

sen systematischer Platz in Religion und Ökonomie. Das vierte bringt die "Innensicht", die indigene Interpretation, methodisch durch die Gegenüberstellung von Valentines Darstellungen und heutigen Erinnerungen; hier insbesondere eröffnet sich eine historische Perspektive, die den Blick auf einen nichtessentialistischen, an Individuen festgemachten Begriff von Tradition freilegt. Das fünfte Kapitel setzt *kago* (cargo) und *kastom* in Beziehung zueinander, und zwar dergestalt, dass *kago* in der Begrifflichkeit der eigenen Kultur konstruiert wird. Die indigenen Konstruktionen werden im sechsten Kapitel aus der Sicht des Ethnologen, der von Valentines Interpretationen des Kivung bis hin zu der gegenwärtiger Forschungen, gesehen. Dass Valentine und der Autor als "Subjekte und ... Objekte einer wechselseitigen Beeinflussung zwischen den von uns und von unseren Gastgebern repräsentierten Kulturen" (30) vorgestellt werden können, macht das abschließende sechste Kapitel aus.

Das Buch ist in einem eigenartig positiven Sinne verwirrend und stimulierend, verwirrend deshalb, weil Forscher und Ethnographierte wechselseitig zu Wort kommen, ihre Ansichten von sich selber und voneinander nicht in der Gegenwart angesiedelt und in einem historischen Präsenz vorgetragen werden, sondern jene Wechselseitigkeit nun schon seit dem Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts über mindestens drei Generationen in beiden Lagern dokumentierbar ist und die Abläufe historisch gleichsam in aoristischer Perfektivität bestimmbar sind, so dass Fremd- und Selbstwahrnehmungen in historischer Perspektive sich multiplizieren, abhängig davon, wer gerade zu welchen Ereignissen an welchem Ort spricht. Wie ein Stück moderner Literatur wird, nicht ganz so uferlos wie "Das Echolot", das Werk zusammengesetzt aus Notizen des Autors, Niederschriften von Gesprächen des Autors im Feld, Archivmaterial (interessant die Aussagen der "ersten" Generation, die der Missionare und Missionierten), Feldnotizen und Briefen anderer Forscher (Ward H. Goodenough, Anne Chowning, Charles A. Valentine, die rund 40 Jahre vor dem Autor vor Ort waren), "patrol Reports" sowie Briefwechseln des Autors mit noch Lebenden oder Hinterbliebenen der "zweiten" Forschergeneration, der Gruppe um Goodenough. Der Methode, Stückwerk oder Mosaiken bewusst und kritisch bewertend zu einem Bild zusammenzusetzen, entsprechen die peinlich genaue Rechenschaft über Zeit und Ort von Gesprächen und über die Gesprächspartner einerseits (vgl. die Handhabung der Belege und die dokumentierenden Tok Pisin-Texte, jeweils in den Anmerkungen und im Anhang, S. 201–210), und die Rücknahme der Rolle des allwissenden Erzählers andererseits (vgl. besonders S. 61–70). Der Autor als sich beschränkender Icherzähler ist immer wieder in Formeln wie "meine Gewährsleute" (125) oder "wie ich mitunter hörte" (126) fassbar. Er fügt sich ein in die multiple Perspektivität und stellt sich dar als Moment in der Geschichte der Wechselseitigkeit (vgl. besonders die abschließenden Sätze, S. 167).

Aber die Arbeit will ja kein Werk der Fiktion sein; nur die Logik ihres "Produziertseins" gibt Anklänge an Fiktionalität, was ja nur heißt, dass eine Idee oder Theorie einzelne Daten und Fragmente in ähnlicher Weise organi-

