

doi:10.5559/di.29.4.09

**Jos D. M. Platenkamp,
Almut Schneider (Eds.)
INTEGRATING
STRANGERS IN SOCIETY
Perspectives from
Elsewhere**

Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019, 229 pgs.

Humanity, so it seems, is in constant need of solemn reminding that "[n]o man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main". Penned with marvellous humanistic conviction by the English wordsmith John Donne (1624), this noble adage against social isolationism and ostracism befits the "emergent occasions" standing before us yet again. Platenkamp and Schneider's (Eds.) ethnological enchiridion echoes this encompassing idea of mankind, regenerating a dormant intuitive and ratiocinative grasp: "no society is complete in itself" (Platenkamp, 2019, p. 20). *Integrating Strangers in Society: Perspectives from Elsewhere* is a book with illuminative and, one hopes, transformative potency over the planar and populist logic of frantic patriotism coaxing the public valuation of the social alien irrupting upon the professed cultural homogeneity and ideological superiority of the Western social-economical modernity.

What of the reverse: when the Western "other" begs acceptance into the "autochthonous" social order elsewhere? Twelve contributing anthropologists reflect upon their experience of incorporating and transcending the precarious social position

of a "stranger" in social universes beyond. Instead of a rigid documentation of the integration processes, the manifold comparative and introspective ethnographic narratives expound the finer components of the social integration mechanisms, such as the incremental internalisation of social commitments, the commensurate intensification of social intimacy and the sentient subjugation to the indigenous atemporal, ancestral domain(s). Subordination and complementarity – *termini technici* of Louis Dumont's intellectual lineage (Cf. Dumont, [1966]1980 and [1986]1992) – are quintessential in (and for) *Integrating Strangers in Society*: forearmed with patience and perseverance, the social neophyte is but to subject to the indigenously dictated, steady progression towards transcendent affinity and social encompassment – be it an unsparing crawl or a merciful leap, it cannot be enforced.

Elizabeth Tauber, a *gaži* ("non-Sinti") married into a Sinti community in Italy, is subordinated to "successive stages of integration" prior to assuming a thoroughgoing Sinta identity (Tauber, 2019, p. 35). Her membership in the social group is initiated through the conjugal relationship with a Sinto husband, her stillborn male offspring transforms her "from a wife (*je romni*) into a person with her own Sinti dead people (*je Sinta*)", and, finally, her sensory perception and communication with her deceased (*mur čore mule*) indicates her ultimate acceptance of "being a Sinta" and having reached "the ultimate level of integration" – "related by 'blood' (*rat*) to the dead" (p. 32, 34). Such comprehensive social appropriation was unattainable to Frédéric Laugrand and Anja Nicole Stuckenberger, the two *Qallunaat* ("white people") pursuing research among the Inuit of Nunavut province in the Canadian Arctic. Along with an infantile temperament – as per indigenous social-cosmological predication – the *Qallunaat* are identified with trade, technology and temporality; these seabound offspring of an Inuit female and her dog-husband are hence invariably assigned the

transmigratory position of "friendly guests"-*-cum*-"strangers" who come and go (Laugrand, 2019, p. 41). This social emplacement originates and is reproduced in indigenous cosmology and ritual practice: from the *Uinigumasuittuq* mythos, depicting the disjunction of autochthonous and *Qallunaat* social identities, to the socially inclusive drum dance festivity re-joining them as a "structural mechanism" (p. 51) of value-differentiation and appreciation, the White Man is a complementary part of the Inuit conceptualisation of social entirety – notwithstanding the bitter resentment of colonial encroachment deeply engraved into Inuit social memory (Stuckenberger, 2019, p. 55f).

