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Navajo way so that they can fulfill their destinies as well-informed and educated members of the Navajo community, or whether the objective of the school is to preserve and nurture the Navajo way while preparing children to meet the demands of a foreign school system driven by non-Natives obsessed with scoring high on tests and meeting the demands of local, state, and federal standards—all set by non-Natives. This tension is not new for the Rough Rock school, and it is one that has been met with a variety of responses. Although difficult, Rough Rock has attempted to teach the Navajo way and provide students with sufficient skills to score well on standardized exams. By making this effort, many problems have emerged but so has a unique institution that emphasizes the Navajo way while dealing with the challenges of the twenty-first century. The issue has not been resolved and never will, because the core issue is the tension inherent in dealing with things in the Navajo way—seeking harmony and balance but addressing tension and adversity associated with life among the earth surface people.

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**Racial Revolutions: Antiracism and Indian Resurgence in Brazil.** By Jonathan W. Warren. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001. 363 pages. \$64.95 cloth; \$21.95 paper.

Hundreds of books and articles discuss Afro-Brazilians' place in Brazil's racial classification system, but few if any deal with indigenous people. The usual explanation is that Brazil's indigenous population is so small—350,000, less than one percent of the nation's population of 170 million—that they do not figure prominently in the construction of racial categories. Social scientists agree that more than half of Brazil's racially mixed population has some African ancestry, and so examination and analysis of the racial classification system focuses on it. In addition, until recently, most Brazilians (and many others) believed that Indians were disappearing and soon would be extinct in Brazil. Thus, indigenous identity became a residual category for most analysts of Brazilian culture. But in the past decade, according to Brazil's latest census, the country's indigenous population (that is, the number of people who identify themselves as Indians) has doubled, to 700,000. About half live in cities and towns or in rural areas outside indigenous reserves. They are becoming known in Brazil as "resurgent Indians": people who formerly did not call themselves indigenous but who have reclaimed an indigenous identity not necessarily associated with a particular group or tribe. Why? Anthropologist Marta Azevedo, of the Instituto Socioambiental in São Paulo, explained in a recent interview: "The decade of the nineties was very good for the Indians. At the Constitutional Convention [1987–88] and the Earth Summit [1992], they appeared in the media in a positive light. As the environmental issue grew in prominence, they emerged as defenders of the environment. In addition, the Federal University of Minas Gerais did a DNA study in 1997 that

showed 45 million Brazilians have indigenous ancestry. These things reinforced ethnic identity and made people increasingly proud of being descended from indigenous people.” This explanation provides only a small part of the reason for the increase in the visibility and numbers of Indians in Brazil. Jonathan Warren’s important book goes much further and in the process opens up new areas for research and debate.

Warren focuses on indigenous groups in the northeastern and eastern regions of Brazil—the first to come into contact with Europeans and to suffer the dire consequences of genocide, slavery, and poverty. He did field research in the 1990s with several groups, including the Pataxó Hã-Hã-Hãe, the Xacriabá, the Krenak, and the Pankararu, who live in shrinking reserves or outside demarcated areas. Many of these groups have lost their traditional language, beliefs, rituals, and practices and seem indistinguishable from their peasant neighbors. They are often called *caboclos* (“civilized Brazilian Indians of pure blood,” but by extension, hicks). In the past few years, however, they have reassumed their indigenous identity. They may use the name of their group as their surname, marry others who identify themselves as Indians, and decorate their children and themselves with feather headdresses and bead necklaces. In addition, with the support of non-governmental organizations and anthropologists, they have begun to press claims to traditional lands. Some of the groups have set up bilingual schools with indigenous teachers. They send representatives to regional meetings sponsored by CIMI, the Catholic Church’s indigenous ministry, where they meet other “resurgent” Indians and plan common strategies to advance their interests.

Warren covers this ground and much more. As the book’s title indicates, he aims to put indigenous political and social movements in the context of Brazilian racial classification. But he provides little ethnographic detail about the groups he lived with and studied. Mainly he bases his conclusions on a “non-probability sample” of fifty Indians and seventy-two non-Indians who answered thirty-four questions about their racial beliefs and related practices. Also included in the book are numerous photographs of Indians in their villages working, playing and going about their daily activities. These cannot substitute, however, for a chapter describing how resurgent Indians actually live. This missing chapter is the book’s most serious lacuna. Nevertheless, Warren provides much fascinating information and interpretation. He spends some time countering simplistic explanations for resurgent Indians’ recapture of their traditional identity. He debunks what he calls the “racial huckster thesis,” which says that poor Brazilians of mixed ancestry identify themselves as indigenous so they can receive benefits, such as health care and land rights, that the federal government is constitutionally mandated to provide to Indians. Warren correctly points out that the Brazilian government consistently fails to provide such social benefits, either to Indians or to the impoverished majority of the Brazilian population. Reasons for taking on an identity, especially one that has long been stigmatized, are far more complex, he points out.

