



ANTHROPOLOGY & MISSION

ed. by the Anthropos Institute

N° 61

Sankt Augustin, July 2020

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 Vinsenius Adi Gunawan and Othmar Gächter)

Piepke, Joachim G. (Hrsg.): P. Johann Frick SVD: Mao schlieft in meinem Bett. Erinnerungen eines Chinamissionars 1931–1952. Baden-Baden: Academia Verlag (Collectanea Instituti Anthropos, 52), 2020. 354 pp. ISBN 978-3-89665-911-8 (pbk)

Die "Notizen" spiegeln eine faszinierende Welt chinesischer Vergangenheit wider, wie sie in einfühlsamer Weise von Johann Frick erfahren und reflektiert wurde. Die Missionare bemühten sich um möglichst große Empathie mit den chinesischen Gegebenheiten, konnten andererseits ihr europäisches Urteilsvermögen nicht ausblenden. Die Bevölkerung schätzte die ausländischen Missionare, wenn sie als "betende und gute Menschen" erfahren wurden. Die Verbundenheit mit den chinesischen Menschen ist ein wunderbares Zeugnis der Menschlichkeit. Die letzten Monate seines Aufenthalts zeichnen einen warmherzigen und verletzbaren Menschen, der an "seinen" Chinesen emotional hängt, aber auch seinen kommunistischen Widersachern Verstehen entgegenbringt. Am Ende ist er ein gebrochener Mann, weil ihn "seine" Chinesen des Landes verweisen.

Strathern, Marilyn: Relations. An Anthropological Account. Durham: Duke University Press, 2020. 274 pp. ISBN 978-1-4780-0835-4 (pbk)

The concept of relation holds a privileged place in how anthropologists think and write about the social and cultural lives they study. In "Relations", eminent anthropologist Marilyn Strathern provides a critical account of this key concept and its usage and significance in the English-speaking world. Exploring relation's changing articulations and meanings over the past three centuries,

Strathern shows how the historical idiosyncrasy of using an epistemological term for kinspersons ("relatives") was bound up with evolving ideas about knowledge-making and kin-making. She draws on philosophical debates about relation – such as Leibniz's reaction to Locke – and what became its definitive place in anthropological exposition, elucidating the underlying assumptions and conventions of its use.

She also calls for scholars in anthropology and beyond to take up the limitations of Western relational thinking, especially against the background of present ecological crises and interest in multispecies relations. In weaving together analyses of kin-making and knowledge-making, Strathern opens up new ways of thinking about the contours of epistemic and relational possibilities while questioning the limits and potential of ethnographic methods.

Bamford, Sandra (ed.): The Cambridge Handbook of Kinship. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. 740 pp. ISBN 978-1-107-04118-9 (hbk)

Presenting twenty-nine original chapters – each written by an expert in the field – this Handbook examines the history of kinship theory and the directions in which it has moved over the past few years. Using examples from across the globe (Africa, India, South America, Malaysia, Asia, the Pacific, Europe, and North America), this Handbook highlights the power of kinship theory to address questions of broad anthropological significance. How have recent advances in reproductive medicine fundamentally altered our understanding of biological properties? How has globalization brought in its wake new ways of imagining human relatedness? What might recent shifts in state welfare policies tell us about those relations of pow-

er that define the difference between “functional” versus “dysfunctional” families? Addressing these and many other timely concerns, this volume presents the results of cutting edge research and demonstrates that the study of kinship is likely to remain at the core of anthropological inquiry.

Anderson, Mark: *From Boas to Black Power. Racism, Liberalism, and American Anthropology.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019. 262 pp. ISBN 978-1-5036-0787-3 (pbk)

“From Boas to Black Power” investigates how U.S. cultural anthropologists wrote about race, racism, and “America” in the 20th century. Anthropology and the American project share common foundations built upon white supremacy, and both are still reckoning with their racist legacies. In this intellectual history, Mark Anderson starts with the legacy of Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict and continues through the post-war and Black Power movement to the birth of Black Studies, exploring the problem “America” represents for liberal anti-racism.

Anderson shows how cultural anthropology contributed to liberal American discourses on race that simultaneously bolstered and denied white domination, and provides a major rethinking of anthropological anti-racism. Anthropologists influenced by radical political movements of the 1960s offered the first sustained challenge to that project, calling attention to the racial contradictions of American liberalism reflected in anthropology. Anderson underscores how their critiques remain relevant today.

de Hasque, Jean-Frédéric, et Clara Lecadet (éds.): *Après les camps. Traces, mémoires et mutations des camps de réfugiés.* Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia-L’Harmattan, 2019. 249 pp. ISBN 978-2-8061-0430-4 (pbk)

Camps de réfugiés évacués, détruits, désertés, devenus des quartiers de villes, transformés en sites archéologiques, en musées ou en parcours de mémoire... Que reste-t-il des camps de réfugiés une fois le temps de l’urgence passé et quelles sont les stratégies à l’œuvre en vue de leur démantèlement? L’ouvrage s’intéresse aux traces et aux mémoires qui s’élaborent à partir de la matérialité des lieux et des expériences transitoires ou durables de la vie en exil.

Ces mémoires en construction/en chantier puisent dans le passé et le présent, dans l’histoire longtemps enfouie des camps de réfugiés et dans l’actualité vive des réfugiés en Europe. L’après-camp porte donc sur les conditions de la mise en œuvre d’une mémoire des camps de réfugiés, mais aussi sur les mutations du modèle du camp de réfugiés forgé tout au long du XXe siècle. Réfléchir au passé des camps de réfugiés suppose de s’interroger sur leur avenir.

Sievernich, Michael, und Klaus Vellguth (Hrsg.): *Christentum in der Neuzeit. Geschichte, Religion, Mission, Mystik.* Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 2020. 656 pp. ISBN 978-3-451-39983-1 (hbk)

Die von M. Sievernich und K. Vellguth herausgegebene Festschrift zu Ehren von Mariano Delgado umfasst wissenschaftliche Texte zu seinen Schwerpunkten Kirchen- und Religionsgeschichte, Theologie der Religionen, interreligiöser Dialog, Interkulturalität, Missionsgeschichte und Missionstheologie der Neuzeit.

Das vielfältig anregende Werk bringt eine breite Themenvielfalt hervor. Die Beiträge sind vier Bereichen zugeordnet. Das erste Kapitel informiert über Geschichte von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur gegenwärtigen Weltkirche und dem Pontifikat von Papst Franziskus. Die Artikel im zweiten Kapitel über die Religionen behandeln das (dialogische) Verhältnis von Judentum, Islam und Buddhismus zum Christentum und greifen damit die zentrale Fragestellung der Gegenwart auf. Es folgen im dritten Kapitel unter dem Stichwort Mission Beispiele missionarischer Begegnung des Christentums und systematische Fragen. Die Autoren des vierten Kapitels berichten vom Phänomen der christlichen Mystik, zeitlich von der spanischen Mystik des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zur lateinamerikanischen im 20. Jahrhundert.

Wachtel, Nathan: *Sous le ciel de l’Éden. Juifs portugais, métis et indiens. Une mémoire marrane au Pérou ?* Paris : Éditions Chandeigne, 2020. 196 pp. ISBN 978-2-36732-194-3 (pbk)

La population de la petite ville de Celendín dans la région de Cajamarca au Nord du Pérou a la réputation d’être d’origine judéo-portugaise. Selon la tradition orale, plusieurs “indices” conforteraient cette idée : les habitants de Celendín auraient la peau “la plus blanche de tout le Pérou”, et ils s’adonneraient au commerce ou aux études, ce qui expliquerait qu’ils voyagent toujours autour du monde, comme le “Juif errant”. Par ailleurs, dans les années 1989–1991, la région Nord du Pérou (Trujillo, Cajamarca, Celendín, etc.) fut le théâtre d’une conversion collective au judaïsme orthodoxe de plus de cent personnes, suivie par de nombreux départs pour Israël.

Ces faits curieux sont à l’origine d’une enquête aussi érudite que passionnante qui a menée Nathan Wachtel, sur les origines juives portugaises de cette ville. D’où vient la réputation de l’origine juive portugaise de Celendín? Ceux qui se sont officiellement convertis au judaïsme seraient-ils les descendants des nouveaux-chrétiens du temps de l’Inquisition? Existe-t-il encore des traces de coutumes familiales qui manifesteraient une mémoire marrane – plus ou moins consciente? Fidèle à la méthode de l’anthropologie historique, Wachtel révèle l’étonnante histoire de ces communautés, interrogeant leur identité.

Kersten, Carol: *Contemporary Thought in the Muslim World. Trends, Themes, and Issues.* New York: Routledge, 2019. 218 pp. ISBN 978-1-415-85508-2 (pbk)

This book presents an intellectual history of today’s Muslim world, surveying contemporary Muslim thinking in its various manifestations, addressing a variety of themes that impact on the lives of present-day Muslims.

Focusing on the period from roughly the late 1960s to the first decade of the twenty-first century, the book is global in its approach and offers an overview of different strands of thought and trends in the development of new ideas, distinguishing between traditional, reactionary, and progressive approaches. It presents a variety of themes and issues including: The continuing relevance of the legacy of traditional Islamic learning as well as the use of reason; the centrality of the Qur'an; the spiritual concerns of contemporary Muslims; political thought regarding secularity, statehood, and governance; legal and ethical debates; related current issues like human rights, gender equality, and religious plurality; as well as globalization, ecology, and the environment, bioethics, and life sciences.

Elizabeth Suzanne Kassab: Carool Kersten offers us a much-needed compass through the wide landscape of contemporary Muslim thought

Hock, Klaus, and Nina Käsehage (eds.): "Militant Islam" vs. "Islamic Militancy"? Religion, Violence, Category Formation, and Applied Research. *Contested Fields in the Discourses of Scholarship*. Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2020. ISBN 978-3-643-91275-6 (pbk)

Discourses on "radical Islam", on "Islamic extremism", or on "religious violence" in Islamic contexts are *en vogue* – in and beyond academia. But in view of the highly contested topic of political Islam, the challenge starts already with the preferred terminology. What actually are we talking about when we talk about "Salafism", "jihadism", "Islamic terrorism", etc.?

This edited volume provides a collection of contributions that due to their respective academic cultures and disciplinary locations display a multifaceted variety of approaches to the research field and its subject. Generally speaking, the common denominator for all approaches and positions is a reflected assessment of the numerous and multifaceted mechanisms and factors at play, which determines a professional attitude towards, for example "Salafism" – in contrast to premature judgments on phenomena in this arena.

