

the quest for freedom, promoting modernity and gaining the social status of respected adults, even if their plans do not always work out the way they wished. Youth and adulthood are not separate phases in life but compose a continuum, with migration offering a chance to find the balance. But this ‘tightrope walking’, as the author calls it, may have a high personal and social price.

Nevertheless, I felt that some questions remain unanswered. One is the western idea of ‘youth’ that permeates this investigation, suggesting that ‘being young, free and unbound’ must be attractive everywhere, which seems doubtful when looking at the data. Rather, for young Ghanaians it seems to be a time they prefer to get over as quickly as possible. The second question revolves again around the issue of modernity. It appears to me that modernity – however defined – is considered to be found mainly outside one’s own little world and that only migration, hard though it may be, allows one to be modern and free. But what about those young people who do not migrate and are still very up to date in their life-styles or consumption preferences, and would still call themselves ‘modern’? This book hopefully inspires much further research on such looming questions connected to the issue of migration. It should definitely be published in an English translation.

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## References

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Schick, Johannes F.M., Mario Schmidt and Martin Zillinger (eds.): *The Social Origins of Thought: Durkheim, Mauss, and the Category Project*. 319 pp. New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2022. ISBN 978-1-80073-233-9

The *Année Sociologique* school provided sociology and anthropology with a set of ideas that not only gave birth to a cascade of crucial theoretical turns in anthropology, such as structural functionalism and structuralism, but that also ripple well into the present. Its success is partially due to the fact that this group of scholars, orchestrated by Émile Durkheim and later his nephew Marcel Mauss, complemented each other like players in a first-rate band, each of them soloing on the motifs that others had provided. This

collection convincingly argues for the indispensability of these ideas for current theorizing and the benefits of a close reading of classic texts.

The central endeavour that tied the *Année Sociologique* group together was the study of the social origin of the categories of thought. In conscious contrast to previous philosophies, they argued that concepts such as space, time, causality or totality are neither innate to the human mind nor objects in the world to be observed. Rather, they are derived from the experience of social life, written large and generalized.

This may sound generic and reflexive of most anthropologists' three-sentence summaries of this approach, but the contributors to this volume manage to pull it out of easy compartmentalization and demonstrate its audacity, subtlety and present-day relevance. The chapters do so by drawing on both major works and forgotten, short, often underestimated contributions. But they also show how the category project emerged from the debates of its time.

The first section is concerned with the sources from which the *Année Sociologique* drew its positions and concepts. Nicolas Meylan insightfully reiterates how the Polynesian word *mana* was (mis)interpreted by various scholars before Mauss and Henri Hubert, in a kind of decolonizing theorizing of indigenous terms, identified it as a genuine theoretical concept. Anne Warfield Rawls convincingly reclaims Durkheim for the present by arguing that the practices of category construction, as developed in *The Division of Labour in Society*, require a notion of social justice, thus demonstrating his relevance for ongoing struggles against inequality. Mario Schmidt ingeniously unearths the influence of biologist Claude Bernard's open and interpretative notion of experiment on Durkheim's and Mauss's idea that rituals are experiments because they render social matter accessible to the senses. Along the way, Schmidt argues that the most obvious critique of their *Primitive Classification* – if the classification of nature is derived from social structure, where does social structure come from? – misses the point.

The book's second section delves into the debates in which the *Année Sociologique* was involved. Erhard Schüttpelz shows how much Mauss's *The Gift* owes to Durkheim and other previous work, allowing for a more subtle approach to this text, a record-holder in being re- and misinterpreted. Johannes F.M. Schick guides readers through the debates between Mauss and Louis Weber. This philosopher proposed that the categories of time and causality emerged from technological practice, not social experience – that is, from the human ability to achieve predictable results even before mental categories were formed. Mauss and Hubert, however, suggested that this approach is based on a false dualism.

The final section of the book demonstrates how the ideas of the *Année Sociologique* lived on and were further developed by lesser known allies and leading figures of later theories. Martin Zillinger shows how Hubert's Polish student Stefan Czarnowski developed the notion of space into a relational category that dynamically integrates peripheries with centers. Jean-François Bert, complementing Schüttpelz, emphasizes Mauss's independence from Durkheim. He argues against a deterministic and func-

tional understanding of his ‘total social fact’, as exemplified by Claude Lévi-Strauss, and shows how Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault read Mauss in a more complex and dynamic way. Like many others in this volume, he shows how the *Année Sociologique* group considered the making of categories as a complex process that overcomes conventional dichotomies such as structure and practice, individual and society, or perception and concept.

The volume will inspire readers to go back to classical texts with a new attentiveness to their complexity and relevance. As often in such minute inquiries, a small number of contributions straddle the boundary between dense insight and crankiness. Nevertheless, this is an excellent contribution to understanding one of anthropology’s most sustained and most momentous theoretical endeavours.

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**Berger, Stefan and Philipp Müller (eds.): Dynamics of Emigration: Émigré Scholars and the Production of Historical Knowledge in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.**

261 pp. New York, Berghahn Books, 2022. ISBN 978-1-80073-609-2

In April 1935, the exasperation of Richard Thurnwald (1869–1954), the Austro-German anthropologist renowned for his pioneering functionalist work in New Guinea (1906–1909, 1913–1915), was palpable in a letter he wrote to his American patron Franz Boas (1858–1942). Boas, the ‘father’ of American cultural anthropology, spent decades from the outbreak of World War One raising funds and finding placements for Austro-German scholars fleeing war, the postwar economic collapse and, most recently, the political and antisemitic repression of the new National Socialist regime. Thurnwald had long benefited from his association and assimilation with what I term ‘sib Boas’<sup>1</sup>, a highly influential kinship unit consisting of a constellation of anthropology scholars aligned by methodological approach, philosophical outlook and personal connections.<sup>2</sup> It was from Yale that Thurnwald’s apprehensions about the decline in funding from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Nazification of the German university system emerged as significant. As Thurnwald wrote to Boas,

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1 Viktor M. Stoll, ‘Gens Bastian – Sib Boas: Austro-German Diasporic Kinship Networks and the Dynamics of Patronage and Reciprocity in the Interbellum Internationalization of Anthropology’, (paper presentation, L’ethnologie de Hilde et Richard Thurnwald Conference, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris, France, July 9, 2021).

2 For more on the biography of Richard Thurnwald, see: Viktor Stoll, ‘Social Scientist Par Excellence’: The Life and Work of Richard Thurnwald’, in *Bérose - Encyclopédie internationale des histoires de l’anthropologie* (Paris, 2020), accessed from: <https://www.berose.fr/article1947.html?lang=fr>.