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Review of Books

(by Othmar Gächter und Anton Quack)

Piowarczyk, Darius J.: Coming Out of the “Iron Cage.” The Indigenists of the Society of the Divine Word in Paraguay, 1910–2000. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg Switzerland, 2008. 368 pp. ISBN 978-3-7278-1620-8. (Studia Instituti Anthropos, 52) (pbk)

The book is a sociohistorical study of missionaries-indigenists of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD) in Paraguay in the twentieth century. Specifically, the author focuses on changes in the missionary ideology and practice that have corresponded with major shifts in global relations of power, or what is termed here – after Pierre Bourdieu – *doxas*, as expressed and enforced through three consecutive metanarratives of “progress,” “development,” and “cooperation-participation.” The main argument of the book is that the missionary practical ideologies of “conversion” (dominant in the beginning of the 20th century), “human promotion” (mid-20th century), and “ethnodevelopment-interreligious dialogue” (in the 1980s and the 1990s) have been ecclesiastical versions of those globalizing discourses as well as products of contextualization and adaptations of Catholic tenets to specific historical configurations of the field of Indigenism – a Latin American version of the colonial field.

Clark, A. Kim, and Marc Becker (eds.): Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007. 348 pp. ISBN 978-0-8229-4336-5. (hbk)

“Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador” chronicles the changing forms of indigenous engagement with the Ecuadorian state since the early nineteenth century that, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, had facilitated the growth of the strongest unified indigenous movement in Latin America.

Built around nine case studies from nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ecuador, “Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador” presents state formation as an uneven process, characterized by tensions and contradictions, in which Indians and other subalterns actively participated. It examines how indigenous peoples have attempted, sometimes successfully, to claim control over state formation in order to improve their relative position in society. The book concludes with four comparative essays that place indigenous organizational strategies in highland Ecuador within a larger Latin American historical context.

“Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador” offers an interdisciplinary approach to the study of state formation that will be of interest to a broad range of scholars who study how subordinate groups participate in and contest state formation.

Dore, Elizabeth: Myths of Modernity. Peonage and Patriarchy in Nicaragua. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006. 252 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-3674-7. (pbk)

In “Myths of Modernity,” Elizabeth Dore rethinks Nicaragua’s transition to capitalism. Arguing against the idea that the country’s capitalist transformation was ushered in by the coffee boom that extended from 1870 to 1930, she maintains that coffee growing gave rise to systems of landowning and labor exploitation that impeded rather than promoted capitalist development. Dore places gender at the forefront of her analysis, which demonstrates that patriarchy was the organizing principle of the coffee economy’s debt-peonage system until the 1950s. She examines the gendered dynamics of daily life in Diriomo, a township in Nicaragua’s Granada region, tracing the history of the town’s Indian community from its inception in the colonial era to its demise in the early twentieth century.

Dore seamlessly combines archival research, oral history, and an innovative theoretical approach that unites political economy with social history. She recovers the bygone voices of peons, planters, and local officials within documents such as labor contracts, court records, and official correspondence. She juxtaposes these historical perspectives with those of contemporary peasants, landowners, activists, and politicians who share memories passed down to the present. The reconceptualization of the coffee economy that Dore elaborates has far-reaching implications. The Sandinistas mistakenly believed, she contends, that Nicaraguan capitalism was mature and ripe for socialist revolution, and after their victory in 1979 that belief led them to alienate many peasants by ignoring their demands for land. Thus, the Sandinistas' myths of modernity contributed to their downfall.

Rothstein, Frances Abrahamer: *Globalization in Rural Mexico. Three Decades of Change.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007. 193 pp. ISBN 978-0-292-71632-2. (pbk)

Frances Abrahamer Rothstein uses thirty years of sustained anthropological fieldwork in the rural Mexican community of San Cosme Mazatecochco to showcase globalization's complexities and constructions.

Rothstein's lucid work chronicles the changes in production, consumption, and social relations during three distinct periods: the Mexican "miracle," when economic development fueled mobility for a large segment of the population, including San Cosme's worker-peasants, the lost decade of the 1980s, when much of what had been gained was lost; and the recent period of trade liberalization and globalization considered by many in Mexico and beyond as a panacea and a disaster at the same time.

After Mexico's textile industry decline in the late 1980s, some families of former textile workers in San Cosme opened home workshop and a small-scale, textile-based economy took root. These families, who managed to prosper through their own trade and industry, demonstrate that those who rely on consumer demand for their livelihood need not always follow the dictate of the marketplace, but rather can position themselves assertively to influence alternative economic possibilities held close to their culture.

Employing rich ethnography and broad analysis, Rothstein focuses on how everyday life has been transformed by these processes, but shows also how important continuities with the past persist. She strikes a delicate balance between firmly grounded scientific study and a deep compassion for the subjects of her work, while challenging contemporary views of globalization and consumption.

Jaffary, Nora E.: *Gender, Race, and Religion in the Colonization of the Americas.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007. 206 pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-5189-5. (hbk)

When Europe introduced mechanisms to control New World territories, resources, and populations, women –

whether African, indigenous, mixed race, or European – responded and participated in multiple ways. By adopting a comprehensive view of female agency, the essays in this collection reveal the varied implications of women's experiences in colonialism in North and South America.

Although the Spanish American context receives particular attention here, the volume contrasts the context of both colonial Mexico and Peru to every other major geographic region that became a focus of European imperialism in the early modern period: the Caribbean, Brazil, English America, and New France. The chapters provide a coherent perspective on the comparative history of European colonialism in the Americas through their united treatment of four central themes: the gendered implications of life on colonial frontiers; non-European women's relationships for Christian institutions; the implications of race-mixing; and social networks established by women of various ethnicities in the colonial context.

This volume adds a new dimension to current scholarship in Atlantic history through its emphasis on culture, gender and race, and through its explicit effort to link religion to the broader imperial framework of economic extraction and political domination.

Cerf, Patrick : *La domination des femmes à Tahiti. Des violences envers les femmes au discours du matriarcat.* Pirae : Éditions Au vent des îles, 2007. 521 pp. ISBN 978-2-9156-5418-9. (hbk)

Le mythe paradisiaque attaché à Tahiti a été créé par les Occidentaux, mais depuis les élucubrations sur les "Bons Sauvages" et les *vahine* aguicheuses, les représentations des Polynésiens ne furent pas exemptes d'ambiguïtés. En contrepoint de ces lieux communs de la fantasmagorie occidentale, un nouveau mythe naquit à la fin du XX^e siècle, évoquant la situation privilégiée des *vahine* présentées comme socialement dominantes au point que certains qualifièrent la société tahitienne de matriarcat. La popularité de cette proposition adoptée par l'opinion publique ne peut que laisser pantois ceux qui connaissent la réalité des violences familiales et conjugales subies par les enfants et les femmes de ces îles qui ne sont pas épargnées par ce phénomène comme certains voudraient le faire croire.

Cet ouvrage révèle une étude mesurant précisément cette violence longtemps cachée par le déni et la honte, explore les multiples causes locales, sociales et "culturelles" de ce phénomène et aborde les raisons de son universalité. Les Tahitiennes dominent-elles ou sont-elles dominées ? Ce livre démontre le paradoxe d'une situation qui ne peut pas être réduite à ces alternatives simplistes. La coexistence des violences et du "mythe du matriarcat" est replacée dans la dynamique des relations entre mouvement de renouveau culturel et situation coloniale, entre stratégies politiques des partis autonomistes et indépendantistes, entre intérêts divergents des femmes et des hommes imbriqués dans les bouleversements sociaux qui ont affecté la société tahitienne.

Brison, Karen J.: *Our Wealth Is Loving Each Other. Self and Society in Fiji.* Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007. 151 pp. ISBN 978-0-7391-1488-9. (hbk)

“Our Wealth Is Loving Each Other” explores the fluid and context-bound nature of cultural and personal identity among indigenous Fijians. While national identity in Fiji is often defined in opposition to the West through reference to a romanticized pre-modern tradition, individual Fijians are often more concerned with defining their identity vis-à-vis other villagers and other groups within Fiji. When people craft self accounts to justify their position within the indigenous Fijian community they question and redefine both tradition and modernity. Modernity on the margins is an experience of anxiety provoking contradictions between competing ideologies, and between international ideologies and local experiences.

Indigenous Fijians have been exposed to international ideologies and government programs extolling to virtues of “pre-modern” communities that place communal good and time honored tradition over individual gain. But other waves of policy and rhetoric have stressed individual achievement and the need to “shake” individuals out of community bonds to foster economic development. Individuals feel contradictory pressures to be autonomous, achieving individuals, and to subordinate self to community and tradition. Brison examines traditional kava ceremonies, evangelical church rhetoric, and individual life history narratives, to show how individuals draw on a repertoire of narratives from local and international culture to define their identity and sense of self. “Our Wealth is Loving Each Other” is appropriate for upper level students and anyone with an interest in Fiji or anthropology.

