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*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)

**Hoondert, Martin**, et al. (eds.): *Handbook of Disaster Ritual. Multidisciplinary Perspectives, Cases, and Themes*. Leuven: Peeters, 2021. 668 pp. ISBN 978-90-429-4648-4 (pbk)

“The Handbook of Disaster Ritual” presents an overview of relevant literature, perspectives, methods, concepts, as well as a selection of topical themes in relation to current disaster rituals. The handbook has been compiled from multi-disciplinary and geographically diverse perspectives and works with broad definitions of the concepts of both disaster and ritual. A disaster is defined as an event or situation that causes a significant disruption of a society or a group and evokes a collective and/or an individual reaction with expression of mourning, compassion, indignation, protest, call for justice, recovery, reconciliation, and consolation. In this working definition, it is clear that the impact of a disaster is “translated ritually”. Disasters bring forth a variety of ritual practices.

“The Handbook of Disaster Ritual” consists of three parts. After an extensive conceptual and historiographical introduction, Part I presents several perspectives on the study of disasters and disaster rituals. In Part II, a team of international scholars presents nineteen case studies of various disasters and disaster rituals. Part III addresses various themes from the case studies that can be seen as key elements in disaster rituals.

**Moin, A. Azfar**, and **Alan Strathern** (eds.): *Sacred Kingship in World History. Between Immanence and*

*Transcendence*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2022. 390 pp. ISBN 978-0-231-20417-0. (pbk)

Sacred kingship has been the core political form, in small-scale societies and in vast empires, for much of world history. This collaborative and interdisciplinary book recasts the relationship between religion and politics by exploring this institution in long-term and global comparative perspective.

A. Azfar Moin and Alan Strathern present a theoretical framework for understanding sacred kingship, which leading scholars reflect on and respond to in a series of essays. They distinguish between two separate but complementary religious tendencies, immanentism and transcendentalism, which mold kings into divinized or righteous rulers, respectively. Whereas immanence demands priestly and cosmic rites from kings to sustain the flourishing of life, transcendence turns the focus to salvation and subordinates rulers to higher ethical objectives. Secular modernity does not end the struggle between immanence and transcendence – flourishing and righteousness – but only displaces it from kings onto nations and individuals.

After an essay by Marshall Sahlins that ranges from the Pacific to the Arctic, the book contains chapters on religion and kingship in settings as far-flung as ancient Egypt, classical Greece, medieval Islam, Mughal India, modern European drama, and ISIS. *Sacred Kingship in World History* sheds new light on how religion has constructed rulership, with implications spanning global history, religious studies, political theory, and anthropology.

**Maruszczyk, Oliver:** Wandelbarkeiten des Antisemitismus. Zur Stellung des Antisemitismus in der Rassistis-, Ethnizitäts- und Nationalismusforschung. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2022. 373 pp. ISBN 978-3-8376-6270-2. (pbk)

Der Antisemitismus ist ein gleichermaßen langlebiges wie veränderbares Phänomen der Ausgrenzung. Seine inhomogene Verbreitung über unterschiedliche Milieus, Communities, Kommunikationsräume und Zeitverläufe hinweg verdeutlicht diesen Befund. Um die (Dis)Kontinuitäten und Wandelbarkeiten des Antisemitismus fassbar machen zu können, entwickelt Oliver Maruszczyk eine prozessorientierte Theorie antisemitischer Grenzbeziehungen. Zu diesem Zweck kombiniert er in innovativer Form das kultursoziologische Grenzbeziehungsparadigma mit der Intersektionalitätsforschung und leistet damit nicht zuletzt einen Beitrag zur Wiederannäherung von Antisemitismusforschung und soziologischer Ungleichheitsforschung.

**Walz, Heike** (ed.): Dance as Third Space. Interreligious, Intercultural, and Interdisciplinary Debates on Dance and Religion(s). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2022. 420 pp. ISBN 978-3-525-56854-5. (hbk)

Dance plays an important role in many religious traditions, in rites of passage, processions, shrines and sacred spaces, healing rituals, or festivals. This volume breaks new ground by examining how dance as post-colonial “Third Space” transforms studies of religion. International experts examine dance controversies and discourses from the early church to World Christianity, as well as in Hasidic Judaism, Greek mysteries, Islamic Sufism, West African Togolese religions, and Afro-Brazilian Umbanda. Christian dance theologies are unfolded and the boundary-crossing potential of dance in interreligious and intercultural encounters is explored.

**Douglas-Jones, Rachel, and Justin Schaffner** (eds.): Hope and Insufficiency. Capacity Building in Ethnographic Comparison. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2021. 180 pp. ISBN 978-1-80073-099-1. (hbk)

A process through which skills, knowledge, and resources are expanded, capacity building, remains a tantalizing and pervasive concept throughout the field of anthropology, though it has received little in the way of critical analysis. By exploring the concept’s role in a variety of different settings including government lexicons, religious organizations, environmental campaigns, biomedical training, and fieldwork from around the globe, “Hope and Insufficiency” seeks to question the histories, assumptions, intentions, and enactments that have led to the ubiquity of capacity building, thereby developing a much-needed critical purchase on its persuasive power.

**Parkin, Robert:** How Kinship Systems Change. On the Dialectics of Practice and Classification. New

York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2021. 310 pp. ISBN 978-1-80073-166-0. (hbk)

Using some of his landmark publications on kinship, along with a new introduction, chapter and conclusion, Robert Parkin discusses here the changes in kinship terminologies and marriage practices, as well as the dialectics between them. The chapters also focus on a suggested trajectory, linking South Asia and Europe and the specific question of the status of Crow-Omaha systems. The collection culminates in the argument that, whereas marriage systems and practices seem infinitely varied when examined from a very close perspective, the terminologies that accompany them are much more restricted.

Dwight Read: Accounts of kinship terminology evolution either have mostly focused on single, or a few, regions without placing the account into a larger context... Parkin provides a far more complete account based on extensive empirical evidence regarding the world-wide variations among kinship terminologies.

**Hardenberg, Roland, Josephus Platenkamp, and Thomas Widlok** (Hrsg.): Ethnologie als angewandte Wissenschaft. Das Zusammenspiel von Theorie und Praxis. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2022. 388 pp. ISBN 978-3-496-01680-9. (pbk)

Ethnologinnen und Ethnologen haben eine lange Erfahrung mit Fragen der kulturellen Aneignung von Wissen, die seit kurzem auch stark in den Mittelpunkt des öffentlichen Interesses gerückt sind. Sie kennen das Dilemma, dass die eigene Forschungspraxis oft unter Rahmenbedingungen stattfindet, in denen koloniale und andere Formen der Ausbeutung bestehen, wissen aber auch um die Bedeutung und den Wert von „Ethnologie als Alltagsressource“. Die Beiträge in diesem Band untersuchen daher den Wert ethnologischer Forschungen für die erforschten Gruppen und für das Verständnis der jeweils eigenen Gesellschaft.

**Descola, Philippe:** Les formes du visible. Une anthropologie de la figuration. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2021. 761 pp. ISBN 978-2-02-147698-9. (pbk)

La figuration n’est pas tout entière livrée à la fantaisie expressive de ceux qui font des images. On ne figure que ce que l’on perçoit ou imagine, et l’on n’imagine et ne perçoit que ce que l’habitude nous a enseigné à discerner. Le chemin visuel que nous traçons spontanément dans les plis du monde dépend de notre appartenance à l’une des quatre régions de l’archipel ontologique : animisme, naturalisme, totémisme ou analogisme. Chacune de ces régions correspond à une façon de concevoir l’ossature et le mobilier du monde, d’en percevoir les continuités et les discontinuités, notamment les diverses lignes de partage entre humains et non-humains.

Masque yup’ik d’Alaska, peinture sur écorce aborigène, paysage miniature de la dynastie des Song, tableau d’intérieur hollandais du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle : par ce

qu'elle montre ou omet de montrer, une image révèle un schème figuratif particulier, repérable par les moyens formels dont elle use, et par le dispositif grâce auquel elle pourra libérer sa puissance d'agir. Elle nous permet d'accéder, parfois mieux que par des mots, à ce qui distingue les manières contrastées de vivre la condition humaine. En comparant avec rigueur des images d'une étourdissante diversité, Philippe Descola pose magistralement les bases théoriques d'une anthropologie de la figuration.

Philippe Descola développe une anthropologie comparative des rapports entre humains et non-humains qui a révolutionné à la fois le paysage des sciences humaines et la réflexion sur les enjeux écologiques de notre temps.

**Sahlins, Marshall:** *The New Science of the Enchanted Universe. An Anthropology of Most of Humanity.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022. 196 pp. ISBN 978-0-691-21592-1 (hbk)

One of the world's preeminent cultural anthropologists leaves a last work that fundamentally reconfigures how we study most other cultures.

From the perspective of Western modernity, humanity inhabits a disenchanted cosmos. Gods, spirits, and ancestors have left us for a transcendent beyond, no longer living in our midst and being involved in all matters of everyday life from the trivial to the dire. Yet the vast majority of cultures throughout human history treat spirits as very real persons, members of a cosmic society who interact with humans and control their fate. In most cultures, even today, people are but a small part of an enchanted universe misconstrued by the transcendent categories of "religion" and the "supernatural." *The New Science of the Enchanted Universe* shows how anthropologists and other social scientists must rethink these cultures of immanence and study them by their own lights.

In this, his last, revelatory book, Marshall Sahlins announces a new method and sets an exciting agenda for the field. He takes readers around the world, from Inuit of the Arctic Circle to pastoral Dinka of East Africa, from Araweté swidden gardeners of Amazonia to Trobriand Island horticulturalists. In the process, Sahlins sheds new light on classical and contemporary ethnographies that describe these cultures of immanence and reveals how even the apparently mundane, all-too-human spheres of "economics" and "politics" emerge as people negotiate with, and ultimately usurp, the powers of the gods.

*New Science of the Enchanted Universe* offers a road map for a new practice of anthropology that takes seriously the enchanted universe and its transformations from ancient Mesopotamia to contemporary America.

