‘Present in the past, past in the present’. Review of A New History of Anthropology (Henrika Kuklick, ed.)

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Present in the Past, Past in the Present (Kuklick’s *A New History of Anthropology*)
A New History of Anthropology by Henrika Kuklick
Review by: Alan Barnard
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ogists need to study contemporary social problems such as HIV/AIDS, development aid, and other actions, rather than depending on foreigners. She is, however, quick to add that to do this, African anthropologists need to be equipped with skills—and not simply declare themselves as anthropologists, with a “we know it all” attitude.

The different authors in the volume recognize that anthropology is significant and has a future in Africa. The third part of the book illustrates the contributions to knowledge by anthropologists. The contributors offer several concrete examples of where anthropology has been successful and when it has been challenged, and they examine the potentials of practicing the discipline in Africa. About its potential and future, Ezeh shows that anthropology has been taught in several universities in Nigeria since the founding of the country’s first autonomous university in 1960. The recognition of the importance of the discipline in Nigeria is further symbolized by individual anthropologists in the country being called upon to play important national roles other than those in research and academics. Amuyunzu-Nyamongo uses her personal experiences to discuss the prospects of applied anthropology in Kenya.

However, what they present is not optimism without challenges. Amuyunzu-Nyamongo illustrates the difficulties faced by anthropologists in Africa, for example, in publishing their material and experiences. Additionally, Onyango-Ouma highlights the challenges and ethical dilemmas of practicing anthropology in one’s own country, including the demands and expectations by informants, some of whom may be part of family networks.

People with highly practical outlooks often see anthropologists as producers of complex and theoretical texts that cannot easily be translated into concrete action. As a consequence, in many African settings, the discipline of anthropology and its descriptions tend to be regarded as irrelevant and not useful for policy making and concrete solutions because they are theoretical and merely complicate matters. On the other hand, mainstream anthropology tends to be rather skeptical of applied research as “diluting” their discipline because it does not bring out Geertz’s (1973) famous “thick description.” As a key tenant of the book, it dismisses the dichotomization of “pure” and “applied” anthropology and contends that it does not apply to the contemporary African context. The book shows how anthropology in Africa can bridge both applied and mainstream anthropology without ignoring the social and cultural contexts and meanings, as demonstrated throughout the volume.

One of the strengths of the book is its recognition of diversity as advocated by anthropologists. This is illuminated by the diversity of the contributors to the volume. Some contributors are Africans doing anthropology at home, while others are Africanists doing anthropology away from home—in Africa. Throughout the volume, authors reflect on their experiences as researchers, teachers, and/or consultants. They recognize and document the web of conflicting interests and contesting parties as they practice the discipline in the changing context in Africa.

Finally, the book depicts critical anthropology that is reflective about both its potential and its limitations in the changing African situation. This is illustrated by the self-examination of the contributors to the volume, from which remarks and suggestions can be drawn on how to enhance the application and engagement of anthropology in Africa with its contemporary social problems. This book is good for teaching and is inspirational for new generations of scholars in Africa who study and train to be anthropologists.

References Cited


Present in the Past, Past in the Present
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In her introduction to A New History of Anthropology, Henrika Kuklick suggests that the distinction George Stocking has made between “presentists” and “historicists” describes complementary rather than mutually exclusive categories. The former, often practitioners of the discipline, are said to view it through present debates and frame past glories in terms of these. The latter, often historians, see the past more in terms of past concerns. A number of the papers in the book do appear to blur or even break down this distinction. Two discuss it explicitly, Regina Darnell’s on North American anthropological traditions and Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov’s on late nineteenth-century Russian anthropology, but in others the shifting emphases on present in the past and past in the present are implicit. If there are pervasive themes in this book, that is certainly one of them. Others might include anthropology as a collectivity of diverse national traditions, anthropology in light of the organizational and cultural structures in which it operates, and, perhaps to a lesser extent, the more usual concern of presentist anthropology: anthropology as a branch of intellectual history.

A New History of Anthropology is divided into five parts, although the first chapter, by Harry Liebersohn, on travelers and philosophers before institutional anthropology, stands apart from these. Part 1 is on “major traditions”: North Amer-
ican (Darnell), British (Kuklick), German (H. Glenn Penny), and French (Emmanuelle Sibeud). Darnell’s chapter is interesting especially in what it says of Canadian anthropology: ambiguously North American but also diversely Anglophone and Francophone and rooted both in continental Boasian and in local, especially First Nations, interests. Here and in any number of the other chapters, I would have liked more details, but there is too much to cover for one to expect this in such a history. Kuklick’s chapter, like many other studies of British anthropology, concentrates on the importance of the institutional milieu and the end of paradigm consensus in the 1970s. Penny presents a more individual-focused view of the German traditions, and Sibeud returns to institutional concerns, especially the importance of the learned societies in the development of French ethnological interests from the nineteenth into the early twentieth century. This first part then provides necessary background for the student. The more profound insights come later.

