We would like to remind our readers that, strictly speaking, we are not reviewing the books and articles presented here (in the sense of giving a critical assessment of their contents) but intend to draw the readers’ attention to the publications that are of particular interest for those who are engaged with both – anthropology and mission. The material in the bulletin partly consists of quotes taken from the presented books and articles.

Review of Books
(by Vinsensius Adi Gunawan and Othmar Gächter)


Colonialist, nationalist, and regionalist ideologies have profoundly influenced folk music and related musical practices among the Garhwali and Kumaoni of Uttarakhand. The author blends historical and ethnographic approaches to unlock these influences and explore a paradox: how the “folk” designation can alternately identify a universal stage of humanity, or denote alterity and subordination.

Fiol explores the lives and work of Garhwali artists who produce folk music. These musicians create art as both a discursive idea and a set of expressive practices across strikingly different historical and cultural settings. Juxtaposing performance contexts in Himalayan villages with Delhi recording studios, the author shows how the practices have emerged within and between sites of contrasting values and expectations. Throughout, he presents the varying perspectives and complex lives of the upper-caste, male performers spearheading the processes of folklorization. However, he also charts their resonance with, and collision against, the perspectives of the women and hereditary musicians most affected by the processes.

Expertly observed, “Recasting Folk in the Himalayas” offers an engaging immersion in a little-studied musical milieu.

Carol Babiracki: A deep, detailed exploration of local musicians’ engagement with modernity and media and the construction of “folk” music in the Indian Himalayan state of Uttarakhand. Rather than take the idea of “folk” as an unexamined given or reject it altogether, Fiol seeks to understand it as a discourse within the history of postindependence India and Uttarakhand, offering a framework for thinking about other regional music cultures in modern India.


Rarely do Indian environmental discourses examine nature through the lens of caste. Whereas nature is considered as universal and inherent, caste is understood as a constructed historical and social entity. Sharma shows how caste and nature are intimately connected. He compares Dalit meanings of environment to ideas and practices of neo-Brahmanism and certain mainstreams of environmental thought. Showing how Dalit experiences of environment are ridden with metaphors of pollution, impurity, and dirt, the author is able to bring forth new dimensions on both environment and Dalits, without valorizing the latter’s standpoint.
Rather than looking for a coherent understanding of their ecology, the book explores the diverse and rich intellectual resources of Dalits, such as movements, songs, myths, memories, and metaphors around nature. These reveal their quest to define themselves in caste-ridden nature and building a form of environmentalism free from the burdens of caste. The Dalits also pose a critical challenge to Indian environmentalism, which has until now marginalized such linkages between caste and nature.


The Tibetan Plateau constitutes the world’s vastest high-altitude rangeland. The 20th century has brought profound changes to its unique pastoralist’s economy, society, and culture. An ever-closer integration into the Chinese state has opened the plateau to the influence of a wide array of policies directed at development, modernization, and urbanization, connecting even the remotest communities to the booming Chinese and world markets.

This volume presents a selection of current perspectives on recent transformations and on their specific impact on local pastoral livelihoods on the ground. Its fifteen chapters, written by Tibetan, Han Chinese, and Western scholars from the social and environmental sciences, offer fieldwork-based local case studies that illustrate the complex roles of the (Chinese) state, of (new) markets, and of rangeland resources in the making of both the present and the future of the plateau’s pastoral livelihoods.


This book brings the ironic worldview of the Lisu to life through vivid, often amusing accounts of individuals, communities, regions, and practices. One of the smallest and last groups of stateless people and the most egalitarian of all Southeast Asian highland minorities, the Lisu have not only survived extremes at the crossroads of civil wars, the drug trade, and state-sponsored oppression but also adapted to modern politics and technology without losing their identity.

The Lisu weaves a lively narrative that condenses humanity’s transition from border-free tribal groupings into today’s nation-states and global market economy. Journalist and historian Michele Zack first encountered the Lisu in the 1980s and conducted research and fieldwork among them in the 1990s. In 2014, she again traveled extensively in tribal areas of Thailand, Myanmar, and China, when she documented the transformative changes of globalization. Some Lisu have adopted successful new urban occupations in business and politics, while most continue to live as agriculturists “far from the ruler.”

The cohesiveness of Lisu culture has always been mysterious – they reject hierarchical political organization and traditionally had no writing system – yet their culture provides a particular skillset that has helped them navigate the terrain of the different religious and political systems they have recently joined. They have made the transition from living in lawless, self-governing highland peripheries to becoming residents and citizens of nation-states in a single generation.

Ambitious and written with journalist’s eye for detail and storytelling, “The Lisu” introduces the unique and fascinating culture of this small Southeast Asian minority. Their path to national and global citizenship illustrates the trade-offs all modern people have made, and their egalitarian culture provides insight into current political choices in a world turning toward authoritarianism.

**James C. Scott**: A real triumph. The Lisu should be proud to have Michele Zack, a keen observer with an un-failing eye for the revelatory image or event, to chronicle their amazing history and culture. The Lisu reputation for independence, equality, adaptability, “repute”, and cultural cohesion despite steep odds comes across in her vibrant prose.


How do ordinary Muslims deal with and influence the increasingly pervasive Islamic norms set by institutions of the state and religion? “Becoming Better Muslims” offers an innovative account of the dynamic interactions between individual Muslims, religious authorities, and the state in Aceh, Indonesia. Relying on extensive historical and ethnographic research, David Kloos offers a detailed analysis of religious life in Aceh and an investigation into today’s personal processes of ethical formation.

Aceh is known for its history of rebellion and its recent implementation of Islamic law. Debunking the stereotypical image of the Acehnese as inherently pious or fanatical, Kloos shows how Acehnese Muslims reflect consciously on their faith and often frame their religious lives in terms of gradual ethical improvement. Revealing that most Muslims view their lives through the prism of uncertainty, doubt, and imperfection, he argues that these senses of failure contribute strongly to how individuals try to become better Muslims. He also demonstrates that while religious authorities have encroached on believers and local communities, constraining them in their beliefs and practices, the same process has enabled ordinary Muslims to reflect on moral choices and dilemmas, and to shape the ways religious norms are enforced.

Arguing that Islamic norms are carried out through daily negotiations and contestations rather than blind conformity, this book examines how ordinary people develop and exercise their religious agency.

**Robert W. Hefner**: Providing an eminently well-balanced historical introduction to Islam and society in Aceh, this comprehensively researched book examines the question of how ordinary Muslims respond to the pervasive efforts of the state and religious establishment to promote more
standardized varieties of Islam. Offering an important and novel perspective, “Becoming Better Muslims” is a major achievement.


As critical voices question the quality, authenticity, and value of people, goods, and words in post-Mao China, accusations of emptiness render things open to new investments of meaning, substance, and value. Exploring the production of lack and desire through fine-grained ethnography, this volume examines how diagnoses of emptiness operate in a range of very different domains in contemporary China: In the ostensibly meritocratic exam system and the rhetoric of officials, in underground churches, housing bubbles, and nationalist fantasies, in bodies possessed by spirits and evaluations of jade, there is a pervasive concern with states of lack and emptiness and the contributions suggest that this play of emptiness and fullness is crucial to ongoing constructions of quality, value, and subjectivity in China.


Despite growing affluence, a large number of urban Chinese have problems making ends meet. Based on ethnographic research among several different types of communities in Guangzhou, China, “Soup, Love, and a Helping Hand” examines different modes and ideologies of help/support, as well as the related issues of reciprocity, relatedness (kinship), and changing state-society relations in contemporary China. With an emphasis on the subjective experience, Fleischer’s research carefully explores people’s ideas about moral obligations, social expectations, and visions of urban Chinese society.

Ellen Oxfeld: This excellent monograph will be of great use to both scholars of contemporary China as well as to students at both graduate and undergraduate levels.


In “Sounds of Crossing” Alex E. Chávez explores the contemporary politics of Mexican migrant cultural expression manifest in the sounds and poetics of *huapango arribeño*, a musical genre originating from north-central Mexico. Following the resonance of *huapango*’s improvisational performance within the lives of audiences, musicians, and himself – from New Year’s festivities in the highlands of Guanajuato, Mexico, to backyard get-togethers along the back roads of central Texas – Chávez shows how Mexicans living on both sides of the border use expressive culture to construct meaningful communities amid the United States’ often vitriolic immigration politics. Through Chávez’s writing, we gain an intimate look at the experience of migration and how *huapango* carries the voices of those in Mexico, those undertaking the dangerous trek across the border, and those living in the United States. Illuminating how *huapango arribeño*’s performance refigures the sociopolitical and economic terms of migration through aesthe-
tic means, Chávez adds fresh and compelling insights into the ways transnational music making is at the center of everyday Mexican migrant life.

Alejandro L. Madrid: In this ethnography, Alex E. Chávez focuses on huapango arribeño, its performance, its circulation, and its consumption, to explore the everyday politics of Mexican migrant life in the United States. Evoking the border crossing of décimas and zapateados huapangueros, Chávez’s beautiful writing continuously challenges the boundaries between storytelling, theory, and real life to offer a dispassionate glimpse into the emotional paradoxes that inform the making of Mexican American spaces and subjectivities in twenty-first-century America.


In “Landscapes of Power” Dana E. Powell examines the rise and fall of the controversial Desert Rock Power Plant initiative in New Mexico to trace the political conflicts surrounding native sovereignty and contemporary energy development on Navajo (Diné) Nation land. Powell’s historical and ethnographic account shows how the coal-fired power plant project’s defeat provided the basis for redefining the legacies of colonialism, mineral extraction, and environmentalism. Examining the labor of activists, artists, politicians, elders, technicians, and others, Powell emphasizes the generative potential of Navajo resistance to articulate a vision of autonomy in the face of twenty-first-century colonial conditions. Ultimately, Powell situates local Navajo struggles over energy technology and infrastructure within broader sociocultural life, debates over global climate change, and tribal, federal, and global politics of extraction.

Jennifer Nez Denetdale: In this study, Dana E. Powell weaves a rich narrative that intertwines Navajo leaders’ efforts to reverse a depressed economy with the complexities of the political atmosphere, tribal sovereignty, the imperative to address environmental justice and climate change, and Navajo concerns about land use. “Landscapes of Power” is indispensable to the study of Native nations, their relationships to energy and development projects, and to understanding the Navajo nation’s twenty-first-century history.