siert und ordnet. Durch historische Perspektive, multiple Perspektivität und Individualisierung der Informationen wird die Gattung des ethnologischen Berichtes verlassen und Anschluss an fortgeschrittene Positionen der Kulturwissenschaft gewonnen (u. a. an Johannes Frieds historische Memorik oder Aleida und Jan Assmanns Arbeiten über das kulturelle Gedächtnis und Erinnerungsräume, vgl. S. 24–27, 161–163). Was wie ein Verlust scheint, nämlich die Aufgabe eines Begriffes von Tradition, der essentialistisch gesetzt wird, der (nicht problematisierte) Gebrauch der Begriffe Gedächtnis und Gruppenge-dächtnis, die des Subjektes entbehren, und die gefällige Annahme interkulturellen Verstehens und interkultureller Gemeinsamkeiten, wird aufgewogen durch den Gewinn, den der Blick auf von Individuen ausgehandelte Traditionskomplexe und -stränge und auf sprechende und zweckgebunden handelnde Individuen bringt, und durch das Plädoyer dafür, die Differenz, die Unterschiede zwischen indigenen und ethnologischen Begriffen, zu betonen: Erst die Differenz provoziert Dialog und die Möglichkeit des Verstehens. Gerade sie rechtfertigt die Wahl des Themas, in *kago* und *kastom* bricht die Differenz exemplarisch auf. So ist die Arbeit nicht nur positiv verwirrend, sondern höchst stimulierend, nicht nur deskriptiv, sondern sich der "Aufgabe des Geschichtsschreibers", in unserem Falle des historisch orientierten Ethnologen, methodisch und theoretisch bewusst.

Der Rezensent, der in Westpapua gearbeitet hat, stört sich nur an dem ersten Satz der Einleitung. "Die Zeit der Kolonialisierung und Missionierung gehört in Melanesien schon lange der Vergangenheit an ..." (9): Wohin gehört Westpapua? Dort wird doch noch kolonialisiert?

Volker Heeschen

**Jockenhövel-Schieke, Helga:** Soziale Reproduktion in den Zeiten von AIDS. Waisen und ihre Familien im ländlichen Tansania. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2008. 184 pp. ISBN 978-3-8258-1623-0. (Ethnologie, 34) Preis: € 19,90

"Social reproduction" is the central term in the English translation of this publication's title, "Social Reproduction during Times of AIDS – Orphans and Their Families in Rural Tanzania." This term refers to the production and maintenance of social resources in general and in this publication particularly to inherited forms of child fosterage within extended families that are confronted with an increasing number of orphans whose parents have most likely died due to AIDS-related conditions. In a standard anthropological manner, the first part of the book describes the historical and social context of the research site and the research topic. The second part of the book discusses child fosterage and the care of orphans within the extended family. The third part of the book documents the lifeworld of orphans, of their foster families, as well as of HIV-positive mothers and their children.

It has been frequently pointed out that LIT Verlag poorly edits manuscripts and does not provide meaningful support to authors preparing their manuscripts for

publication. Subsequently, LIT Verlag publications are not easily readable and valuable information remains hidden within poor writing and obscured by bad formatting. The same is true for this publication. This is already apparent in the title of the publication. As readers might not be familiar with “social reproduction,” the author should have been advised not to include this term in the title and to substitute it with a more commonly understood expression. Further, the publisher should have recommended the author to change the style of an academic thesis to a style that makes its content accessible to a wider readership. This can easily be done by restructuring the text without many sections and subsections. Also eliminating academic insider jargon, such as “mercantile mediators” (43), “strategy of silence” (29 and 144), or “countries of the north” (100) would have increased readability. Similarly, locally meaningful expressions, like “such is life” (33) should have been more closely examined within their cultural context. Another problem with the text is the many formatting errors. Citations are frequently incomplete, such as the omission of “millions” on p. 16 in the estimation of orphans. There are various typos in the book, such as on p. 110 where Luthar is cited as Luhar. In the same citation, the dot in “et al.” is missing what is a frequent oversight throughout the book. There are also other shortcomings in the text that an editor should have easily identified. For instance, the author often makes vague references, such as on p. 23 saying that Tanzania is one of the poorest nations of the world and on p. 29 stating that millions of children are orphaned because of AIDS. Such vague statements need to be replaced with more specific information. At times, information is provided without mentioning the source, such as a statement by Julius Nyerere on p. 23. Also the source of some maps, e.g., on p. 24 and p. 36, is not given. In the bibliography, websites and some publications are incompletely referenced, such as Arnfred’s introduction to an edited volume. Dilger’s publication of 2008 is referenced as “in press.” While the authors’ names are generally in bold print, this was not done for some, such as for Foster et al. (1995) and James et al. (1998). Some titles of publications are capitalized while others are not. The place of publication of Watson is misspelled as “Santa Fee.” The reference to el Zein does not list a place of publication but the publisher. These few examples are indicative of the poor editing of the book and suggest that LIT Verlag is not interested in high quality publishing.

