

# Commission on Nomadic Peoples

**Newsletter of the Commission on Nomadic Peoples**

Newsletter Number 4, September 1979

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NEWSLETTER of the Commission on Nomadic Peoples,  
International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences  
Number 4, September 1979

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PAST ACTIVITIES

The Delhi Conference

The Commission on Nomadic Peoples was able to sponsor a number of its members for attendance at the Xth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Delhi, last December, due to a grant provided by the Smithsonian Institute. Fifteen members traveled to Delhi on behalf of the Commission, and were joined by P.K. Misra of India, thus forming the major contingent of the Congress Session on Change and Development in Nomadic Societies. In addition to the formal session, held on December 14, 1978, the opportunity was used to hold two semi-formal sessions which focused on the concerns of the Commission members, as well as informal exchanges between the members themselves.

The first of these semi-formal sessions was held in the afternoon of December 14th, primarily to provide an opportunity for discussion of the papers presented that morning, which had been presented at an accelerated rate due to time constraint. Because of the large number of participants who were drawn to the discussion, held at the Akbar Hotel, the exchanges were far from intimate. But it provided a setting for informal presentation of views by scholars from diverse countries, with differing development ideologies, as well by individuals from countries and populations of nomadic pastoral practice. The issues covered were far-reaching, but they might be summarized as having focused on two major problems: whether theories of pastoral development could envision a non-romantic and viable future for continuing nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralism in the light of changes impinging on those societies, primarily through the market and national political institutions; and what role of the social scientist, in particular from the Western world, could and should be in the process of constructing and implementing programs of change.

A second semi-formal session was held in the evening of the same day at the main conference center, in order to provide a setting for members of the Commission alone to discuss substantive and formal issues of its own organization, orientations and future involvements. Among the issues discussed were these: the coordination and complementarity of the various channels of communication on the subject of nomadic pastoralism, in particular the Newsletter of the Commission, the Pastoral Network Papers of ODI, and the Bulletin Production Pastorale et Societe, produced by the Equipe at the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme; the possibility of the encouragement or sponsorship of a more elaborate journal of pastoral development; the function of acquiring and disseminating information regarding research needs and funding opportunities in the

field of pastoral development to Commission members, such as through the International Agencies; and the use of the Commission to encourage and generate research funding, including possible collaboration between its members. Diverse views were expressed on each of these topics, with a rich range of views on the optimal role of the Commission in the communication and research fields being articulated. Discussion regarding concrete options of Commission involvement, action and coordination is continuing with regard to each of these issues, and further commentary by members is welcomed.

The formal session of the Delhi Symposium included both those who were and were not members of the Commission. The listing below indicates those who actually participated in the Symposium, either through the presentation of a talk, a paper, or both. The publication of the proceedings of the Symposium, in particular those contributions made by members of the Commission and under its sponsorship, is being pursued by the Chairpersons through the Commission, since publication will not be carried out by the Congress itself. When plans are finalized for publication, revised drafts of the papers will be solicited and discussed with the contributors.

Xth International Congress of Anthropological  
and Ethnological Sciences

Delhi, December 10-16, 1978

Programme: Session on Change and Development in Nomadic Societies

December 14, 1978, 9:00-12:00 a.m.

Chairpersons: John G. Galaty, Canada  
Walter Goldschmidt, U.S.A.

Co-Chairperson: P.K. Misra, India +

Discussant: Stephen Sandford, U.K. +

\*\* Oral presentation, paper to be submitted.

+ Member or Sponsored by the Commission on Nomadic Peoples, IUAES.

Theoretical:

Pierre Bonte, France \*\* +  
Walter Goldschmidt, U.S.A. \*\* + Paper submitted  
Harold Schneider, U.S.A. \*\* +

East Africa:

John G. Galaty, Canada.+ The Maasai Group Ranch: Politics and Development  
in an African Pastoral Society. 21 pgs.  
Anders Hjort, Sweden.+ Ethnic Transformation, Dependency and Change:  
The Ilgira of Northern Kenya. 22 pgs.  
Abdi Mirreh, Somalia (Norway).+ Nomads and Markets in the North of Somalia.  
17 pgs.

West Africa:

- Roger Botte, France. + Agriculteurs/pasteurs au Burundi: permanence de la domination pastorale. 16 pgs.  
 André Bourgeot, France. + Pastoralisme Nomade en Zone Sahelienne: La Penetration des Rapports Marchands. 17 pgs.  
 Charles Frantz, U.S.A.\*\* +

North Africa:

- Claude Lefebure, France. + Les Officiers des Affaires Indigenes Face au Conflits Pastoraux dans le Haut Atlas Central (Maroc): Une Politique du Protectorat? 12 pgs.  
 William Dalton, Canada.\*\* +

South-West Asia/Arabian:

- Emmanuel Marx, Israel. \*\* +  
 \* Dawn Chatty, U.S.A. (Syria). + Pastoral Adaptation and Development in Syria. 15 pgs.  
 Donald Cole, U.S.A. (Egypt). + Pastoral Nomads in a Rapidly Changing Economy: The Case of Saudi Arabia. 44 pgs.  
 Annie Montigny, France. Les Na'im du Qatar Hier et Aujord'ui. 20 pgs.

South-West Asia/Steppes:

- Asen Balikci, Canada. + Ethnographic notes on Lakenkhel Pastoralism. 12 pgs.  
 Yu I. Mkrtumyan, U.S.S.R. Historical Dynamics of Stock-Breeding: Ecological and Socio-Cultural Factors (Armenian Upland and the Caucasus). 11 pgs.  
 Jean-Pierre Digard, France. + Les Nomads et L'Etat Central en Iran: Quelques Enseignements d'Un Long Passe D'Hostilité Reglementée. 31 pgs.

