Review of Books
(by Ivan Lobo and Othmar Gächter)


“Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival” shows how, in the era of African political independence, cosmopolitan Christian converts struggled with East Africa’s patriots over the definition of culture and community. The book traces the history of the East African Revival, an evangelical movement that spread through much of eastern and central Africa. Its converts offered a subversive reading of culture, disavowing their compatriots and disregarding their obligations to kin. They earned the ire of East Africa’s patriots, who worked to root people in place as inheritors of ancestral wisdom. This book casts religious conversion in a new light: not as an inward reorientation of belief, but as a political action that opened up novel paths of self-narration and unsettled the inventions of tradition.

Simon Gikandi: It is undoubtedly the most important and authoritative study of religious revival that transformed East African communities from the 1930s to the 1970s … and of conversion as a mode of cultural criticism.


This book presents photographs taken in what is now northern Tanzania by Lutheran missionaries from Leipzig in the first four decades of the twentieth century. It touches briefly upon certain decades of everyday life that is gender, medicine, schools, architecture, “other” customs, and upon ways in which photographs were used for publicity. Longer chapters deal with the portrayal of missionary children, of music and dance, as well as of landscape. The book is of potential interest to historians of colonial Africa, historians of photography, historians of Christian mission, and people in northern Tanzania.


The role of the workshop in the creation of African art is the subject of this revelatory book. In the group setting of the workshop, innovation and imitation collide, artists share ideas and techniques, and creative expression flourishes. “African Art and Agency in the Workshop” examines the variety of workshops, from those that are politically driven or tourist oriented to those based on historical patronage or allied to current artistic trends. Fifteen lively essays explore the impact of the workshop on the production of artists such as Zimbabwean stone sculptors, master potters from Cameroon, wood carvers from Nigeria, and others from across the continent.


In this volume, which features an abundance of excellent colour illustrations, Hans-Joachim Koloss describes the circumstances and settings of his research. His fieldwork largely focused on the secret societies. Hence, an enthralling story unfolds which is not only about the everyday events and problems faced by the researcher, but also about the almost unlimited support granted him by the dignitaries. The comprehensive material collected in the course of his research – particularly on the monarchical and egalitarian as well as religious traditions – lent itself as a
basis for a discussion not only of specific aspects of modern fieldwork theory, but also of the results gained by other fieldworkers in Oku. This is the final volume of his Cameroon trilogy. It has been preceded by the volumes “World-View and Society in Oku (Cameroon)” and “Traditional Institutions in Kembong (Cameroon).”


This work is a collection of studies on Islam in contemporary Ethiopia. It challenges the popular notion of a “Christian Ethiopia” imagined as the centuries-old, never-colonized Abyssinia, isolated in the highlands and dominated by Orthodox Christianity. In addition to marginalizing Muslim cultures and societies within Ethiopia, this notion has also excluded Muslims from public discourse and led to the neglect of Islam in Ethiopian studies. This is strikingly at odds with the country’s cultural and historical reality, as Muslims constitute a significant part of the population and have contributed significantly to its development. “Muslim Ethiopia” develops this overlooked nexus of Ethiopian and Islamic Studies, while broadening our understandings of Muslims in Africa as a whole.


The drama of “Berimba’s Resistance” was played out in the hot and rugged terrain of southern Ethiopia where, in the aftermath of the Ethiopian conquest, Berimba (ca. 1875–1952) was chosen by the Hamar to act as their spokesman. Aike Berinas relates in minute detail how Berimba, his father, dealt and negotiated with the intruders, and how he resisted their often high-handed rule until eventually he was murdered.

The local history, recorded in this book, may generally have a constructive part to play in the shaping of present-day Ethiopia. The move from a centralized state to a federal republic, which began after the downfall of the Dergue regime in 1991, can only be fully achieved if all the various nations and culturally different groups in Ethiopia simultaneously try to understand, and thereby respect, each other better. To this end, Strecker pays careful attention to voices that speak of the multifarious local histories, on the basis of which Ethiopia’s future can be built.

Ivo Strecker: When Balambaras Aike Berinas, also called Baldambe, told me the story of his father, I felt very privileged to be the one to record and translate his exciting narrative, realizing it was a “historic” moment: Spoken words were being transformed into written ones, and a text with its own distinctive features and literary style was emerging.


Based on ethnographic research conducted between 2005 and 2011 in south-western and central Nigeria, in this book Yoruba nationalism is conceptually presented focusing on the period between 1900 and 2012. While a number of studies already exist on the subject matter of ethnicity, nationalism, and politics in many parts of Africa and specifically on Yoruba identity and politics, Yoruba nationalism and the changes it underwent during the colonial and post-colonial periods up to 2012 have received relatively little attention.

The present monograph in part extends the arguments beyond the time limit of earlier publications and discusses current trends in Yoruba nationalism, politics, and violence in south-western Nigeria. Referring to past and most recent political activities in Yorubaland, the book explores the changing nature of Yoruba nationalism as well as its impact on the Nigerian state.


Globally, women are oppressed and this book introduces the perspective of African, and especially Nigerian, women. The contributors discuss the major themes that drive the women’s empowerment programs in Nigeria. Feminists in Nigeria are shaped by the country’s institutions, values, ideologies; and since the 1970s, the UN and its agencies have added an international dimension. The chapters, while giving a theoretical overview of Nigerian women’s empowerment, also show how institutions, values, religion, and culture can challenge feminist political philosophy—a philosophy that tends to universalize women’s problems and their solutions.


West-African history is usually seen as mainly influenced by English or French Colonialism. There is a new interest in German Colonialism, but most research is done in European archives and with a European point of view. This book explores German Colonial exploits and their consequences in Ghana, Togo, and Cameroon mostly from an African point of view. By means of research on sites of the colonial hinterland and the agency of entangled people, it reveals the simmering impact of the past encounters on indigenous religious, cultural, political and socio-economic developments in West-Africa.

Holten, Lianne: Mothers, Medicine, and Morality in Rural Mali. An Ethnographic Study of Therapy Management of

How to understand the simultaneity of parental love and care with a lack of taking action when a child is ill? This question inspired Lianne Holten to conduct the ethnographic study presented in this book. She worked and lived in the isolated village of Farabako (Mali) to help establish a maternity clinic. Holten clearly describes the tension between Western biomedical thinking and local ideas on health. She explains how biomedical assumptions make the mothers’ actions appear incomprehensible; but she also shows the logic within the local context. This study contributes to the understanding of the importance of local moralities in health and will be useful for public health initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa.


Drawing on field research in Malta, Sicily, and among Italian emigrants in Canada, this book explores the social influence of the Mediterranean climate and the legacy of ethnic and religious conflict from the past five decades. Case studies illustrate the complexity of daily life not only in the region but also in more remote academe, by analyzing the effects of fierce family loyalty, emigration, and the social consequences of factionalism, patronage, and the friends-of-friends networks that are widespread in the region. Several chapters discuss the social and environmental impact of mass tourism, how locals cope, and the paradoxical increase in religious pageantry and public celebrations. The discussions echo changes in the region and the related development of the author’s own interests and engagement with prevailing issues through his career.


What constitutes a history? Is this term to be restricted to the works of recognized historians? Or can information about the past gained through dreams, spirit possession rituals, or dancing performances also count as histories? Instead of dismissing such productions as “myth” or “religion,” Charles Stewart contends that our definition of history must be widened. This move is crucial in a global setting where alternative historical practices require appreciation as systems of thought rather than rejection as inferior types of knowledge.

