



Lectures sur le thème

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Chiara Saraceno
Coppie e Famiglie. Non é questione di natura.
Milano, Feltrinelli Editore, [2012] 2016, 170 p.

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Chiara Saraceno est philosophe et sociologue, spécialisée dans l'étude de la famille et du couple sous ses différents aspects. Elle a ainsi pu travailler sur les questions de genre, de citoyenneté et de politiques sociales autant que sur les thèmes du travail, de la pauvreté et de la protection sociale, en particulier en Europe occidentale et dans le contexte récent. Toutes ces questions et thèmes sont ici repris et condensés. L'auteure, qui offre un survol des représentations sociales à leur sujet, propose une révision conceptuelle de la famille et de sa dénaturalisation, la concevant comme un fait social total. Elle s'appuie sur diverses analyses socioculturelles afin de problématiser les variables qui peuvent affecter la forme, les significations, la symbolique et les

manières de créer, structurer et standardiser « familles » et « couples ».

L'ouvrage est divisé en sept parties, et débute par une mise en perspective théorique, réflexive et philosophique des sujets qui seront traités ensuite. L'idée de départ est que la « nature » n'implique ni ne garantit l'universalité des modèles familiaux, mais que la famille est plutôt un acteur social actif, aux dimensions multiples, qui joue un rôle essentiel dans les processus de changement social.

Dans la deuxième partie, l'auteure mentionne certaines transformations démographiques récentes : ainsi la hausse de l'espérance de vie qui a entraîné l'apparition de nouvelles figures, combinatoires, au sein des structures familiales ou le fait qu'une même personne puisse revêtir à la fois le rôle de grand-mère, de mère et de fille. Prenant en compte la question du genre, de la division du travail et de la cohabitation familiale, Chiara Saraceno centre son argumentation sur la prise en charge domestique, les responsabilités et les obligations, et sur l'évolution de leur configuration et de leur durée en relation avec ces nouvelles figures et nouveaux rôles.

La troisième partie traite du couple. Chiara Saraceno y introduit la notion de « couple intime », historiquement considéré comme fondement de la famille, et illustre comment ont pu évoluer les manières de le concevoir au fil du temps : par exemple, sa perception comme une entité sociale indépendante toujours plus marquée, l'importance croissante attribuée à l'épanouissement en son sein (l'auteure parle de la « qualité » du couple). Elle illustre également comment le couple intime peut servir à légitimer le développement et la structuration d'autres relations et activités « constitutives de famille ». Le considérant ainsi comme fusion complémentaire, l'auteure aborde son évolution récente vers un couple dialogique et négociable, évolution qu'elle contextualise en invoquant tout autant l'accroissement de l'individualisme, que les divers changements socio-économiques et politiques qui peuvent œuvrer dans le sens d'une transformation de la manière de considérer, de symboliser, et de « faire » couple.

La quatrième partie explore les variables les plus déterminantes dans le fait de se « convertir » en fils ou en fille. Partant de l'importance de la filiation sanguine et faisant aussi référence à divers modèles « classiques » de relations filiales (certains tirés du corpus de l'anthropologie), l'auteure met en avant la prégnance des normes sociales et culturelles autour de ces questions, et mentionne par ailleurs leur cadre juridique dans les pays occidentaux. Elle insiste sur l'aspect décisif des catégories morales, leur influence sur la configuration du désir mais également sur l'acceptation de la prise en charge de certaines responsabilités dans le cadre d'un système de relations codifiées qui, de nos jours, semble se centrer particulièrement sur les enfants et sur l'inversion des affects. Chiara Saraceno nous y parle de procréation assistée et des controverses éthiques et morales que peut soulever cette pratique. Elle s'interroge sur les effets que celle-ci peut avoir sur la signification et la symbolique de certaines notions : maternité et paternité, relations parentales, filiation, les figures de fils ou de fille... Le tout est remis en contexte par une rapide présentation des aspects normatifs et légaux, et des différences existant à l'heure actuelle entre pays européens. Les principaux points de controverse sont abordés et analysés, à échelle micro (comme la procréation assistée des couples homosexuels), ou encore à échelle macro (comme la prévisible apparition d'un marché et d'un « tourisme » reproductifs liés aux divergences nationales en matière de régulation).

