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IS "NOMADISM" A USEFUL CONCEPT?

by Philip Carl Salzman

A central process in the development of any field of inquiry is the transformation of basic terms, concepts, and categories. This transformation can take place in various ways: attempts to increase precision of concepts through greater explicitness, elaboration to encompass more detail, rationalization to enable better fitting of concepts to one another, adjustment to enable accommodation of new data, refurbishment to reflect new theories and relationships therein posited, and replacement to express new assumptions and new paradigms. Elaboration, rationalization, adjustment, refurbishment and replacement of concepts must, then, be an ongoing part of any developing and self-critical discipline or inquiry. It is imperative for constructive contribution in inquiry for us to not only think about the world and what we see in the world, but also to think about the way we think--about the assumptions that we make and the concepts and categories that we use--because what we are able to "see in the world" is heavily influenced by the patterns of thought that we bring to it.

Thus we can only welcome the critical appraisal that is being brought to bear on the notion of "nomadism." No harm and only good can come from such an assessment. Even if participants in the discussion do not end up in full agreement, it is certain that assumptions will be uncovered, concepts sharpened, and theoretical issues clarified.

In a recent review article, "Some Thoughts on the Anthropological Study of Pastoralism," Dahl and Hjort remark that over the last decade there has developed among specialists "a wide-spread consensus to avoid the term 'nomadism,' which concerns the degree of mobility" and to concentrate instead upon "the economic aspects of animal husbandry, i.e. 'pastoralism'" (1980: 11). Certainly there has been a shift in frequency of usage, with "pastoralism" growing more popular and "nomadism" somewhat less so. But there is more to this than a matter of usage, and only the most superficial account would suggest that the shift is a semantic fad. On the contrary, specific arguments have been set out to justify this shift, and profound theoretical issues underlie it. It is well worth reviewing these various arguments to see how well they stand examination, how they fit with one another, and what overall conclusion can be drawn about the concept "nomadism."

An early and influential discussion is that by Dyson-Hudson in the lead article in PERSPECTIVES ON NOMADISM (1972). Attempting to account for the slow development of nomadic studies, Dyson-Hudson cites "the essentialist cast of so much thought about nomads" (1972: 8). The danger is seen in the treatment of nomadic movement.

...If movement is treated as an absolute quality of particular human groups, rather than being relative and dependent on other factors, then

our most profitable questions about spatial mobility are preempted. We settle too readily for categories which do not so much explain as explain away the realities of nomadic behavior (1972: 9).

However, even if "a behavioral and realist style of thought" (1972: 9) allows us to overcome essentialist thinking and a priori formulations, the conceptual problem remains, for "the very concept of nomadism is poor and obstructive to analysis" (1972: 23, emphasis in original). The reason is that "nomadism" includes two quite disparate phenomena, that is, spatial mobility and livestock rearing, and conceptually "yoking" the two together causes confusion and inhibits the examination of variables and the relationships between variables. Thus it is most fruitful to proceed by developing a "herding model" and a "spatial mobility model" (1972: 24).

Dyson-Hudson's arguments have been well received, and rightly so in my view. I would identify myself entirely with both the spirit and the substance of his discussion. Indeed, in the conference paper which I contributed to the PERSPECTIVES ON NOMADISM volume, to which Dyson-Hudson's paper is the introduction, I too argued against ideal-typical conceptualizations and in favor of an analytical approach which distinguished movement from resource extraction (Salzman 1972: 67), points which were developed at length in an early paper (Salzman 1970, and incorporated in Salzman 1972a) repeated from a different perspective in a paper for the conference following the PERSPECTIVES one (Salzman 1971).

The sole point of non-congruence between Dyson-Hudson's discussion and mine is on the use of the term "nomadism." Dyson-Hudson firmly identifies the term with the ideal-typical model, and leaves it behind in favor of "herding model" and "spatial mobility model." I assume that, the ideal-typical model having been set aside, the term "nomadism" can be used as the label for the "spatial movement model," just as "pastoralism" can be used as the label for the "herding model." (The fact that Dyson-Hudson misunderstands my usage, thinking that I am referring to populations rather than a particular type of movement, that I am referring to "multi-resource nomads" rather than the migration of the residence group from one kind of resource to another, leads him to express concern about unnecessary categorization (1972: 16-17). Yet if we are to deal in variables and eventually to generalize, as Dyson-Hudson recommends (1972: 9), we shall have to discriminate through the use of categories and labels to represent them.)

What is clear is that Dyson-Hudson does not downplay the importance of the "spatial mobility model," what I would call "nomadism." Indeed, he provides a few programmatic words on the development of such a model (1972: 24). But he goes into considerably more detail in regard to the "herding model," arguing that less attention has been paid to it in the literature (1972: 24-26). And this is also quite reasonable in the light of the fact that the peoples studied by Dyson-Hudson are quite pastoral but not very much nomadic, at least by my definition, i.e. movement of the residential community in the course of the yearly round of extractive activities. This aside, Dyson-Hudson's position

would have to be understood as asserting that "nomadism" as "spatial mobility" and "pastoralism" as "herding" are both very important elements in the societies we study and major foci for theorizing and for research.

Turning to Asad's "Equality in Nomadic Social Systems? Notes towards the Dissolution of an Anthropological Category" (1978, 1979), we are confronted by a quite different set of concerns and alternative theoretical presumptions. Attempting to understand the factors underlying social, economic and political equality among nomadic peoples, Asad rules out nomadic movements and pastoral production as the determining factors. The most important factor, he argues, is that production is for consumption by the group itself, that is, for subsistence, and that there is an absence of the accumulation of surplus value (1978: 58, 64). Thus, "there cannot be an essential 'pastoral nomadic society'," because the nature of social life cannot be decisively determined by herding and nomadism, but rather is determined by the total system formed by the historically based combination of the forces and relations of production (1978: 60). From this perspective, it is less important to say that people are nomadic than to say that they or someone else controls their territory (1978: 61), less important that they are pastoralists than who owns the animals and whether the production is for market or subsistence. For Asad, then, theoretical purposes require "the adoption of a problematic based on a coherent concept of mode of production" (1978: 62, emphasis added). It follows from this that "'nomadic society' and 'the nomadic mode of production' are both theoretically unviable concepts" (1978: 64, emphasis in original).

Asad is in agreement with Dyson-Hudson and myself that ideal-typical and essentialist thinking obscures the many complex combinations of factors that make up particular societies, and that the sheer presence of herding and nomadism does not tell one very much about the nature of a particular society. Asad stresses the importance of surplus value and external political forces in the determination of local social and political patterns, and I have argued similarly in "Inequality and Oppression in Nomadic Society," a paper given at the Paris conference where Asad presented his paper (Equipe 1979).

But there are two positions in Asad's discussion which deserve careful scrutiny. The first is that "nomadic society" is not a "theoretically viable concept." Now as an argument against ideal-typical conceptualizations, against positions which hold that all nomads have similar societies, such a position is unexceptionable. However, insofar as this is a statement that nomadism and pastoralism are not important factors in social life, that even with other things being equal, nomadism and pastoralism do not make much difference--and Asad implies this position but does not make it explicit--it flies in the face of evidence which I consider convincing. People engaged in a nomadic pastoral way of life differ significantly from others of the same tribal groups who engage in cultivation, as Edgerton has shown in *THE INDIVIDUAL IN CULTURAL ADAPTATION* (1971). Similarly, the flexible groupings and modes of conflict resolution through separation and avoidance among East African pastoralists are related to an absence of witchcraft accusations, a pattern quite in contrast

to East African cultivators (Baxter 1972). Among politically independent peoples of Middle Eastern frontier areas, pastoral nomadism is associated with relatively egalitarian tribal organization in comparison to cultivating peoples, as in the case of Baluchistan (Salzman 1971a). And while the political status of nomadic peoples depends partially upon the capacity of other power sources, notably the state, to reach them, as Asad argues (1978: 61), there is substantial evidence that nomadic peoples are more difficult to reach than sedentary peoples. Thus, while one might agree that "nomadic society" is not a "theoretically viable concept," one would have to argue that "nomadism" and "pastoralism" are important variables. Whether one cares to credit these variables as "theoretical" depends upon the level of abstraction attributed to that concept. These variables are not at the most general level, but they are for the purposes of argument construction of the same logical status as other more abstract concepts.