Barker, John (ed.): *The Anthropology of Morality in Melanesia and Beyond.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007. 235 pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-7185-5. (hbk)

“The Anthropology of Morality in Melanesia and Beyond” examines how Melanesians experience and deal with moral dilemmas and challenges. Taking Kenelm Burridge’s seminal work as their starting point, the contributors focus upon public situations and types of people that exemplify key ethical contradictions for members of moral communities. While returning to some classical concerns, such as the roles of big men and sorcerers, the book opens new territory with richly textured ethnographic studies and theoretical reviews that explore the interface between the values associated with indigenous village life and the ethical orientations associated with Christianity, the state, the marketplace, and other facets of “modernity.” A major contribution to the emerging field of the anthropology of morality, the volume includes some of the most prominent scholars working in the discipline today, including Buca Knauff, Joel Robbins, F.G. Bailey, Deborah Gewertz, and Frederick Errington.

Willemsen, Marie-Antoinette Th.: *Een pionier op Flores.* Jilis Verheijen 1908–1997. Missionaris en onder-

zoeker. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2006. 448 pp. ISBN 978-90-5730-403-3. (pbk)

Jilia Verheijen (1908–1997) is een van de vele jonge mannen die zich in zijn tijd geroepen voelen om naar de missie te gaan. Hij meldt zich in 1921 aan bij de Societas Verbi Divini en wordt na dertien jaar studie benoemd voor Flores. Vrijwel vanaf het begin verdiept Verheijen zich – naast de zielzorg – in de inheemse talen en doet hij etnografisch onderzoek. In de loop van de jaren breidt zij belangstelling uit naar flora en fauna.

Na de Japanse inval in 1942 wordt Verheijen geïnterneerd en naar verschillende kampen op Sulawesi getransporteerd. Daar komt hij in aanraking met andersdenkenden, die ertoe bijdragen dat hij met een nieuwe blik gaat aankijken tegen zijn eigen overtuigingen op zowel missionair als wetenschappelijk gebied. Tijdens een herstelverlof in 1948 studeert Verheijen enkele semesters etnologie en algemene taalwetenschap in Utrecht. Mede door de veranderde politieke omstandigheden en nieuwe ideeën over de aanpak van het missiewerk voelt hij na terugkeer in Indonesië steeds sterker de behoefte zich uitsluitend te richten op onderzoek en publicatie. Vanaf 1959 kan hij worden vrijgesteld van zijn pastorale werk en schrijft hij een veertigtal boeken en artikelen, waarvan het belangrijkste het “Manggarai-Indonesië woordenboek” is. Zijn grote verdienste is dat hij op verschillende terreinen van wetenschap uniek materiaal verzamelde, lang voordat academici West-Flores als onderzoeksgebied zagen. Met zijn publicaties en verzamelingen legde Verheijen – naast lexicograaf ook ethnograaf, ornitholoog en botanicus – de basis voor verder diepgaand onderzoek.

De keuze voor de wetenschap stelde Verheijen voor verschillende dilemma's. Hij moest zijn positie bepalen in het spanningsveld tussen geloof en wetenschap, tussen zijn opdracht om in de samenleving in te grijpen en zijn groeiende neiging tot distantie. Deze biografie plaatst zijn persoonlijke motieven en doelstellingen binnen de bredere missionaire beweging, waarvan Verheijen – wiens leven bijna de hele twintigste eeuw omspande – de opkomst, bloei en neergang meemaakte.

Adams, Kathleen M.: *Art as Politics. Re-Crafting Identities, Tourism, and Power in Tana Toraja, Indonesia.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006. 287 pp. ISBN 978-0-8248-3072-4. (pbk)

“Art as Politics” explores the intersection of art, identity politics, and tourism in Sulawesi, Indonesia. Based on long-term ethnographic research from the 1980s to the present, the book offers a nuanced portrayal of the Sa'dan Toraja, a predominantly Christian minority group in the world's most populous Muslim country. Celebrated in anthropological and tourism literatures for their spectacular traditional houses, sculpted effigies of the dead, and pageantry-filled funeral rituals, the Toraja have entered an era of accelerated engagement with the global economy marked by on-going struggles over identity, religion, and social relations.

In her engaging account, Kathleen Adams chronicles how various Toraja individuals and groups have drawn upon artistically-embellished “traditional” objects – as well as monumental displays, museums, UNESCO ideas about “world heritage,” and the World Wide Web – to shore up or realign aspects of a cultural heritage perceived to be under threat. She also considers how outsiders – be they tourists, art collectors, members of rival ethnic groups, or government officials – have appropriated and reframed Toraja art objects for their own purposes. Her account illustrates how art can serve as a catalyst identity politics, especially in the context of tourism and social upheaval.

Macdonald, Charles J-H: *Uncultural Behavior. An Anthropological Investigation of Suicide in the Southern Philippines.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007. 307 pp. ISBN 978-0-8248-3103-5. (pbk)

Until recently the people of Kulbi-Kenipaqan lived on the fringes of the modern world following traditional customs and beliefs, practicing shifting agriculture, and leading an outwardly peaceful existence in a remote corner of Palawan island. Yet this small community, basically indistinguishable in society and culture from its immediate neighbors to the north, has one of the highest rates of suicide in the world. Why would the comparatively happy and well-off inhabitants of Kulbi fall victim to despair? “Uncultural Behavior” investigates the mystery of self-inflicted death among this nonviolent and orderly people in the Southern Philippines.

To make sense of such a phenomenon, Charles Macdonald probes the beliefs, customs, and general disposition of this Palawan people, exploring how they live, think, behave, and relate to one another. Early chapters examine group formation and the spatialization of social ties, material culture, marriage, and law, providing an extensive ethnographic account of the Kulbi way of life. The author offers insights into the spiritual world of the community and addresses the local theory of emotions and the words that supply the vocabulary and idiom of indigenous commentaries on suicide. A well-documented case study of a suicide and its aftermath gives readers an idea of how Kulbi people treat suicide and their conflicting views on the subject. Following an analysis of statistical information, the author presents five “profiles,” bringing together motivations, actors, and circumstances. He concludes by examining the perspectives of neurobiology and genetics as well as psychology, sociology, and history.

Suryadinata, Leo: *Understanding the Ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia.* Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2007. 310 pp. ISBN 978-981-230-437-7. (pbk)

About 80 per cent of the ethnic Chinese outside China (also known as the “Chinese overseas”) live in Southeast Asia. This book examines that community in the context of both national and international dimensions. It first discusses the ethnic Chinese and China, addressing the issues of migration, nationality, business success, and eth-

nic conflict; second, Chinese cultural adaptation and various identities; and third, case studies of the Chinese in Indonesia, external actors, the state, and ethnic Chinese politics. The book throws light on the complexity of this diverse and important ethnic community.

Michaud, Jean: “Incidental” Ethnographers. French Catholic Missions on the Tonkin-Yunnan Frontier, 1880–1930. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2007. 279 pp. ISBN 978-90-04-13996-1. (hbk)

This book, connecting the fields of social anthropology and missiology, presents a body of colonial ethnographic writing applied to highland societies in the southern portion of the Mainland Southeast Asian massif. The writers under scrutiny are Catholic priests from the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris. Their texts from the Upper-Tonkin vicariate, in today's northern Vietnam, are paid special attention, notably through its major contributor, F. M. Savina. The author locates this ethnographic heritage against its historical, political, and intellectual background. A comparison is conducted with French missionaries-cum-ethnographers who worked among the “natives” in New France (Canada) in the 17th century, yielding the unexpected conclusion that practically nothing from this early period of experimentation was remembered.

Kaltman, Blaine: *Under the Heel of the Dragon. Islam, Racism, Crime, and the Uighur in China.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007. 150 pp. ISBN 978-0-89680-254-4. (pbk)

The Turkic Muslims known as the Uighur have long faced social and economic disadvantages in China because of their minority state. “Under the Heel of the Dragon” offers a unique insight into current conflicts resulting from the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and the Chinese government's oppression of religious minorities, issues that have heightened the degree of polarization between the Uighur and the dominant Chinese ethnic group, the Han.

Author Blaine Kaltman's study is based on in-depth interviews. These riveting conversations expose the thoughts of a wide socioeconomic spectrum of Han and Uighur, revealing their mutual prejudices. The Uighur believe that the Han discriminate against them in almost every aspect of their lives, and this perception of racism motivates Uighur prejudice against the Han.

Kaltman reports that criminal activity by Uighur is directed against their perceived oppressors, the Han Chinese. Uighur also resist Han authority by flouting the laws – such as tax and licensing regulations or prohibitions on the use or sale of hashish – that they consider to be imposed on them by an alien regime. “Under the Heel of the Dragon” offers a unique insight into a misunderstood world and a detailed explanation of the cultural perceptions that drive these misconceptions.

