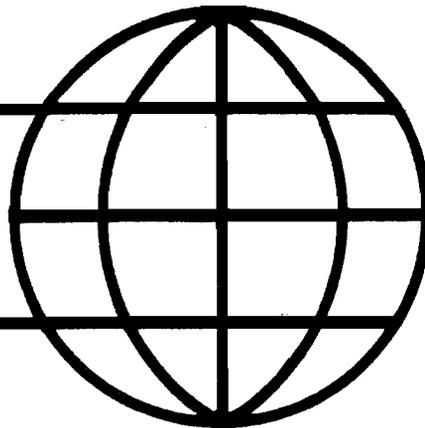


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**COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS  
AND NATURAL RESOURCE SYSTEMS ANALYSIS**

**BALUCHISTAN, PAKISTAN:  
A SOCIO-ECONOMIC LITERATURE  
REVIEW AND ANALYSIS**

Area Development Working Paper



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**Area Development Working Paper**

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**PART I**  
**REVIEW AND ANALYSIS**

## Introduction

Historically Baluchistan has been a border area between the civilizations of the Iranian Plateau of Southwest Asia and the Indus Plains of South Asia. For the British in India it formed a part of their northwest frontier. Their concern about that frontier led them to develop the policies that have generated the present geographical and political identity of the Pakistani Province of Baluchistan. After a number of missions of an informal or covert nature (see for example Pottinger 1816; Masson 1842; Haji Abdul Nabi 1841), they began to intervene directly in its political affairs in 1839. They finally incorporated the greater part of it into the Empire in 1854 and negotiated their border through it with Iran and Afghanistan in the 1870s. The zone along the border with Afghanistan was administered directly and known as British Baluchistan, while the interior of the territory, the States of Kalat, Kharan and Las Bela, were administered according to the policy of "indirect rule," under which existing local rulers, or (if suitable ones were not available) local positions, were confirmed and made responsible to the Government. This policy, while it served the major British purpose of imposing an unaccustomed degree of stability in the area at minimal expense, had the disadvantage that it maintained in their position rulers who might otherwise in the normal course of events have been deservedly displaced, and so hindered the natural processes of political and social evolution.

By any standards of comparison--economic, technological, political--Baluchistan is a backward underdeveloped area. Before the British period the vague cultural and linguistic identity of the various Baluch tribes had been galvanized by the political achievements of Nasir Khan of Kalat,

who in the mid-eighteenth century, beginning as a vassal of the Afghan power in Qandahar, established for the first time a centralized Baluch polity, extending over the greater part of the area in which Baluch constitute the majority of the population--which for a brief period included parts of what is now Iranian territory. These events are referred to in more detail in section two. The name Baluch appears to have been brought into the area by migrants from the west during the medieval period, but the population as a whole derives from a number of different origins and several components of it are obviously of pre-Baluch and non-Baluch origin. Based mainly on their understanding of the existing political pattern, between 1854 and 1947 the British administration established internal divisions and bureaucratic procedures that still form the basis of regional government. From the point of view of language and general cultural patterns except religion (the Baluch, like the great majority of Pakistanis, are Sunni-Hanafi-Muslims, whereas the established religion of Iran is Shi'a Islam), the Baluch are closer to Iran than to the other provinces of Pakistan. Baluchistan had been part of the Achaemenian empire (7th - 4th centuries B.C.) and although it had been effectively autonomous since then, Iran had always considered it to be Iranian territory. In the 1840s Mohammad Shah Qajar attempted to consolidate Iranian power in the area but his efforts were of little consequence beyond what is now the Iranian border, and that border was finally established by agreement between Iran and the British in 1871, since which time the Baluch have been unequivocally divided among Iran, Afghanistan and (the majority) what is now Pakistan and have made no significant efforts to be united either within one of these countries or as an independent unit.

With the creation of Pakistan in 1947, Baluchistan became for the first time province of a nation state. But although it was finally integrated politically into Pakistan in 1955 it has never managed to realize that potential and play an economic and cultural role in the life of Pakistan comparable to the other provinces--Punjab, Sind and the North West Frontier Province.

From the point of view of the development planner Baluchistan, although it is by far the largest of the four provinces of Pakistan (some 44% of the total territory), lags far behind the others in terms of all desirable resources--social, cultural and natural: labor, skilled and unskilled; appropriate values and incentives; and water, soil, vegetation and minerals. Unlike, for example, the Punjab, Baluchistan has so far received almost no investment in modern agricultural or industrial technology. Only recently, with the changed geo-political circumstances of the last few years, Baluchistan is for the first time able to make a convincing claim on the attention of the central government and on potential donors. In responding to that claim, it is necessary largely to start from scratch. The purpose of this essay is to review and interpret the information that is available from published sources about present conditions in the Province and their relevant historical background, and point out what additional information needs to be gathered before a rational and comprehensive area development plan can be formulated.

Given the historical marginality of Baluchistan, the abundance of information that has accumulated is impressive. It may be broken down into the following major types:

1. The writings of Muslim historians and travellers before the advent of the British.
2. The works of British travellers and scholars during the British period.
3. Official publications of the British Government in India.
4. Official publications of the Government of Pakistan.
5. Academic works by Pakistani scholars.
6. Academic works by Western scholars since 1946.
7. Reports generated by USAID, UNDP, and World Bank and other projects over the last 35 years.

