



Review

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der Tat entspricht, wenn er den Titel des Buches erstmals zur Kenntnis nimmt.

Irmtraud Herms stellt akribisch die Geschichte des Swahili-Deutschen Wörterbuchs dar, das ursprünglich in den sechziger Jahren von Höftmann begründet, dann jahrzehntelang von Herms kreativ weitergeführt wurde, bis es sich zum viel benutzten Standardwörterbuch des Swahili im deutschsprachigen Raum entwickelte.

An einen wichtigen Abschnitt in der akademischen Laufbahn Höftmanns erinnert Ulrich van der Heyden mit einer historischen Aufarbeitung der Jahre 1956 bis 1961, in denen Ernst Dammann an der Humboldt-Universität als Professor für Afrikanistik lehrte. Hildegard Höftmann war zu jener Zeit seine Assistentin. Nach seiner Wegberufung an die Universität Marburg führte sie die von ihm propagierte Afrikanistik mit einer ausdrücklich sprachwissenschaftlichen Orientierung unter internationaler Anerkennung bis zur Wende fort. Es ist ganz wesentlich Höftmanns Geschick zu verdanken, dass die Berliner Afrikanistik als Institution neben der staatlich begünstigten, "zentralen" Afrikanistik in Leipzig bis zur Wende erhalten blieb. Van der Heyden verwertet für seine spannende Analyse nicht nur veröffentlichte Quellen, sondern vor allem auch reichhaltiges unpubliziertes Archivmaterial aus Ost- und Westdeutschland, das über den "Grenzgänger" Dammann damals angelegt wurde.

Ernst Dammann war der letzte Vertreter einer afrikanistischen Tradition, die von Missionierung und Kolonialisierung geprägt war. Viele der alten Fachvertreter in der Afrikanistik waren wie Dammann neben ihrer wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit zugleich auch Missionare. Jürgen Becher behandelt in seinem Beitrag anhand von dokumentierten Fallstudien aus Ostafrika, wie durch die deutschen Missionare und ihre Ehefrauen das eigene Weltbild in die afrikanischen Gesellschaften übertragen wurde. Becher konzentriert sich in seiner empirischen Studie insbesondere auf die Stationen der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeinde und der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft. Er versteht seinen Beitrag zu Recht als Anregung für "notwendige weiterführende interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen". Dieses Kapitel ist keinesfalls wissenschaftlich aufgearbeitet. Auch aus der Sicht des Rezensenten ist das Thema so brennend aktuell, dass man ihm zum Anstoß weiterer Forschung in näherer Zukunft einen multidisziplinären Kongress widmen sollte.

Katrin Bromber, aus der Perspektive der Jubilarin eine Vertreterin der Enkelgeneration, steuert einen Beitrag zum Medienwettkampf um die Deutungshegemonie der jüngeren Geschichte Sansibars bei. Ihre Studie setzt nicht nur eine intime Kenntnis der Archiv- und Zeitungsquellen voraus, sondern – und hier schließt sich thematisch der Kreis zu den Fachinteressen der Jubilarin – erfordert vor allem exzellente Swahilikenntnisse.

Es folgen zwei Beiträge von ehemaligen, langjährigen Institutsnachbarn der Berliner Afrikanisten. Die Ägyptologin Erika Endesfelder beschreibt monographisch das Leben des Afrika-Forschers Georg Schweinfurth (1836–1925), und der Archäologe Steffen Wenig zeigt anhand von Funden aus dem Sudan, wie man

Tonscherben ethnohistorische Informationen entlocken kann.