This book examines the radical changes in social and political landscape of the Upper Guinea Coast region over the past 30 years as a result of civil wars, post-war interventions by international, humanitarian agencies, and peacekeeping missions, as well as a regional public health crisis (Ebola epidemic). The emphasis on “crises” in this book draws attention to the intense socio-transformations in the region over the last three decades. Contemporary crises and changes in the region provoke a challenge to accepted ways of understanding and imagining socio-political life in the region – whether at the level of subnational and national communities, or international and regional structures of interest, such as refugees, weapon trafficking, cross-border military incursions, regional security, and transnational epidemics. This book explores and transcends the central explanatory tropes that have oriented research on the region and re-evaluates them in the light of the contemporary structural dynamics of crises, changes, and continuities.

Susan Shepler: Building on a decade of work by the research group “Integration and Conflict along the Upper Guinea Coast” at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, this book brings together a group of scholars deeply engaged with the lived politics of the region. The chapters problematize a range of common tropes about the politics of the Upper Guinea Coast, allowing us to understand political struggles in local terms, hence transcending conventional wisdom. Articulated through finely detailed examples we see how common binaries like stranger and host or patron and client are contested and remade in ongoing social practice. The work shows that anthropological insights need not be purely theoretical but can be put to use in understanding and addressing pressing issues such as conflict, migration, and health crises.


The study builds extensively on Zakat as religiously inspired charity. Abdalla investigates how the current Islamist regime in Sudan influences the Zakat Chamber to control the Zakat collection and distribution. He argues that the reforms are founded on the extension of Fiqh sources, the human understanding of Sharia, introducing modern interpretations of Zakat and based on the prioritization between the Zakat categories according to their definition of “the public interest”. Thus, the Zakat Chamber funds service projects such as water services for the poor. The study is the first in-depth empirical research on the politics of the Zakat Chamber in Sudan. It gives a novel understanding of internal dynamics of the state and civil society in Sudan.


“Tracking Indigenous Heritage” describes the experiences of the Ju/'hoansi of the northeastern Namibia, who perform their “traditional” hunter-gatherer lifestyle as a means of generating income. Being constantly concerned with their Intangible Cultural Heritage, they experimentally re-interpreted it for the creation of specific staged touristic performances. The children grow up with the regular enactment of traditional culture and playfully practice and re-enact it
themselves. After centuries of discrimination and margi-

nization, the Ju’hoansi are moving towards a new position
inside the nation state. In Living Museums and Cultural

Villages located in protected nature conservancies in the
Kalahari Desert, the Ju’hoansi handle their cultural heri-
tage as a basis for self-determination and as a strategy to
achieve their claims for indigenous rights.

**Dik, Oleg:** Realness through Mediating Body. Göttingen:

After the end of the civil war in 1990, the Charismatic/

Pentecostal (C/P) movement in Beirut spread across va-

rious Christian denominations. C/P believers narrated how

Jesus became real to them via the experience of the Holy

Spirit. The author explains this impression of realness

through embodiment. Ritual practices like testimony and

experi ence of divine agency are experienced as fullness

within a post war society and are extended into the every-
day sphere. This ethnographic account represents the be-

ginning research of C/P Christianity’s emergence in the

Middle East and its contribution to social change.

**McKay, Ramah:** Medicine in the Meantime. The Work of

Care in Mozambique. Durham: Duke University Press,


In Mozambique, where more than half of the national
health care budget comes from foreign donors, NGOs and

global health research projects have facilitated a dramatic

expansion of medical services. At once temporary and un-

folding over decades, these projects also enact deeply di-

vergent understandings of what care means and who does

it. In “Medicine in the Meantime”, Ramah McKay follows
two medical projects in Mozambique through the day-to-
day lives of patients and health care providers, showing how
transnational medical resources and infrastructures give rise to diverse possibilities for work and care amid

constraint. Paying careful attention to the specific post-

colonial and post-socialist context of Mozambique, McKay

considers how the presence of NGOs and the governing

logics of the global health economy have transformed the

relations – between and within bodies, medical technolo-
gies, friends, kin, and organizations – that care requires and

how such transformations pose new challenges for ethno-

graphic analysis and critique.

**Peter Redfield:** With meticulous sympathy and an eye

for detail, Ramah McKay examines new entanglements of

humanitarian sentiment and public institutions in Mozam-

bique. “Medicine in the Meantime” reveals how care re-

fracts through a prism of varied perspectives, ranging from

nostalgic former refugees to harried professional counse-

lors. Anyone who wants to understand what global health

looks like in experience – beyond abstract metrics of lives

and numbers – should read this book.

**Natermann, Diana Miryong:** Pursuing Whiteness in the

Colonies. Private Memories from the Congo Free State and

German East Africa (1884–1914). Münster: Waxmann,


“Pursuing Whiteness in the Colonies” offers a new com-
prehension of colonial history from below by taking rem-
nants of individual agencies from a whiteness studies per-

pective. It highlights the experiences and perceptions of
colonizers and how they portrayed and re-interpreted their
identities in Africa. The transcolonial approach is based on
go-documents from Belgian, German, and Swedish men

and women who migrated to Central Africa for reasons like

a love for adventure, social betterment, new gender roles,
or the conviction that colonizing was their patriotic duty.

The author presents how colonizers constructed their

whiteness in relation to the subalterns in everyday situa-
tions connected to friendship, animals, gender, and food.

White culture was often practiced to maintain the ideal(l) of
European supremacy, for example by upholding white din-
cing cultures. The welcoming notion of “breaking bread”
was replaced by a dining culture that reinforced white iden-
tity and segregated white from non-white people.

By combining colonial history with whiteness studies

in an African setting the author provides a different under-
standing of imperial realities as they were experienced by

colonizers in situ.

**Hagberg, Sten, et al.:** “Nothing Will Be as Before”. An-
thropological Perspectives on Political Practice and Demo-
cratic Culture in “A New Burkina Faso”. Uppsal: Uppsala

This study is the result of ethnographic research on socio-
political transformations in Burkina Faso. With the popular

insurrection in October 2014 that ousted President Blaise
Compaoré from power, this country marks a break with its

authoritarian past. Burkina Faso is engaged in democratic

renewal, at the same time, as political continuity is evident.

President Roch Marc Christian Kaboré, elected in Novem-

ber 2015, was one of the architects of the regime of ex-

President Compaoré. Similarly, the current ruling party,

the MPP, is allegedly the carbon copy of

President Compaoré. Similarly, the current ruling party,

the MPP, is allegedly the carbon copy of

the Former ruling

party, the CDP. Rupture seems to be operating with a cer-

tain continuity!

The research presents the perceptions and perspectives of “ordinary citizens.” It also engages a diachronic analysis

of the ways of doing politics and the meanings that actors
give to political practice. The collective fervor following

the 2014 October revolutions à la sauce burkinabé indi-
cates that popular expectations are immense in “a new

Burkina Faso” where nothing will be as before.

**Nganga, Simon:** The Funeral Performances among the

Bukusu of Kenya. A Contribution to Communicative


978-3-643-90971-8. (pbk)
This book is about interactions in the funeral context among the Bukusu people of Kenya that brings together many religions. The author describes and accounts for hybridity as it is revealed by communicative techniques used by the priest and the comforter in the two communicative genres – the sermon and the traditional public comforting – that belong to the Christian and the traditional Bukusu religions respectively. By approaching the over-a-century-co-existence of the two religions from a linguistic perspective, the study aims at ascertaining the relationship between the two religions.


This book offers a historically and ethnographically informed case study of environmental governance, institutional and land-use change, and livelihood strategies in South Africa. Based on rich archival material, the author reconstructs how the state invented a degradation narrative and used it as legitimation for the regulation of human-environment relations during the 20th century. In addition, the study investigates how people today make a living in a post-agrarian society characterized by low agricultural production, diversification of non-farm incomes, and declining population numbers.


In many Ethiopian societies, occupational groups, descendants of hunters, or slaves are differentiated from the societies they are part of or live next to. Until today, their ambiguous and often marginalized position is culturally justified and deeply entrenched in local belief or value systems. Recent research has shown how these social categories have been reshaped and renegotiated under the influence of various factors. In which contexts and to what extent integration has taken place, whether it is sustainable or whether social differentiation has persisted or even increased is the focus of the nine case studies in this book all of which emphasize the perspective of the status groups themselves.


A group of Chagga-speaking men descends the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro to butcher animals and pour milk, beer, and blood on the ground, requesting rain for their continued existence. “Returning Life” explores how this event engages activities where life force is transferred and transformed to afford and affect beings of different kinds.

Historical sources demonstrate how the phenomenon of life force encompasses coffee cash cropping, Catholic Christianity, and colonial and post-colonial rule, and features in cognate languages from throughout the area. As this vivid ethnography explores how life projects through beings of different kinds, it brings to life concepts and practices that extend through time and space, transcending established analytics.

Michael Lambek: Bringing together in perspicuous relation Wittgensteinian and Chagga forms of life, this meticulous work itself reopens and revivifies African ethnography more broadly. A major achievement.


This volume addresses processes of human mobility in times of crisis from different scientific perspectives and at a global and trans-regional level. The first part sets out to discuss established paradigms in migration studies and politics in order to suggest new approaches to analyze mobility, migration, and to challenge boundary-making approaches. The second part presents empirical cases from Latin America and Spain to demonstrate how migrants challenge, negotiate, and mobilize citizenship and belonging. The third part deals with the question how belonging is produced and identity is constructed at a transnational level. New information and communication technologies, human mobility but also the mobility of concepts, ideas, and values foster these collectivization processes across and within physical and symbolic borders.


Humanity is at a crossroads. We face mounting inequality, escalating political violence, warring fundamentalisms, and an environmental crisis of planetary proportions. How can we fashion a world that has room for everyone, for generations to come? What are the possibilities, in such a world, of collective human life? These are urgent questions, and no discipline is better placed to address them than anthropology. It does so by bringing to bear the wisdom and experience of people everywhere, whatever their backgrounds and ways of life.

