

concept de seconde génération. Cette mise en contexte permet de comprendre les différences dans les façons de traiter de la question en France et au Québec qui émergent dans les contributions qu'ils ont rassemblées dans cet ouvrage collectif, soit un emploi différent de la catégorie seconde génération, tout comme des types de problématisation distincts. Ce constat nous rappelle qu'il n'est pas toujours possible ou souhaitable d'utiliser le même angle d'analyse pour saisir ce qui se passe dans les deux sociétés.

L'intérêt de l'ouvrage réside également dans un parti pris éditorial qui pose comme objectif d'opposer modèle d'insertion et réalité sur le terrain. Il ressort de plusieurs contributions combien ces jeunes issus de l'immigration sont confrontés dans leur quotidien au racisme et à la discrimination. C'est d'ailleurs le mérite de chacun de ces articles de proposer une vision nouvelle, cherchant aux sources du vécu des explications à des difficultés longtemps attribuées aux jeunes eux-mêmes ou à leur groupe d'origine, ce qui occultait du même coup les rapports de pouvoir et de domination. En même temps que plusieurs des auteurs font ressortir le processus de racisation auquel les jeunes sont soumis, la plupart insistent à juste titre sur les espaces de résistances forgés par ces derniers. Cela dit, bien que les textes présentés fassent ressortir aussi la réalité des jeunes qui ne vivent pas nécessairement des difficultés, d'insertion ou autre, et qu'ils ne se penchent pas exclusivement sur les groupes racisés (même si plusieurs contributions portent sur les minorités visibles, comme les jeunes maghrébins dans le cas français), l'ouvrage a pour principal défaut de mettre l'accent sur les expériences vécues par ces derniers. Au-delà de l'intérêt de chacun des textes, on se prend alors à regretter qu'un plus grand nombre de groupes n'aient fait l'objet de contributions. Notons à ce propos qu'il aurait été pertinent de proposer un portrait général des secondes générations dans chaque société en introduction ou dans un chapitre à part, un peu comme Simon tente de le faire pour la France.

Annelin Eriksen, *Gender, Christianity and Change in Vanuatu: An Analysis of Social Movements in North Ambrym*, Hampshire (UK) and Burlington (VT): Ashgate, 2008, 191 pages.

John Barker, ed., *The Anthropology of Morality in Melanesia and Beyond*, Hampshire (UK) and Burlington (VT): Ashgate, 2007, 235 pages.

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Morality is a fascinating link between large and small scale changes of modernity and their impact on human experiences. These two books focus on the place of moral agency and ethical practice in historical processes in Melanesian contexts. Barker's is a rich edited collection of noted Pacific scholars

and Eriksen's is a perceptive full-length ethnography. Both books take a welcome approach to understanding moral life as a series of quandaries that people face and how processes of social change and modernity, in particular, compel new moral choices and dilemmas. Morality is thus contested, ever changing and simultaneously composed of belief and practice. For Melanesian contexts, this is especially relevant as people's moral dilemmas often appear to be framed in terms of choosing between indigeneity and modernity, and the perspectives in these books allow indigeneity to be seen as a modern ethical practice.

Eriksen's evocative photos and elegant writing style transport the reader to Vanuatu in the best tradition of ethnographic monographs. The book's analytical framework is inspired by Deleuze and Guattari's work, particularly by their notion of the arboreal and rhizomatic as kinds of social structures that chafe against each other even as they work together. She argues that in North Ambrym, the social activities that are gendered female are aimed at making relations within and between villages, forming the horizontal (rhizomatic) axis of social structure. Those activities which are gendered male encompass activities that emphasize personal achievements and form the vertical (arboreal) axis of social structure. Eriksen then applies this model to understanding the gendered dynamics of social change, writing that not only are social structures predicated on gender differences, but that structures transform themselves on gendered principles and gendered forms of agency. The social change engendered by the social forms of the Presbyterian Church, for example, emphasizes community and moral social relations, and thus the expansion of the Church has been driven by female agency and the participation of women. Eriksen highlights other aspects of women's agency in creating social change by analyzing women's movement between villages and town (Port Vila). Their movement makes new relations between settlements and new relations between families through marriage. The forms of social change shaped by men's capacities include their participation in social forms that emphasize personal achievements through political leadership, like the Nagriamel (an anti-colonial struggle that began in the 1960s based on the return of alienated land but not on achieving a nation-state), the levels of graded society on Ambrym that produce big men and the Local Government Council. All of which make her ethnography a fascinating and original analysis of how ni-Vanuatu forms of sociality and historical change depend on both women and men's capacities.