Puis, l'ouvrage traite des familles dites « recomposées », du monde de l'adoption, et de la notion de « parent célibataire » (et traite surtout du cas des mères-célibataires). Chiara Saraceno analyse les lois en vigueur, les nouvelles stratégies d'éducation et d'organisation familiale ainsi que la question de la tutelle légale et morale. Elle fait finalement mention du sujet de l'adoption internationale qu'elle décortique depuis une perspective interculturelle.

Dans la même veine, la cinquième partie traite du « transnationalisme familial » dont elle considère l'étude comme une opportunité afin de mieux comprendre les stratégies d'innovation, l'homogénéisation ou bien les résistances, et en tous cas les changements, qui se combinent en fonction des différents modèles familiaux (d'origine) et des divers pays d'accueil. D'une certaine manière, les familles migrantes constitueraient ainsi des réseaux fluides, en constante évolution et adaptation, tout autant des limites que de la flexibilité des relations et des obligations, des solidarités familiales, des sentiments de responsabilité et des affects de référence, marqués de tensions entre la cohabitation quotidienne et les barrières géographiques (toujours en partant d'une analyse critique par rapport aux relations de genre).

La sixième partie est dédiée aux relations parentales dans le cas de couples homosexuels. Il est présenté plusieurs types au sein de ce collectif, ainsi que diverses « évolutions », sociales, culturelles et légales quant aux possibilités de « constituer une famille », depuis le manque de reconnaissance dont ces couples continuent de souffrir, jusqu'aux « nouvelles » possibilités comme l'adoption, la procréation assistée ou la maternité déléguée. Optant à leur sujet pour une perspective relativiste, l'auteure reprend certaines controverses habituelles du débat public, comme les stéréotypes sur l'homosexualité en lien avec les aspects biologiques de la procréation, et cherche à savoir comment tout ceci peut jouer négativement sur la manière dont sont considérés ces couples. Son principal argument est que la pensée binaire (hommes et femmes), toujours canonique dans les sociétés occidentales, tend à limiter les possibilités de concevoir d'autres formes de vie amoureuse, sexuelle, et de relations parentales.

Enfin dans la septième et dernière partie, Chiara Saraceno propose un rapide résumé des thématiques abordés jusqu'ici et apporte une série de données concrètes illustrant les transformations les plus significatives, sociales et juridiques, en Europe en général puis dans le cas précis de l'Italie.

En guise de commentaire général, nous pouvons dire que la famille, les relations de parenté, mais aussi les relations amoureuses et sexuelles, sont autant de thèmes qui ont déjà été largement traités par les sciences humaines, notamment par l'anthropologie sociale, et ce d'autant plus si l'on considère l'imposante littérature existante sur les systèmes familiaux. Partant d'une perspective principalement sociologique, Chiara Saraceno apporte quantité de données, arguments et récits d'une indéniable valeur ethnographique, mais surtout destinés aux sociologues donc. D'un point de vue plus strictement ethnologique, l'ouvrage n'approfondit cependant pas assez certains aspects dont il est fait néanmoins mention comme les aspects symboliques ou ceux liés aux structures culturelles en particulier. Une grande partie des sujets ici abordés ont déjà été étudiés, débattus, voire remis en question depuis bien longtemps par les anthropologues. Ce livre en offre donc une vision plutôt généraliste et descriptive, sans pour autant en constituer une véritable « monographie ethnographique ». Cela étant, il apporte toute sorte de données intéressantes tant du point de vue juridique que sur certaines représentations culturelles, proposant une mise en perspective historiographique et géographique centrée sur le monde occidental et sur les sociétés contemporaines « développées ». L'ouvrage de Chiara Saraceno constitue donc une bonne introduction aux débats académiques actuels autour de la famille, destinée plutôt aux étudiants en sciences sociales et sciences humaines en général.

Caitrin Lynch and Jason Danely (eds.)
Transitions and Transformations. Cultural Perspectives on Aging and the Life Course
 New York, Oxford, Berghahn Books, AAGE, 2015,
 270 p.