The second position which deserves scrutiny is the assertion that "for theoretical purposes (what is required is) the adoption of a problematic based on a coherent concept of mode of production" (1978: 62). Here Asad is not arguing for a "nomadic mode of production," which he specifically repudiates, or for a "pastoral mode of production," for he cites with approbation Digard's recognition that pastoralism is a productive activity and not a mode of production (1978: 62). But exactly what he is arguing for is far from clear. In referring to "a system which is historically formed and re-formed by complex combinations of the forces and relations of production" (1978: 60), is he opting for historical particularism? And if so, how does "mode of production" then become a "theoretical concept," which I understand as implying generalization? Or is he suggesting that we fall back upon such scientifically anachronistic categories as "Germanic mode of production" (Lefebure 1979: 4)? Surely we must be shown what "mode of production" schemas look like that and what they can do before we grant their theoretical superiority.

But this is not all: there are other grounds for regarding the mode of production problematic as problematical. These grounds can be characterized as the "materialist dilemma." On the one hand, there is the strong historical materialist position that the determining factor in society is the "combinations of the forces and relations of production" taken narrowly, which means that social organization, kinship, political structure, ideology, and other idea systems are determined superstructure. The difficulty with this approach is that it cannot in the end account for social forms and practices, because it cannot take into account the real influence of non-production factors (Salzman 1980). On the other hand, there is the structural Marxist position, which holds that almost anything can be considered part of the mode of production (Godelier 1977), since kinship structures, totemic systems, and so on are often integral parts of the forces and relations of production. So one must choose between a reductionistic position which does not seem to be able to work in practice and a permissive position in which mode of production accommodates so much that it means little more than "way of life." It is difficult to see the theoretical advance here.

Dahl and Hjort (1980: 11) state that emphasis upon pastoralism is preferable to emphasis upon nomadism because focus upon degree of

mobility "does not provide analytically significant units." But they do not elaborate, and so the reader must infer what exactly is meant by "analytically significant units," why a focus upon nomadism fails to generate such units and how a focus upon pastoralism does generate them. As I have argued above, in agreeing with Asad (who is cited by Dahl and Hjort), neither the facts of nomadism nor the facts of pastoralism are decisive enough to provide a fruitful classification of whole societies or to characterize particular peoples. Nomadism, itself with many different variant patterns, is associated with a wide range of subsistence patterns, forms of social and political organization, types of relationship with other nomadic and non-nomadic peoples, and sorts of ritual life. Consequently, a discussion of nomadism cannot be thought to be pinning down "the crucial fact" of a society, cannot be thought to be exhausting the major influences at work. But exactly the same can be said about pastoralism, which itself manifests many different variant patterns and which is associated with a wide range of subsistence, organizational, and ritual forms and practices. It is clearly established, and Dahl and Hjort know this well, that pastoralism is usually only one of a number of major productive techniques in most societies, that pastoralism can range in degrees from subsistence to market emphasis, that pastoralism can be based upon a sedentary residence pattern or an extensive nomadic one, that pastoralism can in greatly varying degrees be intermeshed with the social and ritual system, and that peoples with major pastoral interests can be more or less involved with surrounding peoples and more or less encapsulated by wider societies and that the terms of involvement and encapsulation, often determined by political factors, can be highly disparate. Thus even knowing most of what there is to know about pastoralism per se falls short of providing a basis for classifying societies or for characterizing or understanding particular societies.

On the other hand, pastoralism is a major element in many societies, and an understanding of pastoral parameters and dynamics is a prerequisite for understanding these societies adequately. Pastoralism in general has certain features, such as self-reproduction of basic resources and mobility and partibility of productive resources, which have a substantial impact upon economic, social and political life, in comparison with different types of productive activity, other things being equal (e.g. see Paine 1971). Pastoralism is an element, a variable one, intermeshed with a great many others, and affecting the larger pattern at least partly according to the nature of the other elements present. In all of these respects, pastoralism is similar to nomadism, which has certain general features--spatial mobility, social flux, ongoing decision-making--but which varies in form and extent, which is one element in many in any particular society, which is affected in its impact by the nature of the other elements, and which, nonetheless, has a significant impact on social forms and practices, other things being equal. In short, I would argue that both pastoralism and nomadism are important elements in the societies in which they are found, and that treated as variables among a complex of other variables they are both concepts of analytic value.

Must we, though, cease referring to "nomadic peoples" and "pastoral peoples"? Not necessarily. I think that these usages can be justified on two counts. First, such a label can be used to identify a category of peoples, or a collection of ethnographic cases,

which is to be the focus of investigation. Such categories would be similar to many others used in the same fashion: "matrilineal peoples," "alpine peoples," "East Africans," "maritime peoples," "literate peoples," "swidden cultivators," and so on. The point to remember is that the category defines a universe to be investigated and not a uniform set of replications driven by the mainspring of matrilineality or pastoralism or literacy. Such categorization provides a testing ground for assessing the impact of the defining variable and of the other variables present. One chooses a particular universe because one is particularly interested in the defining variable and its impact upon the rest of life, or because it happens to be a convenient way, given where one has done research or what one is investigating, of constituting a limited universe which will be easier to handle than a larger or unlimited universe of cases.

A second justification for referring to "nomadic peoples" and "pastoral peoples" is a somewhat more practical one. Many of us are concerned about the fate of such peoples in the world today because in most countries they are small minorities, often of different ethnic identity than the majority, having a way of life not compatible--or seen to be not compatible--with the way of life or aspirations of the bulk of the population or the plans of the governing elite. Thus the category "nomadic peoples" identifies peoples in trouble or who may be in trouble, peoples whose aspirations should be respected and whose way of life--as many of us know from first hand experience--has a value and integrity that should not be disregarded. The same can be said for the overlapping category of "pastoral peoples."

For some purposes it is desirable to stress certain features rather than others. In some cases, one would want to stress pastoralism, because raising livestock is more obviously a valuable activity than is nomadic movement, is more obviously compatible than with the needs and aspirations of the majority population, is more obviously amenable to governmental "development" planning. In short, pastoralism may be easier to "sell" than nomadism. So it is reasonable, in some circumstances, to stress "pastoralism." But this does not make nomadism less important in fact, as part of the adaptation in the process of social life, nor does it make "nomadism" less viable than "pastoralism" as an analytic concept.

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"Self-help for Pastoralists"

by William Lancaster

In Newsletter Number 5 I criticised, somewhat intemperately perhaps, a monograph by Ibrahim and Cole. It is now time to be constructive.

To begin with I am not happy with the word 'development'. It implies an imposition of 'improvement', a westernisation, a dragging of 'primitive' people into the modern, enlightened world whether they like it or not. In short it smacks of the nastier sort of paternalism. At worst it is the enforcement of a rigid plan of action measured solely in economic terms; at best it seems to be a sort of 19th century missionary effort. The real trouble with development is that it never, as Douglas Johnson points out in UNCOD, Combatting Desertification, and the Pastoral Nomad' (Newsletter 5), pays more than lip-service to the people being developed. To quote Willy Brandt in 'North-South: a Programme for Survival', 'the focus has to be not on machines or institutions but on people.....We must not surrender to the idea that the whole world should copy the models of highly industrialized countries.' So any attempt at planning a self-help scheme or even the basic research for such planning must concentrate on the people themselves, their social structure, their culture, their hopes and their fears. Only when this is known should any move be made towards planning 'development'. This is particularly important when the country concerned contains a large number of pastoralists. In general, members of the ruling elite do not come from a pastoral background, they tend to regard pastoralists as backward and an embarrassing anachronism. It ought to be pointed out to them by the planner that sedentarisation and industrialisation under these circumstances is unlikely to work. There are many examples of failure to provide convincing evidence.

