

关注生态人类学，重视文化适应研究

LEARNING FROM ECOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND ACCULTURATION STUDIES



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生态人类学的起源与内涵

对人类与自然环境之间关系的感知和研究是一个古老的话题，而新大陆的发现无疑极大地刺激和扩展了这一话题的空间与内涵。随着早期殖民国家不断向新旧大陆入侵，不同地域的不同文化逐渐被发现并认知，调查研究人种和族群及其文化差异的人种学、地理学、民族学、人类学等学科应运而生，并先后出现了法国思想家孟德斯鸠和德国地理学家弗里德里希·拉采尔等的“地理环境决定论”，以及美国人类学家弗朗兹·博厄斯和阿尔弗雷德·L·克鲁伯等的“环境可能论”等。但是，由于这些理论不具有普适性——难以全面、正确地解释人类及其文化与自然环境的关系，所以除了针对学术史价值的探讨外，已无运用的机会和空间。

美国人类学家朱利安·斯图尔德于20世纪50年代开创了“文化多线进化理论”，这一理论吸取了生态学中“适应”的概念，并将其运用于文化与环境关系的探讨之中，进而形成了一门新的学科——文化生态学。文化生态学的“文化适应论”虽然依旧存在缺陷，但已经能够较为清晰地解释所有族群与其生存环境之间的关系。然而，文化生态学实质上是把“文化适应”这一生态学概念引入到人类学的分析当中，其仍然侧重于“文化”。20世纪60年代，一些学者进一步将生态学中的“生态系统”理论作为分析研究工具，形成了较之文化生态学更具生态学意义、理论方法更为新颖的生态人类学。这一学科于20世纪70年代之后盛行开来。

生态人类学主要关注以下三个层面。首先是技术层面。技术层面的文化适应源于

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摘要

从人种学、地理学、民族学、人类学，到文化生态学，再到生态人类学，这些关注人与自然关系的学科随时代更迭而逐渐发展和演变。以“生态系统”理论为分析研究工具、“文化适应”概念为核心的生态人类学长期以来聚焦于封闭地域的地方性知识，并整理出了一系列文化适应的传统知识和智慧。在高速发展的时代背景下，无论是作为生态人类学研究成果的地方性知识，还是该学科自身的研究方法都面临着挑战。在访谈中，受访人尹绍亭为我们厘清了生态人类学的起源与内涵，并强调在新时代背景下，我们应深入发掘各民族传统适应方式的精华，努力传承地方性知识和智慧，同时，其也对生态人类学的发展方向给予了建议。

关键词

生态人类学；文化适应；地方性知识；环境；传统

ABSTRACT

Disciplines from Ethnography, Geography, Ethnology, and Anthropology to Cultural Ecology and Ecological Anthropology have studied the development of human-nature relationships. Ecological Anthropology, which takes ecosystem theories as the analysis tools and acculturation as the core concept, has concentrated on the local knowledge of enclosed territories and the traditional knowledge and wisdom of acculturation. In an era of rapid-development, the local knowledge brought to light by Ecological Anthropology, and the discipline itself, are faced with challenges. The interviewee, Shaoting Yin, clarified the origins and scope of Ecological Anthropology and emphasized the efforts that should be made to understand how accrued local knowledge can be passed down. He also suggested how Ecological Anthropology can continue to develop and change.

KEY WORDS

Ecological Anthropology; Acculturation; Local Knowledge; Environment; Tradition

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1. 独龙族的刀耕火种。他们在地里栽种速生树种，既可缩短轮歇周期，又能有效保持土壤肥力。
1. The slash-and-burn cultivation of the Derung. They plant fast-growing species to shorten the crop-rotation period and to maintain soil fertility.