Of these, the second and third categories, taken as a whole, are by far the most voluminous, detailed and valuable for the present purpose. The first category is meagre and bears little relevance to the present purpose. The fourth and fifth contain a few important items. The sixth is sparse and uneven. The last was largely unavailable at the time of writing and will be dealt with in Report No. 2 of the Pre-PID phase of the proposed Baluchistan project. The total corpus is considerable, but there are conspicuous gaps. From the point of view of development, it falls into the following major categories:

1. General
2. Geology and Geography (Natural Resources)
3. History and General Culture
4. Production Techniques
5. Industry and Investment
6. Health and Education
7. Marketing and Economics

The bibliography that accompanies this essay is classified according to these categories. The most abundant information is in 2 and 3 with 4 a close third but the remainder lagging way behind. Much of the material is, of course, somewhat dated or otherwise inadequate for use in development planning. Most of it also requires a greater "ethnoscience" emphasis in the form of analysis of traditional practices and perceptions and, especially, more information on the relationship between the potential of resources, technologies and markets on the one hand and socio-cultural constraints and incentives on the other. Category 2 is nevertheless excellent for certain parts of the Province. Apart from 2 and 3, the remaining categories are at best sketchy, though 4 is much better than would normally be expected for such an area.

In category 3 two sets of works need special introductions: the travellers and the Gazetteers. The explorations of this British "frontier" produced a body of very valuable and readable literature. In the early period, up to the 1870s especially, the quality of adventure, observation and writing compares well with the literature from other frontiers. Special mention should be made of the earliest British explorer, Captain Grant who travelled in the area in 1809 (Grant 1839), Pottinger who travelled in disguise a year later who published his work in 1816, and Haji Abdul Nabi who was commissioned by the British agent in Kabul to travel and gather information in the area in 1838-1839 (see Vredenburg 1901 for more details).

After this age of exploration came the consolidation of knowledge of the area for the purposes of administration. The concept of the district gazetteer had its origin in the decision of the East India Company to compile

a history of British India. Baluchistan had only one district gazetteer series. It was published as a government document in Ajmer, Allahabad, Bombay and Karachi in 1907. There are eight volumes, plus six unnumbered volumes of statistical tables and an index volume. Each volume has pocket maps which with one exception are on a scale of 1" = 8 miles. All the text volumes except the first three have one or more photographic illustrations. More important, all contain miniature gazetteers which focus on administrative subdivisions; appendices giving practical information such as routes, location of rest houses, treaties, glossaries and bibliographies. Each gazetteer is organized into four chapters: (1) descriptive (physical; climatic, historical); (2) economic (agriculture, rents, wages and prices, weights and measures, forests, natural resources, commerce, communication; (3) administrative (staff, judicial, finance, revenue, public works, police, jails and medical); and (4) miniature gazetteers. Section headings include such topics as botany, fauna, soils, forests, material condition of the people, trade statistics, and excursions are given on peculiarities of each district. For example, the section on traditional date palm cultivation in the Makran Gazetteer is probably still the best publication on the subject; there are also excellent sections on irrigation technologies (especially by karez), animal diseases, exploitation of minerals and wild plants, and on fisheries. A detailed account of the history as well as the bibliography of the whole gazetteer project is given by Scholberg (1970), who also lists the libraries in which they may be consulted.

The following review covers each of the categories of subject matter listed above. But is organized somewhat differently in order to serve the

purpose of this essay, which is critical and interpretative rather than simply descriptive, and focuses on significance in relation to problems that are likely to confront the development enterprise. The first part deals with resources in general--social, cultural and natural; the second part with the conditioning effects of the political and economic context. The conclusion suggests the problems and prospects.

### I. RESOURCES: Social, Cultural and Natural

Baluchistan straddles the edge of the Iranian Plateau. The territory falls away from the high arid steppe in the north, through mainly broken country (but with some broad expanses of flat featureless desert), to subtropical coastal plains in the south which enjoy the summer humidity--but only rarely the rainfall--of the monsoon. The population was recorded as 2,405,154 in the 1972 census, and recent immigration from Afghanistan and 10 years of natural growth in 1981 recorded just over 4 million. It is distributed over an area of 348,000 km<sup>2</sup>, giving an average density of less than 9 per km<sup>2</sup>. Actual density is higher in the northeast, which includes the largest town, Quetta, the capital of the Province. In the central, southern and western areas the density is much lower and the population is mostly clustered on isolated pockets of good soil along lines of drainage. Although the Pakistani province of Baluchistan includes the great majority of Baluch (perhaps 2.5 out of 4 million) and most of the territory on which Baluch form the great majority of the population, Baluch also constitute the majority in sizeable areas across the borders in Iran and Afghanistan. It is also important to note that the somewhat more densely populated areas

in the northeastern districts of Pakistani Baluchistan are inhabited by Pushtuns and contain only very few Baluch. Further, although uniformly arid and sharing significant cultural and linguistic features, neither the territory nor the society even of the Baluch part of the Province is uniform. Baluchistan is a recognizable cultural and geographical unit but displays significant variation in a number of features that are relevant to development planning, some of which have been exaggerated by recent differential rates of exogenous social change.