Villagers on the Greek island of Naxos have long experienced dreams of saints directing them to dig up buried objects. These dreams impelled the villagers to become both archaeologists and historians striving to uncover a past that would alter their future. “Dreaming and Historical Consciousness” elucidates these dreams of the past-present-future in terms of local cosmology and theorizes them as existential expressions of the struggle for agency. This ethnography of historical consciousness offers new insight into how people imagine the past, consciously and unconsciously, in daily life.

Michael Lambek: Charles Stewart significantly advances our understanding of the ways that religion, dreaming, and historical consciousness can inform one another.


Indian communities have existed in the Gulf emirate of Dubai for more than a century. Since the 1970s, workers from South Asia have flooded into the emirate, enabling Dubai’s huge construction boom. They now compose its largest noncitizen population. Though many migrant families are middle-class and second-, third-, or even fourth-generation residents, Indians cannot become legal citizens of the United Arab Emirates. Instead, they are all classified as temporary guest workers. In “Impossible Citizens”, Neha Vora draws on her ethnographic research in Dubai’s Indian-dominated downtown to explore how Indians live suspended in a state of permanent temporariness.

While their legal status defines them as perpetual outsiders, Indians are integral to the Emirati nation-state and its economy. At the same time, Indians – even those who have established thriving diasporic neighborhoods in the emirate – disavow any interest in formally belonging to Dubai and instead consider India their home. Vora shows how these multiple and conflicting logics of citizenship and belonging contribute to new understandings of contemporary citizenship, migration, and national identity, ones that differ from liberal democratic models and that highlight how Indians, rather than Emiratis, are the quintessential – yet impossible – citizens of Dubai.


“Informal labour” translates as labour or employment that is not regular. Labour in the informal sector is casual, insecure, and unprotected. This book brings to light the plight of the landless and land-poor peasants in the informal economy in India. While discussing the labour being pushed out of agricultural production, Jan Breman contextualizes why, when, and how this transition occurred. The book is a result of anthropological fieldwork conducted in Gujarat – the state with the highest rate of economic growth – spanning over five decades. Although centred on one Indian state, thereby lacking a comparative frame, the author argues that India is the epicentre of the informal economy. Thus, the informal sector here has a wider relevance and greater validity.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part covers the historical developments under capitalism, and contextualizes the deplorable condition of the unorganized workforce and the commodification of labour with the decline of agrarian bondage. The second part consists of author’s ten previously published papers elaborating on
themes and issues introduced in the first part of the book. This part also familiarizes the reader with the concept of informality and its ramifications.


This book examines the relationship of religion and the Indian state and seeks to answer the question: “How has the higher judiciary in Independent India interpreted the right to freedom of religion and in turn influenced the discourse on secularism and nationhood?” The author examines the tension between judgments that attempt to define the essence of religion and in many ways to “rationalize” it, and a society where religion occupies a prominent space. He places the judicial discourse within the wider political and philosophical context of Indian secularism. The author also focuses on judgments related to Article 44, under the Directive Principles of State Policy, which places a duty on the state to “secure” a uniform civil code for the nation. His contention is that the Indian Supreme Court has actively aimed at reform and rationalization of obscurantist religious views and institutions and has, as a result, contributed to a “homogenization of religion” and also the nation, that it has not shown adequate sensitivity to the pluralism of Indian polity and the rights of minorities.


The yakṣagāṇa dance-drama of the coastal regions of the south Indian union state of Karnataka is still a thriving theatre tradition. Characterized by its distinct musical style, a lively blend of sung poetry and improvised dialogues, impressive costumes and vigorous dancing, this genre combines many features prevalent in Indian performing arts. The volume by Katrin Binder presents a general overview of the dance-drama and its representation in academic literature, followed by terminological and methodological considerations. These reflect the author’s own training as a yakṣagāṇa artist, which also informs the descriptive sections focusing on the songs and dances of the pre-performance rituals.

Three exemplary performances are analyzed in detail, illustrating trends in performance settings, techniques and costuming. A context-oriented section assesses the current yakṣagāṇa scene, documenting troupes, repertoire, sponsors and other factors. This section also addresses the dynamics of change shaping this dance-drama between vow-performances, commercial venture, and regional cultural icon. An appendix outlines the possible development of yakṣagāṇa in the context of other south Indian performing arts by tracing its literary history. Yakṣagāṇa’s basic rhythmic patterns and the most important songs discussed in the main study are provided in a performance notation. Accompanying visual material is accessible online.


Everyday life in contemporary rural China is characterized by an increased sense of moral challenge and uncertainty. Ordinary people often find themselves caught between the moral frameworks of capitalism, Maoism, and the Chinese tradition. This ethnographic study of the village of Zhongba (in Hubei Province, central China) is an attempt to grasp the ethical reflexivity of everyday life in rural China. Drawing on descriptions of village life, interspersed with targeted theoretical analyses, the author examines how ordinary people construct their own senses of their lives and their futures in everyday activities: building houses, working, celebrating marriages and funerals, gambling, and dealing with local government. The villagers confront moral uncertainty; they creatively harmonize public discourse and local practice; and sometimes they resolve incoherence and unease through the use of irony. In so doing, they perform everyday ethics and re-create transient moral communities at a time of massive social dislocation.


While in some cases modernity may dominate “traditional” forms of expression, in others, the modern is embraced as a welcome source of new ideas that can modify “tradition” while still keeping it within its own bounds. This is actually likely to help a tradition to survive. Maintaining a strong and distinct cultural identity with the help of modernity enables representatives of that identity to cope with the modern world more generally. By contrast, assimilation to a dominant culture marked as modern is clearly associated with not only the loss of a distinct identity, but also the specific forms of cultural expression. This book explores the consequences of the interface between modernity and tradition in selected societies in Taiwan, mainland China, and Vietnam. The contributors examine how traditions are themselves exploiting modernity in creative ways, in the interests of their own further cultural developments, and to what extent this approach is likely to help a tradition survive.


Confucianism is reviving in China and spreading in America. The past and present interactions between the revived Confucianism and Daoism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity will likely shape the cultural and political developments in Chinese societies of mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, etc., and will have global implications in the globalizing world. In addition to the philosophical and theological articulations of Confucianism and other spiritual traditions, this volume includes empirical studies
of and analytical reflections on the spiritual traditions in Chinese societies by historians, sociologists, and anthropologists. It is a collection of articles by excellent scholars in China and the West, and the top experts in multiple disciplines. Collectively, the volume provides an assessment of the present situation and points to the possibilities of future development of Confucianism and other spiritual traditions in modern China and beyond.


In a village community in the highlands of Cambodia’s Southwest, people struggle to rebuild their lives after nearly thirty years of war and genocide. Recovery is a tenuous process as villagers attempt to shape a future while contending with the terrible rupture of the Pol Pot era. “Forest of Struggle” tracks the fragile progress of restoring the bonds of community in O’Thmaa and its environs, the site of a Khmer Rouge base and battlefield for nearly three decades between 1970 and 1998.

Eve Zucker’s ethnographic fieldwork (2001–2003, 2010) uncovers the experiences of the people of O’Thmaa in the early days of the revolution, when some villagers turned on each other with lethal results. She examines memories of violence and considers the means by which relatedness and moral order are re-established, comparing O’Thmaa with villages in a neighboring commune that suffered similar but not identical trauma. The author argues that those differing experiences shape present ways of healing and making the future. Events had a devastating effect on the social and moral order at the time and continue to impair the remaking of sociality and civil society today, impacting villagers’ responses to changes in recent years.