基本的生存需求，其核心是食物等物质资料的生产和获取。其二是制度层面，体现于社会组织监管、法律法规、伦理道德等社群文化中，具有管理和保护物质生产资料及协调社会关系的功能，是社会生产有序进行的保障。三是精神层面。精神文化包括宗教信仰、文学艺术等，除满足人类精神的寄托和追求外，它们在社会调适、人地和谐等方面的作用亦不可低估，因此具有文化适应的重要内涵。以傣族为例，纵观其资源利用、生产生活、生态环境保护等方面，均能明显感受到南传上座部佛教对其思想行为的深刻影响。基诺族等的万物有灵观念也同样如此。将宗教和信仰放在人与自然关系的层面上进行研究，是生态人类学有别于社会学、宗教学等相关学科的地方。

文化适应与地方性知识

由于早期生态人类学大多聚焦于相对封闭的地域，所以相关研究成果多与少数民族息息相关。我和我的团队亦通过对西南少数民族的研究，整理出了一系列关于文化适应的传统知识和智慧。但在现代化进程极速推进的当下，对于经济效益的需求与日俱增，开发建设的步伐早已延伸至那些曾经看似偏远的村落，很多民族的传统也正遭遇挑战。以傣族为例，过去他们每年只种植一季稻米而不追求复种，这样既能保持土地肥力，又

能在休耕的农田上放牧，加之健全的灌溉系统，构成了良性循环的文化生态系统。但在当下，这些土地上大多种满了橡胶、香蕉等经济作物，以土地生产力的严重透支换取更多经济利益的不可持续生产方式屡见不鲜。再比如，藏族地区过去实行以农牧兼营生计方式为基础，并将特殊婚姻形态和宗教信仰融为一体的适应系统。诸多研究业已表明，若不实行这种生计方式便难以在高寒地区生存，因而也必然会形成相应的文化习俗、伦理法规、信仰崇拜等。如果从这一角度去认识藏族文化，那么对于他们传统的一妻多夫制等习俗以及对宗教信仰的极度虔诚，便不会大惊小怪了。当然，在改革开放的背景下，随着市场经济的发展，各民族的适应方式必然会发生改变。即便如此，传统适应的知识和智慧依然在诸多方面影响深远。

我们需要深入发掘各民族传统适应方式的精华，努力传承地方性知识和智慧。最近几年，人们对各种人类遗产的重视程度与日俱增，其中最能体现各地域各民族生态适应知识和智慧的“农业遗产”的申报和审批，也成为了国家和国际相关机构的重要工作。目前我国获批的世界农业遗产多达17项，包括浙江的青田稻鱼共生系统、桑基鱼塘系统，云南的红河哈尼稻作梯田系统、普洱古茶园与茶文化系统，江西的万年稻作文化系统，贵州的从江侗乡稻鱼鸭系统，甘肃的迭部扎尕那农林牧复合系统，山东夏津黄河故

道古桑树群以及南方山地稻作梯田系统等。此外，各省区备选的农业遗产多达近百项，它们都是各民族传统适应方式的精华，具有很高的科学文化价值。

新时代背景下的生态人类学

不管时代如何变迁，人类始终需要依赖自然而生存——只要这个基本规则没有改变，生态人类学的适应原理就依然适用。但是，面对不断变化的时代和社会发展需求，生态人类学也必须与时俱进，以积极的态度大胆创新，构建适于当代学术发展需要的理论和方法。

20世纪80年代末期，由生态人类学衍生出了环境人类学，且该学科目前已有逐渐取代生态人类学的趋势。环境人类学的出现源于人们对于人与自然环境关系的再认识——人类行为对于环境的影响未必总是正面的，事实上，人类行为也存在诸多不适应性，也会造成诸多消极的生态后果。以往的历史不乏这样的证据，工业社会的大量事实更是说明，污染和破坏生态环境的“罪魁”正是人类。面对日益全球化、工业化、现代化、信息化的世界，习惯于以传统小族群、小社会、小环境为研究对象的生态人类学显然已面临窘境，难以为继。同时，还存在一个不可回避的事实——在中国乃至世界，无论哪个族群或地域都有国家意志和外来势力“在场”，都无法避免政治、权力、政策、资本