**Eichler, Jessika:** *Die Rechte indigener Völker im Menschenrechtssystem. Normen, Institutionen und ge-*

*sellschaftliche Auswirkungen.* Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2022. 263 pp. ISBN 978-3-8487-6483-9. (pbk)

Das Lehrbuch erlaubt Einblicke in das kürzlich etablierte internationale Sonderrechtsregime zu den Rechten indigener Völker. Dabei wird die Leserschaft von den Anfängen in den 1970er Jahren bis hin zu aktueller Rechtsprechung geführt. Angenommene internationale und regionale Normen werden mit gesellschaftspolitischen Herausforderungen kontrastiert. Ähnlich werden breitere Debatten rund um die Anerkennungs- und Dekolonialisierungspolitik, Multilateralismus-Systeme und globales Regieren, die Pluralisierung der Gesellschaft und ihrer Institutionen, Kollektivrechte und die Bedeutung ziviler, politischer, wirtschaftlicher, sozialer und kultureller Rechte eröffnet. Dieses gruppenspezifische Gebiet des internationalen Menschenrechtsschutzes wird somit mittels des internationalen Rechtes und sozio-politischen Herangehensweisen betrachtet.

**Godelier, Maurice:** *L'interdit de l'inceste. À travers les sociétés.* Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2021. 120 pp. ISBN 978-2-271-133879-8. (pbk)

En quoi consiste l'inceste? Est-il l'objet d'une prohibition universelle? Cette interdiction concerne-t-elle les seules parentés "biologiques" ou s'étend-elle aux diverses parentés "sociales", comme celles qui se tissent aujourd'hui dans les familles dites recomposées mais qui existent aussi dans beaucoup d'autres sociétés? Cette prohibition joue un rôle fondamental dans le fonctionnement des multiples systèmes de parenté étudiés de par le monde. Mais d'où vient-elle? Peut-on penser, avec Claude Lévi-Strauss, que l'interdit de l'inceste marque à lui seul le passage de la nature à la culture? Et comment comprendre, alors, la tension persistante entre l'interdit proclamé, institutionnalisé, et la pratique incestueuse qui, partout, demeure?

Voyage dans l'espace et dans le temps, cette réflexion met en évidence un fait essentiel, le caractère spontanément asocial et indifférencié de la sexualité humaine et la nécessité d'une régulation sociale de cette spontanéité. Il met ainsi en lumière les principaux enseignements de l'anthropologie sur la question de l'inceste, fait social majeur et aujourd'hui d'une actualité brûlante.

**Krammer, Kurt, und Martin Rötting (Hg.):** *Buddhismus in Europa. Facetten zwischen Mode, Minderheit und Mindfulness in interreligiösen Bezügen.* Wien: LIT Verlag, 2022. 520 pp. ISBN 978-3-643-51107-2. (pbk)

In Europa gibt seit dem 19. Jahrhundert eine erkennbare Bewegung hin zum Buddhismus. Nachdem die ersten Kreise sich vor allem mit Texten auseinandergesetzt hatten, folgte die Bewegung des Meditationsbuddhis-

mus und in der Folge der Tibetische Buddhismus, Christen entdeckten den Zen. Mit der Achtsamkeitsbewegung erreichte der Buddhismus schließlich den Mainstream; ein Wandel in der gesellschaftlichen Religionswahrnehmung sowie wichtige Persönlichkeiten wie Thich Nhat Hanh oder der Dalai Lama prägen das Bild. Dieser Band bietet ein Bild der Facetten des gegenwärtigen Europäischen Buddhismus.

**Merkel, Ian:** *Terms of Exchange. Brazilian Intellectuals and the French Social Sciences.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 285 pp. ISBN 978-0-226-81979-2. (pbk)

Would the most recognizable ideas in the French social sciences have developed without the influence of Brazilian intellectuals? While any study of Brazilian social sciences acknowledges the influence of French scholars, Ian Merkel argues the reverse is also true: the “French” social sciences were profoundly marked by Brazilian intellectual thought, particularly through the University of São Paulo. Through the idea of the “cluster,” Merkel traces the intertwined networks of Claude Lévi-Strauss, Fernand Braudel, Roger Bastide, and Pierre Monbeig as they overlapped at USP and engaged with Brazilian scholars such as Mário de Andrade, Gilberto Freyre, and Caio Prado Jr.

Through this collective intellectual biography of Brazilian and French social sciences, “Terms of Exchange” reveals connections that shed new light on the Annales school, structuralism, and racial democracy, even as it prompts us to revisit established thinking on the process of knowledge formation through fieldwork and intellectual exchange. At a time when canons are being rewritten, this book reframes the history of modern social scientific thought.

**Alba Vega, Carlos, Marianne Braig, y Stefan Rinke** (eds.): *La violencia en América Latina entre espacios temporales del pasado y del futuro.* Berlin: edition tranvía – Verlag Walter Frey, 2022. 289 pp. ISBN 978-3-946327-31-8. (pbk)

Este libro aborda el tema de la violencia en América Latina desde distintos ángulos y puntos de vista, con base en el análisis de los principales actores violentos, las respuestas sociales y las representaciones de la violencia en la región. El énfasis en las prácticas, los movimientos y las estrategias de los actores involucrados permite hacer visibles sus redes y sus interconexiones a nivel local y global. Al mismo tiempo, los autores muestran cómo estas redes de actores (representantes del Gobierno, fuerzas policiales y militares, políticos, actores ilegales, etc.), sus estrategias y su intervención en las esferas política, económica y social desencadenan procesos violentos.

La violencia se entiende entonces como el resultado de la interacción de diferentes actores y prácticas en distintos niveles espaciales y temporales. El resultado

es un estudio integral del problema de la violencia en América Latina, que aborda prácticas de violencia tanto estructural como física, las cuales van desde la guerra, el asesinato, la tortura y las desapariciones hasta la violencia discursiva.

**Metz, Brent. E.:** *Where Did the Eastern Mayas Go? The Historical, Relational, and Contingent Interplay of Ch’orti’ Indigeneity.* Louisville: University Press of Colorado, 2022. 418 pp. ISBN 978-1-64642-261-6. (hbk)

In “Where Did the Eastern Mayas Go?” Brent E. Metz explores the complicated issue of who is Indigenous by focusing on the sociohistorical transformations over the past two millennia of the population currently known as the Ch’orti’ Maya. Epigraphers agree that the language of elite writers in Classic Maya civilization was Proto-Ch’olan, the precursor of the Maya languages Ch’orti’, Ch’olti’, Ch’ol, and Chontal. When the Spanish invaded in the early 1500s, the eastern half of this area was dominated by people speaking various dialects of Ch’olti’ and closely related Apay (Ch’orti’), but by the end of the colonial period (1524–1821) only a few pockets of Ch’orti’ speakers remained.

From 2003 to 2018 Metz partnered with Indigenous leaders to conduct a historical and ethnographic survey of Ch’orti’ Maya identity in what was once the eastern side of the Classic period lowland Maya region and colonial period Ch’orti’-speaking region of eastern Guatemala, western Honduras, and northwestern El Salvador. Today only 15,000 Ch’orti’ speakers remain, concentrated in two municipalities in eastern Guatemala, but since the 1990s nearly 100,000 impoverished farmers have identified as Ch’orti’ in thirteen Guatemalan and Honduran municipalities, with signs of Indigenous revitalization in several Salvadoran municipalities as well. Indigenous movements have raised the ethnic consciousness of many non-Ch’orti’-speaking semi-subsistence farmers, or campesinos. The region’s inhabitants employ diverse measures to assess identity, referencing language, history, traditions, rurality, “blood,” lineage, discrimination, and more.

This book approaches Indigenous identity as being grounded in historical processes, contemporary politics, and distinctive senses of place. The book is an engaged, activist ethnography not on but, rather, in collaboration with a marginalized population that will be of interest to scholars of the eastern lowland Maya region, indigeneity generally, and ethnographic experimentation.

*Matt Samson:* Metz provides valuable insight into the tension surrounding contemporary understandings of ethnic identity, indigenous organizing, and rural lifeways.

**Sowa, Frank** (Hrsg): *Kontinuitäten und Brüche im Leben der Menschen in der Arktis.* Opladen: Budrich UniPress, 2022. 396 pp. ISBN 978-3-86388-715-5. (pbk)

Grönland ist auf dem Weg, eine kleine nordische Nation zu werden. Mit der gegründeten Selbstregierung aus dem Jahr 2009 setzen grönländische Eliten den Weg in eine zunehmende Unabhängigkeit vom Königreich Dänemark fort. Gleichzeitig erfolgt ein rasanter gesellschaftlicher und kultureller Wandel. Doch wie leben eigentlich die Menschen in der Arktis heute? Die Beiträge zeigen aus unterschiedlichen Wissenschaftsperspektiven, dass ihr Dasein sowohl von Kontinuitäten als auch von Brüchen geprägt ist.

**Hannerz, Ulf:** *Afropolitan Horizons. Essays toward a Literary Anthropology of Nigeria.* New York: Bergahn Books, 2022. 226 pp. ISBN 978-1-80073-250-6 (hbk)

Nigeria is a country shaped by internal diversity and transnational connections, past and present. Leading Nigerian writers from Chinua Achebe, Amos Tutuola and Wole Soyinka to Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie and Teju Cole have portrayed these Nigerian issues and have also written about some of the momentous events in Nigerian history. "Afropolitan Horizons" discusses their work alongside other novelists and commentators and describes the ways in which Nigeria has appeared in foreign news reporting. It is all interwoven with the author's own anthropological field research in a town in Central Nigeria.

**Simon, Benjamin:** *Genese einer Religion. Der Kimbanguismus und sein Abschied von der Ökumene.* Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2022. 380 pp. ISBN 978-3-374-07079-4. (pbk)

Im Jahr 2021 hat der Kimbanguismus sein hundertjähriges Bestehen seit dem Auftreten des Propheten Simon Kimbangu begangen. Im gleichen Jahr wurden die Kimbanguisten aus dem Ökumenischen Rat der Kirchen (ÖRK) ausgeschlossen. Was ist geschehen? Welche theologischen Positionen hat die erste Afrikanisch-Initiierte Mitgliedskirche des ÖRK formuliert, damit dies geschehen musste? Das vorliegende Werk geht dieser Frage nach und analysiert anhand von Feldforschungen aus dem Kongo und Archivmaterialien aus dem ÖRK die geschichtlichen wie auch theologischen Entwicklungen dieser religiösen Gruppierung in ihren ersten hundert Jahren. Dabei entwickelt der Autor ein sechsstufiges Modell, um aufzuzeigen wie eine Genese einer neuen Religion begünstigt wird und so aus einer Mutterreligion eine neue Religionsformation entsteht.