In this passionately argued book, Tim Ingold relates how a field of study once committed to ideals of progress collapsed amidst the ruins of war and colonialism, only to be reborn as a discipline of hope, destined to take center stage in debating the most pressing intellectual, ethical, and political issues of our time. He shows why anthropology matters to us all.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen: Ingold, one of the most original and radical thinkers alive, presents his unique vision in crystal-clear and passionate way. The book deserves a wide readership inside and outside the discipline.

“Anthropology of Law” addresses some of the most crucial ethical issues of our day, from legal responsibility for genocide to rectifying past injuries to indigenous people. Over the past twenty-five years, anthropologists have studied how new forms of law have reshaped important questions of citizenship, biotechnology, and rights movements, among many others. Meanwhile, the rise of international law and transitional justice has posed new ethical and intellectual challenges to anthropologists. Mark Goodale provides a comprehensive overview of the anthropology of law in the post-Cold War era. He introduces the central problems of the field and builds on the legacy of its intellectual history. The book covers a range of intersecting areas including language and law, history, regulation, indigenous rights, and gender.


The authors of the book emphasize the nature of Christian ritual and worship or focus more on the context in which those rites make sense. They present traditional rituals and Christian worship with twelve case studies full of rich ethnographic detail from around the world.

The subtitle of the book points at theological and sociological problems of missionary encounters with non-Christians. The authors “desire to make the biblical and cultural interconnection positive rather than the negativity implied by using the term ‘syncretism’.” They are using “hybridity” in order to “understand the dynamics as synthesis that create the new experience, thereby giving syncretism a positive focus rather than the typical negativity so often associated with native or Indigenous expressions of spirituality” (xx). Hybridity is really just a new name for what always occurs when faith crosses cultural boundaries. Thus, the authors discuss the important task and challenge of transforming traditional rites to their intended purpose, as no culture is static.

Darell Whiteman: Followers of Jesus believe that God has left a witness of God’s self in every culture, among every people, at every period of human history. However, the way human beings appraise the evidence of God’s presence and connect to the supernatural through rituals and ceremonies has varied broadly throughout generations and across the planet. How can these traditional and pre-Christian rituals be used to promote deep and compelling relevant Christian forms of worship? Anthropologist Dan Shaw and theologian Bill Burrows provide a path forward with an understanding and model of hybridity that moves the discussion of contextualization well beyond simply a way to avoid syncretism.

Roger Schroeder: “Traditional Ritual as Christian Worship” points to a way beyond the impasse of common understanding of syncretism by introducing a fresh approach through the concept of hybridity. This edited volume represents an engaging interplay between solid cultural, historical, theological, and biblical principles, and a rich set of concrete practices from people and communities of diverse contexts to use traditional rituals as a means for Christian worship. This break-through approach provides a means for honoring both traditional indigenous spirituality and traditional Christian beliefs.


The “Routledge Handbook of Religion and Ecology” provides a comprehensive and authoritative overview of the field. It encourages both appreciative and critical angles regarding religious traditions, communities, attitudes, and practices. It presents contrasting ways of thinking about “religion”, “ecology”, and how to connect the two terms.

Written by a team of leading international experts, the handbook discusses dynamics of change within religious traditions as well as their roles in responding to global challenges such as climate change, water, conservation, food and population. It explores interpretations of indigenous traditions regarding modern environmental problems drawing on such concepts as lifeway and indigenous ecological knowledge. This volume connects the field of religion and ecology with new directions in the environmental humanities and the environmental sciences.


“The Routledge Companion to Death and Dying” provides readers with an overview of the study of death and dying. Questions of death, mortality, and more recently of end-of-life care, have long been important ones and scholars from a range of fields have approached the topic in a number of ways. Comprising over fifty-two chapters from a team of international contributors, the companion covers:

- funerary and mourning practices;
- concepts of the afterlife;
- psychical issues associated with death and dying;
- clinical and ethical issues;
- philosophical issues;
- death and dying as represented in popular culture.

This comprehensive collection of essays will bring together perspectives from fields as diverse as history, philosophy, literature, psychology, archaeology, and religious studies, while including various religious traditions, including established religions like Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism as well as new or less widely known traditions such as the Spiritualist Movement, the Church of Latter Day Saints, and Raelianism. The chapters do not pretend to be comprehensive, but the collection is relevant to both specialists looking for the cutting-edge of scholar-
ship and to non-specialists looking for reliable introductions to religious views of responses to death.


Retaliation is associated with all forms of social and political organization, and retaliatory logics inform many different conflict resolution procedures from consensual settlement to compensation to violent escalations. This book derives a concept of retaliation from the overall notion of reciprocity, defining retaliation as the human disposition to strive for a reactive balancing of conflicts and injustices. “On Retaliation” presents a synthesized approach to both the violence-generating and violence-avoiding potentials of retaliation.

Contributors to this volume touch upon the interaction between retaliation and violence, the state’s monopoly on legitimate punishment and the factors of socio-political frameworks, religious interpretations and economic processes.


In the last forty years, anthropologists have made major contributions to understanding the heterogeneity of reproductive trends and processes underlying them. Fertility transition, rather than the story of the triumphant spread of Western birth control rationality, reveals a diversity of reproductive means and ends continuing before, during, and after transition. This collection brings together anthropological case studies, placing them in a comparative framework of compositional demography and conjunctural action.

The volume addresses major issues of inequality and distribution which shape population and social structures, and in which fertility trends and the formation and size of families are not decided solely or primarily by reproduction.


J. Chrzan and J. Brett present with “Food Health, Nutrition, Technology, and Public Health” the final book in the three-book series “Research Methods for Anthropological Studies of Food and Nutrition”. Nutritional Anthropology and public health research and programming have employed similar methodologies for decades; many anthropologists are public health practitioners while many public health practitioners have been trained as medical or biological anthropologists. Recognizing such professional connections, this volume provides in-depth analysis and comprehensive review of methods necessary to design, plan, implement, and analyze public health programming using anthropological best practices. To illustrate the rationale for use of particular methods, each chapter elaborates a case study from the author’s own work, showing why particular methods were adopted in each case.


Cultural tourism is frequently marketed as an economic panacea for communities whose traditional ways of life have been compromised by the dominant societies with whom they are associated. Indigenous communities in particular are responding to these opportunities – or threats, depending on perspective – in innovative ways that set them apart from their non-Indigenous predecessors and competitors. Using “movement” as a metaphor, this collection of essays uses tourism as a critical lens to explore the shifting identity politics of indigeneity in relation to heritage, global policy, and development. Through an examination of a range of contemporary case studies based in North America, South America, Asia, Africa, and Australia, the volume offers critical insights into the rapidly growing Indigenous tourism phenomenon.

**Contact:** administration@anthropos.eu
Review of Articles
(by Joachim G. Piepke, Darius J. Piwowarczyk, Vinsensius Adi Gunawan, and Stanislaw Grodź)


Among Christian missionary orders to enter China fairly late, the SVD started its work in Shandong province around the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries and extended it to the north-westerly provinces of Gansu and Qinghai shortly after 1920. These activities, which lasted until 1950, were accompanied by extensive ethnographic work, contributing to the knowledge of ethnic minorities and immigrant Han-Chinese in those remote provinces on a high level of competence thanks to excellent previous education and language skills acquired by the missionaries. Most productive and prominent ethnographers were Matthias Hermanns, Dominik Schröder and Johannes Frick. Their major contributions are summarized here. A collection of ethnographic studies in 1952 by these and other SVD-missionaries was published in 1952. However, neither these nor the later published monographs, most of them edited under the auspices of Anthropos Institute, received adequate recognition in China. This deficit was a reason for the authors to evaluate the work of these ethnographers in the places of their field activities, evaluating their work on the background of local conditions and developments.


With the arrival of the European explorers to America, a long tradition of missionary linguistic tools recorded the diverse particularities of indigenous languages. This resulted in the preparation of dictionaries, grammars, lexicons, and phrases compendia collecting various types of linguistic data of non-literate societies. Like many other Amerindian languages, the documentation of the Tupi-Guarani languages started with the works of Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries as early as the beginning of the 16th century. Therefore, the aim of this article is to approach missionary linguistic works concerning the Guarani linguistic variety spoken in the Western Chaco from the 17th century to the present. The historiographical description and analysis are based on a textual corpus consisting of works by various authors who address the same linguistic variety in different historical periods. The geographical and temporal range of each text, the thematic and historiographical treatment and the production context are taken into account in order to analyze these linguistic documents. The analyses of this linguistic corpus will allow us to account for the diachronic development of this Guarani variety that underwent a specific process of grammatization and dicionarization. This shed light on the activities of linguistic description as a construction process that adopts multiple modalities and helps us to understand the standardization process of indigenous language systems.


El legado material del trabajo de investigación de Martín Gusinde (1886–1969) se conserva hoy en el Instituto Anthropos, ubicado en la localidad de Sankt Augustin, cerca de la ciudad de Bonn en Alemania. Gusinde donó a este instituto parte de su biblioteca personal, que se compone de una colección que bordea las seis mil fotografías y varias decenas de cajas, que incluyen documentos misceláneos referidos a su vida académica y su quehacer como docente e investigador.

Se trata de los registros diarios correspondientes a los tres primeros viajes de investigación de Martín Gusinde a la Región de Magallanes y Tierra del Fuego, región insular transnacional que incluye a las naciones de Chile y Argentina, realizados intermitentemente entre 1918 y 1922. Los diarios fueron localizados por la autora aquí, en el archivo del Instituto Anthropos en el 2001 durante la investigación de su tesis doctoral centrada en las fotografías de Martín Gusinde en Tierra del Fuego. Gracias al apoyo del Instituto Anthropos y las gestiones de su director Prof. Dr. Joachim Piepke, el proyecto de transcripción se llevó a cabo en los siguientes años por el filólogo alemán Prof. Rudolf Kalesse (Sociedad del Verbo Divino, Alemania) y Eva Vonarburg (Luzern, Suiza) para la transcripción de la escritura taquigráfica (Stolze Schrey Skenographie) en la segunda parte del tercer diario de viaje. La traducción y edición de los documentos ha sido realizada por la autora y su lectura crítica en alemán y castellano por el académico Stefan Rinké (Universidad Libre de Berlín, Alemania).

Gusinde llevó consigo los diarios de viaje cuando partió de regreso a Europa desde Chile en 1924. En tanto objetos sobrevivieron a sus diversos cambios de residencia y movimientos. A su vez, se salvaron del incendio de su biblioteca, ocurrido en 1945 en Austria.