The book is based on three months of research in Pangani, a coastal town in Tanzania. It is not explicitly mentioned in what role or function the author did her research. Overall, she does not clearly describe the methodology used. It is not clearly mentioned if and to what degree the author is fluent in Swahili. As a participant observer and interviewer she needs to be fluent in this language in order to pick up the subtleties of daily life and informants’ statements. It is also not clear if she taped the interviews and how she transcribed, coded, and analyzed them. However, on p. 134 it is written that she audiotaped an interview, though it is not clear if she always did so and in what language the interviews were

held. Several times she states that AIDS was not directly addressed and that she had to decipher the indirect statements and codes used by her informants. However, she does not explain how she did it. A more detailed discussion on these codes within their cultural context would have been helpful. I was a bit puzzled by her reference to “intense participation” as an intense participation carries the danger of destroying the balance of being a participant and an observed that is necessary for controlling research biases. On a positive note, the contextualization of her interviews and observations allow the reader to better understand her conclusions. She can be applauded for having done repeated visits to households to establish a trust relationship what is crucial for research on sensitive issues such as HIV/AIDS and its consequences for individuals and households.

Her descriptions of the lifeworlds of children, their stories, and perspectives are fascinating and rare insights into the lives of orphans and their families. The collected data allow her to conclude that orphans are social agents who are able to realistically assess their situation and to develop strategies of coping. She successfully overcame various obstacles of studying children, for example, the local understanding that children are not mature and independent social beings and thus not serious partners in interviews. She managed to describe children’s traumatic loss of a parent, causes and reasons for their satisfaction and dissatisfaction with foster care, orphans’ relationships with peers and others, as well as their hopes for future. She argues that the children tend to trust the social net of the extended family. While the case studies in the book are interesting and valuable, the descriptions by and large lack detail. For example, observations of the bereavement process are rather general.

The main focus of the book is the *ulezi*-child fosterage. Children are entrusted to other adults within the extended family. Thus, children in *ulezi* fosterage have two pairs of parents: the biological and the foster parents. They are aware of their moral obligations towards both pairs of parents. If the biological parents die, the *ulezi* fosterage guarantees the care of orphans. In case of orphans, the fosterage is not voluntary but forced by the death of the parents. The author convincingly argues that these relationships of solidarity and long-term reciprocal support prove to be successful in dealing with problems arising from the AIDS epidemic. Poverty, migration, and AIDS have not substantially compromised this social support system of the extended family. An important finding is that fosterage does not follow rigid rules, but is pragmatically negotiated. Valuable is her discovery that in Pangani the mother’s female relatives tend to take care of orphans, despite patrilinear kinship and descent patterns. Another pattern is that orphans tend to be cared for by relatives in the rural areas. Thus, HIV/AIDS has led to an increase in fostering grandmothers and in matrifocal households in rural areas. The author could have been more explicit about the potential impact of such trends on child fosterage. She informs the reader that aging grandmothers tend to take care of their orphaned grandchildren, whose expectations of reciprocity are limited due

to their age, but did not discuss how this might affect patterns of fosterage. Further, a discussion on the potential impact of the increase of matrifocal households on social structures of relationships would have been interesting.