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Caitrin Lynch and Jason Danely's compilation is a remarkable work to appraise the contributions of Ethnography and Anthropology to aging and the life course.¹ They succeed on communicating cultural

1. The editors and some authors of the book are members of the "Association for Anthropology, Gerontology and the Life Course"

dynamism and complexity of how humans grow older. The book is organized in five sections: frameworks, bodies, spatiality and temporality, families, and economies. The reader feels like travelling around the world, entering into personal matters and, at the same time, understanding the complexity of familiar arrangements, as well as local and global processes. It takes us closer to feelings, experiences, values, relationships and practices of people, families and institutions, all of them challenged by cultural, biological and political issues. The compilation shows many ways of dealing with longevity, the global work market, migrations, intergenerational tensions and globalization.

The book proves that aging is a highly culturally determined experience, not just biological or political. Those elements are so much embedded in one another that each situation requires deep and cross-sectional analysis. In fact, an individual life course can be much different if the person grows up in a particular place, country, family, or historical period. Moreover, intergenerational relationships are affected by cultural notions of gender, work (and sacrifice), identity, reciprocity, authority, property and duties.

As our bodies get older socially, biologically and politically, Anthropology is the appropriate social science to analyze diversity and to improve political and social commitments. As the editors point out in the introduction, anthropologists haven't focused enough on how the life course organizes social relationships. The book assesses new perspectives on work, identity, health, intergenerational relationships and gender. And, for this reason, it's recommended not only to specialists in aging but also to social researchers in general, because it tackles key questions like how longevity affects personal identity and social relationships; how the institutions that organize work, care and kinship are being rearticulated when intergenerational relationships are being transformed worldwide. Maybe there is a lack of class perspective in some chapters that explore economy and migration, but cross-cultural dimension is perfectly described.

Erik H. Erikson is a reference for some authors of this book. Mary Catherine Bateson uses his model

(AAGE), which started their multidisciplinary work in 1978. From 2002, the AAGE is organizing a biennial conference, and in 2007 it initiated the digital journal *Anthropology and Aging* (<https://anthro-age.pitt.edu>). In fact, "Transitions and Transformations" was the first volume of the series: "Aging, Culture and the Life Course: Global Transformations." In recent years, the anthropology of aging and life course has been growing, obtaining more presence in anthropological conferences internationally.

on life stages to introduce a new period: “Adulthood II,” a stage between the post-reproductive period and the old age (dependence, illness). The aim of Bateson’s proposal is to make more visible this active and autonomous period, when adults’ experience changes in their bodies, identities, relationships and social participation. It’s also a period opened to learning and to the personal and collective development; the second adulthood is a time for strength and resilience. This is a powerful idea developed in all chapters. We may call them adulthood II, third-aged or elders, but they want to be visible, recognized, cared for, taken into account, at a familiar, social and political level, worldwide.

Throughout the world, young generations seem to be in duty or—in other words—are responsible for taking care of their elder parents, and many societies describe it as a reciprocal exchange. But, how does every society face migration, elderization and globalization challenges? Do they have something in common? Can Anthropology contribute to understand the cultural and social dimension of those global challenges?

Being a member of a family implies ties, duties, cares, feelings, responsibilities, tensions and acting in a specific gendered way. Families as a living network are opened to changes, but they are also shaped by traditions and historical processes. Directly or indirectly, all essays address the family dimension, because it is the institution that traditionally organizes the intergenerational ties and duties, where we take care of our elders, and where personal identity is initially produced. Nevertheless, families experience multiple tensions. As Emily Wentzell points in her essay, young men reject the masculinity model of their fathers in Mexico, where “being a man” in a traditional way is a synonymous of patriarchy, womanizing, emotional withdrawal and violence. Family changes express a need for wider social transformation, which embraces the political and national dimensions. When young Mexicans reject violence, they are searching for a social change in their country, a social progress.

Women around the world are the principal caregivers for elders and children. In Brazil, Diana de G. Brown focus on the mother-daughter tie, which implies that the daughter must take care of her elder mother, otherwise community will accuse her of abandonment, as it happened to Esther. Jeanne L. Shea explains the way that middle aged women from Japan yell at their relatives looking for recognition and comprehension. Meanwhile in the US, grandmothers

taking care of grandchildren feel more active and recognized, as Marta Rodríguez-Galán, analyzed in her essay. Ambivalence is characteristic of identity, aging and gender. In most societies women have to take care of elders to feel fulfilled and healthy, so their health problems and burden become personal—neither social nor public—and invisible.