Some five years after the Kanak traumatic uprising for independence from France (1984-1988), the French anthropologist Denis Monnerie arrives at Arama village in post-colonial New Caledonia (Oceania). In Arama, communal life is markedly suspended between weekday monotony and weekend merriment, when the *marché* ("market") reinvigorates social existence. Monnerie's subtle and organic immersion into this hebdomadary, polysemic social gathering where modernity and tradition, the colonised and the colonial-other converge, is encircled by more elaborate, systematic procedures of social inclusion – the ceremonies of arrival and reception, the first yams ritual (*thiillin uvi*) marking admittance into the Great House of Arama – all "articulating otherness with belonging" (Monnerie, 2019, p. 87) through an intricate lacework of prestations and counter-prestations. Subjugation to the vernacular interpretation of prestations and expectations was a *non plus ultra* for Toon van Meijl, who experiences a seemingly "unconditional adoption" bordering on

"overwhelming hospitality" by the entire Māori community in Huntly, New Zealand (1982). The elders, community officers and the royal family introduce him into the "intimacies of *Kīngitanga*" (Māori King Movement; van Meijl, 2019, p. 94) with (c)over-t expectations of his indigenous rights advocacy. After assisting them in "colonial disenfranchisement" and prior to publishing his doctoral dissertation on "the politicisation of cultural traditions in the context of Māori development programmes", van Meijl's courteous request for *nihil obstat* is decisively abnegated by the Māori leadership on account of (alleged) negative ethnographic representation (p. 97f). Publishing is sacrificed for the sake of latent belonging; latent, for the inaugurally received hospitableness had primarily served "the recognition of Maori society on its own terms in order to enhance its integration into the world" (p. 108).

Joseba Estévez's ethnographically and theoretically bounteous chapter on social-cosmological appropriation into Lanten society in North Laos contrasts with the preceding case of (demi)integration. Exemplified by his apprenticeship as sacred ritual expert (*zhai mun*) the narrative expounds the substantive value – indeed, a "structural need" – of *Dou* ("[other] people") for completing the Lanten ritual practice and social identity (Estévez, 2019, p. 117). Validation of the individual and collective social self is actualised through the *mun-dou* social relationship presupposing a concurrent acquiescence to the Lanten social order and emancipation of "otherness" (p. 126). For Jos Platenkamp, a tripartite submission was prerequisite for integrating among the Tobelo of Paca village in North Moluccas (1979). Once the initial apprehension of his colonial identity and presumed connections with the Indonesian state had subsided, the extraneous male was assigned the structural position of a husband-to-be and, by way of conjugality, "incorporated into the ancestral order of a House and its affinal alliances" (Platenkamp, 2019, p. 137). Pla-

tenkamp's subsequent (reluctant) cosmological subjugation to the idiosyncratic Calvinist ideology environing and reanimating the pre-Christian Tobelo rituals was a *sine qua non* for the tertiary and "final act of initiation" (p. 143) – his discipleship in Tobelo healing knowledge.

Social adoption of Cécile Barraud in the village society of Tanebar-Evav (Southeast Moluccas, 1972) involved neither a prompt "affiliation to a particular House or family" nor discrete "ritualised procedures" (Barraud, 2019, p. 149). Instead, the underlying principles of collective care bestowed upon the inbound anthropologist unravel diffusely as serendipity intervenes and the medically inexperienced Barraud assumes the role of a village physician, reciprocating the communal caretaking. The overarching ideas of *batang* ("looking after, taking care") and *oho duan* ("those who watch over") act as cosmological pillars of an extraordinary system of social integration: through symmetrical "looking after" the *maṅ/marvóton* (people "whose origin is from faraway" viz. affiliated extra-village relationships) and *haratut* ("society's internal relationships" and territory) are knit together, evincing Barraud's bifold and coterminous intra- and extrasocietal identity (p. 156ff).

Among the Banyoro of Western Uganda the *empaako* name-giving ritual (*omugenzo gw'empaako*) constitutes one of three modes of social, cosmological and emotional integration of the "stranger"; the other two being the clan-exogamous marriage alliance and the *omukaago* ("blood pact"; von Weichs, 2019, p. 172). The outsider – a newborn, neighbour or newcomer – is allocated one of a total of eleven *empaako* cognomina, each corresponding to a respective spirit assuming guardian-

ship upon the human namesake and its clan. An indicator of intimate social relationships, the praise name surpasses the individual's Christian praenomen and is inimitably used to address the socially recognised other. By circumventing the naming ritual and, alas, illicitly appropriating the "name-cum-spirit Adyeri", Raphaela von Weichs elicits a nominal (and counterproductive) rather than a social-cosmological integration into Banyoro society (p. 179, 181).