The Province is divided into 4 divisions and 15 administrative districts or political agencies. (A political agency is a district in which tribal law is allowed to take precedence over civil law.) Each district has a distinct history as a consequence of a combination of factors of tribal identity and topography and clustering of resources. The following list gives the current administrative names of the districts followed in some cases by other names they have been known by traditionally.

<u>DIVISION</u>	<u>DISTRICT or AGENCY</u>	<u>CENTER</u>
Quetta	Quetta	Quetta
	Pishin	Pishin
	Loralai	Loralai
	Zhob (Political agency)	Zhob
	Chagai (Political agency)	Nushki
Sibi	Sibi	Sibi
	Kacchi	Dhadar
	Nasirabad	Nasirabad
	Kohlu, Marri-Bugti (Political Agency)	Kohlu
Kalat	Khuzdar, Jhalawan	Khuzdar
	Kalat, Sarawan	Kalat
	Kharan	Kharan
	Las Bela	Bela
Makran	Turbat, Kech	Turbat
	Panjgur	Panjgur
	Gwadar	Gwadar

(Makran became a division comprising three districts in 1977, before which it had been a district of Kalat Division.)

These districts group differently according to administration, tribal and economic criteria. Before Independence most of what is now the Quetta division was British Baluchistan and administered directly, while Kalat and Makran (incorporating the states of Kalat, Kharan and Las Bela) were treated as independent states under their own leaders, among whom the Khan (ruler) of Kalat was accorded precedence. This situation was continued under the Government of Pakistan up to 1955, when both parts of the Province were incorporated into the "one unit" of West Pakistan. Baluchistan reverted to provincial status in 1970 when the one unit was disbanded.

The northeast--Quetta, Pishin, Loralai, Zhob--enjoys the highest rainfall (in the region of 400 mm) and along with most of the other northern and eastern districts (especially Chagai, Sibi, Kalat, Khuzdar, and Kohlu) has traditionally been heavily pastoral. Pastoralism has always been important throughout the province but political centers, especially in the lower valleys and coastal plains of the south and southwest have generally been small isolated agricultural settlements. Agriculture, and especially irrigated agriculture provides greater opportunities for economic differentiation than does pastoralism, and Baluch society, especially in districts where agriculture is relatively more important (an area largely coterminous with Makran, Sibi and Las Bela) is conspicuously hierarchical.

The population is divided locally by linguistic as well as tribal affiliation. One important group of tribes in Sarawan and Jhalawan speaks Brahui,

a Dravidian language which appears to have survived from before the time when the Baluch or other Indo-Iranian language speakers arrived in the area (Baluchi is an Iranian and all the other languages in the area are either Iranian or Indo-Iranian). There are also small groups of Kurds (Kurdish is also an Iranian language, but the Kurds in Baluchistan now speak Baluchi) which probably date from the 17th century, and some pockets of Sindhi speakers from the neighbouring province to the south east which also contains a considerable population of Sindhi-speaking Baluch. Persian was spoken by the peasants in the environs of Kalat.

Before the growth of the British city of Quetta, the major settlement in the part of Baluchistan now contained within Pakistan was Kalat, from which a family of khans (chiefs) extended their authority in the 17th century. The Khans were Brahui. (There is also a tradition that they were originally Pushtun.) During this period Brahui was the first language in the district around Kalat. Baluchi with considerable variation in dialect (see Elfenbein 1966 and the bibliography in Spooner 1967) was the lingua franca of greater Baluchistan and Persian was the diplomatic language of the court. Later the place of Persian was taken by English, which is now giving way to Urdu. There has been some attempt to standardize Baluchi (based on the Makrani dialect which is spoken on both sides of the border with Iran) and Brahui and turn them into written and literary languages, as is also the case with Pushtu in NWFP. But while there has been some progress, and a fair amount of poetry has been printed in Baluchi, a relatively small percentage of Baluch are involved. Urdu and English are the important written languages.

The heterogeneity of language and tribal affiliation is cross-cut by a common consciousness of difference in status and of a system of political allegiances that together with the conditions of production and life generally that are generated by the characteristic aridity and topography give Baluch life a relatively homogeneous cultural flavor, despite considerable local variation in detail. In the western part of Baluchistan, and especially across the border in Iran, this consciousness is increased by the fact that under the Qajar regime (1796-1924) the more powerful chiefs usurped the title of governor (hakem/hakom). In areas under British control such leaders were often given British titles (which were translated into the more accustomed titles of the former Mogul Empire). At the other end of the scale were the slaves (gholam) that had been brought into the Province from the north, captured in raids, or through the Muscadine slave trade. Those from the north, who were white, left when slavery was abolished. Those from the south, who were black, had less opportunity to return to their places of origin, and though technically freed were unable to improve their status. Between the families of hakoms at the top of the social system and the gholams at the bottom two other categories of people accounted for the majority of the population. They were identified by primary occupation and by tribe. The pastoralists were called baluch, with the implication that they were the real Baluch, who carried the old values of prowess, hospitality and stoic contentment with the harsh natural conditions. The cultivators were called shahri, from the Baluchi word for cultivated field. Baluch and shahri were further distinguished by zat (a word that is used in a number of Indo-Iranian languages to mean "tribe", or "caste" according to social context),

and between these two it was *zat* that determined relative status. Some parts of Baluchistan, especially in the north on the Plateau, were almost entirely pastoral and nomadic and contained only baluch. Others, perhaps most of the southern half of the area and especially in the larger settlements dominated by forts, contained members of all four classes (see Spooner 1969).

