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them to participate in what they conceive of as a progressive, modern way of life without losing their Hui identity.

The second level of consumption the author analyzes is how Hui people actively consume the dominant discourse of modernization and civilization in a way unintended by the state. Rather than rejecting state-initiated categories such as "Hui ethnic minority," "Hui tradition," "modernization," and "civilized society," they adopt such language but endow them with different meanings with reference to an Arabized Islamic cultural paradigm in order to use them to serve their own ends. In so doing, they are able to subvert the official evolutionary model of racial hierarchy that designates them as inferior to Han Chinese while asserting their moral purity and superiority.

Several questions remain to be addressed more fully. Why do urban Muslim Chinese today so aspire for the general blueprint of modernization even though they manage to manipulate its specific content and trajectory? What important differences exist among them in terms of generational, educational, economic, and gender backgrounds? To what extent are their counterhegemonic voices heard by the larger urban Chinese society? How can we link the study of consumption to that of production more effectively without privileging one or the other?

The rich ethnography presented in the book can easily speak to some central analytical issues pertinent to the field of anthropology at large. For example, throughout the book the author focuses on "modernization" and uses it as a key analytical category, but many of Hui's social and cultural struggles examined are not just about modernization, which tends to be related to relatively rigid economic and technological changes in the existing literature. Instead, what is fascinating in the author's account is the highly fluid, contested, and socially constructed meanings and understandings of what "the modern" or living a modern way of life is about for different people. In recent years, there has been a heated debate on the question of modernity and there has emerged a large body of literature on multiple or alternative modernities. This study would be more powerful if it engaged in this debate more fully. Nevertheless, as a whole this is a highly readable book with refreshing ethnographic materials on contemporary urban Chinese society. It should appeal to not only China scholars but also those interested in ethnicity, consumption, and social change brought by late socialism and globalization.

The Bakairí Indians of Brazil: Politics, Ecology, and Change, by Debra Picchi. Prospects Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press (2000), xx, 217 pp.

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Debra Picchi wrote this highly readable ethnography with an undergraduate audience in mind. However, it is also well suited for beginning graduate students and anyone interested in an introduction to political ecology or contemporary Amazonian Indians. The work is based on several field trips among a small group of Brazilian Indians, the Bakairí of the state of Mato Grosso. It is divided into eight chapters that cover a wide range of topics, among them, entry into the field and relations with field hosts, the evolving history of the group, mortality and fertility, subsistence strategies, ritual, leadership, and ethnicity. In addition, it includes an appendix—intended as a study guide—with key concepts and terms, discussion questions, and suggested readings for every chapter. Commentary on the suggested readings, some of general interest and others more theoretical, is also included.

Weaving together ecological analysis and political economy, Picchi situates her work within the theoretical framework of political ecology. She considers demographic data, observations about how the Bakairí and their neighbors have used their environment over time, and the impact of the Brazilian State on the land and its inhabitants. Moreover, she combines quantitative and qualitative methods in order to establish how micro and macro level decisions have affected the Bakairí. Readers will find the equations and various tables throughout the text particularly useful since they shed light on basic calculations employed by demographers and ecological anthropologists. To her credit, variables are clearly defined and the weaknesses of various techniques are taken into account (e.g., problems coding activities for time allocation studies) (p. 102). This book, then, is not your typical descriptive ethnography for it combines topics associated with a field account, a research methods guide, and a holistic ethnography. Picchi is able to integrate these topics and produce a coherent text that never loses sight of its main subject, the Bakairí.

In Chapter 1 Picchi focuses primarily on fieldwork and provides a useful checklist for fieldwork preparations which instructors and students can expand or modify. Her discussion on the use of qualitative research to produce verifiable accounts will help some readers move beyond the simplistic pro-science and anti-humanism polarity.