Early versions of some material in Zucker’s book have appeared in articles and book chapters published elsewhere. “Forest of Struggle” persuasively illustrates how Cambodians employ indigenous means to reconcile their painful memories of loss and devastation.


This book is an ethnographic study of kinship and the nature and behaviour of ownership amongst the much-studied Sepik River Iatmul people. Until very recently, anthropology has remained a Western analytical project for understanding and conceptualizing non-Western societies, and was often geared towards the pragmatics of colonial and post-colonial interest. In the spirit of social science, anthropology has formulated a rigorous method of research and a specialized language of description and analysis. Embedded within this approach are metaphysical assumptions about the nature of human society, culture, history, and so forth.

This volume provides the vantage point from which to rethink anthropology’s central assumption about social relations by focusing on the way in which social relations are assumed and figured in the methodological approach in data gathering and in subsequent theorization. It presents an ethnographic study of the nature of personhood, name and marriage systems, gender, understandings of kinship, and concomitant issues of ownership amongst the Sepik River Iatmul people. Written from the viewpoint of a Melanesian scholar who comes from a country that has been the subject of much anthropological thinking, this volume engages with and examines the foundational assumptions of anthropology.


In 1994, the Pacific island village of Matupit was partially destroyed by a volcanic eruption. This study focuses on the subsequent reconstruction and contests over the morality of exchanges that are generative of new forms of social stratification. Such new dynamics of stratification are central to contemporary processes of globalization in the Pacific, and more widely. Through detailed ethnography of the transactions that a displaced people entered into in seeking to rebuild their lives, this book analyzes how people re-make sociality in an era of post-colonial neoliberalism without taking either the transformative power of globalization or the resilience of indigenous culture as its starting point. It also contributes to the understanding of the problems of post-disaster reconstruction and development projects.


Relationships are the glue that holds the world together. As the author shows, this common belief applies to ancient Greece as much as to contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. Based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork, this anthropological study dedicates itself to the topic of friendship – this flexible type of sociality that has become increasingly significant in people’s lives throughout the world. At the core stand the friendship conceptions and life-worlds of Māori (the indigenous population) and Pākehā actors in New Zealand (the descendants of the predominantly European settler population). By tracing out people’s “friendship worlds” in their wider societal context, the author takes up current debates surrounding issues of identity and sociality, indigeneity and diversity. The study reveals important implications for the understanding of group relations in post-colonial, so-called “multicultural” societies.

Providing a comprehensive treatment of a full range of migrant destinies in East Asia by scholars from both Asia and North America, the book captures the way migrants are changing the face of Asia, especially its cities, such as Beijing, Hong Kong, Hamamatsu, Osaka, Tokyo, Singapore. It investigates how the crossing of geographical boundaries should also be recognized as a crossing of cultural and social categories that reveals the extraordinary variation in the migrants’ origins and trajectories. These migrants span the spectrum: from Korean bar hostesses in Osaka to African entrepreneurs in Hong Kong, from Vietnamese women seeking husbands across the Chinese border to Pakistani Muslim men marrying women in Japan, from short-term business travellers in China to long-term tourists from Japan who ultimately decide to retire overseas.

This volume illuminates the ways in which an Asia-based analysis of migration can yield new data on global migration patterns, new theoretical insights for a broader understanding of global migration, and new methodological approaches to the spatial and temporal complexity of human migration.


Rapid population aging, once associated with only a select group of modern industrialized nations, has now become a topic of increasing global concern. This volume reframes aging on a global scale by illustrating the multiple ways it is embedded within individual, social, and cultural life courses. The volume presents a broad range of ethnographic work, introducing a variety of conceptual and methodological approaches to studying life-course transitions in conjunction with broader sociocultural transformations. Through detailed accounts, in such diverse settings as nursing homes in Sri Lanka, a factory in Massachusetts, cemeteries in Japan, and clinics in Mexico, the authors explore not simply our understandings of growing older, but the interweaving of individual maturity and intergenerational relationships, social and economic institutions, and intimate experiences of gender, identity, and the body.


“Markets of Sorrow, Labors of Faith” is an ethnographic account of long-term recovery in post-Katrina New Orleans. It is also a sobering exploration of the privatization of vital social services under market-driven governance. In the wake of Hurricane Katrina, public agencies subcontracted disaster relief to private companies that turned the humanitarian work of recovery into lucrative business. These enterprises profited from the very suffering that they failed to ameliorate, producing a second-order disaster that exacerbated inequalities based on race and class, and leaving residents to rebuild almost entirely on their own.

Filled with the often desperate voices of residents who returned to New Orleans, the book describes the human toll of disaster capitalism and the affect economy it has produced. While for-profit companies delayed delivery of federal resources to returning residents, faith-based and non-profit groups stepped in to rebuild, compelled by the moral pull of charity and the emotional rewards of volunteer labor. Adams traces the success of charity efforts, even while noting an irony of neoliberalism, which encourages the very same for-profit companies to exploit these charities as another market opportunity. In so doing, the companies profit not once but twice on disaster.


Large-scale emigration from the Dominican Republic began in the early 1960s, with most Dominicans settling in New York City. Since then the growth of the city’s Dominican population has been staggering, now accounting for around 7 percent of the total populace. How have Dominicans influenced New York City? And, conversely, how has the move to New York affected their lives?

In “Making New York Dominican,” Christian Krohn-Hansen considers these questions through an exploration of Dominican immigrants’ economic and political practices and through their constructions of identity and belonging. He employs business ethnography to demonstrate how small Dominican enterprises work, how people find economic openings, and how Dominicans who own small commercial ventures have formed political associations to promote and defend their interests.

“Making New York Dominican” is about connections between Dominican New Yorkers’ economic and political practices and ways of thinking and the much larger historical, political, economic, and cultural field within which they operate. Throughout, Krohn-Hansen underscores that it is crucial to analyze four sets of processes: the immigrants’ forms of work, their everyday life, their modes of participation in political life, and their negotiation and building of identities.


The term “megachurch” generally refers to any Protestant congregation with a sustained average weekly attendance of 2000 persons or more in its worship services. Black megachurches and their pastors are often accused of failing to use their considerable resources to help the poor, focusing on prosperity theology rather than social justice, requiring excessive monetary and time commitments of members, and pilfering church coffers for their personal use. The debate rages on whether these congregations are doing all they can to address specific challenges facing African American communities. “Live Long and Prosper” is an innovative study that reaches beyond
superficial understandings of the Black megachurch phenomenon in a piercing interrogation of how powerful megachurches address (or fail to address) two social crises in the Black community: HIV/AIDS and poverty.


When European notions about angels and demons were exported to the New World, they underwent remarkable adaptations. Angels and demons came to form an integral part of the Spanish American cosmology, leading to the emergence of colonial urban and rural landscapes set within a strikingly theological framework. Belief in celestial and demonic spirits soon regulated and affected the daily lives of Spanish, Indigenous and Mestizo peoples, while missionary networks circulated these practices to create a widespread and generally accepted system of belief that flourished in seventeenth-century Baroque culture and spirituality.

This study of angels and demons opens a particularly illuminating window onto intellectual and cultural developments in the centuries that followed the European encounter with America. The authors explore key themes about religious and cultural change, interaction and negotiation in the early modern Hispanic world. They enhance our understanding of religious difference, cultural hybridity, belief and religious and cultural change in ethnically complex societies. The book is also a contribution to a number of lively historical debates about the impact and long-term repercussions of the Reformation and the Renaissance.


Spiritualism and mediumship are often regarded as the product of lingering superstition in the Victorian era, and as having limited relevance in modern Anglo-American society. Scholarship to date which has considered Spiritualism as a distinct religious tradition has focused on analysing the phenomenon in terms of spirit possession only.