Indeed, in the patriarchal model, women have to construct their identity prioritizing the care of relatives. Case studies from Brazil, United States (and Puerto Ricans in the US), Mexico, Poland, Nigeria, China and Japan certify this assertion. Therefore, taking care is not seen as a work, but quite the opposite: it’s an activity perceived as an act of personal fulfillment, satisfaction and personal identification. A notion full of contradictions, the care of relatives is about moral, identity, work, health, politics and neoliberalism as well as migration and gender.

From the 1970s, gender and feminist studies have proved the sexual division of labor, the invisibility and undervalue of reproductive work² (care of children, men and elders). Those studies and theories have already benefited and improved the aging and life course studies.³ By opening to time and space and intergenerational dimensions, these researches can fortify the criticism of patriarchy and, therefore, enhance the importance of the gender perspective in public policies. Moreover, social programs have to become properly articulated to include the subjects involved—their feelings, expectations, problems, desires and strengths—, their families and community, horizontally.

Aging bodies are embedded by remarkable arrangements in identities. Physical changes concern, defy and change daily life, expectations, family relationships and, above all, personal identity. Lindsey Martin explains

2. A selection of works about that issue: Dolors COMAS-D’AR- GEMIR, 1995, *Trabajo, género y cultura. La construcción de desigualdades entre hombres y mujeres*, Barcelona, Icaria; Françoise HÉRITIER, 1996, *Masculin-Féminin I. La Pensée de la différence*, Paris, Odile Jacob; Françoise HÉRITIER, 2002, *Masculin-Féminin II. Dissoudre la hiérarchie*, Paris, Odile Jacob; Marcela LAGARDE, 2001[1990], *Los cautiverios de las mujeres: madresposas, monjas, putas, presas y locas*, México DF, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; Susana NAROTZKY, 2004, *Antropología económica*, Barcelona, Melusina.

3. A selection of works about aging and feminism: Margaret CRUIKSHANK, 2013, *Learning to Be Old. Gender, Culture and Aging*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield; Anna FREIXAS, 2005, *Abuelas, madres, hijas. La transmisión sociocultural del arte de envejecer*, Barcelona, Icaria; Anna FREIXAS, Bárbara LUQUE and Amalia REINA, 2012, “Critical Feminist Gerontology: In the Back Room of Research”, *Journal of Women & Aging*, 24, 1: 44-58. Another example is that, in 1989, the *Journal of Women and Aging* was first published.

two cases of women living with chronic pain in the United States. Jeanne L. Shea describes how Japanese middle age women narratives express anger and irritability within their families during their *Gengninaqi* (a transition stage to elderly). In both cases, women reveal their frustrations as a middle-aged or old person but, above all, they argue about gender and age stereotypes in their societies, willing to be themselves and express their discomforts—personal and familiar—as well as to reaffirm their shifting identities in an ambivalent social context.

These concerns about “agency” are presented in the US by Caitrin Lynch, who studied a group of elders that avoid work retirement because they feel more alive, visible and integrated with their old workmates than with their families. In India, being old is quite a different experience, elucidates Sarah Lamb. Eldercare institutions in India have ambivalent meanings, some experience them as freedom and others as abandonment of people, values and culture: “Old age homes’ are not a concept of *our* country,” said a retired psychiatrist. Being dependent and cared for young relatives has a moral value in India because that means being meaningful. Both cases represent different notions of aging, work, identity and economy. In the US, dependence and elderhood have a negative sense, but serving and honoring the elders in India has a moral value.

Eldercare institutions have become almost universal. Basically, there is a tension between global work market—and its necessity of migrant and young workforce—and relatives’ care commitment. Nowadays, a family cannot afford exclusive care-giving and public institutions are getting—for better or worse—involved. Nigerian and Poland cases deal with those issues.

The Nigerian case is symptomatic of social dynamism and changes crossing intergenerational relationships. Jane I. Guyer and Kabiru K. Salami explain the moral economy of commitment, which has turned from a hierarchical and familiar form to an age-mate equality. Younger generations started looking for new jobs and fast money, which means that commitment between generations started to diminish. At the end, the youngster stopped working for their parents and now they just do it for themselves. This inclination towards market economy is a global tendency but it coexists with other rules, as taking care of relatives.