La publicación del diario del primer viaje de Gusinde aporta, en este sentido, un nuevo insumo de carácter documental en el panorama histórico y etnográfico de la región patagónica. En relación a las investigaciones referidas a los viajes y trabajo de campo de Martín Gusinde, han servido de referencia los informes de viaje publicados en las Publicaciones de Etnología y Antropología de Santiago. En el ejercicio de cotejo general de información entre uno y otro texto, se verificó gran parte de la información publicada por Gusinde. Pero si bien el informe se explana en detalles y contextualizaciones históricas que no aparecen en el diario, a su vez este último registra muchos detalles del viaje que no fueron publicados por Gusinde.
La lectura del diario de viaje nos abre, en definitiva, una perspectiva subjetiva y cotidiana de su travesía, bajo una forma cualitativamente diferente al informe sobre todo en lo que atañe a las dimensiones temporales – subjetivas y objetivas – del viaje, pues introduce el ritmo cotidiano como pulso y eje del texto. Los estados de ánimo – aburrimiento, impotencia, alegría – en relación a las vicisitudes del viaje y las condiciones externas que va encontrando a su paso dan cuenta de la colisión de los tiempos subjetivos de Gusinde así como de los tiempos objetivos que estaban supeditados a la realidad efectiva, como lo revelan las condiciones de movilidad en el recorrido que realizó, dependientes de cuestiones externas tales como: distancias, condiciones climáticas, medios de transporte, condiciones saludables, recursos humanos y materiales, entre otros.

A su vez, resulta especialmente reveladoras sus descripciones etnográficas referidas a sus primeros encuentros con mujeres selk’nam y haus en la misión de Río Grande. El lenguaje que emplea para referirse a las mujeres indígenas, como a hembras – traducido del alemán “Weiber” – a quienes describe muchas veces con atributos negativos, referidos a su fealdad y vejez, lo cual da cuenta de un innegable tono despectivo tanto racial y social, que aparece normalizado en el lenguaje que utiliza. En tal sentido, el diario es un contrapunto interesante en relación a los discursos raciales y sociales públicos del investigador, lo cual permite reactivar el debate en relación a los contenidos de su etnografía.


Daniel L. Everett’s books “Don’t Sleep, There Are Snakes” (2008) and “Language. The Cultural Tool” (2012) received great attentiveness among those interested in language development and indigenous peoples. The data Everett presents seem to contradict to Noam Chomsky’s theory of the universal grammar that explains recursion as a universal feature to all languages.

Everett found some striking phenomena in the Pirahã culture. For example, the Pirahã cannot count and calculate. They have neither numerals nor number substitutes. Moreover, adult Pirahã are not able to learn to count 1 to 10, or to add 1 + 1 = 2, not even after eight months of daily schooling. Their children can learn it but the adults are not able to learn this anymore. This phenomenon is very strange and hardly believable but nonetheless undeniable. Further, the Pirahã do not know the categorical color names and any quantifiers such as “all” or “some.” More, they take their dreams as true experiences and not as subjective fantasies. They discriminate dreams from perceptions but do not assign to dreams the status of being imaginary phenomena only. They really believe that they personally visit the places and physically experience the incidents their dreams present. Thus, dreams represent the same kinds of real experiences as perceptions and actions in real life do.
Further, Everett asserts that the Pirahã do not have any religion and myths but only the experience of ghosts. This latter assertion is exaggerated. However, their mythological culture seems to be very limited in comparison. They have in any case no tradition of myth telling, a cultural trait usually universal in indigenous cultures over the world.

Everett tries to explain these different patterns mentioned with reference to the principle of immediate experience (IEP). He maintains that the Pirahã’s mind is ruled by this main feature. Their mind accepts only the reference to personal experiences won by the individual, or reported by persons he knows. They do not develop or exhibit ideas disrupted from perceptions or personal experiences. Accordingly, Everett believes that categorical color names, quantifiers, numbers, discriminations between dreams and perceptions, and complex grammars contradict the IEP. Certain values and the intimate social relations, that is, the small group structure of Pirahã society, cause the IEP.

Overall, Everett’s theory cannot explain the data he presents. The relationship of values and face-to-face communication as causers to the IEP is unexplained. Why should a small group of people favor values constructing the IEP? The immediacy of experience is the fundamental and organizing principle of mind, culture, and language, Everett writes. However, it is by no means described as a clear and convincing principle or trait. There is no place to find in Everett’s writings, where he defines and outlines it in a clear way. At some places, he seems to define IEP as a personal experience.

However, developmental psychology is the research industry having evidenced the causes to the origination of numbers, categorical color terms, quantifiers, realistic and subjective dream concepts, and language acquisition. There is no other research branch that explores the development of these phenomena. Developmental psychology has been finding out and describing the sources to these phenomena for over 100 years. Therefore, it is necessary to refer to developmental psychology and Piagetian cross-cultural psychology.

Everett contends that the Pirahã more live in and mentally concentrate on *hic et nunc* than modern people do. They are interested in neither past nor future but only in present incidents. Their psyche and mind are almost absorbed by the respective presence, as Everett additionally defines immediacy of experience. When they see a canoe bending around a corner and departing they react as if it goes into another dimension, Everett exemplifies this kind of mental dependency on presence. Their frequently used word *xibipiiio* refers to disappearance and arrival of an object within the reach of perception. They do not prepare their activities for the next day but live from one day to another without planning. Thus, their mental concentration on *hic et nunc* prevents them from planning over weeks or months.

All the data Everett presents must be explained in terms of psychological stage structures. Moreover, psychological stage structures are the only source to the existence/ non-existence of numbers, categorical color terms, quantifiers, realistic dream concepts, etc., in the mind of humans. Therefore, developmental psychology is the single scientific branch that has the capacity to describe these phenomena. Neither normative sociology (values) nor social structure sociology (group size) are appropriate to explain the phenomena, as Everett suggests.

Jean Piaget, the most influential developmental psychologist so far, described the parallels between children and primitives right across the whole psychological life and world understanding, including logic, physics, social affairs, morals, worldview, and religion, down to the smallest details. He described the human development unfolding in four stages, the sensory motor, the preoperational, the concrete operational, and the formal operational stage. The first stage lasts up to the 18th month, the second stage dominates the psyche up to the sixth year of life, and the third stage prevails by the 10th or 12th year of life. The fourth stage, the adolescent stage of formal operations, begins with 10 or 12 years and develops stepwise during the whole second decade. Substage A of this latter stage is replaced by substage B, coming into existence with 15 roughly and increasing to the 20th or 25th year of life.

Piaget compared the children of the preoperational stage with the so-called primitives, living in tribal or ancient societies. This implies that he compared the developmental age of primitive adults with that of children in their years 3–7. Further, Piaget compared the Ionian philosophers with the traits of the concrete operational stage and found the breakthrough of the formal operational stage in the mind of the scientists of the 17th century. From that source, the adolescent stage of formal operations spread right across the whole Western culture, growing from generation to generation, conquering the whole population especially during the 20th century. The recent process of modernization and globalization right across the southern hemisphere likewise implies the psychological advancement of the peoples of the developing nations.

Piagetian cross-cultural psychology is the name for the branch that studied human development right across continents, cultures, and social milieus. More than 1,000 empirical studies concerning the four stages of human development have been conducted during the past 80 years, especially between 1960 and 1990. It was found that humans of all cultures develop the early stages the same way as it was described by Piaget. Every human being goes through the sensory motor and preoperational stage. However, the concrete operational stage has not the universal status as the two prior stages. Greater percentages of human beings in premodern or folk societies do not develop this stage at all, or they develop it only in certain domains but not in others. The characteristics of the formal operational stage are consequently absent in the minds of adults of premodern societies. These results concern the whole psychological life and world understanding including logic, physics, social affairs, politics, religion, law, and morals.

Nonetheless, primitive adult humans are defined by psychological stages of children aged 5, 7, or 10 years, respectively, while modern humans manifest developmental stages of humans aged 10, 15, 20, or 25 years, respectively. Thus, the conclusion is apparent that the whole premodern human kind stood on stages of children and that the human race stepwise climbed on higher stages over the
last millennia, and especially over the last centuries and
generations.

The fact that premodern Europeans also stood on lower
stages, and that different races and nations have advanced
during the past few generations, convincingly disproves
of tries of racial-biological explanations to the phenomena
mentioned. Therefore, the introduction of the compulsory
school attendance, job enrichments, etc. have attracted and
compelled modern humans to raise their stage structures.
The whole power of modern culture must affect human
brain and mind from the first year of life onwards in order
to enable the human being to benefit from the sequential
developmental windows.

The structural-genetic theory program has shown that a
general theory of the human being is only feasible upon the
foundations of developmental psychology. Without this
general theory of the human being, any comprehensive
history of history is not possible. Against this background,
a lone it is attainable to reconstruct the history of popula-
tion, economy, society, culture, politics, law, religion, phi-
losophy, sciences, morals, arts, literature, and manners.
Against this background, only one can explain the long
duration of the stone ages, the basic patterns of the agrar-
ian civilizations, and the emergence of the modern, industrial
industrialization. The emergence of the formal-operational
stage during the 17th century caused the rise of the sciences in
stricto sensu, the emergence of the industrial economy, the
era of Enlightenment, the rise of humanism, and democ-
ocracy. These five main patterns of modern, industrial civi-
lization are five main manifestations of the formal opera-
tional stage.

Prochwicz-Studnicka, Bożena: The Origins of the Great
Significance of Writing in the Arab-Muslim Culture.

Writing occupies a unique position in the Arab-Muslim
culture to this day. Academic works on Arabic writing, ir-
respective of the adopted research perspective, consistently
mention terms such as the “elevated position of the written
word”, “exalted status of writing”, and “primacy of the
written word”; the written word has constantly held “an im-
portant place”, enjoyed “incomparable prestige” and play-
ed “a very special role”. Some researchers even speak of
the sacredness of writing, thereby highlighting the exist-
ence in the world of Islam of the conviction that it is of
divine provenance or contains an element of divinity:
“Arabic writing, even more so than the language, became
a sacred symbol of Islam” or “In Islam, sacredness became
a characteristic element in writing.”