**Blum, Françoise, et al. (eds.):** *Socialismes en Afrique.* Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2021. 718 pp. ISBN 978-2-7351-2698-9 (pbk)

Ce volume est un état de la recherche internationale sur les socialismes africains. Y sont rassemblés des articles traitant de débats théoriques autour de ce thème et de ses sources intellectuelles mais aussi d'expériences très concrètes de socialisme, tant dans les villes que dans les campagnes : coopératives, comités de quartier, camps

de rééducation... La situation de l'Afrique lusophone, parent pauvre des études africaines en France, et dont l'ensemble des pays ont justement fait l'expérience de régimes socialistes, a fait l'objet d'une attention particulière. Les rapports de l'Afrique avec l'URSS, les démocraties populaires, Cuba, la Chine, ou encore Israël sont également abordés. Les communications faites dans les colloques ont été repensées, avec pour résultat un fructueux dialogue avec les auteures et des articles complémentaires. Les auteurs espèrent ainsi donner à l'étude des socialismes africains une légitimité dans le champ plus général de l'histoire des socialismes, de même que dans celui de celle de la guerre froide.

**Hendriks, Thomas:** *Rainforest Capitalism. Power and Masculinity in a Congolese Timber Concession.* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2022. 320 pp. ISBN 978-1-4780-1784-4. (pbk)

Congolese logging camps are places where mud, rain, fuel smugglers, and village roadblocks slow down multinational timber firms; where workers wage wars against trees while evading company surveillance deep in the forest; where labor compounds trigger disturbing colonial memories; and where blunt racism, logger machismo, and homoerotic desires reproduce violence. In "Rainforest Capitalism" Thomas Hendriks examines the rowdy world of industrial timber production in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to theorize racialized and gendered power dynamics in capitalist extraction. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork among Congolese workers and European company managers as well as traders, farmers, smugglers, and barkeepers, Hendriks shows how logging is deeply tied to feelings of existential vulnerability in the face of larger forces, structures, and histories. These feelings, Hendriks contends, reveal a precarious side of power in an environment where companies, workers, and local residents frequently find themselves out of control. An ethnography of complicity, ecstasis, and paranoia, *Rainforest Capitalism* queers assumptions of corporate strength and opens up new ways to understand the complexities and contradictions of capitalist extraction.

*Peter Geschiere:* In this fresh and captivating book, Thomas Hendriks offers precious insights into the precarity of logging in the Congolese rainforest. His lively ethnography demonstrates that the analysis of neoliberal capitalist extraction should address not only labor and political economy but also memory, affect, sexual desire, and racial fetishism. His sophisticated theoretical framework allows him to capture the fleeting character of logging and brings together forestry, anthropology, and queer studies in visionary ways that will inspire many scholars.

**Prévôt, Nicolas:** *Un sacré bazar. Music, possession et ivresse en Inde centrale.* Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie, 2022. 381 pp. ISBN 978-2-36519-033-6. (pbk)

“Un sacré bazar” est la chronique ethnographique de deux jours d’un rituel de possession dans l’ancien royaume du Bastar situé en Inde centrale (Chhattisgarh). Partant de ce qui apparaît d’abord aux yeux et aux oreilles de l’ethnologue comme un “sacré bazar”, il fait progressivement apparaître la logique et les dynamiques d’un système tout à la fois musical, rituel, social et cosmologique, au cœur de ce rituel *dev bajar* qu’il convient plutôt d’appeler “bazar sacré” ou “marché des dieux”.

Cette présentation propose un éclairage par le prisme de la musique sur les phénomènes de possession et sur une forme répandue d’hindouisme local trop souvent présentée en Inde comme un “animisme tribal”. Comparant musique et alcool en tant que substances, on verra, à l’aide d’extraits filmés, comment elles agissent de manière complémentaire sur les hommes, si bien que l’ivresse devient une forme de possession.

**Radhakrishnan, Smitha:** *Making Women Pay. Microfinance in Urban India.* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2022. 272 pp. ISBN 978-1-4780-1487-4. (pbk)

In “Making Women Pay”, Smitha Radhakrishnan explores India’s microfinance industry, which in the past two decades has come to saturate the everyday lives of women in the name of state-led efforts to promote financial inclusion and women’s empowerment. Despite this favorable language, Radhakrishnan argues, microfinance in India does not provide a market-oriented development intervention, even though it may appear to help women borrowers. Rather, this commercial industry seeks to extract the maximum value from its customers through exploitative relationships that benefit especially class-privileged men. Through ethnography, interviews, and historical analysis, Radhakrishnan demonstrates how the unpaid and underpaid labor of marginalized women borrowers ensures both profitability and symbolic legitimacy for microfinance institutions, their employees, and their leaders. In doing so, she centralizes gender in the study of microfinance, reveals why most microfinance programs target women, and explores the exploitative implications of this targeting.

*Kimberly Kay Hoang:* Smitha Radhakrishnan’s compelling and important study of women in the world of microfinance is one of the best books I’ve read in several years. No other book on the market features this kind of data, access, or methods of triangulation. With its clear writing, rich stories and nuance, “Making Women Pay” will challenge readers to think more critically about how microfinance is deeply gendered. Engaging, moving, and powerful.

**Verstappen, Sanderien:** *New Lives in Anand. Building a Muslim Hub in Western India.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2022. 202 pp. ISBN 978-0-295-74964-8. (pbk)

In 2002 widespread communal violence tore apart towns and villages in rural parts of Gujarat, India. In the aftermath, many Muslims living in Hindu-majority villages sought safety in the small town of Anand. Following such dramatic displacement, the town emerged as a site of opportunity and hope. For its residents and transnational visitors, Anand’s Muslim area is not just a site of marginalization; it has become an important focal point and regional center from which they can participate in the wider community of Gujarat and reimagine society in more inclusive terms.

This compelling ethnography shows how in Anand the experience of residential segregation led not to estrangement or closure but to distinctive forms of mobility and exchange that embed Muslim residents in a variety of social networks. *New Lives in Anand* moves beyond established notions of ghettoization to foreground the places, practices, and narratives that are significant to the people of Anand.

*Peggy Levitt:* This closely-observed, beautifully-written ethnography takes up the question of how communities learn to live together after episodes of significant violence. The answer is that, in some cases, former victims remake and reorient what have been marginal spaces into hubs of empowerment. This book makes an important contribution to our understanding of how spaces become places and of how insiders experience them quite differently than outsiders. It is an essential tool for academics, planners, and policymakers alike.

**Ley, Lukas:** *Building on Borrowed Time. Rising Seas and Failing Infrastructure in Semarang.* Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2021. 240 pp. ISBN 978-1-5179-0888-1. (pbk)

Ice caps are melting, seas are rising, and densely populated cities worldwide are threatened by floodwaters, especially in Southeast Asia. “Building on Borrowed Time” is a relevant and powerful ethnography of how people in Semarang, Indonesia, on the north coast of Java, are dealing with this existential challenge driven by global warming. In addition to antiflooding infrastructure breaking down, vast areas of cities like Semarang and Jakarta are rapidly sinking, affecting the very foundations of urban life: toxic water oozes through the floors of houses, bridges are submerged, traffic is interrupted.

As Lukas Ley shows, the residents of Semarang are constantly engaged in maintaining their homes and streets, trying to live through a slow-motion disaster shaped by the interacting temporalities of infrastructural failure, ecological deterioration, and urban development. He casts this predicament through the temporal lens of a “meantime,” a managerial response that means a constant enduring of the present rather than progress toward a better future – a “chronic present.”

“Building on Borrowed Time” takes us to a place where a flood crisis has already arrived – where everyday residents are not waiting for the effects of climate change but are in fact already living with it – and shows

that life in coastal Southeast Asia is defined not by the temporality of climate science but by the lived experience of tidal flooding.

*Anne Rademacher:* In this careful study of keeping water at bay in Semarang's floodplain kampungs, Lukas Ley takes us to a material landscape riddled with the legacies of maldevelopment. With historical precision and ethnographic nuance, "Building on Borrowed Time" shows us how an urban world of dysfunctional flood protection systems generates everyday intensely localized burdens of chronic breakdown and disrepair that often hinder – and sometimes fully prevent – communities from engaging with future-looking efforts to mitigate the threats of a changing climate. A must-read for anyone seeking to better understand the complexity of urban flood management and community well-being on an ever-warmer planet.

**Reybrouck, David Van:** *Revolusi. Indonesien und die Entstehung der modernen Welt.* Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag AG, 2022. 751 pp. ISBN 978-3-518-43092-7. (hbk)

Als Japan 1941 den Angriff auf Pearl Harbor startete, begann sich das historische Fenster für ein anderes Ereignis zu öffnen. Seit Jahrzehnten hatten Indonesier für die Unabhängigkeit von der Kolonialmacht Niederlande gekämpft, im August 1945 wurde sie vom späteren Präsidenten Sukarno proklamiert. Es folgte ein mehrjähriger, brutaler Krieg. Diese *Revolusi* war in zweierlei Hinsicht Weltgeschichte: Sie ergab sich aus einem globalen Konflikt und hatte globale Signalwirkung. Indonesien setzte sich an die Spitze der Dekolonisation, die bald auch Afrika erfasste und die politische Landkarte für immer veränderte. In Debatten um Kolonialverbrechen und die Rückgabe geraubter Kunstwerke beschäftigt sie uns bis heute.

David Van Reybrouck hat jahrelang recherchiert und mit fast 200 Zeitzeugen gesprochen. In Nepal interviewte er Gurkha-Soldaten, in Australien einen der wenigen indonesischen Kommunisten, die die Massaker 1965/66 überlebten, in Nordholland einen 1914 auf Sumatra geborenen Fürstensohn: Djajeng Pratomo ging zum Studium nach Leiden, schloss sich dem Widerstand gegen die deutsche Besatzung an und überlebte das KZ Dachau. Ihre Erinnerungen verknüpft Van Reybrouck zu einer historischen Erzählung, deren Sog man sich kaum entziehen kann.

**Suryadinata, Leo:** *Peranakan Chinese Identities in the Globalizing Malay Archipelago.* Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2022. 289 pp. ISBN 978-981-4951-67-8. (pbk)

Peranakan Chinese communities and their "hybrid" culture have fascinated many observers. This book, comprising fourteen chapters, was mainly based on papers written by the author in the last two decades. The chapters address Peranakan Chinese cultural, national, and political identities in the Malay Archipelago, i.e., Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore (IMS). This book is divided into two parts. Part I which is on the regional dimension, contains nine chapters that discuss the three countries and beyond. Part II consists of five chapters which focus on one country, i.e., Indonesia. This book not only discusses the past and the present, but also the future of the Peranakan Chinese.