Central and East Asia:

- K.G. Karakeyev, U.S.S.R. From Nomadism to Industrial and Social Progress. 10 pgs.  
 Y.E. Markov, U.S.S.R. Political Organization of Pastoral Nomads. 8 pgs.  
 T.D. Bajaliyeva, U.S.S.R. The Central Asian Variant of the Economic and Cultural Type of Nomadic Cattle-Breeders in the Foothills and Mountains (The Kirghiz of the Tien Shan). 10 pgs.  
 Karumi Sugita, Japan (France). + Evolution of Social Form of Nomadism in Mongolia. 13 pgs.

South Asia:

- P.R.G. Mathur, India. The Cholanaickans-Cavemen of Kerala. 14 pgs.  
 Robert Hayden, U.S.A. The Cultural Ecology of Service Nomads. 23 pgs.  
 Sarojini Bisaria, India. Transhumance, Interaction Pattern and Problem of Educational Development - Gujars of Kashmir. 17 pgs.  
 S.E. Khomne, India (with S.K. Hulbe). Approaches to the Development of Non-Pastoral Nomads-Semi-Nomads of India (Problems, Issues and Methodologies). 32 pgs.

Others:

- Paula Strukely, Yugoslavia. The Adaptability to the Civilization of Gypsies in Slovenia. 7 pgs.  
 Gordon P. Kelley, Mexico. Truckin' in New Spain with Tlammemes. 7 pgs.

PUBLICATIONS REPORTArid Lands Newsletter

The ARID LANDS NEWSLETTER is a multi-disciplinary journal covering a wide range of material relevant to arid lands around the world. Issue No. 10, published April 1979, is comprised of 32 printed pages, handsomely illustrated, including, among others, the following papers:

Randall Baker, "Arid Zone Research and Development in the Third World: Structure and Orientation"

Randall Baker, "Settling the Desert: First Ben-Gurion Memorial Symposium, Institute for Desert Research ..."

Michel Baumer and Edmund Bernus, "A Selective Bibliography on Nomadism in the Sahelo-Saharan and Sahelo-Sudanian Zones"

The ARN is published by the University of Arizona, Office of Arid Land Studies, 845 North Park Avenue, Tucson, Arizona 85719, U.S.A., and is available without charge.

ILCA Bulletin

The first issue of the BULLETIN of the International Livestock Centre for Africa was published in September 1978, and two further issues have since been published. Inquiries should be directed to ILCA, P.O. Box 5689, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Institute of Development Studies, Working Papers

The Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi (P.O. Box 30197, Nairobi, Kenya), publishes a series of WORKING PAPERS, many of which deal with or are relevant to nomadic/pastoral peoples. Two recent papers are the following:

IDS/WP 350 "A Preliminary Report on Group Ranching in Narok District" by Deborah Ann Doherty (McGill University)

This initial report constitutes an effort to provide background data on the technical and administrative measures involved during the implementation of group ranching in Narok District of Kenya Maasailand.

As part of this report, I have outlined many of the social, political, and economic constraints impinging on ranch development and briefly examined some of the ways in which the costs and benefits of group ranch development are affecting the interests of various segments of Narok Maasai.

Maasai stockowners are, of necessity, making certain adjustments in herd management of practices, although these adjustments are not always consistent with the aims of ranch development planners; nor are these adjustments necessarily in the best interests of the Narok Maasai in general. Preliminary investigation shows that, rather than facilitating economic development without disenfranchising large numbers of people, group ranching, together with the introduction of wheat cropping, is stimulating feelings of insecurity among many Maasai herders that they will be eventually forced out of the pastoral economy. This report attempts to delve into the reasons underlying this insecurity by offering ethnographic data concerning inter- and intra-group ranch rivalries; inter-generational conflict; land use controversies; and points out problem areas which I intend to investigate more fully during my period of research tenure in Narok District.

IDS/WP 356 "Factors Inhibiting Economic Development on  
Rotian Olmakongo Group Ranch"  
by Deborah Ann Doherty (McGill University)

This paper examines socio-economic constraints to the development of a group ranch in Narok District, Rotian Olmakongo, which has been in existence for more than ten years but its progress relative to other Maasai ranches has been poor. The study considers questions regarding: the members' perceptions of the costs and benefits of ranch development, access to the ranch resources, and individual and group strategies for development.

The paper concludes that among the principal constraints is the inability of traditional social units to generate an organizational form which would promote the development of the group ranch. The pastoral economy is in a precarious position and is being subsidised by members participation in other economic activities such as charcoal burning, cultivation and off-ranch employment. Unless the organisation of the ranch can be improved such that the livestock-based economy becomes more productive the only future for the ranch is likely to be in terms of small-scale agricultural holdings.

#### THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

Edited by Phillips Stevens, Jr., this collection of 9 papers is published under the Crossroads Press imprint by the African Studies Association, and initially appeared in the AFRICAN STUDIES REVIEW XXI, 3, Dec. 1978. Of special interest is the paper by Carl. T. Fumagalli, "An Evaluation of Development Projects among East African Pastoralists" (pp. 49-64).

#### Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Research Reports

SIAS Research Report No. 51 is a comparative study on ASPECTS OF AGRO-PASTORALISM IN EAST AFRICA by Per Brandstrom, Jan Hultin, and Jan Lindstrom, its central chapters being "The Role of Animal Husbandry in Pastoral and Agro-Pastoral Societies," "Specialization and Combination of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry," and "Household Strategies and Resource Exploitation in Agro Pastoral Societies." The Report is available from SIAS, P.O. Box 2126, S-750 02 Uppsala, Sweden.