At times, the author provides simplistic views of complex issues. For instance, she argues on p. 27 and p. 30 that the lowering of the estimated infection rate is due to better data collection and modeling. While this is true, there is a lively discussion within academia on additional factors that led to a reduction of the rates. Another example is the strong statement on p. 28 that the interest of pharmaceutical companies to increase their profits is responsible for high costs for antiretroviral drugs. None would disagree with this statement, but we also need to look at international cooperation, lobbying, and the state of national healthcare systems to better understand this issue. Her references to religion are quite stereotypical, such as mentioning on p. 35 that condoms are not acceptable to religious leaders because their use is contrary to Holy Scriptures. Again, the situation is much more complex as the author seems to think. An in-depth discussion of the role of religious beliefs and affiliations for orphans – that are important, according to the author (65) – would have been valuable. Her statement on p. 48 that the ABC model for preventing new HIV infections is not easily applicable is not helpful without explaining the reasons. She presents simplistic dichotomies, such as the binary opposition between tradition and modernity. For instance, on p. 57 modern problems are mentioned such as being made redundant at work or that a bicycle was stolen. Why are these issues examples of modernity? Theft and competition are nothing new. Sometimes there are contradictions in the text, such as on p. 55 where she first says that traditional healers admit not to be able to cure HIV/AIDS and then informs the reader that healers argue that the disease is the result of sorcery and can be cured through identifying the sorcerer.

The study was done at a time when antiretroviral treatment was not yet widely available. The situation has meanwhile significantly changed and an updated discussion on the altered dynamics would have been helpful. She mentions, for example, that the international community could prevent an excessive burden on the extended family due to an increase in HIV and AIDS prevalence through the provision of antiretrovirals as well as other support to aid the social net of the extended family. However, only little current information is provided.

Despite shortcomings, this publication is a rare and fascinating glimpse into the world of children affected by the AIDS epidemic as well as into child fosterage that proves to be a successful mechanism in Tanzania for addressing the issue of the increased numbers of orphans due to the AIDS-related death of parents. I recommend this book to everyone interested in understanding the situation of orphaned children and the role of child fosterage in addressing their plight. As child fosterage is common in much of sub-Saharan Africa, this study is highly important for policy makers, funding agencies, and governmental as well as non-governmental organizations.

Alexander Rödlach

**Kasten, Erich** (Hrsg.): *Schamanen Sibiriens*. Magier – Mittler – Heiler. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2009. 251 pp., Fotos. ISBN 978-3-496-02812-3. Preis: € 39,90

“Schamanen Sibiriens” is the title of the catalogue to the exhibition of the same name held from 13 December 2008 to 28 June 2009 at the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart. This was a joint venture between the Linden-Museum and the Russian Ethnological Museum of St. Petersburg to bring together each museum’s objects related to Siberian shamanism for the purpose of presenting as complete a picture of Siberia’s shamanic culture as possible.

However, “Schamanen Sibiriens” is not a catalogue in the sense of a mere collection of photographic illustrations with the appropriate captions of the items exhibited. Although it fulfills that purpose, too, it brings together essays by an international group of scholars on a great variety of aspects of Siberian shamanism. The general public as well as researchers will find not only a great deal of useful background information but also engaging discussions. The contributions are grouped into five main sections, preceded by a general introduction to the peoples and landscapes of Siberia and the main features of shamanism, and followed by a short note on the pronunciation of vernacular terms and a list of detailed technical information about the items exhibited. Following the table of contents the five sections are: 1) the world view of shamans; 2) ritual practice of shamans; 3) regional characteristics of Siberian shamans; 4) variations and transformations; 5) collections of objects related to shamans.

In general, the essays concerning these five sections fall into two groups. The first group of essays are straightforward accounts offering insights into the ritual activities of contemporary shamans during festive celebrations (e.g., the O-lo-lo of the coastal Koryak; the Yhyach of the Sacha), or describing the variations in costume and ritual instruments typical for a particular ethnic group and explaining the form and meaning of what the shamans wore and used. The second group of essays is what I would call “topical” because their authors concentrate on arguing some particular aspect of shamanism, although they do not forego descriptions either. Hereafter I will discuss these “topical” contributions under four headings, which in part disregard the division into the five sections mentioned above.

The first heading covers the shaman’s accessories, such as headgear, drum, and coat, and such means as the use of hallucinogens and music. Marjorie M. Balzer states that the attributes of a shaman taken together constitute a complex whole which enables their owner to transgress not only gender boundaries but also human boundaries altogether. She further argues that in spite of the acute crisis situation of modern shamans, induced by political as well as missionary destructive pressures in the not too distant past, the traditional worldview of shamans has managed to survive in some isolated pockets of population. Yet, the recent renewed interest in shamans is often more the product of a new type of understanding than the genuine revival of a temporarily interrupted tradition.