The authors in Barker's collection are concerned with similar questions as Eriksen; they are interested the ways that morality is implicated in changes to political organization, religiosity and forms of exchange because of the dilemmas posed by Christianity, state forms of governance and capitalism. The volume as a whole is organized as a contemporary dialogue with Kenneth Burridge's pioneering work on Christianity, missionary endeavour, personhood and social change. Christianity is the most dominant theme in Barker's book, with contributions

from Knauff, Barker, Lohmann, Jorgensen and Lutkehaus. Of particular significance are the gendered nuances and forms of agency that arise in Christian social forms. In contrast to the women on Ambrym who participate in Christian social forms, the better to facilitate and extend relationships in their social networks, Lutkehaus shows through the life history of an indigenous nun that taking vows allows women new opportunities to survive outside social networks of kin and village and achieve a semblance of social and physical mobility not possible otherwise. Jorgensen's intriguing chapter deals with female spirit mediums of a charismatic Christian movement, who through their possessions by the spirit of God, were able to change the minds of most people in their communities, leading to a rupture with previous kinds of moral practice.

Tensions in morality and political leadership are taken up in both books. Within this theme, Eriksen focuses on the gendered nature of opposing social forms that produce leaders (graded society and local government council) and communities (Christian church). Robbins writes that Melanesian big men hold their position in part because of their moral standing in their communities. He argues that this insight from Melanesia has much to contribute to political anthropology because this kind of Melanesian political leader, unlike those in the West, is expected to be a moral exemplar. Barker's chapter adapts Burridge's colonial triangle to assess how the "Post-colonial triangle" (kastom, the church and the government) shapes the options for Maisin political leadership and contemporary political institutions along with postcolonial moral identities.

Grappling with the (im)morality of sorcery in the configuration of ethical life has long been of interest to anthropologists working in the Pacific. In Barker's volume, Dalton, Barker and Knauff consider the modern moral predicaments that sorcery practices compel. Both sorcerers and big men, Dalton and Robbins argue respectively, engage with moral dilemmas of their communities more intensely than other members (though in different ways). In this way, both are successful to the extent that they can identify and resolve moral tensions and demonstrate themselves to be agents of change.

In addition to the predicaments of Christianity and new forms of political leadership, a few contributors to Barker's volume examine the moral dilemmas that capitalism compels with the introduction of wage labour and exchange based on cash. In particular, Errington and Gewertz examine how amity and relationships of mutual equivalence (Burridge's concepts), so central to Pacific sociality, are affected by the development of the nationalist company Ramu Sugar limited. Jorgensen thoughtfully discusses the social changes that arise with the influx of money as up to 40% of the Telefolmin male population in the region of his research began working in industries directly and indirectly related to the Ok Tedi mine. Both of these chapters expose the tensions that cash can cause as it creates new kinds of differences between people that, in turn, are impediments or new openings for people to participate in forms of sociality where exchange is so central to participating in social life.

