religion considering discourses and practices to the same extent.

The regional heterogeneity is strikingly broad, but the authors manage to refer to each other frequently; maybe even a little unduly. Halfway through, the reader sometimes gains the impression that the book moves in a quite self-referential cosmos. Certainly, this is due to the fact, that we are dealing with a new subfield of which the most important representatives are themselves taking part in the edited volume. All the more, it is about time to have more anthropologists entering the field. It would also have been welcome if the contributors had supplied more recent data. While some of the articles do not disclose the year of data collection at all, one author reaches back to the year 2004 without further reflecting on the extended time difference. It is therefore conceivable that some of the authors draw on their past experiences with NGOs, which were gained without an aimed research purpose at that time. This impression is supported by the introduction of Steven Sampson who opens the book with his memories of being a consultant in 1992. Hence, some of the ethnographies have been

produced retrospectively with no further elaboration on the barriers this may cause.

Another point of contention relates to the problematic relationship between anthropology and development in general. For a long time, important representatives (Escobar, Ferguson, Herzfeld) of a critical anthropology of development problematized the production and reproduction of the rhetoric of development in academic writing. A new, second generation of NGO researchers thus should try to think beyond these prevailing meta-narratives. For example, it would be desirable to find other descriptive and heuristic frameworks to overcome dichotomies like "global North" and "global South" or to rethink the attribution "local" as a common counterpart of the "global." Another approach could be to critically discuss key terms like "poverty" and, thus, to reflect on its historical and political implications. Similarly, second-generation studies could elaborate on the question of why the term "culture" is being applied to describe the spheres of "doing good." The reader finds many cultures in the book: "NGO culture" (42), "bureaucratic culture" (47), "culture of poverty" (82), and "consumer cultures" (115). But what is missing are reflections on how fruitful this controversial concept is to frame these specific contexts.

In the end, these small remarks correspond with the overarching intention the authors have: To encourage anthropologists to consider NGO worlds as a field of its own with many entry points. With these multiple perspectives and insights the book is highly recommended for researchers of different regional focuses and disciplines, like political science or religious studies – but also for activists and practitioners.

Melina C. Kalfelis  
Kathrin Knodel

**Leivestad, Hege Høyre:** *Caravans. Lives on Wheels in Contemporary Europe*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018. 178 pp. ISBN 978-1-3500-2992-7. Price: £ 76.50

During the last decades, the Social Sciences have made yet another "turn." This time it is a mobility turn, putting mobility of capital, goods, ideas, and people at centre stage. It is in this context I see Hege Høyre Leivestad's book, "Caravans. Lives on Wheels in Contemporary Europe." It is a celebration of mobility and immobility, and how these two are interrelated. From a Social Anthropology perspective and an ethnographic portrayal of the mobile dwelling, the book is based on two case studies, one in Sweden (the fictional Lake Town, somewhere outside Stockholm) and one in Spain (Camping Mares, Benidorm). Leivestad unpacks the decisions, rationale, and justification behind the lives of the respondents in a camping ground, and relates this to larger societal changes in a thorough way.

The book is nicely structured, and deals with different questions and themes in the different chapters. The first chapter addresses the history and development of the

phenomenon of caravans, and later motorhomes (both types are in focus in the book). Here it is described how the caravan was introduced as a “land yacht” and how military technology found a civil application during the post-war era, much like the development of civil air travel. It is argued that the main market for caravans are the baby boomers born after the Second World War, when domestic tourism and car ownership started to develop rapidly. Interesting is also how this is interlinked to the regular property market and how profits made here can and do finance a “mobile life”. There are also links to the second home tradition in the Nordic countries, where the interior design of caravans is argued to resemble a cosy mountain cabin, and that white colour is seen as a problem. Whether or not this is a cohort effect and a diminishing problem, the future will tell.

The second chapter deals with campsite infrastructure and problematises how the hooking up of caravans and motorhomes is restricting the mobility of the dwellings and alter the ideology of self-sufficiency. The development is argued to move from mobile caravans to sedentary camping, at least among the interviewed. This has even developed into a property market where caravans are bought and sold to different owners without being moved from the site, like a regular property market. There is an interesting argument by Leivestad about how the mobility of people for long have been a challenge to nation states, but as a result of sedentary camping and the transformation of the mobile caravan into a static- or semi-static housing becomes equally problematic. This highlights a theoretical discussion in the tourism geography literature about the problems associated with traditional dichotomies of temporal and permanent and the study of tourism can contribute to increased knowledge regarding individual mobility. I do miss many of these references in Leivestad’s work.

Later, Leivestad focuses on the reasons behind and consequences of a life on wheels. How it is perceived, organized, and financed. Here, and throughout the book most focus is on seasonal and/or full-time campers. Interesting would be to know how big this group is among the millions of caravan and motorhome owners in Europe? Is the sedentary camping a marginal phenomenon or a growing and dominating field of seasonal mobility? However, this is the focus of future studies.