The distribution of these classes is intimately related to the distribution of resources and the repertoire of available production technologies. The high status leaders and their kin lived in agricultural settlements. Although there has always been some rainfed farming in Baluchistan even in some of the driest districts, it is of course unreliable and such settlements depended on a reliable supply of water for irrigation. The technologies of irrigation may be characterized as follows. In rough order of reliability, they were based on the use of:

1. Run off and flood water from seasonal drainage by means of check-dams (bund). This technology is probably the oldest form of surface water management and control (cf. Raikes 1965), and with modern construction may continue to be the most feasible form for many areas.

2. Larger rivers by means of diversion dams (which generally had to be rebuilt each year (especially the Kech and Rakhshan rivers).

3. Springs.

4. Subsurface water by means of karez. Karez (also known as qanat in Iran and kahn in Baluchi) subterranean channels dug to connect a source of groundwater which may be anywhere from 10 to several hundred feet below the surface to agricultural land at a lower altitude (sometimes within a mile but in some cases as much as twenty miles or more) by gravity flow (for details of this technology see the Sarawan Gazetteer pp. 111-115).

The farmers in these settlements vary in status from serfs (gholams) to high status shahri. (The Persian-speaking farmers who work the land of the Khan of Kalat and other relatively high altitude land are called Dehwar.) The most important crops are grains (especially wheat, barley and sorghum) and dates. The agricultural cycle is described in detail for each district in the Gazetteers, and the account of date cultivation in the Makran Gazetteer is especially noteworthy. All non-agricultural land is the domain of the baluch--nomadic pastoralists--who rely almost exclusively on surface water, often in the form <sup>of</sup> ponds left over from the last rain. These baluch do not have the highest status in the society but they embody the highest cultural values and because of their economic niche they have traditionally controlled the vast areas between settlements and provided the medium of communication between them. A classification of the rangeland of the Province is given in Khan 1974. Apart from the baluch considerable numbers of nomads passed through northeastern part of the Province every year on migration from Afghanistan mostly en route to the Indus plains and beyond. They were Pushtun-speaking and known as Powindehs, and are described in Gastrell 1942b.

A few other traditional occupations must be mentioned here. Fishing has always been the primary occupation in the few (because of the lack of drinking water) small settlements along the coast and is carried out by people at the bottom of the social hierarchy (see Gazetteer for Las Bela, Siddiqi 1958, Pastner 1976a). Mining has had little significance in the traditional society. Mineral deposits are discussed in each of the District Gazetteers and in a number of articles in the Memoirs and Records of the

Geological Survey of India (see, for example, Vredenburg 1901). They began to take on economic importance under the British, but most local exploitation has been focused on coal and by Pushtun leaders in the northeast. Under the heading of handicrafts it is necessary to mention that the carpets which are known in the trade as Baluch are the product of Baluch outside Baluchistan, especially those who settled (probably in the last century) among Turkmen tribes in what are now Soviet Turkmenistan and in northern Afghanistan, and to a lesser extent north of Baluchistan along the Irano-Afghan border (cf. Konieczny 1979). The most remarkable handicrafts from Baluchistan itself is the women's embroidery, which is described in Gluck 1978. Finally, hunting and collecting deserve at least passing mention. The former (as throughout southwest Asia) is an elite pastime and game do not appear to be plentiful, but over 7000 km<sup>2</sup> in the Province have been declared game reserves. Wild vegetable collecting has concentrated traditionally on asafoetida (used as a condiment and as a vegetable in India) and ephedra (from which ephedrine is extracted for the treatment of asthma). The juniper and pistachio forests in the northeast have also been important locally, and of course the collection of all forms of vegetation for fuel has been and continues to be important throughout the Province.

All social groups in Baluchistan describe themselves in tribal terms, as lineages genealogically organized within one of these four social strata. Many, though now accepted as Baluch, are of known recent alien origin-- primarily from Iran, Afghanistan, Muscat, or Sind. Each is categorized as chiefly family, nomad, cultivator, or slave, and each individual has

a place in a chain of allegiance or loyalty relationships which cross-cut the class categories. But the tribal ideology, which is explicitly associated with the nomadic pastoralists, pervades all communication. It is especially evident in a code of honor, similar to that of the Pathans and the Bedouin, the most striking features of which safeguard the traveller and the refugee; in preference for endogamous marriage, and in the appeal to a genealogical idiom for organizing social relations. This tribal ideal is the underpinning of a cultural idiom that facilitates movement and communication throughout Baluchistan in the manner of a lingua franca. Barth (1964) had drawn attention to the institution of hal--"exchanges of information given in a peculiar intonation and stereotyped phrases as formal greetings whenever tribesmen meet"--which facilitates communication between strangers. This tribal ideology extends throughout the Province and beyond. It fills the interstices between the major settlements and provides the medium for the cultural integration of Baluchistan. The nomadic pastoralists--though sparse and few--constitute an important resource. If the province suffers depopulation through accelerating socio-economic change and the attraction of urban economies, the pastoralists will be the first to disappear. The loss of the pastoralists entails two significant disadvantages:

1. Loss of use of resources--only the pastoralists can use the vast expanses of territory between the few scattered settlements.