The type of self-help scheme for pastoralists which I have in mind is examined below. It isn't perfect in every detail and more research needs to be undertaken, but the important point about it is that it isn't my scheme at all; I have simply organised ideas into a fairly coherent structure. The ideas came from the Rwala Bedu, not just one or two of them but dozens contributed towards it. Some were interested in the political aspects, some were motivated by pure self-interest, others saw it as a means of retaining their identity and independence. A few thought that it wouldn't work, but the vast majority favoured the idea. The scheme itself is simple. Its basis comes from the Rwala query, 'How can we reduce our dependence on oil-related wealth so that we can survive in time of crisis and maintain our individual and collective freedom?' The obvious answer was a return to camel-herding, but they couldn't see how camel-herding could pay. This was where I came in; I made enquiries, on their behalf, about markets and products and organisation and transport and all the paraphernalia of a business enterprise.

The first question was 'What do camels produce?' The answer was milk, meat, hair, hides and offal.

Milk. Fresh milk is in short supply throughout the Arab world as well as elsewhere. Camels' milk is excellent when fresh and has a high vitamin C content which is why the Bedu have never had much need

of fruit. The main problem is transporting fresh milk from widely scattered herds to the population centres. The simplest solution is refrigerated tanks mounted on pick-up trucks. These trucks are readily available, relatively cheap and already a familiar feature of pastoral life. The fresh milk could then be sold direct to households in the town or bulk-stored for packaging and distribution. The refrigerated tanks could be steam sterilized at a government inspection depot before returning to the desert. With cow's milk selling at 4 Saudi Riyals a litre (about 60 pence or one dollar) it should be economic if properly organised. The demand is there, I asked - not among the European population nor the upper income groups, but among the ordinary population.

Meat. Camel meat, like any meat, can be excellent or terrible depending on the age of the beast, the cut of the joint and the skill of the cook. At its best it can be like good beef, at its worst like old tyres. Again the product is there and the market is there - the organisation isn't. Much could be done to improve the quantity and the quality of camel meat. As a general rule of thumb farmers in Britain reckon that dosing and dipping against parasites increases the weight of a cow by some 12-15%. It seems likely that the same would apply to camels. I have been told that there will be some resistance to camel meat, that it is thought of as 'poor man's meat'. This may well be so, but the Middle East contains many poor men who cannot afford the astronomical prices of mutton which in 1979 amounted to about L60-70 (\$120-140) for a lamb fit to slaughter. Camels are already imported into Saudi Arabia from the Sudan for slaughter so there is clearly a greater demand than supply even now.

Hair. Unfortunately the Arabian camel does not produce the finest or longest camel-hair, so the market might be limited. Technical assessments could easily be made at a fraction of the cost of an air-conditioned cow-byre, which is the developer's idea of producing pastoral products. If camel-hair did not prove economic it could be used locally for crafts which are fast dying out for lack of this product.

Hides. Leather manufacturers and leather users all say that there is a world-wide shortage of good quality skins. At the moment, camel-skins, which can be turned into excellent leather for general or specialised purposes, are usually thrown away because they are of such poor quality. The main problem is tick-holes and other blemishes. These could be reduced by spraying camels with a pesticide although further research on the chemicals used is needed. A secondary problem is that local tanning processes render further treatment very difficult. This can be overcome, according to leather manufacturers, by stretching the skins upright and drying them in the shade, not a difficult process. The skins will then keep for at least six months and are easy to transport.

Offal. I have no idea what happens to the offal. I think it is thrown away like the skins. There is no reason why it should not be turned into fertilizer, along with the bones, for which there is an ever-increasing demand.

The real problem is organisation and administration. The way not to tackle it is by introducing great masses of bureaucracy, government supervision and paperwork. Although the sponsoring agency will undoubtedly try to retain financial control it is important that it does not. This is a self-help scheme and beyond obvious safeguards against embezzlement the deployment of financial resources should be left to

those who are running the scheme. And this should be the Bedu themselves. While their administration might not come up to the standards of the Institute of Directors or Chartered Accountants, it would certainly work for they would be personally involved in making it work. There is no shortage of personnel. Not all Rwala wish to remain herders, many want to develop their newly gained skills, but almost without exception they want to keep up their contacts with their herding cousins and their nomadic background - these men become the administrators, the technicians, the drivers, the veterinary assistants, etc. The sheikhs, who are mostly astute businessmen and who have the welfare of the tribe at heart, could act as co-ordinators, overseers or directors. The point is to utilise the existing tribal infrastructure rather than trying to create a new one from scratch. There is bound to be some corruption, sharp practice and nepotism for it is there already, but I would expect it to be far less than it would be if non-Bedu were imported to run the scheme. After all the Bedu have their own mechanisms, acceptable to them, for dealing with undue favouritism.

The next problem is how to increase the camel-herds to take maximum advantage of the scheme. It isn't actually the increase of the herds which is the problem - nature, common sense and market forces will do that - but what will the increased herds eat? This worries the young men most for they were mostly brought up during the severe drought of 1958-62 and rains haven't, to the sedentary, apparently been up to much since then. The older men are unworried by this. They point out that such droughts only occur about once every hundred years or so (though they may be wrong about this) and that for those who still follow the rains there has been plenty of grazing. The disparity between these observations can be accounted for by the paucity of meteorological stations in the desert and the patchy nature of the rainfall. Even so there are problems, particularly of overgrazing. To understand the nature of the problem it is necessary to look at the grazing characteristics of camels and sheep. By and large, camels browse on perennial shrubs and long grass; sheep graze close. Thus the two are only compatible with careful range management. In the past when sheep only grazed the desert fringe there was no difficulty, but the advent of the truck has extended the grazing area for sheep to include the whole desert. As a result it is becoming heavily overgrazed. To make the situation worse, the abolition of 'hema' (tribal grazing rights) has removed what controls there were. (This is a splendid example of what happens when an alien ideology of equality is exercised for political gain without regard for reality). The Bedu know about range conservation. I happened to be in Jordan when the only grazing was a small area in Rwala territory. Over 90,000 head of sheep were trucked in from all over the country and ruined the grazing in about six weeks. The Rwala herders, who had been carefully moving their sheep on to allow the grass to recover, saw others following them with no regard for future growth at all. They were furious but helpless. The only real answer, as Dr. Omar Draz has pointed out, is to reintroduce the 'hema' system and give back the tribes the right to control the grazing in their own territories. They know the ecology of the area and they know exactly how much rain produces how much grazing for how many beasts for how long. The Bedu have seen much of their best grazing swallowed up by agricultural development, why should they now be dispossessed of what remains? At the present rate there will be no grazing, just true desert, in a few years and a potentially valuable resource will be lost not only

to them but to all, for ever. They are the only people who know how to exploit their environment efficiently, for heaven's sake encourage them to do so.

What of the costs? By development standards they will be minimal. Of course it will be a gamble, all development is, but it is a gamble which will cost relatively little and has far greater potential, not only in economic terms but in human resources, than most. It also has a better chance of success for it is based on the existing infrastructure, it is what most of the participants want and it is compatible with their social organisation. The whole scheme should be self-supporting in a very short time for as soon as the scheme is seen to work on a limited scale others will be prepared to invest their own money in joining the scheme. That has been the difficulty up to now. The Bedu probably have sufficient funds already, but they need a demonstration and government approval before they are prepared to invest. The whole question of costs needs further study but I cannot see it as an expensive scheme, indeed it shouldn't be - the whole point is to encourage the Bedu to do it themselves.

The benefits to the Bedu are obvious. They retain a certain degree of economic independence (they are realists and don't expect a return of old-style autonomy) and the freedom to live their lives as they want. I must repeat, this is not me being all romantic; the idea is theirs. They like being nomadic, they like being independent, they find the hardships of desert life far less than the hardships of town-dwelling, they like their camels and they want to survive, on their own terms. What then are the benefits to the state? Firstly it solves the problem of the Bedu. It gives them an alternative which they like and which is of economic use to the state. Secondly, it uses the desert, which makes up a huge part of many Arab countries, in an ecologically viable manner. It increases the state's resources, physical and human. Thirdly, it reduces the pressure on the towns. With some of the Bedu out in the desert and more travelling between the herds and the markets, there will be fewer trying to find work in the conurbations. Fourthly, it would increase home-produced foods, reducing dependence on imports and releasing hard currency for other purposes. Fifthly, it restores, in some measure, the symbiotic balance between the desert and the sown. This is important for it is this, I believe, which is the root of the Bedu's unease about inclusion in a state system. Sixthly, by permitting a significant segment of the population to work as they like it reduces the pressure for violent political change.