In the religious tradition of Islam, the origins and
functions of writing are all strictly connected with God and
it is this conviction that had influenced its status. The com-
mon conviction of God as the Creator of writing was main-
ly the consequence of the faith in God as the one, absolute
Creator of all things. The whole universe, the whole crea-
tion owes its existence to God. The Koran highlights this
affirmation repeatedly, as, for instance: “God is the Creator
of all things” (39:62), “It was He who created all that is on
the earth for you” (2:29), “This is how God creates what
He will: when He has ordained something. He only says
‘Be,’ and it is” (3:47).

The cosmogonic contents contained in the Koran and
Sunna of the Prophet Muhammad link writing with the
creation, which is close to the idea of destiny – deciding on
the course of the people’s life and the world’s history. The
majority of the exegetes agree that the first thing that was
created by God was the pen (qalam). In the Prophet’s tra-
dition there exist many variants of the account in which
God orders the created pen to “Write!” (uktub). In response
to the question of the pen and the content of the writing,
God answers that it writes what was and that what will be
until the Day of Judgement. Writing had been linked to
the preserved tablet (lawh mafhūz). The whole reality was
written on it.

The preserved tablet was mentioned in the Koran only
once, in 85:21–22: “His is truly a glorious Qur’an [written]
on a preserved Tablet.” On the basis of this verse, two
interpenetrating and complementing concepts emerged,
from which the one sees the tablet as a means through
which God’s will executes itself in the creation. The exe-
getes also define a tablet understood in this way by the
Koranic term umm al-kitāb, literally “mother of the book.”
According to the second concept, there is the heavenly
archetype of the Koran on the tablet; moreover, it is the
archetype of all revelations, which God had directed to
humans. In this context, the Koranic terms are used syno-
nymously: umm al-kitāb or kitāb makhnūn, literally “a
hidden book.”

There exists a book/record, similar to the tablet/book,
in which God writes down the deeds of man. It seems to be
one of the aspects of the heavenly book, although it is not
fully clear whether it can be identified with the preserved
tablet. In the Koranic comments there frequently appears
the explanation that it has to do with the book of deeds
(kitāb ala’mal), in which all actions are written down, both
good and bad that are committed by every human during
his life.

It is worth mentioning that the concept of the book was
included in the theological discussion on predestination
and human free will. On the one hand, the Koran presents
God as the omniscient and also the almighty Creator and
the Ruler of all things while, on the other hand, it is man
who is responsible for his deeds. The Koran does not give
clear answers; therefore, in the history of the theological
thought there emerged many concepts of predestination
and of boundaries of freedom of the human will.

Writing, preserving the revelation of God, and provid-
ing a foundation for the Muslim umma (community) began
to be perceived not only as a tool for the transmission of
the Word of God but also for its materialization. The
sacredness of the Word of God had been, in a way, trans-
ferred to writing and combined with it. The theological dis-
cussion on the ontic status of the Koran refers to such con-
clusions. The Koran – according to the content that it con-
veys – existed prior to the revelation in the form of the
heavenly archetype described as lawh mafhūz (85:22),
Based on this Koranic message, in early Islam the con-
viction was held that the Koran had been created by God
prior to the creation of the world. With time (although it is
difficult to determine exactly when) the idea arose that this pre-existent Koran is uncreated. In turn, this idea was related to the discourse derived from the Christian influence concerning the doctrine of the Trinity involving the divine, eternal attributes co-existing with God. The Word of God, which means the pre-existent heavenly archetype of the Koran, was acknowledged as exactly such an attribute. During those discussions, the problem regarding the relation of the Word of God (in the meaning of the pre-existent Koran) to the revealed Koran was also addressed. From the point of view of these considerations, the stance is important which portrays the conviction that there was an "inflation" of the Word of God (compare the incarnation of Christ as the pre-existent Word of God).

It is clear from the above passage that in every text of the Koran (whether recited, remembered, or written down) the Word of God is "embooked" – in other words, what is written and recited by the believers is identical with the absolute attribute of God. Thus, every Koran on earth has two natures – a created and an uncreated one.

Awareness of writing and its knowledge, although very limited, arose mainly from cultural influences, which the Arabs were surrounded by in the sense of both external and internal influences. Through the presence of Jewish communities (with an intellectual base) in the central part of the Arabian Peninsula (and in southern Yemen) and Christian communities (not only on the fringes of the Peninsula but also most probably in the central regions) the Arabs realized that both of these religious groups had their own scriptures. Moreover, in connection with the trading route running across the west coast of the Arabian Peninsula from the south of Arabia to the Mediterranean world, which also crossed Mecca, and the commerce lasting until at least the 1st century A.D., a cultural exchange definitely had taken place.

The motif of divine writing also is known in the Judaic tradition, where the Hebrew script, similarly to the Arabic, has divine roots. The paradigmatic example of divine writing in the Hebrew Bible is the tablets of the law or testimony. The narratives that relate the creation of these tablets vary, and one of the most important variations is the identity of their writer. Ex 34:27–28 claims that Moses wrote them, while Ex 24:12, 31:18, 32:15–16, and 34:1 identify their writer as God. In making the claim that God wrote the tablets, which are the source of authoritative law for the ancient Israelites, Exodus asserts the absolutely unimpeachable authority of their torah. The fact that the tablets come from God and form the basis for Israel’s covenant with him makes them natural models for later heavenly books.

The book of deeds is linked invariably with the idea of God’s Judgement in the Jewish tradition and rarely appears on the sheets of the Hebrew Bible. In the book of Isaiah, JHWH announces that He has all the guilt written before him (Is 65:6), while in the vision of Daniel appears the image of the Judgement, on which “the books were opened” (Dan 7:10). In the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, the motif of the heavenly book of human deeds is more frequent. One can find it in 1 Enoch and in the Book of Jubilees and in 2 Enoch, the Testament of Abraham, and the Apocalypse of Zephaniah. Finally, references to the book of deeds can be also found in 4 Ezra – 6:20 and 2 Baruch –24:1.

The idea of the heavenly book of fate has its origin in the ancient Mesopotamia, where in the epic “Enuma Elish” – the story of creation – appears a tablet of destinies as the attribute of the supreme God’s authority. Mother Goddess Tiamat had rewarded her consort Qingu with it: She gave him the tablet of destinies, had him hold it to his chest, (saying) “As for you, your command will not be changed, your utterance will endure.” The one in possession of the tablet of destinies had the power to determine the destiny of the world and wielded control over it. The god who defeated Tiamat and Qingu and appropriated the tablet, was Marduk (from the 2nd century B.C., the supreme god of the Babylonians and the patron of Babylon).

Theological and philosophical Christian thought had an unquestionable influence on the reflections of Muslim thinkers, although it is worth remembering that this is not about the Christian roots of Muslim theology but more about the influence on the formation of some concepts or convictions that afterwards would become the object of polemics within the mutakallimin (community of theologians) themselves. At the beginning of the 20th century, de Boer (1903) wrote: “[T]he doctrinal system has certainly been determined the most by Christian influences. In Damascus, the formation of Muslim Dogmas was affected by Orthodox and Monophysite teaching and in Basra and Baghdad rather perhaps by Nestorian and Gnostic theories. Little of the literature belonging to the earliest period of this movement has come down to us, but we cannot be wrong in assigning a considerable influence to personal intercourse and regular school-instruction. … The similarity between the oldest doctrinal teachings in Islam and the dogmas of Christianity is too great to permit any one to deny that they are directly connected.”

The conviction of some Muslim theologians about the eternity of the Koran is similar to the Christian one referring to the eternity of the Logos. The controversy as to whether the pre-existent Koran is created or uncreated is analogous to the dispute revolving around the essence of Christ. It can be presumed that likewise in the discussion on the nature of the Koran, the Christian truth about the incarnation had its influence: the problem concerned whether the revealed Koran has one or two natures; whether it was only man-made or also divine – in other words whether the pre-existent Koran was embooked into the revealed Koran.

The cultural consequence of the Koranic relationship between God and man, among others, had been deprived of originality and ingenuity, formalizing all human activity and subjecting it to the purposes precisely defined by God. In the context of writing, discussed here, this does not mean that man could not be its creator or active user but that the Koranic vision of the relation of God and man had limited the field of human activity and did not perceive the manifestations of culture (including writing) as the result of the creative possibilities of man and the tool of his action.

This short report deals with the main theme of the issue — “Studying Islam and Christianity in Africa: moving beyond a bifurcated field.” The theme is as important as it is challenging. The issue editors, Marloes Janson, a reader in West African Anthropology at SOAS, London, and Birgit Meyer, professor of Religious Studies at Utrecht University, focus especially on the areas where the adherents of Islam and Christianity are deeply immersed in the local cultural context and interact with their family members and neighbours who are only slightly acquainted with both religions. Six articles were contributed to the issue: J.D.Y. Peel, “Similarity and difference, context and tradition in contemporary religious movements in West Africa” (620–627); B. Meyer, “Towards a joint framework for the study of Christians and Muslims in Africa: Response to J.D.Y. Peel” (628–632); B. Larkin, “Entangled religions: response to J.D.Y. Peel” (633–639); E. Obadare, “Response to ‘Similarity and difference, context and tradition, in contemporary religious movements in West Africa’ by J.D.Y. Peel” (640–645); M. Janson, “Unity through diversity: a case study of Chrislam in Lagos” (646–672); B. Soares, “Reflections on Muslim-Christian encounters in West Africa” (673–697).

The editors introduce the theme stating: “In research on religion in Africa, the study of both Christianity and Islam is thriving. Alas, these fields exist more or less independently from each other. Scholars with expertise regarding either Christianity or Islam barely engage in conversation with each other” (615). They explain further that proposals to develop new approaches in studying religion in Africa, which take into account interactions between Christianity and Islam, date back at least ten years. Benjamin Soares underlined the lack of proper understanding of Christian-Muslim interactions in West Africa (“Introduction” to his edited volume Christian-Muslim relations in Africa, 2006), while in their article published in 2006 Birgit Meyer and Brian Larkin “proposed to look at evangelical Pentecostalism and reformist Islam in West Africa as doppelgängers — ‘enemies whose actions mirror each other and whose fates are largely intertwined’ [Pentecostalism, Islam and culture: new religious movements in West Africa, in: E. K. Akyeampong (ed.), Themes in West Africa’s History, Oxford], 2006: 287) (615).

