

German and Austrian soldiers as degenerate. Equally interesting would have been to unveil Italian anthropological research on Eastern European prisoners of war, as exemplified by the work of Renato Biasutti, a strand of research that became an important source for the emerging national anthropologies in Eastern Europe during the 1920s.

Prisoner of war (POW) camps figure prominently in most papers. As Margaret Olin aptly put it, the camps were 'the source of eclectic collections of visual images of prisoners, their captors, and the scholars who studied them' (p. 256). Considering its importance, then, one is surprised to discover that Ludwik Hirsztfeld's serological research in the POW camps in Salonika is not mentioned. Joining the Serbian army in 1915, Hirsztfeld spent the rest of the war in Salonika, serving as serological and bacteriological adviser and running a bacteriology laboratory with his wife, Hanka. Hirsztfeld was the first to study the blood groups in large numbers of soldiers congregated in POW camps on the Macedonian front. He found significant differences in the distribution of the ABO blood groups, that is, type A was more common in soldiers from North Central Europe, whereas type B was more common in those from Eastern Europe. Hirsztfeld provided physical anthropology with a new method for classifying human 'races' by biochemical means rather than by using highly contested anthropometric features. More importantly, perhaps, for the evolution of physical anthropology, Hirsztfeld demonstrated that blood groups were inherited according to Mendelian laws of heredity. This story is not new to historians of anthropology, and to mention it, particularly when discussing physical anthropology in the Balkans would have facilitated a better understanding of how serological research redefined the importance afforded to blood groups in scientific interpretation of national differences, especially during the interwar period.

These caveats aside, the publication of this scholarly and well-edited volume is commendable. For those who are already

familiar with the history of anthropology, this volume will advance their knowledge of anthropology in wartime and war zones; for those who do not, it will awaken great interest.

MARIUS TURDA

Oxford Brookes University (UK)

Marre, Diana and Laura Briggs (eds.).
2009. *International adoption. Global inequalities and the circulation of children.*
New York and London: New York University Press. vii + 312 pp. Pb.: £15.99. ISBN: 978 0 81479 102 8.

This lively collection of seventeen essays is devoted to variations on the theme of international adoption. The essays, divided into three sections, present a comprehensive overview of a wide range of issues, with thought-provoking contributions on a variety of case studies from sending and receiving countries. Themes such as enactments of alternative definitions of kinship, socially constructed representations of parenthood and the interplay of biology and culture in the exploration of roots are investigated in various contexts, as seen through the eyes of individuals involved in international adoption. Contributions include perspectives from adoptive parents and adoptees.

The Introduction by the editors Diana Marre and Laura Briggs traces the history of the movement of children from poorer countries to wealthier ones. Peter Selman's essay offers some statistical data on international adoption in receiving and sending countries between 1998 and 2008. Judith Schachter explores the multiple meanings and legal implications of adoption in Hawai'i. The assortment of local ways of constituting kinship shows how the Euro-American concepts of adoption and foster care clumsily apply to other cultures, and do not reflect the complexity of indigenous institutions of social parenthood. Francoise-Romaine Ouellette discusses the only legal form of adoption in Québec, the

plenary one, which entails the dissolution of the child's original kinship ties, and the affiliation of children to their new families, their language, culture and identity, thus alienating them from their birth families. Ouellette reflects whether this severance is in the interest of the adoptees.

Martine Gross writes of the articulation of conjugality and the desire for biological/social parenthood among gay and lesbian couples in France. Having to face the social discourse that children should have a mother and a father, some couples choose co-parenting, deemed an acceptable and more 'natural' option. Through the experience of international adoptees in Sweden, Barbara Yngvesson highlights how biogenetic connections still represent a powerful representation in the adoptees' own experiences of motherhood. On the one hand the adoptees question their acquired Swedish identity, on the other they report of conflictual relationships to immigrants/refugees. Chantal Collard focuses on intra-familial transnational adoptions in Québec. Sharing children with childless relatives is customary practice in countries such as Haiti and India; however government officials dismiss the extended family rationale and adhere to the dominant view that children must remain with their biological parents. Domingos Abreu investigates the role and motivations of private intermediaries in facilitating the placement of Brazilian children abroad, discussing the problematic boundary between altruistic gift and strategic investment. Claudia Fonseca summarises dissenting views amongst Brazilian adoption policy-makers on the best adoption format and points out how urgent issues of inequality and class discrimination are generally dismissed in Brazil.

Lilia Khabibullina offers a contribution from Russia, where fears of child commodification are voiced. Local debates on adoption focus on medical and genetic issues; however, in these debates children are ultimately objectified rather than protected. Jessaca Leinaweaver examines the intersection of biomedicine and adoption in Peru, where

biomedical discourse is deployed to assess the mental health of low-income parents and the physical health of their children, leading to declarations of parental inadequacy and consequent dismembering of families. Auksuolė Čepaitienė argues that Lithuanians frame their views of adoption and assisted reproductive technologies in terms of 'natural' versus 'artificial', and voice their concerns of adopted children inheriting genetic traits that ultimately determine their fate.