I have only one critical comment of these books—that the analyses could be made stronger by discussing related literature beyond Melanesia. For example, what Eriksen refers to as social movements may be different from what certain anthropologists expect. On the one hand, she is referring to the new relations that women create by travelling and making new relations within Ambrym, between families and between Ambrym and the growing capital of Port Vila. On the other hand, she refers to the Presbyterian Church, the Nagriamel, the men's graded society and the local government council as social movements. Those forms gendered female emphasize movement and relation-making while the ones gendered male demand rootedness and personal distinction. Considering the nature of collective social action to promote social change through gendered forms of agency in a larger context beyond Melanesia, would have made her already wonderful analysis even stronger. Without doubt, social movements have taken a different form in Vanuatu than in other places and they do not compare in obvious ways to other gendered social movements. It could well be that Eriksen chose to avoid the literature on women's social movements because rural women's collective agency in Vanuatu takes a very different form than other movements called "feminist." Eriksen does write about the chagrin that urban women in ni-Vanuatu development organizations express with rural women's seeming lack of political awareness. Indeed, Eriksen provides an extremely discerning analysis of the reasons why rural women do not respond to the Vanuatu National Council of Women's (VNCW) missives to help them. She argues that the VNCW falls into the vertical kinds of social forms typically gendered male, relying on the personal power of a few charismatic women rather than on the relation building rural women do in the horizontal axis. I think such contrasts in how people articulate gendered forms of agency would have analytical resonance in other places.

On a related note, gaining access to land and the social injustice of landlessness have been primary aspects of indigenous social movements in Latin America and Africa, indeed the world over. Some small discussion of that context would further elucidate a significant element of Vanuatu's history and reveal even more about the symbolic and material basis of the ni-Vanuatu social forms she is analyzing. Eriksen does include relevant information about the significance of land in Vanuatu. She writes that most ni-Vanuatu have access to land owned by their kinship groups somewhere in Vanuatu—either in town or on their home island or both—as land was returned to kastom owners after independence, though access to land is decreasing and is not without its challenges or disputes. Yet, I believe that if contextualized in a short discussion of other social movements, her analysis would be even more striking. The social movements that Eriksen analyzes so clearly rely on women's capacity as well as their material necessity to move to make new settlements and new relations and on men's capacities to be rooted to place. Having land and continuing to have access to the land are central to these types of sociality. They are partly conceivable because ni-Vanuatu do have access to land.

In a similar vein, readers of Barker's collection who are more interested in morality beyond Melanesia (as the title indicates) could be disappointed. Barker's introduction is a wonderful overview of the anthropological literature on morality as well as the overarching theoretical perspective that spans all of the chapters. The book's theoretical orientation, Barker writes, has more of an Aristotelian emphasis on agency in moral practice than a Durkheimian analysis of collective experience in moral systems. However, the chapters themselves are uneven in the degree to which they reference material from other ethnographic and theoretical contexts, and the "beyond" Melanesia aspect of this volume remains largely for the reader to infer from the Papua New Guinea ethnographic material, rather than find in a sustained engagement with other anthropologists writing on morality besides Burridge. Though, to be sure, Burridge's work does provide ample room for dialogue and the way that the individual authors take up his thinking is very intellectually satisfying.

Eriksen's book is spectacularly well-grounded in her knowledge of contemporary ethnography and historical details of the lives of people from North Ambrym, the nation of Vanuatu and relevant parts of Melanesia. Similarly, all of the authors in Barker's book place great emphasis on rooting their analysis of Papua New Guinea in ethnographic contexts. Although I think these books will appeal to scholars of the Pacific Islands most of all, I would also wholeheartedly recommend them to any anthropologist interested in the centrality of moral agency in social change and historical processes, particularly in those parts of the world where Christianity is associated with modernity.

Adolphe Rahamefy, *Sectes et Crises Religieuses à Madagascar*, Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2007, 183 pages.