Reacting to the latter proposal John D.Y. Peel expressed his concern about the dangers arising from too explicit focusing on the similarities between the extremist trends within Christianity and Islam. In his opinion, that bordered on a too simplistic approach and disregarded the deep differences and divisions between both major religions. He warned against what he saw as “presentism” in the study of religion in Africa and underlined the importance of the historical approach that helps to see the long-ingrained differences between Christianity and Islam.

Elaborating on the proposal and the reaction it caused, Meyer and Peel convened an International African Institute-sponsored panel in Lisbon in 2013, entitled “Studying Islam and Christianity in Africa: Comparison and Interactions.” The earlier versions of the contributions by Peel, Larkin and Janson, that appear in the described issue of Africa, were presented during the panel, while the other three contributions (by Meyer, Obadare and Soares) were written especially for that issue.

Meyer writes: “Now I see much more clearly that my aim is not a comparison of Islam and Christianity per se, but their comparison in relation to certain issues faced by both Christian and Muslim movements: for instance, the use of (mass) media, spatial practices and buildings, stances to indigenous culture, and so on. In short, the point is to identify mediation categories within the contexts – both past and present – in which Muslims and Christians co-exist. Consciousely locating a comparison on the level of a shared setting is productive because it allows for a situated assessment of similarities and differences, and allows attention to be paid to their interrelations. This is what we sought to do in our article [with B. Larkin], and I still see this as a productive starting point for the study of religiously plural settings as we encounter them – in different shapes and with different majority-minority relations – in West Africa. Moreover, placing Christian and Islamic traditions within one setting and comparing them in relation to specific third categories brings to the fore actual encounters and entanglements” (630).

Meyer also took into account the importance of “form” as significant for finding new ways of not compartmentalized study of religion in Africa. “In my view, form shapes content, and so they cannot be separated in this manner. In his comment in this section, Larkin addresses in some detail the importance of taking form seriously. Therefore, it is sufficient here to stress that attention to the ways and styles of ‘doing religion’ and ‘being religious’ is central to the development of a conceptual framework for the joint study of Christianity and Islam. In fact, an overriding concern with content may be one of the factors that hamper such a joint study. Taking form seriously does not imply missing out on the ‘real thing’; rather it allows convergences and commonalities to be spotted in the ways in which Islamic and Christian traditions take place in the world. In this sense, a focus on form is the sine qua non for the deployment of a joint framework for the study of Islam and Christianity in Africa in the past and present” (632). Larkin elaborates on the issue further in his article.

Obadare, in his response to Peel, refers to his research project “New Directions in the Study of Prayer”: “I began researching new forms of Islamic prayer whose modalities - such as all-night prayer sessions, Sunday services, personal testimonies and a new emphasis on good and evil - bear a striking resemblance to those of Pentecostal Christians in south-western Nigeria. I have argued (Obadare 2016) that these new forms of Islamic prayer, especially when seen as part of a general acceptance and intensification by (Yoruba) Muslims of the kind of ‘all-embracing enthusiasm’ (Ojo 2006) normally associated with Pentecostalism, are indicative of a emergence of a ‘Charismatic Islam’” (640).

Janson presents her findings from research conducted on one of the groups within a broader Nigerian phenomenon called “Chrislam”: “Contrary to conventional understandings of Christianity and Islam as mutually exclusive entities, Chrislam considers them to be inclusive” (646). Concluding her article she writes: “The study of Chrislam as a religious assemblage helps us to move away from the
conventional understanding of Christian-Muslim relations in terms of either religious conflict (a tendency that has gained more currency in the media since the upsurge of Boko Haram) or what scholars attempting to advance ecumenical ideas have called ‘interfaith dialogue’. Although these two approaches represent opposites – the former stressing ‘war’ and the latter ‘peace’ – they suffer from the same limitation: they take religious boundaries for granted. Challenging the tendency to study Christian-Muslim interactions in terms of either conflict or cooperation, assemblage as a conceptual model helps us understand Chrislam as a heterogeneous and unstable arrangement of practices that are not reducible to a single logic. Taking such a course may eventually shift attention from a narrow analysis of ‘world’ religion as a coherent belief system towards a perspective that focuses on how religious practitioners actually ‘live’ religion in their daily lives, and on ambiguities, inconsistences, aspirations and double standards as the constitutive moments in their lived religiosity” (667).

Soares traces the way scholars have arrived at “studying Islam and Christianity in Africa together as lived religions in dynamic interaction.” He casts a brief look back at the recent publications, then takes into account religious polemics, considers the implications of the Rushdie and Bonnke affairs, glances at the interface of Islam and Pentecostalism, and argues for the need to include the interactions between Islam, Christianity and ‘traditional’ religions in all of their variety.


Beginning with a brief description of an educative-moralizing play on the responsibility of the adult children to provide care for their aged parents, performed in a southern Ghanaian town, the Author argues that the perception “in olden days children always cared for their aged parents” is only an idealization. Using the Basel Mission archival material (from the Ga, Akuapem and Akyem-Abuakwa presbyteries) and from the National Archives in Accra from the 1860s, and comparing their contents with the data she had collected during the life-history interviews conducted in Akpong-Akuapem in the 1990s and with the material she collected in order to understand child fosterage in the same town in 2008, the Author shows that the elder-care was always negotiated within the families. In her analysis she pays attention to the distinction between those who manage elder-care and those who help with an ageing person’s daily activities.

She modifies the terms used by Stack and Burton in their work on care in Afro-American families in the US (1994) – “kin-script” and “kin-scription” into “care-script” and “care-scription” – in order “to include the ways in which non-kin or fictive kin become involved in the work of sustaining families, including providing elder-care.” The Author argues “that non-kin are – and historically have been – engaged in providing eldercare. Kin-scripts play a role in elder-care, as kin are instrumental in managing non-kin to provide daily care and they may be recruited to provide care work themselves. However, non-kin are also involved, usually recruited from a wider circle of socially vulnerable people. There has been minor shifts as well as constants in care-scripts over time. In care-scripts from the 1860s, domestic slaves – who might themselves be daughters or wives – were available to supplement or substitute for the care work of wives and daughters. In care-scripts of the 1990s, daughters were most likely to be recruited to provide the daily labour of helping older adults. By the early twenty-first century, migrant daughters were finding substitutes among paid female caregivers and fostered adolescents, whether extended kin or non-kin. Such shifts in care-script were subtle with the substitution not necessarily noted or commented on, given the flexibility of Akan family life (Clark 1994). One constant is that care-scriptions depend on the commitments highlighted in care-scripts, and the reciprocities and obligations that have been incurred previously or are expected in the future; Shipton (2007) terms these “entrustments.” These entrustments shift in relation to larger economic and social changes, which create different opportunities for women through urban and international migration and new obligations to support children in school. Women – and to a lesser extent girls and boys – have tended to provide personal care and have lived with the aged. Men, on the other hand, are expected to support their sisters and parents financially, and to help persuade their sisters and daughters to take up their obligations. Who is vulnerable to care-scription and how they become so have shifted over time” (139–140).


The Author presents some of the results of her research on Pentecostal Christians conducted in Kinshasa, D.R.K. over the period of more than ten years. She focuses on the role of the electronic communication technologies in the urban setup in the construction of “Christian femininities.” In this article, She draws attention to the fact that the Pentecostal Christianity – despite appreciation for ameliorating the situation of women often expressed by some researchers – in fact, sets “new boundaries, promotes new preferences and lifestyles, and sanctions those who cannot comply with the new directives” (390). “The article highlights the ambiguity of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity by comparing the discourse about two types of femininity that dominate in the churches: ‘bad girls’, of which Blackberry Girls are a subtype, and ‘brides of Jesus’” (390).

Starting with a concrete example (Ani’s dilemma), the Author elaborates on the general social conditions of life in Kinshasa (the use of electronic communication media in creating a new type of social connections/contacts – collecting mobile phone numbers of the persons one meets). Then, she indicates that many men and women in Kinshasa maintain networks of contacts that also include the sexual dimension. The Author points out that while the situation when a man maintains several parallel relationships with women is socially, at least, tolerated (though not always by

The whole issue of the journal is devoted to the theme Élites de retour de l’Est with the articles concerning Ethio-pia, Congo, Mali, Congo-Brazzaville, La Réunion and the Tuaregs.

Katsakioris presents a brief overview of the develop-ment of the Soviet educational aid to the African countries that started in the late 1950s and lasted till the collapse of the Soviet Union. “The decision to foster political and cultural ties with Sub-Saharan Africa and to offer Africans scholarships for study at Soviet universities were taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) only between 1958 and 1959, and implemented without delay. In September 1960, the famous Peoples’ Friendship Uni-versity (Universitet Druzby Narodov, hereafter UDN), a school reserved for students from ‘developing countries’, opened its doors in Moscow and welcomed 179 Africans, as well as 231 Asians, 182 Latin Americans, and 60 more students from the countries of the Middle East. In February 1961, it was renamed ‘Patrice Lumumba’ after the late Congo-lese leader” (259).

The educational help formed the major part of the over-all Soviet development aid to Africa. The UDN was not the only school where the African (and other foreign) students gained their education, as many studied also at various technical institutes and medical schools. The Soviets creat-ed a number of educational centres with the Soviet teaching staff in some African countries but they were less success-ful. The Soviet engagement in forming the new intelligent-sia stimulated the Western countries to increase their num-ber of scholarships granted to African students.

Though the Soviets intended to build influences in the countries they were helping, the Africans did not follow the offered opportunities blindly. The Author quotes Franz Fanon: “African and Asian officials may in the same month follow a course on socialist planning in Moscow and one on the advantages of liberal economy in London or at Co-lumbia University” (260). Katsakioris also devotes some space to describe how the new African governments re-modelled the Soviet plans and attempts in order to suit their own and not the Soviet interests (e.g. the issue of choosing the candidates for studies). Then, he also draws readers’ attention to the facts that not all young Africans, who went to study in the Soviet Union, were necessarily pro-Soviet, or that they allowed themselves to be indoctrinated by the Soviets. The Author points out that in respect to the latter case often the grim reality (culture shock and language prob-lems, additional time needed to learn the studied material, etc.) made many students to dump the ideological lectures (apparently the Soviets were not always convinced that they should have made the lectures on Marxism-Leninism obligatory – the Author quotes an angry remark of an Afri-can official who complained that sometimes the students in Western universities devoted more attention to Marxism than those studying in the Soviet Union). The Author also indicates the relatively high students’ dropout scale and the reasons behind it.

