

deadly snake. Black-and-white photographs show Yanomami daily life, then and now, and reflect ease with the author. Furthermore, the presence of the author's family in the field during his missionary years makes for more intimate interactions than most ethnographers can achieve. Keen observation and self-deprecating humour underscore the "humanness" of cross-cultural encounters. (The reader can just imagine the Yanomami howling uncontrollably in laughter as the author, on one visit, walked through the village wearing a loin cloth, now replaced by shorts!)

In sum, this book is a valuable resource for Latin Americanists (from undergraduate students to specialists) and anthropologists in search of exemplary ethnographic models. Also, it will be of interest to the general public, whose curiosity about anthropology in general and the Yanomami in particular was piqued by the Tierney controversy. "Life among The Yanomami" was published before Tierney's accusations of anthropological misconduct in the Amazon appeared in the October 9, 2000 issue of *The New Yorker* and contemporaneously in his book "Darkness in El Dorado" (New York: Norton, 2000). It would be interesting to read Peters' reactions to these revelations. One suspects that he would simply reiterate his prescriptions for ethical research—show respect for your informants and for all humankind.

## Notes

- 1 Peters notes, "Throughout the book I use the name Xilixana to refer to all the Yanomami who initially lived in three villages on the mid-Mucajai River at the time of their contact with Brazilians in 1957." (p. 23)

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**Albert Schrauwens**, *Colonial "Reformation" in the Highlands of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, 1892-1995*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000, xiii + 279 pages.

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Albert Schrauwens' book *Colonial "Reformation" in the Highlands of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, 1892-1995*, is about problematizing concepts of religion, culture, modernity and tradition, circulating in highland Indonesia. By locating where, when, and how different interests have tried to authorize their own representations of what these can mean, Schrauwens examines the (political) power to represent. But it is more than that because in unweaving these various strategic representations, he presents us with a finely crafted class analysis that examines the changing reproduction of social relations in the Poso Valley of Central Sulawesi over a 103-year time frame. To accomplish this Schrauwens draws from a diverse set of data: from data collected during two years of doctoral fieldwork in the 1990s, from Central Sulawesi Christian Church (GKST) research archives, and

from 19th and 20th century Dutch mission archives. What holds these pieces together is a focus on historically situating changes in social reproduction and the strategies of cultural representations.

In part, the book locates these changes within the shifting cultural practices of "To Pamona" congregants of the Central Sulawesi Christian Church (GKST), in and around Tentena, Central Sulawesi. In part, it also traces these changes to the innovative sociological mission method of the Dutch missionary ethnographer, Dr. A. C. Kruyt. Starting in 1892, Kruyt's attempts at introducing a Christian *adat* (customary law) in the Central Sulawesi Highlands, can be seen as a kind of applied anthropology, based on then current anthropological theory. In his case this theory defined the conceptual limits of religion (and of what it could represent) and defined the structure of what he hoped was to become a Christian *adat* or *volkskerk*, "people's church" in the highlands. At the same time, it also caused Kruyt to overemphasize a theory of structure in place of a theory of practice in his efforts at conversion; something which has had unexpected results.

In examining hegemony and power in this particular context, Schrauwens sets himself the goal of challenging Weber's (1963) secularization hypothesis, which holds that the bureaucratic rationalization of social, political and economic systems entails a corresponding shift in cognitive systems, leading ultimately to "practical reason" at the level of the individual. Schrauwens asks us to consider, for example, why the To Pamona, having adopted Protestantism, would not have also adopted rationalist economic individualism. Schrauwens' analysis explores how Kruyt's Christian *adat* transformed local institutions while not directly addressing social practices. What has resulted is not a completely Western economy nor a dual economy, one traditional and one modern, but a repositioned set of socio-economic and ritual practices that enable To Pamona to manage the effects of a commodity-cash economy. Schrauwens' point is that this is not the persistence of (economic) tradition in the sense of survivals from some primordial point of origin, but in fact the concomitant effects of turn of the 20th century ethnographically based Dutch Ethical Policy and Ethical Theology and the penetration of capitalism.

The book is divided into three major sections which correspond to its shifting focus: Part 1 examines the differences between colonial NEI and mission strategies of incorporation and the use of ethnographic knowledge towards those goals. It is here that Schrauwens challenges the idea that mission work was merely the hand-maiden of colonialism. Kruyt's mission was to create a *volkskerk* (people's church), and that effort cannot simply be conflated with the colonial project of political and economic incorporation, because the entity that Kruyt was trying to create was not necessarily coterminous with the kind of entity that the colonial government was creating through its *adat* law studies. He was trying to substitute an indigenous form of Christianity in the Central Sulawesi Highlands: creating a Christian *adat*, a *volkskerk*. Schrauwens

demonstrates that this was a nationalist project, that turned equally on Dutch pillarization ideology and on then current notions of culture, pre-logical thought, and the conceived limits of Christian conversion; as much as it was any religious devotion.

