

is also central to Brand's chapter on domestic violence counselling in South Africa, which shows that counsellors' mistrust of women's experiences with violence must remain tacit in order to facilitate the information-gathering process. Staying on the African continent, Michael Bürge's contribution provides greater analytical body to the statement 'there is no trust in Sierra Leone'. He shows that people in Sierra Leone generally 'miss trust', a multifaceted concept Bürge develops by building on local conceptions of *trɔs*, including its material dimensions. To miss trust may be the cause of social immobility, while 'generating trust' is commonly seen as a pathway to instigating change and realising upward social mobility (although it should be stressed that such pathways also include conscious actions that inflict the experience of 'missing trust' on others and reproduce society's general situation in which trust is not pre-given).

In addition to analysing mistrust in specific ethnographic settings, several chapters, not least Schiocchet's and Pelkmans' interventions, engage with more semantic discussions of closely related concepts like trust, entrustment, distrust, mistrust, suspicion and doubt. These interventions offer interesting reflections at a conceptual level, but also make valuable distinctions between different experiences and practices located in the diverse realm of mistrust. Additionally, in the volume's afterword, Thomas Yarrow brings the various chapters into conversation with a contemporary moment of 'post-truth', in which expert knowledge is increasingly questioned and mistrusted, not least in Europe and America. The chapters in this volume, Yarrow emphasises, enable us to study this 'post-truth sociality', as they foreground the 'myriad ways in which truth, trust and mistrust are entangled

... and the specific historical and cultural trajectories through which they arise'.

While the volume brings together a substantial number of analyses across various settings, a chapter focused on mistrust among our interlocutors, for us as researchers, could have added an interesting dimension. Why should we, outsiders with sometimes peculiar agendas and interests, be trusted by people who may frequently be exposed to mistrust in their everyday lives? How are we confronted with mistrust and how do we deal with it? Yet, although this could have added an interesting discussion, the volume, as it stands, successfully highlights that mistrust does not necessarily signal absence and social failure, but is constitutive of particular behaviours, practices and relations. As such, this volume is interesting for a readership that wants to engage with conceptual discussions of phenomena along the trust–mistrust spectrum, grapples with statements such as 'there is no trust' or is curious about the multifaceted ways in which mistrust produces social dynamics in different ethnographic settings.

ROBERT JAN PIJPERS 

University of Hamburgs, Germany

Palmerberger, Monika and Jelena Tošić (eds.)
Memories on the move. Experiencing mobility, rethinking the past. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 293 pp. Hb.: €114.39. ISBN: 9781137575487.

The present volume of essays is a timely analysis of memories and migrations that are, despite the wide discussions on each of them, still rarely thought of together. The collection of essays takes the reader through various locations across Europe and beyond, and explains how diverse patterns of mobility such as migrations, exile, seasonal resettlements and returns

act as collective and individual mnemonic practices, and how the latter in turn shape the ways of experiencing mobility and immobility. One of the important questions is how various processes of remembering are a constitutive part of movement processes, for they often bring forth the past in order to reassure present belonging and future hopes. The core idea for this volume was sparked at a workshop that the editors Monika Palmberger and Jelena Tošić held at the EASA biennial conference in Tallinn (Estonia).

In *Memories on the move*, memories and remembering can act both as resources for overcoming trauma and/or past atrocities, and as potential burdens through which people on the move experience and make sense of mobility and immobility. While most extant scholarship on remembering sets memories in the framework of the nation state, this volume approaches them through the context of migration and transnationalism. As such, the volume demonstrates why ethnography is essential for understanding specific transnational trajectories, which in this work are divided into three intertwined parts: exile (Part I); practices and objects of remembering (Part II); and politics of memory (Part III). Mnemonic trajectories are set in different ethnographic contexts, such as Bosnian refugees living in Sweden (Chapter 2) and Denmark (Chapter 4); refugees in a Palestinian refugee camp (Chapter 3); Uruguayan female migrants in Catalonia (Chapter 5); Somali migrants in Melbourne (Chapter 6); the transnational Kurdish community (Chapter 7); the Polish-Jewish diaspora (Chapter 8); the 'nomadist movement' in Hungary (Chapter 9); and Bangladeshi immigrants in Portugal (Chapter 10). In these widely different contexts, as Karen Fog Olwig puts it in her afterthoughts, 'the memory work' (p. 279) opens up a wide array of

temporalities that bring forth the distant past in order to make sense of the present and give a way to the future.