Mills, Simon: *Healing Rhythms. The World of South Korea's East Coast Hereditary Shamans.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007. 121 pp., 1 CD. ISBN 978-0-7546-5845-0. (hbk)

Still today, in South Korea, many people pay for the services of *mudang* – the intermediaries of Korea's syncretic folk religion. The majority of *mudang* are called to the profession by gods; their clients are individuals or small groups and they focus on the use of spirit-power ("possession") for diagnosis and problem-solving. There is, however, a tiny minority of *mudang* who are born or adopted into the ritual life and who have no spirit-power. These ritualists perform in large family groups, conducting rituals for whole communities. They focus far more on the use of music, dance, and song to provide healing experiences.

In this book, Simon Mills provides an in-depth analysis of the East Coast hereditary *mudang* institution and its rhythm-oriented music, focusing particularly on the Kim family of *mudang* – the government-appointed "cultural assets" for the genre. It is the first English language book to study this tradition in any depth, using materials from fieldwork (1999–2000) alongside interviews with two key family members, Kim Junghee and Jo Jonghun. Throughout, Mills includes numerous quotes from the ritualists themselves to help reveal their characters, opinions, and beliefs. He documents the family's history, the decline of the hereditary *mudang* institution and its kinship customs, and the family's changing relations towards "outsiders." Mills also details ritual procedures, musical structures, playing techniques, instruments, and learning methods both of the past and present; as non-ritual musicians become increasingly aware of the powerful ritual rhythms, the music is finding new life in non-ritual settings.

Buswell, Robert E., Jr. (ed.): *Religions of Korea in Practice.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007. 542 pp. ISBN 978-0-691-11347-0. (pbk)

Korea has one of the most diverse religious cultures in the world today, with a range and breadth of religious practice virtually unrivaled by any other country. This volume in the Princeton Readings in Religions series is the first anthology in any language, including Korean, to bring together a comprehensive set of original sources covering the whole gamut of religious practice in both premodern and contemporary Korea.

The book's thirty-two chapters are an important step toward addressing the dearth of source materials on Korean religions in Western languages. Coverage includes shamanic rituals for the dead and songs to quiet fussy newborns; Buddhist meditative practices and exorcisms; Confucian geomancy and ancestor rites; contemporary Catholic liturgy; Protestant devotional practices; internal alchemy training in new Korean religions; and North Korean Juche ("self-reliance") ideology, an amalgam of Marxism and Neo-Confucian filial piety focused on worship of the "father," Kim Il Sung.

"Religions of Korea in Practice" provides substantial coverage of contemporary Korean religious practice, especially in the various Christian denominations and new indigenous religions. Each chapter includes an extensive translation of original sources on Korean religious practice, accompanied by an introduction that frames the significance of the selections and offers suggestions for further reading. This book will help any reader gain a better appreciation of the rich complexity of Korea's religious culture.

Madan, T.N.: *Images of the World. Essays on Religion, Secularism, and Culture.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006. 398 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-568113-0. (hbk)

India occupies a unique place among the democratic countries of the world for the importance it accords to the primordial identities of religion, language, and caste. Religion as personal faith is a significant psychological and social resource in the lives of millions of Indians. However, in a multi-religious society, a religiously neutral state is an imperative. The Indian state protects and even facilitates public expression of religious beliefs and practices. This often creates problems.

T.N. Madan explores the foregoing themes in the essays collected in the first two parts of this book. In Part III, he discusses how India's religious traditions have strong pluralist tendencies – they have grown in a state of mutual interaction, borrowed from each other, yet retained their individual characteristics. Finally, Part IV goes beyond the themes of religion, secularism, and national identity and discusses issues in the comparative study of cultures and civilizations.

A core idea that binds together the essays is the understanding that despite the ongoing processes of secularization, religion still occupies a significant place in the lives of most people in India. It exists not in isolation but in dynamic interaction with politics and the wider cultural settings.

Heredia, Rudolf C.: *Changing Gods. Rethinking Conversion in India.* New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2007. 386 pp. ISBN 978-0-14-310190-1. (pbk)

In today's pluri-religious society, change of faith can precipitate religious antagonism – or it can facilitate social diversity and tolerance. While religious commitment is essentially a matter of personal conscience and choice, it inevitably impacts other levels of individual and social life.

Rudolf C. Heredia is a Jesuit sociologist who with his long experience of working with marginalized communities, shows how mass conversions have alienated people from their past traditions and lived beliefs. Challenging the traditional orthodoxies which promote or oppose religious conversions, the author sees no religious merit in political posturing or conversion for socioeconomic gain. Instead to defuse tensions, he advocates rethinking reli-

gious conversion in India with a determined religious disarmament, discarding aggression.

"Changing Gods" challenges us to seek a common ground for tolerance and dialogue, premised on a constructive interaction with other faith traditions.

Collins, Paul M.: *Christian Inculturation in India*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007. 234 pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6076-7. (hbk)

Drawing together international and Indian sources, and new research on the ground in South India, this book presents a unique examination of the inculturation of Christian Worship in India. Paul M. Collins examines the imperatives underlying the processes of inculturation of the dynamic relationship between the Christian message and cultures – and then explores the outcomes of those processes in terms of architecture, liturgy and ritual, and the critique offered of these outcomes, especially by Dalit theologians. This book highlights how the Indian context has informed global discussions, and how the decisions of the World Council of Churches, Vatican II, and Lambeth Conferences have impacted upon the Indian context.

The book is accompanied by a database of images of temples, churches, shrines, and rituals, which can be found at: <http://inculturation.chi.ac.uk>.

Spencer, Jonathan: *Anthropology, Politics, and the State. Democracy and Violence in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 203 pp. ISBN 978-0-521-77746-9. (pbk)

In recent years anthropology has rediscovered its interest in politics. Building on the findings of this research, this book offers a new way of analyzing the relationship between culture and politics, with special attention to democracy, nationalism, the state, and political violence. Beginning with scenes from an unruly early 1980s election campaign in Sri Lanka, it covers issues from rural policing in North India to slum housing in Delhi, presenting arguments about secularism and pluralism, and the ambiguous energies released by electoral democracy across the subcontinent. It ends by discussing feminist peace activists in Sri Lanka, struggling to sustain a window of shared humanity after two decades of war. Bringing together and linking the themes of democracy, identity, and conflict, this important new study shows how anthropology can take a central role in understanding other people's politics, especially the issues that seem to have divided the world since 9/11.

Das, Veena: *Life and Words. Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. 281 pp. ISBN 978-0-520-24745-1. (pbk)

In this powerful, compassionate work, Veena Das weaves together rich fieldwork with a compelling critical analysis in a book that makes a signal contribution to contempo-

rary thinking about violence and how it affects everyday life. She examines case studies including the extreme violence of the Partition of India in 1947 and the massacre of Sikhs in 1984 after the assassination of then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. In a major departure from much anthropological inquiry, Das asks how this violence has entered "the recesses of the ordinary" instead of viewing it as an interruption of life to which we simply bear witness. Das engages with anthropological work on collective violence, rumor, sectarian conflict, new kinship, and state and bureaucracy as she embarks on a wide-ranging exploration of the relations among violence, gender, and subjectivity. Weaving anthropological and philosophical reflections on the ordinary into her analysis, Das points toward a new understanding of violence in societies and cultures around the globe.

Kakar, Sudhir, and Katharina Kakar: *The Indians. Portrait of a People*. New Delhi: Viking, 2007. 226 pp. ISBN 978-0-67099-923-1. (hbk)

In this bold, illuminating, and superbly readable study, India's foremost psychoanalyst and cultural commentator Sudhir Kakar and anthropologist Katharina Kakar investigate the nature of "Indian-ness". What makes an Indian recognizably so to the rest of the world, and, more importantly, to his or her fellow Indians? For, as the authors point out, despite ethnic differences that are characteristic more of past empires than modern nation states, there is an underlying unity in the great diversity of India that needs to be recognized.

Looking at what constitutes a common Indian identity, the authors examine in detail the predominance of family, community, and caste in our everyday lives, our attitudes to sex and marriage, our prejudices, our ideas of the other (explored in a brilliant chapter on Hindu-Muslim conflict), and our understanding of health, right and wrong, and death. In the final chapter, they provide fascinating insights into the Indian mind, shaped largely by the culture's dominant, Hindu worldview.

Ntarangwi, Mwenda, David Mills, and Mustafa Babi-ker (eds.): *African Anthropologies. History, Critique, and Practice*. Dakar: CODESRIA; London: Zed Books, 2006. 274 pp. ISBN 2-86978-168-7; ISBN 978-1-84277-763-3. (pbk)

This volume on the history, application, and teaching of anthropology in postcolonial Africa is timely and entirely welcome. At a time when appeals to cultural difference are becoming increasingly central to various political and economic interventions in Africa and beyond, anthropological knowledge would seem to be indispensable, both as a critique of emerging trends and as a domain that can facilitate their very emergence. In addition to highlighting the relevance of anthropology in the twenty-first century, this book successfully debunks various myths. Most significantly, it analyses how African anthropologists are re-defining the historical legacy of European and American

disciplinary hegemony and developing distinctively African contributions to anthropological theory and practice.