**Tran, Hoi:** *Doing "Gong Culture". Heritage Politics and Performances in the Central Highlands of Vietnam.* Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2021. 216 pp. ISBN 978-3-643-91406-4. (pbk)

This book shows how the efforts of various actors in "Doing Gong Culture" contribute to preserving the intangible heritage of ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands of Vietnam. Tran's research challenges the conventional perspective that views heritagization as a process of cultural appropriation in which local heritage practitioners become cultural "proprietors", who in UNESCO's view differ from "culture carriers". He shows that local artists actively engage with other actors in the "heritage community", thus contributing to the performance of a "living" image of the "Space of Gong Culture" on the heritage stage. In this intangible cultural heritage, practically, all actors are "culture carriers".

*Gábor Vargyas:* Drawing on long-term fieldwork and placing the focus on human interaction, Hoai Tran paints a very subtle and sophisticated picture of the "heritage community" and its actors in Vietnam's central highlands. By investigating who is acting in and on the space of gong culture, with what motivations, interests, intents, or desires, how they are doing so and how effectively, this book arrives at new ways of thinking about "heritagization" in Vietnam.

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## Review of Articles

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

**Turner, James W.:** Controversies Revisited. A Defense of the Concept of Religion. *Anthropos* 117.2022: 323–343.

In anthropology, the claim that religion is a cultural universal had general acceptance. No one has proven this statement to be true, of course, nor would such proof be possible. When anthropologists, scholars in religious studies, or evolutionary psychologists state that religion is a universal feature of human culture, the claim is not based on an exhaustive survey of human societies of the past and present. Instead, such statements should be interpreted to mean that no society of the past known to us historically, and no contemporary society for which we have ethnographic information, is known to have lacked a system of religious belief and practice.

Within Religious Studies the rejection of universality has been called the “social constructionist” or “deconstructionist” analysis of religion. Four principal arguments have been offered: a) the term “religion” was not used in its present sense until the early modern period and is indissolubly linked to the equally modern concept of secularism; b) many languages lack any term comparable in meaning to “religion,” and to apply the concept to them distorts lived social reality; c) the term inevitably reflects the belief system of the culture in which it arose (i.e., Protestant Christianity); and d) the concept was integral to missionization, colonization, and the rise of Western hegemony and should be abandoned for that reason.

If, as social constructionists suggest, the concept of religion reflects an unacknowledged Christian theological residue equating it with “an inner disposition and concern for salvation,” then religion has been absent in most societies. That leaves us with the problem of finding ways to talk comparatively about belief systems that lack this “inner disposition” but do share many other attributes with faith traditions like Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. These shared attributes may include such features as a distinction between sacred and profane objects, places, times, persons, and states of being; ritual acts focusing on the category of the sacred; feelings of awe, mystery, power, etc. (i.e., “religious” feelings) aroused by sacred objects and ritual acts; and beliefs in the existence of spiritual beings.

Religion often plays an important role in this social shaping of the human body. Ritual acts that are habitually performed, such as prostration, kneeling, or rocking during daily prayers, or the characteristic postures and motions that occur in the contexts of frequently performed rituals, such as the preparation, serving, and drinking of kava in some Pacific island societies play a role in shaping habitus. Bodily transformations such as genital modification, tattooing, scarification, or tooth avulsion or filing are often acquired in the context of rituals marking transitions in the life cycle. Religious values or affiliation may be expressed through the clothing and ornamentation of the body. Religious beliefs are often implicated in ideas about health and illness, treatment for sickness, diet, hygiene, and excretion. Finally, the preparation and final disposition of the body reflect religious notions about life and death and the nature of human beings.

This is what we share: the human body and its senses and common experiences of an external world – the relative coolness of shade on a hot, sunny day, the darkness of a moonless night, or the varied sensations of color in the dancing flames of a fire. It is the socially constructed mind-body, shaped and disciplined by religious authority and ritual, that acts, and it is through human agency that religion is created and recreated through innumerable daily actions and interactions.

Rather than applying the term religion to some belief systems and not others or abandoning it as a label entirely, there is a third option for which many scholars have advocated since the nineteenth century, and which I have linked myself with here: defining religion so that the concept can be applied cross-culturally and facilitate comparative study. By emphasizing that which humanity’s belief systems share rather than that which makes some of them different, we have a better chance of understanding our species’ unique nature.

**Saviello, Alberto:** Natürlich Katholisch?! Die Präsentation außereuropäischer Kulturen und nichtchristlicher Religionen im historischen Missionsmuseum der Societas Verbi Divini in Steyl. *Anthropos* 117.2022: 345–360.

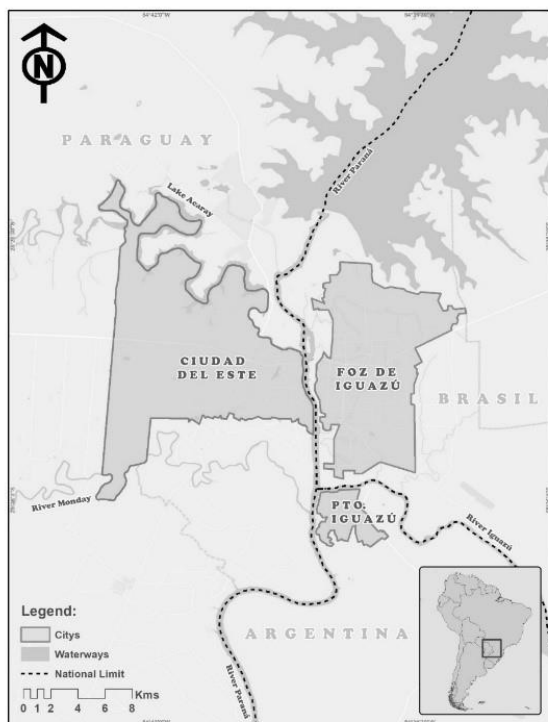
The article analyses the permanent exhibition of the *Missiemuseum* of the Societas Verbi Divini (SVD) in Steyl, which has remained largely unchanged since 1931, thus allowing a unique examination of historical exhibition practices. Going beyond previous scholarly characterizations of mission museums, it will be shown that the exhibition in Steyl develops a specifically religious view of non-European cultures that stands out from other secular types of museum and is in accordance with statements by contemporary representatives



of the Catholic Society. On an aesthetic and metaphorical level, the exhibition presents the Christian religion as an order that transcends nature and culture and as basing on a force that permeates all areas of life. This force was named “altruism” by the SVD Fathers Wilhelm Schmidt and Wilhelm Koppers. The presentation of autochthonous and missionary art plays a decisive role in illustrating this claim to Christian universality.

**Guizardi, Menara, Carolina Stefoni, Lina Magalhães, and Esteban Nazal:** (Trans-)Generational Expectations. Access to Formal Education and Labor Insertion of Paraguayan Women on the Paraná Tri-Border. *Anthropos* 117.2022: 377–395.

The Tri-Border Area is located where three cities converge: Puerto Iguazú (Argentina), Foz do Iguazú (Brazil), and Ciudad del Este (Paraguay), and some 700,000 people live there. These borders were sparsely populated until the end of the twentieth century: growth started in the seventies when Brazil and Paraguay jointly constructed the Itaipú Dam (1975–1986). However, the region only came to be understood as a triple-border in the nineties when it took on a strategic role for Mercosur (signed in 1991).



The 30 women selected to be interviewed met two initial criteria. First, we dealt with Paraguayan women who carried out their labor activities in Foz do Iguazú or Ciudad del Este or both. Through our ethnographic observation and the review of previous studies, we found that the movements of Paraguayan females in this region are more intense between these two localities. This is due not only to the well-known lax attitude that Brazilian and Paraguayan authorities show

towards inspection but also because their respective cities are interconnected in productive, commercial, and labor market terms. So, many Paraguayan women establish work dynamics that involve several crossings to the Brazilian side.

The interviews reveal that in both rural and urban contexts, care work falls exclusively on the shoulders of the women in the families of origin. We found this overload expressed in three ways. The first (and the most common) is that where grandmothers, mothers, sisters carry out the household chores with no male participation. In the second model women and men share the care work. However, it is the women who take full responsibility for managing, coordinating, administering, and directing said work. So, the male contribution is seen as a “help,” highlighting the female character of the responsibility. The third model refers to those families where the father takes charge of the domestic work, but by subcontracting it to a female worker.

A total of 29 of the interviewed women had access to formal education while only one of them, Rojo, did not go to school. There are three elements worth highlighting in her story. In the first place, Rojo attributes the lack of access to schooling to two factors: 1) economic difficulties and lack of resources (which obliged her and her siblings to dedicate most of their time to work from the age of six), and 2) the lack of educational facilities near the rural village where she grew up (San José de los Arroyos, in the department of Caaguazú). The nearest school was some 5 kilometers from the small farm where she lived; however, there was no public transport to take her there. In the second place, gender discrimination exists in the access to education: her brothers did study, despite having also worked from an early age. To do so, they migrated to Asunción even though they were minors. In the third place, and despite these prohibitions weighing on the family’s females, Rojo began to learn a trade from a female neighbor who lived 2 kilometers from her home, a trade understood by her parents as “women’s work” and an “opportunity to find work”: dressmaking.

These factors appeared – at different levels – in the stories of all the women who had access to formal education: every one of them told us that their expectations of studying were not encouraged by their families. Additionally, they pointed out that the overload of reproductive and productive work they were obliged to do by their mothers and fathers made it difficult to follow studies. Even when there was external support (such as scholarships), the work overload made it very difficult to carry on with their studies. The women talk about these impossibilities as their “dreams” being frustrated.

The women identify trade as the most accessible niche to offer them economic independence and the possibility to carry out their productive and reproductive activities. The majority, who were not born in Ciudad del Este (26 in total), discovered the possibilities trade offered before they migrated to the border. In fact, all the women who migrated to Ciudad del Este

commented that one of the reasons for choosing that location was the possibility of working in border trade. Even though many of them inserted themselves in trade in other localities of Paraguay, all of those who migrated internally had considered that border trade – with the possibility to transit through three national spaces and work with different products, consumers and currencies – offered them an opportunity of female work/economic empowerment.