Clearly there are related problems which cannot be gone into in detail here. Education is one; many Bedu children are rejecting education as it is so totally town-oriented. A pastoral education system shouldn't be very difficult to devise. Health-care is another. Travelling clinics and the training of some of the Bedu as 'bare-foot doctors' Chinese-style are two lines worth pursuing. Already I can hear the cry go up 'But your plan will create second-class citizens and encourage the development of two opposing cultures'. Fine, it will because that is the way the Bedu see it at the moment and always have. To them the townsmen are the second-class citizens and there are two cultures because the desert and the sown have always been a symbiotic partnership, separate but interdependent. This is precisely the direction that development should take. The Bedu do not regard themselves as part of the state; they maintain close and generally friendly relations

with the 'hukuma' (the ruler, personally), but they have the deepest suspicions about the 'dowla' (The State). This can be used to advantage for while the Bedu might be doubtful about accepting aid from the bureaucracy, they will not worry about taking aid from the ruler, aid provided by an international agency. This may seem an unnecessarily complicated way of setting about it, but if we (the West) are going to help other cultures develop their potential it is probably easier to do it their way than try to get them to do it our way. After all we do pride ourselves on being educated - now is the time to show that we are.

It is probably clear by now that I am a follower of Dr. Schumacher and 'Small is Beautiful'. I would find a fitting quote to end this paper, but I can't. I lent the book to the Emir of the Rwala who had it translated to him by one of his Syrian business associates. They were so impressed by it that he asked to keep it. Doesn't this indicate that the Third World is quite capable of developing itself with just a little technical assistance?

Rysa Lodge,
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DESERT AND COAST: POPULATION FLUX BETWEEN PASTORAL AND MARITIME
ADAPTATIONS IN THE OLD WORLD ARID ZONE¹

By Stephen Pastner

Introduction

In the literature on pastoral-nomadism in the deserts of the Old World there has long been the awareness that nomadic and sedentary peoples have interacted in various important ways. However, the "middle-eastern trilogy" (English 1976) of herdsman, villager and urbanite has, on the whole, been a rather restricted club, with relatively little attention paid to other ways of life which might exert important influences on nomads and be influenced by them in turn.

My argument here is that there may have been, and continue to be, significant interactions between pastoral-nomadic and maritime communities in the arid zone of the Old World such that populations from one sector may perceive communities from the other as being particularly likely prospects with which to amalgamate when presented with the need or desire to modify or abandon their original livelihood. (By "maritime" I refer primarily to fishing adaptations but also recognize sea-trade, piracy, and smuggling as falling into this rubric). I shall attempt to support this hypothesis by cross-cultural data, by the little published information available on the arid zone desert-coast interface, by reference to my own fieldwork among both desert and maritime Baluch in Pakistan², and finally by indirect evidence in the form of similarities in the ideology, social organization and psychological make-up of herdsmen and seafarers. I hope to make the case that such similarities might well facilitate movement of people from one sphere to the other.

The basic conceptual issue here centers on an understanding of the factors that would either promote or inhibit changes in an individual's identification with a particular social group--a problem area of increasing interest to anthropologists. This concern grows out of a dissatisfaction with more traditional analytical orientations toward the study of socio-technic groups which tended to view them as discrete and rigid "types" of society. In recent years greater sensitivity has developed to the fact that social boundaries and an actor's identity with a particular kind of community are, in fact, quite malleable, and that the factors leading to flexibility in such identity (which may even involve changes in ethnic affiliation where this correlates with a particular genre de vie) are worthy topics of study in their own right (c.f. in particular Barth 1969). Students of both maritime and, especially, pastoral societies (c.f. Dyson-Hudson 1972) have begun to deal with this matter, although so far ignoring the desert-coast interface. It is my hope here to further an understanding of population dynamics and social change in the arid zone by suggesting a fruitful area for further investigation.

Flexibility in Occupational Identity among Pastoral Nomadic and Maritime Peoples

Peoples generally regarded as pastoral nomads exhibit a marked degree of interaction with those practicing other forms of activity. A number of these socio-economic sectors may co-exist in the same general locale and may be characterized by various degrees of economic or political interrelationship, hence Kroeber's (1948) characterization of nomads and their neighbors as "part societies" in a symbiotic relationship, and Coon's portrayal of Middle Eastern pastoral nomads and adjacent non-nomadic peoples as comprising an "ethnic mosaic" (1965:196). The effective boundaries of such pluralistic social systems may range from localized groups exploiting different terrains in a relatively circumscribed area, as among the Pathan, Kohistani and Gujar inhabitants of the Swat valley of Pakistan described by Barth (1956), to the level of national states, such as Turkey, where the relations of nomads and sedentaries are orchestrated supra-locally (Bates 1971).

If pastoral nomads and their non-nomadic neighbors often participate in common social systems, it then follows that certain wants and aspirations are in turn held in common, although different ecological niches may be utilized to obtain the material means of satisfying them. Moreover, within these multi-cultural and multi-occupational systems a certain amount of fluidity of membership often exists between the different social and technological sectors, as individuals attempt to practice those activities and to affiliate with those groups which will best satisfy their wants.

Well before Kroeber's formulation of the "part society" concept, Musil (1928:45) described a relevant case of strategic manipulation of socio-technic identity in Northern Arabia, noting that degrees of government security influence decisions to remain fully nomadic, to partially settle or to entirely sedentarize.

In more recent discussions, Barth (1964) has described how Basseri herdsmen of southern Iran and Pehrson (1966) how Marri Baluch shepherds of Pakistan exhibit increasingly greater degrees of dependence on labor in settled villages as their own livestock holdings diminish, also a feature of the nomads of southern Pakistani Baluchistan (Pastner 1971a and 1975). Indeed, Salzman's (1972) term "multi-resource" nomadism - which he developed specifically for nomads of Iranian Baluchistan (who seasonally and situationally mix herding, date palm arboriculture, wage labor--and traditionally--raiding) - can be seen to apply to a variety of peoples traditionally stereotyped as self-contained nomadic herdsmen.

More historical discussions also highlight the fluidity that may exist between nomadic-pastoral and other ways of life. Bates and Lees (1974), for example, have suggested that full blown middle eastern pastoral-nomadism was itself the outgrowth of canal-irrigation agriculture, for as "irrigation for agriculture proceeds through time, its productivity in terms of labor input decreases..." (p. 190) until segments of the population look to alternative subsistence patterns such as nomadic pastoralism.

Turning to studies of maritime peoples we find similar examples of adaptational malleability. Firth (1964) and Norr (1975), among others, note that peoples with a primary emphasis on fishing may also

be involved in agricultural and other activities in wider peasant economies. Similarly, Haviland (1973) has described how seafaring on the Maine Coast was an outgrowth of a traditional slash and burn agricultural technology that was not by itself productive enough to sustain the population.

For nearby maritime Canada, Britan and Denich (1976) have described how new job opportunities in construction and mining led Newfoundland fisherman increasingly to turn to wage labor, beginning in the 1940's.

The ultimate point is the same for maritime or pastoral-nomadic peoples (or any other adaptation for that matter). People will do what they can to satisfy their wants and needs and if in so doing they fail to conform to social-science categories or "types", the fault lies with our categories. We must in fact develop far more awareness of the dynamics involved in how and why people modify technological and social adaptations.