This volume analyses the development of shamanism (communication with the spiritual world) as a concept within North American English-speaking scholarship, with particular focus on Mirecia Eliade’s influential cross-cultural presentation of shamanism. By re-examining the work of Sergei Shirokogoroff, one of Eliade’s principal sources, the traditional Evenki shamanic apprenticeship is compared and identified with the new Spiritualist apprenticeship.

The author demonstrates that Spiritualism is best understood as a traditional shamanism, as distinct from contemporary appropriations or neo-shamanisms. He argues that shamanism is the outcome of an apprenticeship in the management of psychic experiences, and which follows the same pattern as that of the apprentice medium. In doing so, the author offers fresh insights into the mechanisms that are key to sustaining mediumship as a social institution.


Today’s militant right-wing Christians follow an ancient ethos we can trace four thousand years to the battle-ax culture of early Indo-Europeans. Roman Emperor Constantine approved Christianity in AD 312, believing it promised he would be “the Anointed,” the greatest emperor. His Indo-European militarism characterized northern European Christianity and persisted through Martin Luther’s and John Calvin’s Protestantism, American colonization ruthlessly dispossessing Indian nations, rise of competitive capitalism to contemporary White American Protestants fighting to make America an officially Christian nation. Taking a broad anthropological approach, “Militant Christianity” gives new insights into the culture of “Christian Warriors.”


In this collection of essays, anthropologists of religion examine the special challenges they face when researching within missionizing communities. Conducting fieldwork among these groups may involve attending services, meditating, praying, and making pilgrimages. Anthropologists participating in such research may unwittingly give the impression that their interest is more personal than professional, and inadvertently encourage sometimes missionaries to impose conversion upon them. Moreover, anthropologists’ attitudes about religion, belief, and faith, as well as their response to conversion pressures, may interfere with their objectivity and cause them to impose their own understandings on the missionaries. Although anthropologists have extensively and fruitfully examined the role of identity in research – particularly gender and ethnic identity – religious identity, which is more fluid and changeable, has been relatively neglected.

This volume explores the role of religious identity in fieldwork by examining how researchers respond to participation in religious activities and to the ministrations of missionaries, both academically and personally. Including essays by anthropologists studying the proselytizing groups of Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, and other religious denominations, this volume provides a range of responses to the question of how anthropologists approach the gap between belief and disbelief when missionary zeal imposes its interpretations on anthropological curiosity.

“Human Rights and the Third World” deals with the controversial questions on the universalistic notions of human rights. The book discusses Third World perspectives on human rights and seeks to open up a discursive space in the human rights discourse to address unresolved questions in the field, citing issues and problems from different countries in the Third World:

- Whether alternative perspectives should be taken as the standard for human rights in the Third World countries?
- Should there be a universalistic notion of rights for Homo sapiens or are we talking about two diametrically opposite trends and standards of human rights for the same species?
- How far can these Third World perspectives of human rights ensure the protection of the minorities and the vulnerable sections of population, particularly women and children, within the Third World?
- Can these alternative perspectives help in fighting the Third World problems such as poverty, hunger, corruption, despotism, social exclusion like the caste system in India, communalism, and the like?
- Can there be reconciliation between the Third World perspectives and the Western perspective of human rights?

In order to answer these questions various authors focus on the problems from the Asian, African, and South American perspectives.


Genocide occurs when a government attempts to exterminate systematically a large percentage of its own citizens or subjects, simply because they fall into a particular group defined by religion, ethnicity, political affiliation, or (rarely) other group identification ranging from occupation to gender status. Genocide has been a major cause of death worldwide over the last 100 years or more and is far from being eliminated.

Through examining available cases, “Warning Signs of Genocide” shows that genocide becomes a real danger to life when group hatreds – especially religious, ethnic, and political – are exploited by political regimes as major ways of seizing and maintaining power. Genocide is actually invoked, however, only when such regimes feel they are threatened, usually either because they are new and not consolidated in power or because they are challenged by local rebellions, civil war, or (less often) international war or major economic decline. Knowing these warning signs should make the international community take note that genocide is virtually certain to occur, and take action to stop it. This book joins others in noting that the international community has rarely intervened in time, and in the hope that these findings will encourage more prompt action.

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Review of Articles
(by Joachim G. Piepke)


Charles Darwin’s influence is so great that “Darwinism” has become a scientific paradigm. Two meanings of Darwinism have to be distinguished: The “scientific Darwinism” that claims, on the basis of Darwin’s premises, with important amendments, that life has evolved from simple organisms to the variety and complexity of species that exists today, and “comprehensive Darwinism” which comprises and extrapolates it to the theory that accounts for all aspects of life: no mysteries or an additional “meaning of life” are to be sought after. The title of this article can, accordingly, be read as “Concerning Comprehensive Darwinism.” Scientific Darwinism exhibits internal teleology, but not necessarily external teleology (although it is compatible with it), whereas Darwinism presents a clear answer to the question whether external teleology exists: it does not.

Darwinism can, however, be considered to be Platonism in a certain sense if the crucial aspect of Plato’s philosophy is considered, viz., his theory of Forms. There is no agreement on how to interpret this theory, and the discussion is complicated further by Plato’s critical examination of his own theory. Still, it seems at least clear that general notions or patterns rather than individual instances, which can only be understood in their light, are his focus, exemplified by the Equal as the explanation why individual things are conceived to be equal and the Beautiful as the exemplar for beautiful things.

A similar pattern is manifested in nature, according to Darwinism. The organisms perish, but the “fittest” manage to procreate, thus contributing to perpetuating – and gradually altering – the species. Their existence consists, simply put, in surviving and breeding. Life is (usually) dire, with, in the case of the animals, predators perpetually pursuing prey; success can mean a short interval of repose, but the next challenge is never far away. The predator’s failure to succeed means a slow death for it; if the prey, conversely, is unable to escape, it suffers a slow or quick death. Darwin himself, although he takes this struggle seriously, has a relatively optimistic outlook: “When we reflect on this struggle, we may console ourselves with the full belief, that the war of nature is not incessant, that no fear is felt, that death is generally prompt, and that the vigorous, the healthy, and the happy survive and multiply.”

However, if one takes the solicitudes of life seriously, one must consider a view such as Schopenhauer’s, according to which “the principle of the existence of the world is expressly a groundless one, namely, blind will to life, which, as thing in itself, cannot be subject to the principle of reason, which is merely the form of the representation and by which alone each Why is justified.” He speaks of a being’s essence consisting in a blind will to life. This outlook is reflected in nature’s organization, and the Platonic simile can be encountered here. As Schopenhauer puts it: “That which, considered as a merely objective image, as a mere shape and consequently exalted from time and from all relations, is the Platonic Form, is, taken empirically, and in time, the species, or sort: this is therefore the empirical correlate of the Form.” It is the Form or the species in which the will to life manifests itself. The organisms perish, but the species subsists; it is no surprise that Schopenhauer observes a parallel with Plato’s thoughts here.

If man’s reason is only an instrument for survival but not for insights into the truth or the nature of reality, Darwinism refutes itself epistemologically, because there is no possibility to elaborate a theory about life and its roots. There is, no “objective” standard (or any standard) to determine this, let alone that Darwinism would be entitled to claim this role. Consequently, if Darwinism is consistent, it cannot exist: it reduces the very faculty required to found its truth to an instrument that lacks the ability to perform this task.