Scheele, Judith, and Andrew Shryock (eds.): *The Scandal of Continuity in Middle East Anthropology. Form, Duration, Difference*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019. 301 pp. ISBN 978-0253-04379-5 (pbk)

Despite a rich history of ethnographic research in Middle Eastern societies, the region is frequently portrayed as marginal to anthropology. The contributors to this volume reject this view and show how the Middle East is in fact vital to the discipline and how Middle Eastern anthropologists have developed theoretical and methodological tools that address and challenge the region's political, ethical, and intellectual concerns. The contributors to this volume are students of Paul Dresch, an anthropologist known for his incisive work on Yemeni tribalism and customary law. As they expand upon his ideas and insights, these essays ask questions that have long preoccupied anthropologists, such as how do place, point of

view, and style combine to create viable bodies of knowledge; how is scholarship shaped by the historical context in which it is located; and why have duration and form become so problematic in the study of Middle Eastern societies? Special attention is given to understanding local terms, contested knowledge claims, what remains unseen and unsaid in social life, and to cultural patterns and practices that persist over long stretches of time, seeming to predate and outlast events. Ranging from Morocco to India, these essays offer critical but sensitive approaches to cultural difference and the distinctiveness of the anthropological project in the Middle East.

Dale F. Eickelman: This book includes the ideas and practice of kinship, tribe, lineage, and moral authority that continue to underlie shared values that are not just global or local, but that encompass much in between. It is good to think with.

Payton, Joanne: *Honor and the Political Economy of Marriage. Violence against Women in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2020. 173 pp. ISBN 978-1-9788-0171-4 (pbk)

"Honor" is used as a justification for violence perpetrated against women and girls considered to have violated social taboos related to sexual behavior. "Honor and the Political Economy of Marriage" provides a description of "honor"-based violence that focuses upon the structure of the family rather than the perpetrator's culture. Joanne Payton, argues that within societies primarily organized by familial and marital connections, women's "honor" is a form of symbolic capital within a "political economy" in which marriage organizes intergroup connections.

Drawing on statistical analysis of original data contextualized with historical and anthropological readings, Payton explores forms of marriage and their relationship to "honor", sketching changing norms around the familial control of women from agrarian/pastoral roots to the contemporary era.

Leung, Angela Ki Che, and Melissa L. Caldwell: *Moral Foods. The Construction of Nutrition and Health in Modern Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019. 354 pp. ISBN 978-0-8248-7670-8 (hbk)

This book investigates how foods came to be established as moral entities, how moral food regimes reveal emerging systems of knowledge and enforcement, and how these developments have contributed to new Asian nutritional knowledge regimes. The collection's focus on cross-cultural and transhistorical comparisons across Asia brings into view a broad spectrum of modern Asia that extends from East Asia, Southeast Asia, to South Asia, as well as into global communities of Western knowledge, practice, and power outside Asia.

The first section, "Good Foods," focuses on how food norms and rules have been established in modern Asia. Ideas about good foods and good bodies shift at different moments, in some cases privileging local foods and knowledge systems, and in other cases privileging foreign

foods and knowledge systems. The second section, “Bad Foods,” focuses on what makes foods bad and even dangerous. Bad foods are not simply unpleasant or undesirable for aesthetic or sensory reasons, but they can hinder the stability and development of persons and societies. Bad foods are symbolically polluting, as in the case of foreign foods that threaten not only traditional foods, but also the stability and strength of the nation and its people. The third section, “Moral Foods,” focuses on how themes of good versus bad are embedded in projects to make modern persons, subjects, and states, with specific attention to the ambiguities and malleability of foods and health. The malleability of moral foods provides unique opportunities for understanding Asian societies’ dynamic position within larger global flows, connections, and disconnections.

Collectively, the chapters raise intriguing questions about how foods and the bodies that consume them have been valued politically, economically, culturally, and morally, and about how those values originated and evolved. Consumers in modern Asia are not simply eating to satisfy personal desires or physiological needs, but they are also conscripted into national and global statemaking projects through acts of ingestion. Eating, then, has become about fortifying both the person and the nation.

Kreyenbroek, Philip G., and Yiannis Kanakis: “God First and Last”. Religious Traditions and Music of the Yaresan of Guran. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2020. 188 pp. ISBN 978-3-447-11424-0 (pbk)

The Yaresan or Ahl-e Haqq are a relatively large minority group whose religion originates in the border regions between Iran and Iraq. As members of traditional Yaresan communities are becoming more visible in the West, both as diaspora groups and in academia, there is an increasing demand for reliable information about their background. Academic interest is also growing. Recent scholarly publications, however, tend to assume a fundamental knowledge of the Yaresan tradition, which is not easy to glean from existing sources. This is made more complicated by the very real differences between the European world view and that of traditional Yaresanism.

For that reason and because music plays an unusually prominent role in Yaresan observance, it was decided to combine the authors’ work on religious traditions and music respectively in two volumes. In doing so the religious realities of the traditional Yaresan of the Guran region is communicated by quoting extensively from interviews with community members. The first volume also offers a survey of other religious traditions that are thought to have been influential in shaping modern Yaresanism.

Greve, Martin, Ulaş Özdemir, and Raoul Motika (eds.): Aesthetic and Performative Dimensions of Alevi Cultural Heritage. Baden-Baden: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2020. 215 pp. ISBN 978-3-956-640-6 (hbk)

This volume examines the aesthetic and performative dimensions of Alevi cultural heritage from past to present,

in an interdisciplinary framework and using a wide range of approaches. The chapters analyze traditional, contemporary, and transnational developments of Alevi cultural expression including modern adaptations, local, and regional practices, Alevism in a wider context, textual sources, and materiality. The perspectives of the various authors, each coming from different disciplines, demonstrate the complexity of socio-historical and socio-cultural dynamics. This book focuses on how Alevi perform any form of piety or spirituality in their communal life. To conclude, the present volume is intended as a first approach to a complex issue, which definitely deserves further research and analysis.

Lemons, Katherine: Divorcing Traditions. Islamic Marriage Law and the Making of Indian Secularism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019. 232 pp. ISBN 978-1-5017-3477-9 (pbk)

“Divorcing Traditions” is an ethnography of Islamic legal expertise and practices in India, a secular state in which Muslims are a significant minority and where Islamic judgments are not legally binding. Katherine Lemons argues that an analysis of divorce in accordance with Islamic strictures is critical to the understanding of Indian secularism.

Lemons analyzes four marital dispute adjudication forums run by Muslim jurists or lay Muslims to show that religious law does not muddle the categories of religion and law but generates them. Drawing on ethnographic and archival research conducted in these four institutions – NGO-run women’s arbitration centers (*mahila panchayats*); sharia courts (*dar ul-qazas*); a Muslim jurist’s authoritative legal opinions (*fatwas*); and the practice of what a Muslim legal expert (*mufti*) calls “spiritual healing” – “Divorcing Traditions” shows how secularism is an ongoing project that seeks to establish and maintain an appropriate relationship between religion and politics. A secular state is always secularizing. And yet, as Lemons demonstrates, the state is not the only arbiter of the relationship between religion and law: religious legal forums help to constitute the categories of private and public, religious and secular upon which secularism relies. In the end, because Muslim legal expertise and practice are central to the Indian legal system and because Muslim divorce’s contested legal status marks a crisis of the secular distinction between religion and law, Muslim divorce, argues Lemons, is a key site for understanding Indian secularism.

Veena Das: “Divorcing Traditions” is groundbreaking. It is a unique contribution to the understanding of the relationship between religion and secularism in India – a splendid achievement.

Snehi Yogesh: Spatializing Popular Sufi Shrines in Punjab. Dreams, Memories, Territoriality. New York: Routledge, 2019. 256 pp. ISBN 978-1-138-05788-3 (hbk)

This book explores the organic lives of popular Sufi shrines in contemporary Northwest India. It traverses the worldview of shrine spaces, rituals, and their complex

narratives, and provides an insight into their urban and rural landscapes in the post-Partition (Indian) Punjab.

What happened to these shrines when attempts were made to dissuade Sikhs, Muslims, and Hindus from their veneration of popular saints in the early twentieth century? What was the fate of popular shrines that persisted even when the Muslim population was virtually wiped off as a result of migration during Partition? How did these shrines manifest in the context of the threat posed by militants in the 1980s? How did such popular practices reconfigure themselves when some important centers of Sufism were left behind in the West Punjab (now Pakistan)? This book examines several of these questions and utilizes a combination of analytical tools, new theoretical tropes and an ethnographic approach to understand and situate popular Sufi shrines so that they are both historicized and spatialized. As such, it lays out some crucial contours of the method and practice of understanding popular sacred spaces (within India and elsewhere), bridging the everyday and the metanarratives of power structures and state formation.

Razuddin Aquil: This richly illustrated and densely argued book ... is a fine contribution to Punjab studies, especially on history and current practices relating to popular forms of Sufism, addressing larger concerns in religious traditions, questions of identity and political contestations using religious symbols.

Strassler, Karen: *Demanding Images. Democracy, Mediation, and the Image-Event in Indonesia.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2020. 329 pp. ISBN 978-1-4780-0469-1 (pbk)

The end of authoritarian rule in 1998 ushered in an exhilarating but unsettled period of democratization in Indonesia. A more open political climate converged with a rapidly changing media landscape, yielding a vibrant and volatile public sphere within which Indonesians grappled with the possibilities and limits of democracy amid entrenched corruption, state violence, and rising forms of intolerance. In “Demanding Images”, Karen Strassler theorizes image-events as political processes in which publicly circulating images become the material ground of struggles over the nation’s past, present, and future. Considering photographs, posters, contemporary art, graffiti, selfies, memes, and other visual media, she argues that people increasingly engage with politics through acts of making, circulating, manipulating, and scrutinizing images. “Demanding Images” is both a closely observed account of Indonesia’s turbulent democratic transition and a globally salient analysis of the work of images in the era of digital media and neoliberal democracy. Strassler reveals politics today to be an unruly enterprise profoundly shaped by the affective and evidentiary force of images.

Christopher Pinney: This is a learned contribution to the study of contemporary Indonesia and an ominous handbook illuminating the convulsive nature of new media landscapes that are changing lives everywhere.