The article “is based mainly on documents from Soviet ministries, universities, party and state bodies, which be-came accessible to researchers after the post-1989 ‘archival revolution’, yet whose importance with regards to the his-tory of postcolonial Africa has not as yet been assessed. The paper maintains that the birth, the content, and the life-cycle of the Soviet-African cooperation, whose core was the Soviet aid African countries were receiving almost entire-ly as a grant, clearly bore the imprint of the Soviet ex-perience and worldview, of the Cold War rivalry, and of the political circumstances sketched above. At the same time it insists that it also bore the imprint of Africa. […] Thousands of students received scholarships, graduated from the first-class universities and embarked on careers that changed their lives. African governments, finally, although from the position as beneficiaries, managed to
impose restrictions on the donors’ policies, to advance their agendas and maximize their benefits. As this paper will argue, within a few years of its inception, and despite some tensions due to Soviet admission policies or to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the educational exchange became a ‘normal’, effective and predominantly state-to-state cooperation” (261).

In contrast to their countrymen who studied in the West, most of the graduates from the Eastern universities, technical institutes and medical schools returned to live and work in their countries of origin. The article contains an annex with a few tables indicating the number of students from African countries who studied in the Soviet Union.


As the twenty-first century gets underway, people have been experimenting with many forms of political organization. In Northeast Brazil, that experimental spirit led to the creation of the Water Pact, a process involving more than eight thousand participants through a series of public promise-making rituals in which they made pledges to care for water, attending to the specificities of their own context. The Pact gathered those promises into a multi-scalar formation that, the organizers believed, would yield the necessary resources to address the state’s water problems. The Pact would break with an unsuccessful history of infrastructural and legal reforms concerning deep-water access in the state of Ceará. This article examines how that collective was produced, what its constituent units were and how the logic of aggregation guided practices leading to its coalescence. The author’s purpose is to re-examine the aggregate as a quantitative form of capacity that should be qualitatively reconsidered.

As part of the semi-arid drought triangle of Northeast Brazil, Ceará is seen in Brazil as a land of stark poverty. The region has the second-worst well-being indicators in the country – second only to Amazonia. Historically vulnerable to the politics of water scarcity, residents of Ceará have seen a parade of ideas and projects, from rain harvesting to household water tanks, march through their neighborhoods announcing definitive solutions to their historic exclusion from basic water infrastructures. However, despite its failure to provide universal access to water and its reputation as a “backward” state, Ceará is also regarded as exemplary by specialized water institutions. During the 1990s, a reform, partially funded by the World Bank, modernized the state’s “outdated” water sector, with results often praised as exemplary disruptions of the dramatic water future that awaited the state. In fact, that reform, which was prior to similar institutional overhauls in the south and south-eastern industrial poles of Brazil, led water experts across the country to think of Ceará’s professional circles as pioneers of water innovation. These innovations, according to many in the public sector, are the reason why the extreme multiyear drought the state has been experiencing since 2012 has not had the brutal social and environmental consequences characteristic of the Northeast’s past.

The designers and organizers of the Pact launched the initiative with the expectation that they could break with history. In a sense, their efforts were designed to breed the untimely or to create a future that could yield a different arrangement of social and material forces to secure access to water. Their innovation, as they understand it, is to ask Pact participants for a type of commitment, a promise to care, that is not totalizing and does not require their full allegiance or membership. This is a political form that promises to yield a type of political affect that is somewhere between intimate and elusive: a gathering predicated upon the possibility of mobilizing society; even if that possibility is unenforceable and unverifiable. This is the politicization of care as a bureaucratically decentralized form of human-material ordering. Here, care for water as a form of politics only survives if imagined at different scalar levels and for each social actor in her own particularity. The Pact is a precarious and powerful form of making quantity work for quality, blurring the boundaries between them and creating a form of “capacity” that cannot be fully domesticated: the capacity to care for the everyday sustenance of life within one’s own surroundings or context.


This article is a reinterpretation of the ethnohistorical literature on the Lakota or Western (Teton) Sioux from a Descolian animist perspective. Applying key insights from what has been called the “ontological turn,” in particular, the dual notions of interiority and physicality and an extended notion of personhood that includes nonhumans as well as humans, the author demonstrates how a new animist framework can connect and articulate otherwise disparate and obscure elements of Lakota ethnography, offering new and exciting insights, along with the potential for a deeper understanding of traditional Lakota culture.

Europeans first encountered the Sioux in the mid-seventeenth century, when Sioux territory stretched from the coniferous forests around Mille Lacs, through the deciduous forests and open grassland-forests along the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers, and across the tall-grass prairies of present-day western Minnesota and eastern North and South Dakota to the Missouri River. Common cultural patterns centered on bison hunting are evident in the earliest written descriptions of the Sioux. In these early accounts, the Sioux are divided into eastern and western groups, based on their proximity to the Mississippi River, a handy diagnostic tool used by Europeans to classify the peoples with whom they traded.

Nineteenth-century Lakota understandings of ontology, ecology, personhood, relationality, and the position of human beings in the universe were vastly different from Western understandings. For the Lakota all life forms were related; the universe was experienced as being alive and characterized by its unity. Depending on the context, animals, spirits, ghosts, rocks, trees, meteorological phenomena, medicine bundles, regalia, weapons, and other objects were seen as persons or subjectivities, selves with souls,
capable of agency and interpersonal relationship, and loci of causality. Personhood was extended to most things in one’s environment with which one communicated and interacted, and the potential for personhood was ever present. This animist worldview effectively dissolved the boundary between what Westerners call nature and culture. As Ogalala author Luther Standing Bear writes, “We did not think of the great open plains, the beautiful rolling hills, and winding streams with tangled growth, as ‘wild.’ Only to the white man was nature a ‘wilderness’ and only to him was the land ‘infested’ with ‘wild’ animals and ‘savage’ people. To us it was ‘tame’” (Standing Bear 2006: 38). In fact, there is no word in the Lakota language for nature as it is understood in the Euro-American, post-Enlightenment sense as a passive, impersonal, abstract domain of objects subject to autonomous, mechanism laws that is antithetical to culture or society. There are terms — such as mainitu (uninhabited regions), heyáta (back in the hills, in remote areas), and hókawih (outside the camp circle) — that refer to the regions away from camp or human civilization and habitation, but not in the Western sense of abstract nature as strictly distinct and separate from culture or society. 

The central intangible symbol of nineteenth-century Lakota spirituality, the great animating force of the universe, and the common denominator of its oneness was wak’a, incomprehensible, mysterious, nonhuman instrumental power or energy, often glossed as “medicine.” Wak’a is commonly translated “sacred,” “mysterious,” “holy” or “incomprehensible,” but this polysemous concept is complex, defying simplistic explanations. This force underlay all things in both the seen and unseen realms and manifested itself in various ways in relation to humans as mysterious potency. In short, Wak’a is the basic underlying principle of Lakota spirituality, integrating the Lakota cosmos. Everything in the universe is imbued with and unified through wak’a power or energy. In a recent panel discussion at the University of South Dakota about the ongoing opposition to the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline in Cannon Ball, North Dakota, Lakota educator and elder Gene Thin Elk articulated the conflict in a particularly powerful way. He sees it as a struggle between two sets of competing values or ideologies. On one side, the indigenous water protectors, mainly Lakotas, acknowledge the life and spirit in all things, while the other side acknowledges only the life and spirit of (a select group of) human beings (and perhaps corporations). Mni wic’oni (water is life), as the Lakota rallying cry goes, is a natural extension of the foundational principle mitakuye oya’j (we are all related) and exemplifies the key features of Descomian animism discussed herein.


Imperial expansion can produce broad economic intensification throughout the provinces to provide key economic resources for the state. However, not all such economic intensification is the direct result of the imposition of an imperial political economy over subject populations. This article presents evidence for some cases where intensification occurred due to bottom-up responses of small groups that were able to profit from imperial conquest. In the case of the Incas, although the imposition of a labor-tax system, or mit’a, was an important economic device for their imperial expansion, its universality is to question. This article addresses the economic changes that local communities experienced within the Tawantinsuyu (the Inca Empire) by comparing the coexistence of attached and independent modes of production in two cases of mining production in the Atacama Desert, in northern Chile. This contributes to finding and elaborating on explicit archaeological indicators that enable us to contrast both modes of engagement with the political economy of the Inca Empire and to identify, archaeologically, alternative and independent local responses to imperial expansion. The study thus energizes debates on how and to what extent local populations, under conditions of empire, can negotiate spaces and activities outside of state control.

The authors begin their argument with the statement that – independent of specific social and political mechanisms – the acquisition of revenue has been one of the major outcomes of any imperial expansion. Ancient empires extracted revenue through various social and economic means, such as diverse forms of taxation, tribute, gifts, plunder, or asymmetrical trade and exchange. Funding imperial expansion and political economy frequently resulted in economic intensification in both the capital and the distant provinces under rule. Economic intensification in imperial provinces was enhanced by the creation and improvement of transportation infrastructure, technological investments, craft production, or market growth. Achieving this goal of economic intensification frequently implied the reorganization of labor in order to increase the production and circulation of staple finance to fund imperial institutions and personnel as well as wealth items to create and reproduce social differences and hierarchy. However, not all economic changes that occurred in the provinces resulted from the imposition of an imperial political economy over subject populations. In many cases, the degree of imperial involvement in intensification was selective and thus did not equally impact all aspects of local economies. Significantly, most empires relied heavily on local rulers and institutions for political control and tax collection, where local agents had important roles in structuring and negotiating provincial power. Imperial rule was, therefore, the result of a plethora of players, individuals, and groups of differing status, interests, and abilities who may or may not share common goals. The multiple actions, agencies, and outcomes of local players constituted provincial strategies, including the art of resistance to imperial power that Scott (1990) calls infrapolitics.”