Polish elders’ experiences and identity are embedded by national history. Jessica C. Robbins explains that kinship relations produce a person, and this net of relations shape the national identity. When Poland

became a UE member and emigration increased, families got weaker. But on the other hand, active old people got closer to a European model of aging, more active and individually centered.

The Japanese and the Netherlands cases are examples of different cultural meaning of death, but both of them show how societies create particular approaches to an apparently natural fact. In the Netherlands, it is common to die at home. Frances Norwood shows in her essay that even though euthanasia is statistically rare, the public program opened houses and intimacies not just to family and community, but to professionals that get involved in personal feelings about life and death and social relationships. In fact, with the option of euthanasia, death became a personal and accompanied decision. In Japan, elders near death are said to be about to “Living out one’s natural life,” meaning that the social life of a person continues after the death of the body. So, life-course transcends the individual (body, life, time) involving different generations, the alive and the dead ones. In fact, for Japanese culture, living is just “being time”—and I add “with”—, because this “being time with others” is the common thread of the compilation “Transitions and Transformations.” Personal experiences are trying to answer social matters and vice versa. Ultimately, aging and life course tackle how we—individually and collectively—live, feel, get involved with others, and the way we continually shape our identity throughout life. Because “like gender, aging can be performed”⁴ and this goes beyond Anthropology.

Erdmute Alber and Heike Drotbohm (eds.)
Anthropological Perspective on Care, Work, Kinship and the Life-Course
 New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 237 p.

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The notion of care is a challenge for scholars, given its complexity in social practices and the fields where it is practiced. Heike Drotbohm and Erdmute Alber have pointed this out “as a result of this proliferation of care

4. Margaret CRUIKSHANK, 2013, *Learning to Be Old. Gender, Culture and Aging*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield: 185.

as a theme in several disciplinary fields, we are observing not only the expansions of its conceptual meaning but also increasing fuzziness and impression in the use of the term” [1]. For this reason, from an anthropological perspective, the editors attempt to rethink the concept of care related to the analysis of the interrelation of three thematic components: care as work, care as kinship and care in the life course.

This tripartite proposal of analysis would facilitate, according to the editors, a better approach to understand this concept. It is for this reason that, in most of chapters, care is clearly stated as a binding mechanism. Between these three spheres (see chapters 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10), care shows its levels of connection and interdependence.

A common point that marks a large part of the ethnographic work in the book is the socio-economic and cultural context on migration and care. It tends to reflect as an introductory framework in most chapters: the economic crises, the neoliberal policies and the absence of welfare policies of the Global South women from and its consequent gendered and ethicized effect in the Global North. Glimpsing, in addition, the interrelation that maintains the care in these migration contexts in the individual, familiar, communal and national levels.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part contains three articles that explore the idea of care as work. Although the first two articles refer to the idea of global chains of care, their analysis also alternates between the subjects of kinship and course of life. The third article explores the more mercantile side of care. Claudia Liebelt (chapter 2), brings us closer to the reality of Filipino women caregivers in Israel. Liebelt details their negotiation processes with their families of origin in the search for a reformulation in the roles of gender and kinship in their absence. Anna Katharina Skornia (chapter 3), shows us the reproduction of inequalities and hierarchies in intrafamilial relationships (under the concept of *entangled inequalities*⁵) within the migratory care processes of two Peruvian sisters in Italy. Maria Lidola (chapter 4), analyzes care as work from its most consumerist form. The paradigms of body, beauty and intimate work are intermingled, along with the ideas

5. Sergio COSTA, 2013, “Entangled Inequalities in Latin America: Addressing Social Categorizations and Transregional Interdependencies”, in Daniela Célieri, Tobias Schwarz and Bea Wittger (eds.), *Interdependencies of Social Categorizations*, Madrid/Frankfurt am Main, Iberoamericas/Vervuet: 41-61.

of *care for* and *care about*, from their study of Brazilian waxing studies in Berlin.

