

dem Luang Prabang Frauen-Entwicklungsprojekt, welches von Regierung und internationalen Organisationen gefördert wird.

Im Ergebnis ihrer Untersuchung konstatieren die beiden Forscherinnen, dass Frauen in Laos nach 1975 eine wesentlich aktivere Rolle in lokalen, regionalen und nationalen politischen Institutionen übernommen haben, zusätzlich zu den Rollen als Mutter, Hausfrau und Arbeitskraft in Familienbetrieben. Ökonomische Veränderungen, insbesondere der in den 1980er Jahren durch Staatsdoktrin eingeführte "New Economic Mechanism" zwingen Frauen zu härterer Arbeit und mehr Verantwortung im familiären Bereich.

Das Buch zeichnet sich aus durch detaillierte Lebens- und Erfahrungsberichte laotischer Frauen, die den LeserInnen ein wirklichkeitsnahes Bild vom Frauenleben in Laos vermitteln. Eine Schwachstelle des Buches ist allerdings der Titel: "The Lao" bezeichnet in der anthropologischen Forschung regelmäßig die ethnischen Lao, wohingegen Ireson-Doolittle und Moreno-Black sich nicht auf die ethnischen Lao beschränken, sondern ethnische Minderheitengruppen wie die Khmu und Hmong sogar schwerpunktmäßig einbeziehen. Im Anhang des Buches findet sich eine umfangreiche Literaturliste, die einen sehr nützlichen Zugang zu weiterführender Literatur zum Thema Frauen in Laos darstellt.

Jana Igunma

Jebens, Holger: Pathways to Heaven. Contesting Mainline and Fundamentalist Christianity in Papua New Guinea. New York: Berghahn Books, 2005. 284 pp. ISBN 1-84545-005-1. Price: \$75.00

"Pathways to Heaven" is a translation of Holger Jebens's 1995 book "Wege zum Himmel. Katholiken, Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten und der Einfluss der traditionellen Religion in Pairudu, Southern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea." That work was a revision of Jebens's Ph.D. dissertation which was based on fieldwork undertaken in Papua New Guinea in 1990–91. The English edition is a welcome addition to writings on Melanesian Christianity and to ethnographic studies of the Kewa. Jebens is concerned both with the changing religious experience of a New Guinea highland population and also with the ways religious change has been studied and understood both in Papua New Guinea and more widely.

In "Pathways to Heaven" Jebens introduces the people of Pairundu, a small Kewa-speaking village in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. He usually refers to them as Kome, the name of the clan which has the majority in the village. Occasionally he mentions both Kome and Mamarepa, the latter being a clan with fewer representatives in the village. Others who have written on the Kewa include John D. LeRoy, Lisette Josephides, Karl and Joice Franklin, Mary N. MacDonald, and Simon Apea. Jebens takes account of their contributions and the work of others such as John Barker, Michael French Smith, and Miriam Kahn who have written on Melanesian Christianity. The book is,

Jebens tells us at the outset, "concerned with acculturation in its widest sense" (1). It is divided into three parts: part I presents Pairundu; part II discusses change and continuity in Pairundu; part III is concerned with the area's missionization and modernization. In presenting the culture of Pairundu during the time of his fieldwork, Jebens examines language, habitat and subsistence, and social organization. He describes traditional subsistence agriculture, which centers on production of sweet potatoes and cash cropping activities such as coffee growing. He outlines the patrilineal descent and ideology of brotherhood that characterize Kewa and other New Guinea highland groups and that are important for networks of exchange and for traditional religious practices. Drawing on emic reconstructions of informants whom he interviewed either in Tok Pisin, the main lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, or using a translator from Kewa to Tok Pisin when talking with those who did not speak Tok Pisin, Jebens describes traditional religion in Pairundu under the rubrics of "transcendent authorities, magical practices and cult practices" (49). The Kome, he tells us, believe in the "existence and effectiveness" of "bush and ancestral spirits" and in "a separate figure called Yaki" (50). The people, he says, "only ascribe injurious effects" to the bush spirits (Kewa *kalando*; Tok Pisin *masalai*) (51). Although these spirits are associated with the topography, Jebens says that there are no particular "holy sites" in the Pairundu area. The *kalando* are blamed for illnesses in the community and people take measures to avoid them. The ancestral spirits (Kewa *remo*) may have either a negative or positive influence on their living relatives. They may inflict punishment on people whose behavior they find unacceptable but they may also afford protection or advice to their relatives. The *remo*, Jebens says, limit their impact to their own close relatives (51). In the past the Kome addressed a father figure, a heavenly being called Yaki. According to Jebens's informant Ari, "in the precolonial period it was usual to ask Yaki for productive plantings, numerous pigs and pearls, and many children" (52). Where I worked in the Erave area and farther south around Mararoko a benevolent sky being, known as Yakili, was similarly invoked for the welfare of the land and the community. In the Mendi area of the Southern Highlands Catholics use the name of a comparable being, Yeki, for the Christian God. Simon Apea, who is from the Ialibu area, to the north of Kagua, wrote about Yakili as a refigurement of the Christian God in his 1977 B. D. thesis entitled, "The Problem of God in Ialibu."

The "magical practices" described by Jebens include: witchcraft to cause illness and death; divination to determine the causes of death, illness, and misfortune; processes to reverse witchcraft and promote healing; love magic, fertility magic, and rain magic. However, "for the Kome themselves," he writes, "it is not so much transcendent authorities or magical practices that are central to the traditional religion as the cult practices of the precolonial period" (57). By "cult practices" he refers to rituals carried out in cult houses by men of the

community in order to obtain the assistance of ancestral spirits. Such practices were no longer being carried out during Jebens's fieldwork but they were remembered by the older members of the community and stories of them were passed on.