This chapter also contains a brief discussion on postmodernism, a perspective that Picchi believes has forced

many fieldworkers to examine how they represent and interact with their informants (the “others”). While the impact of postmodernism in current anthropology cannot be denied, I believe critical readers will raise some caveats. A few would no doubt argue that anthropologists had been rethinking their relations with informants before postmodernism gained prominence in anthropology, because, as former colonies gained independence, and various nationalistic and pro-human right movements emerged at home and abroad, business could not be conducted “as usual.” In addition, the expansion of global capitalism and the communications revolution allowed some informants to read and see—and thus comment on and react to—the ethnographic products of anthropologists (e.g., texts, musical recordings, and films). Thus, it may be good for us to consider Donhan’s (2000:182-184) recent comment, namely, that postmodernism may not be the cause of changes in recent anthropological practices; postmodernism itself may be the result of the global political economy and a market-driven mentality that has impacted academic life.

A historical overview of the Bakairí and their territory is presented in Chapter 2. Picchi opens this discussion with a popular warning: indigenous peoples are not and should not be treated as primitive isolates. Napoleon Chagnon’s early work on warfare among the Yanomamö is presented as an example of ahistorical analysis. Picchi contrasts it with the historical approach to warfare espoused by Ferguson and Whitehead (1992), and Chagnon’s (1992) later work. While not denying the merits of Ferguson’s and Whitehead’s historical analysis, I believe readers need to be aware of the fact that some scholars question their interpretations. Why? Some critics argue that these authors give too much weight to the impact of contact with non-indigenous outsiders and downplay the power of native symbols and worldviews and the social dynamics they can set in motion (e.g., C. Fausto 1999:933-934). In truth, discussions about the extent to which Yanomamö warfare pre-dates or post-dates European contact (and how it has changed over time) will remain on shaky ground until more archaeological work is done in the Upper Orinoco and we can better ascertain the nature (and causes) of population movements and displacements in that area.

I also take issue with Picchi’s account of the peopling of the New World for it fails to consider significant recent findings (e.g., the work of Tom Dillehay and his colleagues in Monte Verde, Chile). She presents the traditional model, which dates the peopling of the Americas to about 12,000 years ago and gives emphasis to the Bering Land Bridge (p. 29). All the current fascinating debates about multiple points of entry into the Americas, the strong likelihood of a much earlier date of entry, and the possibility of entry by different groups of people (not just Asians), are never addressed. In contrast, her brief discussion of pre-contact Amazonian environments and cultural complexity is current. She also does a good job at condensing the events that lead to Bakairí demographic decreases and displacements during the colonial and postcolonial periods (e.g., gold mining, cattle ranching, and attacks by neighboring groups such as the Kayabí). At one point the Bakairí split, and depending on their location, assimilated various cultural traits from their neighbors. Western Bakairí were promptly incorporated into the cattle ranching economy of that area and rapidly learned the national language, Portuguese. Eastern Bakairí, on the other hand, were influenced by the tribes of the Xingu area. By the 1930s the Indian Protective Service (SPI) tried to organize them into one large settlement near the Indian post. A decade later, their population had declined significantly. Two decades later, as more Brazilians encroached on their area, the Bakairí were suffering numerous social problems such as alcoholism. Picchi’s account of the efforts made by the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), which replaced the SPI, to halt the Bakairí’s social disintegration is fair and nuanced. From her discussion of the impact of two FUNAI agents, we learn that when assessing the work of agencies like FUNAI it is imperative to consider the visions of key employees and the internal discrepancies that often emerge because of diverging views. Even when an agent has the best of intentions in mind, his efforts may backfire because they are neither welcomed nor understood by the Indians.

Basic concepts for the study of fertility, mortality, and households are presented in Chapter 3, the most relevant chapter for those interested in anthropological demography. Without the use of confusing jargon, Picchi defines her variables and explains how to calculate them (e.g., age-specific fertility rate). The importance of these calculations and the data presented in the tables will be clear to any student since Picchi ties them to her description of Bakairí sexuality, menstruation seclusion, post-partum sex taboos, causes of death, and changes in house construction.