The second part gathers three ethnographies within the main topic refers to the idea of care as kinship, like a social way of belonging. Although kinship is spoken of as a central topic in care, the idea of work and life course is also part of the analysis. Heike Drotbohm (chapter 5), analyzes the modes of belonging produced, transferred or confirmed kinship through care activities and its relationship with the moral component of care. Cape Verdean migrant women and their root-families are profiled here. Jessaca Leinaweaver (chapter 6) introduces us to the idea of care as creator of kinship from the absence of biological ties in cases of Peruvian children adopted by Spanish citizens. Tatjana Thelen (chapter 7) shows us the moral construction of care in a group of elderly women in rural Romania that differentiates care based on kinship and institutional state support. This endows them with an ambivalence that fluctuates between good and bad care, or between Western or traditional care.

Finally, the third part refers to the idea of care and the course of life. “Link that expresses the intimate relationship between the ability to provide and receive care with respect to the ages and specific phases of life” [10]. Once again, other components of care, such as work and kinship, are included in analysis, especially in the last two chapters. Tabea Häberlein (chapter 8) focuses her interest on the intergenerational care of the elderly in Togo with the inclusion of the idea of *timing*.⁶ That is, the analysis of the superposition of individual and family times to explain the contradictions that arise with respect to the norms of a reciprocity in family care. Cati Coe (chapter 9) uses metaphor of *entrainment*⁷ (biological term linked to chronobiology) and tries to explain difficulties and the need for flexibility and improvisation on orchestration or coordination between life course of Ghanaian migrant women and trajectories of their transnational families. Pamela Feldman-Savelsberg (chapter 10) covers the reproductive insecurity of Cameroonian mothers in Berlin. Their expectations of receiving and giving care in the

6. Tamara K. HAREVEN, 1991, “Synchronizing Individual Time, Family Time and Historical Time”, in John B. Bender and David E. Wellbery (eds.), *Chronotypes. The Construction of Time*, Stanford, Stanford University Press: 167-182.

7. Deborah ANCONA and Chee-Leong CHONG, 1996 “Entrainment: Pace, Cycle, and Rhythm in Organizational Behavior”, in Barry Shaw and L. L. Cummings (eds.), *Research in Organizational Behavior: An Annual Series of Analytical Essays and Critical Reviews*, Greenwich, JAI Press, 18: 251-284.

face of lack of family resources, legality, and the inculcation of values to their children are explained.

The transversal reading of all the chapters makes clear the intention of the editors. The strength of the book, from my point of view, is summarized in the analytical approach of care. Care is understood as a social flow and as an expression of constant movement and transformation. Care is shown to have a relationship with respect to other areas that accompany it and that affect it such as work, kinship and life course. In this sense, the migratory context in which most of the chapters are involved establishes this perspective of dynamism. Some concepts used are: the gift, understanding care as a currency of circulation and change between persons of different age (inside and outside the family); the idea of intergenerational contracts that are renegotiated in migration processes; the idea of care that produces kinship generating effects of kinning or dekinning; or the idea of timing, entrainment or orchestration of individual, family and historical times. These all notions express a care in continuous rotation. However, as most of chapters have shown, it is a care in movement that ends in stagnation. The same adaptations and negotiations that are taking place in these processes tend towards gendered. The care described, finally, although it crosses borders, is not so malleable in regards to who fills the *care slot*.⁸ The gaps of care tend to be filled under a moral obligation

that is largely feminized. What may be the strength of the book may also be its weakness, not developing ideas or exploring situations that transcend traditional gendered reproduction of care. Except for some clearly defined exceptions (the idea of *househusband*, for instance, chapter 2).

Despite this, the book is presented as a great ethnographic resource with exemplary cases that allow us to understand the nature of the discussion. Although it is a book that can be read in parts, the complete reading is recommended, precisely because of the theoretical transversality found in the joint reading of the chapters. The conceptual richness is certainly in how each of the authors have focused the problem and what conceptual resources have been addressed. Their explanations in this tripartite analysis of care provide us with a plural and complemented vision of this social practice.

In conclusion, specify that it is a book focused mainly on transnational family contexts, where work, kinship and the course of life are presented as dimensions of complementary, priority and enriching analysis. This book, edited by Erdmute Alber and Heike Drotbohm, is a clear example of how, from an anthropological perspective, care can be studied in an inclusive way with topics that are often keeping separated within the analysis. This allows us a more comprehensible approach to a social phenomenon that is difficult to grasp.

8. Jessaca B LEINAWEAVER, 2007, "On Moving Children: The Social Implications of Andean Child Circulation", *American Ethnologist*, 34, 1: 163-180.