Roque, Ricardo, and Elizabeth G. Traube (eds.): *Crossing Histories and Ethnographies. Following Colonial*

Historicities in Timor Leste. New York: Berghahn Books, 2019. 373 pp. ISBN 978-1-78920-271-7 (hbk)

The key question for many anthropologists and historians today is not whether to cross the boundary between their disciplines, but whether the idea of a disciplinary boundary should be sustained. Reinterpreting the dynamic interplay between archive and field, these essays propose a method for mutually productive crossings between historical and ethnographic research. It engages critically with the colonial pasts of indigenous societies and examines how fieldwork and archival studies together lead to fruitful insights into the making of different colonial historicities. Timor-Leste’s unusually long and in some ways unique colonial history is explored as a compelling case for these crossings.

James J. Fox: This is an important book, a valuable book, and in many ways, a path-setting book that brings together an impressive group of contemporary social analysts – from both a historical and anthropological perspective – in a focused consideration of Timor-Leste.

Stenberg, Josh: *Minority Stages. Sino-Indonesian Performance and Public Display.* Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2019. 273 pp. ISBN 978-0-8248-7671-5 (hbk)

This book offers intriguing new perspectives on historical and contemporary Sino-Indonesian performance. For the first time in a major study, this community’s diverse performance practices are brought together as a family of genres. Combining fieldwork with evidence from Indonesian, Chinese, and Dutch primary and secondary sources, Josh Stenberg takes a close look at Chinese Indonesian self-representation, covering genres from the Dutch colonial period to the present day.

From glove puppets of Chinese origin in East Java and Hakka religious processions in West Kalimantan, to wartime political theatre on Sumatra and contemporary Sino-Sundanese choirs and dance groups in Bandung, this book takes readers on a tour of hybrid and diverse expressions of identity, tracing the stories and strategies of minority self-representation over time. Each performance form is placed in its social and historical context, highlighting how Sino-Indonesian groups and individuals have represented themselves locally and nationally to the archipelago’s majority population as well as to Indonesian state power.

In the last twenty years, the long political suppression of manifestations of Chinese culture in Indonesia has lifted, and a wealth of evidence now coming to light shows how Sino-Indonesians have long been an integral part of Indonesian culture, including the performing arts. Valorizing that contribution challenges essentialist readings of ethnicity or minority, complicates the profile of a group that is often considered solely in socioeconomic terms, and enriches the understanding of Indonesian culture, Southeast Asian Chinese identities, and transnational cultural exchanges.

“Minority Stages” helps counter the dangerous either/or thinking that is a mainstay of ethnic essentialism in

general and of Chinese and Indonesian nationalisms in particular, by showing the fluidity and adaptability of Sino-Indonesian identity as expressed in performance and public display.

Kathy Foley: “Minority Stages” contributes much to the understudied area of Chinese performance in Indonesia and general areas of Chinese self-presentation and perception, which for political reasons was in the past a *tabu* topic. Beyond the important historical data, the book also delivers an on-the-ground sense of how the multicultural project of post-Suharto freedom is progressing at present and where fault lines remain.

Zani, Leah: *Bomb Children. Life in the Former Battlefields of Laos*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2019. 179 pp. ISBN 978-1-4780-0485-1 (pbk)

Half a century after the CIA’s Secret War in Laos – the largest bombing campaign in history – explosive remnants of war continue to be part of people’s everyday lives. In “Bomb Children” Leah Zani offers a perceptive analysis of the long-term, often subtle, and unintended effects of massive air warfare. Zani traces the socio-cultural impact of cluster submunitions – known in Laos as “bomb children” – through stories of explosives clearance technicians and others living and working in these old air strike zones. Zani presents her ethnography alongside poetry written in the field, crafting a startlingly beautiful analysis of state terror, authoritarian revival, rapid development, and ecological contamination. In so doing, she proposes that postwar zones are their own cultural and area studies, offering new ways to understand the parallel relationship between ongoing war violence and postwar revival.

Joshua O. Reno: (...) Such topic is not only ethnographically underexplored but has been deliberately concealed by the U.S. government for decades. In Zani’s hands, fieldwork becomes a flexible toolkit, selectively and strategically deployed to grasp the object of military wasting in a revealing and ethically responsible way.

Binder, Stefan: *Total Atheism. Secular Activism and the Politics of Difference in South India*. New York: Bergahn Books, 2020. 289 pp. ISBN 978-1-78920-674-6 (hbk)

Exploring lived atheism in the South Indian states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, this book offers a unique insight into India’s rapidly transforming multi-religious society. It explores the social, cultural, and aesthetic challenges faced by a movement of secular activists in their endeavors to establish atheism as a practical and comprehensive way of life. On the basis of original ethnographic material and engaged conceptual analysis, “Total Atheism” develops an alternative to Eurocentric accounts of secularity and critically revisits central themes of South Asian scholarship from the hitherto marginalized vantage point of radically secular and explicitly irreligious atheists in India.

Jacob Copeman: This is an absolutely wonderful work of ethnography. Binder’s captivating and conceptually brilliant book sets the standard for future work on the anthropology of non-religion.

Galliot, Sébastien: *Le tatouage samoan. Un rite polynésien dans l’histoire*. Paris : CNRS Éditions, 2019. 448 pp. ISBN 978-2-271-12639-9 (pbk)

On ne peut remonter à une origine unique du tatouage, pratiqué dans le monde entier, mais l’origine du mot lui-même est polynésienne. En Polynésie, il est pratiqué depuis plus de 3000 ans, et revêt une dimension symbolique forte. Il y est omniprésent, sur les corps comme dans les discours. Aux îles Samoa, il consiste en un agencement iconographique prédéfini sur des parties invariables du corps, du milieu du dos aux genoux pour les hommes, sur le tour de cuisses pour les femmes. Il n’est pas un acte narcissique, un geste individuel, mais s’inscrit toujours dans un environnement social et dans un contexte ritualisé.

C’est sur ce rituel d’initiation que l’auteur centre ses travaux, mettant en lumière les phénomènes de continuité, de changement, de transmission et de globalisation du métier. Alors que les motifs du tatouage polynésien ont essaimé dans le monde entier, cet ouvrage analyse les données historiques et ethnographiques dans une approche inédite.

Kirch, Patrick Vinton, and Clive Ruggles: *Heiau, ‘Āina, Lani: The Hawaiian Temple System in Ancient Kahikinui and Kaupō, Maui*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2019. 380 pp. ISBN 978-0-8248-7827-6 (hbk)

“Heiau, ‘Āina, Lani” is a collaborative study of 78 temple sites in the ancient *moku* of Kahikinui and Kaupō in southeastern Maui, undertaken using a novel approach that combines archaeology and archaeoastronomy. Although temple sites (*heiau*) were the primary focus of Hawaiian archaeologists in the earlier part of the twentieth century, they were later neglected as attention turned to the excavation of artifact-rich habitation sites and theoretical and methodological approaches focused more upon entire cultural landscapes. This book restores *heiau* to center stage. Its title, meaning “Temples, Land, and Sky,” reflects the integrated approach taken by Patrick Vinton Kirch and Clive Ruggles, based upon detailed mapping of the structures, precise determination of their orientations, and accurate dating.

“Heiau, ‘Āina, Lani” is the outcome of a joint fieldwork project by the two authors, spanning more than fifteen years, in a remarkably well-preserved archaeological landscape containing precontact house sites, walls, and terraces for dryland cultivation, and including scores of *heiau* ranging from simple upright stones dedicated to *Kāne*, to massive platforms where the priests performed rites of human sacrifice to the war god *Kū*. Many of these *heiau* are newly discovered and reported for the first time in the book.

The authors offer a fresh narrative based upon some provocative interpretations of the complex relationships between the Hawaiian temple system, the landscape, and the heavens (the “skyscape”). They demonstrate that renewed attention to *heiau* in the context of contemporary methodological and theoretical perspectives offers important new insights into ancient Hawaiian cosmology, ritual practices, ethnogeography, political organization, and the habitus of everyday life. Clearly, “Heiau, ‘Āina, Lani” repositions the study of heiau at the forefront of Hawaiian archaeology.

Geoffrey Clark: The authors (...) have combined archaeological and archaeoastronomical data in a timely and rigorous manner. Building on the massive amount of survey and chronological information of temple structures gathered by the researchers is a strong focus on historical and ethnographic evidence that supplies an essential cultural context that is too often ignored in much of “scientific” archaeology today.

D’Avella, Nicholas: *Concrete Dreams. Practice, Value, and Built Environments in Post-Crisis Buenos Aires.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2019. 312 pp. ISBN 978-1-4780-0630-5 (pbk)

In “Concrete Dreams” Nicholas D’Avella examines the changing social and economic lives of buildings in the context of a construction boom following Argentina’s political and economic crisis of 2001. D’Avella tells the stories of small-scale investors who turned to real estate as an alternative to a financial system they no longer trusted, of architects who struggled to maintain artistic values and political commitments in the face of the ongoing commodification of their work, and of residents-turned-activists who worked to protect their neighborhoods and city from being overtaken by new development. Such forms of everyday engagement with buildings, he argues, produce divergent forms of value that persist in tension with hegemonic forms of value. In the dreams attached to build environments and the material forms in which those dreams are articulated – from charts and graphs to architectural drawings, urban planning codes, and tango lyrics – D’Avella finds a blueprint for building livable futures in which people can survive alongside and even push back against the hegemony of capitalism.

Penny Harvey: “Concrete Dreams” is a beautifully written ethnography that focuses on how the specific everyday practices of lay investors, real estate analysts, and architects produce divergent forms of value in the volatile political and economic landscape of recent Argentine history. The ethnographic narratives show exactly how “buildings” emerge as partially connected conceptual and concrete entities that hold value as investments, as objects of design, and as homes. The power of the analysis lies in the combination of a deep understanding of dominant economic modes of valuation with a sensitivity to the fragile relational spaces where alternative possibilities are kept alive.

Heer, Barbara: *Cities of Entanglements. Social Life in Johannesburg and Maputo through Ethnographic Comparison.* Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2019. 340 pp. ISBN 978-3-8376-4797-6 (pbk)

How do people live together in cities shaped by inequality? This comparative ethnography of two African cities, Maputo and Johannesburg, presents a new narrative about social life in cities often described as sharply divided. Based on the ethnography of entangled lives unfolding in a township and in a suburb in Johannesburg, in a *bairro* and in an elite neighborhood in Maputo, the book includes case studies of relations between domestic workers and their employers, failed attempts by urban elites to close off their neighborhoods, and entanglements emerging in religious spaces and in shopping malls. Systematizing comparison as an experience-based method, the book makes an important contribution to urban anthropology, comparative urbanism and urban studies.