Changes in Bakairí subsistence practices and the ecology of their reservation, which is mostly cerrado, are highlighted in Chapter 4. Under FUNAI’s guidance mechanized agriculture (mainly for growing rice) was introduced in the 1980s. Thus, today the Bakairí use hybrid technologies to grow crops and they engage in both horticulture and agriculture. But in contrast to horticulture, few actually practice agriculture and those few are men. Furthermore, agriculture is basically done in the cerrado, an area previously devoted to cattle grazing and hunting. Needless to say, the introduction of agricultural production was not smooth; it led to tensions within the reservation and to the fissioning of Pakuera village between 1983-85.

Hunting and fishing also take place within the reservation; so does cattle ranching. After FUNAI transferred

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control over the herds to the Bakairí, some individuals—recognizing private ownership of resources—built private herds of cattle. This privatization, in turn, has amplified tensions within households and between villages. Here Picchi raises an important question about culture change; that is, why did not customary rules of ownership and redistribution prevent this? She hypothesizes that customary rules will only manage resources that historically have been central to the Indians' way of life. It would be worthwhile to explore whether a new cognitive schema is created to deal with these new resources.

Chapter 5 is devoted to gender, marriage, and kinship. Polygyny is no longer practiced because outsiders chastised them for this. They, as other Cariban Indians, still have a functioning bifurcate-merging (Iroquois) system of kinship terminology; prefer local endogamous marriages, with some Bakairí marrying their cross-cousins; perform bride service, though not rigorously; and practice matrilocal post-marital residence. But in contrast to most other contemporary Cariban Indians, the Bakairí symbolically elaborate separation between the sexes and have a men's house from which women are excluded. Likewise, ear-piercing ceremonies for boys lead to the existence of lax ritual age-sets. From what we know from contemporary Cariban ethnography, the existence of sodalities or associations such as age-sets is not a typical Cariban trait. Picchi, however, does not delve into the Bakairí's Cariban ancestry and how they diverge from other groups in this cultural-linguistic family. It is not until page 172 that we get to read that they speak a Cariban language. This may disappoint Cariban specialists.

In Chapter 6 the symbolism and social functions of Bakairí mask dancing are discussed, for in spite of all the changes, they still perform these dances. The masks, which mostly represent fish, are strongly associated with native subsistence activities. Men use and store the masks, but women are considered their real owners. Yet, women cannot enter the men's house to see the masks or attend some of the rituals in which they are used; to ensure compliance, men invoke the threat of rape. Hence, the dances also highlight sexual complementarity and segregation. But that is not all. The dances can be seen as social dramas in which two personality types and age groups (old versus young) are contrasted and given expression: the dignified and mature/serene individual (associated with Yakwigado masks) and the playful joker/trickster (Kwamba masks). The masks, in addition, are employed in the maintenance of social order and group identity. Mask wearers, for instance, will comment on contemporary village affairs and criticize "bad" behaviors (e.g., sexual intercourse with Brazilians and stinginess). Mask dancing seems to be the "key" ritual activity which articulates the essence of Bakairí culture. Perhaps this, and the fact that they will incorporate some novel features (like serving peanut butter on manioc bread during these feasts), is why it survived even though it was stopped during the 1950s. Yet, I must confess that I still feel that I need to know more about how this custom managed to survive since there are numerous examples of "ritual loss" among larger groups than the Bakairí, who today number a little over 500 individuals.