Warren details the long, tragic history of Brazilian genocide and ethnocide, a process he calls “Indian exorcism.” As in the United States, Canada,

and Australia, Brazilian authorities sought to extirpate indigenous culture through assimilation policies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Since 1967, when the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) was created, much of that policy has changed on paper. But indigenous groups still struggle to reap the benefits of newly defined rights, with the assistance of non-governmental organizations, anthropologists, and other allies. Warren's account of the "accompaniment" work of CIMI and the important role of sympathetic anthropologists is useful in putting the Indians' hard-won gains in a broader political and sociological context. Without such outside help, he points out, many indigenous groups "might not have come to identify and mobilize as Indians" (p. 158). In particular, CIMI "has almost singlehandedly financed and coordinated the creation of pan-Indian organizations" (p. 147).

Deconstructing Brazil's racial classification system vis-à-vis indigenous identity is Warren's biggest task and perhaps his greatest contribution to future discussion and debate. To define "Indianness," he contrasts the *lei do branco* and the *lei do índio* as distinctive ways of looking at the world. He cites schoolbooks' depictions of Indians, common stereotypes, his interview responses, and other data in attempting to place Indians in the system. But because that ethnographic chapter is missing, there is a certain vagueness about what "Indianness" actually consists of in eastern Brazil. Warren uses Fredrik Barth's pioneer work *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) to support his claim that "the 'cultural stuff' is no longer what anthropologists believe 'makes' an ethnic group. Ethnic identities and communities—including Indianness—are no longer understood to be grounded in prefigured, objective cultural distinctions" (p. 217). Yes and no. Indigenous people do their own anthropology by distinguishing themselves not only from "whites," but from members of other indigenous groups. Xucuru do not call themselves Pataxó or Pankararu. These distinctions are rooted in everyday realities and experiences—that is, in culture as it is lived—as well as in the way Indians present themselves to the outside world.

Warren acknowledges that one group, the Maxakali, is known as the most traditional of the region's Indians. They still speak their traditional language and preserve traditional religious beliefs, ceremonies, dances, hunting practices, myths, and medicinal lore. They have become a model for the "post-traditional" Indians of other groups who visit and gain inspiration from them. The Maxakali are guardians of sacred knowledge for these other groups. More ethnographic detail about the Maxakali would have been useful. But Warren seems more interested in beliefs and attitudes than in practices or the texture of everyday life. He cites his non-Indian interviews as proof that Afro-Brazilians are on "a retarded level of racial literacy" and "do not even perceive racism" because his dark-skinned informants repeated the national "racial democracy" myth to him. The reason for this kind of response might have something to do with informants' eagerness to tell the interviewer what they thought he wanted to hear. People often talk differently to members of their own social group than they do to outsiders they identify as members of a powerful and privileged elite. The only way to discover this is through participant observation.

For the anthropological fieldworker, it is necessary to observe the contradictions between what people say (especially to the fieldworker) and how they act toward others. Survey results without ethnographic data to back them up are of very limited usefulness. Warren should not have relied on his limited sample as the basis to make such sweeping generalizations about Afro-Brazilians as, "Even blacks and pardos ... overwhelmingly concentrated in the poorer sectors of the economy, rarely appreciate how their capacity to get a job and put food on the table are intimately entwined with racism. ... they fail to grasp how white supremacy underpins their economic and social marginalization" (p. 270). My own experience as a longtime researcher in Brazil is different from Warren's and does not support his conclusion.

Warren seems to be twisting his findings to support the claim that "Indian conceptions of race differ from those of most other Brazilians" (p. 274). In his view, Indian conceptions are closer to what he defines as the truth. Obviously, his sympathy and admiration for his subjects affect his interpretation. But then, any researcher who denies that his or her subjectivities affect the outcome of research is denying the truth of the Heisenberg principle and the necessary limitations of human understanding. As long as readers keep this in mind, they should find *Racial Revolutions* a very informative, challenging, and stimulating book.

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**Rebirth of the Blackfeet Nation, 1912–1954.** By Paul C. Rosier. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001. 346 pages. \$65.00 cloth.

In March 1934, eighteen Blackfeet delegates were in Rapid City, South Dakota, to hear John Collier explain and defend his vision for a revamped Indian administration. Why were the Blackfeet delegates exceptionally receptive to Collier's proposed new deal for Indians, and why, only months later, did the community accept the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) when so many Indian communities balked at it? What effect did the IRA have on the community over the subsequent years? To answer questions like these, Paul Rosier has bridged the gap between tribal history and Indian policy history. On one hand, Rosier's study of the Indian New Deal is specific to the Blackfeet: the Blackfeet accepted the Indian New Deal because they believed it suited their own aims and aspirations, and, although its implementation on the Blackfeet Reservation was hardly painless, the IRA and its associated policies were a qualified success there. On the other hand, this study offers valuable new insight, not only into the history of the Blackfeet nation, but also into the Indian New Deal, and the challenges Indian communities faced in the early twentieth century. This book rightfully deserves a prominent place in the Indian New Deal canon.

Graham Taylor's *The New Deal* (1980) is arguably the best general study of the Indian New Deal, and Thomas Biolsi's *Organizing the Lakota* (1992) and