Die nächsten vier Aufsätze entstammen dem unmittelbaren wissenschaftlichen Umfeld von Hildegard Höftmann. Sie sind von ehemaligen Mitarbeitern und Schülerinnen der Jubilarin verfasst. Flavien Gbétó aus Benin liefert in französischer Sprache eine tonologische Analyse des Maxi-Dialekts, eines östlichen Vertreters des Gbe-Dialektkontinuums, das von Benin im Osten bis nach Ghana im Westen reicht. Ines Fiedler befasst sich mit Distribution und Funktion zweier Fokus-Morpheme im Aja, eines nordzentralen Dialekts desselben Dialektkontinuums. Brigitte Reineke beschreibt die verschiedenen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten von Fokus im Waama, das zur östlichen Oti-Volta-Gruppe der Gur-Familie gehört. Anne Schwarz widmet sich in ihrem englisch verfassten Beitrag der Vokalharmonie von Affixen im Lelemi, einer Kwa-Sprache aus Ghana. Alle vier Beiträge bezeugen eindrucksvoll, wie sich die einst von Höftmann initiierten Forschungen regional und sprachwissenschaftlich fortentwickelt haben.

Die Herausgeberin der Festschrift, Catherine Griefenow-Mewis, steuert in englischer Sprache eine umfassende Synopse arabischen Lehnguts im Swahili, Somali und Oromo bei. Ob in allen Fällen Arabisch die Gebersprache war und nicht gelegentlich umgekehrt auch Empfänger eines afrikanischen Gebers wäre in einigen Fällen zumindest zu diskutieren. Zweifel sind beispielsweise bei der Bezeichnung *mauz* "Banane" angebracht (siehe die einschlägige Studie des Rezensenten in *Paideuma* 26.1980: 7–20).

Den Abschluss der Festschrift bildet eine empirische Studie "Vom richtigen Essen in Cotonou". Mittels der auf den ersten Blick banal erscheinenden Fragestellung gelingt es der Autorin, Karola Elwert-Kretschmer, die Ideenwelt einer im Umbruch befindlichen städtischen Gesellschaft mit ländlichen Wurzeln sichtbar zu machen. Der Leser lernt viel über Sitten und Bräuche, Familienstrukturen und den Konflikten, die sich zwischen Alten und Jungen bei der Konfrontation mit der sogenannten Moderne ergeben.

Abgesehen davon, dass die Beiträge uneinheitlich formatiert sind – einige nennen die Fundstellen der zitierten Werke in einer zusammenfassenden Bibliographie jeweils am Ende, andere in Fußnoten, einer sogar in Fußnoten und am Ende – stellt die Schrift insgesamt ein innovatives und würdiges Dokument der breiten Wissenschaftsinteressen Hildegard Höftmanns dar, der auch an dieser Stelle noch ein langes fruchtbares Schaffen in Gesundheit gewünscht wird.

Wilhelm J. G. Möhlig

Hahn, Hans Peter, and Georg Klute (eds.): *Cultures of Migration. African Perspectives*. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2007. 291 pp. ISBN 978-3-8258-0668-2. (Beiträge zur Afrikaforschung, 32) Price: € 29.90

This book's deceptively humble title "Cultures of Migration" belies a theoretically challenging perspective on migration studies, seeking to reorient the discipline.

The principal goal of the book is to move beyond the dominant “aetiological tendency” in studies of migration. Hahn and Klute describe this approach as placing the overriding emphasis on objectivist “push and pull” factors, reading spatial mobility as the effect of economic inequalities and political instabilities. Instead, the editors of this volume propose to consider migration from the emic perspectives of the migrants themselves as well as of the origin and receiving communities of which they form a part. In so doing they shift the emphasis of migration studies away from the study of movement between points of stability and relative normality to one in which mobility is the norm. Thus, the focus on “cultures of migration” is an effort to see movements in space as productive of culture while thinking through cultures in which mobility is a given. The authors are quick to caution us that by culture they do not mean bounded systems or fixed patterns of behavior linked to particular social groups, but rather refer to discursive negotiations or “flows.” This work, therefore, does more than “deterritorialize” culture, but rather attempts to describe what culture of mobility and the mobility of culture looks like. Thus, they ask questions like how concepts of space in cultures of migration differ from those of origin, what kinds of economies are produced by such cultures, what it means to live in a culture that has no sense of localities or boundaries, and how such cultures are affected by the borders of nations they encounter.