Leadership and how it has been impacted by demographic and technological changes is the subject of Chapter 7. Today it is not enough for a man to inherit the headman role from his father. Today leaders must work in two different, yet connected, spheres: the village and the nation-state. They must be able to deal with government bureaucrats, the media, banks, medical personnel, environmentalists, and much more. Although some leaders have taken advantage of their greater access to wealth and persons of influence, Picchi warns us that leadership is also fraught with difficulties as followers are making increasing demands and often resent the new ways of their leaders (e.g., their travels). From this chapter, we are led to an examination of the Bakairí as both Indians and a Brazilian ethnic minority (Chapter 8). She begins by describing some of the changes she observed during her 1999 trip to the Bakairí reservation, twenty years after her initial visit. She learned that in the late 1990s more than twenty Bakairí men had traveled to Europe in a trip sponsored by UNESCO. Others, including some women, had participated in international indigenous conferences. In other words, she encountered more cosmopolitan informants who made very explicit for her the impact of globalization. Yet, the strength of this last chapter is Picchi's comparison of "peasants à la Eric Wolf," small farmers, and the Bakairí as Indians. Which category best describes her subjects? We learn that the Bakairí's hybrid subsistence strategies make them share attributes with all 3 categories. For instance, the Bakairí—like peasants—still consume most of what they harvest. But unlike peasants and small farmers, they do not claim private ownership over the land they farm; nor do they employ fertilizers or pesticides in their horticultural plots. Her very lucid discussion, which owes much to Michael Kearney's "Reconceptualizing the Peasantry," will make readers re-evaluate the peasant concept and the strict division that is often made (particularly in introductory textbooks) between horticulture and agriculture.

Picchi also cautions us to be careful with the terms "Indian" and "indigenous peoples" since she feels that they do not adequately depict the Bakairí and other native peoples who have undergone extensive change (e.g., the Tukano and Kikrin Kayapó). Change has been profound, to the point that the so-called "typical" institutions of these groups (often employed to define them as Indians) are functioning in new and unforeseen ways (e.g., native leadership). Yet today the Bakairí, who have become increasingly politicized, are consciously working to produce an indigenous rather than a Brazilian identity.

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To conclude, let me emphasize that Picchi's book reminds us of the value of long-term fieldwork and theoretically informed ethnographies. Though I have highlighted some minor limitations in the text, I still consider it very rich and useful as it will introduce its readers to key debates in contemporary anthropology.

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Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India, 1600-1850 by Mark Harrison, New Delhi: Oxford University Press (1999), xiv, 263 pp.

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Well into the nineteenth century, colonial physicians speculated on the impact of changed circumstances on European bodily constitutions. Would re-location to an environment so different from the race's proper place cause degeneration in type? What was the most healthy way of living – the most sustaining diet, clothing and work pattern – for European emissaries in trying tropical conditions? Drawing principally on European medical texts and government archives, Mark Harrison explains how colonial physicians understood the relations of race and environment in India, and the means by which they hoped to ensure British acclimatization, or seasoning. He follows the story to the middle of the nineteenth century, the point at which his earlier book, *Public Health in British India*, takes over. One of the leading historians of colonial medicine in India, Harrison has given us a clear, well-written account of European theories of race, environment and disease in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the most extensive study of colonial "constitutional medicine" yet undertaken.

Initially, the Indian climate did not seem especially perilous. Guarded optimism about the British capacity to adjust – without in the process losing British distinctiveness in physique and character – seemed to prevail until the early nineteenth century. To a surprising degree, physicians enjoined displaced Britons to take up many of the customs and habits of the already adjusted local inhabitants, to follow their style of diet and clothing. Medical advisers also tended to disaggregate geographical conditions, to describe variations in the salubrity of India, and to suggest that white sojourners stick to the safer, more benign, locales. But in the 1830s, fears of European degeneration in a generally depleting foreign climate began to dominate. Certainly, some parts of India, especially the hills, still seemed more supportive of the European bodily constitution than others, but on the whole the outcome looked grim for anyone long resident on the sub-continent. Indianization was still expected, but now it was to be dreaded, not welcomed. Rather than exemplars, Indians increasingly were represented as object lessons, degenerate, diseased, and disease-dealing. Opposition came to replace analogy. Acclimatization, if it were possible, would imply