In chapter three, Leivestad discusses the core of the whole book, as I see it. It is the notion of *potential mobility* as a driving force behind the feeling of freedom among the users. Here, Leivestad discusses how the caravan becomes a home allowing a life away from “being stuck” in the terraced home in northern England or a flat in Sweden. Links to discussions of downsizing are also elaborated with, where the “excess of things” becomes unbearable among the respondents. The term “withdrawal,” in the sense of getting away from all duties of owning a house or a big flat, is used to describe the rationale among the respondents.

In chapter four, Leivestad shows abundant evidence of how the caravan is transformed from a mobile dwell-

ing to static housing entity, but also how the divestment associated with a move to the caravan is expressed as a relief among the respondents. Another sign of how the “temporal” place is transformed to a “permanent” place is the development of an informal property market, parallel to the regulated market many of the owners decided to withdraw from. An interesting anecdote is that the caravan owners are even covering the wheels and hence, are “immobilizing the mobile.” What I found interesting is the planning perspective, where camping sites are defining residency much like the public authorities. This is revealing how rules and regulations have problems in grasping the activities among humans in society, especially when it is related to mobility. One such example is the phenomenon of the “Benillars”, or the more permanent types of awnings. In Sweden there is today a debate regarding “Spiketält” (a more permanent wooden awnings in northern Sweden that can support the weight of snow) in camping grounds and some planning departments of local municipalities are now starting to require building permits for them, hence defining them as real estate or regulating the temporary.

Chapter five is very interesting since it is focusing on pertinent issues and shows how a rather mundane place like a camping ground can be an arena for larger societal issues. Here, it is argued, that the camping ground and the sense of community is a link to a rural village past that have been lost in the age of globalisation. This is neatly linked to a discussion and explanation of Brexit and a narrative of escape with reference to problems with immigration. The phenomenon of “withdrawal” among the respondents is an expression of a nation in decline leading to the camping ground as a place of refuge and in the end enhancing segregation.

Some interesting hypothesis are introduced by reading the book. The first one is the potential substitution effect between the regular property market and caravans and motorhomes, where the cost of buying a second home for recreational purposes is so expensive that the focus is now being towards static caravans and motorhomes. If proven, what would be the effect on prices for second homes as a consequence of this? It would also be interesting to investigate how caravans and motorhomes are financed on an aggregate level and how this is interlinked with the regular property markets and how it differs across space. This is especially interesting when one unframes it from the blurring of what is temporal and permanent and also that there are signs of the temporal structures being increasingly regarded as permanent or real estate. Finally, it would be interesting to investigate the issue of a housing career, where a “permanent” caravan in a locality can be a stepping-stone towards a more permanent dwelling like a flat or a house.

Theoretically, I think the major contribution is the perspective of caravans and motorhomes as being in-between traditional views on permanent and temporal mobility, very much as the second home tourism literature. Especially, I like the paradox of a mobile home

that is immobilised and how this becomes a problem that authorities have a hard time to handle. It also stresses the importance of the tourism-mobility continuum and show, how mobility researchers can contribute to this field in highlighting the blurred boundaries of permanent and temporal. I also think that the contribution made here is highlighting the phenomenon of caravans and motorhomes as being stigmatised and seen as not cool, even though this is a big phenomenon in society. My overall judgment is that "Caravans. Lives on Wheels in Contemporary Europe" provide valuable insights about this highly complex phenomenon. It also focuses on a vernacular phenomenon that is ignored by researchers, especially when one considers its size.

Roger Marjavaara

**LVR-Fachbereich Regionale Kulturarbeit/Museumsberatung Köln, LWL-Museumsamt für Westfalen, Münster** (Hrsg.): Missionsgeschichtliche Sammlungen heute. Beiträge einer Tagung. Siegburg: Franz Schmitt Verlag, 2017. 154 pp. ISBN 978-3-87710-548-1. (Studia Instituti Missiologici Societatis Verbi Divini, 111) Preis: € 19,90

Die vorliegende Anthologie versammelt Beiträge des Symposiums "Missionsgeschichtliche Sammlungen heute. Herausforderungen, Chancen, Visionen", welches von deutschen AkteurInnen in der Museumsarbeit und dem Haus Völker und Kulturen in Sankt Augustin im März 2017 ausgerichtet wurde. Ziel von Symposium und Anthologie ist daher, die "Bestandsaufnahme der aktuellen Situation, verbunden mit dem Vernetzen der Akteure, insbesondere der missionsgeschichtlichen Sammlungen untereinander wie auch mit den großen ethnologischen Institutionen" (7). Der "Ist-Zustand und die drängendsten Probleme" sollen erhoben werden (7). Dieser gegenwärtige Zustand wird auch in dramatischen Farben gemalt: die Museen der Orden seien "existenziell in ihrem Bestand bedroht" und es bestehe dringender Handlungsbedarf (8).