#### Pastoral Network Papers

Recent Pastoral Network Papers published by the Overseas Development Institute, Agricultural Administration Unit: The Design and Management of Pastoral Development (10-11 Percy Street, London W1P 0JB, England), include the following:

- PNP 7c "Settlement as a Strategy for Securing Land for Nomads: An Examination of the Botswana Government's Current Program of Settling the Kalahari San," by Liz Wily
- PNP 7d "Structure of the Herd and Determinants of Offtake Rates in Kajiado District in Kenya 1962-1977," by S.J. Meadows and J.M. White
- PNP 7e "Pastoral Nomads in a Rapidly Changing Economy: The Case of Saudi Arabia," by Donald P. Cole

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

- SAUDI ARABIAN BEDOUIN: AN ASSESSMENT OF THEIR NEEDS, by Saad Eddin Ibrahim and Donald P. Cole. Cairo Papers in Social Science, Monograph Five, 1978. Available from The American University in Cairo, The Cairo Papers in Social Science, 866 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.
- SAVANNA TOWN: RURAL TIES AND URBAN OPPORTUNITIES IN NORTHERN KENYA, by Anders Hjort. Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Stockholm, S-10691 Stockholm, Sweden.
- PASTORAL CHANGE AND THE ROLE OF DROUGHT, by Gudrun Dahl and Anders Hjort, SAREC Report R2.
- FARMING AND HERDING IN BOTSWANA, by Anders Hjort and Wilhelm Ostberg, SAREC Report No. R:1, Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries, Co. SIDA, 105 25 Stockholm, Sweden.
- DIE SOZIALKONOMISCHEN VERHALTNISSE DER NOMADISCHEN BEVOLKERUNG IM NORDEN DER DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK SOMALIA, by Abdi Gaileh Mirreh. Akademie-Verlag, 108 Berlin, Leipziger Str. 3-4, DDR.
- "Non-Stratified Social Formations Among Pastoral Nomads," P. Bonte, in THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS, J. Friedman and M.J. Rowlands. London: Duckworth, 1977.
- "Die beduinischen Stämme im östlichen Inner-Oman und ihr Regional-Mobilitäts-Verhalten," by Fred Scholz. SOCIOLOGUS 27, 2, 97-133.
- NOMADEN VON GHARJISTAN: ASPEKTE DER WIRTSCHAFTLICHEN, SOZIALEN UND POLITISCHEN ORGANISATION NOMADISCHER DURRANI-PASCHTUNEN IN NORDWESTAFGHANISTAN, Bernt Glatzer. Beiträge zur Sudasienforschung Sudasien-Institut, Universität Heidelberg, Band 22. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977.
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- "Défense (et illustration) de l'anthropologie," Marceau Gast. ANNUAIRE DE L'AFRIQUE DU NORD XV: 965-1014, 1976.
- RAPPORT SCIENTIFIQUE 1978: LABORATOIRE D'ANTHROPOLOGIE DE PREHISTOIRE ET D'ETHNOLOGIE DES PAYS DE LA MEDITERRANEE OCCIDENTALE, Université de Provence.
- ANNEE SCIENTIFIQUE 1978: MAISON DE LA MEDITERRANEE, Universités d'Aix-Marseille, CNRS, Aix-en-Provence.

(from Dr. Marceau Gast)

RESEARCH REPORTSPERIPATETIC, PASTORALIST AND SEDENTIST INTERACTIONS IN COMPLEX SOCIETIES

In spite of a growing interest and an increase in the number of studies dealing with "nomads" in the past decade, research activities continue to be confined almost exclusively to pastoral strategies or pastoral-sedentist interactions. While Dyson-Hudson (1972) cautioned that the uncritical linking of pastoral activities with spatial mobility "...facilitated the erroneous assumption that nomadic movement is caused simply by environmental factors," most reports tend to emphasize biophysiotic variables and herd requirements in analyzing patterns of pastoral nomadic social organization. Only recently do we find detailed accounts

of interactions between internal as well as external socio-cultural factors contributing to spatial mobility and organizational-structural variability (i.e. Irons 1975; Culliver 1975). The continued emphasis on herding activities of particular pastoral groups and a growth of an "applied" or development" orientated focus tends to limit understanding of these groups as elements in larger socio-ecological systems containing other nomads as well as more sedentary rural and urban communities practicing a variety of inter-related subsistence activities. By limiting our analyses to pastoral groups or pastoral-sedentist interactions we are restricting the development of a general theory capable of substantive generalizations about the role of diverse subsistence activities in complex social systems. As well, we run the risk of supporting a "sedenocentric" position which ignores the importance of spatial mobility as a characteristic of social organization in human subsistence activities.

In addition to pastoralist societies, many complex social systems often contain other nomadic groups which frequently interact with the same sedentary rural and/or urban communities and not uncommonly with pastoral groups themselves (i.e. Barth 1961:91-92; Cole 1975:105-106). Only cursorily noted in pastoral accounts and equally ignored in most ethnography of sedentary communities, these "other, non-pastoral nomads" are frequently lumped and dismissed from analyses as "aberrant cases," "Gypsies," or "itinerant." While Dyson-Hudson (1972), Barth (1973) and others have suggested that these groups would serve as "ideal test cases" of theory regarding spatial mobility based on herding models, such studies and comparative analyses remain begging.

As a first step toward broadening comparative analyses of nomadic movement patterns I have suggested unfolding the concept of "nomad" to include other subsistence activities involving high levels of spatial movement in addition to pastoralism, yet exclusive of traditional gathering and hunting strategies. In a recent manuscript submitted for inclusion in Nomads in a Changing World (Salzman, forthcoming) I have recommended the concept of peripatetic nomads representing spatially mobile, endogamous groups of entertainers, artisans, beggars and peddlers. As previously noted, these peripatetic groups have been only cursorily reviewed by investigators dealing with pastoralists or sedentists, although most have had first-hand experience with tinkers, carnies, circus performers, "Gypsy" fortune tellers and similar groups. I suggest that peripatetic artisans, entertainers and peddlers, while less numerous than pastoralists, are the most widely dispersed of all nomadic groups. By combining a variety of specialized individual skills related to their subsistence activities with spatial mobility these peripatetic groups exploit human needs as primary resources within socio-ecological systems which often contain pastoralists, agriculturalists and urban-industrial communities. These human socio-ecological resources I have termed the peripatetic niche in contrast to the predominantly biophysiotic niche exploited by pastoralists and sedentary agriculturalists.