It is curious that while clearly well aware of central themes in migration literature, the introduction never refers to some of the key literatures from which their perspective emerges, most noticeably lacking theoretically essential contributions by Gupta and Ferguson or Appadurai, but also such ethnographically relevant research as that of MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga on “Congo-Paris.” Given the exciting possibilities of their perspective, one wishes for a more fleshed out and theoretically complete introduction, tracing the development of ideas, considering the productive possibilities of thinking of migration in this way, and indicating where it will take us that other perspectives on migration have not. Nevertheless, I applaud the efforts of this book to do away with the “aetiological tendency” and their fascinating exploration of the intersections between culture and mobility.

The most fascinating and innovative articles in the book were those dealing with the fundamentally mobile societies surrounding the Sahara, many of which became mobile due to political, environmental, and economic instabilities in the region, but whose identity and cosmologies are now firmly grounded in ceaseless movement. One of the most intriguing articles is certainly the leading article by Elisabeth Boesen, which describes the Wodaabe of Central Niger, one of the “most mobile pastoral populations in the world” (31). In the context of this society, where families literally move every few days and have dispensed with houses altogether, Boesen studies the more recent development of urban migration for trade undertaken by the elderly (a kind of retirement

practice). Interestingly, this migration from migration takes place during the less mobile and less social dry season, returning in time for the intensely mobile and social wet season. Boesen argues that within this culture of mobility there is no point of arrival, nor a conception of boundary crossing as transformation.

Kohl takes looks at the other side of the coin, at how migration patterns themselves create social identities and culture, in her fascinating look at the constructed ethnicity of the “Ishumar” (derived from *chômeur*, the French word for unemployed). This group made up of Tuareg who live in the interstitial space between Libya, Algeria, and Niger without papers or national identity, having abandoned “traditional” life and Tuareg identity in favor of a life outside of boundaries, profiting from smuggling. The product of failed urban migration, droughts, and rebellion, the Ishumar have transformed a term of scorn aimed at jobless migrants into a self-ascribed term for a modern ethnic identity symbolized by speedy Toyota trucks, male veils, and electric music. Ironically, their rejection of tradition maintains the regional migration patterns and oral traditions of the Tuareg life they left behind.

The focus on such cultures of mobility makes the reader rethink assumptions about domesticity and home. For cultures like the Wodaabe or the Ishumar, there is no place associated with residence – is it precisely when they are on the move, as Boesen seems to imply, that they are most at home, most embedded in the social?

In the second section of the book, Hahn continues to push these lines of argument further by pointing out that if home can only be defined from the perspective of the migrant, how do we determine what migration is? In his and Thorsen’s contributions, they investigate migrations from Burkina Faso to Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire in the south. Here we find fascinating cases of people who inherit the status of migrant of their parents, even though they have lived their entire lives without moving. We also find detailed investigations of the motivations underlying migrations from Burkina Faso, especially those surrounding gender and generation, as migration becomes a strategy for negotiating and overcoming these categories of containment.

The third section of the book turns to intercontinental migration, and once again the relativity of placement is explored, most fascinatingly in the case of Kabyle villages that are contentiously mapped in terms of a variety of understandings of international networks and influences, demonstrating the mobility inherent in even the most stationary of locations. Neither here nor in the second section, however, do we find a much needed understanding of how people imagine the external spaces to which they are linked – are they spaces of alterity or spaces of home? Which spaces are evaluated as superior to the village and which as inferior, according to what kinds of scales?

It is a pity that the quality of the ideas in this book are marred by poor copyediting, with numerous misspellings, garbled grammar, nonnative constructions, and occasionally entire lines of text out of place. More

seriously, the book does not consistently follow through with the questions raised in the stimulating and all too brief introduction. However, it successfully points the study of migration along the path it ought have been following for some time now: that is, this book challenges anthropology to study migration as though we had no preconceptions about the fixed relationships between culture and space, to examine people in the act of migration as forces of culture in their own right rather than betwixt and between examples of marginalia, to study the interdependence of mobility and place in the construction of culture. I hope that this book achieves the recognition it deserves and helps to shape discussions of migration, culture, and space in the future.