Many women accepted that the educational experience that they had so desired was impossible for them, but that they could project this in the life histories of their children. So, they resignified the desire for a vital transformation through studies, converting it into a transgenerational expectation.

Through the stories of the Paraguayan women on the tri-border, we observed several ruptures in their labor trajectories: ruptures that allowed them to turn around the position of subordination they had been forced to fill since childhood and earn themselves a space with autonomy and independence. While it is true that their circumstances are still extremely precarious in terms of labor, finances and overload, this turnaround has allowed them to take ownership of their stories and understand that they themselves play a decisive role in their lives, in building their families, and in the development and education of their children.

**Ntep Massing, Félix:** La sorcellerie et la création des entreprises en Afrique. *Éléments de compréhension théorique de leur association.* *Anthropos* 117.2022: 423–433.

En Afrique subsaharienne, la relation entre sorcellerie et création d'entreprises se renouvelle sans cesse, pas seulement sur un plan local, mais aussi au niveau individuel et collectif. Avec le recul, on peut se demander pourquoi les sciences économiques et d'administration boudent ce sujet, l'abandonnant aux anthropologues, aux journalistes et aux gens de la rue. En 2010, nous avons suggéré que la grande déception de la solidarité, c'est-à-dire les manifestations de la haine, de la jalousie et des colères rentrées des acteurs économiques des pays d'Afrique, était liée à la dynamique du rapport entre la sorcellerie et les situations entrepreneuriales. Il s'avère de plus en plus clair, aujourd'hui, que les efforts tâtonnants pour établir une nouvelle solidarité, par ces mêmes acteurs économiques, n'ont pas enrayé cette dynamique.

En soi, cette forte présence de la sorcellerie dans l'entrepreneuriat n'est guère surprenante : les discours sur la sorcellerie, au Cameroun, ont toujours fourni l'objet de prédilection qui tente d'interpeller les réalisations suspectes des situations entrepreneuriales. Eu égard à l'avalanche récente des nouvelles plus sensationnelles sur cet objet, il importe de souligner que le Cameroun n'est pas si spécial à cet égard. La réussite entrepreneuriale de certains mourides [members of an Islamic brotherhood], au Sénégal, serait reliée, selon les récits des gens, à leurs rituels occultes supposés. Les

gens de rue, les journalistes s'étonnent aujourd'hui que certains mourides, pourtant actifs dans le commerce et la politique, puissent croire autant à la puissance de ces rituels occultes conseillés par leur marabout qu'aux enseignements de la pratique de la vie de leur fondateur.

Le thème de la force, ou de l'énergie spéciale (il s'agit ici de la sorcellerie) est au centre de notre propos, comme ceux des chercheurs et des gens de rue qui parlent de cette association, mais il s'y exprime sur un ton, nettement consensuel, de la logique. A cet effet, nous posons une distinction provisoire entre la force que certains gens louent contre la création d'entreprises et celle que d'autres gens louent pour réussir leur création.

D'un côté cette association consiste, pour les gens en mal de réputation, à détourner un individu prolifique, qu'ils ont pourtant soutenu, de son ambition de créer son entreprise. Pour ce faire, ils vont louer les services d'un sorcier qui va entreprendre d'attirer à lui, par des moyens magiques, la force ou l'énergie de cet individu prolifique, à son insu, pour le contraindre à abandonner son ambition. Quand cet individu prolifique observe que rien de bon ne se passe en faveur de sa création, malgré sa détermination et ses efforts, il ne lui reste d'autre issue que celle de faire appel à un justicier, un *nganga* [sorcerer]. Celui-ci doit pouvoir opposer sa force au sorcier-agresseur pour le contraindre à restituer à son client la force dérobée. Faute de quoi son client, perdant progressivement son énergie, sera inévitablement conduit à la mort, à la ruine et donc à l'abandon de son ambition.

Le moment du justicier apparaît pendant la crise. Au moment de diagnostiquer la négativité du sorcier, le justicier (contre-sorcier, désorceleur, *nganga*, *kamsi*) ne nomme pas directement le sorcier-agresseur, ni le client de ce dernier. Il se contente d'énoncer des phrases qui poussent la victime à mettre un nom sur le coupable. Cette attitude du justicier est telle qu'elle empêche une autre escalade de perversité. Du moins ce n'est pas son rôle, et son statut ne lui permet pas de nommer directement le coupable.

L'association entre la sorcellerie et la création d'entreprise se révèle dans les moments d'alternance entre la force bénéfique qui circule librement, la force magique maléfique qui fait circuler ou empêche de circuler. Ces moments montrent un temps où les deux forces se neutralisent pour permettre la création d'entreprise. Ils révèlent donc les éléments d'appréciation théorique du rapport entre la sorcellerie et la création des entreprises, en Afrique.

**Lamrani, Myriam:** The Ultimate Intimacy. Death and Mexico, an Anthropological Relation in Images. *American Ethnology* 49/2.2022: 204–220.

Death – the image of the skeleton – has long been the symbol of a strong Mexican state. But, like most symbol, it has many faces. Nowhere is this more evident than in Oaxaca, where tourists flock to attend joyful

Day of the Dead celebrations while the cult to La Santa Muerte, a sanctified death, is growing strong. Through the ethnographic lens of this image, the author approaches other representations of the slain body to reassess the country's intimacy with death against a backdrop of the current drug-related violence in Mexico. This analysis unveils different scales of intimacies (from devotion to the nation), reckoning with how these images straddle the boundaries between politics, criminality, and religion. Ultimately, Lamrani offers the concept of transintimacy, proposing that the transintimate collapses well-known anthropological dichotomies, for it is not only a feature of how people relate with these images, but it is also at the very heart of ethnology.

The daily news reported brutal murders and disappearances across the country. The bare facts were even worse. Casual conversations would conjure stories of losing loved ones to violent death or kidnapping, or the public display of lifeless bodies. Faithfully relayed by newspapers and social media, these crimes were often attributed to the faceless narco (a term that in the singular designates narco traffickers and members of criminal cartels), a plausible scapegoat for such atrocities. But the word on the street was that these acts had been perpetrated in collusion with agents of the state (the police, the military; or even politicians).

The number of killings has been steadily rising since 2006, the year the United Action Party's (PAN) then president, Felipe Calderón, declared war on the drug cartels. Homicides related to organized crime have surpassed 196,000, and another 91,000 people are "disappeared" or "missing," which usually means that the remains of those so designated lie somewhere in unmarked burial grounds. The continual flow of mortal remains discovered across the country led Alejandro Encinas Rodríguez – the undersecretary for human rights, population, and migration in the government of president Andrés Manuel López Obrador (2018-present) – to declare that Mexico has „become a giant hidden grave.“

Nevertheless, a different relation to death is exalted during Día de Muertos (Day of the Dead), Mexico's most popular religious tradition and an icon of the country's hospitality. Mexicans, it is often said, are comfortable with death. They enjoy what poet Octavio Paz once described as a joyous, almost romantic connection with the skeleton. Although death constitutes the myths of many nation-states, what makes Mexico different is its celebration of an intimate connection that remains visible today. This is especially apparent in Oaxaca, where hundreds of thousands of tourists flock annually to mingle with dancing skeletons and colorful calaveras ("skulls" – edible decorative sculptures). These humoristic images participate in what Bartra calls the mythologization of the Mexican as a death defying hero. Whereas Mexicans' familiarity with death has been well studied in historical and ritual contexts what is perhaps less discussed is their intimate engagement with images of death, including religious ones, such as that of La Santa Muerte. Taking this observation as her starting point, the author reassesses in

this article Mexico's intimacy with death.

**Willis, Graham Denyer:** Eating Pizza in Prison. Failing Family Men, Civil Punishment, and the Policing of Whiteness in São Paulo. *American Ethnologist* 49/2.2022: 221–233.

Police work is obviously a question of pursuing subjects. In post-slave societies, one figure dominates: police are always after the young Black man. Meanwhile, another distinctive subject of policing exists. In São Paulo, Brazil, police detectives are also worried about the failing White father. He represents a crucial kind of problem: he weakens whiteness by subjecting White children to the indignities that Black children face. His punishment is not incarceration, however. Instead, his punishment is a question of civility and reparation, of being "pedagogical." Attention to police officers decision-making about these two subjects of everyday policing shows how the long-standing fallacy of the idealized White family is produced by extracting from the Black family. It reveals the logic of differentiated punishment – civil and reparative punishment for White men, life in prison or death for Black men and boys – as a mechanism in the constant remediation of whiteness as property and accumulation.

The starkly different treatment of these two subjects of policing reflects the punitive differentiation of race in capitalism. Much scholarship has focused on this, and the variegated impacts of this criminalization, its extractions from society, and the social worlds it creates. And for very good reason. In Brazil, a country where capitalism developed through the transatlantic slave trade, research has firmly established that penalty, the subject of mass incarceration, and the social category of fear all collide on one social type: the young Black man, roundly cast as the "irredeemable", bandido or "criminal". The bandido is the bedrock of policing, "crime control", and accumulation. He is seen as a predatory threat, and this perception motivates a pernicious kind of everyday extermination. In the years I was accompanying the São Paulo police, they killed an average of 2.3 people a day. This subjectification makes and remakes the city as a securitized space of race and fear, generating, in turn, other kinds of belonging and existence in its interstices. In Brazil this condition "marks the Black body as violable and expendable yet necessary to the maintenance of the nation's saleable world image."

Alongside all the violence against young Black men amid this everyday genocide, there is another, less spectacular, somewhat counterintuitive, but nonetheless prominent subject of everyday police work: the White father who fails to support his children. This category is still highly racialized, though subsumed by whiteness. While much that comes across the police desk is of discretionary interest or deemed unsolvable or too problematic, the negligent White father cannot be dismissed. This kind of man, who leaves his children in the lurch, must be punished.

As caretakers of whiteness, the police concern themselves with the White father, the future White father, and the White family's possible failure. The White family is thus constantly produced in relationship to making Black fathers fail, imprisoning future Black fathers, pulling apart Black families, and ruining their futures. There exists a relationship between these everyday police subjects, as well as a dialectical and legal relationship between the "criminal subject to be extinguished" and the "civil subject to be attended," which are always being made, together. Focusing on these relationships reveals the mutual production of penal, racial, and family order, on distinct terms. Paying historical attention to the hierarchical relationship between the Black and White family, Willis analyzes the mutual dependence of two subjects via the logics and practices of policing as legal subjectivity and as racially affective. He shows how tending to whiteness, remediating it, and subjecting it to care in prison have long worked by whitening the idealized family while denying the Black family the same treatment.