Part 2 is on “early obsessions.” Here we have an interesting mix of three such obsessions. Ivan Stenski tackles the spiritual through a look at the broad swathe of scientific (as opposed to theological) ideas on religion from their beginnings among early Deists through the textual interests of Max Müller, the shift to concerns with custom in the case of Tyler, and later interests reflected in debates between functionalists and interpretivists. I like this short chapter because it packs so much in for professional anthropologists of religion to think about, although it could be bewildering to students, confronted, as they will be, with long lists of thinkers they may not yet have heard of. The second obsession of part 2 is that of empiricism, seen in a chapter by Barbara Saunders through arguments on color perception from Locke to Berlin and Kay. This chapter is really quite provocative, and it ends with an intriguing challenge to students to extend to other domains the argument that we carry such theoretical baggage from history into the present. The third obsession, dealt with in a more descriptive chapter by Robert Ackerman, is the classical literature of ancient Greece and Rome.

Part 3 includes works by Christer Lindberg on early Nordic anthropology, Donna C. Mehos on Dutch museums, Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov on Russia, and Hilary A. Smith on Chinese archaeology. What all these have in common is a concern with “neglected pasts.” These are all “minor” traditions, but each is resplendent with details of time and place that reveal the rich diversity that tends to be forgotten in teaching texts that concentrate on the global trajectory of “mainstream” traditions. The Russian chapter has already been mentioned, and I find it among the best because it illustrates well the complex interplay between things such as the social dynamics of peasant communities; relations between radical politics, the political system, and science; perceptions of “primitiveness” (in an internal “Orientalism” directed toward the peasantry); and cultural tensions in the philosophical discourses of the elite. The last would include, for example, the inherent cultural relativism of Russian Romantic thought and its relation to the dominant evolutionist paradigm.

In part 4, attention turns to biological anthropology. Thomas F. Glick offers an all-too-concise analysis of polygenism, hybridism, and recapitulation in five nineteenth-century settings: the United States, England, France, Germany, and (especially) Brazil. His essay could have done with more comparison, but Glick’s portrayal of changing theories of racial hierarchy should nevertheless be useful as a springboard for student research. Jonathan Marks takes on a more manageable topic: “race” across the physical-cultural divide of American anthropology, especially the racist antics of amateur Carleton Putnam and his anthropologist advocate Carleton S. Coon in the 1950s and 1960s. The final chapter is an exploration of “temporality as an artifact.” In it, Robert N. Proctor traces changing understandings of human origins through archaeology, paleontology, and molecular anthropology, each of which, he argues, marks a distinct era of thought, and the transition between them a crisis point in perceptions of what it is to be human.

Part 5 considers “new directions” in the discipline. Lyn Schumaker reflects on women in the field. Anna Grimeshaw looks at visual anthropology. Rena Lederman takes on anthropological regionalism and Merrill Singer applied anthropology. Although Schumaker begins in the 1920s and Grimeshaw and Singer touch on the 1890s, the main temporal focus is on the late twentieth century. Perhaps because of their focus on relatively recent developments, these chapters seem to have less to say to older anthropologists or to historians of the discipline. They may, however, be of great interest to student readers. Each ends with provocative thoughts and leads the reader to reflect on issues beyond anthropology, as well as beyond the history of anthropology. In this regard, I especially like Singer’s example of a “postmodern challenge”: the appeal by a group of Arhuaco in Colombia for help from their ethnographers in initiating a development project. The ethnographers thought the proposed project was a good one, but they refused to help, on the grounds that the community was split between traditionalist and modernist positions. Singer argues that the anthropologists’ position was flawed because the anthropologists’ inaction meant that they were in fact taking sides. That and indeed other incidents related in these chapters on “new directions” should provide professors and their students with good ideas for classroom debate.

The scope of this book is necessarily limited by constraints of space. Many important traditions of anthropology are left out or touched on only very briefly (for example, Japanese, Australian, South African). Some major theoretical perspectives are hardly mentioned at all (most obviously, structuralism). In all, though, this is a wonderful book to aid the teaching of the history of anthropology and especially to encourage students to look further and, indeed, to appreciate “history of anthropology” as an exciting, living branch of anthropology itself.