While illustrating the diverse national traditions of anthropological practice that have developed in sub-Saharan Africa since decolonisation, the contributors exemplify the diversity of professional work carried out by the discipline's practitioners, united by use of anthropological perspectives and commitment to fieldwork to realise change. This book has the additional value of going beyond a critical reappraisal of the trajectory of anthropology to examine the very conditions of knowledge production in Africa.

Højbjerg, Christian Kordt: *Resisting State Iconoclasm among the Loma of Guinea*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2007. 360 pp. ISBN 978-1-59460-218-4. (pbk)

"Resisting State Iconoclasm among the Loma of Guinea" is an anthropological study of a West African people's ongoing commitment to a specific religious tradition that involves both secrecy and public ritual.

Loma secret religious practice appears to have been relatively unaffected by a long-term suppression, including the exposure of secrecy, by the postcolonial authorities. In recent years the famous male ritual association known as Poro has even taken on new significance in the context of political upheaval in the war-torn border area between Guinea and Liberia. Drawing on extensive fieldwork and regional comparative research, the study not only provides a detailed account of hitherto unknown ritual practices in the Upper Guinea forest and coastal region, it also challenges recurring claims about the political role of secret societies in this part of West Africa.

The retention of "tradition" in the face of "change" is of central analytical concern to "Resisting State Iconoclasm." Against presentist accounts of persistent culture, Højbjerg argues that an adequate explanation of Loma religious resilience requires a composite approach addressing both the political dynamics of the studied area and the cognitive and relational processes involved in the transmission of religious and ritual tradition. The result of this approach serves as background for a critical engagement with current theories of the successful, enduring distribution of cultural ideas and practices.

Argenti, Nicolas: *The Intestines of the State. Youth, Violence, and Belated Histories in the Cameroon Grassfields*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007. 362 pp. ISBN 978-0-226-02612-1. (pbk)

The young people of the Cameroon Grassfields have been subject to a long history of violence and political marginalization. For centuries the main victims of the slave trade, they became prime targets for forced labor campaigns under a series of colonial rulers. Today's youth remain at the bottom of the fiercely hierarchical and polarized societies of the Grassfields, and it is their response to

centuries of exploitation that Nicolas Argenti takes up in this absorbing book.

Beginning his study with a political analysis of youth in the Grassfields from the 18th century to the present, Argenti pays special attention to the repeated violent revolts staged by young victims of political oppression. He then combines this history with ethnographic fieldwork in the Oku chiefdom, discovering that the spectre of past violence lives on in the masked dance performances that have earned intense devotion from today's youth. Argenti contends that by evoking the imagery of past cataclysmic events, these masquerades allow young Oku men and women to address the inequities they face in their relations with elders and state authorities today.

Kuklick, Henrika (ed.): *A New History of Anthropology*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2008. 402 pp. ISBN 978-0-631-22600-0. (pbk)

With a breadth and depth that no single-authored source could provide, "A New History of Anthropology" collects original writings from pre-eminent scholars in the field, to create the most complete and comprehensive book of its kind.

Situating ideas and practices within the context of their time and place of origin, "A New History of Anthropology" begins with an examination of the prehistory of the field, during the "age of exploration." The volume then continues its evaluation by examining the various anthropological traditions present in the field's early work, discussing the numerous topical issues that arose in the field as it evolved, and looking into anthropology's future by considering its relationship with other disciplines and its own disputed history, all through the lens of a new global perspective.

Sophisticated but accessible, "A New History of Anthropology" is an ideal tool for both the teaching and learning of the history of anthropology.

Eller, Jack David: *Introducing Anthropology of Religion. Culture to the Ultimate*. New York: Routledge, 2007. 352 pp. ISBN 978-0-415-40896-7. (pbk)

"Introducing Anthropology of Religion" is the ideal starting point for students beginning their studies of the anthropological study of religion. Jack David Eller, an experienced college teacher, introduces students to the key areas of the field and shows how to apply an anthropological approach to the study of contemporary world religions. This lively and readable survey covers all the traditional topics of anthropology of religion, including definitions and theories, beliefs, symbols and language, and ritual and myth, and combines analytic and conceptual discussion with up-to-date ethnography and theory.

Using copious examples from religions from around the world – both familiar and unfamiliar – and two mini-case studies in each chapter, Eller also explores classic and

contemporary anthropological contributions to important but often overlooked issues such as violence and fundamentalism, morality, secularization, religion in America, and new religious movements. "Introducing Anthropology of Religion" demonstrates that anthropology is both relevant and essential for understanding the world we inhabit today.

Winzeler, Robert L.: Anthropology and Religion. What We Know, Think, and Question. Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2008. 297 pp. ISBN 978-0-7591-1046-5. (pbk)

Drawing from ethnographic examples found throughout the world, this text offers a general introduction to what anthropologists know or think about religion, how they have studied it, and how they interpret or explain it since the late 19th century. Winzeler's balanced consideration of classic topics, basic concepts, and new developments in the anthropological study of religion moves beyond cultural anthropology and ethnography to gather information from physical anthropology, prehistory, and archaeology. Written as a sophisticated but accessible treatment of the issues, "Anthropology and Religion" is a key text for upper-division courses.

Whitehouse, Harvey, and James Laidlaw (eds.): Religion, Anthropology, and Cognitive Science. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2007. 286 pp. ISBN 978-1-59460-107-1. (pbk)

This book examines long-standing debates in the anthropology of religion concerning the connections between ritual and meaning, belief, politics, emotion, development, and gender. But it examines these "old" topics from a radically new perspective: that of the cognitive science of religion.

As such the volume identifies potential solutions to established problems but it also sets out a program for future research in the field. The volume includes a substantial introduction from Harvey Whitehouse and James Laidlaw who highlight the connections between key issues in the

history of religious anthropology and the latest findings of scientific psychology. This volume, they argue, presents us with potential solutions to old problems but also with a series of new and exciting challenges.

Heyndriks, Marcel: Towards another Future. On Christian Faith and Its Shape between Yesterday and Tomorrow. Louvain: Peeters Leuven; W.B. Eerdmans, 2006. 358 pp. ISBN 978-90-429-1774-3; ISBN 978-0-8028-1761-7. (pbk)

From the beginning, the gospel has been understood and articulated in terms borrowed from the cultural context in which it finds itself. For the largest part of the church's history, the prevailing context has worked with a static vision of humanity and the world. Theology and philosophy perpetuated this static worldview. This was both legitimate and necessary as long as the culture was shaped by such a worldview. Since the advent of modernity, however, this is no longer the case. The advent of science and technology has seen the static view of things give way to an understanding of ourselves and our world as dynamic entities. This has made the traditional understanding of faith increasingly untenable. One might say that the gospel has become the prisoner of its previous embodiments. The church's determination to hold on to established forms, and with them the traditional understanding of humanity and the world, has led to its increasing alienation from the prevailing culture, especially in the West. For many in our society, the church's language has become increasingly incomprehensible and its message increasingly untenable.

The author argues that the church's attachment to a static worldview is the fundamental cause of the current crisis, especially as this is manifest in Western Europe. He provides a detailed discussion of the European context and analyzes the main features of the traditional, static understanding of faith and its roots in classical culture. He then examines the contemporary crisis of faith and offers a critical evaluation of attempts at "restoration." Finally, he proposes a vision of the way forward for the church as it struggles to come to terms with the modern worldview.

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Review of Articles

(by Joachim G. Piepke and Dariusz Piwowarczyk)

Barnes, R.H.: The Power of Strangers in Flores and Timor. *Anthropos* 103.2008: 343-353.

Strangers always pose an at least implicit challenge. They represent danger or potential gain and must be met with hostility or hospitality, brought into the community or expelled from it. If his danger is to be avoided, he must either be denied admittance, chased, or enticed away like evil spirits or vampires, or, of granted admittance, he must be socialised, that is to say secularised, a process which necessarily involves inversion.

How cultures deal with these ambiguities varies of course, although the problem is universal. In eastern Indonesia, strangers who arrive without obviously hostile intent are generally accorded high status, but not inevitably. What is striking about traditional histories of several local state structures prior to the twentieth century is how often they maintain that ruling authority is in the hands of persons whose ancestors came as strangers and successfully became absorbed into the local communities, often by means of inversion.

There is some evidence to suggest that the rulers of Lohayong, Solor, were by origin Ternatense. Later the rajas of Adonara claimed descent from an ancestor of Seran origin who subjected the various parts of his realm by peaceful means. The core clans of the village of Lamalera, Lembata, deem themselves to descend from persons who travelled through the islands from a homeland in Luwuk, Sulawesi. Their itinerary took them to Seran, Goran, Ambon, and through the islands of the south Moluccas back west to a land called Lapan Batan, lying in what is now the strait between Pantar and Lembata.