Sasha Newell

Hanser, Amy: *Service Encounters. Class, Gender, and the Market for Social Distinction in Urban China.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008. 235 pp. ISBN 978-0-8047-5837-6. Price: \$ 21.95

Over the past twenty years or so, China has experienced rapid economic development and a dramatic transformation of the urban landscape from the austere Maoist era. The reform policies of the post-socialist decades have brought about the gradual dismantling of the planned economy and its substitution by market mechanisms. This shift from a state socialist system to one that is increasingly market-oriented has produced greater wealth as well as greater inequality. Inequalities existed in Mao's China as well, but they have become much more obvious, especially the rural-urban divide. It is above all in urban China that the economic and social transformations are reshaping social relations. That is to say, the social changes are encouraging social stratification and stratified consumption patterns.

Against the background of the larger systems of inequality, Amy Hanser perceives the emergence of what she calls a new "structure of entitlement" and the social distinctions upon which it is built. These developments and the concomitant "search for distinction" are particularly evident in urban China's expanding service sector. Or as the author argues in her sound and detailed ethnographic account, service settings are key spaces "for the reproduction of structures of inequality through the recognition of class entitlements" (10). In other words, they are places where customers seek distinction and where that distinction is recognized by the service personnel. "The core argument of this book is that relations among these disparate groups are understood and enacted through a framework of cultural distinctions that interpret – and legitimate – inequality as difference" (3). Hanser explores China's emerging structure of entitlement in retail settings where people from different social groupings encounter one another.

The study under review focuses on three distinct types of retail outlets in the northeastern city of Harbin. One such establishment is a modern high-end private department store – referred to as Sunshine Department Store in the book – that offers luxury goods to the city's

newly rich. The second setting is a large state-owned department store, dubbed by Hanser "Harbin No. X." It was one of the city's premier retail establishments prior to the introduction of market reforms and is still a major shopping destination for working-class shoppers. Finally, what the author calls "The Underground," is a crowded, low-end clothing bazaar where *getihu* (small, independent hawkers and merchants) sell inexpensive goods to people from a range of social backgrounds. Thus, as the author observes, "Chinese urbanites are divided both by what they can buy and also by how they buy" (51). It is particularly noteworthy that Hanser worked as a salesclerk in all three retail settings while undertaking her field research between March 2001 and September 2002.

It was at the highly regimented Sunshine Department Store that retail workers were made especially aware of the entitlement to luxury service. The store was representative of the highly attentive, deferential service that is characteristic of the elite consumer spaces in urban China. Moreover, as Hanser points out, this kind of "distinction work" involved class-coded femininity. Here an obedient army of young women in attractive uniforms served the newly rich and upwardly mobile class. "Store disciplinary routines aimed to control workers' bodies through a norm of youthful femininity that was expressed in rules and regulations focused on appearance, posture, physical deportment, and demeanor" (98). According to the author, the Sunshine managers were successfully using a seductive image of youthful femininity to encourage their workers. After all, the comfortable, clean work environment and smart uniforms set these elite salesclerks – while they were able to enjoy the "rice bowl of youth" (97) – apart from women in less luxurious service occupations, not to mention ordinary urban factory workers.

In stark contrast, the state-owned "Harbin No. X Department Store" did not yet contribute in significant ways to the creation of a differentiated structure of entitlements and the production of a culture of inequality among urban consumers at the time of Hanser's research. As a relic of the socialist past and on account of its continued links to the local state, the store retained many important institutional orientations rooted in China's prereform, planned economy era. Consequently, its management did not organize service work to produce social distinctions. As Hanser has convincingly demonstrated, the continuing socialist work culture critical of inequality between workers and managers provided room for worker autonomy as well as reciprocity in worker-customer interactions on the sales floor. "Most strikingly, workers maintained a sales floor culture that frequently invoked socialist values and included an explicit, almost Marxist, critique of inequality in the workplace and of managerial authority over workers" (63). The general economic and enterprise reforms notwithstanding, the store with its appeal to a common working-class past remained an open, essentially democratic space. However, it should be noted that, despite the store's populist and proletarian feel, the