Be it other clans or brides and progeny originating from them, strangers are indispensable for the social reproduction of Gawigl society of Highland Papua New Guinea and their social encapsulation of Almut Schneider's unfolds in two consecutive junctures. Her new-built housing structure and an adjacent, cosmologically reactive garden install her on the soil and under the patronage of Pelmige House. The posterior structural merger of "Pelmige Almut" with the overarching Kombulge clan resembles the marriage and "placing the children in the father's House" rituals during which "the House of Pelmige publicised to other members of the Kombulge clan that [she] was a part of them" – resulting in complete adoption on a House and clan level (Schneider, 2019, p. 192, 194).

The Siassi of Mandok Island in Papua New Guinea conceive their own social identity as foreign and cosmologically distinct from that of their autochthonous neighbours on Umboi Island. Their immigratory social past is ritually and visually reanimated through clan-specific artefacts, pertaining to the supreme spirit immigrants *mariam* and *nakamutmut*, the manufacture and exchange of which is sanctioned by clan representatives ("big men"). By permitting him to witness the production of the sacred ethnographica Peter ter Keurs is delicately enclosed into Siassi microcosmos, his integration culminating in the transferal of a "mask that ritually realises the presence of the spirit that comes in from abroad to reproduce the society" (ter Keurs, 2019, p. 208).

The last chapter of this multifaceted title thematises the (inefficacious) so-

cial experiment in eradicating India's regional, religious and caste disparities by means of industrialisation. The Rourkela Steel Plant megaproject in the East Indian periphery *prima facie* asserts a "pan-Indian citizenry" of industrial modernity (Strümpell, 2019, p. 212) but, submersed in Rourkela social life, Christian Strümpell discovers the opposite: a plethora of ethnically and ideologically heterogenous communities, each with a specific "kinship system and [...] particular procedures of integrating others" (p. 225). Included among the Odia as a *bhāi* (brother) and as a *kupul* (guest/affine) among the Mundari, Strümpell becomes privy to the complexities of interethnic relationships, idiosyncrasies of social customs and to the resilience of the hierarchical social whole replicating itself in a polymorphous, industrial epicentre of pseudo-modernity.

The correspondingly polymorphic spectrum and sequence of narrations within *Integrating Strangers in Society* are unified by the singularity of the volume's message on the paramountcy of social substantiation, a message reminiscent of Dumont's injunction that "[s]eparation as a general principle is deeply embedded in our minds, and we must rid ourselves of the excessive emphasis on it" (Dumont, [1966]1980, p. 130f). Devoid of perfunctory paternalistic exhortations, this book is a unique intellectual experiment in analogy: from the Arctic to Asia and from Africa to Oceania, the reader will seldom glance at a publication which tells so much about the worlds beyond but thereby speaks of the West, too. Utilising an exuberance of ethnological examples, the editors turn our gaze towards the profound relationality of human beings and the overarching distinctiveness-*cum*-complementarity of

human societies, purveying an alternative model of social integration: encompassment *without* assimilation. Acknowledging "the value of difference" and "difference in values" (Oosten, 1999) is the crux of the holistic integration system proposed by the authors and benevolently emplaced before the modern addressees as a didactic stimulus. Corroborated with compelling ethnographic imagery and a sophisticated theoretical approach, this edited volume is simultaneously a manual on distinct formulae of social inclusion, a chronicle of ethnographic research and a parable of the universal human desire to belong, adeptly serving academics, public intellectuals and anthropologically inquisitive readers alike. Above all, this book is a direly needed, tacit repudiation of social solipsism – that *Weltanschauung* which, oblivious to the fact that even "gods have no reality except in relations with others" (Dumont, [1966]1980, p. 270), deprives the "stranger" of his cosmologically reproductive capacity and deems his biform identity perilous and unpatriotic. But the contrary is the case, for it is entirely possible to love one land as a mother, yet another as a wife; or, in Paul Claudel's (1936) words: "there are thus countries that one accepts [as one's own], that one weds, that one adopts at once as a spouse, as if they had been made for us and we for them".

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doi:10.5559/di.29.4.10

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POLITIKA

Mate d.o.o., Zagreb, 2019., 520 str.

Šest godina trebalo je proći nakon 4. izdanja *Politics* nakladničke kuće Palgrave Macmillan da bi bila prevedena na hrvatski iz pera Miljenka Šimića, a izdala ju je nakladnička kuća Mate. Andrew Heywood reno-