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**Thomas Headland and Doris Blood (eds.),
What Place for Hunter-Gatherers in
Millennium Three?**

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of his work is his description of how Dagupan Chinese merchants settle their differences with one another. Sometimes they bring their conflicts to the local Chinese Chamber of Commerce and, for bigger cases, to the Manila-based Federation of Filipino-Chinese Chamber of Commerce. But how much they have recourse to the local and national Philippine judicial and legal system to redress their grievances is not so clear. If anything, the representatives of the state—policemen, tax collectors, inspectors, officials—are depicted here as people who take advantage of these merchants.

And what about the Chinese female merchants? Do they have access to the predominantly male Chinese Chamber of Commerce? If there is one thing that I wish the author had done more it is to provide his analysis of Dagupan's interethnic and intraethnic relations. Nevertheless, in publishing his research, Dannhaeuser has provided other scholars with plenty of material to think about and investigate further.

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Thomas Headland and Doris Blood (eds.). **What Place for Hunter-Gatherers in Millennium Three?** Dallas, Texas: SIL International and International Museum of Cultures, 2002. 129 pages.

The phenomenon of culture change has long been a concern of anthropologists; and, rightly so, since the discipline was founded on events in world history that forced the confrontation of "the West" and "the rest." Colonization led to the encounter between cultures that were eventually arranged in a hierarchical social order. From then on, the lives of those at the bottom of the hierarchy were never the same and were characterized by two kinds of struggle—the struggle to conform and the struggle to resist.

Today's hunters and gatherers continue to face such struggles, as described in *What Place for Hunter-Gatherers in Millennium Three?* edited by Thomas Headland and Doris Blood. The various contributors (almost all of whom are anthropologists) examine the problems confronting contemporary hunter-gatherers in Africa and Asia, such as severe social divisions, environmental degradation, and land grabbing. Robert Hitchcock shows how San community organizations address discrimination from mainstream society, which has brought an increase in unemployment and underemployment among the San, lack of health services, the violation of their basic human rights (including the rights to land ownership and land use), lack of education, relocation, and non-consultation in community development programs. Robert Bailey focuses on Efe foragers of the Ituri forest, who suffer from malnutrition (because of the spread of STDs and disruptions in the planting cycle) and land grabbing. Ben Wallace, Thomas Headland, P. Bion Griffin, and S. H. Sohmer all look at the Agta situation in the Philippines, where environmental degradation, human rights violations, and inefficient development projects seem to be the order of the day.

Both despair and hope run through the pages of the book. Oppression and exploitation for the sake of agricultural and industrial expansion are indeed part of the history of hunters and gatherers around the world and continue to be a part of their everyday life. However, as the various chapters show, support from various sectors (the government, nongovernmental organizations, and the academe) has come to the aid of hunter-gatherers to reclaim their land, livelihood, and selfhood. Furthermore, as Hitchcock and Wallace report, community participation has also been encouraged among hunter-gatherer communities such as the San and the Apayao-Itneg slash-and-burn farmers. Indeed, various processes of culture change are happening, both "forced" and "planned," both requiring shifts not only in cultural practices but also in worldviews.

The volume is informative with regard to the practical issues that besiege hunter-gatherer populations in Africa and the Philippines. However, what these issues imply about paradigms of development and their applications should be further interrogated. For instance, to what

degree are hunter-gatherers involved in processes of planned change? More importantly, what kind of social relations are forged within the community and between the community and the change agents? The volume describes community development "from within" (e.g., the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation, the Kuru Developmental Trust, /Xai/Xai Tlhabololo Trust, and the First People of the Kalahari among the San, as reported by Hitchcock) and from outside (intervention from "experts" [e.g. Good Roots Project] and state institutions [the Indigenous People's Rights Act in the Philippines and the Okopi National Wildlife Refuge in the Ituri Forest]). A cultural analysis could provide a more nuanced understanding of the initiatives of planned change as they are implemented and practiced (or resisted) by communities. This can be accomplished by looking at the various actors and players involved in the process, including the hunter-gatherers. After all, laws are implemented by individuals from inside and from outside the community, who may strive for similar objectives, but whose strategies may not always meet each other's expectations. These disjunctions, however, are not just products of "resistance" or the clash between imposed and local cultural logics. They are a part of a negotiated reality of individuals and groups engaged in a dynamic encounter and trying to make sense of the world they live in. In other words, development initiatives among hunter-gatherer groups must be examined in terms of the social relations (within and between communities and development agencies) that arise in response to the shifts in the natural and social environment.

In their book *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (University of Chicago Press), George Marcus and Michael Fischer (1986, 1) write,

20th century social and cultural anthropology has promised its still largely Western readership enlightenment on two fronts. The one has been the salvaging of distinct cultural forms of life from a process of apparent global Westernization. . . . The other promise of anthropology, one less fully distinguished and attended to than the first, has been to serve as a form of cultural critique for ourselves. In using portraits of other cultural patterns to reflect self-critically on our own ways, anthropology disrupts common sense and makes us reexamine our taken-for-granted assumptions.

This statement is a call for more reflexivity in anthropological practice. However, this call is even stronger for those working in the applied fields—for instance, who determines the path to development? The current volume paints a picture of a changing world that currently threatens the culture and the lives of hunter-gatherers. However, finding an appropriate response to this threat is not easy. What place for hunter-gatherers in millennium three? The Agta looking over the cityscape in the cover of the volume may have the answer.

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