Compared to most pastoralists, peripatetic nomads rely on greater spatial mobility and structural as well as organizational fluidity associated with their subsistence activities. Their movement patterns are proxemic to pastoral as well as more sedentary communities comprising the peripatetic niche. Analysis of their activities and comparisons with pastoral nomadic strategies affords increased insight into the nature of social interrelationships within as well as between all elements composing a complex socio-ecological system.

Despite parental admonitions to "grow up and settle down," the existing data from the current ethnographic record is insufficient at this point to support such an "evolutionary" position regarding the role of spatially mobile groups in complex human societies. Toward better understanding the



role of peripatetic activities in social systems, especially their interactions with other nomadic activities (gatherers, hunters, caravaners, dacoits, beggars, etc.) I would appreciate references, field notes, or other data and observations, with a view toward an edited volume or extensive review article dealing with peripatetic, pastoralist and sedentist interactions in complex societies. Please address material of inquiries to:

Professor Joseph C. Berland  
Department of Anthropology  
2000 Sheridan Road  
Northwestern University  
Evanston, Illinois 60201  
U.S.A.

Research Report: Sheikhanzai Pastoral Nomads of Northwest Afghanistan

The following discussion is based on field research conducted among Sheikhanzai (Durrani) pastoral nomads of northwest Afghanistan in the spring and summer of 1977. My objective in this research was to investigate systems of belief, ritual, and cultural values and to demonstrate the effects of ideological and symbolic aspects of a nomadic pastoralist culture on patterns of socioeconomic activity and ecological adaptation. As will be apparent below, the sociocultural characteristics of the Sheikhanzai do not differ markedly from those of other pastoral nomads of "the northern tier." However, their close adherence to Islamic principles and to Pashtunwali, the Pashtun honor code, affects both their present ecological condition and the processes and directions of economic and political change.

Setting: The Sheikhanzai are Pashtu-speaking, black-tent dwelling, sheep-and-goat herders, the majority of whom migrate between winter pastures in the extreme northwest of Afghanistan (sub-province of Gulran) to summer pastures in the western central highlands (province of Ghor). They belong to the Es'hakzai section of Fanjpay (western Durrani) nomads who began to settle in northwestern Afghanistan in the latter part of the nineteenth century. They recognize affiliation within a segmentary lineage structure with other Es'hakzai such as the 'Omarzai, Namanzai, and Khani Khel, and intermarriage is relatively common between these groups. In addition individual camp groups of Sheikhanzai frequently include members of these and other lineages. In total there are approximately 1000 nomadic households of Sheikhanzai which migrate to summer pastures in the vicinities of Shahrak and Chaghcharan. There are also at least 250 households of Sheikhanzai who have been sedentary, primarily in winter pastures in Gulran, since the drought years of the early 1970s when most of their camels died of starvation and cold. The Sheikhanzai comprise a total population of 8,000 of the Es'hazai's estimated 200,000 members.

Both nomadic and sedentary Sheikhanzai are primarily dependent on a livestock economy which is supplemented by migrant labor and hired shepherding activities by some of the unmarried men. Only scattered individuals own agricultural land, which in all cases is farmed by non-Sheikhanzai. The migrations of the nomadic camps take place according to a pre-arranged schedule and to known and specified locations. The Sheikhanzai do not own land along the migration route, and only a few families hold official title to grazing land in either winter or summer pasture areas. The spring migration begins in late March, after nawruz or New Year's, and covers a distance of 350 kms in a thirty day period. The Sheikhanzai camps move independently of their flocks in the fall, and this migration is slightly faster, taking twenty-four days in late August and early September to complete. Although there are only these two major population movements each year, the Sheikhanzai also move their animals to warmer areas in late winter in preparation for spring lambing and shearing activities. In addition, some camps are forced to move to two or three different locations during the summer months because of annual fluctuations in the availability of water and grass, and because of land conflicts with settled populations of Dari-speaking agriculturalists.

The nomads claim unofficial title to pasture lands, particularly in summer pasture areas, on the basis of ancestral rights they say were bestowed upon them by Abdur Rahman in the late nineteenth century. Their ties to winter grazing areas are more tenuous in their view because they shifted locations only fifteen to twenty years ago from lands further south (in Farah). In both of their sedentary locations, Sheikhanzai pasture rights are legally unrecorded, and

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land disputes with settled village populations are common. Especially in the period since the drought years of 1970 and 1971, during which many Sheikhanzai and other Pashtu-speaking pastoral nomads have not been able to carry out their semi-annual migrations, much previously uncultivated land has been taken over by Taimani villagers regardless of nomads' claims of ownership. Sometimes nomads have worked out agreements with villagers whereby the latter group occupies and cultivates nomads' lands in return for a portion of the wheat crop, but in most cases no such compensation is received. It has been common for nomads to find their access to pasture and water blocked by new village cultivation, and villagers frequently resort to asking local government officials to demand payments from nomads for crop damage by their animals.

Society and Economy: Unlike some other "vertical nomads" in Turkey and Iran, major population concentrations of Sheikhanzai occur during the winter months, while camps are smaller and more dispersed during the summer. Camps may be composed of as many as fifty tents during the period from October to February, while, during the migrations and in the summer pasture area from May until mid-August, camps are composed of as few as one tent or as many as twelve. These camps are normally separated by a one-hour walk, but visiting between members of different camps is a regular activity.

The summer camp group is fundamentally a herding unit and not primarily a kinship unit. Individual households herd their animals together in one or more flocks of 4-600 animals, a figure which also limits the number of households which may be grouped together. Camp members are drawn widely from both affinal and consanguineal groups, and some members are not close kin at all. A patrilineal ideology of common descent is expressed when camp members refer to each other as kakazadeh (patrilateral cousin), but this reference is extended both vertically, across generations, and horizontally to more distant cousins.