**Ross, Norbert:** The Intersection of Violence and Early COVID-19 Policies in El Salvador. *American Anthropologist* 123/3.2022: 617–621.

In El Salvador, poverty has long been constructed as suspect and dangerous. The social exclusion experienced by inhabitants of places such as El Cerro in the country's capital has allowed for early COVID-19 emergency measures to take the form of social triage. Through multiple forms of "threat governmentality", the protection of the propertied class was made possible at the expense of people declared violent, of lesser value, and hence dispensable – state-crafted "bare life". Confronted with the COVID-19 pandemic, the Salvadoran government immediately earmarked US\$ 75,000,000 to build the largest hospital in Latin America.

All the while, the strict quarantine measures made communities such as El Cerro desperate for basic food supplies. In a country that still suffers from the consequences of a twelve-year civil war (1980–1992), communities such as El Cerro raised white flags indicating hunger and desperation – surrendering to the military occupation that enforced the quarantine measures via roadblocks and street patrols.

As part of his research, Ross cofounded and directs the Salvadoran NGO "Actuemos!", attending to the needs of youth, children, and their families in marginalized areas. In El Cerro, the focus of this essay, "Actuemos!" runs an after-school youth center. At the height of the quarantine, we provided food for over two hundred families, mostly single mothers and their children. Much of the information presented here comes from working with the children and their families prior to and during the pandemic.

El Cerro was founded in 1990 when the military forcibly removed its first residents from their prior homes and forced them to start over next to a military

post. At the time, the area had no streets, electricity, water, or sewers. Each family received a water barrel, some sheet metal, and cardboard to build their new homes, yet they were left far from employment opportunities and without support for any form of long-term survival. This forced relocation of poor Salvadorans during the civil war has to be understood as controlling the poor sectors of society, rationalized by claims that they were supporting the insurgents. The removal also made poverty invisible to the wider society. Yet these early arrivals at least all received legal ownership of small plots of land, allowing them to improve their homes over the years.

Shortly after El Cerro was founded, and following the end of the civil war in 1992, deportations from the United States brought members of the MS 13 and Barrio 18 gangs, founded in Los Angeles, to El Salvador, transforming existing neighborhood youth gangs into today's *maras*. Since the gangs derive income from territorial control, disputes over territory have led to increasing violence in many areas. Newcomers to El Cerro no longer fled from the war but rather ended up here out of economic necessity. They no longer receive land from the government and are forced to become illegal squatters in simple shacks. All the while, persisting social exclusion and the resulting lack of opportunities continue to push young people into gangs. This is the wider context of El Cerro, home of approximately two hundred families that "Actuemos!" mainly attends to.

With the first documented case of COVID-19 on March 18, a thirty-day military enforced quarantine was declared. Only one person per household was allowed to travel outside the home, twice a week, and only for "essential business." Essential business was limited to the purchase of food and other household essentials. Travel for work or selling goods on the street as a way of making a living were no longer allowed. All public transportation was closed, ambulant military checkpoints were set up, and quarantine violators were forced into thirty-day quarantines at confinement centers.

For the inhabitants of El Cerro, such restrictions were disastrous. Within hours of the quarantine, large parts of the informal sector of the economy ceased to exist, and almost all families lost their livelihoods. At military checkpoints, the legal logic was reversed. Individuals had to prove their right to travel or else they would be detained without legal recourse. Possibilities for abuse abounded, with people frequently being blackmailed to avoid quarantine detention. Traveling became hazardous and expensive. Many local shops closed, as stocking them with merchandise became increasingly dangerous and expensive. The remaining stores increased their prices to account for higher risks and costs, as well as the lack of competition and having a captive clientele, who no longer was able to shop elsewhere. Prior to the quarantine, families traveled to the central market of San Salvador, where they had access to cheaper products. With public transportation closed, inhabitants of El Cerro often had to walk more than an

hour to purchase essential goods at the nearest supermarket, all the while running the risk of being detained.

**Smyth, Noel, E.:** The Obfuscation of Native American Presence in the French Atlantic. Natchez Indians in Saint Domingue, 1731–1791. *Ethnohistory* 69/3.2022: 265–285.

In 1731 a French army in colonial Louisiana enslaved hundreds of Natchez families and shipped them to Saint-Domingue (today Haiti and the Dominican Republic) where they mostly disappear from the written records. This article analyzes tantalizing clues about Natchez families and other Native American slaves on the island during the eighteenth century. By examining slave runaway advertisements, rather than the official records of colonial administrators, it becomes clear that there were hundreds, if not thousands of slaves with Native American ancestry in Saint-Domingue by 1791. Neither the violence of slavery nor the violence of the archive itself can erase the tenacious survival of Natchez people and other Native Americans on the island. In addition to theorizing about the experiences of Natchez slaves, this article suggests that historians can no longer discount the contributions and experiences of Native American people to the history of Saint-Domingue and to the creation of Haiti.

The history of settler colonialism – of the European occupation and dispossession of Native American land, often through violence – is a familiar narrative in Indigenous Studies and Native American history. However, the connection between the dispossession of Native American land and the enslavement of indigenous bodies is less well understood. This article situates the history of the Natchez in Saint-Domingue within a larger colonial practice in which Europeans not only dispossessed indigenous peoples of their lands; they also stole Native American bodies to feed the labor demands of the colonies. This is the first history of Natchez in Saint-Domingue and it can be used as a possible model for future studies to investigate the two to five million indigenous peoples from 1492 to the late nineteenth century who were enslaved throughout the Atlantic World.

While the communities of Natchez in Oklahoma and South Carolina in the present moment continue to identify as Natchez, for the Natchez who were derailed to Saint-Domingue, their descendants likely now identify as Haitian, and their story is one of dispossession, “social death,” and archival erasure. Like many enslaved Africans, Natchez and other Native Americans were forced to adapt to new situations in their struggle to survive the violent maelstrom of slavery. In their very survival, they likely contributed to the creation of hybrid African and indigenous cultures in Saint-Domingue, Haiti, and across the Atlantic World. While the overall estimate of people taken and enslaved from the Americas is fewer than those enslaved from Africa, the significance of this history of loss is paramount for the Natchez and many other

Native Americans. Indeed, the depraved horrors of Atlantic slavery were similar for each human being who endured it, regardless from which continent they were taken.

**Pérez, Justin:** Peche Problems. Transactional Sex, Moral Imaginaries, and the “End of AIDS” in Post-conflict Peru. *American Ethnologist* 49/2.2022: 234–248.

As declarations of a possible “end of AIDS” emerged during the epidemic’s fourth decade, some HIV-prevention efforts shifted to address social conditions and individual dispositions among the populations most affected. In Peru, where HIV was concentrated among transgender women and gay men, health science positioned transactional sex as one site of intervention. Gay and transgender communities themselves circulated stories that dramatized transactional sex. Set against the backdrop of Peru’s armed conflict (1980–2000), these stories pivoted on peches – the small gifts given to incentivize sexual and romantic relationships – and reflected a shared moral imaginary linked to the context of post-conflict society. Interpreting transactional sex like a peche illuminates the moral dimensions of the category and suggests that the technical project of achieving an “end of AIDS” future is also imaginative and moralizing. Peches thus offer an interpretive approach to the persistent tensions between local and globalized categories, in relation to both HIV/AIDS and more broadly to other contexts.

Specifically, in Peru gay man and transgender women sometimes gave small gifts to cisgender men to incentivize romantic and sexual relationships with them. In the city of Tarapoto – and throughout the urban centers of Peru’s Amazonian region – these gifts were known as peches. A peche could be a number of things, including food, money, alcohol, clothing, or even services such as a haircut. The men who received peches were known as *maperos*, and they were typically considered heterosexual. Pérez encountered peches, and the stories that gay and transgender people shared about them, while conducting ethnographic fieldwork on the effects of HIV-prevention projects among gay and transgender communities in urban Amazonian Peru over the 2010s.

Ethnographic attention to the stories that gay and transgender interlocutors shared about peches illuminates the intersection of two broader chronologies: the ongoing resonances of Peru’s internal armed conflict and the country’s responses to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. In relation to the armed conflict, they sometimes invoked peches to recount or describe the intimate relationships they maintained with members of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru, or MRTA) during the period of political violence in Tarapoto. It was through these stories that the peche became a site of everyday discussion and debate over what constitutes a fulfilling sexual and romantic relationship. It was, moreover, a

device for crafting a position in contemporary post-conflict society.

Two romantic encounters with MRTA members recounted by Perez's informants illustrate the *peche's* capaciousness and modularity. A *peche* could be a bicycle, a floral-patterned shirt, or hair products. These diverse items were all identifiable as *peches* through the idioms of gifting or lending them to a hypermasculinized romantic partner. The stories suggested that the interviewed persons from the LGBT milieu ameliorated the riskiness of the situation by gifting the vials of hair treatment or lending a bicycle, thereby involving the *mapero* in a set of mutual obligations. For both interviewees there was a normative lesson to be remembered: discretion and mutual obligations were strategies for surviving the conflict.

**Hassan, Hamdy A.:** Religion as a Security Threat: Case Studies of Extremist Christian Movements in Africa. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 51/3–4.2021: 426–451 (<https://doi.org/10.1163/15700666-12340216>).

It is not often that one finds an article presenting this subject from a Muslim point of view. Seeing things from another perspective (as in a mirror) helps to gather a better view of the subject under discussion. It is a pity, then, that the Author treated that intriguing topic in a rather superficial and sketchy manner. His case studies are also the most obvious ones – the Biafra pro-independence movement, Lord's Resistance Army in northern Uganda and the anti-balaka militias in the Central African Republic. They spread over the last sixty years and the Author does not indicate whether they are the only ones, or whether there are more such examples, yet perhaps less prominent ones. He is right, though, that religion is one of the identity-constructing factors not only by Muslims but also by Christians in Africa (the Western and/or Christian researchers often forget or ignore the latter fact). Despite the reservations, the article is worth reading for the sake of acquaintance with another point of view.

