

die beide den Mainstream-Ansatz verfolgen. Während TI PNG im Kampf gegen Korruption auch auf den Aufbau der Zivilgesellschaft und die Stärkung der Bürger setzt, bleibt das Engagement der australischen Regierung in PNG wirkungs- und folgenlos. Auch die Geldwäsche wird in Australien (den Cayman Islands der PNG Eliten) nicht sanktioniert.

Zusammenfassend kann festgehalten werden, dass die Überbrückung der Spannungen zwischen Tradition und Moderne ein zentraler Teil von PNGs Geschichte, Gesellschaft und Politik geblieben ist. Deutlich wird, dass ein alleiniger staats- und strafrechtsfokussierter Ansatz zur Korruptionsbekämpfung unzureichend und daher im Land wenig erfolgreich ist. Was fehlt sind die Perspektiven der Marginalisierten, zu denen auch die Frauen zählen. Die Schlussfolgerungen für die Korruptionsbekämpfung votieren daher für eine neue Balance jenseits des Mainstreams, die strukturelle Einflussfaktoren wie Kultur, Armut, Ungleichheit und Umweltzerstörung aber auch den politischen Kontext miteinbezieht, ohne Klientelismus und Nepotismus zu legitimieren. Mehr Erfolg könnte im Hinterland die Zusammenlegung von Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und Korruptionsbekämpfung versprechen. Ist Entwicklung für die Bürger erfahrbar, wird die Korruptionsbekämpfung zur wichtigen Beigabe.

Die hier präsentierte Analyse überzeugt, auch wenn ein konkretes Konzept hin zur Verknüpfung traditioneller und staatlicher Governance-Formen noch fehlt und unklar bleibt, wie solch ein hybrider Ansatz aussehen könnte. Der Rezensent war in einer Publikation von 2009 zu PNG auch schon zu dem Dilemma gelangt, dass bottom-up-Bemühungen bei der Administration geboten erscheinen, staatliche Strukturen aber jenseits ethnischer Partikularinteressen zu organisieren sind.

Roland Seib

**Wassmann, Jürg:** The Gently Bowing Person. An Ideal among the Yupno in Papua New Guinea. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016. 321 pp. ISBN 978-3-8253-6622-3. (Heidelberg Studies in Pacific Anthropology, 4) Price: € 45,00

In fast-changing Melanesian societies today, one of the most valuable legacies of anthropology is the documentation of histories and cosmologies of these societies prior to the massive changes caused by their encounters with Christianity, states, and corporate actors. Jürg Wassmann contributes to this legacy in his study of the Yupno people of Finisterre Range in northeast Papua New Guinea. Published in 2016, this monograph is based on more than thirty years of his ethnographic engagements with the Yupno people. The author combines unpublished materials with the reworking of his published articles. He also invites scholars who have carried out fieldwork in the surrounding area to coauthor some parts of his discussions. Those contributions – from a cross-cultural psychologist, linguist, cognitive scientist, and musicologist – offer a rich and multidisciplinary account of one of the until-recently most isolated communities in the world.

The central focus of this book is cosmologies or knowledge system of the Yupno. More specifically, Wass-

mann traces and documents their ideas about human being and personhood and their conception of time and space. Among the Yupno, human beings consist of: the body (*ngodim*), the vital energy (*tevantok*), and the two souls (*moñam* and *wopm*) (chap. 2: "The Concept of the Person"). Each person has their own *koñgap* melody, a kind of unique personality code that the Yupno sing at each other, in rituals and in everyday settings (chap. 3: "The Sound of a Person"). There is also a distinction between hot (*tepm*) and iced-cold (*mbaak*), and left and right (chap. 4: "To Be Cool"). The Yupno also imagined space in relation to their perceptions of life and sociality (chap. 5: "The Person between Downhill and Uphill"). And on the question of time, the author shows how the Yupno conceptualize time according to a geocentric perception, in contrast to the European egocentric perception. Time is conceptualized in terms of space: the now is in the current position of the speaker, the unknown future lies uphill, and the known past is downhill (chap. 6: "Time in Space"). The ideal human condition and personality among the Yupno is neither hot (*tepm*) nor iced-cold (*mbaak*) but rather cool (lukewarm or well-tempered) (*yawuro*). Here cool (*yawuro*) is not simply a thermal term but also symbolic one. It refers to "[some]one who cools down" (*yawuro yawuro amin*). It also resonates other qualities, such as "slow, careful, light, trusting, and feeble." The author also explains that in social life, *yawuro* also means "a state of being in the centre, socially integrated and in harmony" (93). This is the person who is "Gently Bowing": "neither lying on the ground, passive, broken, speechless (cold), nor towering above the others, impersonal, deaf, without contacts (hot)" (93). The gently bowing person is the one who is in harmony with him/herself and others.

Although Wassmann recognizes that his book is "partially subjective" (in a sense that it is shaped by his limited fieldwork and the partial knowledge shared by the limited numbers of his interlocutors in the village of Gua), this book provides an valuable ethnographic description of the knowledge system of the Yupno in the 1980s. Apart from in-depth ethnographic description, the writer also explains in detail his methodology in engaging with and documenting the Yupno's knowledge system. For example, in documenting the concept of space, he engaged his interlocutors in participatory "drawing," "survey," and "walk through the village" (chap. 5). In this regard, the author sets an example of good ethnographic practice by making transparent his methodologies and fieldwork techniques.