Der Band teilt sich in eine Einführung in die Problematik (Ulrike Gilhaus) und zehn Beiträge, sowie eine Bibliografie und Informationen über die AutorInnen auf. Gleich im Grußwort werden vier Aspekte angesprochen (fortwährende Aktualität des Sammelns in der Gegenwart, koloniale Geschichte Deutschlands, problematische öffentliche Zugänglichkeit der Sammlungen und ihre ungewisse Zukunft), die der Meinung der Rezentsin nach von hoher Wichtigkeit sind und in keiner Ausführung über diese Thematik fehlen dürfen. Die Beiträge gehen dann auch auf diese Aspekte ein.

Im ersten inhaltlichen Beitrag stellt Felicity Jensz mit dem Herrnhuter Völkerkundemuseum ein wichtiges protestantisches Missionsmuseum vor, das durchaus schon beforscht wurde. Sie gibt einen guten Überblick über die Entwicklung und geht auf den zentralen Aspekt der Motivlage für das Sammeln und Ausstellen durch eine Missionsgesellschaft ein. Sie schließt mit einer Definition für den Begriff des Missionsmuseums, was für

die Diskussion allgemein von großer Wichtigkeit ist. Denn in den Beiträgen wird sichtbar, dass mit verschiedenen Begrifflichkeiten operiert wird.

In einem Doppelartikel (Schroyen/Koch) stellt Andreas Schroyen die Lichtbild-Reihe "Die katholischen Missionen in China" vor, welche von einem privaten Unternehmen (Lichtbildanstalt Carl Simon & Co) ab 1907 an Interessierte verliehen wurde. Dies zeigt, wie Fotografien aus der Hand von Missionaren in den Missionsgebieten über dieses Unternehmen in Europa an die Öffentlichkeit gelangten. Ute Koch schließt mit Hintergrundinformation zur Mission der Franziskaner in China an und geht dabei auch auf deren chinesische Objektsammlung im Missionsmuseum in Dorsten und später Werl ein, inklusive aufschlussreicher Zitate aus einem Museumsführer anno 1921. Schroyens Einblick in die Dia-Reihe zeigt, dass der Titel des Bandes, der lediglich von "missionsgeschichtlichen Sammlungen" spricht, auch so umfassend zu verstehen ist. Nicht nur Objektsammlungen, auch bildliche Repräsentationen der überseeischen Gebiete werden diskutiert.

Der nächste Artikel aus der Feder von Jerzy Skrabania SVD, dem Leiter des Hauses Völker und Kulturen in Sankt Augustin, beschäftigt sich mit der Entstehungs- und Wirkungsgeschichte eben dieses Museums, welches auch als eines der bekanntesten in Deutschland angesehen werden kann. Besonders hilfreich ist seine chronologische Auflistung von temporären Ausstellungen mit den jeweiligen Leitern des Museums. Diese zeigt die Bandbreite an Themen, denen sich das Museum gewidmet hat. Von der sakralen Kunst und Geschichte Armeniens, über "Frauen des Alten Amerika" bis hin zu "Jesus ist ein Afrikaner".

Tanja Holthausen fasst in ihrem Beitrag die Ergebnisse der Umfrage der Deutschen Ordensobernkonferenz mit dem Titel "Missionarische, ethnologische und zoologische Sammlungen in Deutschland" zusammen. Aus den 29 ausgefüllten Fragebögen ergibt sich ein knapper Überblick über die diversen Ausgestaltungen dieser Sammlungen und Museen entlang der abgefragten Kategorien.

Claudia Andratschke vom Landesmuseum Hannover widmet sich dem Thema der Provenienzforschung in ethnologischen Sammlungen. Sie stellt in diesem Text keinen direkten Zusammenhang mit den missionsgeschichtlichen Sammlungen her, was sicherlich in der Diskussion während der Konferenz erfolgte. Klar wird anhand ihres Beitrages, dass die Objektbiografien sich oft kaum unterschieden, ob der Weg nun in ein Landesmuseum oder in ein Missionsmuseum in Deutschland führte. Darauf könnte die spannende Frage an die restlichen Beiträge folgen, mit welchen Argumenten eine Besonderheit der missionshistorischen Sammlungen weiterhin postuliert werden kann.

Keine direkte Auseinandersetzung mit den missionsgeschichtlichen Sammlungen gibt es im Artikel von Sarah Fründt, die sich mit problematischen Objekten in musealen Sammlungen beschäftigt (etwa menschliche Überreste, Objekte aus einem Kolonialzusammenhang,