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Title: "Review. *Culture History and African Anthropology: A Century of Research in Germany and Austria* by Jurgen Zwememann"

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Source: *Ethnos*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (1985), pp. 153-154

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Suvabaya *warong*. But Lind's analysis is a distinctive and suggestive contribution.

Lars Vikør lucidly summarizes the patterns and issues in the languages of Malaysia and Indonesia, helpfully comparing the two. Unlike some Western language planners who, paradoxically, know little of the language and culture in the country whose policies they are planning, Vikør shows excellent concrete knowledge and manages to subordinate "planning" to substantive discussion of the actual situation.

Thommy Svensson's well-researched study of Sarekat Islam in the early 1900's emphasizes agrarian economics as a factor in the movement. Svensson persuasively shows how economic differentiation and greater individualism in the Priangan area than elsewhere in Java lay behind Sarekat Islam activity in Priangan.

Based on 1973-74 fieldwork in an East Java village near the town described by Clifford Geertz and others under the title "Mojokuto," Lien Pekih Aass and Svein Aas rather disturbingly depict the same broad process of economic differentiation and individualism in East Java today that Svensson described in West Java in 1912-13. Like the essay by Gerdin, which follows, and other recent analysis, this essay by the Haases questions whether Geertz' "involution" model still applies to Indonesian agriculture, for the gap between rich and poor farmers has grown as *gotong-royong* is replaced by exploitative hiring of the landless labor by landed farmers. The shift in pattern is striking in its rapidity, seemingly spurred by the Green Revolution, and the implications are ominous, given Java's density of population.

Ingela Gerdin, analyzing field materials from West Lombok, echoes some of the findings of the Haases on Java, also calling into question the "involution" model; but she finds aspects still applicable and concludes by noting also that the local representation or "misrepresentation" of the situation accentuates involution rather than the exploitation that is seemingly the trend.

The paper by Magnus Lindgren, though interesting, is difficult to connect to the general image of Indonesia that is composed by the other, even if obliquely—a Sukarnoist, Javanist

quasi-cooperative agrarian society increasingly individuated and capitalistic. This is so far two reasons—first, that New Guinea is essentially a separate cultural region, only recently connected to Indonesia politically, and, second, that Lindgren chooses to direct his essay theoretically instead of ethnographically, providing less descriptive material than the others, while addressing issues in kinship theory.

The next two papers, by Sven Cederroth and Wil Lundström—Burghoorn, also treat matters of kinship, but return us firmly to the ethnographic genre and the Indonesian region. Cederroth gives a most lucid account (which might usefully be compared with Boon's less lucid though more intricate analysis of Bali) of aristocratic values sustained by marriage systems, as, here too, new forces emerge. Burghoorn's paper is of special interest in showing the integration of Dutch terminology and an indigenous system in a place known for its heavily Dutch influence. If only the structuralism of this kind of analysis and the evocative historiography of R. Nieuwenhuijze's *Tempo Doeloe, Baren en Oudgasten* and *Komer en Blijven* could be merged!

The final paper, by Ingrid Rudic, extends coverage to Malaysia, treating the bastion of Malaya, Kelantan. Perhaps accidental but nonetheless suggestive is the matter-of-fact, pragmatic sense of social relations attributed to these Malays in comparison to the various Indonesian situations depicted in the other papers. Such a contrast in ethos has often been attributed broadly to the two neighboring regions.

In sum, this volume provides an excellent sample of recent ethnographic work—here done by Scandinavians but in accord with wider trends in Indonesian studies generally—that usefully contribute to our up-to-date knowledge of patterns in changing Indonesia (as well as, to a lesser extent, Malaysia). One may hope the good work continues!

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*Culture History and African Anthropology: a Century of Research in Germany and Austria.* JÜRGEN ZWERNEMANN. Uppsala Studies in Cultural Anthropology 6. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsalensis, 1983. 170 pp., figures, bibliography, index.

In this carefully researched, well-written and most timely study, Professor Zwernemann summarises and reviews chronologically the principal developments and contributions in the German-Austrian ethnological tradition that began with Friedrich Ratzel's critique of Anglo-American evolutionism, and his call for studies to determine the roles of diffusion and migration in the culture history of mankind. Throughout his monograph, as its title indicates, Dr. Zwernemann refers the formulations of the *Kulturkreislehre*—as the approach was generally known—to the ethnology of Africa and its peoples from early times until their first direct contacts with Europeans, hoping perhaps in this way to demonstrate the relevance and utility of its methods, criteria and findings to the study of African cultures, and thus, by extension, to the cultural anthropology of other continents and regions as well.

Following Ratzel's work, the author summarises the early ideas and conclusions of Ratzel's student, Leo Frobenius, who put Africa and the *Kulturkreise* together at the centre of German ethnology. Following Frobenius' initial formulations of the African *Kulturkreise* and their relations, Dr. Zwernemann outlines the complementary contributions of Bernhard Ankermann and Fritz Graebner to the development of the *Kulturkreis* doctrine. While Ankermann was primarily ethnographic and empirical in orientation, Graebner was primarily theoretical and methodological. Thus, of the two, having laid out in 1911 systematic criteria and rules of method for ethnology, Graebner attracted greater attention and criticism at home and abroad. Dr. Zwernemann devotes a large part of his text to the evaluation of these criticisms, many of which he rejects on various grounds.