Drawing on examples of mnemonic agencies of people in various transnational and transcultural contexts, most of the chapters focus on remembering as the core process through which people on the move make sense of their current home and belonging. Although the volume's aim is to show how both remembering and forgetting are inalienable processes of mnemonic practices, the process of forgetting often stays overshadowed by the 'memory work'. One of the reasons for this may be in the methodological constraints that limit the ethnographer with regard to going beyond what is articulated in the language. The other might lie in the point that, as Marita Eastmond in her reference to Paul Connerton (2008) puts it, forgetting is not necessarily losing or erasing the traumatic past, but perhaps also a gain that enables one to provide 'living space for present projects' (Connerton 2008, quoted on p. 43). With this in mind, this reviewer is of the opinion that individual chapters discussing the processes of forgetting (e.g. Chapters 2, 4, 7, 8) could more vividly describe this 'living space' by unfolding also what lingers beyond the language and is, for example, embraced in feelings, affects and silence. The latter can be portrayed through different ethnographic details, by employing thick description which often manages to take the reader beyond what is said and encapsulates also that which is practised, felt and sensed. This is partially seen in a couple of chapters, such as Chapter 4 on Bosnian refugees in Denmark by Sanda Üllen, for example. In its conclusion, Üllen briefly draws on Navaro-Yashin's 'affective geographies' (Navaro-Yashin 2009) that emphasise particular affects reified in ruins that

are, according to the author, comparable to the ruined homes in Bosnia. But these affective strands, perhaps due to the chapter's main focus on different ways of remembering of the family home in Bosnia, stay veiled by other processes of cultural recollections.

To conclude, *Memories on the move* is a compelling ethnographic volume explaining how in the process of various movements memories act as core nodes for assuring the present and building a new future. The volume deserves to be widely read and should be of interest to scholars studying migration, movements, mobility and immobility, memory studies, history and oral history. It also serves as excellent reading material for students of anthropology, sociology, migration studies, history and human geography.

References

- Connerton, P. 2008. 'Seven types of forgetting', *Memory Studies* 1(1): 59–71.
- Navaro-Yashin, Y. 2009. 'Affective spaces, melancholic objects: ruination and the production of the anthropological knowledge', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 15: 1–18.

NATAŠA GREGORIČ BON

*Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts
(Slovenia)*

Pelkmans, M. 2017. *Fragile conviction – changing ideological landscapes in urban Kyrgyzstan*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 213 pp. Pb.: US\$26.95. ISBN 978-1501705144.

The abandoned, toppled and desecrated statue of Lenin has come to be seen as a trope across the post-Soviet world – the former master-signifier deconstructed; emblematic of the overthrow of not just

socialist ideology, but all ideology. Such a statue is the opening image of Mathijs Pelkmans' *Fragile conviction*. However, this particular statue, in the central square in Kyrgyzstan's capital, Bishkek, refuses to go gently into the good night of the 'end of history', but persists, despite setbacks and vicissitudes, long beyond the sell-by date of the ideology that it represented. In the present day Kyrgyzstan observed by Pelkmans, Lenin is no longer revered, and yet there is no coherent unifying symbol to replace him with. Neither, however, is ideology dead.

Pelkmans counters the notion of the post-Soviet era as constituting an 'ideological vacuum'. He analyses the tenacity, the process and purchase of ideology formation and what he describes as 'the affective dimension of collective ideas' in a country that was the early favourite of neo-liberal pundits and the Washington consensus but which now, two decades after gaining independence, is at the bottom of former Soviet republics in terms of economic indicators, and ranked among the most corrupt countries in the world. The dream of a capitalist future of abundance has turned out to be a mirage that could never be reached, while the memory of socialist security and order has receded into the past. Notwithstanding, the images of abundance and safety never disappeared but were reconfigured to become part of other ideologies, or have lingered on in the thoughts of those living through hardship.

Pelkmans theorises how ideational power is produced and released, and with what effects. He describes a pattern – the swelling of momentum, the flash of intensity, the release of energy – referring to this dynamic that exceeds the particularities of each instance of conviction as 'pulsation'. Using this approach he sets out to understand how people become convinced, and how they cease being convinced, of concrete assertions of truth. By