The Author states: "Such groups are motivated in their movement by Christian beliefs and aim to create a new world that will bring about the kingdom of God on earth. The reason for focusing on these cases is that they represent radical or nonstate armed movements that, in different ways and according to their respective circumstances, have used religion as a tool in times of discontent and conflict" (p. 428). Then, he outlines three groups of scholarly works dealing with the issue of Christian fundamentalism: "The first category discusses the historical phenomenon of Christian jihad, starting with the Crusades and ending with the emergence of the Christian extreme right. [...] The second category focuses on the African context. For example, using a survey of attitudes of people living in 34 African countries, Adamczyk and LaFree (2019) find that the effects of religiosity on the population's civic engagement and interest in violent political behavior are the same for Muslims and Christians. Hock (2008) links

Christian 'fundamentalism' with new religious movements, which have become a major challenge to existing churches. This challenge has a global dimension. It is present not only in the United States where radical conservative groups of Evangelical, Pentecostal, or Charismatic provenance have emerged and gained popularity at the expense of mainstream churches, but also in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Jordan (2014) discusses how different theological agendas regarding race have been employed in Africa. American ecclesiastical organizations have made Africa an important battleground for defending apartheid and Western influence. The third category focuses on case studies of violent Christian movements, such as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) (Adam et al. 2007; Taylor 2019), the anti-balaka movement in the Central African Republic (CAR) (Kah 2016; Lombard 2016), and the rebellions that used Christian jihad in southern Nigeria (Omenka 2011; Pérouse de Montclos 2021)." (pp. 427–428).

"A distinction can be made between the two different types of Christian violence in Africa and the reasons behind this violence. The first form is sectarian violence embodied in the dynamics of Muslim-Christian relations in countries such as Nigeria and CAR. It begins as a political insurgency and then becomes religious in character when one community engages in violence against another on sectarian religious grounds. The second form of Christian religious violence is carried out by extremist groups that practice killing in the name of God, such as the LRA in Uganda and the anti-balaka group in the CAR. The goal of these groups is to advance a specific cause in theological thought and then engage in violent activity to achieve it, such as imposing a set of behavioral standards with severe penalties for violators" (p. 432).

The Author states: "In Africa religion is closely related to people's daily lives, and thus religious affiliation is shaped and becomes a decisive factor in building social identity. This affiliation may create sharp differences between religious groups. However, advocates of the concept of societal inequality in its various dimensions interpret interfaith violence as a specific consequence of the economic and other policy-related inequalities that exist between religious groups. [...] The basic assumption underlying this study is that the main reason behind religious violence, in general, is the failure of the postcolonial state in Africa since it is still a national project in progress (Hassan 2020b). Extremist religious movements appear in the context of a state crisis. The public sometimes welcome them as an alternative to the state in its attempts to achieve security and stability because it is believed these movements will be able to provide enforcement of the rule of law and establish stability." (p. 432). The Author's conclusions given after brief descriptions of all his three case studies point out to socio-political factors as reasons for using violence (competition for political power (p. 436), reacting against marginalization (p. 440), manipulating the feelings of religious and ethnic identities for attaining political goals (p. 444). He makes, though, the point

that “In the LRA’s armed rebellion, which was a reaction against this marginalization, religion (Christian rites) played a crucial role in the process of creating an alternative ethnic and religious identity” (p. 440).

One can find assertions formulated in a rather peculiar way in the section where the Author describes the theoretical framework used in his article:

“Between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries Western missionaries began arriving in Africa. These missionaries frequently converted white settlers, Asian laborers, and educated Africans to Christianity. The Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Pentecostal churches were prized as pioneers, although the Methodist and Baptist churches came to Africa later and enjoyed more success among tribal groups of traditional religions. In the face of marginalization and other negative effects of Western colonialism, independent African churches emerged that differed from Western expressions of Christianity. Some African splinter groups, such as *Legio Maria* in Kenya, have become new religious movements that believe in the ideas of the African Messiah or the Black Jesus (Meyer 2004).

In terms of belief and principle, the saying, ‘Give what is Caesar’s to Caesar, and what is God’s to God’ (Matthew 22: 21; Luke 20: 25) was the basis for the concept of separation of church and state in Christian society. This view was reinforced by the teachings of St Paul to the Romans that every person must be subject to the governing authorities because there is no authority except that which is established by God. In general, Christians tend to interpret the New Testament in a pacifist manner, believing that they are obligated to ‘obey’ their rulers and not deviate from their authority. However, many religious cults, such as liberation theology, have challenged this kind of interpretation. The Book of Joshua has long been the starting point for the concept of jihad in the Bible” (p. 429).

**Fesenmyer, Leslie:** Ambivalent Belonging: Born-Again Christians between Africa and Europe. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 52/1–2.2022: 119–145 (<https://doi.org/10.1163/15700666-12340221>).

“Born-again African Christians in Europe pose particular challenges to these premises of belonging. They are not only migrants but are racially different from the majority; nonetheless, they are religiously familiar, though they are often not readily perceived as such. The Pentecostal Christians among whom I work in London migrated from Kenya to the United Kingdom during the 1990s and early 2000s. In their late teens and early twenties at the time of migration, they moved to pursue their aspirations for social adulthood in the face of a crisis of social reproduction in Kenya. Yet the act of migration transformed them into racialized migrants who are increasingly seen as not belonging to British society, regardless of their legal status and citizenship. In Kenya they are ‘Kenyans in diaspora’, a label about which they are ambivalent and that generates envy and resentment among non diasporan Kenyans. These born-

again Christians are ambivalent about their belonging in both contexts: they sympathize with nativist views that they do not ‘belong’ in the United Kingdom, and with the views of those in Kenya who see them as not quite belonging there either” (p. 120).

“This paper approaches belonging as relationally constituted between Kenya and the United Kingdom, between Africa and its diasporas, where born-again Christians’ interactions and Others’ imaginings of them mediate their sense of belonging; phrased differently, belonging entails processes of ‘self-making’ and of ‘being made’ by power (Ong 1996). Kenyan Pentecostals’ identification as born-again Christians and affiliation with other Pentecostals offers a morally and emotionally meaningful community of belonging, which is socially intelligible across space. Importantly, I am not suggesting a functionalist or instrumental reading of their religiosity, but rather encouraging an understanding of their Pentecostal identification and affiliation within the social, cultural, political, and economic environments in which they gain wider plausibility. My focus is on the subjective experiences of these born-again Christians, particularly how Christianity helps them negotiate a sense of belonging vis-à-vis the places they live and those they encounter over the course of their lives, rather than on their political rights or the mediating role of the Pentecostal churches they attend. Doing so not only reveals the limits of citizenship for resolving questions of belonging when encountering Others, but also the limits of the cosmopolitan ethos that the Pentecostal churches they attend espouse. At the same time, it highlights the enduring symbolic power of the nation as a basis of belonging, which these Christians struggle to claim” (p. 121).

“The paper is based on sixteen months of ethnographic research conducted primarily in two Kenyan-initiated Pentecostal churches and among their congregants in East London between 2014 and 2016, while also drawing on my long-term engagement since 2009 with transnational families whose members live in London, Nairobi, and Kiambu, Kenya. Fieldwork included regularly attending weekly services; participating in church and fellowship meetings, events, and activities; attending periodic large-scale religious conferences in London; and spending time with congregants and their families outside of church” (p. 122).

**Gadjanova, Elena, Gabrielle Lynch, Ghadafi Saibu:** Misinformation across Digital Divides: Theory and Evidence from Northern Ghana. *African Affairs* 121/483.2022: 161–195.

“[...] by drawing on research conducted in Ghana’s Northern Region and the capital Accra, we develop a theory to explain how misinformation spreads across an area characterized by varying levels of internet connectivity and digital literacy, and whether and how it is debunked. We understand misinformation in the broad sense of incorrect or misleading information regardless of its intent to deceive, as contrasted with disinforma-

tion, which is deliberately intended to deceive. We define media as the most significant means of mass communication and identify three broad types: social, traditional, and pavement media. We conceptualize social media as ‘a group of internet-based applications or platforms that allow information sharing and co-ordination among its users’ and traditional media as the official and regulated media that existed before the Digital Age and most notably includes newspapers, radio, and television – which can also increasingly be accessed online. This media is often termed ‘Legacy media’ in communication studies. However, we use the term ‘traditional media’ as this is how it is most referred to in Ghana and across the African continent. Finally, we build upon Stephen Ellis’s discussion of ‘pavement radio’ or the ‘popular and unofficial discussion of current affairs’ in marketplaces, places of worship, bars, and the like to conceptualize pavement media as including various non-conversational forms of everyday communication such as songs, sermons, graffiti, flyers, and street theatre. We view this as a form of media, rather than just as a means of communication or mediation, because of the fact that it constitutes a major source of information and news for many citizens. In speaking of these three types of media, we nevertheless recognize that they often overlap and are non-exhaustive. Most notably, there are various forms of digital or online media, such as blogs and online-only magazines and newspapers that do not fit neatly within the three-part typology” (p. 163).

“In sum, we argue that intersecting traditional, social, and pavement media create an important distinction not between the connected and the disconnected, but between first-hand and indirect social media users in terms of how citizens encounter, process, and respond to social media content. This distinction rests on broader informational hierarchies, which are gendered and socio-economically and geographically stratified, and has important implications for citizens’ vulnerability to social media misinformation: Because indirect social media users will likely be exposed to misinformation on traditional media or through friends, family, and (often higher status) community members, they will be less likely to suspect, openly question, or seek to debunk it. Therefore, far from being ‘immune’, we find that indirect users can actually be ‘more’ vulnerable to misinformation originating online. Efforts to combat misinformation thus need to be carefully tailored to the predominant mode of its spread. Our theory contributes to understanding how social media misinformation spreads across digital divides and has implications for what types of measures are likely to succeed in combating it. We return to these questions in the conclusion” (p. 169).

“First-hand social media users often possess the means and capacity to independently assess the social media content: Our data show they are keenly aware of the prevalence of misinformation on social media and generally more suspicious of the social media content. Conversely, citizens who are exposed to social media misinformation via traditional media or pavement radio

are less likely to question it, leaving them more vulnerable. This vulnerability is not necessarily a function of literacy or socio-economic characteristics alone, although the latter do play a part; we argue that indirect users’ relatively higher vulnerability to misinformation stems also from their embeddedness within relationships of trust and existing social hierarchies that help to dictate whose authority is to be questioned and thus what type of information is to be taken at face value” (p. 191).