However, in light of certain criticisms of Graebner's work, with the assistance of Fr. Wilhelm Koppers, Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt of Vi-

enna redefined the concept and criteria of *Kulturkreise* and applied them globally in a major attempt to reconstruct the 'culture-historical' development of mankind from the earliest times. In his later years, Leo Frobenius also put forward a revised conception and account of African *Kulturkreise* which persuaded Hermann Baumann and other German anthropologists to concentrate on Africa as a field for detailed 'culture-historical' research and reconstruction. Thus, while Schmidt and Koppers, like Ratzel and Graebner before them, ranged globally and tried to decipher the *Kulturkreise* and their relations across the world, Frobenius, Ankermann, Willy Schilde, Walter Hirschberg, Baumann, Adolf Jensen and others focussed their studies almost exclusively on Africa. Following accounts of these African ethnological researchers, Dr. Zwernemann discusses the problems and criticisms that beset Fr. Schmidt's reformulation of the *Kulturkreislehre* as well as the 'culture morphology' of Frobenius and his followers. In conclusion, he reviews various criticisms and tendencies of culture-historical research that have particular relevance to Africa, and claims that 'culture-historical' studies, with certain modifications of Graebner's basic ideas, are still important and useful.

To illustrate their value, Dr. Zwernemann cites (pp. 143-146) Wilhelm Möhlig's recent contribution to the prolonged debate about the origin and locus of proto-Bantu and the earliest Bantu languages, along with J. C. Winter's assimilation of Möhlig's Bantu 'language-strata' and Frobenius' African *Kulturkreise*. Dr. Zwernemann suggests that this assimilation indicates that differing Bantu 'proto-systems' probably dispersed from an original centre somewhere in the Rift Valley, as Sir Harry Johnston had suggested in 1904. Unfortunately without the detailed linguistic data and arguments from which Wilhelm Möhlig derived this conclusion, readers cannot assess the linguistic value of his contribution; but in my view the use of such non-linguistic data and criteria as Frobenius' *Kulturkreise* require to support any proposed solution of a specifically linguistic problem is regressive and unfortunate.

I am also at a loss to identify the specifically

historical features or aspects of the 'culture-historical' researches and methods that Germanic ethnologists have cultivated so assiduously for so long. It seems to me that the more modest and historical approaches of such scholars as Raymond Mauny, Jan Vansina, Murray Last, A. J. Ajayi and Philip Curtin, together with the results of recent palaeontological and archaeological research in Africa, have severely reduced the scope for and utility of the *Kulturkreislehre* in African ethnology. Others who place greater value on more global and extensive frameworks for the study of local cultures may understandably prefer *Kulturkreise* studies of Africa, or their American counterpart, the late G. P. Murdock's much-criticised monograph, *Africa: Its Peoples and their Culture History*.

In any event, as this book demonstrates, ethnological preoccupations and interests that derive from the *Kulturkreislehre* still dominate cultural and social anthropology in the German-speaking world, and are unlikely to lose that position in the near future. Thus for those of us who do not read German or have these concerns at heart, as well as for those who do, Jürgen Zwernemann's book is an excellent and comprehensive introduction to this interesting and little-known segment of the history of anthropology, a kind of culture history of the culture-historical school itself that greatly enriches our general knowledge of the discipline's history and the German ethnological tradition from Ratzel's day. As such it is much to be welcomed and appreciated.

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*Managing Culture Contact: The Organisation of Swedish Immigration Policy.* MORRIS AARON FRED. EIFO English Series Report No 6. Stockholm: Commission for Immigrant Research, 1983. iii + 129 pp.

In recent years there has appeared a number of studies which together make the literature on immigrants in Sweden a substantial contribution to the understanding of the migration phenomenon in Europe as a whole. This short

book by an American anthropologist who researched and taught in Sweden for six years is the sixth in a series produced in English – presumably to reach a wider, international audience – by the Swedish Commission for Immigrant Research (EIFO), which has promoted much of this work.

Fred's book differs from many anthropological and sociological studies of immigrants and immigration in that it is focused on Swedish society and its institutions, rather than those of the immigrants themselves. The particular feature of Sweden that interests Fred is the bureaucracy, and in international terms his work will be welcomed as a significant contribution to the study of bureaucratic processes. It is also a good example of policy-relevant research which shows that such research is not, as some in Britain believe it to be, dull and devoid of theoretical riches.

The first five chapters are concerned with the evolution of Swedish policy over the last twenty years, and with the development at the national level of the institutional framework for handling "immigrants", who by the accepted administrative definition of the term, number about one million persons. That policy has as its major goal not assimilation but integration, which involves a form of cultural pluralism on the basis of the not always compatible principles of equality, freedom of choice, and partnership. The main instrument for this policy is the National Swedish Board of Immigration (SIV), and Fred examines in detail the organisation of this body and the various units which represent its "stern" and "kind" faces.

The second half of the book, which in many ways is the most interesting, is a detailed case study set in the town of Västerås. Västerås has some 4,000 immigrants (migrant workers and refugees) who make up 20% of the labour force of the town's main employer, a large engineering firm. After the War, responsibility for the welfare of immigrants was largely a matter for the firm itself, but latterly it was taken over by the municipality. Fred's account looks at one part of the municipal response, the activities of an experimental group known as "family pedagogues", in particular those concerned with the "Assyrian/Syriani" minority.