2. Loss of medium of cultural identity--the pastoralists embody the Baluch identity: without them anomie and social and cultural disintegration is likely to accelerate.

Despite relative cultural uniformity, individual political units are exclusive and competitive. Each family belongs to a primary social grouping which is to a large extent a function of the local conditions of pastoralism or agriculture. These primary groupings are strung together in hierarchical chains of political relations. One of the more common words in Baluchi usage is kamash which denotes "senior". In any social situation someone is kamash, and there is never any doubt about who it is (except in open conflict). The hierarchical chains of relations integrate the various types of grouping. Each is encapsulated in an asymmetrical model. Within the groups there is little or no emphasis on patrilineal descent or extension of the genealogy to provide a rationale for social relations. No terminological distinction is made between matrilineal and patrilineal kin. As in English (but unlike almost every other comparable tribal population) the Baluch have a word for aunt and a word for uncle and do not distinguish between the mother's brother and the father's brother. Throughout much of the area, especially in the upper levels of the social hierarchy, men and women inherit land equally. (While in normal everyday life women's freedom of action is generally strictly circumscribed as it is in most Muslim societies, nevertheless there have been cases where women have achieved significant political authority among the Baluch and generally relationships through women, matrilineal and affinal, are particularly warm and close.) Genealogies are used to demonstrate links between groups and political affiliation and legitimacy and to relate to historical events in the neighboring civilizations.

The first anthropologists to work in Baluchistan were the Pehrsons in 1955 who lived among the Marri, the largest tribe (whose mountains and inaccessible territory lies in the east of the Province, now Kohlu district). Robert Pehrson died in the field. In 1960 Fredrik Barth, well known for his work among Pushtuns in Swat and among other nomads in southern Iran, spent a short time in the same area in order to prepare himself to edit Pehrson's notes for publication. From 1963-1965 Warren W. and Nina B. Swidler worked among the Brahui in Kalat and Kacchi, and in 1969 Stephen and Carol McC. Pastner spent a short time in Panjgur and supplemented their experience with a second project in Baluch fishing village on the Sind coast in 1976. Meanwhile across the border in Iran Brian Spooner worked intermittently between 1962 and 1969, primarily in the district of Saravan, and Philip Carl Salzman worked in the Sarhadd district in 1967-1968, 1972-1973, and 1976. There is no professional ethnography and scarcely any other type of information on the Baluch in Afghanistan.

This may seem a lengthy list but the published material it has generated is not comprehensive. Each writer was pursuing a limited number of questions only (or was otherwise prevented from writing) which in most cases were not derived from a study of the special conditions of the area. It does, however, include two insights which deserve attention. One of these relates the formation of minimal social groupings among nomadic pastoralists to specific details of the technology of traditional pastoralism (Warren W. Swidler 1968, 1972). The other explains linguistic and cultural change in terms of specific properties of neighboring social structures (Barth 1964). Both of these insights are important because they suggest ways in which change may occur in Baluch society.

Taking a cue from Morgenstierne (1932) concerning the relationship between linguistic and cultural change in the area, Barth (1964) adduces evidence that the border between Baluch and Pathans in the northeast of the Province has been moving northward at the expense of the Pathans, without any associated movement of population. Groups known to have been formerly Pathans and Pushtu-speaking had become Baluchi-speaking and fully accepted as Baluch. Barth argues that despite several factors that lead one to expect the border to move in the opposite direction (the Pushtuns have a higher population growth rate, are more affluent, and reputation--on both sides--for being more aggressive), this Baluch assimilation of Pathans is predictable on the basis of differences in social structure. He suggests that the hierarchical social and political structure of the Baluch is better adapted for incorporation of aliens.

There can be no doubt about the anarchy that prevailed in the area, which resulted in a complex history of conquest and local succession. Yet this very anarchy created the situation where structural features of the tribal organization of the competing peoples become overwhelmingly important. Frequent wars and plundering forays inevitably tear numbers of people loose from their territorial and social contexts: splinter groups, fleeing survivors, and families and communities divested of their property, as well as nuclei of predators, are generated. From such processes of fragmentation and mobility, a vast pool of personnel results--persons and groups seeking social identity and membership in viable communities. The growth rates of such communities will then not depend so much on their natural fertility rates as on the capacity of their formal organization to assimilate and organize such potential personnel" (Barth 1964:15-16).

The relatively autocratic Baluch leader excels in the organization of personnel, his tribesmen and aliens. The structural difference between Pathan and Baluch society that facilitates this assimilation is the difference between egalitarianism and hierarchy. In both cultures the principle of patrili-

neality determines political rights in the tribe and rights of access to resource; honor must be defined meticulously against any person with whom one claims to be equal; and honor involves obligation towards dependents-- including clients and guests. However, Pathan identity depends on membership in a council of equals--"One might say that the model for the whole system is the group of brothers" (Ibid.:16); whereas "Baluch tribal organisation, though derived from the same concepts, is not based on the particular mechanism of the egalitarian council. Though defense of honor among equals is important, it thus does not become built into the political system as a major tactical consideration. A model for the Baluch political system is the relationship between a father and his sons" (Ibid.:17).