Inca political economy, for instance, expanded in the provinces through the creation of new ritual landscapes and the mobilization of local labor toward the state project by means of traditional Andean social institutions, such as the mit’a and the mitmaqkunas (resettlements). Simultaneously, the new infrastructure and socioeconomic context derived from the expansion of the Tawantinsuyu were seen by some local people as opportunities to pursue their own
agendas without state intervention or control. The main archaeological indicators for Inca control of a labor force are the concentrations of food-serving areas, public spaces, and formal Inca architecture.


Alternative politics of democracy shape and are shaped by dominant forms of democracy in circular fashion. In 2009, practitioners of Brazil’s many Afro-Brazilian religions gathered in Salvador to develop a religiously grounded mode of democratic politics. Mobilizing a religious formulation of respect, participants in the gathering subsumed government ideals of democratic practice under Afro-Brazilian religious norms of hierarchy and the social order that they presupposed. These efforts were predicated on an artful combining and adapting of democratic and religious discourses and interactional practices. The Afro-Brazilian religious politics of democracy that was articulated by this political project did not only reflect religious valorizations of hierarchy but it also established a new foundation for democratic politics in Brazil.

Social movements were central to Brazil’s democratization in the 1980s. Not only did a broad range of social movements contribute to the drafting of the nation’s post-dictatorship constitution of 1988, but many activists who participated in this process also came to hold important positions in the democratic government that followed. These activists’ understanding of citizenship contrasted radically with earlier Brazilian conceptions. As James Holston (2008) argues, before the nation’s democratization the term citizen (cidadão) had a decidedly negative ring. It was used to refer to “someone with whom the speaker had no relation of significance, an anonymous other, a John Doe-person, in fact, without rights” (Holston 2008: 4). In his formulation, citizenship was a measure of difference, anonymity, and a lack of social privilege and status. In contrast, the activists who were involved in the constitutional process and who entered into government after it fostered an understanding of citizenship that took as its point of departure “a right to have rights.” This new understanding was by definition an active one, since it emphasized the citizen’s possession of rights and his or her capacity as a political actor to define what these were and to struggle for their recognition. With the entry of social movement activists into government positions after Brazil’s democratization, this new model of citizenship came to transform Brazilian political discourse and subjectivities. As government policy and funding initiatives came to increasingly be framed as efforts to support a vibrant civil society, social movements and NGOs turned to the development and organization of citizenship courses and programs that aimed to enable, to capacitate Brazilians to act and see themselves as politically engaged citizens. While these developments did not dismantle Brazil’s deep social inequalities, or most notably the de facto unequal treatment of Brazilians by state actors like the police, they did have a profound impact on how Brazilians understood and embraced the notion of citizenship. Consequently, the term “citizenship” came to be associated with the general possession of rights and a positive sense of social and political agency and belonging.

Historically, practitioners of Afro-Brazilian religions have had a fraught relationship with the political and public spheres. The religions were targets of overt police persecution, and their practices continued to be variously criminalized until the second half of the 20th century. For example, in Salvador, which is commonly considered Brazil’s heartland of Afro-Brazilian religious practice, police repression of Candomblé practitioners continued until the 1970s. At the same time, Afro-Brazilian religions figured prominently in celebrations of Brazil as a culturally and racially mixed nation. This was especially the case for Candomblé as practiced in Salvador and Umbanda as practiced in Rio de Janeiro. In this framework, Candomblé was celebrated predominantly as an emblem of Brazil’s African cultural heritage, while Umbanda was seen to exemplify the nation’s present-day cultural mixture. These celebrations led a small number of religious practitioners to gain national fame and political favor. However, for most practitioners of Afro-Brazilian religions, especially those from lower social strata, experiences of religious discrimination and intolerance continued to be the norm.

For most of the 20th century, practitioners responded to this reality with a mixture of political reclusion, clientelist reliance on elite patrons and benefactors for protections and financial and legal support, and efforts to organize religious communities into a unified political force.

These political dynamics began to shift in the late 1990s in response to a dramatic increase in violence against Afro-Brazilian religions by select evangelical Christian churches. In the mid-1980s, several evangelical Christian churches, most notably the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (Universal Church of the Kingdom of God), positioned Afro-Brazilian religions like Candomblé as their primary targets in a spiritual war against Satan. These attacks catalyzed the political mobilization of unprecedented numbers of practitioners of Afro-Brazilian religions in Brazil. Since the 1990s, practitioners from across the Afro-Brazilian religious spectrum have become active organizers of and participants in large protest marches against religious intolerance.


Sunseri analyzes the impact of colonialism on nineteenth-century Native California communities, particularly during the American annexation of the West and capitalist ventures in mining and milling towns. Using the case study of Mono Lake Kutzadika’a Paiute employed by the Bodie and Benton Railroad and Lumber Company at Mono Mills, the lasting legacies of colonialism and its impacts on contemporary struggles for self-determination are explored. The study highlights the role of capitalism as a potent form of colonialism and its enduring effects on tribes’ ability to meet federal acknowledgment standards.
This approach contributes to a richer understanding of colonial processes and their impacts on indigenous communities both historically and today.

California colonial studies focus primarily on the Spanish missions and presidios (e.g. Voss 2002) or Russian mercantile outposts of the Fur Rush (e.g. Martinez and Schiff 1998). These investigations examine culture contact between European and Native California groups, often with native agency and cultural persistence as central themes in the discussions. Although more historical archaeologists focus on these initial encounters, it is necessary to continue building a historical archaeology of colonialism that more fully examines native confrontations with colonial structures through the twentieth century. Sunseri’s study analyzes the impacts on native communities of invasions by gold seekers, incursions of company towns, and introduction of wage labor systems through capitalism. As such, it considers the long-term and global structural processes of history and ideologies in the American West, to examine capitalism’s entanglements with native communities. Native communities in nineteenth-century California provided a new labor market for capitalist investors in the West, while members of these communities, particularly men, were seen as a commodity to be negotiated through wages. The mobilization of labor in this era involved the commodification of people with appeals to racial or ethnic variations and distinct effective values for the labor of each group. The ascription of relative value to laborers and their time structured the interactions among men, as well as women and children, in settings of wage labor such as company towns and work camps, consistent with structures for commodifying labor among other colonial peripheries. Such an extractive, often violent, system was sure to have a profound effect, particularly in work camps and company towns where monopsony resulted from a company’s exclusive control of labor as the town’s sole employer. As the sole local employer, the company aimed to lower wages below the level that a worker’s productivity and skill would typically command. Ideology supporting capitalism fundamentally values the individual over the community, social ties, or cultural obligations; in doing so, it alienates people from their concrete social relations. The concept of the individual was emphasized and created only through the severing of cultural and kin-based bonds, as labor was subjugated to capital, thereby leaving legacies of the relative position of the individual in community.


Desde 1932 hasta 1935, la guerra del Chaco enfrentó a las repúblicas de Bolivia y Paraguay por la posesión del llamado Chaco Boreal, una región desértica y escasamente poblada situada al norte del río Pilcomayo cuya titularidad ambas naciones reclamaban debido a la presunta existencia de petróleo. Para los pueblos indígenas que habitaran sobre el Pilcomayo medio el desarrollo del conflicto significó en el aspecto práctico un establo definido en la cadena de acontecimientos que condujo hacia la progresiva pérdida de control sobre sus respectivos territorios. Lo que sí es cierto es que sí bien en muchos casos los indígenas padecieron desplazamientos forzosos, pérdidas de la tierra, migraciones e innumerables actos de violencia, en otros casos. Aunque a veces supieron aprovechar la situación para sus propios fines, por ejemplo como cuando lograron apropiarse de objetos y armas que en algunos casos influyeron en el desarrollo para aprovisionarse de armas que realimentaron sus rencillas conflictivos tradicionales, lo cierto es que desde una perspectiva desapasionada los indígenas fueron negativamente afectados.

Desde esta perspectiva, este trabajo propone examinar algunos de los efectos directos e indirectos en los cuales se vieron involucrados los toba del oeste. En particular procura analizar el significado de la apropiación de materiales bélicos por parte de los indígenas, que rápidamente se constituyó en un hito crucial en su memoria colectiva – más aún que la guerra misma. Sentenció la fase final del proceso colonizador del Gran Chaco, consolidó el establecimiento regional de las fronteras e identidades nacionales; y finalmente, reestructuró el mapa interétnico de la zona, lo cual trajo aparejados procesos como migraciones temporales o definitivas, relocalizaciones forzosas, la aparición de nuevos actores sociales y disputas fronterizas con los ejércitos nacionales y otros grupos étnicos. Los toba habitaban tradicionalmente ambas márgenes del río Pilcomayo; pero, a partir del conflicto, “la Banda” – la margen norte del río – fue ocupada sistemáticamente por tropas paraguayas, lo cual provocó cambios en el imaginario colectivo y en particular en su conciencia espacial topónica y geográfica.

Cuando se menciona el tema de la guerra del Chaco, una de las primeras cuestiones que refieren los toba es la llegada a sus tierras de los desertores bolivianos o “coyás” que se escondían en sus aldeas para escapar del ejército paraguayo. No todos los bolivianos eran bien recibidos por los indígenas. Existen historias de matanza de los desertores durante el cruce del Pilcomayo. Una cantidad importante de migrantes se instaló alrededor o incluso en las mismas comunidades o bien en la localidad criolla de Ingeniero Juárez, donde se dedicaron principalmente al comercio. Se consolida así la incorporación activa de los “coyás” a la red de relaciones sociales tanto a nivel local, en la vida cotidiana de las comunidades, como también en la economía de la zona. Después del conflicto, de hecho, se produjo un incremento en el flujo de los trabajadores bolivianos hacia las plantaciones de caña de azúcar en el norte argentino, que eran las mismas alas a las cuales viajaban estacionalmente los wichi, los toba y los pilaga fronterizos.

Además de la aparición de nuevos actores sociales, la memoria colectiva recomponer un cuadro signado por migraciones, la reestructuración del territorio de los diferentes pueblos indígenas de la zona y la consecuente recomposición de las relaciones interétnicas. Para los toba, en particular, la guerra significó el abandono definitivo de las tierras al norte del cauce del Pilcomayo. Antiguamente habitaban ambas márgenes del río; sin embargo, con la consolidación de la presencia regional de los Estados-nación se vieron cada vez más empujados hacia el sur. Los problemas que se suscitaron eran tanto con militares bolivianos como con los paraguayos.