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等的强大影响和干扰，由此形成的政治生态学显然会对生态人类学产生冲击。十八大报告提出生态文明建设目标，号召树立“尊重自然、顺应自然、保护自然，努力建设美丽中国，实现中华民族永续发展”的生态观；十九大报告再次指出“建设生态文明是中华民族永续发展的千年大计”“绿水青山就是金山银山”，提倡“绿色发展方式和生活方式”。生态文明建设被提到如此高度，实在令人感奋！从以经济发展优先、政绩追

求为大而不惜肆意破坏生态环境，到“视生态环境为生命”“宁要绿水青山，不要金山银山”，中国的变化可谓巨大！在新的形势下，作为生态人类学研究者，我深感使命的重大。在生态文明建设的大潮中，生态人类学不能无所作为，而应发挥出积极和独特的作用，为决策者提供具有前瞻性的建议。为此我们必须努力扩展学术视野，夯实理论基础，完善学科构架，增强社会责任感，以不断迎接新的挑战。LAF

2. 云南省新平县傣族人民将牛圈盖在田边，利用牛粪积肥来保持土壤肥力。
2. The Dai people in Xiping County, Yunnan Province build cattle sheds near the fields and use manure to maintain soil fertility.

3. 傣族人民崇拜神山神树，视森林为生命之源。图为祭司牙摩供奉神树。
4. 布朗族、傣族等民族信奉南传上座部佛教，信仰虔诚而无过度物质追求。他们不知何为“生态文明”，实则最懂得与自然和谐共生。

3. The Dai people respect mountains, trees, and forests as spirit and the source of life. In the picture, a priest is worshipping a divine tree.
4. The Blang and Dai have a strong belief in Theravada Buddhism and never pursue wealth excessively. They understand how to live humbly with nature well although may not know about ecocivilization.

Origins and Scope of Ecological Anthropology

The European discovery of the New World expanded the scope and content of studies on human-nature relationships, and as colonies were developed, local knowledge of different places were recognized and became a topic of interest. From this interest, the disciplines of Ethnography, Geography, Ethnology, and Anthropology emerged. Historically, Environmental Determinism represented by the French thinker Montesquieu and the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel, and Environmental Possibilism represented

by American anthropologists Franz Boas and Alfred L. Kroeber, were the dominant theories interpreting human-nature relationships. However, these approaches lacked a practical application because none have been able to universally frame the relationships between humans, cultural, and natural environment. There is no practical value while only leaving a discussion on their academic values in history.

In the 1950s, American anthropologist Julian Steward developed a theory of Multilinear Cultural Evolution that applied the concept of “adaptation” from Ecology to culture-nature relationships and

formed the discipline of Cultural Ecology. The acculturation theory of this discipline relatively clearly explained the relationships between human and environment. However, Cultural Ecology introduced ecological concepts of acculturation only through anthropological analysis, and in the 1960s, scholars began to incorporate ecosystem theories as a tool of analysis in Ecological Anthropology — with more ecological values and novel systems, this new science had prevailed since the 1970s.

Methods of Ecological Anthropology can be classified into three dimensions. First, a technical dimension considers the production and acquisition of food and other physical materials needed for survival. Second, an institutional dimension concentrates on community cultures such as social organization governance, laws, regulations, and ethics, which regulate and protect physical materials, organize the production, and promote social harmony. The final area explores spiritual life of religious belief, literature, arts, etc., which promotes social equilibrium and human-nature harmony in addition to the fundamental role as a spiritual sustenance. In Dai culture, for example, resource use, production and living, as well as cultural



and ecological protection have been shaped by Theravada Buddhism. The same is true for the animism of the Jino culture. Ecological Anthropology considers religion and faith through human-nature relationships, which makes it distinctive from other sociological or religious studies.