Desert and Coast Interaction

Observers of nomadic-non-nomadic interactional settings in the Old World have concentrated, as the earlier examples indicate, on the "desert and the sown", (c.f. Nelson, 1973). Interplay between the desert and the coast, on the other hand, has been--by my reading at least--virtually ignored as a factor in such studies. This is cause for some puzzlement since (a) in the arid zone, coastal fisheries (and/or opportunities for sea-trade or piracy) and the pastures of nomads are often territorially contiguous (as for example along the coast of western Sahara, the Horn of Africa and the northern coast of the Arabian Sea) and (b) where such proximity occurs elsewhere in the world nomadic and maritime communities do often manifest rather profound interaction, if not population exchanges (c.f. Eidheim 1966 for the Lapps and Fuchs 1968 for the Guajiro of coastal Columbia and Venezuela).

In light of all this, more attention should be directed to the desert-coast interface in the Old World arid zone for what little published material exists on the subject points to qualitatively (if not quantitatively) significant interaction between Old World desert and coastal ways of life.

Thus, in his recent delightful book, The Camel and the Wheel, Bulliet (1975) suggests that a seafaring folk of the southern Arabian coast may have been the first to domesticate the camel--a beast which was to play a major part in arid zone pastoralism from at least the 12th century B.C. onwards.

In an entirely different context Lewis (1961) notes that flux between desert and sea strongly contributed to the evolution of modern nationalistic politics in Somalia.

...from their position on the sea-board of Ethiopia Somali have always been in touch with the outside world... Since the earliest days of colonization it has been customary for Somali to travel widely abroad, mainly as seamen or stokers...when these men return home to resume the pastoral life they also bring back new aspirations and ideas (1961: 269, emphasis mine).

(c.f. the Persian Shahsavan studied by Tapper 1979) are pastures privately owned. Likewise among fishermen cross-culturally there is also a characteristic policy of viewing the sea as a collective resource (although among such groups as the Maine lobstermen described by Acheson (1972) de facto territoriality does exist).

Regardless of the debatable long term effects of the commons "folk-model" of the environment (e.g. over-grazing or overfishing) I suggest that the fact that the "commons mentality" is characteristic of both maritime and pastoral settings makes it likely that in the arid zone, where fishermen and nomads are often so distributed as to provide perceivable models for each other, individuals from one sphere could move to the other with little disorientation in their ecologic perceptions, a disorientation that, as will be noted below, can be a problem when either fishermen or nomads attempt to settle into agricultural communities.

Social Organization Among Pastoral and Coastal Peoples

Both nomads and fishermen appear to exhibit cross cultural similarities in the organization of those groups most essential to economic production, and hence survival. In both adaptations these units are characterized by their small size and fluidity of membership.

Among nomads the herding unit, which is often coterminous with the residential camp group, may be hedged about by all sorts of normative, often kinship-based, rules governing membership. In the Muslim world, for example, ideals of patrilineality supposedly determine membership in Bedouin camps (Peters 1967; Sweet 1965) and those of Iranian herdsmen (Barth 1964); but the most salient de facto feature of such camps is their plasticity of membership which often contravenes normative rules (Pastner 1971b). Such exigencies of the pastoral way of life as drought, epidemics, predators, phases in the family developmental cycle and others, constantly threaten socially defined optimum man-animal ratios which are at the basis of all herding lifeways.

Among fishermen a high degree of instability in productive units is also found although for obviously different reasons. Relations between equipment owners and crewmen are commonly short-term contracts which may or may not involve kinship ties. Thus the Baluch fishermen frequently change crews with various patterns of catch-distribution presenting both captains and crew with a "cafeteria" of choices of how to best maximize economic benefits. Similarly, among fishermen in Tamilnadu, Norr (op cit) notes that ties between an equipment owner and subordinates are fluid, sometimes based on daily realignments, and in other cases on seasonal contracts which are strengthened by interest-free loans from owner to employee. But even these are regularly broken as employees switch allegiance and use the loans from new masters to pay off old ones (ibid: 362-63).

Firth, speaking of Malay fishermen notes that
to the outsider one of the most striking
features of the organization of lift net
groups is their flexibility of membership
..., their brittleness as social units.
(1964:114)

Disagreements over sharing of the catch and a multitude of other personal squabbles may underlie such fluidity cross-culturally. But more basically the instability of fishing productive units, like those

of the pastoral nomads, is an outgrowth of ecological considerations. For example, in terms of labor expenditure and safety, the potential advantages of in-shore fishing may be offset by the advantages of fishing the riskier but potentially more productive offshore banks (c.f. Davenport 1971). Since alternative modes of fishing are always present, the malleability of the work group reflects the gambler's attempt to maximize personal rewards by affiliating with those whose decisions and techniques he believes will do him the most good.

Although arising out of obviously different constraints, the small, fluid groups central to both maritime and pastoral life-ways seem even more similar to each other when compared to social organization in agricultural communities in the arid zone of the Old World. In these latter settings, two systems of land tenure-cum-social organization are particularly common. In one, land is held and worked by corporate kin groups in a fairly exclusionary system into which outsiders have difficulty entering. In the other sometimes coexistent pattern, large landlords, under either prebendal or mercantile domain (Wolf 1966) dominate a stratified social order with numerous small holders or landless sharecroppers.

True, it is not uncommon for pastoral nomads to have kin ties with sedentaries that would facilitate their entry into village life, particularly in those areas dominated by corporate kin land tenure systems (c.f. N. Swidler, 1973, for such a case among the Brahuis). But it is also true that such ties are often lacking. Although, unquestionably, settled life in agricultural villages or towns is the destiny of most nomads who alter their original lifestyle, I suggest that many an entrepreneurial nomad or fisherman, forced to modify or abandon his way of life, might well decide to turn not to agricultural settlements (where he could be relegated to the status of landless laborer) or to towns (as part of a wretched underclass), but rather to that other adaptation whose social organization allows more scope to his strategic maximizing orientations. That is, nomads might well turn to the communities of the coast; fisherfolk to the camps of the nomad. Both fish and herd animals, after all, can increase geometrically under the right conditions while, as Malthus well knew, land and its produce cannot. The flexibility of maritime and herding social organizations represents an attempt to capitalize on the potential riches offered by the reproductive cycles of living organisms. The relative rigidity of agricultural social systems in turn, is a reflection of the asexual soil in which they are founded.

The Psychological Make-Up of Pastoral and Maritime Peoples

Based on elaborate studies of herdsmen and villagers in East Africa, Edgerton (1971) suggests that pastoralists manifest different personality configurations than sedentaries, even when the two groups are of the same tribe. The precarious nature of the herding lifeway --its association with harsh terrains, the danger of human or animal predators and the uncertainties of climate--mitigate toward a personality type oriented to independence of action, aggressiveness, and bravery. Unlike the agriculturalist, whose lifeway is in a real sense rooted to the ground, the nomad's wealth has legs. He can thus control the viability of his economic plant by effective and strategic movement. Edgerton views this as a main determinant of the nomad's aggressive personality; mobility also correlating with a willingness to express hostility more openly than villagers who are forced to

live near their neighbors forever and must be more convert. Likewise sedentary farmers, once seeds are planted, are of necessity more passive bystanders to their own economic destiny than mobile herdsmen. Goldschmidt (1971) has attempted to extend Edgerton's findings to pastoralists cross-culturally with, in my judgment, a good degree of plausibility.

While there have been no comparable studies on the psychology of maritime peoples as a generic category, impressionistic reading of the literature and my own research seem to suggest orientations in fishermen similar to those attributed to herdsmen. From the hardy whalers of Melville, through the rough and ready "Down Easters" described by such anthropologists as Haviland (1973) and Acheson (1972), to Polynesian sailors (Gladwin 1973), seafarers often seem exemplars of psychological characteristics that parallel those of the nomad.

Certainly, the archetypic warrior-nomad image portrayed by Edgerton and Goldschmidt has its analogues along the coasts of the Old World arid zone in well developed traditions of tough seafarers from the mythical Sinbad to historical buccaneers like the Barbary pirates, the Arab brigands of the Persian Gulf, and the Kalmatis - Baluch Pirates of the Arabian sea who harassed the 16th century Portuguese (c.f. Villiers 1970). Among Baluch fishermen intrepid sailors or del wallah - ("men of heart") - are universally admired and often among the wealthiest men since they not only fished in quite severe weather but also engaged in the lucrative but dangerous pursuit of smuggling.