Moreover, if the organism’s survival and reproduction are indeed the reason why the process of life exists, existence must be presupposed to be something positive (rather than something neutral or negative), which can, of course, not be convincing: if this position can be upheld at all, it must be supported by a view that makes the positive aspects clear. One cannot simply put forward a purposeful picture of life (and thus negate nihilism) by positing the mere presence of life as something purposeful, since this would be begging the question. It is not clear how such a view could lead to an escape of nihilism.


Mientras trabajaba en la instalación del ferrocarril Madera-Mamoré, en 1874, el ingeniero Edward Matthews anotó sus impresiones sobre los pacaguaras que merodeaban por las inmediaciones de las obras: “He observado que se sorprendían por el tamaño de los bigotes de los viajeros, e incluso que tomaban los bigotes de algunos de ellos y les daban un buen tirón, acaso para averiguar se eran falsos. Cuando comprobaban que estaban firmemente adheridos a los rostros, estallaban en una sonora echarrada.” Casi un siglo después, un lingüista misionero afirmó que los chacobos, quienes junto a los pacaguaras y a los yaminahuanas son los únicos representantes contemporáneos de la familia lingüística pano en la Amazonía boliviana, “son conocidos
por su risa bulliciosa.” Pero, pese a haber vivido entre ellos durante un cuarto de siglo, el religioso no abundó en detalles sobre cuál podría ser la causa de esa risa.

Las bromas más comunes, sin embargo, suelen consistir de simples exageraciones. Cuando un empresario maderero repartió anzuelos y balas para celebrar la fiesta anual, Caco recibió los anzuelos de tamaño estándar y proclamó “con esto voy a sacar paiche”, lo cual provocó la carcajada general porque se trata de un gigantesco pez de agua dulce que puede llegar a pesar 200 a 300 kilos, porque no es fácil encontrarlo y sobre todo porque se trata de un pésimo pescador.

Hay otra serie de conductas que indudablemente provocan risa por más que para el observador externo resulten desconcertantes e incluso sugieran cierto sadismo. Mataran un cerdo para celebrar una fiesta. Lo atraparan y lo colgaron de las patas traseras en el antiguo galpón comunitario. La hija Tohi, de unos doce años, corrió a buscar la pesada maza de madera con la cual las mujeres lavan la ropa en el río y luego se dedicó a destrozar el cráneo del cerdo a mazazos mientras éste chillaba de modo ensordecedor y la familia entera se desternillaba de la risa. Lo que resulta curioso en estos casos es que, cuando uno pregunta por qué estas cosas les parecen cómicas, muchos cachobos aducen el mismo tipo de bromas que suelen gastarles los espíritus Yoshini (viento, alma, diablo).

Los cachobos también se ríen cuando observan las viejas fotografías de sus antepasados. Con una mezcla de nostalgia, pudor y hasta algo de vergüenza, les divierte la clásica ornamentación corporal, el hecho de encontrar algún parecido familiar o bien que los fotografiados estén “desnudos”. Pero sobre todo les causa gracia que el fotografiado no esté en pose marcial, rígida, al estilo de las fotografías antropométricas del siglo XIX: para ellos, las personas que se dejan fotografiar espontáneamente “pueden ser unos idiotes.”

También la mitología es cómica en dos sentidos precisos. Por un lado, hay que analizar quién es el que provoca la risa, y por otro lado es el evento narrativo que resulta cómico. En primer lugar, no cualquier puede narrar los mitos. Hay otra serie de conductas que indudablemente provocan risa por más que para el observador externo resultan desconcertantes e incluso sugieran cierto sadismo. Mataran un cerdo para celebrar una fiesta. Lo atraparan y lo colgaron de las patas traseras en el antiguo galpón comunitario. La hija Tohi, de unos doce años, corrió a buscar la pesada maza de madera con la cual las mujeres lavan la ropa en el río y luego se dedicó a destrozar el cráneo del cerdo a mazazos mientras éste chillaba de modo ensordecedor y la familia entera se desternillaba de la risa. Lo que resulta curioso en estos casos es que, cuando uno pregunta por qué estas cosas les parecen cómicas, muchos cachobos aducen el mismo tipo de bromas que suelen gastarles los espíritus Yoshini (viento, alma, diablo).

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Pendant cet minés men, mais les principaux organes sont généralement exa-

apparaît ainsi comme une pratique qui permet une prise en 

généralement tourné de manière à rendre acceptable le dé-

ou RQRXVDFDWHU HOOHVW GH ODFFXVDWLRQHOOHVGHG

au décès, elle permet déjà de focaliser les éventuels soup-

soulevées par les décès inattendus. En identifiant les causes

met, dans une certaine mesure, de répondre aux questions

/-DQW PDQLSXOH OHV YLVFHV OHV UHWRXUQH DYHF VRQ

Cerned men des viscères terminé, le corps est refermé, enroulé

UHPDUTXHUWHOOHG

mander de montrer un organe en particulier, ou simplement

-DOEH KDQW DXPLXOLOLH

Ceren les viscères, les retourne avec son couteau ou ses mains, il repousse les intestines pour rendre visible la vesse et le fond du ventre, et remonte petit à petit jusqu’au cœur. Il n’y a pas d’ordre préétabli pour cet exa-

men, mais les principaux organes sont généralement exami-

nés : estomac, foie, rate, reins, poumons, cœur, vessie. 

Pendant cet examen, les membres de l’assemblée ob-

servent et commentent. Ils peuvent guider l’opérant, lui de-

mander de montrer un organe en particulier, ou simplement 

remarquer telle déformation, telle marque. Une fois l’exa-

men des viscères terminé, le corps est refermé, enroulé 

dans le tissu et placé dans le cercueil.

Le chef de famille et quelques aînés vont se mettre de côté pour délibérer et se mettre d’accord sur le résultat final à 

donner. Le silence se fait, l’annonceur s’avance au milieu de 

cour. Le discours qui est alors prononcé présente généralement un petit récapitulatif circonstancié des évé-

nements ayant précédé la mort, il rapporte les observations 

faites lors de l’autopsie, en leur donnant l’interprétation 

choisie par le petit groupe d’aînés y ayant assisté. Le 

résultat de l’autopsie a effectivement un impact sur la 

conduite du deuil, parce qu’on ne pleure pas de la même 

manièere un innocent, un sorcier ou un « mauvais enfant ». 

S’il s’avère que le défunt était un sorcier, les lamentations 

sont arrêtées, et le deuil prend fin immédiatement. Si au 

contraire il est reconnu comme « simple victime », le deuil 

sera normalement poursuivi.

L’autopsie post-mortem est une pratique rituelle qui per-

met, dans une certaine mesure, de répondre aux questions 

soulevées par les décès inattendus. En identifiant les causes 

du décès, elle permet déjà de focaliser les éventuels soup-

çons ou accusations sur un nombre restreint d’individus.

De même, le discours donnant l’interprétation finale est 

généralement tourné de manière à rendre acceptable le dé-

cès, à amoindrir la peine des proches du défunt. L’autopsie 

apparaît ainsi comme une pratique qui permet une prise en 

charge, au sein du groupe social, des tensions et émotions 

provokées par la mort, et qui limite les conflits pouvant 

émerger dans de telles situations.

Mais le point sans doute le plus important est que l’autopsie 

permet aux groupes lignagers de lutter par leurs propres 

moyens contre la sorcellerie. Elle 

permet ainsi de démasquer les sorciers qui menacent les 

groupes lignagers, et en conduisant à une formulation de 

l’accusation, elle sert de déclencheur à une série d’actions 

visant à punir les responsables – via le serment du cadı qui 

peut être effectué pendant l’autopsie elle-même – ou visant 

à protéger les autres membres de la famille.