A picture of how the rajas of Larantuka regarded their own history is given by an account which Raja Lorenzo Oesi Diaz Vieira Godinho provided his son, the later Raja Servus, during Raja Oesi's exile in Java following his deposition by the Dutch in 1904. Among the salient features of the legend is the fact that the Diaz Vieira Godinho line derives from a male outsider and is not the original stock of the rajas.

The power of leaders from the Raja down to the heads of descent groups rests on fear of ancestral punishment. Disobedience leads to illness and misfortune. "The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funnelled through the magic stones of authority (*nubana*) too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampung, who does not deal with adat, and the kakang, is that of the police. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in who was not so, the people would not follow him, or rather they would do so only out of fear of being sent to jail. Such respect would be given

only halfheartedly. The power of the chiefs, up to the raja, rests on their 'blood' or legitimate succession, and on the power of their ancestors, who uphold the proper authority and punish the disobedient by unseen power" (Raymond Kennedy: Field Notes on Indonesia. 1955).

Bourdier, Frédéric: Indigenous Populations in a Cultural Perspective. The Paradox of Development in Southeast Asia. *Anthropos* 103.2008: 355-366.

Development perspectives in northeast Cambodia, south Laos, and the central highlands of Vietnam are a matter of sensitive concern for local governments as well as for international agencies. This region, which geographically corresponds to the semi-mountainous middle part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, is predominantly inhabited by highlanders who, for years, have attracted particular attention of development agencies mainly because of geopolitical strategic reasons. In official agendas, material and economic improvements are promoted as vectors for a better quality of life than that which traditionally prevails in indigenous societies. The importance of material and economic status as indicators of well-being has systematically been, and still is, strengthened by a dominant idea stipulating the need to change vernacular outdated life conditions.

The alternative bottom-up and grassroot approaches initiated in the seventies and in the eighties and consisting in "putting people first," does not fit well in the new architecture of aid, in spite of such concepts as participation, empowerment, and other keywords that give a false impression that development is in people's own hands. With a few remarkable exceptions, international aid agencies recognize that they have no choice but to comply with globalisation, global governance, and, last but not least, policy reform promoting liberalisation, privatisation, and market mechanisms as the instruments of growth and efficiency. Agents of development subsequently face a certain incongruity in the process they entertain: once being aware of the local contexts and the social dynamics going on, and even once in favour of readjusting their orientations, many of them deplore the mainstream in which they are caught. In other words, development workers face difficulties distancing themselves from the unilateral trends to which they have to conform, even if they are strongly encouraged to show participatory methods along with other nonmonetary indicators.

The first argument is that development interventions should be sustainable. Sustainable development systematically and compulsorily appeared within official documents, and became a mainstream approach for international agencies, NGOs, and national governments that understood that they were required to be "environmentally correct" in order to receive funds and receive world-

wide endorsement. As such, the concept of sustainability relies instead on a rough set of indicators that are not clearly articulated nor adequately measure sociocultural dynamics. Hence the question: What is it that is to be sustained? Is it the population or the project? Is sustainable development something aimed at benefiting all people, or only some? Do specific interventions transform social dynamics in a way which is welcomed by villagers or, conversely, result in the extended duration of projects which maintains a control over the population?

The second concept, self-governance, is a politically correct approach which has been promoted with the aim of minimising external interference and control. At the micro level, the situation is more than ambiguous, specifically in the region predominantly inhabited by “primitive people,” among whom, in absence of any federation system, the village is the highest political and social unit. The villages have been placed under considerable pressure by colonial powers and national governments to become integrated within the administrative structures of a wider society. They were frequently obliged to conform to an organisational process that was used to “pacify” them in colonial times, and thereafter “domesticated” them, under the pretext of an effective implementation of socioeconomic improvements. Under such circumstances, how can development professionals continue to promote the idea of self-governance if they have been complicit in attempts by state and bilateral agencies to diminish the previous strength and autonomy of the village as a coherent unit?

Empowerment is a further consideration. It is an esoteric and fascinating word, associated with capacity-building. It generally appears as a first step in development projects which claim to act against discrimination and marginalisation. Theoretically, the empowerment of an endangered society would represent an ideal stage of realisation of its own condition. The reality is often different. Regular village meetings of empowerment empower the already empowered and widen the gap between the poor and the rich villagers. The village is no longer – and had probably never been – an ideal community sharing similar ideas, strategies, and perceptions of life. Hence, empowerment can be considered as a controlled outcome designed by external agents in order to enhance the capacity of a handful of individuals, often to the detriment of others.

Participation is nowadays an act of faith in development, something all practitioners profoundly believe in and rarely question. Participation is generally interpreted by development practitioners as something new for local populations who are generally considered to be structurally too weak and inexperienced to initiate constructive and innovative activities alone. When looking more closely, however, participative mechanisms within people’s daily lives are largely available. Development interventions which are introduced from outside do not occur in a vacuum. Any culture has the tools to enable innovative activities, according to their own sociocultural logic and context. But these phenomena should be deciphered before new forms of behaviour and modes of thinking, often alien to indigenous mores, are introduced. Highlanders’ perceptions of participation are intrinsically linked, but

not restricted, to an existing and well-organized spirit of collective action. Participation as required by development practitioners can lead to its perversion: In large projects, indigenous people are requested, if not compelled, to participate in whatever external decision-makers would like them to do, even if the benefits are not always clear.

Unsurprisingly, postdevelopment is now advocated through an emerging network of small organisations willing to implement a real alternative in the way projects are designed. A shift is suggested, sometimes with another concept of non-development arguing “let them alone and protect them from the outside,” but it is unclear whether this approach can encompass the outlook of local peoples. Again, postdevelopment and, even more, anti-development theories are social constructions elaborated by academicians and external actors, projecting their personal ideologies and convictions. They have not been systematically validated by local populations. This is not to say that the borrowing of ideas is in itself unacceptable, and this brings us back to the initial problem: Do indigenous people have control over their destiny and can they retain the freedom to respond to events occurring in their life?

Notermans, Catrien: Local and Global Icons of Mary. An Ethnographic Study of a Powerful Symbol. *Anthropos* 103.2008: 471-481.

The Marian shrine of Lourdes is probably the best-known modern Mary site in the world. In 1858, fourteen-year-old Bernadette Soubirous reported appearances of a young woman who, throughout a series of eighteen encounters, came to be seen as the Virgin Mary. Since then, the small village of Lourdes has developed into an international religious tourist center, receiving an estimated six million visitors each year. The image of the shrine is multiplied in millions of copies and dispersed on a global scale. The worldwide network of visual reproductions makes Lourdes devotion reach far beyond this particular place in France and joins people and their religious images in a modern transnational network of Marian devotion.

Pilgrims have generally a close relationship with their favorite icons. People select from and respond to different Marian icons and they attached personal meanings to them. From a dominant theological perspective, Mary is easily seen as always representing the Mother of God, irrespective of her visual appearance in art and popular culture. In daily devotional practice, people certainly differentiate between the numerous representations of Mary, attaching high emotional value to some and resolutely rejecting others. Pilgrims who are fixed in their localities relate to icons to situate themselves in the modern, moving, and globalizing world. While local images assist in constructing a localized belonging to home ground and family history, the global images simultaneously assist in going beyond the local level and constructing a non-localized belonging to a global community of ailing, marginalized Marian devotees worldwide. This relationship empowers them to cope with the problems of their present life stage.

For the pilgrims, the most powerful Marian icons appear to be those that elicit kinship memories. People's responses to the images show that Mary exists in kin relationships in various interconnected ways: in the relationship with the home ground, the relationship between adults and their mothers, the relationship between husbands and wives, and the relationship between mothers and children.

Of the various images of Mary, the *primus inter pares* for all Dutch pilgrims to Lourdes is the icon closest to them in space: the icon venerated in the chapel next door. People in Belfeld, a village now connected to the city of Venlo, may passionately love Our Lady of Geloë, who is housed in the local chapel, and not even recognize the icon of Our Lady of Genooy, who roughly looks the same but is housed fifteen kilometers away in Venlo. Because of her central role in several related family houses, the local Lady is involved in the joys and sorrows of a family. This gives her the power to connect the family in a "chain of memories." Janna, a thirty-four years old pilgrim in the research group, weekly visits the chapel of Our Lady of Geloë, arranges the flowers, and lights a candle. She says: "I feel safe because I have grown up with her. She knows me from childhood. This is where I came with my parents and my grandparents. Our Lady has listened to all our sorrows and prayers, that's why I feel at home with her. The chapel gives me rest. In a world where everything is changing quickly, this place enables me to dwell on the past and to cherish the happy memories of my childhood. In the chapel, I remember my grandparents, who visited the chapel together. They came by tandem bike because my grandmother was blind. My grandfather was always in front. I feel no need to travel a thousand kilometers to see the Lady in Lourdes when my own, familiar Lady is housed next door." Janna's bond with the Lady of Belfeld illustrates how a sense of place is interwoven with kinship and memory. The local Marian icon places kinship memories in their own geography, connecting past and present, different generations, and familiar localities of chapel and home.