Individual tents range in composition from a simple nuclear family of 3-4 people to an observed maximum of seventeen members, including brothers, their wives and children, unmarried sisters, parents, and widowed aunts and uncles. The residence pattern is ideally patrilocal, but in practice may also be matrilocal, avunculocal and occasionally uxorilocal. Composition of a camp may vary from year to year, and it may also change in the middle of a single season in the event of conflict between households, dissatisfaction with shepherding arrangements, or the sense that the grass for animals might be better elsewhere. The Sheikhanzai say simply that "We go wherever our animals will be happy and well-fed," but this statement can sometimes serve as a rationalization for other motives for separation from fathers, brothers, and other camp members.

Shepherds are formally hired by camp members for one-year contracts of service to care for a single rama (flock) of 4-600 sheep and goats. They receive one lamb (or kid) for every ten born in the spring following their year's work. If they quit earlier, there is no pro-rated agreement because no lambs have yet been born. Each household owns and milks its own animals separately although grazing them together, and the different households contribute to the shepherd's pay, food, and other material needs according to the number of animals they own. The shepherd also has one or two assistants who may either be formally hired for a salary or sent out in rotation from each household at the rate of one night's work for every twenty animals owned.

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There are no official centralized leadership roles among the Sheikhanzai, but certain individuals are given terms of honor and political significance such as sarkhel, or headman of the camp, and khan, or big man of the lineage or territory. The sarkhel normally owns more animals than other camp members and has the chief responsibility for organizing the migrations, making arrangements for shepherding of the camp's flock, and executing rental agreements with villagers for grazing land and access to water. Decision-making and leadership are very much at the local level, but the system of segmentary lineages which cross-cuts camp divisions allows the coordination of economic and political activities within larger population segments as well. Households with ancestral rights to grazing land share their rights with all other camp members, and in some areas members of separate sublineages have equal access to a common summer pasture area.

Village and nomad contacts are frequent and not always conflict-ridden. There is some exchange and purchase of animals back and forth; and, more important for the economy of both communities, there is purchase of wheat by nomads and sale of surplus wool, goat-hair tent strips, and dairy products. Animals are more commonly sold in the town bazaars along the migration route and in summer and winter pasture areas or at the annual sheep market in Chaghcharan. Such sales provide the basis for cash purchases of items such as tea, candy, clothes, cooking ware, fuel, and fodder, etc. throughout the year.

The part that Afghan nomads play in both the domestic and export economies of Afghanistan is considerable through their provision to the market of meat, skins, wool, rogban (butter oil), and grut (dehydrated curd balls). In drought years the price of wheat rises substantially, while animals and animal products do not increase in value as rapidly. As a consequence, nomads are threatened on two fronts in dry years:

- (1) The lack of rainfall results in a shortage of grass; hence the nomads' animals are less well-fed and small, less resistant to disease, and able to provide only small quantities of dairy products.
- (2) The value of such animals is reduced, causing cash shortages for purchases of winter fodder for animals and wheat and other items for human consumption and use.

The problem is self-perpetuating in that nomads attempt to make up for the lower prices available for their animals by maintaining larger flocks. Thus, grass and fodder supplies after a drought year continue to decrease, leading to further reductions in the health and value of the flocks as well as to longer-term problems of overgrazing. Normal ecological and economic processes would result in a reduction of the nomadic population as they have done in Iran and Turkey, however kinship sentiment and mutual assistance activities operate among the Sheikhanzai to maintain the nomadic population relatively constant while perhaps reducing the economic viability of the total pastoralist population.

Sheikhanzai Religion, Cultural Values, and Ideology: Quite unlike the stereotypes of nomads maintained by settled populations, the Sheikhanzai demonstrate a great respect for mullahs and for religious knowledge and participation. Regular prayer five times a day is by no means universal, but prayer is common among both young and old men, and even among some women who say their prayers within their tents.

The Sheikhanzai belong to the Hanafi school of Sunni Islam, but some Sheikhanzai in Gulran and Chaghcharan are also participants in the Nakhshahbandi order of Sufism and, as devotees of local saints and pirs, take part in various forms of Islamic heterodoxy. Almost every camp includes individuals who have made

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the hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca; all who are physically able strictly observe the fast during the month of Ramadan. Zakat (alms) gifts are made directly to the poor and to travellers, and also through the giving of sacrificial animals to individuals in other camps who are attributed to have special religious knowledge and abilities. Sacrifices during 'Id-i-Qurban are mandatory, and sacrificial animals are regularly offered for khyrat, or blessing, to remember the dead, to ask the blessing of Allah to make the sick well, to help the barren bear children, and to bring rain to the pastures.

In some areas, mainly in winter quarters, nomads have constructed underground mesjids protected from the cold, some of which are large enough to meet the official Qur'anic prescription for forty men of the community to perform the Friday noon prayer together. Elsewhere, some camps have separate guest tents used for this purpose. Even where no such physical structure exists, almost all camps in a fixed location for a period of time lay out stones to mark off an area for group prayer. Many camps have their own mullahs to call the men to prayer and to teach the children to read the Qur'an, and daily religious instruction is particularly common during the winter when time is more abundant and the camps are clustered more closely together.

Such practices are at sharp variance with the conventional wisdom about nomad religiosity, and nomads return the compliment by saying that villagers and city folk may have more substantial mesjids and more educated mullahs, but they do not think and act like Muslims. Although their education in orthodox Islam comes exclusively from their own religious specialists, the Sheikhanzai as a whole observe Qur'anic requirements and understand the official tenets of their Hanafi faith. Their religious beliefs and practices take on a local flavor, but they are Islamic beliefs and practices.

The "folk" nature of Sheikhanzai piety serves as one of the means for distinguishing their own population from "non-Muslim" villagers, urban merchants, and government officials. The paying of alms is defined by the Sheikhanzai in such a manner as to encourage the social expression of brotherhood within kinship and camp groups. Reciprocity within such groups, and the hospitality shown to guests and travellers, are viewed by the Sheikhanzai as a means to heaven in the Final Judgment. The declaration of faith in Allah as the true and only God, and Muhammad as his final and definitive prophet, is also a declaration of affiliation within the tribal nomadic group. Within the group, Qur'anic instruction, group prayer, and the pilgrimage reinforce the structural separation of the sexes and the division of labor. Only men have direct contacts with non-nomads and with the formal structures of Islam and the state.