*Căluşari, a ritual performed during the Orthodox holiday of the descent of the Holy Spirit, fifty days after the Easter Sunday, is one of the most recognized rituals in the Romanian folk ritual cycle. In 2005, it became the first monu-

ment of spiritual culture in Romania, and as such, it was inscribed on UNESCO’s Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. In traditional culture, this ritual was part of the entire system of beliefs con-

cerning the souls of the dead and dangers of being pos-

sessed by evil powers (*rusalie*). It possesses a clear struc-

ture consisting of a number of interrelated elements. These 

include, for instance, the creating of an all-male brother-

hood, the flag-raising, the distribution of roles, the *căluşari* dance, and the use of apotropaic means. With time, the ritual became a point of interest of not only researchers and 

enthusiasts of the regional culture but also communist ideologues. It was transferred from its natural habitat to the 

theatre stage, which in turn initiated its transformation. Căluşari became a spectacle played on a stage and the “tradition” was spread with its own festival, created for that purpose. Gradually, many Romanians forgot the original 

meaning of numerous symbols and particular components of the ceremony. The author describes the practice of *căluşari* in its historical and cultural contexts, and explains 

how the political manipulation, on the one hand, and the 

activity of researchers, on the other, led to its transforma-

**Srivastava, Vinay Kumar: Remembered City, Lived-in City. Delhi as I experienced, Delhi of my Consciousness. Anthropos 108. 2013: 577–588.**

Taking inspiration from M. N. Srinivâ’s autobiographical writings and his writings on Bangalore, this article by an author, born and brought up in Old Delhi, is concerned with the impact the city exercises on the consciousness of a per-

son. The article submits that the Old Delhi was far from being homogenous; each of its lanes (or neighborhoods) 

had its own characteristics. This is substantiated by com-

paring two neighborhoods, one where the author was born 

and had his primary socialization, and the other where he 

grew up to be a man. On this basis, a distinction is made 

between “material neighborhood” and “social neighbor-

hood,” the former corresponding to the Chicago model of 

urban life as being anonymous and segmental, and the 

other, which is like a face-to-face, kin-oriented rural socie-

ty. An account of different occupational groups, some of
which have now almost disappeared, is also provided. That Delhi is multicultural and multiethnic, with no hegemony of any lifestyle, gives it the reputation of being the most sought after places in India.


The conference of Medellín (1968) set the Church of Latin America on a new path, as it squarely faced change, as indicated by its title “The Church in the Present-Day Transformation of Latin America in the Light of the Council.” A brief summary gives an idea of the changes introduced by this document. What comes first, are 50 pages of analysis of the social situation of Latin America (Justice, Peace, Family, Education, and Youth). Evangelization comes second, in 40 pages; it consists of four sections: the Pastoral Care of the Masses and the Pastoral Care of the Elites, followed by Catechism and the Liturgy; significantly people come before catechism and liturgy. It is only in the third section that we come to the “Visible Church and Its Structures.” Here again the content is surprising: it begins with Lay Movements, followed by a section on Priests and the Religious, and ends with two sections on Joint Pastoral Planning and the Mass Media. The traditional image of the Church as hierarchy is put on its head and there is no mention of the Vatican II abstract image of the “people of God” but a concrete description of the Latin American situation and its people.

What is new in Medellín is the methodology of see-judge-act: each section begins with the Facts, followed by Theological Reflections, and ends with suggestions for Pastoral Planning. Thus the very first paragraph of the document describes the misery of the masses: “That misery, as a collective fact, expresses itself as injustice which cries to the heavens” (Medellín: 1). The suggestions for Pastoral Planning are Social Change (7–15) and Political Reform (16). This methodology has an empirical and even a sociological dimension as “the facts” must be empirically correct and must come before any theological and pastoral reflections. Here lies the first criterion of the analysis of Aparecida: how faithful is this document to the methodology of see-judge-act?

Out of Medellín came liberation theology. Gutierrez’s “A Theology of Liberation,” published in 1971, is usually seen as the beginning of liberation theology, which spread among intellectuals as a theology of change, and in the masses in the form of ecclesial base communities. But liberation theology raised the suspicion of Rome. Cardinal Ratzinger, then prefect of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, issued two refutations of liberation theology, the “Injunction on Certain Aspects of the ‘Theology of Liberation’” (1984) and the “Instruction in Christian Freedom and Liberation” (1986). Ratzinger accuses certain Christians, despairing of every other method, to turn to what they call “Marxist analysis” but the use of such method should be preceded by a careful epistemological critique. This preliminary critical study is missing from more than one “theology of liberation.” Hence Ratzinger is implicitly accusing liberation theologians of having embraced Marxist principles. Here lies the second question for the analysis of Aparecida: how much is left of the liberation theology that originated with Medellín?

The long papacy of John Paul II was characterized by a restoration theology that is best summarized in the “Catechism of the Catholic Church” (1994). It was promulgated with the pope’s strong endorsement in his Apostolic Constitution “Fidei Depositum”: “By virtue of my Apostolic Authority … I declare it to be a sure norm for teaching the faith … a sure and authentic reference text for teaching Catholic doctrine and particularly for preparing local catechisms” (5). That is the third criterion for analyzing the Aparecida document: to what extent does it follow the basic doctrines of the Catechism?

The document of Aparecida “Disciples and Missionaries of Jesus Christ” proposes continuity with the previous general conferences of Latin American Bishops, using the see-judge-act methodology. Here are some examples of “facts” taken from “View of Reality by Missionary Disciples” (ch. 2). The global change today, which “affects the entire world … [is] the phenomenon of globalization.” This is a very general fact. “Our cultural traditions are no longer handed on from one generation to the next with the same ease as in the past.” This is a somewhat stereotypical view, not a fact. “Only those who recognize God know reality and are able to respond to it adequately and in a truly human manner.” This is a questionable view and not a fact … and so on. These generalities could be applied to nearly any country, to Africa, Oceania or Latin America. What happened to “see-judge-act”? In the Medellín document, after each “fact” there is a theological reflection followed by suggestions for pastoral planning. In Aparecida, there are no reflections and no pastoral plans. Moreover, what pastoral plan can the Church propose about globalization, the non-transmission of culture, individualism, and market forces? What can the Church do – except complain – about bio-diversity, ecology, the Amazon, and Antarctica? In Latin America domestic violence, alcoholism, and drug abuse are major problems, but they are ignored by the bishops.

Change is sorely needed in the Church of Latin America. There are no good statistics about sacraments and Church attendance, but it is recognized that they are usually low. In Guatemala there are few Catholic marriages. There are also few baptisms: with no religious marriage, a couple may not baptize their children and send them to catechism for first communion. In Argentine, according to a non-published national survey of 2008, 95.3% of the interviewees said they were baptized, but 23.3% did not or will not get married in church; 70.7% want their children to choose their own religion or beliefs. In Brazil, Chile, and Central America, the proportion of Protestants and Evangelicals is much higher and growing rapidly. Various sects

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have increased by 5–7% every year for the last 20 years, which means that they double every ten years or so.

The Aparecida document signals a new direction for the Church of Latin America, because it proposes a specific agenda for the bishops and the parishes. What is lacking is a pastoral plan for its implementation. Yet the practices of evangelization by laymen that are already taking place are grounds for cautious optimism. In a sociological perspective, this new direction can be seen as a “social movement.”