Binford, Leigh, Lesley Gill, and Steve Striffler (eds.): *Fifty Years of Peasant Wars in Latin America.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2020. 228 pp. ISBN 978-1-78920-561-9 (hbk)

Informed by Eric Wolf’s “Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century”, published in 1969, this book examines selected peasant struggles in seven Latin American countries during the last fifty years and suggests the continuing relevance of Wolf’s approach. The seven case studies are preceded by an Introduction in which the editors assess the continuing relevance of Wolf’s political economy. The book concludes with Gavin Smith’s reflection on reading Eric Wolf as a public intellectual today.

Avi Chomsky: The book is quite unique. The concept is original and intriguing and brings together an outstanding array of scholars to pursue the questions Eric Wolf raised in different Latin American cases.

Musah, Baba Iddrisu: *Ambivalence of Culture in Ghana’s Alleged Witches’ Camps. A Micro-Level Approach to Human Rights.* Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2020. 378 pp. ISBN 978-3-8487-6590-4 (pbk)

Throughout the world, human rights have grown in prominence over the years. Despite this feat, numerous global events in the past and in recent times, especially those driven by political interests, show that respect for the ideals of human rights are far from being realized in practice. With approaches largely state-centered in nature, these events fundamentally point to a marked gap between human rights norms and practice. What is unfortunately and clearly afforded a low priority or no priority at all in these state-based and politically vested contestations are missing links between international human rights norms and cultural or traditional belief systems and practices. Specifically, this thesis argues that when it comes to beliefs in witchcraft and its practices, there remains a sizeable gap between theory and practice, and this creates the thorny and contentious issue of the unpleasant conflict

between international human rights and specific cultural belief systems, practices, norms and values. With a view to analyzing the dichotomy between culture and human rights, this dissertation positions, explores and indeed questions beliefs in and practices of witchcraft in Ghana, and particularly Ghana's alleged witches' camps, within the framework of international human rights.

Hänsch, Valerie: *Vertreibung und Widerstand im sudanesischen Niltal. Ein Staudammprojekt und der Versuch zu bleiben.* Berlin: Reimer Verlag, 2019. 360 pp. ISBN 978-3-496-01607-6 (pbk)

Die Aufstauung des Nils durch den Bau des Merowe-Damms im Nordsudan zwang tausende Bäuerinnen und Bauern zur Flucht in die Wüsten. Hänsch untersucht die dramatischen Folgen für die Menschen und ihren Versuch, trotz existentieller Ungewissheit ein würdevolles bäuerliches Leben am aufgestauten Nil weiterzuführen.

Während sich andere Studien zu Vertreibungen meist mit Flucht, Migration oder Umsiedlungen befassen, setzt Hänsch einen anderen Fokus. Es geht darum, wie die Menschen versuchen, neue Wege des Lebens am entstehenden Stausee zu erproben und gleichzeitig das Leben zusammenzuhalten. So ist eine Ethnografie zu der grundsätzlichen Frage entstanden, ob und wie es Menschen gelingen kann, mit dem Zerfall ihrer vertrauten Lebenswelt umzugehen.

Carpenter, Nathan Riley, and Benjamin N. Lawrence (eds.): *Africans in Exile. Mobility, Law, and Identity.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018. 354 pp. ISBN-13: 978-0-2530-3808-1 (pbk)

The enforced removal of individuals has long been a political tool used by African states to create generations of asylum seekers, refugees, and fugitives. Historians often present such political exile as a potentially transformative experience for resilient individuals, but this reading singles the exile out as having an exceptional experience. This collection seeks to broaden that understanding within the global political landscape by considering the complexity of the experience of exile and the lasting effects it has had on African peoples. The works collected in this volume seek to recover the diversity of exile experiences across the continent. This corpus of testimonials and documents is presented as an "archive" that provides evidence of a larger, shared experience of persecution and violence. This consideration reads exiles from African colonies and nations as active participants within, rather than simply as victims of, the larger global diaspora. In this way, exile is understood as a way of asserting political dissidence and anti-imperial strategies. Broken into three distinct parts, the volume considers legal issues, geography as a strategy of anticolonial resistance, and memory and performative understandings of exile. The experiences of political exile are presented as fundamental to an understanding of colonial and post-colonial oppression and the history of state power in Africa.

Lisa A. Lindsay: Rather than a rare punishment inflicted on dissident elites, exile is revealed in this important volume as one of the defining features of African history since the colonial era. In their deeply researched and thematically linked essays, contributors present instances of exile from around the continent that illustrate the ambitions and limits of state power, extra-territorial strategies of resistance, and the capacity of relocation to spur both suffering and creativity. This book masterfully enriches our understanding of two key themes in African history, mobility, and community, and their silence for politics and individual experience over the past century and into the present.

Spronk, Rachel, and Thomas Hendriks (eds.): *Readings in Sexualities from Africa.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020. 380 pp. ISBN 978-0-2530-4761-8 (pbk)

Images and stories about African sexuality abound in today's globalized media. Frequently old stereotypes and popular opinion inform these stories, and sex in the media is predominately approached as a problem in need of solutions and intervention. The authors gathered here refuse an easy characterization of African sexuality and instead seek to understand the various erotic realities, sexual practices, and gendered changes taking place across the continent. They present a nuanced and comprehensive overview of the field of sex and sexuality in Africa to serve as a guide through the quickly expanding literature. This collection offers a set of texts that use sexuality as a prism for studying how communities coalesce against the canvas of larger political and economic contexts and how personal lives evolve therein. Scholars working in Africa, the U.S., and Europe reflect on issues of representation, health and bio-politics, same-sex relationships and identity, transactional economies of sex, religion, and tradition, and the importance of pleasure and agency. This multidimensional reader provides a comprehensive view of sexuality from an African perspective.

Rutert, Britta: *Contested Properties. Peoples, Plants, and Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa.* Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2020. 354 pp. ISBN 978-3-8376-4794-5 (pbk)

This book deals with the values of medicinal plants and associated knowledge(s) in the field of bioprospecting in post-apartheid South Africa. Bioprospecting, the use of genetic or biological resources for commercial purposes, is a profit-oriented enterprise facing new challenges with the rise of human rights and biodiversity politics. This new situation has led to claims for political leverage made by indigenous communities, as well as to claims for national and local cultural identity and heritage. The picture presented here contributes to the widely discussed yet so far unresolved question of how to appropriately share benefits, and how to protect indigenous knowledge in this field.

Barnard, Alan: Bushmen. Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers and Their Descendants. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. 220 pp. ISBN 978-1108418263 (pbk)

The hunter-gatherers of southern Africa known as “Bushmen” or “San” are not one single ethnic group, but several. They speak a diverse variety of languages and have many different settlement patterns, kinship systems, and economic practices. The fact that we think of them as a unity is not as strange as it may seem, for they share a common origin: they are an original hunter-gatherer population of southern Africa with a history of many thousands of years on the subcontinent. Drawing on his four decades of field research in Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa, Alan Barnard provides a detailed account of

Bushmen or San, covering ethnography, archaeology, folklore, religious studies, and rock-art studies as well as several other fields. Its wide coverage includes social development and politics, both historically and in the present day, helping us to reconstruct both human pre-history and a better understanding of ourselves.

Megan Biesele: Probes the great – such as human ancestry and the origins of art – that are posed and possibly answered by anthropology’s multifaceted engagement with these hunter-gatherers. Reading Barnard’s detailed evidence for the enormous ideas he addressed with such clarity here, I felt I was spending a series of grand evenings by the fire with a fine and encyclopedically knowledgeable conversationalist.



Review of Articles

(by Joachim G. Piepke, Darius Piwowarczyk, Stanisław Grodz, and Vincent Adi Gunawan)

Piepke, Joachim G.: The Yeti Does Exist after All. Franz Xaver Eichinger's Field Notes about His Encounter with the "Abominable Snowman" in 1949. *Anthropos* 115. 2020: 1–8.

After the recent publication of Daniel C. Taylor about the hunt for the "Abominable Snowman" (Yeti. *The Ecology of a Mystery*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017), it seems obvious that the discussion about Yeti is definitively closed. All traces of the mysterious being found by several expeditions during at least one century point to a species of Himalayan or Tibetan bear. However, I discovered the field notes of the former missionary and physician Franz Xaver Eichinger, who was working in the 1940s and early 1950s near the Tibetan frontier, in the Chinese provinces of Gansu and Qinghai. As a physician, he attended the nomads living around Lake Kukuror (Lake Qinghai). Staying in the camp of the Shawrong nomads in the Hokka Valley, at the foot of the Semonow Mountains (A'nyê Maqên Shan), at a height of 3,000 meters to the southwest of Lake Kukuror, one day he faced the "Abominable Snowman," or "Yeti," brought in by the natives in order to heal their children.

It is amazing indeed, how many expeditions were organized over the last two centuries in order to find, catch, or kill the supposed monster. Already in 1832, the trekker B. H. Hodgson reported that his local Sherpas claimed to have seen in the mountains of northern Nepal a shy, tall, bipedal living being covered with long dark hair. He took it for an orangutan: "My shooters were once alarmed in the Kachár by the apparition of a 'wild man,' possibly an orangutan, but I doubt their accuracy. They mistook the creature for a cácodemon or rakshas and fled from it instead of shooting it. It moved, they said, erectly: was covered with long dark hair, and had no tail."

Genetic analysis of 24 samples in 2017 showed that they belong to the species *Ursidae* (bears), except one tooth sample collected from a stuffed exhibit at the Reinhold Messner Mountain Museum, which matched a dog (*Canis lupus familiaris*). The research team conducted a comprehensive genetic survey of field-collected and museum specimens to explore their identity and to clarify the evolutionary history of bears in the region. In the 21st century, phylogenetic analyses of mitochondrial DNA sequences determined clade affinities of the purported yeti samples in this study, strongly supporting the biological basis of the yeti legend to be local, extant bears. Complete mitochondrial genomes were assembled for Himalayan brown bear (*U. a. isabellinus*) and black bear (*U. t. laniger*) for the first time. The results demonstrate that the Himalayan brown bear is one of the first-branching clades within the brown bear lineage, while Tibetan brown bears diverged much later. The estimated times of divergence of the Tibetan Plateau and Himalayan bear lineages overlap with Middle to Late Pleistocene glaciation events, suggesting that the extant bears in the region are likely des-

cendants of populations that survived in local refugia during the Pleistocene glaciations.