The Sheikhanzai live close to nature and believe that the bounties of nature are provided by Allah. They proudly admit to a dependency on Allah for weather, grazing, fertility, growth, and protection from disease and misfortune. But they also profess the view that Allah will only help those who help themselves and not those who out of laziness or dishonesty seek gain without industry. The mobility and autonomy of the nomadic Sheikhanzai express the mode of life understood by them to be encouraged by Allah. Aside from considerations of practical necessity, such beliefs and their associated activities provide symbolic means for internal structuring of the group and for guaranteeing the certainty of Allah's benevolence.

Sheikhanzai: 5

The dominant cultural values of the Sheikhanzai are drawn from their understanding of Islam, from Pashtunwali ("the way of the Pashtun"), and, naturally enough, from the exigencies of their nomadic pastoral way of life. In practice, these divisions are not so neatly drawn, and there is no perceived conflict between nomadic and tribal life and religious principles. Nevertheless, there are important discrepancies. Sheikhanzai nomadism is itself a contradiction of the Qur'anic emphasis on urban and merchant life and the concomitants of an urban religious tradition: formal religious training, collective worship, and theocratic governance. Also, the Pashtun emphasis on blood ties and the concept of badal (blood revenge) contrast sharply with Qur'anic edict. There is, too, the influence of an extra-Islamic folk tradition in the worship of saints, the use of amulets (ta'wiz) to counter black magic, and the practice of exorcism to remove spirit possession by jinn.

In other respects, Sheikhanzai values concerning hospitality, generosity, bravery, rectitude, discipline, and industry derive from both Pashtun and Islamic tradition. To be hospitable to guests and generous with kinsmen is not only to be a Pashtun, but to be a Muslim. It is by such a standard that fellow Sunni villagers and city folk are viewed as Muslims in name only. The honorable Sheikhanzai must be self-reliant, but he must also recognize that he would be nothing without the grace of Allah and the assistance of his kinsmen. On the issue of family ties, the Sheikhanzai say that "A person who does not have family cannot make grut or roghan" (in other words, cannot survive), and "In the name of our ancestors may Allah not leave us without brothers, and in the name of our family may we not be without sons."

In Sheikhanzai cultural ideology, reciprocity and cooperation within camp groups and segmentary lineages are prime requisites for individual survival, and membership within kinship groups is the primary basis for individual identity. There is no voluntary sedentarization through land purchases by the wealthy, nor a sloughing off of the poorest members of the group. Instead, both live animals and animal and dairy products, as well as wheat and other provisions including money, are provided to kinsmen who have suffered economic decline through natural calamities or through their own incompetence as pastoralists. Camels are freely loaned for transport purposes on migration without a demand for compensation; and sons and daughters of one household may provide many labor services, including shepherding, child care and cooking, for other households which are without an adequate labor supply.

This emphasis on interdependence, mutual obligation, assistance, and sharing within and between related kinship groups is reinforced by an ideology of mobility, separation from other populations, and political autonomy. The Sheikhanzai as a group avoid village and urban contacts except in the economic transactions carried out by some of the men. Inter-marriage is avoided with village populations, and there is little in the way of direct economic symbiosis with village agriculturalists. Because of their extension of cultivation into nomad pasture areas, and because of their own sedentary and transhumant forms of pastoralism, Tajik, Taimani, and Firozkohi villagers are in direct competition with nomads for land, markets, and local political hegemony. The Sheikhanzai dislike and distrust their village neighbors and commonly buy their wheat from urban merchants instead of directly from village producers. Sheikhanzai animals are not allowed on village fields, even to clear off stubble, soften the ground for cultivation, or leave deposits of manure, and the economic and political separation between the Pashtun and Farsiwan ethnic groups is reinforced by an in-group emphasis on marriage, residence, and ethnic purity.

Sheikhanzai: 6

Sheikhanzai mobility as nomadic pastoralists is valued for its own sake: "The life of the maldar (pastoralist) is difficult, but it has a taste that other lives cannot offer through being able to see new places, being dependent on no one in the outside world and reaching the heaven of the sarhad (summer pastures)" where "however sick and tired we are in the watan (winter area), we get well..." In addition such mobility has provided the Sheikhanzai with the ability to avoid birth registration, identity papers, military conscription and taxation required by the central government of sedentary populations. The Sheikhanzai say that "As maldar we are doing service to the country by providing wool, meat and dairy products. If our sons are taken into military service, the people who eat our meat and use our wool should come out and help us with our animals."

As a people without either the land or the technology and skill necessary for agriculture, the Sheikhanzai must predicate their political autonomy on the degree of economic self-sufficiency provided through pastoralism. They ridicule villagers for doing what they call the "cow work" of agriculture, and they rationalize the necessity of their pastoralism by saying that "For the Aimak (Dari-speaking villager), if there is no flood or drought one year, there will be the next year. For the maldar, difficulties are only for one day."

To be sure, the Sheikhanzai ideology and self-image of economic self-reliance is exaggerated since the nomad is clearly dependent on villagers and merchants for all his grain and many of his other "essentials" such as tea, sugar, cloth, fuel, etc. In addition the nomad must frequently pay rent for camp sites, grazing rights, and access to water. Nevertheless, the Sheikhanzai nomad sees himself as free and self-reliant, and he interprets his nomadism as an expression of this valued condition.

Although some Sheikhanzai young men have supplemented their pastoral economy with temporary migrant labor in Iran and in the major cities of Afghanistan, this has typically occurred only when an adequate household labor supply has been left behind. The Sheikhanzai are reluctant to lose camp and kin group members and offer economic assistance to those contemplating out-migration and sedentarization.