Religion is one of the most controversial topics in political debates in Europe today. Closely linked to discussion about ideological and religious radicalism, multiculturalism, immigration, and disputed values of the European community, religion is an important factor in controversies about European self-understanding. But why is religion so challenging that José Casanova can even speak of “Europe’s fear of religion”? In the Netherlands – which is the main focus of this article – it is apparent that the changes in the political and social climate also weigh heavily. The appearance of populist and right-wing ideologies have put religion on the agenda in an unexpected way. The role of religion has become profoundly enigmatic, which has also led to a critical revision of the secularization theory. The main hypothesis is that the discourses of secularism and religion, in their mutual interaction, have perpetuated the importance of religion in Western Europe, even if religion has changed its mode during this process.

Four perspectives on the entanglement of religious and secular discourses are particularly relevant. The European religious landscape has been redesigned by changes with regard to (1) community-building, (2) the scientification of knowledge, (3) aesthetic representation, and (4) public arenas that challenge the religious neutrality of the state.

Communitarization is an important factor in the reshaping of the religious landscapes in Western Europe, because its impact changes the social formation. It re-evaluates the secular idea of individualization – arguably an adaptation from Protestantism – and takes a fresh look at the formation of new communities that have entered the contemporary religious scene in Western Europe, many of them in the aftermath of the so-called New Age movement. The differentiation between “old religion” and “new (postmodern) spirituality,” based mainly on the self-description of the practitioners, is problematic in many ways. The distinction between religion and spirituality obscures the overlaps and common features of the two categories, from the search for meaning in life to concrete pockets of tradition. I seems as if “spirituality” is a form of secular religion. Being the mode of religion that is accepted in a secular environment, it represents the opposite of threatening and dangerous aspects of religion (nobody has ever seen a “spiritual terrorist”). The positive connotations of Christian tradition are translated into the notion of spirituality, while the negative ones are expelled as religion and “ideology,” associated with fanaticism, pre-modern backwardness, and (Islamic) fundamentalism. The religiously dynamic field of spirituality is of particular interest here. In this field, new forms of Vergemeinschaftung are observable as communities of reading, from popularized science to Harry Potter series. Particularly, the Internet represents changing dispositions that significantly alter the forms of communication and the possibilities for building communities.

Scientification represent a second perspective on the discourse of secular religion. This approach intends to show that secularism has not led to the abandonment of religious truth claims; rather, the “scientific imperative” has itself been religiously productive. The study of religion has lost the imagined role of practitioners as mere observers and scholars have entered the fields of religious discourse as agents and stakeholders. Scholars normalize and publicize knowledge about religion to such an extent that in some instances they can be considered the founders of new religious milieus. All these religious manifestations are heavily influenced by academic theories about the history of religion and the place and continuation of non-Christian elements within this historical narrative.

Aestheticization is the third perspective of the religious as a driving force in the reshaping of the religious landscapes in Western Europe. Applied as an elaborated perspective for the study of religion and culture, the aesthetics of religion is a critical response to (Christian) conceptualization of religion as text, belief, and notions of a “bodiless” and individual state of mind. The field has developed in close relationship to theories of performativity, material culture, and embodiment as well as the anthropology of the senses, historical anthropology, and media studies. Aesthetic approaches analyze the role of the senses and the body in religious discourse. In addition, they reconstruct the history of aesthetic forms and the relationship between religion and art.

Public Activation is the fourth perspective, because a “good” religion is in the public interest of the modern secular state. The underlying process of public activation has produced new societal arenas that challenge the constitutional separation of church and state. New legal forms have made it possible for private religion to enter the public sphere – Casanova calls this the “de-privatization” of religion – as civil engagement in non-governmental organizations or political activism as well as radical claims and violent action. The new public presence of religion is completely different from the traditional state religion. In order to understand the discursive structures that have assigned religion its new place in Western Europe, it is necessary to scrutinize parliaments and courts as emerging public arenas where the meaning and function of religion are

The Arab Spring witnessed in Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt in the last couple of years, and still going on in Yemen and Syria, represents an important milestone in the history of the Middle East. A number of authoritarian regimes have collapsed and in Tunisia and Egypt, major Islamist movements have triumphed in parliamentary elections. These developments set a precedent in the recent history of Arab world. The rise of Islamist movements has created a sense of fear, apprehension, and foreboding amongst many followers of other religions, especially Christians, who have had a shared history with Muslims for over 14 centuries. They fear that Islamists will marginalize Christians, treat them unfairly, and classify them as second-class citizens. As a result, a growing number of Christian voices have emerged in various parts of the Arab world carrying warnings of an uncertain future for Christians in the countries that have witnessed these revolutions.

It is a fact that the Christian presence in these Arab countries was established well before the advent of Islam and the Muslim domination there. In modern times, however, various Christian communities have come to constitute minorities in these countries. In Egypt, Christians make up 10% of the population, making Egyptian Christians the largest Christian community in the Arab world. If Islamists want to succeed in reducing the fears emanating from Christians about Islamist rule, they need to ensure that Christians and Muslims fully understand the large number of verses in the Qur’an pertaining to Muslim treatment of non-Muslims, whether within or outside of Muslim society. The four main Qur’anic injunctions focus on: human brotherhood, religious tolerance, justice and fair treatment, loyalty and alliance.

In March 2011, at a conference at Trinity Western University, Canada, on Christians and the Middle East conflict, Father Salim Munayer, a Palestinian Christian, clearly expressed his worries about the future of the Christians under the rule of the Islamists. He claimed that Christians will never accept living under Shari’a. Under Shari’a, Christians in such Arab countries would be called dhimmis and be forced to pay jizya to their new Islamist rulers. The Muslim majority may tend to view dhimmis in a similar way to the way traditional men view their wives: inferior, segregated, weak, having specific limited functions in society, obliged to manifest modesty and humility in their behavior, not equal before the law, yet protected by the stronger group and in a curious way bearing its honor. As the Muslim male is bound to protect his womenfolk from any breach of honor, so Muslims are honor bound to protect “their” dhimmis from attacks by outsiders.

The term dhimma literally means “pledge and guarantee.” It was a contract for protection that was made with Christians, Jews, and others who were judged to be People of the Book, as well as any other non-Muslims, when they agreed to live within the Muslim state and to pay jizya. Jizya is a poll tax levied from those who did not accept Islam, but were willing to live under the protection of Islam, and thus were tacitly willing to submit to its ideal that were enforced in the Muslim state. It was a small supplementary tax, which was neither heavy nor unjust. If a non-Muslim citizen participated in military service in a particular year, he was exempted from the jizya for that year. The applicability of the dhimma system and jizya tax today is an important subject. The dhimma pact that was applied in the past is no longer valid in the contemporary world. On the one hand, huge and complex changes have taken place in the rules, regulations, and laws governing the relationships between nations and states in the international domain and, on the other hand, the relationship between the state and its diverse citizens has also changed. In the new situation of today, it is the duty of the Muslim majority to concentrate on applying the principles established by God and the Prophet rather than insisting on applying outdated and unappropiated rules. Thus, many modernists are calling for the abandonment of the classical model of “dhimmitude” and a return to the utopian, pluralistic Qur’anic ideal of the ahl al-dhimma (people of pledge). This necessitates a shift in the relationship between Muslims and Christians “from one of contract (aqd), to one of constitution (dustour) and from dhimma to citizenship (muwatana).”

A question that arises here, in the shadow of the Arab Spring, is whether a non-Muslim may occupy a key position within government. To answer this question, one needs to distinguish between the caliphate-system and the Muslim states. In the first, non-Muslims could not occupy the highest positions in an Islamic state. Since non-Muslims would be unable either to demonstrate total loyalty to a state that adopts an ideology according to Islamic Shari’a or to rule such a state, this would be tantamount to forcing them to act against their own beliefs. The second system, which is currently seen, consists of countries and governments that are ruled by Islamists. These should be called Muslim states rather than Islamic states, since the Shari’a is not fully implemented in them, and so a non-Muslim should have the right to occupy any position within those states.