People's favorite icon is often also the icon that has been venerated and passed on by their mother and consequently has the power to evoke memories of her. Arno intensely loves Our Lady of Lourdes: "I received my affection for her," he states, "from my mother. From childhood onward, I have seen her praying to this icon, asking her to make us well when we were ill. That is why I still present my trouble to her when I am ill. When I speak to her, it is like I am speaking to my mother." When looking at the image, he is moved to tears and says: "When my mother was ill, she looked at her. Now, being ill myself, I also look at her and feel moved. I think about my mother and I think about the many people who are lost in the family and I miss them so much. My mother, my father, my parents-in-law, my three sisters who died at a young age, and my brothers who died recently. It's only my younger brother and I who are left. Mary helps me to remember the deceased loved ones..." The story illustrates how looking at Mary and the commemoration of the dead converge in Marian devotion. The mourning aspect of memorialization has profound religious connotations. Secularization and the feeling of being disconnected from the

church threaten people's connections with deceased kin. For the people involved, this is a life stage in which memories of ancestors become excessive and overwhelming.

Mother Mary is also present in the conjugal relationship. For three out of five couples the pilgrimage to Lourdes was meant to commemorate their many years of marriage, to thank Mary for still being together, and to ask her "keep the family together." The conjugal relationship of the pilgrims can be characterized as the relationship between a strong, caring wife and a sick, dependent husband. Although the caring wife often has serious illnesses or complaints, too, it is the husband who comes first. This division of roles causes problems for both husband and wife. When looking at the Pietà, showing Mary holding the suffering body of an adult man, Arno takes this image as his favorite one and says: "This is how I feel. I feel like him, like a powerless person, leaning on the lap of my wife. My wife suffers for me. When I need help, she is there to help me. Mother Mary, she is my mother and my wife, the two caring women in my life."

The pilgrims also identify with Mother Mary themselves. Looking at the image of the local Lady of Geloë, one woman tells: "When I pray I always turn to Mary because she knows how it is to be a mother. When I pray to her, I am sure she understands me." This mutual understanding is explained as the shared experience of caring for and worrying about a suffering child. The mothers, often suffering because of a sick child or mourning a lost child, place themselves on an equal footing with Mary, saying that "as one woman to another, they understand each other, as they know how it is to lose a child."

In the process of re-membling, the icon of Our Lady of Lourdes emerges as a particularly powerful one, linking the local and the global world of the pilgrims. In a secular context of disappearing or changing churches, the localized image of the Lady of Lourdes assists in constructing a belonging to home ground and family history.

Taylor, Ian: Sino-African Relations and the Problem of Human Rights. *African Affairs* 107.2008/426: 63-87.

Chinese economic and political activity in sub-saharan Africa is growing at an exponential rate. China is now Africa's third largest trading partner, ahead of the United Kingdom and only behind the United States and France. The bulk of this growth in trade is driven by a desire to obtain sources of raw materials and energy to fuel the Chinese economy and for fresh export markets.

However, China's growth in interest in Africa has provoked a rash of criticisms aimed at Beijing's stance vis-à-vis governance and human rights issues on the continent. Human Rights Watch has alleged that "China's policies in Africa have not only propped up some of the continent's worst human rights abusers, but also weakened the leverage of others trying to promote greater respect for human rights." Similarly, Amnesty International has argued that "China is having an adverse effect on human rights in other countries because by dealing with repressive re-

gimes, such as Sudan, and putting its economic and trading interests ahead of concern for human rights it's allowing these regimes to be provided with resources that they would not otherwise get so easily." Governments and institutional leaders have joined in the criticisms, with then World Bank President Paul Wolfowitz quoted as saying that Chinese banks were breaking the "Equator Principles," a voluntary code of conduct for lending that calls for lenders to ensure that projects they fund meet environmental and social standards, including human rights.

According to analysts, no issue in the relations between China and the West in the past decades has inspired so much passion as human rights. Yet the very notion of human rights is essentially a contested concept by Beijing and the West, despite China gradually becoming more amenable to universal norms. Conventionally, the Chinese discourse of rights has centered on the duties of citizens as part of a society to help construct a prosperous and robust nation. Briefly summarized, China's current discourse on human rights is grounded in a communitarian focus on social solidarity and obligations towards others, coupled with an aspiration to advance societal concord. In short, it is a discourse informed by pragmatic nationalism, with a strong emphasis on developmentalism.

On the other hand, China has become socialized into the international human rights regime in ways that some observers often overlook. It is important to note that in 2004 a proposed amendment to the Chinese Constitution was adopted by the Second Session of the Tenth National People's Congress, which stated that the Chinese state respects and safeguards human rights. This was the first time that the concept of human rights had been included in China's constitution and the event reflected a massive move forward from the time, not yet twenty years ago, when the notion of human rights was largely unmentionable in China. Whilst international pressure has played a role, Beijing has also engaged in a proactive role in transforming the human rights discourse. However, the liberal notion that states must guarantee individual freedom is seen as an abstraction by Beijing, particularly given the strong emphasis on social stability. As a Chinese commentary on human rights puts it, "human rights are enjoyed by the collective in addition to individuals' human rights. This is in contrast to Western countries where much emphasis is put on individuals' human rights while collective human rights are neglected."

It is in the disjuncture between Chinese understandings of human rights and those of the West that China's Africa policy attracts condemnation. Equally, it is in China's insistence on the principle on non-interference in internal affairs that Beijing becomes vulnerable to Western critiques, primarily because arguably it is providing a discourse on human rights that can be exploited by African autocrats, which is then compounded by a further discourse in sovereignty and non-interference that can act to protect such malefactors.

It is a fact that China's discourse on human rights and its stress on sovereignty and non-interference finds very fer-

tile ground in Africa. The Chinese are more than aware of this, with He Wenping stating that "We don't believe that human rights should stand above sovereignty... We have a different view of this, and African countries share our view." Problematically, whilst China's alternative discourse on human rights might be genuinely held, it is doubtful that many African elites engage in this type of philosophizing and reflection. Instead, for many African autocrats and incumbents, China's "human rights outlook" is simply something that can be cynically deployed for self-protection and justification. This situation stems from the nature of the state in most African nations. Many African elites lack any real form of a consensual aspect to their regimes. Their power is articulated through both threat and concrete use of violence *and* the distribution of material advantage to factions in neo-patrimonial regimes. China is a partner that does not seek to interfere and in fact provides a discourse around human rights and state sovereignty that patrimonial leaders can embrace as a means to legitimize their own rule and ward off Western interference.

Pfeiffer, James, Kenneth Gimbel-Sherr, and Orvalho Joaquim Augusto: The Holy Spirit in the Household: Pentecostalism, Gender, and Neoliberalism in Mozambique. *American Anthropologist* 109.2007/4: 688-700.

The expansion of Pentecostalism, including many African Independent Churches (AICs), has been the most rapid, extensive, and remarkable. Simultaneously, witchcraft, sorcery, and other "occult economies" are reportedly on the rise, not decline across the continent. Traditional spirit or occult practices and Pentecostalism collide most directly in African communities around the healing activities and spirit ideologies that both deploy as their central idioms of social distress. Pentecostalism attracts most members through healing and derives much of its energy from the vilification of traditional healers, often labeled as "witch doctors" by pastors, and the demonization of traditional African spirituality more broadly. Unlike the Catholic Church, the AICs and Pentecostals strictly prohibit any engagement with traditional spiritual practices. One of the most attractive dimensions of Pentecostalism for new members is its notion that the "Holy Spirit" can provide lasting protection from malignant spirits believed to be managed and sent by traditional practitioners.

Mozambique is an especially valuable site in which to explore these relationships because it has experienced a rapid expansion of Pentecostal churches and AICs over the last decade in the central and southern regions of the country. In most cities, Pentecostals and AICs together constitute the single largest religious affiliation. The findings presented here draw on data from a recent study of the relationship among Pentecostal popularity, health, and social attitudes concerning recent socioeconomic change in the city of Chimoio in Manica Province. Church popularity, especially among poor women, parallels a widely perceived increase in men's utilization of occult practices to manage misfortune in the market economy and that both increases have been propelled by growing social inequality and related intrahousehold gender conflict in-

tensified by recent economic restructuring. Neoliberal reforms that promoted the privatization and contraction of social services actually worsened the economic inequality and placed new stresses on poor households in ways that affected men and women differently.