Franz Xaver Eichinger, born in 1910 in Marienthal, Bavaria, was ordained a Catholic priest as a member of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD) in 1937. In 1940, he arrived in China via the Trans-Siberian Railway and worked for the first five years in Tsaochowfu (Caozhou/Heze), Sinsiang (Xinxiang), because there was no possibility to reach his destination, Kansu (Gansu), due to the Japanese occupation. He finally arrived in Lanchow (Lanzhou) in 1947, and then went to Sining (Xining) in 1949 where he worked at the mission station of Huangyuan, east of Lake Kukuror (Lake Qinghai).

After completing his studies in medicine in Rome (1935–1937), he founded in 1946 a mission hospital in Minchow (Mincho), South Gansu, with 10 rooms. In 1948, he received the doctor degree of Chinese medicine from the State University of Chongqing, Department of "Chinese Western Medicine" in Shanghang, Fujian. In 1951, he became medical superintendent at the Catholic Hospital of Xining. His medical knowledge and reputation among the Chinese community helped him to survive five years under the communist government until 1953, when he had to return to Germany.

After the seizure of power by the communists in 1949, Eichinger had to move over the border to Tibet, for a number of months. He travelled with two Chinese nurses from one tent village of the Tibetan nomads to the other in order to attend the sick. In October 1949, he arrived at the tent village of the Shawrong nomads in the Hokka Valley, at the foot of the Semenow Mountains (A'nyê Maqên Shan) southwest of Lake Qinghai. The nomads wanted to spend winter on the spot, at a height of 3,000 meters. Eichinger's group set up tents near the dwelling made of black yak hair that was owned by "Thousand Prince," the leader of the nomads. The temperature was around minus 22° Celsius.

Health conditions within the clan were rather distressing: the birthrate had dropped dramatically and the average per family was about one to two children. At the time of Eichinger's arrival, an epidemic was causing deadly crying fits in children, and nobody was able to find a remedy – neither parents nor shamans. The children screamed 10 to 15 hours, the stronger ones 28, girls up to 32 to 34, until death. Eichinger was not familiar with those symptoms but he supposed an irritation of cerebral nerves; he came to cure dermatological diseases, such as boils or abscesses, and was quite helpless in that situation.

Now, he heard that natives had sent several messengers to the mountains in order to search for the Yeti. They did not know exactly where he actually was, because his walking territory stretched over 120 to 150 km in length and 70 to 80 km in width. The new problem caused by the arrival of the three was that the Yeti would

not come to the camp if there were any strangers there – no matter if they were traders, clerks, soldiers, researchers, or somebody else. They sent therefore another group to the mountains with the purpose of warning the Yeti about the presence of the strangers. They found him in the valley as he was just coming down from the Semenow Mountains. They informed him about the new situation begging him to make an exception, because they were very concerned about the deadly disease of their children. He had compassion with them and asked who the strangers were. They answered that they were no traders, no clerks, no researchers but rather “praying people” because they had seen the group saying prayers in their tent. The Yeti resolved to visit the camp and arrived there on November 5, 1949 at 4 p.m. They set a little black tent up for him, the so-called “guest tent,” between Eichinger’s and the Thousand Prince’s ones. At midnight, one of the nurses went out of the tent and saw him standing before the tent in direction of the rising sun. She returned into the tent and woke up Eichinger urging him to hurry up with his camera and to take a picture of that incredible man. When Eichinger appeared with his camera, he saw the Yeti dressed in a thin rotten long Chinese cloth waving his hands to refuse a photograph. Eichinger withdrew immediately. Later on, he learned from the man that a cloth would cause to feel the cold more than nakedness. He used to walk always naked even in the snow on the mountains at minus 40° Celsius.



The Yeti or “Naked Lama”, 5 November 1949

Afterwards, Eichinger spoke with Ine, the son of the Thousand Prince, who was also his interpreter among the

nomads, asking him to mediate between him and the man whom they called the “Naked Lama.” At first, the healer refused, but then, when he heard that the group attended the sick and healed boils, he agreed and wished to obtain the remedies that healed furuncles, because his own medicines of herbs only healed inside the body. Eichinger agreed on condition that he could take a picture of him. So, they exchanged the medicine for photographs. One condition, however, had been put by the Yeti – namely, that the missionary was not to photograph his eyes. Indeed, every time Eichinger took a photo, he closed his eyes. His reason was that his eyes only exist to see the heaven and to grasp the glance of a suffering person. After healing the children in course of the night, the Yeti vanished.

The Yeti’s outward appearance was horrible; indeed, it could frighten every person. Nonetheless, he had a strange power over the children: he used to enter the tent where a sick child was crying, bowed over it looking intensely at the infant for about 3 to 5 minutes, and the child calmed down, began to smile and was healed. After Yeti’s visit in the village, no child died ever since. “That is a medical masterpiece,” Eichinger commented, “that we will probably never be able to explain.” As stated above, Eichinger’s diagnosis pointed to a strong irritation of the nervous system, a kind of encephalitis caused by a bacterium. The psychic energy of the Yeti’s eyes may have succeeded to stop the convulsion. Eichinger was not able to investigate the disease in more detail because people refused all further medical examination of the children after the successful healing. They were afraid that the malignant spirits expelled by the Yeti would return to the children.

He argues that the footprints and the remnants found in the mountains by natives and researchers were either of animal provenance or they were deliberately misinterpreted by locals. In Tibet, children are often born with a congenital hypertrichosis, especially male babies, probably due to endogamy by cross-cousin marriages. The genetic defect is hereditary and causes the continuation of the fetal lanugo hair, frequently coupled with tooth anomalies and facial deformations (“wolf children”). The people considered these hairy children as being possessed by evil spirits that threaten the welfare of the entire community. Generally, they killed such babies soon after birth. But sometimes, the mothers hid the baby, and this was condoned by the others until some calamity stroke the village. Later on, however, at the age of 8–10 years, the child had to be expelled from the village and lived in the wilderness. Many children did not survive, but the stronger ones did, as they were able to adapt. On reaching sexual maturity, they often abducted young girls from camps and villages in order to satisfy their sexual drives.

Eichinger’s report about the so-called “Naked Lama” complements well with the findings and reports by Sherpas and participants of Yeti expeditions. There are two different kinds of footprints mentioned in these reports: human ones and animal ones (bear, wolf, and leopard). The human prints (with five toes) also differ in size and weight, suggesting that they were left by teenagers as well as by adults. The animal prints, especially the bear footmarks, indicate a heavier creature than a human being. All

skulls or even hands and a scalp, alleged relics of a Yeti, proved to be of animal origin. The fact that several observers saw a naked hairy creature at some distance, plucking out plants and roots, or found disemboweled corpses of small rodents (mouse-hares), is clearly pointing to human behavior. The yelling-sound in the mountains often heard at night that people take for the Yeti's voice, seems to be the yowl of the snow leopard. The shyness of the so-called Yetis is probably due to their special social situation: they know that people are afraid of them, because they are possessed by malignant spirits, and they themselves are convinced of that supposition. They avoid therefore human settlements, as their status is comparable to that of leprosy. Finally, Sherpas or other guides do not reveal the habitat of the creatures to strangers out of fear of the Yeti's curse.

Arnab Das, Suman Nath, and Subrata Sankar Bagchi: Banaras in a Narrative of Nostalgia and Kitsch. *Anthropos* 115.2020: 19–36,

Since our first ethnographic contact in 2009 with Varanasi (Benares, Banaras), one of the “oldest continuously inhabited cities” of the world, we could not escape the observation that tourism and pilgrimage form the fulcrum of everyday city life. Our exploration and extensive interaction with the people led us most frequently to the Dasaswamedh Ghat area, the part of the Ganga riverfront, which captures the highest attendance and attention of the local people, tourists, and pilgrims, especially at the popular devotional-cum-heritage event of “Ganga Aarti” (ritual of offering prayer to the Ganges river). A discussion is conducted of how it might be linked to the production of space for pilgrimage, tourism, and heritage. Finally, the article culminates in taking up the question of how the heritage (e.g., ghats, the riverfront) entwines the representational space of the restorative nostalgia and kitsch, as embodied in the quotidian yet spectacular event Ganga Aarti.

The discovery of the first settlement during the excavation of the Astha site with chalcolithic remains is dated to 1,200 B.C. There is hardly any city in the world that can claim greater antiquity, greater popular veneration than Banaras. It represents great and unbroken tradition of religious sanctity and learning. Not only Hinduism but the principles of Buddhism were first proclaimed here. The assertion complies with the popular “nostalgic” understanding of the residents of Varanasi that they “live in a (or the only) longest inhabited city of India.” The “facticity” lies predisposed towards nostalgia. The discovery (read invention) of Varanasi by Mark Twain resonates with the same popular conviction, the same mythopoesis of Varanasi which we obtain from its common people living there for generations: “Benares is older than history, older than tradition, older even than legend ... Benares is thus the center of the earth” (Following the Equator. A Journey around the World. Hartford: The American Publishing Company, 1897: 176).

How the “popular” as a colonial tool entangles with the postcolonial fragments in the rise of nationalism is exemplified in Partha Chatterjee's concept of naturalisa-

tion and hegemony of the “popular” (The Nation and its Fragments. Colonial and Postcolonial Histories. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993: 73): It has to be approached not by the calculating and analytic of rational reasoning but by “feelings of the heart,” by lyrical compassion. The popular is the timeless truth of the national culture. But the “popular” as timeless is tainted by the colonial reason, the ‘timeless’ traditional culture served as a self-congratulatory reference point against which Western civilization could measure its own progressive historical evolution. Even as much of what we now recognize as culture was produced by the colonial encounter, the concept itself was in part invented because of it. Yet after the colonial period the “popular” became central and flourished into the multilayered symbolic and cosmological beliefs and performances of the people of Banaras. The landscape of Kashi (as Banaras is called Kashi in almost all Hindu scriptural references) may indeed be imagined as a popular entanglement of topography and mythology. However, it might invite to critical debates: Kashi (read Banaras) is said to be the city of Shiva, founded at the dawn of creation. Today, Peking, Athens, and Jerusalem are moved by a very different ethos from that which moved them in ancient times, but Kashi is not.