The social ideal of interdependence is thus economically reinforced through both reciprocal assistance and sharing without the expectation of direct economic return. Brothers maintain partnerships in household economics even after the death of their father, and father-son household separations are contrary to the norm. As much as one-third or more of a bride price is returned by a wealthy father (or brother) to a less well-to-do son-in-law. Pastures which are rented by households with large animal holdings (200 or more adult sheep and goats) are shared rent-free with kinsmen and other camp members with fewer animals.

Interdependence is also fostered through flexible and internal means for the resolution of conflicts. Kinship links are used in place of an hierarchical basis for adjudicating disputes; and, in instances of camp fission, tents are incorporated into new camps on the basis of wide-ranging interpretations of kinship affiliation. The social solidarity and economic stability of the Sheikhanzai rest upon Islamic, Pashtun, and nomadic pastoralist ideological foundations which, as is discussed below, also have implications for their present ecological circumstances and for prospects for economic and social change.

Sheikhanzai: 7

Sheikhanzai Ideology, Ecology, and Change: Adherence to Sheikhanzai ideology requires group-oriented rather than individual strategies of economic maximization. The Sheikhanzai are oriented towards material success and gain, but not on a personalistic basis. Surplus wealth is reinvested in the group through the sharing of resources with kinsmen, assistance to impoverished group members, and hospitality to guests. Animal husbandry provides the basis for expandable and easily distributable wealth which is adaptive both to meet short-term economic needs of individual households and to correct long-term economic imbalances within the group caused by animal disease and natural misfortune.

The social and economic obligations of Sheikhanzai have inhibited the emergence of major and long-term variations in household wealth and ranking. In addition such patterns of egalitarian cooperation have facilitated land-use arrangements which are highly flexible and adjustable to changes in local conditions of grazing. The preservation of mobile patterns of residence and the easy absorption of individual households into a wide variety of potentially hospitable camp groups have made possible a continuity in forms of ecological adaptation in spite of severe environmental disruptions.

Even if agricultural land were available for the purpose, sedentarized farming would preclude the mutual assistance and solidarity enjoyed by nomadic pastoralist Sheikhanzai. The Sheikhanzai definitely recognize this as well as the risk to their political autonomy they would face if sedentary and separated from one another. Thus far, these threats to their values and social organization have been sufficient to discourage any voluntary decline in the nomadic population.

Although the adaptations of previous generations of Sheikhanzai go unrecorded, it is fruitful to examine the social and economic processes involved in the re-establishment of a nomadic pastoral economy after near decimation of their livestock in 1970-1972. While all groups in the area were economically ravaged by two successive drought years followed by early and severely cold winters, the Sheikhanzai have been unusually successful among pastoralists of the region in maintaining a stable human population, returning to a pattern of semi-annual migrations almost immediately, and rebuilding their flocks. The households of Sheikhanzai who have remained sedentary since the drought maintain close contact with nomadic Sheikhanzai in winter pastures and only await the purchase of camels for transport to renew their migrations. Each year the number of households returning to nomadism has increased.

The typical Sheikhanzai account of the drought is that a household lost fifty to ninety per cent of its livestock due to starvation and extreme cold. The Sheikhanzai rebounded by pooling together money from the sale of wool and animal hides, performing migrant labor and hired shepherding, and buying and selling livestock at a profit with other pastoralists, especially Hazara villagers in the eastern central highlands of Afghanistan. By 1977 households which had lost all but eight sheep out of a flock of 500 were back up to flocks of 50-100. Animals have been loaned for breeding purposes, given at much inflated value as part of bride-price exchanges, and marketed in partnership arrangements, all of which are "normal" rather than purely emergency economic practices among the Sheikhanzai. As emergency measures Sheikhanzai men left their tents and families behind and took their animals



Sheikhanzai: 8

to warmer winter territories. They bought fodder in towns and transported it by truck to their livestock. Also, because of lower price and greater hardiness, goats were substituted for sheep in many flocks. In a manner which is ecologically unavailable to sedentary farmers, and institutionally impracticable among many other nomadic pastoralists, the Sheikhanzai have strengthened their relative economic standing in the northwest. Whereas large numbers of other Es'hakzai, Nurzai, and Alizai pastoralists in the region are now permanently sedentary, the Sheikhanzai are widely acclaimed to have become the most prosperous Pashtuns in the area.

As part of their prosperity, the Sheikhanzai have been quick to adopt various material introductions, ranging from Seiko watches and Panasonic tape recorders to medicines for themselves and vaccines for their livestock. Because of the migration route they follow to summer pastures, the Sheikhanzai cannot transport their animals by truck, but they do make use of rented trucks (and drivers) for the transportation of wool to markets and winter fodder to their flocks. They are quite receptive to the idea of having teachers in their camps, especially during the winter months, but they do not favor sending their children away to school.

On the whole, despite the drought years and increasingly constricted pasture areas, there has not been a recent qualitative change in the economy or social structure of the Sheikhanzai. During the period of study, the main agency which ultimately might have brought about major transformations was the Herat Livestock Development Corporation, but it is not as yet clear what policies will be implemented by the new government of Afghanistan. The H.L.D.C., funded through the World Bank and administered under the Afghan Ministry of Agriculture, sought to provide for the economic rationalization of pastoralism in the western provinces of Afghanistan. Its programs included range-management studies, veterinary services, and the establishment of economic cooperatives. More indirectly, if successful, the programs would also have led to the reduction of nomadic forms of pastoralism and eventual dependence on profit-motivated transactions in place of a traditional emphasis on kinship obligations. Perhaps because of their favored economic position, the Sheikhanzai found little to be gained through participation in H.L.D.C. programs aside from the use of vaccines and sheep-dips. They objected in principle to programs for stock-reduction and sedentarization and also perceived little economic advantage available to them through the use of H.L.D.C. marketing services.