“The patterns we describe have clear implications for battling the spread of misinformation in Ghana and beyond. First, the interconnected media space that we have described means that misinformation originating on social media travels through multiple channels simultaneously, significantly increasing its reach. Second, efforts to battle misinformation should take into account the different modes of social media access and the logics of responses to suspected fake news that we describe. This means that there is a need to harness multiple information channels in the service of debunking misinformation: Local and national media, common information diffusion spaces, such as markets and the like, and high-status individuals who enjoy high levels of trust locally. Third, social media literacy campaigns are unlikely to be effective unless they also address and seek to influence wider societal norms giving rise to informational hierarchies. Beyond encouraging fact-checking on an individual level, governments and civil society should strive to normalize it as social practice, which would empower indirect social media users to exercise more agency in responding to suspected misinformation” (p. 192).

**Campbell, Brian:** Pax Regis. Patronage, Charisma, and Ethno-religious Coexistence in a Spanish Enclave in North Africa. *Focaal. Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 2022/93: 89–104. (<https://doi.org/10.3167/fcl.2021.011102>).

**ABSTRACT:** “The people of Ceuta see their town as an exemplary model of coexistence between Christians, Muslims, Jews, and Hindus. This “convivencia” is described as the brainchild of their mayor-president, who funds clients to enact his charismatic vision. Anthropology is sensitive to the moral ambiguities of patron-client relations but has overlooked the role of charisma in the reproduction of patronage. This article explores the theoretical and political implications of a process by which convivencia-patronage becomes seen as the extension of the patron’s charisma. Obscuring the historical dimensions of power, charisma blocks nuanced discussion toward the colonial legacy of convivencia as a way of controlling suspect minorities. It prevents change by channeling resistance toward the removal of the mayor-president, not the structures that enabled his rise.”

The following quote comes from the introductory section of the article:

“It was a gorgeous March evening – just before



Easter – and the sleepy border neighborhood of El Príncipe was crowded with people. But not any people. Dressed in expensive suits and elaborate dresses, rosary beads in hand, these were Christians, and Christians never went to El Príncipe, fearing it a lawless Muslim ghetto. I asked an elderly man what was happening. “The Ritual of the Relocation (el traslado),” he replied. Seeing I was new to the enclave, he proceeded to explain that, once, many Christians lived in El Príncipe. They are long gone, but they left behind the miraculous statue of the Christ of Medinaceli. His shrine is maintained by Muslims, “because in Ceuta we have convivencia,” but once a year, the faithful relocate the statue to the town center in preparation for Holy Week processions.

Suddenly, the statue of the Medinaceli burst from a narrow alley, carried on the shoulders of 30 men. The Christ cast his benevolent gaze on his devotees, his hands bound by rope, his face covered in blood, his majestic purple robe swaying in the wind. The Muslims of El Príncipe watched from their balconies, the children waving and the adults sullen. Tears in his eyes, my interlocutor forgot about me and followed the procession as it thundered toward Ceuta’s largest mosque. Clad in immaculate white robes, the Imam emerged from the mosque’s marbled gate and embraced the leader of the procession, a short man with an easy smile who I quickly recognized as Juan Vivas, the enclave’s mayor-president. As cameras flashed around them, the Imam remarked how “in a world dying from religious hatred, Ceuta’s convivencia is a beacon of hope!”

In the following sections (‘Talking patronage’, ‘Convivencia’ and ‘Soldier, trader, functionary, beggar?’) the Author describes the political career of the man who stands behind the current situation in Ceuta and analyses the more problematic sides of that startling living together.

“However, many of my interlocutors felt uncomfortable with ‘Others’ handling their sacred traditions (ironically funded by patronage money). “I understand the president,” one Hindu confessed as he ritually purified the temple, “but the people who came for Diwali came for entertainment, not enlightenment.” Likewise, one Imam observed that these rites ‘trivialized’ religion and forced Muslims to do un-Islamic things (like revering idols). Another was worried that “in rituals of convivencia, you do not worship God. You worship Ceuta” (section “Convivencia, connivencia”).

**Massa, Aurora:** “All We Need Is a Home”. Eviction, Vulnerability, and the Struggle for a Home by Migrants from the Horn of Africa in Rome. *Focaal. Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 2022/92: 31–47 (<https://doi.org/10.3167/fcl.2022.920103>).

The following quotes come from the introductory part of the article:

“It was ten o’clock in the morning on August 19, 2017, and I had just arrived in Piazza Indipendenza, a square near Rome’s main railway station and the historical gathering place of migrants from the Horn of

Africa. The scene before me was alienating: a huge number of law enforcement officers with their vans; dozens of people who, like Tirhas, had just been evicted from what had before been their home; and, scattered over the ground, their stuff, including suitcases, religious icons, furniture, and TVs. A few hours earlier, police had broken into the eight-story building (colloquially called Piazza Indipendenza) that had been occupied since October 2013 by hundreds of people mainly from Eritrea and Ethiopia in order to cope with the chronic crisis of the housing sector in Rome. The inhabitants of Piazza Indipendenza were single men, women, and families, mostly refugees with unskilled, illegal, and precarious work, or no work at all, but also economic migrants whose income wasn’t sufficient to allow them to pay rent. Many had tortuous previous experiences with housing, having lived in apartments, reception centers, shanty towns, or other squats.”

“After bursting into the building, police forced residents to immediately leave their apartments and took some of them to the police headquarters for identification. Although the majority hold refugee status, this treatment reminded them that the border regime was still active in their lives. With the exception of a few instances in which anger and despair were expressed, residents quietly left the building and gathered their personal belongings at a nearby traffic island covered in grass. When evening fell, it became clear that no alternative accommodation would be made available (with the exception of mothers and children, and sick and disabled people who had been allowed to remain in the building), and about one hundred evictees decided to spend the night there.”

“This article illustrates how people faced a moment of extreme vulnerability within a situation of protracted precariousness. Eviction implies not only the loss of a physical dwelling (a house) but also of the feelings, social relationships, and symbolic values that shape the sense of being at home in a certain place (Blunt and Dowling 2006). By taking home not as a static and ascriptive concept but as a set of practices, ideals, and emotions that are continuously enacted (Rapport and Dawson 1998), the study of evictions allows us to enhance our understanding of the incessant struggles for home characterizing migrants’ and refugees’ lives in Europe today.

By observing what happened in the makeshift settlement in the traffic island in the days following the eviction, this article shows, on the one hand, how migrants’ home-making practices in the square acted as resources to cope with a disruptive event. On the other hand, it illustrates how the language of vulnerability was mobilized both by evicted people to claim the right to a house and by public authorities to exclude the majority of them from this right. As I will show, migrants requested not just a shelter but a place they could call home, and their demand was intertwined with a broader process of emplacement, herein intended not as a question of localization but ‘a striving toward being positively situated in a relational landscape’ (Bjarnesen and Vigh 2016: 10).”

“In approaching an ethnographic case where different forms of institutional violence overlap, I do not offer a detailed exploration of the unequal political and economic systems that increase and produced certain forms of vulnerability. Rather I focus on daily micro-practices through which migrants give meaning to their vulnerable lives and try to respond to the adverse situations they face. After presenting my theoretical framework in the second section, the third section retraces the housing conditions that led some refugees to squat and to find a shifting agreement between their sense of precariousness and their sense of home. In the fourth section, I analyze how evictees turned a traffic island into a temporarily homely space. In the fifth and sixth sections, I focus on the relationships between evicted people and institutions, showing how the language of vulnerability and deservingness was manipulated by both groups to claim (or to exclude people from) the right to a home.”

**Hoellerer, Nicole, Nick Gill:** ‘Assembly-Line Baptism’. Judicial Discussions of ‘Free Churches’ in German and Austrian Asylum Hearings. *Journal of Legal Anthropology* 5/2.2021: 1–29. (<https://doi.org/10.3167/jla.2021.050201>).

**ABSTRACT:** “We explore judges’ approaches to asylum court appeals based on the issue of conversion from Islam to Christianity. Our court ethnography in Germany and Austria in 2018 and 2019 provides an insight into how such claims are discussed during appeals. At the time, they were increasingly common, especially concerning Iranians and Afghans involved in ‘free churches’ (e.g. Evangelical, Pentecostal or charismatic). We show how rumors, congregations’ reputations and assumptions about baptism and what genuine conversions entail are discussed. These factors can not only influence appellants’ cases but reveal church–state tensions and some of the intractable challenges of refugee status determination.”

A quote from the introductory part of the article follows: “We explore the ways judges discuss and verbalize their reasoning about religious conversion from Islam to Christianity, which concerned migrants from Iran and Afghanistan in our sample. Religious conversion cases were special cases during our ethnographic research: they were significantly longer than most other cases, there were almost always supporters

of the asylum appellant present such as members from their religious congregations, and asylum appellants’ testimony was much more frequently corroborated by witnesses, such as clerical staff or members of the congregation.

Furthermore, we observed some judges being openly critical of some religious conversion cases, ascribing ‘asylum-tactical’ motivations (see below) to such appellants. This often occurred when appellants had converted in ‘free churches’ – such as Evangelical, Pentecostal or charismatic congregations – with some judges suggesting that these congregations practice ‘assembly-line baptism’ [Taufen am Fließband] in order to assist asylum seekers to gain refugee protection in Germany. From our observations of a wide range of types of asylum claims, the way such judges openly and negatively commented on such conversion cases was distinctive: few other types of claims we observed generated as much criticism from judges.

Other scholars [...] have critically explored legal and factual aspects of religious conversion in refugee status determination (RSD) but have based most of their analysis on national and international regulations and directives, or on written court decisions. Our article adds to the literature by offering ethnographic data on how judges discuss religious conversion during hearings, which affects how appellants give evidence and could frame the reasoning for the case.

We first briefly review the legal background of religious conversion in RSD to outline the considerations judges should take into account when assessing religious conversion claims. We then explore the way some judges discussed ‘free churches’, as well as clerical perspectives on such judicial opinions. We argue that in-court judicial comments have to be analyzed in their specific local context, by exploring the potential unfamiliarity with ‘free’ Christian congregations in Germany and Austria. In this article, we make no general comment on the motivations for conversion among refugees and migrants, and do not seek to reflect directly on the ‘sincerity’ or ‘credibility’ of the asylum seekers’ faith. Rather, we focus on the way judges verbalize their reasoning, undertake questioning and conduct discussions, and highlight the effects of rumors in asylum hearings. We understand rumors in light of Arkaitz Zubiaga and colleagues’ (2016) notions that a rumor is a ‘circulating story of questionable veracity’ and that it is ‘apparently credible but hard to verify’.”

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