For demystifying space, the past is no more authentic than the present and “traditions” are frequently invented or, if they are not, the question of which traditions will predominate cannot be answered in advance. For asserting the predominance of the abstract, conceived, static, and nostalgic space in Banaras, inventions have been used to encourage “nationalisms, competitive localisms and introverted obsessions with “heritage.” In the sense of “lived space” it is criticised that delving into the past for internalised origins and a timeless truth of place is an isolating and confining practice. To want to establish boundaries around place, to secure the identity of place is to be unwilling to change, to move on, to be open and, therefore, can be seen as “attempts to stabilize the meaning of particular envelopes of space-time.”

In the Indian context, pilgrimage “is almost as old as the Indian civilization.” The religious duty of the Hindus is to perform pilgrimage in one's lifetime to at least four sacred abodes of gods (dhams). Banaras being one of them, is psychically embedded among the Indians. Similarly rooted are the myths that assign the places to corporeal attachments of gods and goddesses. Despite the breakthrough of modern communication in the last century, pilgrimage still remains the preferred mode of tourism for many Indians. The symbolic representations of images, signs, phrases, and narratives regarding the heritage of developing countries like India are disseminated by travel guides, guidebooks, tourist brochures, photographs, websites, blogs, etc. and help constructing destinations through phrases like “exotic,” “timeless,” “live heritage,” “authentic,” and “unlike west” especially to evoke curiosity in the Western tourists. It makes for good business in the global market of tourism. Quite similarly in Banaras, emerging from the consensus of the tour operators, hotels, travel-agents, and the politically backed “popular” construct, the convenient schedule of the venues and themes (presently available to the tourists) produce a

dominant narrative of the city tour of Banaras. It includes principally:

- The sunrise from the bank of the Ganga.
- The ghats seen from a boat ride, listening to the mythological interpretations (of modern nationalist origin) from the boatmen of “popular” riverfront heritage and the whole sacred complex of Kashi.
- Some popular Hindu temples (mainly of varied forms of Shiva, of Durga and Parvati [consorts of Shiva], of Vishnu, and of the mythical Lord King Rama and Hanuman) not being older than the 18th century and embodied by “popular” mythological interpretations.
- Benaras Hindu University.
- The “popular” archaeological relics, museums, the stupas (mounds for Buddhist prayer), bihar (abode of the Buddhist monks) of Sarnath.
- Ramnagar Fort of the earlier Hindu King of Kashi (believed to be the incarnation of God-King Rama) built in the 18th century on the opposite bank of the Ganga and where the Ganga Aarti is held.
- Guided visits to the shops.

It is not before the beginning of the 19th century (especially since the riot of 1809) that the modern politicisation of religious nationalism started disrupting the inclusive urban heritage of the city. The ritual motivation of the Marathas to restore certain sacred places, such as Varanasi, “did not imply the existence of a sense of the religious war based on ethnic or communal consciousness.” On discussing the invention of ethnic nationalism in the above context, it is stated, “The development of Hindu nationalism is therefore a modern phenomenon that has developed on the basis of strategies of ideology-building, and despite the original characteristics of a diverse set of practices clubbed under the rubric of Hinduism.”

Onwukwe, Chimaobi: Anthropolinguistic Analysis of Igbo Metaphorical Expressions. *Anthropos* 115.2020: 107–113.

Metaphor as a figure of speech does not only relate one entity to another by associating their features but also are vital expressions of traditional thoughts, belief, and worldview of the Igbo. The Igbo value and use metaphors in conversations. Like in other climes or cultures, the Igbo use metaphors by associating features of an entity-animate or inanimate, to a person, or situations. Metaphorical expressions in Igbo could be about a person, conduct or behavior as well as on culturally significant issues such as religion, thoughts, practices etc. The Igbo conceptualize and concretize realities as well as their worldview implicitly using metaphorical expressions. The concretizing of their realities is achieved by associating features or attributes of an entity to another. Also, some concepts in Igbo are conceptualized using the same association pattern.

The word “Igbo” is used to denote both the people and the language. Igbo is spoken by tens of millions of people in the South-Eastern geo-political zone of Nigeria. It is spoken as the only language in Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, and Imo States. These are monolingual states. It is also spoken as a major language in multilingual states of

Delta and Rivers in the South-South geo-political zone. Igbo is a major language of communication in Nigeria with approximately 25 million people talking it as their first language.

Metaphor is a matter of thought and action rather than a device of poetic imagination and the rhetoric flourish. Similarly, emotions such as anger, pride and love are conceptualized structure in everyday language. All these studies illustrate the cognitive idea of metaphor, i.e. metaphor mediates human understanding and world view. Metaphorical expressions use referents. Referents are entities to which a person, action, situation, conduct etc. is associated with in metaphors. Concretizing the Igbo worldview or realities using metaphors is essentially achieved by the referents. For this reason, the Igbo are selective of referents of their metaphorical expressions as they have cultural significance. We identified the following referents of the Igbo metaphors:

(i) Body-parts: face (“getting the face dirty” = shame), heart/belly (“bad heart/belly” = wicked person), tongue (“sharp tongue” = dangerous/snipper), foot (“the feet that are always outside” = promiscuity or troublesome);

(ii) Animals: monkey (“ugly, wayward, primitive”), tortoise (“cunning, deceitful”), dog (“promiscuity”), vulture (“ugly, not-useful, has no enemy, associate of deities”);

(iii) Natural and physical objects: sand/soil (“plenty”), tree (“a figure, rare personality, celebrity”), mountain (“hindrance/obstacle”).

Igbo metaphorical expressions derive their meanings contextually. In pragmatic sense, metaphors in Igbo can be analyzed in terms of context of usage, presuppositions, inferences, and schemata knowledge. By context of usage, we consider the situation/circumstances or even subject of discussion. By presupposition, we mean information that is taken for granted as common or shared knowledge between a speaker and hearer. By inference, we refer to the meaning or interpretation given to an utterance base on some knowledge of the world around language users. Schemata knowledge refers to knowledge shared on a subject matter by language users or between speaker and hearer.

Garth, Hanna: Consumption, Temporality, and Celebration in Contemporary Cuba. *American Anthropologist* 121/4.2020: 801–814.

Garth argues in her article that the temporal experience of contemporary Cuba must be understood as co-constituted in both the struggles of daily life and cycles of celebration. As the socialist welfare state has tried to maintain quality of life in post-Soviet Cuba, the daily work of acquiring basic goods and services has increasingly become a “struggle” (una lucha). Nonetheless, while everyday life is experienced as a struggle, Cubans are often seen reveling in the joyous experience of celebration at parties or annual festivals. Rather than view these events as spectacular, Garth sees them as central to socialist temporality and the lived experiences of the doble moral, a set of shifting values and actions under post-Soviet Cuban socialism. Analyzing the ways in which Cubans living in

Santiago de Cuba experience the celebratory aspect of Carnival, birthday parties, and La Noche Santiaguera, a weekly street party, the author further states that the temporal experiences of anticipation, inversion, and rejuvenation juxtaposed with the daily experiences of the “struggle” (*la lucha*) are central to the lived experiences of Cubanidad and socialism in Cuba today.

Garth’s article is therefore based on the argument that festivals are central to Cuban heritage: alongside historical memory, people orient their temporal experience of daily life around these events. As such, these celebrations are integral to the temporal framework of the lived experience of Cubanidad, understood as both the “general condition of Cubans” and as a sense of Cuban identity linked to place and the nation-state. The ways Cubans emphasize this temporal experience over others illuminates the centrality of the tensions between socialist distribution systems and “traditions” of celebration as Cubans grapple with political-economic change.

The Cuban state has faced economic difficulties in the last few decades, and the egalitarian socialist distribution system has been faltering. From acquiring scarce medicine on the black market to engaging in sex work for extra cash, to elaborate systems of acquiring scarce food, Cubans must engage in stressful tactics to acquire basic necessities. These tactics are part of the lived experience of *la doble moral* (“dual morality”), a term Cubans use to describe the contradictions of these social conditions where people are expected to uphold the revolution and espouse socialist values publicly while undermining those same values as they do anything necessary to get by behind the scenes. Cubans are pressured to “think like capitalists but continue being socialist.”

Garth’s research took place from 2008 to 2017, a period of intense political change in Cuba, which gave rise to feelings of uncertainty about Cuba’s future. Beginning with Fidel Castro’s illness and temporary turnover of the government to Raul Castro in 2006, then Fidel Castro’s eventual resignation in 2011 and death in 2016, incremental changes in the law and uncertainties about Cuba’s future have had a profound effect on the experience of everyday life on the island. For many Cubans, these uncertainties of everyday life are experienced as a liminal state between the socialism they once knew and the future. During this daily *lucha*, they often do not feel like they can relax and be themselves. Instead, they feel that only during celebration, relaxation, and festivities can they let go of the difficulties of *la doble moral* and feel like they can be themselves.

While singing, dancing, and sharing large mugs of warm state-subsidized beer during festivities, Cubans take back time, imbue it with joy, and revel in celebration as they wait for more beer. In the context of daily life in Cuba today, so often experienced as unstable, constantly changing, and unpredictable, these regular interruptions of the struggles of daily life become spaces for stabilizing the unstable. The daily *lucha* to overcome unpredictable scarcity juxtaposed with a calendric cycle of celebrations characterized by joyful consumption is central to the temporal experience of post-Soviet socialist Cuba.

Hartikainen, Elina Inkeri: Candomblé and the Academic’s Tools. Religious Expertise and the Binds of Recognition in Brazil. *American Anthropologist* 121/4.2020: 815–829.

Latin American state efforts to recognize ethnically and racially marked populations have focused on knowledge and expertise. This article argues that this form of state recognition does not only call on subaltern groups to present themselves in a frame of expertise. It also pushes such groups to position themselves and their social and political struggles in a matrix based on expertise and knowledge. In certain sense, it resembles the Steyler Missionaries’ (SVD) official commitment to science that is going back to the order’s founder, Arnold Janssen. In the context of early 2000s Brazil, the drive to recognition led activists from the Afro-Brazilian religion Candomblé to reimagine the religion’s practitioners’ long-term engagements with scholars and scholarly depictions of then religion as a form of epistemological exploitation that had resulted in public misrecognition of the true source of knowledge on the religion: Candomblé practitioners. To remedy this situation, the activists called on Candomblé practitioners to appropriate the “academic’s tools,” the modes of representation by which scholarly expertise and knowledge were performed and recognized by the general, public, and state officials. This strategy transformed religious structures of expertise and knowledge in ways that established a new, politically efficacious epistemological grounding for Candomblé practitioners’ calls for recognition. But it also further marginalized temples with limited connections or access to scholars and higher education.