Part 2 examines how by highlighting structure over practice, the church influenced changing local cultural configurations: kin-centered moral economy, traditional leadership, and the feasting practices through which these are expressed. It examines how class hierarchy that might have led from the commodification of agricultural inputs and outputs has instead been articulated through seniority relations within kin networks. Power sites for these articulations include the wedding, labor exchanges, and household composition. For example, in appropriating traditional leaders (*kabosenya*) within its hierarchy, the church, while ignoring the feasting and exchange (*posintuwu*) practices necessary for the maintenance of leadership, opened sites where the leveling of wealth through *posintuwu* exchanges actually leads away from kinship based consensus building to the social reproduction of patron-client type relationships within kin networks.

Part 3 explores the rationalization of To Pamona Christian institutions and the development of a separated religious bureaucracy and nationalism: its religious pillar whose colonization of the civil sphere sets it at odds with the modern(ist) Indonesian state. This view is alternated with an exploration of the rationalization of belief. Schrauwers explains that because of its appropriation of local authoritative forms of speaking, like the *montuwu* (a form of speaking to/about the ancestors) for its liturgical uses, the church ignored the practical contexts, constraints and consequences of these forms, hoping instead that a substitution of outward signs would lead to a change in internal dispositions. What in fact seems to have happened is that "true" conversion is continually deferred because the appropriation of cultural forms only subordinates local meanings to church liturgy without confronting or replacing pre-Christian beliefs. Therefore, pre-Christian beliefs still exist for the construction of a multiplicity of personal meanings.

This book has important theoretical contributions to make. In working through his goal of challenging the Weberian secularization hypothesis, Schrauwers introduces innovative approaches to reinterpreting Weber from economic and ritual angles, while showing that the two are not clearly separate. On one hand, there is a critical revision of the Geertzian (1963) shared poverty model of peasantization, which reorganizes the propositions of Geertz's model: the household is not the basic unit of production and consumption, but rather a multi-local kinship network of carefully calculated (though sometimes hidden) exchanges. This kinship network becomes a political unit, subsidized through economic surpluses and centered on a powerful patron. Peasantization is not the result of a lingering traditional economic mode ultimately to be displaced, but the result of strategic responses to capitalist maximizing within the system.

On the other hand, Schrauwers challenges interpretive analyses of ritual as a system of readable signs and notions of religious conversion as the exchange of one autonomous system of signs for another. Take again for example the *montuwu*, by appropriating its structure and form as a point of access for Christian liturgy, while at the same time ignoring the constraints on its practice, the heterodoxy of individual dispositions remains invisible. Schrauwers shows with his analysis of practices that the church's (and state's) over-emphasis on rules and liturgies leaves private interpretations intact.

My only regret with the book, and perhaps this is only a minor point, is that Schrauwers never reveals how his own Reform Church of Canada background influences his interpretive framework. Other than giving us a rapid gloss of Reform Church of Canada (a daughter Dutch Calvinist church) history and informing us that this background gave him privileged access to GKST activities, on this aspect Schrauwers remains quiet. This additional analysis might have made for an interesting comparison but it might also be more appropriate for another book. But all this leads to a more general and perhaps more important point. I think that a more detailed exposition of the history of Reform Church of Canada attempts at pillarization might have given the reader broader insights into the effects of the pillarization process and how Weber's secularization hypothesis can be challenged more generally. Although, to his credit, his comments about corresponding historical changes in Islamic communities elsewhere in Indonesia certainly fill this gap in one respect.

This book will be of interest to those whose research focuses on the negotiation of ethnicity generally, but especially in the Indonesian context. It will also be of interest to political economists from a broad range of disciplines, especially those interested in peasant studies and development studies. Interestingly, because of its focus on practice theory, ritual, and the rationalization of belief, this book will also be useful for anthropologists of religion and religious studies scholars, especially those interested in historicizing missiological work. It is the constant shifting and refocusing of the ethnographer's gaze that holds this work together, and its emphasis on examining practice over structure that makes it an excellent example of a modern strategy for ethnographic writing.

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Paul Sillitoe, *Social Change in Melanesia: Development and History*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000, xx + 246 pages, ISBN 0-521-77806-9 (paper).

Reviewer: Naomi M. McPherson  
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A companion volume to the author's *An Introduction to the Anthropology of Melanesia* (1998, Cambridge University Press) focussed on "traditional cultural orders," this volume offers an anthropological perspective on issues common to