Another excellent ethnographic practice exemplified in this book is the positive attitude towards the Yupno as an epistemic community. In contrast to the general view of Melanesians as primitive, backward, uncivilized, or living in stone age cultures, Wassmann attempts to understand the knowledge system or cosmologies of this people. Although still running the risk of a partial representation or even "simplifying essentialism" (267), the risk that the author humbly recognizes, he, at least, has treated the Yupno as cultural and historical subjects of their own.

The most valuable significance of this book, however, is its final chapter (titled “The End”). From his vantage points of writing (around 2016) and site of intellectual inquiry (Europe), the author poses five reflective questions and discusses the Yupno’s cosmologies in comparison with European conceptions of personhood, temporality, and space. Here, he manages to “provincialize” Europe and its knowledge system, and offers the readers a new perspective of others, their ways of being, and their conception of time and space. Discussing the contrast between individualistic vs. communal ways of living, for example, the author shows how among the Yupno, both individual and socio-centric personhood coexists (chap. 2). On the question of time, he demonstrates how the embodied reference of time is not linear but topographic. The Yupno refer to the past as a downhill and to the present as an uphill (chap. 6). In this regard, the author also extends comparative philosophical and anthropological discourse of personhood, time, and space to new terrain.

In this final chapter, he also touches upon an interesting issue that unfortunately has not been adequately addressed. This remark pertains to the questions of change and Yupno’s encounters with external powers. The author acknowledges that by the time his book is published (2016), the Yupno have undergone massive changes. He notes, “The most dramatic transformations concern the traditional concept of personhood. They are caused by the Lutheran proselytizing, the impact of Western influences, and the English language” (253) and even more dramatically, “the cognitive style is now a different one” (254). The author briefly describes the colonial and mission encounters in the first chapter (“The Setting”). Despite the strong conclusion, none of the chapters of the book addresses these changes. He does not show how these changes in cognitive styles have been taking place and what are the current forms (formations) of those cognitive styles. It is from senior anthropologists like Wassmann, who has conducted, in his words, “multi-temporal, long-term field-work” (xi), that we could expect such observation.

The author’s claim about cosmological and cognitive changes merits further scrutiny. The question for the Yupno is not limited to how the changes have happened, but also how this indigenous system transforms itself after their encounters with outsiders. How do the Yupno assert their own agency in this transformation? And how the preexisting knowledge system, as part of the Yupno agency, is being negotiated, maintained, and articulated along the encounters? My research on the endogenous transformation of Papuans of West Papua (currently under Indonesia) looks at how the agency of Papuan communities is transformed during their encounters with multiple external power of the state, Christianity (and later Islam), corporations, and Indonesian settlers. From this research, I conclude that Papuans of West Papua have transformed their own communities and their system of knowledge in order to assert their subject position as historical subjects with their own cultures, economies, and ecologies. It seems to me that a new generation of Melanesian anthropologists is being called to carry on the task that Jürg Wassmann has started.

Cypri Jehan Paju Dale

**White, Geoffrey M.:** Memorializing Pearl Harbor. Unfinished Histories and the Work of Remembrance. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016. 340 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-6102-2. Price: \$ 26.95

“Memorializing Pearl Harbor” is a well-written and well-researched book that examines the changing meanings and representations of the Pearl Harbor Memorial. White’s study underscores multiple, yet often conflicting, remembrances of the Pearl Harbor attack and the challenges that educators face. The book consists of six chapters with an introduction and a conclusion. Chapter 1, titled “Survivor Voices,” discusses the veteran volunteers in the 1990s who shared their stories of the Pearl Harbor attack and its significance. They include Richard Fiske, Joe Morgan, and Stanley Igawa. The meanings of the Pearl Harbor attack probably challenges reader’s assumption of rather monolithic veterans’ voices. Fiske, a Marine bugler and survivor from the *USS West Virginia*, and Morgan, an enlisted navy serviceman at Pearl Harbor on the day of the Japanese attack and later became a chaplain of the Oahu chapter of the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association focused their talks to the memorial visitors on friendship with their former Japanese enemies. To Igawa, a Japanese American high school student in California on December 7, 1941, and who later served in the army in Europe, Korea, and Vietnam, the Pearl Harbor attack is linked with his experience of the internment of Japanese Americans on the West Coast. Their personal stories go beyond the orthodox heroic military narrative and highlight multiple and complicated perceptions of war memory among the veterans.

Chapter 2, titled “Cultures of Commemoration,” traces commemorative activities associated with the Arizona memorial. White argues that the memorial transformed from a mere military memorial to a social, cultural, and educational site that offered multiple reflections of Pearl Harbor, especially in the 1990s and 2000s. Unlike the anniversary ceremony of Pearl Harbor in 1962, the one convened in 2013 included not only the national anthem but also Hawai‘i Pono‘i, the state song of Hawaii, as well as Hawaiian blessing. In 2013, the ceremony offered a prayer of peace presented by Japanese Buddhists from Hiroshima, a city that has a sister-city relationship with Hawaii. These commemorative activities were developed in more than two decades, and the history and memory of Japan’s Pearl Harbor attack gradually became more inclusive, resulting from reconciliation efforts between American and Japanese veterans and their supporters.

Chapter 3, titled “Memorial Film: Envisioning Race and Nation,” primarily examines the *USS Arizona* orientation film produced in 1992 by the National Park Service that contained a footage of “December 7th,” a short documentary film produced by the U.S. Navy in 1943, which won an academy award for best short documentary on the following year. The footage, similar to many wartime U.S. propaganda films, stressed alleged threats of the Japanese-Americans by featuring a Japanese-American cane cutter who suspiciously observing a sailing warship at the edge of Pearl Harbor. In addition, the narrator explained that the army general in charge of defense of the islands