Recenseure : *Genese Marie Sodikoff*
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Dans son étude *Sectes et Crises Religieuses à Madagascar*, Adolphe Rahamefy délimite l'influence mutuelle du christianisme et de la religion traditionnelle malgache, connue comme le « culte des ancêtres » mais ici appelée « razanisme » (du terme malgache *razana*, ancêtre). L'usage du néologisme *razanisme* permet d'éviter un biais évolutionniste qui dénigre la complexité de la religion traditionnelle par rapport au christianisme. Rahamefy présente deux problèmes liés à la convention d'opposer le christianisme et le razanisme comme étant des orientations religieuses distinctes. Tout d'abord, l'opposition est simplement heuristique, mais suggère une correspondance à la réalité sociale. Pourtant, Madagascar possède un paysage religieux très syncrétique. En fonction de l'appartenance ethnique et de la situation géographique, les Malgaches ont assimilé les croyances et les pratiques chrétiennes à des degrés divers. Certains les ont rejetées purement et simplement. En

revanche, dans les hauts plateaux, territoires des Merina et des Betsileo, le christianisme a été fermement établi. Le deuxième problème d'opposer le christianisme et le razanisme fournit la base de l'analyse ethnohistorique de la transformation religieuse. Rahamefy affirme qu'aucun des deux systèmes de croyances n'est constant et unifié. À Madagascar, les deux ont évolué à cause de luttes internes et politiques. Rahamefy décrit ainsi la contestation interne aux deux systèmes religieux, en mettant l'accent sur le XIX^e siècle, lorsque les catholiques français et les missionnaires protestants britanniques ont rivalisé les uns avec les autres pour capturer les cœurs et les âmes de razanistes malgaches, jusqu'au présent. Il réussit à montrer le processus de la transformation religieuse en choisissant des moments historiques où les chefs populaires, les autorités étrangères, ou les souverains royaux négocient leurs croyances razanistes ou chrétiennes. Par exemple, il raconte l'histoire de Rainitsiandavana, un gardien des *sampy*, les fétiches (palladiums) de l'État Merina que les missionnaires chrétiens ont, de manière péjorative, appelé « les idoles » et qu'ils ont cherché à expulser. Les *sampy* royaux étaient consultés avant la tenue d'événements importants pour le royaume, et le gardien chargé de les protéger possédait un statut spécial. Néanmoins, Rainitsiandavana, après la mort de son épouse, avait embrassé la foi chrétienne en 1833 en maintenant son rôle comme gardien des *sampy*. Après sa conversion, il essaya un jour de prêcher l'Évangile parmi les Malgaches et fut tourné en dérision. Intrépide, il parla aux gens de l'arrivée des « fantômes des boeufs », croyance selon laquelle le bétail pourrait être ressuscité après la mort sous la forme d'esprits. Son interprétation de la croyance au sujet des fantômes des zébus a suggéré la possibilité de la résurrection des morts (humains), prêtant créance, de ce fait, à l'histoire de la renaissance du Christ. Rahamefy avance ainsi le fait que Rainitsiandava fut le premier à inventer une forme de syncrétisme chrétien-razaniste.

À partir de journaux de missionnaires, sources historiques secondaires, et d'ethnographies de rites funéraires, Rahamefy met en lumière les rencontres entre les chrétiens et les traditionalistes et analyse les décisions pragmatiques ou opportunistes prises pour se protéger soi-même ou par intérêt politique. La première section du livre présente une vaste ethnologie du razanisme à Madagascar. Elle décrit l'ampleur et la diversité de croyances qui définissent la religion traditionnelle, y compris les rites funéraires tels que le *famadihana*. Ce rituel d'exhumation des squelettes d'ancêtres, appelé « le retournement des Ancêtres », est devenu un important marqueur de l'identité culturelle malgache à l'extérieur. Pourtant, le *famadihana*, ainsi que les offrandes aux ancêtres, ne constituent qu'une petite partie des croyances spirituelles malgaches. Les divers Malgaches croient aussi au pouvoir des ancêtres d'affecter les affaires quotidiennes de la vie, aux esprits non ancestraux et aux palladiums royaux, à un dieu (*zanahary*) et au phénomène du *tromba*, quand un individu entre dans une relation avec un parent ou un souverain mort qui possède l'individu périodiquement, cette possession pouvant également être induite par une pratique rituelle.