Although most cited health problems, these illness episodes were woven into broader stories of misfortune that for men derived from difficulties at work, finding work, and alcohol abuse and for women generally involved challenges to reproduction and child health. In the Mozambique environment, both employment and reproduction are fraught with risk, uncertainty, and peril for the poor, and in local Shona religious ideology this misfortune is often believed to have spiritual causes that require treatment. The extreme social and biological dangers derived from women's reproductive roles, worsened by growing inequality in the impoverished *bairros*, have produced a population receptive to Pentecostalism's offer of comprehensive social and spiritual protection. This perhaps best explains why the churches are so popular among younger women. The Portuguese term *azar*, meaning bad luck or misfortune, is frequently used, especially by men, in their stories to identify misfortune that they seek to treat. Intrahousehold conflict is prominent in the conversion stories of both men and women. In traditional ideologies, *azar* was often attributed to the intervention of an *espírito mau* (meaning bad spirit).

There is, of course, an additional urgency to understanding and engaging Pentecostalism in all its variations in southern Africa. The church movements have surged in precisely the same communities that have the highest HIV prevalence rates: those septic periurban slums that ring major cities and towns. The spread of both Pentecostalism and HIV has been hastened by the same trends in economic disparity and gender inequality exacerbated by economic reforms, which dismantled the few social protections the poor majority ever had. As the most dynamic actors in civil society now in the *bairros* and shantytowns of southern Africa, the churches may provide the partners so desperately needed to mobilize communities around HIV testing, treatment, and prevention efforts as underfunded health systems struggle to reach the poor.

Velho, Otávio: Missionization in the Post-Colonial World. A View from Brazil and Elsewhere. *Anthropological Theory* 7.2007/3: 273-293.

Missions and missionization have usually been associated with modern colonialism. Otávio Velho argues that a rereading of the past by means of what he terms "productive anachronism" may show that both missions and missionization are still relevant in the postcolonial and globalized world, as the example of the successful worldwide expansion of Pentecostalism demonstrates.

For many observers, the contemporary process of globalization, or – perhaps better – "glocalization" (although Velho himself questions the very distinction between the "global" and the "local") has been the time of profound ruptures in social life. Still, such rupture, and

the distance toward the past that this phenomenon offers, can be also an opportunity to reexamine what modernity had already relegated to the category of "anachronism" and realize that such seemingly "dead ducks" are still alive and productive in our time.

Missionization is one excellent example. Absent in any explicit form in the Bible, says Velho, the notion of institutionalized missionization is typically associated with the birth of modernity – that is, the great navigation of the 16th century and the formation of the colonial world. Historically, missionization has been also associated with "conversion," or – as Arthur Nock, quoted by Velho, somehow problematically put it – "the reorientation of the soul of an individual, his deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another, a turning which implies a consciousness that a great change is involved, that the old was wrong and the new is right." Such understanding of conversion is indeed problematic because it accounts for the Western development of Christianity, and hence Latin rather than Greek, Syriac or Coptic. As such, it ignores the expansion of Christianity into Africa and Asia during the first centuries after Christ – an expansion that did not always involve the same dramatic break with the past. Many Abyssinian and Numidian churches, for example, maintained ancient Hebraic customs.

Another distinction analyzed by Velho is that between the "World Religions" – that is those, whose impulse towards missionization invests them with a universal vocation – and the so-called "traditional," or "local" ones, associated with a particular territory or people. Additionally, the world religions are labelled as the religions of conversion and salvation, while the local ones are religions of "initiation" and inclusiveness. Still, Velho says, the very term "traditional" religions is itself problematic because in the post-colonial world even the world religions display features usually attributed to the traditional ones. One example is the post-Vatican II Roman Catholicism and its effort to implement the concept of inculturation and interreligious dialogue in its pastoral praxis. A manifestation of those efforts was the substitution of Latin by local vernaculars which, paradoxically, became *vox ecclesiarum* – the "voice of churches," in spite of the Roman Catholic Church's claim to universality. Similarly, the "interreligious dialogue" became a delicate issue for a church generally conceiving a single route to salvation.

Another example of the universal religions "going native" is Pentecostalism, although in this case the process is more spontaneous in comparison with the largely elitist – that is, designed by theologians and conducted by pastoral agents – Catholic efforts toward inculturation. Thus, in Latin American Pentecostalism conversion is often experienced as the freedom to revive threatened aspects of traditional life, something that is also accentuated by Pentecostalism's emphasis on personal interpretation and appropriations of religious power. Consequently, indigenous communities that practice shamanism regularly discover affinities in the Pentecostal experience that is seen as a sort of "democratized shamanism."

Oakdale, Suzanne: The Culture-Conscious Brazilian Indian. Representing and Reworking Indianness in Kayabi Political Discourse. *American Ethnologist* 31.2004/1: 60-75.

The Kayabi Indians currently live in three locations in central Brazil. The vast majority of them reside in the Xingú Indigenous Park reservation, in the state of Mato Grosso, officially established in 1961. The park was intended to buffer indigenous peoples of Amazonia from the effects of Euro-Brazilian colonization in the region. Because Kayabi people have resided in two different types of national space, over the course of time Brazilian national society has bestowed on them two different sorts of identity. In areas outside of the Xingú Park, Indianness has had a pejorative connotation of primitiveness, standing outside of time and outside of progress of the rest of the nation. Those living within the park, by contrast, continue to be conceptualized by non-Indians in positive terms – that is, as those existing outside the flow of time – and thus somewhat closer to the origin of history; as possessing an Edenlike purity when contrasted to the rest of the nation and to the “civilized” world at large. In other words, outside the park the idea of the “ignoble savage” has taken precedence, whereas within the park, the notion of the “noble savage” is dominant.

Recent research on lowland South America has become increasingly focused on indigenous people’s self-conscious use of the ideas of “culture” and “ethnicity” – both being Western constructs. In this article, Oakdale examines Kayabi’s use of those concepts in the context of local, village-level, political mediation. To understand better this internal political discourse, one needs to realize that recently Kayabi villages have been coming under leadership of younger men, who – in general – are more proficient in Portuguese, arithmetic, and the use of money. As a result, they are much more able to garner resources from the park administration and from NGO’s active within the park. What is striking in the current Kayabi debate over which generation is most suited to lead is how individuals are commenting on appropriate and inappropriate ways to represent Kayabi culture, and how they present themselves as Indians to argue their positions.

Specifically, Oakdale focuses on the discourse of two Kayabi leaders who used their accounts of how they displayed Indianness and reified images of Kayabi culture to Brazilians in order to produce arguments about their eligibility for the position of leadership in their community. One of them is a new-style, young chief, João, and the other a senior family headman, Amapá. Each leader presents and enacts orientation toward the power of the national society to define them as the “true Kayabi.” The young chief’s comments imply that an unquestioning adoption of the national society’s vision of Indianness leads to subordination, whereas the elder headman’s statements suggest that compliance will lead to empowerment. These narratives show that although Kayabi individuals are developing notions of “culture” and “Indianness” in dialogue with non-Kayabi at various national-level events, at the same time they are also engaged with their

fellow-Kayabi in events where local concerns are at issue. The construction of “Kayabiness” is not therefore a two-sided affair, between indigenous and non-indigenous world. Rather, indigenous peoples actively refashion national-level identities that were attributed to them, as they put these identities to work for their own locally specific purposes.

Cepek, Michael: Essential Commitments. Identity and the Politics of Cofán Conservation. *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*. 13.2008/1: 196-222.

On October 12, 1998, hundreds of face-painted and spear-wielding protestors occupied an oil well in northeastern Ecuador. They belonged to the Cofán ethno-linguistic group, and indigenous Amazonian people who number approximately two thousand individuals and inhabit both sides of the Ecuadorian-Colombian border. The Cofán leaders explained the rationale for their action in a press release worded in terms of the current official environmentalist discourse, which, as some analysts suggest, demonstrates the Cofán’s connection to the “global ecological imaginary” and their conscious use of the globally circulating image of the “ecologically noble savage” – both associated with conservationist political agendas as well. In this way also, the argument goes, indigenous peoples are able to secure financial aid and political support from governments and non-governmental organizations alike.

In this article, Cepek questions these assertions and argues that Cofán conservationism emerges not from a simple, astute adoption of the Western environmentalist discourse but rather from three overlapping processes: the ecological restructuring of northeastern Ecuador; the functioning of an indigenous sociocultural logic; and the creative strategizing of Cofán leaders. Although most anthropologist would automatically reject theses that assert an essential relationship between culture, identity, and environment, Cepek says, the Cofán themselves developed a consciousness of such relationship between their way of life and their territory, and – more importantly – place this relationship in the center of their political project.

How did the Cofán come to understand themselves and portray themselves in these terms – that is, as *tsampima coira’su* (“those who care for the forest”)? Answering to this question, Cepek points to the Cofán experience with the outside world. Although they have existed in tense relationships with the non-indigenous forces for nearly 500 years, he says, the most extreme transformations of their territory occurred over the last four decades. Nation-state bureaucracy and industrialized development did not take hold of the region until the mid-1960s, when a Texaco-Gulf consortium discovered large reserves of high-quality petroleum near the center of Cofán lands. In partnership with the national government, these corporations built roads and pipelines throughout northeastern Ecuador. The construction of this infrastructure initiated a process of drastic ecological alteration that radically

transformed the lives of the region's indigenous peoples. The massive influx of outsiders was unlike any other population movement in Cofán history. Once an unbroken stretch of rainforest, the Cofán homeland, is now a patchwork of oil extraction facilities, boomtowns, settler farms, and immense plantations.