Seafarers, like nomads, rely heavily on strategic movement, with all its attendant hazards, and, if we follow the Goldschmidt-Edgerton model, this factor may well underlie what I here suggest are similar personality types. If this is the case, nomadic and maritime peoples in the arid zone have yet one more affinity to ease the putative transition of people from one sphere to the other.

Conclusion

Even if we accept the idea that similarities between coastal and pastoral lifeways might well facilitate movement of people between the two spheres, we are still relatively ignorant of the factors that could motivate such a move in the first place, although considerable data exist on population flux between pastoral and agricultural communities. For example both Haaland (1969) and Pehrson (1966) have described how sedentaries can become nomads (among the Sudanese Fur and Marri Baluch of Pakistan respectively). Likewise such studies as Barth's (1964) N. Swidler's (1973) and Monteil's (1966), among many others, discuss forces leading to sedentarization of nomads. But when it comes to analagous studies of how arid zone pastoralists might become fishermen or vice versa, comparative data are obviously scanty, with my own recent work on maritime Baluch the only attempt of which I am aware to deal with this matter in a fieldwork context.

It should be stressed that opportunities for in situ observations of the transitions I discuss here are not likely to be routinely encountered in the course of a limited field work stay. In my own research with the maritime Baluch, for example, I was confronted with populations whose ancestors had made the transition from the hinterland

to a coastal way of life long before I appeared on the scene. Additionally volatile political events in those areas of the world where nomad-maritime interactions are likely to occur (e.g. the Baluchistan and Arabian coasts, the horn of Africa and the Western Sahara) don't bode well for immediate field research.

However, the legitimacy of topics for anthropological inquiry ought not to be dictated by the vicissitudes of politics and it is hoped that this discussion will point the way to just such a topic for future research.

Footnotes

¹This is an abbreviated version of a longer paper. The author welcomes correspondence from those with related data or interests.

²My wife Carroll and I worked with farmers and nomads in the Makran area of Pakistani Baluchistan in 1968-69 and with maritime Baluch on Pakistan's Sind coasts in 1976-77. The latter research was sponsored by the American Institute of Pakistan Studies.

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Jorge A. Flores Ochoa, Pastoralists of the Andes: The Alpaca Herders of Paratia. Translated by Ralph Bolton from the 1978 Pastores de los Andes. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues. 134 pp. 1979.

Ideally a review should cover what a book does well and perhaps what it fails to do. In the present case, I find a special additional constraint. The book must be reviewed for Old World readers who are basically unaware of indigenous New World pastoralism, while at the same time making remarks on the book for New World specialists who need to know what new aspects might be covered.

Perhaps the most important argument in the book (pp. 111-119) is the attempt to demonstrate clearly that not only is there indigenous pre-Columbian pastoral nomadism in the New World, but that it has a history of at least 7,000 years or more, making it comparable to sheep and cattle pastoralism in the Old World. This point cannot be made too strongly or too often. Summary statements on pastoral nomadism by Old World specialists (for example Spooner 1971, 1973; Johnson 1969; Lees and Bates 1974; Irons and Dyson-Hudson 1972, etc.) persistently identify such exploitative patterns as being only found in Asia and Africa. As recently as 1977, I had the experience of having a student's NSF dissertation proposal turned down, largely on the advice of two Middle East pastoral specialists, who wrote NSF that there was no indigenous New World pastoralism, and hence the student was asking to study something that did not exist. The work has happily subsequently funded on a Fulbright grant--but the scholarly ethnocentrism exhibited was frightening.

There is indigenous New World pastoral nomadism of camelids--the llamas and alpacas. Remnants of camelid herding groups still exist in the Andes today, and it is one such partly modified surviving group that Flores Ochoa has studied. The book is in the style of the Holt-Rinehart-Winston "Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology" series. It is about the same length as this series (which usually run around 100-120 pp.), and like the H-R-W series, tends to be a more or less general ethnography. It might be viewed as the companion to Ekvall's Fields on the Hoof: Nexus of Tibetan Nomadic Pastoralism or Klima's The Barabaig: East African Cattle Herders in that series. For teaching purposes, I believe it will be useful in the same manner and level.

The reader should be aware that this book is being translated as a "classic". The research in this book was done 15 years ago, published in a brief review in 1964, and more completely in the 1968 Spanish version from which this current book is translated. Flores Ochoa has continued his research, and has works of much greater utility and sophistication (for example, Flores Ochoa 1976, 1977; Allpanchis Phuturinga 1975). There are several English summaries on Andean pastoralism, such as Webster 1973, Browman 1974, or some of the authors in Bolton and Mayer 1977, so the book's contribution does not lie solely with making the material available in English. Rather

it is in making available in English one of the classic studies which has since resulted in major new research areas being explored. The current translation is very little changed from the 1968 version. The maps have been made more accurate, a table on seasonal activities has been added from Flores Ochoa 1976, the photographs have all been changed, and a very useful index has been added. Otherwise the translation is word for word the 1968 book, to the point of retaining spelling errors of scientific species and some bibliographic errors.

When the book was written, Paratia was a self-governing community, but since the Agrarian Reform of 1969 it has been made a member of a state-operated *Cooperativa Agraria de Produccion* (Agrarian Production Cooperative). Thus, as is frequently the case in social anthropology, our "contemporary" study is already historical. Recent work has indicated that the Agrarian Reform in Peru has not succeeded in its goal of changing the social relations of production. Thus many of the observations made in 1964 are still true in 1980. In spite of the fact that the official political interaction of the community with the nation has changed, pragmatically it still functions much today as it did two decades ago.

In Peru, both of the adaptive strategies for altitudes proposed by Rhoades and Thompson (1975: 547)-- the generalized and the specialized --are practiced by the llama and alpaca herders. The generalized type, in which a single population, through agro-pastoral transhumance, directly exploits a series of ecozones at several different altitudinal levels, is typified by the Q'eros herders described by Webster (1973). The specialized type, in which the population locks into a single zone and specializes in the pastoral activities suitable to that zone, and develops elaborate trade relationships with populations in other zones which are also involved in specialized productions of agricultural products of those zones, fits the Paratia herders which Flores Ochoa describes in this book. As in general for idealized types, the Paratia people do not fit the model perfectly. Insofar as is possible they do try to exploit the potentialities of local microzones. But the trade for agricultural products from other zones was and is a basic necessity for subsistence.

Paratia herders have a central village, which is used seasonally, and which is particularly important for religious and political functions. Residents maintain several make-shift seasonal huts scattered out in the upland semi-arid grasslands, so that some seasons of the year the village of Paratia itself is essentially depopulated. Herding in Peru is very comparable to herding in Tibet or Nepal. As in the Himalayas, herding in the Andes is done because of the altitude, and is thus similar to the "altitude pastoralism" that Ekvall (1968) describes for Tibet and Nepal. But in some areas of southern Peru, and particularly further south in the llama and alpaca herding zones of Bolivia, rainfall is also a critical factor, making some of the constraints identical to those familiar to the semi-arid and arid land pastoralism of the Near East and Africa.

Fertility and reproductive rates are low, mortality is high, and climatic risk is high. Therefore a good deal of Flores Ochoa's focus in this book and in subsequent articles (for example Flores Ochoa 1976)

is upon the various means utilized by the Paratians to manipulate and control nature by enlisting the aid of the relevant spirits and forces.

The trading voyages described by Flores Ochoa are more typical of the pre-1950 period, and at the time of the research, had been very much attenuated, being replaced by modern truck transport. However, with the increasing scarcity of petroleum products world-wide, prices have increased to the point such that in at least one area there has been a resurgence of llama caravans because they can once again compete successfully. Trade voyages are arranged by recruitment of personnel along kin lines. Not unexpectedly, in those areas where the "generalized" strategy of Rhoades and Thompson is dominant, emphasis is upon descent-type kinship modes, while in areas like Paratia, with its "specialized" strategy, emphasis shifts to alliance-type arrangements.