Across Latin America, state efforts to expand the social and political inclusion of historically marginalized ethnically and racially marked populations have taken the revalorization of subaltern knowledge and expertise as a central concern. In most Latin American contexts, such efforts have focused on Indigenous populations, but in Brazil they have been championed as a remedy to Afro-Brazilian marginalization. This was particularly the case in the first decade of the 2000s, when the Brazilian federal government’s efforts to counter the legacy of racial democracy – a nationally hegemonic ideology that celebrated cultural and racial miscegenation yet obscured deep racial inequalities and discrimination – were focused on repositioning Afro-Brazilian populations and cultural traditions in established frameworks of knowledge and expertise. From the recognition of the knowledge of Capoeira mestres (masters of the Afro-Brazilian martial art *Capoeira*) and *baianas de acarajé* (street vendors of the Afro-Brazilian acarajé bean fritter) as immaterial cultural patrimony to the mandating of the teaching of Afro-Brazilian culture and history in the nation’s public schools, the federal government’s efforts to revalorize Afro-Brazilian cultural contributions have had a distinctly epistemological bent.

A framework of expertise was by no means foreign to Candomblé practitioners in Salvador in the early 2000s. The religion has been a central focus of social scientific research on and representation of Afro-Brazilian religion

and culture since the late nineteenth century. As a result, Candomblé practitioners have been both intimately familiar with and variously involved in the construction of scholarly depictions of the religion for well over a century. They have acted as informants and interviewees as well as interlocutors, consultants, spiritual guides, and mentors to scholars. They have also taken more active roles in the production of this scholarship. In addition to recruiting scholars to study their temples, practitioners have participated in conferences organized by academics, organized conferences of their own, founded research centers on Afro-Brazilian culture and religion, and authored numerous monographs and essay collections. This web of scholar-practitioner engagements has built a particular structure of expertise in which scholars and scholarly expertise have variously mediated practitioners' access to government recognition. The temples that have been the most studied by scholars have also been the most successful at obtaining government funding and titling as sites of cultural heritage. Candomblé practitioners have seen great value in the ways that scholars have contributed to improving Candomblé's public image.

Kahn, Jeffrey S.: *Smugglers, Migrants, and Demons. Cosmographies of Mobility in the Northern Caribbean. American Ethnologist* 46/4.2020: 470–481.

Haitian sea migration and US maritime policing, says Jeffrey Kahn, have emerged in tandem since the 1980s. During this time, many Haitians have begun to assume that migration voyages succeed only because of ritual exchanges – in particular, transactions between migrants and sea-traversing, other-than-human beings. These ritual payments, along with other activities of border crossing and control have placed ships, routes, and offshore detention centers in an interconnected constellation that spans the entire northern Caribbean. These cosmographically deep spatial configurations exceed concepts like “region” or “sociocultural area.” Cosmographic depth, while not unique to these spaces, is made visible in the array of entities, forces, and moral sensibilities that compose them. Seeing cosmographically highlights this depth, which is often rendered inconsequential by dominant bureaucratic registers of border securitization.

The term cosmography refers here to the multiple entities and forces that make up a mutable spatial configuration and give it cosmic depth, a depth that exceeds what is conventionally encompassed by the term geography. This particular Haitian cosmography emerged over the last three decades of the 20th century at the intersection of American projects of securitization and Haitian projects of transnational mobility and capital redirection. This space is infused with particular economic and political interests and populated by visible and invisible beings – the forces that facilitate and impede movement within it.

The actors who help constitute these spaces include the *lwa* (spirits that populate the pantheon of what many academics call “Vodou”) and *djab* (shape-shifting, nefarious entities who, in some instances, ply these waters like typical Haitian freighter captains, though they can transform into fog or sea spray should they encounter US pa-

trols). *Djab* have become indispensable to certain modes of illicit circulation between Haiti, the United States, and the Bahamas, guiding voyages through the US offshore surveillance regime while locking the organizers of such ventures in relations of precarious indebtedness that can be satisfied only through the payment of human life. Other ethics of familial and community solidarity appear as well as their darker inverses, conditioning a sense of how human and other-than-human beings ought to circulate across these land- and seascapes.

Like all sociocultural phenomena, ritual and other economies emerge from pragmatic processes. In combination, they presuppose and produce spaces – meaningful and instrumental constellations of places, routes, entities, and forces. Duties to kin, community, and other-than-human entities – what an older anthropological lexicon risked oversimplifying with terms like spirit and deity – dictate, facilitate, and constrain the itineraries of Haitian migrants, smugglers, and mobile merchants. In fulfilling these duties through voyaging, establishing relations, and exchanging valuable items, Haitians generate a practiced cosmography that has emerged dialectically with US-led projects of border securitization in the region.

Sorcery and witchcraft play a role in how people imagine, engage with, and experience space, as do ritual obligations to sentient entities, be they other- or more-than human. This is true with regard to interactions that extend across both land and maritime spaces, including relations between visible and invisible beings in sea-spanning gift economies and transoceanic networks of migrant mobility. Social, commercial, and ritual interactions are not exclusive to firm land. In many instances, interactions at sea produce spaces teeming with, not devoid of, sociocultural complexity. The voyaging, policing, and exchanging that transpire at sea (or in formations that span land and sea) arrange earthy, lively, and liquid elements into configurations of routes, forces, and entities recognizable to those for whom they are of interest. These spatial arrangements establish the historically mutable affordances and impediments relevant to various projects of mobility. The cosmographic orientation of those who inhabit particular spaces becomes visible to the ethnographer in the complex interplay between observed acts of becoming mobile and the stories told about a given practice of becoming mobile.

Ceron-Anaya, Hugo: *Class, Gender, and Space. The Case of Affluent Golf Clubs in Contemporary Mexico City. Ethnography* 20/4.2020: 503–522.

In this article Ceron-Anaya examines how class and gender hierarchies are reproduced through spatial dynamics among affluent golfers in contemporary Mexico City, using the concepts of “collective visibility” and “invisibility.” The analysis focuses on how class and gender principles make some sites and actions visible while reducing the perceptibility of other spaces and acts. To do so, the article addresses three questions: to what extent and in what ways are privileged social spaces, like golf clubs, exclusively organized by class principles? How do Mexican golfers understand the class and gender princi-

ples operating in golf clubs? And how do multiple axes of differences inform space and spatial practices? The study is based on an ethnography of three up-scale golf clubs and 58 in-depth interviews with members of the golfing community, including club members, instructors, caddies, and golf journalists in Mexico City.

According to the Mexican Golf Federation (FMG), there are 27,631 golfers in the entire country. Most of these golfers live in one of Mexico's three largest urban centers: Guadalajara, Monterrey, and Mexico City. Including its surrounding metropolitan area, Mexico City has a population of around 20 million inhabitants and contains the largest concentration of golf players and clubs. However, even if all the golfers in Mexico were in the capital city, they would make up only 0.13 percent of the city's population. What is more, in this megalopolis there are no public courses – the sport is exclusively played at private clubs. The price of membership varies greatly at the 13 private golf clubs in the city, with two clubs having one-time membership fees greater than US\$ 100,000 and the less expensive club charging around US\$ 7,000. The average cost of membership in most clubs ranges from 16,000 to 35,000 US dollars. The exclusivity of the sport becomes more evident when compared with the economic reality of the average population in Mexico. Over half (53%) of the population lives below the poverty line. Workers, on average, earn the lowest salaries of any other member state of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the average annual income is only US\$ 15,300.

Golf has attracted an important number of newly affluent individuals in the last decades. According to the editor of one of the most important golf magazines in the country, approximately 30 percent of current players are “not traditional golfers.” The inclusion of new money in this sport has generated tensions, expressed through rude comments and harsh parody. For example, an old-time player told the author: “Golf has always been linked to money, but nowadays it is also linked to snobbism.” However, as I have argued elsewhere, class animosity co-exists with ties of friendship between old and new money. After all, several old-time golfers put me in contact with newcomers and the other way around. It is within these sites for upper-middle and upper classes that the authors examine how class and gender principles influence multiple dynamics of (in)visibility.

The findings have shown how strongly golf clubs are shaped by the overlapping forces of class and gender. Class principles are connected to the dynamics of invisibility that differentiate insiders from outsiders. Even though some of the oldest and most prestigious clubs occupy large tracts of land in central locations, these golf clubs remain invisible to outsiders. Workers near the perimeter of these clubs are unable to tell precisely where these sites are located. Following geographers' argument that the spatial is always political, the invisibility of clubs fulfills a political role. It prevents any challenge that might emanate from the public exhibition of these affluent clubs, such as questions about water consumption and land rights. On the other hand, the restrictions concerning social contact stand as a symbol of social superiority. Class is not the only principle that modifies the dynamics

of visibility in affluent sites. Gender also intervenes in determining temporal and spatial arrangements in golf clubs. The gender-specific time slots turned the club into a male-only site during early-morning hours, with the exception of lady's day, which gave the clubs a feminine dimension once a week.

Tønnessen Schuff, Hildegunn Marie: Dancing Faith: Contemporary Christian Dance in Norway. *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 34.2019/3: 529–549.

“Although dance is a common religious expression, its place in the Christian tradition has been contested. In modern Protestant Norway, dance has mostly been considered irrelevant to church life or even sinful. In recent decades, however, dance has become increasingly common in Norwegian churches. The present analysis of empirical data on dance in Christian settings in contemporary Norway is based on participant observation and interviews. While younger dancers (born after 1990) consider it natural to dance in church, and are usually welcome to do so, older participants have met significant resistance. When dancing, dancers find personal meaning (wellbeing, processing emotions and life events), social meaning (communication, belonging), and religious meaning (contact with God, prayer, growth). Dance emerges as a part of lived religion that clearly highlights how bodies matter, and how spiritualities are gendered, in this contribution to understanding the embodied dimensions of religion.”

Ganiel, Gladys: Religious Practice in a Post-Catholic Ireland: Towards a Concept of “Extra-Institutional Religion”. *Social Compass* 66.2019/4: 471–487.