The internal mechanisms for economic cooperation and assistance within Sheikhanzai society have allowed for a degree of "predatory expansionism." They have been able to utilize grazing areas left vacant by other formerly-nomadic pastoralists, and they have also captured a primary position in the livestock market. On a voluntaristic basis, changes in their pattern of adaptation are not immediately expected. Nevertheless, continued problems of land tenure, exogenous effects on livestock and grain prices, and the possibility of coercive sedentarization are serious concerns of the Sheikhanzai. To an extent their own economic success may bring about eventual structural and ecological changes as problems of over-population and over-grazing become more severe. They cannot indefinitely ward off the incursions of cultivation into their ancestral territories without sacrificing their present autonomy from the central government. Once the Sheikhanzai begin to ask for governmental assistance in land disputes, they will also be required to submit their allegiance through birth registration, taxation, and military service. Under such circumstances, their present economic position, and perhaps even their nomadism, is not likely to be sustained.

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE NOMADIC ALTERNATIVE, Wolfgang Weissleder, ed. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1978. (Distributed in the U.S. by Aldine, Chicago) xviii + 423 pp. \$45.00 (cloth).

This volume consists of a collection of papers prepared for the session on nomadic peoples of the African-Asian deserts and steppes at the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. There is an introduction by Wolfgang Weissleder and a total of thirty papers organized into four topical sections: (1) ecological adaptation; (2) ethnogenesis and cultural evolution; (3) patterns of interaction, authority, and stratification; and (4) ideational and ritual systems. In what must be one of the more successfully international of the World Anthropology volumes, contributors include seventeen scholars from the Soviet Union and only seven from the United States and Canada.

As Weissleder implies at the end of his introduction, there is little in this collection which reflects the theoretical strides that have been made in other recent symposia on pastoral nomads. Despite previous efforts to provide greater conceptual and theoretical precision in the study of nomadism, there is a return in this volume to a consideration of wandering ritualists (the Gnawa of Morocco), "national cadres of industrial workers," and other "non-ecological" nomads alongside migratory peoples dependent on a pastoral economy. In addition, a surprising number of the papers (those by Ben-Ami, Monogarova, Robakidze, and Smirnova, to name only a few) are not about nomads at all; nor do they make any reference to modes of interaction between the settled populations which they do describe and nomads. A generous interpretation of the basis for their inclusion in the session is that they identify some of the alternatives to nomadism in areas of nomadic predominance.

The question of "Why nomadism?" in such areas is systematically addressed only in the ecologically oriented papers in the first section of the volume. In two of the more valuable articles in the full collection, Emanuel Marx and Charles Frantz reach somewhat different, but equally well-documented conclusions. While Marx argues that "Nomadic pastoralism is ... mainly an adaptation of people with an undeveloped technology to the scarcity of water in the dry season" (p. 46), Frantz maintains that "... some varieties of pasture utilization, settlement, and social organization found among various Fulani populations may directly or indirectly be due more to political than to physico-biotic features of the environment" (p. 155).

In the same section Susan Smith presents a thorough demonstration of the potential value of ethnographic analogy (based on a field study of the nomadic Tamasheq) in archaeological ecology. Such an integration of synchronic and diachronic approaches is sadly lacking in Khazanov's historical discussion of the "patent aggressiveness" and "the stagnant nature of nomadic society" (pp. 124-125). Vajnshtejn expresses the view that "pastoral nomadism spread ... on the basis of the economy and culture of roaming hunters who borrowed domestic animals from their sedentary neighbors" (p. 130) without reference to the considerable archaeological evidence to the contrary. What these two contributions provide in terms of historical depth does not make up for their deficiencies in the theoretical analysis of nomadism as a contemporary ecological and social system.

Some attention to the exclusively Soviet ethnological treatments of "ethnogenesis, evolution, and continuity" in the second section of the book can provide the Western reader with insights on the state of culture theory

and its merger with Revolutionary dogma and practical social application in the Soviet Union. In these chapters emphasis is placed on nomadism as an evolutionary stage characterized by economic and social backwardness until freed by post-revolutionary industrialization from "harmful traditional customs and rituals" (Annaklychev, pp. 189-190, 195). Government policies promoting sedentarization are viewed as being consistent with internal socioeconomic forces, and it is stated by Shanijazov that "Only as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution did the Uzbek people attain a territorial, economic, and cultural unity" (p. 154). Despite the uneven quality of these papers, the ethnohistorical discussion of Soviet Central Asia fills a regrettable geographical void in present studies of nomadism.

The balance between contemporary theory and culture-historical analysis is best achieved in the third section. Marceau Gast uses Arab historical documents to trace the sources of Tuareg sovereignty and the unconventional, among nomads, practice of matrilineal succession. Stephen Pastner offers evidence on the role of Baluch nomads in the "power politics" of feudalistic states in the Makran. Carroll Pastner discusses the ecological and historical roots of agnatic versus cognatic descent systems and tribal versus feudal forms of social organization in Iranian and Pakistani Paluchistan. These papers, along with the articles by Weissleder and Townsend on Adal and Galla nomads in East Africa, carefully avoid simplifications and exaggerations of nomad aggressiveness without offering romanticized versions of nomad-sedentary symbiosis.

The final section, "cognition, values and religion," is of greater significance for its concept than for its content. This is an area of extreme poverty in the nomad literature, and it is necessary that some inroads be made on the issue of how nomadic systems of values and beliefs contribute to patterns of ecological adaptation, social organization, and economic and political change. Unfortunately, only Jean-Pierre Digard's brief discussion of Bakhtyari "native models" of social organization pertains to the subject. Arutyunyan applauds "the fall of religious and other barriers" to the cultural integration of diverse ethnic communities in the Soviet Union (p. 343), while the other papers do not speak to the stated theme of cognitive determinants of nomadic culture.

As a final word, something should be said about the suggestion that these articles be used as reference points for competing perspectives on the future of nomadism. The negative view is expressed primarily by the Soviet analysts, and their discussions of sedentarization are written well after the historical and political fact of its occurrence in Central Asia. It is unfortunate that there is not much further discussion of this issue with respect to nomads in the Middle East and Africa. As for the contention that nomads represent the wave of the future, this may or may not be so, but there is little of ecological or structural similarity between itinerant oil-drillers or fortune tellers and "ecological" nomads.

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