Though perhaps somewhat oversimplified, Barth's concise comparative characterization of two neighboring social structures is among the neatest in the literature. But it is important to note that it begs an interesting historical question: why is the present border between the two identities where it is? Why have the Baluch not assimilated all the Pathans long ago? Presumably the answer to these questions might be found in the history of the area. But there is so far practically no work on Baluchistan by professional historians.

In order to appreciate the second insight it is necessary to expand a little on the geography of the area. The natural conditions of Baluchistan make nomadic pastoralism the only feasible form of traditional land use over the greater part of it. Here and there, however, especially at the lower altitudes off the main plateau in the south, where pockets of good soil coincide with access to reliable streams of ground water, small-scale

intensive irrigated agriculture dominates the land use pattern and the social system. Throughout the Province the topography is mostly broken and mountainous, varying in altitude from 5000 ft. steppe on the edge of the Iranian Plateau in the north with mountains rising to 10,000 ft. in the northeast and in the northwest just over the border in Iran to over 13,000 ft. to sea level on the coastal plain in the south. Here and there the land opens out into vast expanses of almost featureless desert. The agricultural settlements are located on bends in river beds in the mountains or where the rivers issue onto the desert plains. Surface water is nowhere abundant or even (with few exceptions) perennial, but in the mountains soil rather than water is the limiting factor. On the coastal plain the soil is often good, but there is no water except from irregular rain or run off. Rain is both irregular and unreliable but owing to the overlapping of the Mediterranean and monsoon regimes in most of the province may come at any season. Temperatures are continental in the highlands with bitter winters and extreme diurnal and seasonal ranges, and tropical on the lowlands. The coastal population has always been oriented towards the sea; fishing and trading from small ports, politically related but socially distinct from the rest of the Province.

The nature of the topography makes communication difficult and the paucity and irregular distribution of natural resources have limited the size of settlements and made it difficult for tribal leaders to build up large tribal confederacies. Pastoralism dictates seasonal movement for the optimum exploitation of pastures, and in order to avoid extremes of climate. Typical nomadic populations of the Middle East migrate over vast distances in spring and autumn in order to be able to exploit the best pas-

tures available seasonally. In most of Baluchistan there is no such incentive to make long migrations, and nomadic tribes are typically small, especially in the mountains, ranging from several thousand--the Marri (the largest) are estimated at 60,000 altogether in 1960 (Pehrson 1966:2) to less than a hundred, defined apparently more by topographic limits to pastures than by social or political dynamics. The conditions of nomadic pastoralism make the social aspects of life unstable--it is difficult for the same people to stay together and work together for long periods. This instability is compensated for culturally--the ideas that the people live by, their ideology, is almost aggressively stable.

This interpretation of pastoral life among the Baluch derives from the work of Swidler mentioned above (1968, 1972). Among Brahui-speaking nomads near Kalat in the central part of Pakistani Baluchistan he found that the basic camping group was unstable. The composition of camping groups was reshuffled frequently. The reshuffling correlated with changes in the size of the flock which was constituted by the combined holdings of the camp members. From these data he developed a model, which has been further elaborated by Spooner (1973), in which the size and structure of local camping groups of nomads is shown to be a function of their pastoral technology. In order to produce efficiently, sheep and goats must be herded in flocks of a particular size. This size depends on a number of factors which include the behavioral characteristics of the sheep and the logistics of shepherding and vary according to topography and pasture. Since animals are owned individually and each man's holding is likely to vary independently year by year, in order to keep the flock within the optimum size range, and also

have the right number of hands to carry out the various tasks involved in pastoral production according to the social division of labor, it is likely to be necessary to change the composition of the group not frequently. In order to facilitate this continual reshuffling the individuals identify with a larger conceptual grouping, a tribe. This larger pool of people rarely if ever acts as a community, but it is with this unit rather than the unstable camp that the nomads identify themselves. Focus on this larger grouping allows a sense of stability in what would otherwise be an inherently unstable social situation.

The social conditions of agriculture are very different. Most of the agricultural settlements have probably been stable for a long time--possible in some cases since before the Persian empires. Most of them resemble each other. Populations vary between a few hundred and a few thousand. In the center is a fort--often high and imposing. Traditionally the cultivation was done largely by serfs or helotized farmers. In the fort lived a chief who effectively commanded most of the agricultural production and operated from the settlement as a political and economic base, attempting to build networks of alliances with similar chiefs and with the nomads. With few exceptions the alliances are ephemeral because no chief is economically capable of building a power base larger than his rivals.

The two types of social grouping, agriculturalists and pastoralists, were closely related politically and demographically and economically interdependent. The settlements produced grain and dates and the nomads produced pastoral products, the combination of which formed the staple diet of the area. The chiefs (sardar) in the settlements vied with each other for the

allegiance of the nomads, and talked of the nomads as "the real Baluch"-- the ones who maintained the old way of life and the old values. Whether or not the lineage-organized nomads were originally egalitarian as such pastoralists tend to be elsewhere, in Baluchistan they have become part of a hierarchical system. The chiefs, established in forts in the agricultural settlements, are able to store grain, which they can then use to hire retainers. Retainers were generally used as a militia to impose a tithe on the agricultural or pastoral populations they could control. In the Baluch "sardari" system, as with many other tribal systems, the ownership of land or other natural resources was relatively unimportant. What was important was the ability to control men. This ability depended on a number of factors, of which the most important were personal political ability which could be legitimized by genealogical pedigree. The ethos of Baluch society is traditionally nomadic. Nomadic society is socially unstable. The instability is compensated for by tribal or genealogical models or world-views, which although they are continually modified to fit the changing social situation give the resemblance of stability.

