'Rethinking ethnography in Central Europe' co-edited by one Polish and two Czech anthropologists and published by Palgrave Macmillan is one of the two selections of papers presented at an anthropological conference in Prague in 2014[1]. The two-day event, 'Rethinking Anthropologies in Central Europe for Global Imaginaries', was a regional reunion of the anthropological discipline in a collaboration of scholars from the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary. The wider framework of regional cooperation that brought about the conference was provided by the International Visegrad Fund, a major force promoting and supporting regional networks in various segments of life in Central Europe. The thirty-four conference papers tackled the theme of anthropology in Central Europe; post-socialism; transnational migrations and mobilities in general; urban anthropologies; and capitalism in post-socialist states. The eleven papers in the book are preceded by an introduction and followed by a brief afterword, notes on the contributors, and an index. 'Rethinking ethnography' is invisibly complemented by six other of the conference papers published in an English language special issue of Cargo, the journal of the Czech Association for Social Anthropology (Cervinkova et al. 2014). The Cargo journal issue and the edited volume under examination are both end products of the same regional anthropological initiative. The main focus of the book is on field-based anthropological research related to Central Europe, whereas papers in Cargo interrogate anthropological practice in the region. The editors of the volume, and Michal Buchowski in particular, had manifested a long time interest in and concern for the position, development, and international connectedness of anthropology in the former socialist states of Central Europe (Buchowski 2004; Cervinkova 2012). He has turned his attention to a sensitive issue claiming that Western academia has defined the dominant view on Central Europe (Buchowski 2004) in English language works issued by prestigious Western publishing houses. There has been a long dialogue going on between representatives of anthropological centres in the East and the West over this issue (Buchowski 2004, Hann 2005), and consequently, one may consider this example of regional cooperation manifest in 'Rethinking Ethnography in Central Europe' an attempt of empowerment and decolonization through the creation and fortification of regional academic networks.

The introductory chapter by Cervinkova and Buchowski continues along the same line of ideas with an inquiry into the historical notion of Central Europe, and the connections between national ethnologies, folklore studies, and Western social and cultural anthropology. This chapter introduces the eleven papers of the book, too. Cervinkova and Buchowski indicate straightaway that the individual studies do not aim at changing 'the course of thought in anthropology' (p. 1), but rather, they should be seen as 'the tip of an iceberg of a new wave of writings in Central European anthropological scholarship (p. 1).

What topics do the authors tackle in the eleven ethnographic papers? The three thematic blocs, mobilities, activisms and expert knowledge, and post-socialist modernities, signal important and massive research directions that have kept up academic interest in Eastern Europe and elsewhere ever since 2014, the date of publication.

International migration is in the focus in the first, bulkiest part with five accounts on mobile lives of populations departing from or arriving in Central Europe. Marek Pawlak studied the

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[1] The conference programme is available at
http://data.eu.avcr.cz/miranda2/export/sitesavcr/data.avcr.cz/humansci/eu/Social_and_Cultural_Change_in_Contemporary_Central_Europe/ConferenceProgramFinal.pdf Downloaded on 16 December 2018.

process of social stratification, identity strategies, and internal power relations of Polish post-accession migrants in Norway. He found that when talking about Polish manual workers in Norway (commonly referred to in Polish as *robol*, i.e. prole), his high status professional interviewees emphasized 'strong distinctions and self-otherness' (p. 31.). Pawlak offers an attractive analysis of the notion of cosmopolitanism in the Polish migrant context of Norway and of the interplay between ideological strategies of national identity construction, negotiation, and contestation, processes that also affect Polish migrants' integration strategies in the host country. Katarzyna Wolanik Boström and Magnus Öhlander focus on a phenomenon that involves everyday challenges for thousands of East European medical doctors launching a new career in the West. They explored Polish physicians' attempts to renegotiate their symbolic capital, status and expert knowledge in the Norwegian health care system. In the transnational medical field, as the authors have found, a wide array of skills other than strictly theoretical ones need to be displayed to gain professional recognition, such as proper body language and ways to talk, knowledge of administrative procedures, and adjustment to the expectations related to professional gender roles.

The third and fourth chapters target transnational migrant entrepreneurship in the Czech Republic. Gertrud Hüwelmeier introduces her readers to the transnational world of Vietnamese migrants in Prague's SAPA market. She draws a historical outline of Vietnamese presence in the region and centres her attention on post-socialist bazaars as places of economic exchange and interethnic encounters. Zdeněk Uherek and Veronika Beranská's paper, on the other hand, focuses on a particular case of what they refer to as compatriot migration of ethnic Czechs from the Chernobyl area of the Ukraine arriving in the Czech Republic in 1991, five years after the Chernobyl nuclear catastrophe. The authors present the case of a migrant family's attempt to establish a transnational enterprise selling iodine-enriched mineral water in the Ukraine where it is widely considered a means to fight the negative health effects of nuclear radiation. Beranská and Uherek pay special attention to the family's efforts to adapt to a market economy with the help of information and networks from the pre-migratory socialist period.

An intimate aspect of the migration experience is explored in rich detail by Izabella Main in the fifth chapter. How do Polish migrant women experience childbirth in Berlin? How is these women's reproductive health affected by their mobility? The author found that her interviewees had predominantly positive experiences of the German system of reproductive healthcare based on women's agency, involvement and co-responsibility offered during pregnancy and childbirth.