Acculturation and Local Knowledge

Since early Ecological Anthropology studies enclosed territories, its findings were usually related to minority communities. The research results of our team focused on the acculturation knowledge and wisdom of minority communities in Southwest China. We found that due to the rapid modernization and increasing demands for economic income, remote communities are facing challenges to maintain their traditions. The Dai, for example, have historically only grown rice once a year, which maintained soil fertility and allowed for fallow agricultural land to be used for cattle grazing. With the help of irrigation system, ecological cycles were maintained and cultural patterns developed. Today, rubber trees, banana trees, and other cash crops are planted on this farmland, taxing the soil and providing economic

benefits while depleting cultural and ecological ones. In Tibetan, the acculturation to environment is reflected by a mixed livelihood of cropping and husbandry, a polyandry marriage, and their devout religious faith. A lot of studies have shown that without such acculturation, life in the alpine region would be difficult. Examining Tibetan culture from this socio-ecological perspective makes it possible to understand their custom and belief. In the context of national reform and economic growth, the local knowledge of these places, which continues to shape daily life, will change. However, the traditional acculturation knowledge and wisdom still have its profound influence.

Efforts need to be made to understand traditional acculturation mechanisms for inheriting local knowledge and wisdom. As the human heritage is further understood and valued, it has become important for national and international agencies to recognize the agricultural heritages for local cultures. China currently has seventeen World Agricultural Heritage sites that include rich-fish farms, mulberry-fish ponds, the Hani rice terraces, traditional Pu'er tea farms, the Wannian rice farms, the rice-fish-duck system of the Dong, the agriculture-



5. 云南省迪庆藏族自治州的高山牧场。当地人利用河谷盆地和高山草场实行农牧兼营。
5. An alpine pasture in Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province. People there conduct a mixed livelihood of cropping and husbandry, taking advantage of the resources from river basin and alpine meadows.
6. 广西壮族自治区龙脊山上梯田与聚落和谐共生的景观
6. The landscape formed by terraces and settlements on Longji Mountain in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.

forestry-grazing composite system in Zhagana of Gansu Province, the Xiajin Yellow River mulberry grove system, and the rice terraces in the southern hilly areas. There are over 100 sites of agricultural heritage in China that represent a range of traditional acculturation methods with high scientific and cultural value.

Ecological Anthropology in the New Era

Humans will always need to live with nature, and if this remains true, acculturation will remain central to Ecological Anthropology. To respond to

the rapid social development in China, Ecological Anthropology will need to change in bold ways by establishing theories and methods that fit needs of contemporary academia.

In the late 1980s, a new discipline named Environmental Anthropology was derived from Ecological Anthropology and now is about to take over it. The rise of Environmental Anthropology stems from the position that human behavior does not always positively impact the environment. Historical lessons and industrial pollutions have shown that humans are responsible for ecological pollution and environmental damage. In an increasingly globalized, industrialized, modernized, and information-based world, Ecological Anthropology which once focused on enclosed community, small-scale society, and limited environment is challenged. We cannot avoid the fact that both China and the world are under the impact of politics, power, policies, and capital — that is why Ecological Anthropology is facing the challenge from Political Ecology which concentrates on these impacts. A series of policies and initiatives have been introduced in China: The report of the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) has proposed the goals of Ecological

Civilization Construction, calling for environmental practices that “respect nature, conform to nature, protect nature, build the beautiful China, and promote the sustainable development of the Chinese nation.” In the 19th CPC Congress report, this is reiterated by “Ecological Civilization Construction is a fundamental task for the sustainable development of the Chinese nation,” that “lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets” and that we advocate “green development modes and lifestyles.” It is inspiring that high-level attention is being given to the development of eco-civilization, and this is a promising departure from past development approaches that have shown little restraint for economic development and political achievement. Instead, ecological development is given the same value as “our life” or “mountains of gold and silver.” What a great change for China! As Ecological Anthropologists, we feel our work has taken on new significance and that we contribute to the eco-civilization in a unique way. To this end, we need to expand our academic vision, consolidate theoretical foundations, improve disciplinary structure, and increase our sense of social responsibility to cope with new challenges. **LAF**



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