Each family has a set of traditional routes. In some cases specific routes are "owned" by the associated families. In each trading village along the caravan route, the caravaners have fictive kin, trade partners, who act as their brokers in the respective settlements. These alliances are passed down from father to son. Although the herders take pastoral products from their settlements, such as wool, textiles, leather goods, dried meat, etc., and other products from the highland zone, such as medicinal herbs, salt and other minerals, to trade, they frequently received as much or more return from acting as transport agents for other groups. Caravans from Paratia stopped at pottery making villages, acquiring pots to trade. Frequently they went to the coast to acquire coastal fruits and food products which they in turn then transported to mid-elevation agricultural villages. The coastal fruits and vegetables could be traded there for greater quantities of basic grains and tubers. Thus the wool might be turned into pottery which was turned into coastal fruits and vegetables to ultimately be used in acquiring the desired basic tubers and grains that the herders needed for subsistence (Browman 1979).

This translation has much to recommend it in general. It is longer and therefore perhaps of more use than the previous summaries of Andean pastoralism in English. It is simple enough to be useful in any course on nomadic pastoralism, yet has enough sophistication to be of general interest to more advanced students and researchers. It makes available in English one of the classic papers on Andean pastoralism, thus hopefully helping to finally establish Andean pastoralism as one of the important areas to consider in works on pastoral nomadism. Bolton has done a superb job of translating the work into colloquial English. Even should one own the 1968 Spanish version, the new tables, charts, and index make this current version a worthwhile acquisition.

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1973 Native pastoralism in the South Central Andes. Ethnology 12(2):115-153.

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COMMISSION ANNOUNCEMENTS

News of the Secretariat

The Secretariat of the Commission is pleased to announce that Elizabeth Linn is working as Editorial Assistant on NOMADIC PEOPLES. Ms. Linn is doing an advanced degree in anthropology at McGill University: her area of specialization is pastoral peoples in South America.

Institutional Members

Two groups have recently been formed to further the study of nomadic and pastoral peoples: The Dutch Association for Research on Pastoral Nomadic Peoples and L'équipe de recherche sur "le pastoralisme" of the Centre de Recherches Anthropologiques, Préhistoriques et Ethnographiques (Alger). The Commission welcomes both groups as institutional members, and will provide support however possible for these valuable initiatives.

The Dutch Association, we are informed by Dr. Roelof Munneke of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (Leiden), was founded at a recent meeting in Amsterdam. The Association is meant to intensify and coordinate contacts between Dutch scholars actively engaged in research in the field of pastoral nomadism. Organizational affiliation, and perhaps inter-university and inter-museum status, will be worked out in the next few months.

L'équipe of C.R.A.P.E. has sent the following communique, which is printed in full:

Constitution de l'équipe de recherche sur "le pastoralisme" 1ère séance de travail 20 février 1980

Membres de l'équipe: Pelligra, Rezig, Romey.

A la suite de certains travaux effectués sur le nomadisme par des chercheurs du C.R.A.P.E., dans le cadre de recherches universitaires, il nous a paru important de dépasser les problématiques personnelles, abordées dans les travaux, et d'envisager une démarche plus globale, afin de mieux cerner la spécificité du pastoralisme algérien actuel.

Le manque de documents anthropologiques récents (car des études de statistiques existent) concernant l'Algérie, le fait que la dernière publication d'audience internationale "Nomades et Nomadisme" U.N.E.S.C.O.; Recherches sur les zones arides, date des années 1960, il nous a semblé fondamental d'effectuer une réflexion théorique s'appuyant sur les études très concrètes déjà réalisées ainsi que celles en cours.

Il est de première importance qu'une analyse de la situation apparaisse vingt ans après, afin de mieux saisir, en resituant la problématique au niveau du pastoralisme mondial, comment celui-ci évolue en Algérie.

Une telle démarche s'avère également nécessaire et très urgente, vu les situations de conflit et de transitions subit actuellement par le monde nomade.

Ce travail ne peut pas se faire uniquement avec les chercheurs du C.R.A.P.E. ainsi nous souhaitons élargir nos contacts avec des chercheurs en Algérie et à travers le monde, intéressés par notre démarche et désirant, par la suite, participer à la rédaction d'articles qui serviraient à l'élaboration d'une publication collective.

Programme

- Recensements des documents, des chercheurs et des organismes nationaux et internationaux.
- Elaboration d'une publication collective sur l'état du pastoralisme et ses perspectives.
- Collecte d'articles sur certains aspects socio-culturels, complétant et enrichissant l'approche plus spécifique du pastoralisme.
- Réalisation de films sur le monde nomade avec l'assistance du laboratoire cinéma du C.R.A.P.E.
- Organisation d'une table ronde sur le pastoralisme.

Travaux effectués par les membres de l'équipe

PELLIGRA D., Films

- 1970: Les seigneurs de la Paix (16mm)
Long métrage sur la situation socio-économique des Touaregs du Hoggar.
- 1974: L'Arche (16mm)
Réflexion sur le passage d'une groupe nomade à la vie sédentaire.
- 1976: Rahala (16mm)
En cours de montage. Migrations par camions des nomades de la steppe.

Travaux

- 1975: in Libyca. Dynamique résidentielle chez les nomades Ouled Sayha.
- 1979: Systèmes de relations nomades. (Région de Touggourt). Doctorat de 3ème cycle. Paris. Sous la direction de Germaine Tillion.
- 1980: Problèmes posés par l'adaptation d'un groupe nomade dans un village socialiste (à paraître)

REZIG I.,

- Théories concernant le mariage avec la cousins parallèle au Moyen - Orient. Thèse de 3ème cycle. Copenhague. 1970, en danois.
- Le pastoralisme méthode et hypothèses d'une étude dynamique. Bulletin du C.R.A.P.E. N°2 février 1975 35-41.
- Anthropologie du pastoralisme: Quelques problèmes théoriques. Bulletin du C.R.A.P.E. N°6 décembre 1976 74-80.

- Adaptation écologique et sociale d'une groupe nomade: le cas des Ouled laouar (Messaad). Etat de la recherche. Rapport ONRS, juin 1976 ronéo 39 p.
- Bibliographie Maghreb - Sahara - Anthropologie sociale et culturelle.
 - Libyca XXIV: 1976
 - " XXV: 1977
 - " XXVI: 1978 (à paraître)
- Participation à l'enquête: "Traitement de la tuberculose au Sahara".

ROMEY A.,

- Histoire, Toponymie et tradition orale d'une oasis araboberbère: N'Goussa. W. des Oasis Algérie. Mémoire E.P.H.E. Paris. 1974, 245 p.
- Les Saïd Atba de N'Goussa: Histoire et état actuel de leur nomadisme. W. de Ouargla - Algérie - Doctorat de 3ème cycle, 1978, 260 p. Sous la direction de Germaine Tillion.
- Toponymie d'une oasis de la ceinture pré-saharienne: N'Goussa. Libyca 1975, 15 p.
- Etat actuel du nomadisme dans la région de Ouargla. Libyca 1977. 8 p.
- Facteurs d'agglomération de l'habitat en milieu saharien, étude d'un cas: N'Goussa. Libyca 1979 (à paraître).

London Conference

The proceedings of the Commission conference, "Nomads in a Changing World," held in London in June 1978, will be published by the Institute for the Study of Human Issues (ISHI) of Philadelphia. The manuscript is currently being prepared, and it is expected that the volume will be published in 1981.

Delhi Conference

The proceedings of the Commission symposium at the International Congress in December 1978, "Change and Development in Nomadic Societies," will be published by Brill simultaneously as a special issue of THE JOURNAL OF AFRICAN AND ASIAN STUDIES and a hardback volume, the expected date of publication being late 1980.

Nairobi Conference

The Commission conference, "The Future of Pastoral Peoples: Research Priorities for the 1980s," will be held in Nairobi, Kenya on August 4 to 8, 1980, with participation of members of national and international research and development agencies as well as of scholars affiliated to African and other universities.