The second part of the book comprises three studies on the role of activism and expert knowledge in Slovakia, Poland, and Serbia. Chapter six by Alexandra Bitušíková makes an interesting point about changing patterns of civic participation in post-socialist societies in recent years. She argues that the intensification of locally oriented urban grassroots social activism in the town of Banská Bystrica in Central Slovakia is a sign that civil society is gaining strength. Bitušíková emphasizes the relevance and importance of qualitative methodology in measuring the strength of civil society.

Agnieszka Kościańska, on the other hand, has discovered an intriguing connection between a particular historical development of socialism-period medical sexology and the prospects of feminist and queer sex therapy in present-day Poland. Chapter seven explores this connection showing how the founder of Polish contemporary medical sexology allowed sociology, anthropology, and psychology to influence medicine.

Marek Mikus, the author of a theoretically profound analysis of the connection between Serbia's EU integration process and Serbian civil society unravels how NGO workers of the 1990s have been absorbed by the public sector preparing for accession. Mikus applied a

historical anthropological approach to Serbian civil society and provided an ethnography of the nongovernmental sector to outline the country's post-socialist transformation.

Agata Stanisz and Waldemar Kuligowski's joint research venture on a recently completed motorway connecting Berlin and Poznan presented in chapter nine introduces the third part of the book dedicated to post-socialist modernities. The authors' multisite ethnographic research aims to explore the complex economic, social and cultural consequences of this modernization project. In chapter ten Hana Horáková gives a thorough analysis of social change induced by tourism in a locality in the Southwest of the Czech Republic and shows how the cooperation of local authorities with foreign investors has fractured existing local social networks. Horáková also demonstrates how memories from the socialist past affect social processes, practices, empowerment, and exclusion in the present.

Chapter eleven by Martin Hříbek focuses on the reception of the personality and the political case of the Dalai Lama in the Czech Republic and offers readers an engaging study on the orientalist construction of post-socialist consciousness, a phenomenon with parallels in several Central and Eastern European countries. In his historically informed paper Hříbek also presents a 2012 case of Czech political controversy about China. The author considers what he refers to as 'the Dalai-Lamaism debate a case of Orientalist discourse whereby Tibet serves as a surrogate self in the construction of Czech post-socialist consciousness' (p. 231.). The assembly of anthropological research displayed in 'Rethinking ethnographies' offers theoretically informed papers that focus on phenomena related to recent social and cultural processes in Central European societies but with a clear aim of connecting their analyses with mainstream anthropological scholarship in the West. The title of the edited volume promises qualitative methodologies; moreover it suggests works that are the outcome of fieldwork-based research. But how intimately engaged, to cite Nancy Scheper-Hughes' phrasing (Jaroslav 2016:128), are the authors with their fields? To what degree does ethnographic depth, one of the distinctive traits of anthropology, characterize them? And to what extent have field data and experiences, often described in the form of voluminous passages, found their way in an edited volume on ethnography? Three papers in the first section on migration and mobility show actors in their anthropological fields from intimate closeness. The sharp dividing line of the Polish migrant world in Norway, just as well as Polish doctors' constant efforts to readjust to the often implicit expectations of their new professional environments come through very clearly. The analysis of pregnancy and birth experiences of Polish migrant women reflects the combination of online and traditional fieldwork expanding on illuminative personal details of these women's lives. Although clearly based on long-time engagement with the population they studied, the authors of the papers on migrant entrepreneurship decided to give more space to outlining the wider historical, social and economic context of the phenomena they presented. Works on activism and expert knowledge show the authors' personal familiarity with and dedication to the object of their study. The anthropological field in one of the articles on modernity is a well-defined locality, a Czech rural area, and the author produces a theoretically well-informed, thorough analysis elevated from the details of everyday community life. It is an intellectual and anthropological challenge to find focus in a field as extensive as an international motorway and produce the ethnography of it with an idea of modernization in mind as happens in the case study on the Berlin-Poznan motorway. The intriguing study of Dalai-Lamaism in the Czech Republic could be considered more a history of mentality than an ethnographic text; nevertheless its insights and interpretations throw a new light on a possible construction of Czech post-socialist consciousness.

'Rethinking ethnography' is a firm step taken on the road towards locating, defining and empowering social anthropology in Central Europe. It's an integral part of a several decades-long dialogue between scholars from the region or working on the region, such as Mihály

Sárkány (2002), Chris Hann and his colleague Michal Buchowski whom he referred to as an 'innovative bridge builder' (Hann 2005), Peter Skalník, or László Kürti, to mention just a few names. It shows clearly how strongly anthropological tradition took root in the region, particularly in Poland. The regional initiative of an anthropological dialogue and exchange has been carried on by other research centres such as the Visegrád Anthropologists' Network initiated by the Max Planck Institute in Halle[2], or the Central European University. Besides being an anthropological milestone, 'Rethinking ethnography' offers some very good reading not only to anthropologists but also to a wider audience.

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[2] http://www.eth.mpg.de/4638411/Visegrad_Network Accessed 15-01-19.