This summary review of resources for development in Baluchistan suggests that despite sparseness and paucity there is a considerable base to build on, and while the hierarchical structure of the society may discourage change nevertheless the ability to assimilate aliens may perhaps encourage certain types of change. The next chapter reviews briefly some of the external factors that have been agents of change in Baluchistan over the last few centuries, thus outlining the historical context for development planning.

## II. THE LARGER CONTEXT

Baluchistan lies between the Iranian Plateau and the Indian plains. It contained settled populations contemporaneous with the Indus Valley civilization in the late third and early second millennium which appear to have been involved to some degree in the trade between the economic centers to the east and west of them. From the mid-first millennium onwards the area is divided into named provinces of the Persian empires and figures are extant for the revenue provided by them to the central government. Almost all historical research on the area so far has been generated by primary interests in the civilizations of Iran or India, such as the fall of the Indus civilization, the administration of the Persian empires, the progress of the Islamic conquest from the Iranian Plateau into northern India and the movement of tribes that appear tantalisingly in Iranian historical materials here and there up to the twelfth century A.D. as Kuch and Baluch (Bosworth 1976). Up to this time a major arterial route passed through the area from the Iranian Plateau into the subcontinent. Then the spread of Seljuq power into the Kerman area of southeastern Iran seems to have led to population movements into the area that were disruptive and resulted in the lapse of the arterial route. Since the Mongol invasion of the Iranian Plateau in the early 13th century the area definitely seems to have taken on the character of a refuge area--for which it is well suited geographically. This motivation of the little historical writing on Baluchistan that exists has led some bias in our impression of historical processes within it--which, if we are to understand them better, require that we look from the inside

out and see not how Baluchistan has been relevant to the history of the civilizations on either side, but how they have affected events within Baluchistan.

The vague historical borders of Baluchistan are effectively defined by an arc of historically important cities that stretches from Bandar Abbas (replacing the mediaeval Hormuz) on the Persian Gulf, past Kerman, that various historical cities on the delta of the Helmand river in Sistan, Qandahar, through Quetta to Dera Ghazi Khan and the cities of the Indus in Sind. Though the hinterland of these cities has fluctuated, and the whole area has been subject to (often overlapping) claims by Iran, Delhi, and Afghanistan, most of Baluchistan from the Mongol Period down to the 19th and in some cases into the 20th century has been effectively independent politically, but economically dependent on trade and other economic opportunities mainly in India (since 1947, Punjab and Sind in Pakistan) but also the other neighbouring territories.

Baluchistan was economically dependent not simply because of the poverty of its natural resources, but--perhaps more significantly--because those resources were distributed in such a way that no one community, and no one leader, could develop a power basis sufficient to dominate and unify an area larger than its immediate hinterland. But this political situation seems to have changed significantly in the late seventeenth century. Southwest of Quetta, in Sarawan unlike most of the area because of the altitude and the consequent severity of the winters there is a distinct advantage to the pastoralists if they can ensure access to winter grazing on the Kacchi

plain over four thousand feet below and just to the east of them. It appears that a combination of circumstances, including probably political unrest and population movements in the west and the weakening of Moghul power to the east, allowed the leader of the group of Brahui-speaking nomads in Sarawan actually to establish control of the Kacchi plain. This political union of highland and lowland provided the basis for a new political development within the area. Control of the Kacchi plain must have been so desirable for Sarawan nomads that it would be surprising if they had not managed to control it at earlier periods. But in the light of the arguments advanced above about the distribution and sparsity of both human and natural resources such control was probably not feasible in the long term unless it was facilitated by some felicitous coincidence of exogenous circumstances.

On this particular occasion the control of the highlands over lowlands was confirmed and legitimized in such a way that its effects have continued to the present day. Nader Shah of Persia avenged the 1722 Afghan invasion of his country by capturing Qandahar in 1739 and appointed the Sarawan leader Nasir Khan as beglerbegi (that is "chief beg", cf. modern Turkish Bey) of Baluchistan. When Nader Shah was assassinated in northeastern Iran in 1747, the Pushtun Ahmad Shah Durrani founded the kingdom of Afghanistan based on Qandahar, and Nasir Khan at first acknowledged his suzerainty, but in 1758 he rebelled. Ahmad Shah defeated him in battle but could not take Kalat (the town that Nasir Khan's predecessor had taken from a family of Hindu rajahs representing the Moghul emperor and made his capital), and a treaty was negotiated. (For more details on this development and other data and ideas relevant to this argument see N. Swidler 1969).

For a short period the Khans of Kalat were able to exploit this situation and extend their hegemony over most of what is now Pakistani Baluchistan and even into parts of what now lies on the Iranian side of the border. But the chiefs of the small agricultural settlements scattered throughout the area, and the nomadic groups, continually rebelled against any imposition of taxes or other feudal conditions, even marriage alliances were not reliable for long. One chief was played off against another, and Qandahar and Kalat competed for allegiance. Qandahar's record in this struggle provided the basis for Afghanistan's recent proposal to include Baluchistan in a new state of Pushtunistan. On the Iranian side there was little interference until Mohammad Shah Qajar (1834-1848) decided to reconquer Baluchistan and established a garrison at Bampur in the major agricultural area on the Persian side of the border, from which his officers made campaigns eastwards and the basis for the delineation of the border by the British in 1871.