“This article develops the concept of ‘extra-institutional religion’ to describe how some religiously committed individuals practise religion in a ‘post-Catholic’ Ireland. Rooted in an island-wide study, it describes extra-institutional religion as the practice of religion outside or in addition to the Catholic Church, Ireland's historically dominant religious institution. As a new concept, extra-institutional religion provides an alternative to the theoretical emphasis on religious individualisation advocated by sociologists of religion and general theorists like Ulrich Beck. It builds on the concepts of British sociologists of religion Grace Davie (‘believing without belonging’ and ‘vicarious religion’) and Abby Day (‘believing in belonging’ and ‘performative religion’). It argues that extra-institutional religion may have application outside Ireland in the mixed religious markets of Europe. Extra-institutional religion also may contribute to wider change by balancing its two structural strengths: its position on the margins, and its continued links with institutional religion.”

(p. 481): “I developed the concept of extra-institutional religion over the course of the research, so the project did not include the means to identify what percentage of Irish Catholics were practising their religion in this way. Future research also could explore how extra-institutional Catholics mix the rituals and sacraments of the church

with their religious practices outside and in addition to it, contrasting their practices to those of orthodox Catholics.

Because extra-institutional religion describes the practice of some people who are committed to their religion, it is fundamentally different from vicarious or performative religion. Extra-institutional religion describes the practice of those who exhibit relatively unique enthusiasm for religion, while vicarious and performative religion explain how religion retains significance for people whose religious practice is nominal or non-existent. Extra-institutional religion, then, is an alternative to religious individualism for describing how people who are committed practice their religion in a secularising context. But extra-institutional, vicarious and performative religion are united in two important ways: 1) the significance they place on historic religious institutions, and 2) the recognition that such institutions retain relatively privileged positions in the mixed religious markets of Europe.”

(p. 484): “[...] extra-institutional religion is agnostic on questions about the character of wider change. Extra-institutional religion could be practised by cosmopolitan religious actors advocating peace and pluralism; indeed, the nature of my study in Ireland was such that these people were over-represented among the interviewees. But extra-institutional religion also could be practised by fundamentalists and religious nationalists seeking change through coercion and violence. Finally, it is worth reiterating that extra-institutional religion is a provisional concept. It is empirically untested outside Ireland; and even in Ireland, there is not strong empirical evidence of its ability to contribute to wider change. Further research is needed to challenge or confirm the utility of the concept, in Ireland and other European contexts.”

Phoenix, Aisha: Negotiating British Muslim Belonging: A Qualitative Longitudinal Study. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42.2019/10: 1632–1650.

(p. 1635): “Yasmin and Aaminah, whose accounts are analyzed in this paper, were two of six Muslim undergraduates from two universities who participated in semi-structured interviews that were audio recorded and transcribed in 2010 (three women and three men). I explored questions on: belonging and identities in relation to being Muslim in the UK, Europe and the Global North more generally; perceptions of British domestic and foreign policies; understandings of Islam and views of Muslim countries internationally. Yasmin and Aaminah explained that they tried to observe the five pillars of Islam and regularly attended the ISoc (Islamic Society) at their university. [...] I decided to focus on the narratives of Yasmin and Aaminah, as they considered Islam central to their identities. Both women were from working class backgrounds and were first interviewed as 20-year-old undergraduates. Yasmin (Eritrean) and Aaminah (Bangladeshi) were recruited at a Sisters’ ISoc event at their university. Over a period of six months in 2010 I spent a couple of hours each week doing informal observations at the ISoc, positioning myself as an interested observer. I then interviewed them again in 2017 when Yasmin (27) was married and Aaminah (28) was married with two

children. I decided to take a small case study approach because it allows ‘topics to be pursued in more depth’ and I analyzed the women’s narratives over the seven years between interviews as this ‘allows rare insight into the reconceptualization of ... experiences over time’.”

(pp. 1641–1642): “Yasmin replied, ‘Not really’, when I asked whether she saw herself as British [in 2010]. Instead, she said she saw herself as, ‘Just a Muslim’, not as British, English or any other nationality. In a similar way, Aaminah said that she doesn’t ‘fit in with the world’. When asked how she felt about this, she said, ‘I honestly don’t care [laughs]. Cos like ... I don’t know ... Cos at the end of the day I see it like this, the only important thing is my relationship with Allah’.

If I’m compromising my religion to be accepted by society, then I wouldn’t be accepted by Him ... Even if I wasn’t religious there’d still be questions about me being from a working class background. There’d still be questions about me being Bengali, so the odds are against me. I’m a female, I’m working class, I’m from an ethnic minority and I’m a Muslim, that’s like four things against me so I can’t really let it get to me.

[...] When I asked Yasmin whether she saw herself as British in 2017, she said that she saw herself as less British than she did last time, but that she sees herself as British ‘to some extent’. When I asked her in what way she does and does not see herself as British, she said:

‘I do in that I live here and have a British passport (laughs) and this has been my home for over twenty years. And when I go back to my actual home, if I go back to Eritrea, for example, I don’t feel at home and if I go back to Saudi Arabia where I was born, I don’t feel at home there either. So this must be my home. And I don’t in that, I’m just questioning people’s inhibited thoughts, inhibited thinking, prejudice’.”

(p. 1647): “The women’s narratives highlight the complexity of negotiating belonging as Muslim young women in the UK. They point to the importance of intersectional analyses that recognize how the interplay of a number of factors, including: religion, gender, age, class, ethnicity and migration affect positioning in hierarchies of belonging. They also highlight the value of longitudinal research that underlines how identities are not fixed, but fluid and how growing older and shifts in positioning can lead to a stronger sense of self and greater confidence in claiming belonging, even as individuals recognize their vulnerability.”

Vliek, Maria: ‘It’s not just about faith’: Narratives of transformation when moving out of Islam in the Netherlands and Britain. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 30.2019/3: 323–344.

Concluding her article, the author writes (pp. 340–341): “Studies of ‘losing faith’ have, understandably, so far primarily focused on the negative (losing) and religious (faith) sides of changes in existential beliefs. In response, since my interlocutors’ narratives were ‘not just about faith’, I have proposed adopting a broader consideration of what constitutes self-making in times of religious change. My critique of the approaches to the subject taken

so far was threefold. First, previous academic terminology did not resonate with my data with regard to either semantics or the self-definitions I encountered. Second, in the available descriptions of so-called exit-trajectories, little attention has been given to the life-worlds of people outside religion: its focus has chiefly been negative (exit) and religiously centered. Third, narrative descriptions did not apply to my interlocutors' experiences for similar reasons: the focus has hitherto been on a negative approach to religion when it concerned moving out of religion. In contrast, the narratives I encountered included, besides religion, a plethora of social, political, ethnic and gendered discourses.

I have therefore proposed approaching the changing self not only in relation to religion, but rather as a 'society of mind'. Dialogical Self Theory assumes the self is inhabited by external voices and different roles or identities that one assumes in different situations (I-positions), between which dialogue occurs in the negotiation of a changing life-world, especially upon self-reflection. This approach allows for the recognition of a self in transition in an ever-changing world, responsive to a multiplicity of discourses and roles one has to negotiate, and moves beyond the religious-secular, belief-non-belief, Muslim-non-Muslim dichotomies. It recognizes the relative weight of the religious voice in narratives, rather than presuming the centrality of religion to one's identity. I have presented four themes that emerged after dialogical analysis.

For the 'religious break', 'being Muslim' and religion used to be central to one's identity. Religious doubt is often prompted by an emotional event or trauma. It is common for this type of narrative to define one's new self in relation to one's former religion. Second, for the 'social break-away', the main issues are the socio-religious impositions and limitations that are enforced. Difference from one's environment is often negotiated from a young age, which in turn may prompt doubt about the existence of God. Third, for the 'entrance', exit from the Muslim identity does occur, but only after one has familiarized oneself with a different identity. Negotiating difference is often considered to aid the development of self and identity, rather than hampering it. Characteristic of the entrance is that the new-found identity makes one doubt the Muslim identity and faith in God. Lastly, 'unconscious secularization' is marked by a lack of conscious doubt about the existence of God or (de-)identification as Muslim. Although religion does play a role, it is not central to one's sense of identity and therefore not key in self-development. I have presented a fifth narrative to illustrate the potential intertwining of these themes.

In describing these themes, I have not necessarily aimed to direct the focus away from religion all together when studying 'losing faith'. Rather, I argue that we should be considerate of things besides 'the negative' and 'what is missing' and move beyond the assumption that people may exist or be described merely in relation to

religion. Perhaps we may give a little more attention to the realities and discourses that people find themselves in besides religion, as well as to the ways in which people respond to them and reshape their sense of self. In Yedder's words [one of the respondents]: 'Perhaps there should be [a focus] on what we are rather than what we are not.' The field of moving out of religion, especially in a post-migration context, is still relatively unexplored and the approach I propose opens up questions beyond what is left behind."

Vroon-Najem, Vanessa: Muslim Converts in the Netherlands and the Quest for a "Culture-free" Islam. *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 64.2019/186: 33–51.

(p. 34): "This article is based on anthropological research among converts to Islam in the Netherlands. In the context of my doctoral dissertation, I conducted fieldwork among five Dutch-language Muslim women's groups in the Amsterdam metropolitan area (2006–2011). This research focused on changes in daily life when becoming Muslim, how converts form and become part of (new) communities, and how they try to differentiate between culture and religion. Between 2014–2019, I continued this research, focused on how Muslim converts find a partner and conclude their marriages. In the course of my research, I participated in hundreds of offline meetings, lectures, social and religious events, and had access to participants' online activities as well. In addition to countless informal conversations, I interviewed more than eighty women, many of them multiple times, and a dozen men. With few exceptions, they were all converts to Islam. Muslim converts in the Netherlands are a very diverse group. There are white Dutch converts, converts who are Dutch citizens from former colonies such as Suriname and the Antilles, and converts who are naturalized migrants, from Europe and other parts of the world, too. Some converts were born and raised in villages, others in multi-cultural city neighborhoods. There is variety as well as far as educational levels are concerned."

(p. 47): "In this article, I have discussed conversion to Islam within the specific context of the Netherlands, and participants' struggle to find their place among other Muslims, in particular, their realization that although they believe in the unity of Islam, in practice, Muslims differ. In order to deal with these differences, I argue, converts tend to emphasize the importance of differentiating between culture and religion, which I term a quest for a 'culture-free' Islam. They often idealize the first Muslims, conceptualized as a multi-ethnic group of converts, whose struggles somewhat resemble their own predicament, unified within a framework of Islamic brother/sisterhood. I argue that this framework functions as a counter discourse to the conflation of culture and community that converts often encounter."

**If any of the articles or books has caught your interest but you were unable to access them, please contact us.
Within our limited possibilities, we may be able to help you.**

administration@anthropos.eu <http://www.anthropos.eu>