Jebens follows his description of the traditional religious worldview with a discussion of processes of colonization and missionization. In the late 1950s, when the territories of Papua and New Guinea were still under Australian control, the people of Pairundu became Catholics in response to the missionary work of Capuchins from the United States. Jebens says that "the older Catholics claim that they obeyed the prohibitions of the first priests and catechists above all because they were already thoroughly weary of the traditional warfare and because they did not feel it right that the women could not consume pig meat in the cult houses" (170). After the Seventh-Day Adventists (SDAs) came to the area in 1963, some people converted from Catholicism to the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. Jebens describes the reasons given by both Catholics and SDAs for such conversions, the Catholics tending to cite the material advantages of Adventism and the fear instilled by Adventist preaching and the SDAs giving a theological rationale for the superiority of their denomination. He describes the community structures, beliefs, and religious practices of the two denominations, the ways they understand the relationship of traditional religion and Christianity, and the ways they relate to each other. A third phase of the adoption of Christianity in Pairundu was a Holy Spirit movement which lasted from 1987 to 1989 and which, in retrospect, both Catholics and Adventists tended to assess negatively. Jebens notes, however, that among the Catholics the movement gave rise to changes in practice. "Numerous elements that originally only appeared with the introduction of the Holy Spirit movement still continue, above all in the Catholic evening services. Flowers are used for divinatory dreams, people sometimes consult the Bible blind, and women take over leading functions. In addition, in Sunday services too there is rhythmic handclapping accompanying hymns, as well as the sporadic use of flower decorations" (181).

In Jebens's view the story of Christianity in Pairundu "is less a matter of the decline of the traditional religion than of its transformation and adaptation" (202). He contends that traditional religion is the core of the traditional way of life and that it forms the foundation on which Pairundu Christianity has developed. He sets the adoption of Christianity within the colonial context and Melanesians' desire to share in the power of the Whites who have intruded on their world. The book will be of value to those who study the religions of Oceania and those who are concerned with missions and local Christianities.

Mary N. MacDonald

Johannessen, Helle, and Imre Lázár (eds.): *Multiple Medical Realities. Patients and Healers in Biomedical, Alternative, and Traditional Medicine*. New York:

Berghahn Books, 2006. 202 pp. ISBN 1-84545-104-X. (EASA Series, 4) Price: \$ 22.50

Das Sammelwerk vereint zwölf Beiträge, die hinsichtlich der Ausrichtung, Methodologie und geographischer Lokalisierung recht unterschiedlich sind. Nach einer Einführung von Helle Johannessen über "Body and Self in Medical Pluralism" und einem Epilog der beiden Herausgeber über "Multiple Medical Realities. Reflections from Medical Anthropology" zerfällt das Buch in zwei Hauptabteilungen.

Der erste Teil behandelt "Body, Self, and Sociality", der zweite "Body, Self, and the Experience of Healing", wobei ja Heilen – nach Auffassung der Rezensentin – durchaus auch Teil des Gemeinsamen, des Soziallebens ist, um einmal "sociality" hilfsweise zu übersetzen. Tatsächlich, wie die Herausgeber betonen, zielt der erste Teil auf die sozialen Implikationen der unterschiedlichen Körper- und Selbstentwürfe, wobei die Vielschichtig- und Doppeldeutigkeiten der Beziehungen zwischen "sociality" (das es auf Deutsch meines Wissens nicht gibt und mit "the quality of being social" in diversen englischen Enzyklopädien erklärt wird) und Körperrepräsentationen herausgearbeitet werden, zumeist – mit einer Ausnahme – auf der Grundlage qualitativer Materialien. Wie schon in früheren Forschungen, mindestens seit Beginn der 1970er Jahre, zu Formen und Sequenzen der Heilerwahl – oder was man damals auch als "healer shopping" bezeichnete, erforschte und beschrieb – die vor allem darauf abzielten zu erklären, wann der Biomediziner ins Spiel kommt oder auch nicht, geht es in der heutigen Forschung noch immer darum zu zeigen, dass verschiedene Erklärungswelten unterschiedliche Körperkonzepte und damit Wahrnehmungen von Gesundheit bzw. Missbefinden beeinflussen, wenn nicht bedingen. Allerdings ist heute klar, dass all das keiner wie auch immer gearteten linearen Gesetzmäßigkeit folgt, sondern dass es "no direct connection between specific idioms of the body, specific forms of the treatment praxis, and specific social identities" (9) gibt. Mit anderen Worten, eine Situation kann sich jeden Moment anders bzw. neu darstellen, je nach Lage und Sichtweise.

Der erste Beitrag im ersten Teil von L. Buda, K. Lampe und T. Tahin zeigt anhand einer repräsentativen quantitativen regionalen Umfrage in Ungarn, dass vor allem chronisch Kranke verschiedene Heilverfahren anwenden, um zu einer Besserung ihres Zustandes zu kommen, oder, wie es H. Johannessen theoretischer formuliert, "as an expression of elective affinity between unmanageable disorders of the body and plurality in health seeking" (10). Eines unter mehreren ist die staatliche Gesundheitsversorgung. Die dort arbeitenden Biomediziner eignen sich zunehmend andere Verfahren an, um den Bedürfnissen ihrer Patienten besser zu entsprechen. Auch der zweite Beitrag geht um Ungarn, diesmal mit einer qualitativen Untersuchung. Lázár zeigt, dass sich innerhalb der staatlichen Gesundheitsversorgung Netzwerke bilden, die Heiltraditionen bieten, die lange Zeit unterdrückt waren und den Körper nicht nur als "Teilelager" begreifen. Aus einem anderen Teil der Welt, aus Ghana, stammen die Einsichten Kristine Krau-