Now, although Cofán identity is capable of incorporating many kinds of ethnic others, most Cofán people draw a clear-cut line between those who depend upon and those who destroy the forest. This point of the Cofán identity field overlaps with an important principle of their value system: unlike *mestizos*, Afro-Ecuadorians, and even some indigenous peoples, Cofán do not want to live close to roads, colonists, or cities. They associate those places with hunger, conflict, sickness, and fear, which they oppose to their preferred state of existence, identified by the word *opassi* – social, material and psychological well-being. Moreover, Cofán environmental consciousness acquired a new dimension in relation to an additional social development – ecotourism. The oil roads allowed what was once a trickle of Western backpackers to become a stream of “ecotourists,” and Cofán people began to work as guides for the visitors. By interacting with tourists in such settings, however, the Cofán developed a greater sense of “autonomy” of the forest: slowly they began to understand their environment as something that they could appreciate without directly using it. Rather than being a medium of all life, the forest became an object whose very existence depended on human action. It was at this point, Cepek argues, that the Cofán achieved a full awareness of the essential connection between their culture, their identity, and the Amazonian environment. They realized that a desirable life necessitated residence in a relatively intact ecosystem. They also realized that the existence of the ecosystem depended upon their willingness to regulate their subsistence and to resist such forces as petroleum-based development. Together, these realizations developed into Cofán conservationism.

Striffler, Steve: Neither Here Nor There. Mexican Immigrant Workers and the Search for Home. *American Ethnologist* 34.2007/4: 674-688.

Today there exists a vast literature within and outside of anthropology on transnational migration into the USA, particularly from Mexico. Much of the research prior to 1980 focused on traditional receiving areas, such as California and Texas, and saw recent arrivals from Mexico largely through the lens of the “temporary migrant.” Such “typical,” often undocumented migrant worked seasonally in agriculture and then returned to his community. Life in the United States was seen in these earlier studies largely as a work experience that had relatively little impact on the migrant's worldview; it simply brought money into the communities of origin. A subsequent generation of scholars recognized that this framework was inadequate in several ways. To begin with, some new arrivals, regardless of their status, stayed in the USA. Some “so-journers” did become “settlers” with all social and cultural consequences of this fact. Scholarly attention began to focus on the shift between places: how did life in

a particular community in Mexico compare with life in a particular location in the United States. This bipolar framework generally assumed the existence of two communities – one in Mexico and one in the USA – with two fundamentally distinct ways of life. Another set of questions concerned cultural change: what practices, attitudes, traditions, and customs did migrants bring with them, and how were these distinctive lifeways utilized or modified in the United States?

In his article, Striffler argues however that the transnational migrant circuit outlined by that earlier research is being disrupted as migrants are “pushed” out of traditional receiving areas, such as California and Texas, and “pulled” into the U.S. heartland. On the one hand, the shift away from California into the heartland has encouraged permanent settlement in the United States, in particular where the cost of living is considerably lower in comparison with California or Texas. On the other hand, this shift has sped up the process by which entire Mexican towns are effectively abandoned for much of the year. This leads to an important question: How do immigrants' understandings and experiences of the transnational migrant circuit – of migration, community, affiliation, and so on – change as a crucial site in the circuit – the home location in Mexico – is physically abandoned and becomes a fictive place for an increasingly large percentage of migrants? Striffler responds that even as immigrant settlers become more invested in the USA, the idea and experience of a community rooted in Mexico but spanning multiple places retains its appeal, in part because it plays a powerful role in daily life in the United States.

Van der Veer, Peter: Global Breathing. Religious Utopias in India and China. *Anthropological Theory* 7.2007/3: 315-328.

In the current phase of globalization there is a fast spread of forms of evangelical and charismatic Christianity, as well as pietistic Islam. While such attention is given to the rise of these so-called fundamentalist forms of world religion, the globalization of Asian forms of spirituality escapes analytical scrutiny. One reason for this is the false assumption that the spiritual entails a withdrawal from social and political life and derives its authority precisely from this withdrawal. In fact, however, the spiritual is political and the secular turns out to be spiritual.

In most places of the world, one can follow courses in Yoga and Qigong. These forms of Indian and Chinese spirituality have gone global, but are still connected to national identities. There is no contradiction between the global and the national, since the national is directly connected to a global system of nation-states. They are complex products of the national construction of “civilization,” and are at the same time aspects of cosmopolitan modernity. However transcendent they claim to be as forms of spirituality, they are deeply embedded in political and economic history. Historically, Yoga is an ancient system of breathing and body exercises that was reformulated at the end of the 19th century as part of

Hindu nationalism, but simultaneously as a form of eastern spirituality that was alternative to western society's colonial materialism. Today it is embedded in global ideas of health and good living, but also in modern management practices and corporate culture. Historically, in China there are several forms of exercise, including breathing, that are called Qigong, which develop skills (*gong*) to use the vital energy (*gi*) present in the body to connect it to the natural world of which the body is part.

That religious movements dealing with spiritual matters and body exercises (in short, with spiritual transcendence attained through body) are a central part of modern political and economic history may confound those who believe in a sharp division between the religious and the secular. Such a secularist view of modernity can be found in India and China as much – and perhaps even more so – as in other parts of the world. For example, in January 2001, in one of India's English-language newspapers, a photograph of an Indian holy man appeared who had taken a bath in the sacred confluence of the Yamuna and the Ganges at Allahabad during Kumbh Mela, a bathing festival occurring once every 12 years and attracting more than 20 million pilgrims. The caption read: "This sadhu has taken his bath at the Kumbh and now he is off again to the Himalayas." At one level, this can be taken to express the essence of renunciation – namely that its proper place is outside normal society, in a cave in the Himalayas. At another level, one can take this also to express the normative view of modern, English-reading Indians: renouncers do not belong to modern, secular society, and thus should be confined to their Himalayan caves.

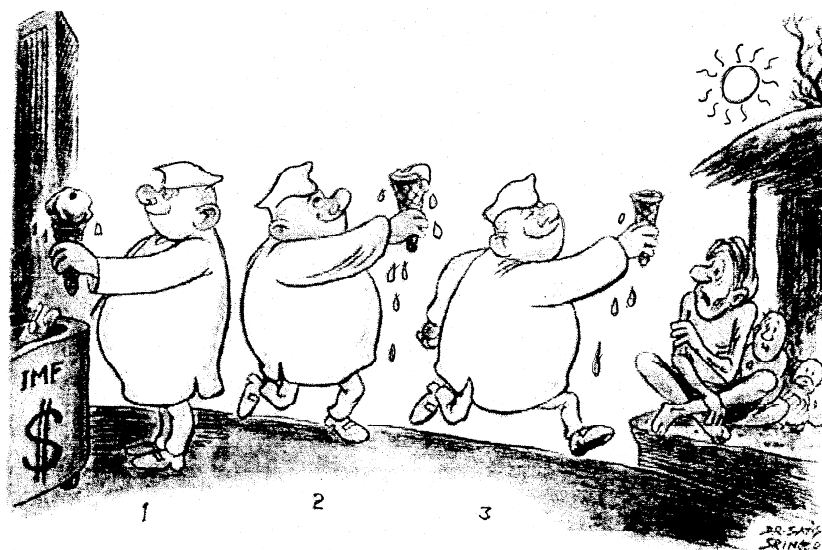
The great traditions of renunciation and spiritual exercise in India and China are transformed and reformulated in various political, economic, and cultural encounters with western powers. Such interactions are a major element in the formulation of global and national modernities in Asia and Europe that simultaneously resemble and differ from each other. Basic to these imaginaries is the opposition between eastern spirituality and western materialism. It explains the exceptional material success of western modernity and the material defeat of the colonized societies in the East, as well as the philosophical shallowness of that success in the face of the exceptional richness of eastern spiritualism.

The transformation in Asia of ancient disciplines, under the influence of the imperial encounter has made Yoga and Qigong signs of autochthon tradition and modernity. In the postcolonial period it is really the liberalization of the Indian and Chinese economies under the impact of global capitalism that frees the energies of spiritual movements to organize civil society. This is very clear in the Chinese case where liberalization first gave space to a spontaneous Qigong fever and later to the rise of movements like Falun Gong that connect Qigong to older ideas of a moral and political nature. In India, one can see this especially in the rise of Hindu nationalism that rejects an earlier secular and multicultural project of the state by emphasizing Hindu traditions as the basis of Indian civilization, thereby excluding other contributions by religious minorities. It is especially a new-fangled urban religiosity that is both interested in spirituality and in a strong nation that supports this kind of politics.

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