Church growth in unfavorable circumstances has brought to the fore questions that scholars have grappled with for
years. Most important is the issue of what makes a church strong. Variations in vitality between religious organizations in different parts of the world have been of interest to sociologists of religion and to rational choice theorists in particular. Since the rational choice theory assumes that people always evaluate costs and benefits before acting to maximize their net benefits, theorists regard churches as religious producers in the religious market. This perspective, also called a new paradigm for sociological studies of religion, examines fusions and divisions of Christian denominations, and has gained particular recognition in the US. It claims that pluralistic competition can encourage a high percentage of the population into churches, whilst a monopoly undermines efficiency and church activities.

The free-rider model particularly elucidates what makes a church strong and sustainable: its level of strictness. In the religious market, strict churches are more likely to survive. Such churches require a more wholehearted commitment from their members to distinguish them from free-riders, who seek to benefit without making a contribution to the church. Since committed churchgoers are willing to pay a high social price for a better religious product, be it financial or otherwise, they desire, that their churches filter out uncommitted members by imposing certain standards of behavior. Strict churches are hence more robust, because half-hearted members have been weeded out by a continuous screening process.

As this approach treats religion as a profoundly personal matter in the context of the Christian West, it pays less attention to church growth outside Christendom. What, then, enables a Christian institution to be established in a Muslim society? The purpose of this article is to show why the free-rider model should take into account the macro-context of religion, that is, the prevailing attitude of the society and the state toward religions and religious practices. In order to understand church growth in non-Christian settings, the free-rider model should be balanced by studying two particular aspects of the macro-context. The first is the attitude of religious majority towards the minority, which is often expressed in the form of violence, and the second is the state management of religion, which is mainly embodied in religious laws and policies. The continuous interplay between the two creates a unique pre-requisite for churches to develop in a Muslim society, i.e. the porosity of the religious frontier at the organizational level.

The Java Christian Church (GKJ), in contrast to what the free-rider model claims, has become one of the most successful churches in Java by keeping its religious frontiers porous at the organizational level. Established by the Dutch Reformed Churches (GKN) in the Central Javanese city of Salatiga in 1931, the GKJ has been the leading church in Java as a charter member of the Communion of Churches in Indonesia (PGI). As of 2011, the GKJ comprises about 220,000 followers and 307 pastors, with one synod, nine synod institutions, seven joint institutions, thirty-one Klasis (clusters of congregational churches), 307 congregational churches and 608 church branches across Java.

The GKJ makes few demands on either its membership or potential members seeking to join. By not imposing strict qualification criteria on its new members, the GKJ has attained the fastest growth in Java, particularly since 1965, without losing ground in the religious market. This article starts by describing the GKJ’s religio-political situation in Java. An analysis follows to illustrate the trajectory of why and how the GKJ attained its success by making religious frontiers porous, the focal point of this article, rather than by solidifying its organizational boundaries. This porosity has been cultivated by various factors such as the break between the GKN and the GKJ, the new assessment of Sadrach in GKJ theology, the fall in the number of missionaries, the new generation of pendetas (pastors), inter-religious marriage, the perception of ins and outs, and GKJ Doctrine of Principles. The Indonesian government has made clear its determination to emphasize the social, rather than the religious, dimension of faith in society. The GKJ began to change its nature in line with the state management of religion, despite ongoing debates within the GKJ on how the church fulfills its religious duty of preaching the gospel.


Since the 1980s, the question of what cognitive mechanisms contribute to the realness of the supernatural has become more pressing, no doubt because of the increasing vibrancy of religion despite the prediction, by mid-20th-century scholars, that religion would fade away. The major scholarly advance has come through the new field of evolutionary psychology, which explains that the fundamentals of religious belief are in effect automatic. These scholars argue that our ancestors were more likely to have survived if they overinterpreted ambiguous noise – if they reacted to unexpected rustling as if warned of an approaching predator, even if it was more likely to be caused by the wind. As a result, they argue, the cognitive apparatus humans have inherited is preadapted to look for agency. Different scholars theorize this preadaptation differently. Some emphasize innate anthropomorphism, others argue for modularity: they write of a “hyperactive agency detection device.” The basic argument is that belief in the supernatural is “natural”: that when humans think quickly, effortlessly, and intuitively, they attribute agency, infer other minds, and assume that an omniscient moral observer is watching them.

For the most part this research on the way prayer changes people has drawn the attention to language and to the body. In her study of a Mexican convent, Rebecca Lester (2005) described a seven-stage process through which postulants – women (really, girls) who have not professed their vows, travel across the course of a year if they come to experience
their vocation as rightly chosen. The seven-stage process is not simply a movement toward the acceptance of a vocation; it also entails an emotionally powerful experience of relationship with God. She argues that women go through these stages sequentially:

- Brokenness: the postulant acknowledge a sense of discomfort as a call from God to become a nun.
- Belonging: the postulant comes to feel socially integrated within the convent.
- Containment: the postulant comes to experience her body as complete within and contained within the convent walls.
- Regimentation: the postulant learns to enact certain practices, which she experiences as remaking her rebellious, desiring human body into one more suitable for God.
- Internal critique: the postulant chooses to subject herself to intense self-scrutiny, and identifies her faults as the source of her broken relationship with God.
- Surrender: the postulant chooses to turn her self, faults and all, over to God; she comes to acknowledge that she is for God, rather than that she does for God.
- Recollection: the postulant comes to experience herself as truly present with God.

One of the central learning mechanisms that help people to experience the invisible as real is mental imagery cultivation. The deliberate, repeated induction of mental imagery is found in most cultures, involves skill, results through the trained skill – in select individuals who are particularly responsive to training – in an increase in visions, in spontaneous vivid mental images with great cultural significance. This research looks at these effects through the experience of charismatic evangelical Christians, who say that prayer changes the one who prays and enables those praying to experience God as more real. In these churches, congregants are encouraged to pray by spending “quiet time” with God. In these prayers they have daydreamlike interactions: going for walk with God, having coffee with God.

A scholar influenced by the linguistic turn might protest that this is the kind of thing people learn to say when they go to church: that when people say that their experience of God has changed, they are simply communicating membership in the Christian community to others. But among the changes congregants report, they sometimes mention that their mental imagery grew sharper with prayer. They also say that some people are naturally better than others in prayer practice. The experts report more intense, unusual spiritual experiences: seeing visions, or hearing the voice of God. These comments suggest that prayer practice does indeed involve training; that the training trains mental imagery skill and the other inner senses; and that to some degree, the training changes the mind so that what is imagined is experienced as more real.

This article allows to argue that to the inner senses should increase the rate of unusual sensory experience by making inner sensory experience – images, imagined conversations – more sensorially compelling and this, more liable to be experienced as real. Imagination-rich prayer invests scriptural passages and conversations with God with sensory I-was-there detail. Someone who has vividly imagined the nativity remembers the shadow cast when the light of the angel fell on the listening shepherds. Someone who imagined talking to God over coffee remembers the bitter scent lingering in the air. And someone who is praying in this imagination-rich way around the scriptures for 30 minutes each day will be someone to whom scriptural stories come effortlessly, the way scenes of Hogwarts spring easily into the mind of an avid Harry Potter fan. Motivated attention to the inner senses should heighten the reality of imagined experience.

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