Amsterdam Intercongress

The Commission symposium at the I.U.A.E.S. Intercongress at Amsterdam in April 1981, "Planned and Unplanned Change among Contemporary Nomadic and Pastoral Peoples," will bring together twenty members of the Commission from a wide range of countries. An announcement of participation and paper topics will appear in the next issue of NOMADIC PEOPLES.

International Congress

The Commission is considering initiatives for the International Congress to be held in Canada in 1983. Suggestions, recommendations, and proposals are encouraged and will be given very careful consideration.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS OF COMMISSION MEMBERS

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Projects of Research: "La Storia e le Istituzioni dei Tuareg del Niger nel Patrimonio delle Tradizioni Orali" (History and Institution of Niger's Tuareg as appear in the oral literature of the group).

Ancient Tuareg oral literature is disappearing due to the unwillingness of young generations to learn by heart the unwritten poems which relate about the history, the wars and the culture of the people. This matter of fact, of which I became first aware during my stay in Niger (1964/69), is at the origin of the research, which initiated in 1968 continuing till June 1969 and through two missions of a few months, in Niger, during 1973 and 1977.

The poems are registered on tape, transcribed in tamasheq language (roman characters and tiffinagh characters) translated and noted.

At present I am working on the material I gathered; 800 pages have been written and typed so far.

The research is financed by N.C.R. (National Council for Research) and a report on the first part of the research has already been sent to the Council.

The work could be completed by the end 1980.

Unpublished Material: "Guida allo Studio Socio-Culturale delle popolazioni nomadi a economia pastorale" (Guide for socio-cultural analysis of nomad people in a pastoral economy).

It is a comprehensive outline of cultural survey of pastoral societies. The guide is divided in 43 chapters dealing with all aspects of pastoral life: geography, history, demography, housing, food, movements, etc. The manuscript, prepared years ago, has been tested in several countries and with different groups of nomads, and revised; however I feel it requires some more work before publication. It consists, at present of 180 pages.

"Popoli senza confini" (People without boundaries) - book in press. Five groups (Tuareg, Beduins, Fulbe, Tubu and Pathans) are briefly presented in their most significant aspects.

Publications: "La culture et la société pastorale maure dans une dynamique de développement" pp. 166 - Nouakchott 1979

Survey of pastoral Maures covering most of mauritanian inhabited region. The study includes analysis of social structure, tribal relationship, migration pattern of people and livestock, economic organisation, land tenure, efficiency of traditional methods and institutions; It served to identify objectives and strategies for a livestock policy in the Country.

Time spent in the field: 16 months - copies are available.

"Aspects socio-economiques et culturels des populations de la steppe tunisienne face a une programme de développement" - Les perimetres irrigués du gouvernorat de Sidi Bou Zid - tome I et II (p. 88 et p. 266) La région des puits de surface tome III (p. 141)

The research is an evaluation of the socio-cultural changes occurred in a society of pastoral nomads (Beduins of South Tunisia) after a government project was installed in the region with the aim of fixing nomad tribes in a newly irrigated area and to convert their pastoral economy to agriculture. The study includes analysis of existing available labour forces, family structure, animal production, land tenure, sources of credit, family budget, government assistance, etc., the study identifies main social and institutional factors affecting production.

Time spent in the field 30 months (1974/77) - copies of reports are available.

"Socio-Cultural components in grazing lands management" p. 16 paper given at the international UNESCO-MAB meeting: "Impact of human activities and land use practices on grazing lands" Hurley (England) 1974 - copies available.

"Socio-Cultural cum Institutional factors affecting resettlement of the populations from Taboa reservoir to the adjacent areas of the Euphrates river" p. 180, Damascus 1973.

Survey of Syrian Beduin pastoral groups living in the area which would be submerged following the construction of the Tabqa Dam. The study dealt with the value system of the population concerned, acceptance of innovations, working habits, villages plans and functions, family and social organization, etc.

Time spent in the field: 3 years (1971/3) - copies available.

"Studio preliminare ad uno sviluppo socio-economico delle popolazioni nomadi del Niger" (preliminary study in view of a socio-economic development program of nomad populations of Niger) paper published in the "International Review of Community Development" pp. 151-180 n. 21-22 Roma - copies available.

"Alphabétisation et éducation des adultes aupres les populations nomades du Niger" rapport pour l'UNESCO p. 70 Paris 1969

Time spent in Niger: from March 1964 to December 1965 and from September 1966 to June 1969.

No copies of this report are available.

"I Nomadi Kuci dell'Afghanistan" (The Kuci nomads of Afghanistan) p. 250
Roma 1970

This book, as the following contributions, show some significant aspects of the culture and activities of these nomads, with observations about nomadism and modern life. The research, in the field, was conducted in two times: 4 months in 1963 and two months in 1966. Copies available.

"L'attività commerciale dei nomadi dell'Afghanistan" (commercial activities of Afghan nomads) published in: Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia p. 499-514 n. 3 1968 - copies available.

"L'Islam dei Nomadi Afghani" (The Islam of Afghan Nomads) notes published by the Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici - p. 20 Roma 1967 - copies available.

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Recent Works:

Pstierstvo v oblasti Vysokých Tatier /Elevage des moutons dans la Haute Tatra/, Bratislava 1967, p. 212, franz. resumé.

Spôsoby chovu hospodárskych zvierat /Viehzucht/, Bratislava 1962, Rus. und franz. resumé, p. 184.

Polnohospodárstvo a pastierstvo /L'agriculture et le paturage/, In: Horehronie, p. 15-173, Bratislava 1969, Germ. und franz. resumé.

Poloninské hospodárstvo Huculov v ukrajinských Karpatoch /Mountain farming with Huculs in the Ukrainian Carpathians/. In: Slovenský národopis /Slovak Ethnography/, XIV /1966/, p. 193-292. Ukr. und franz. resumé. Bratislava.

Die Überwinterung auf den Salaschen in Berggebiet der Mittelslowakei.

In: Viehwirtschaft und Hirtenkultur, Budapest 1969, p. 323-344. The Pastoral Culture of the Carpathians as a Subject of an Ethnological Study.

In: Ethnologia slavica, I /1969/, p. 67-82, Bratislava.

----etc.----

Works in Progress:

I am preparing now a synthetic work "Life and culture of the Shepherds in Slovakia - in context with Carpathians area and Balkan Peninsula" Manuscript /cca 500 pages/ will be finished in 1979. The publishing of this work /in Slovak/ is prepared by the Edition of the Slovak academy of Sciences in Bratislava. I will prepare the Monography about Pastoral Culture in Macedonia /Yugoslavia" - after 1980.

Current Research:

The pastoral culture in South-East Europe is the object of my research. Nomadism in classical form doesn't exist in this part of Europe, but there is a strong influence of Nomadism from the Middle East. I propose that the Commission widen the interests for research of the pastoral cultures. I will send other suggestions.

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Projects of Research:

Bedouins of the Near East and Northeastern Africa; material culture, transition to settled life; relations between nomads and sedentary peoples; fieldwork among the Shammar Bedouins (1962), the Aulad Ali Bedouins (1968/69), the Baggara of Kordofan and Darfur (1972/73) and in Siwa Oasis (1976).

Unpublished Material and Work in Progress:

Social-economic and ethnic development of the peoples in the Western Desert of Egypt and problems of their integration into the Egyptian State.

Publications:

- 1978 - Die Oase Siwa. Unter Berbern und Beduinen der Libyschen Wüste. Brockhaus Verlag Leipzig (together with Walter Rusch)
- 1974 - Wandervoike der Wüste. Brockhaus Verlag Leipzig.
- 1969 - Ethnographische Feldforschungen im Wadi al-ğadid. In: Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde Leipzig (Berlin, Band 26)
- 1967 - Die Sammar-Ğerba. Beduinen im Übergang vom Nomadismus zur Sefhaftigkeit. Akademie Verlag Berlin.

In Press:

Ethnographische Sammelexpedition nach Kordofan und Darfur. In: Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde Leipzig.

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