Marre shows how in Spain both internationally adopted children and foreign immigrants face social exclusion and discrimination. Adoptive parents acknowledge and emphasise their children's difference as a strategic discourse on cultural inheritance, effectively equating culture with race. Adoptees and immigrants are grouped together in their search for roots through genealogical inquiries in Caroline Legrand's chapter. Genealogical knowledge is perceived as a comforting reconnection after the occurrence of painful dislocation. The search for roots among transnational adoptees is also the subject of Signe Howell's chapter, where she reflects on issues of belonging. The adoptees are urged by 'psycho-technocrats' (p. 258) to look for their biological relatives; reunions are often experienced as traumatic and expose conflicting cultural understandings of kinship and responsibilities. Anne Cadoret examines gestational and genetic motherhood in two specific cases of women who carried a baby for others. Their contribution in procreation is recognised by the adoptive parents; however, they strongly discourage any involvement of the gestational mothers in children's life. Finally, Toby Alice Volkman looks at kinship reclaiming through the search for biologically related siblings of adopted children. The demanding DNA-based testing used as a mean of establishing connections reveals the social and emotional uncertainties of those involved.

In sum, this is a very interesting and stimulating volume that will prove useful not only to adoption specialists, but also to those

interested in kinship studies, reproductive technologies and transnational networks.

GIOVANNA BACCHIDDU
University of St Andrews (UK)

Pirinoli, Christine. 2009. *Jeux et enjeux de mémoire à Gaza*. Lausanne: Antipodes. 383 pp. Pb.: €26.00. ISBN: 978 2 94014 695 6.

The events of 1948 referred to as the War of Independence by the State of Israel are remembered by Palestinians as the Nakba, the disaster that led to the flight and mass expulsion of about 90% of Palestinians from their lands and properties, and the destruction of hundreds of villages. After decades of Palestinian exile, the Middle East Peace Process provided a framework for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, excluding the majority of Palestinians from the state-building process. In that context, the 50th anniversary of the Nakba triggered confrontation between competing narratives on Palestinian past.

The book under review explores various processes of memory construction in 1998 among Gazawis originating from Barbara, a Palestinian village destroyed by Israel in 1948, and Palestinian institutions. Pirinoli argues that the Palestinian Authority's instrumentalisation of memory challenges its unifying function. In order to validate her argument, she draws on Halbwachs' notion of collective memory and examines Barbarawi narratives of the past, the Palestinian official national rhetoric and institutions of the new state. Yet a thorough examination of the social processes involved in collective remembering is lacking. The way the central theme of the book is dealt with is also problematic. Defined in a footnote as 'the war of 1948 and the official beginning of Palestinian exile' (p. 14), the significance of the Nakba for the understanding of Palestinian collective memory is overlooked. This problem seems partly due to Pirinoli's hazy epistemological posture outlined in sketchy discussions on

identity, mobility and intersubjectivity. Especially, her attempt to represent her interlocutors' point of view leads to confusion between anthropological truth and emic representations of truth. Reproducing Barbarawi narrative structure opposing before and after the Nakba but never reflecting on the catastrophe itself, Pirinoli only refers to the Nakba as a temporal marker.

Part One addresses the links between Palestinians' constructions of memory and Zionist dominant rhetoric. Drawing on mainstream scholarship on Palestine, Pirinoli seeks to demonstrate how the presence of Palestinians has been depoliticised and erased from history. While she ambiguously claims at the outset of her research that she 'partially considered' her 'interlocutors' narratives as oral archives' (p. 11), she omits a discussion on academic and grassroots extensive use of oral history in the construction of a subaltern Palestinian history (see the works of Nazzal, Sayigh, Kanaana, Swedenburg and Masalha).

Part Two analyses factors structuring Barbarawis' interviews: a romanticised vision of the past, competitiveness with the Zionist narrative, social norms and present priorities. Pirinoli then reviews literature on the Zionist rhetoric of 'a land without people' and Palestinian representations of nationhood since the confrontation with the Zionist project. Surprisingly enough, the conditions of the exodus and the nature of the Nakba are ignored. Pirinoli fails to address the centrality of the Nakba in the conflict in relation to the failure of Israel to acknowledge the uprooting and dispossession of Palestinians from their lands in 1948. Also surprising is the author's emphasis on Israeli forestation programmes, while little is said about policies of transfer, colonisation and dispossession implemented since the Nakba to remove Palestinians from their lands. Yet, the analysis of Palestinian counter-narratives would have gained in clarity if considered in light of the history of dispossession and its current forms.

Part Three deals with the 1998 commemoration. Drawing on the description of official sponsorship and private initiatives,