One other foreign influence should be mentioned. The maritime empire of Muscat, that reached its zenith in the middle of the 19th century, affected Baluchistan in two significant ways. It provided a good market for mercenaries. Migrant Baluch constituted the major part of the Empire's fighting force, and even rose in the administration to the extent that the viceroy of Zanzibar was a Baluch. (Baluch appear always to have excelled as mercenaries, perhaps because it provided the most prestigious migrant labor of the pre-modern period. Encapsulated and isolated groups of Baluch, many of them no longer Baluchi-speaking, in northern Iran and Afghanistan and in Soviet Turkmenistan are remnants of migrant mercenary bands.) For varying periods Muscat con-

trolled most of the significant ports on the Persian Gulf, the Sea of Oman, southeast Arabia and East Africa. Muscat was turned out of Chahbahar, the easternmost port in Iran in 1872, but did not leave Gwadar in Pakistan until 1958. (The Government of Pakistan still allows Muscat to recruit in Makran for the Oman scouts.) Baluch minorities remained behind in most of these ports and those in the Persian Gulf maintained close ties with the homeland. After the decline of Muscat the rise of the oil industry provided a need for a different type of migrant labor, mitigating the effect of any population growth in the area, and the Baluch continue to move backwards and forwards between worlds dominated by Pakistanis (mainly Punjabis and Muslim refugees from India), Iranians and Arabs.

Baluchistan is a marginal area, in the sense that at a given level of technology it can support fewer people per unit area in poorer circumstances than is the case in surrounding areas. It is generally true of such marginal areas that their history is a function of the history of neighboring areas, that economic development of them is difficult except as the result of direct interest from an external power, but that unless they are important for communications, mineral deposits or other strategic considerations such interest is not exerted.

In the present situation Baluchistan is dominated politically by non-Baluch both at the local and national government levels. They are economically dependent at the community level on financial and technological aid which is channelled to them through these national and local government institutions. And they are in many cases economically dependent at the family and personal level on migrant employment in the Gulf States. This

situation is exacerbated by memories of civil war, especially among the Marri, where many died at the hands of the Pakistani army in the first half of the 1970s. The result is a fairly extreme degree of alienation.

### III. CONCLUSION

This review of the literature concerning the human and natural resources and the political and economic context of Baluchistan implies that the opportunity to work out an area development project for the Province presents a considerable challenge.

A great deal of information is available, mainly from the British period. Although it is dated and largely unsystematic, it is often excellent in observation and in detail and serves as an unusually good basis for the formulation of systematic data gathering for development purposes. It suggests that the natural resource which demands primary attention is water since it is the main determining factor in the settlement pattern and in agriculture. Traditional technologies concentrate on the problem of maximizing the use of the available water supplies. Much can be learned from these technologies and they can be enhanced by the application of modern materials and engineering. However, in order to maximize the ability to manage and control surface water flow and exploit underground sources, it is necessary to develop much more detailed hydrological statistics than appear to be presently available.

Social resources present similar problems. The potential labor force is poorly or inadequately educated, and much of it is attracted away by the economic magnet of the Gulf. Among those that remain the strong sense of relative status can be construed as a constraint. People are hesitant

to step out of line. Traditionally the commercial entrepreneurs of Baluchistan have been outsiders and these outsiders (mainly Hindus before Partition) operated under the protection of the local ruler. Entrepreneurship among the Baluch within Baluch society was mainly political and military. Although attitudes towards commercial activity have changed, old ideas about status and what is honorable are still influential. The question remains whether development should be planned in the context of these residual attitudes or in spite of them. Increasingly large remittances from the Gulf are upsetting the status hierarchy in some parts of the Province, as for example sons become financially independent of fathers, with the result that the tribal structure of society is disintegrating in some areas. Should a development project go with such disintegration, not knowing what whether the society will cohere in a stable new form around the project, or should it be dovetailed into the society in such a way as to reinforce tribalism because with tribalism there may be a more predictable chance of social and economic security? At an earlier period the British opted for tribalism. Now the choice is more difficult, and because of the variation in the rate of change in different parts of the Province the choice will be more difficult in some places than others. Once again the basis of social information is unusually good--but dated. The success of any development project is likely to depend on how it is fitted into the local social processes, and local institutions, and therefore on the quality of social information which is available to the designers of the project.

It is important to note that the basis of traditional society in Baluchistan has centered on the baluch, the pastoral nomads who exploit an extremely

sparse but ubiquitous resource (rangeland). They are the most vulnerable both to drought and to the economic pull of the Gulf. If their communities disintegrate as a result of depopulation, not only will the ability to exploit that resource be lost but Baluch culture and society as it is known will also disappear. Unless therefore its disappearance is deemed unavoidable or it seems possible to replace it with something more desirable, careful consideration should be given to possibilities for pastoral development outside the immediate vicinity of the major towns.

Finally, the prospect of an area development project for Baluchistan presents the possibility of assisting in the regeneration of some degree of moral autonomy for the Baluch. Most desert or otherwise marginal areas like Baluchistan are dominated economically and politically by their richer neighbors. The State of Utah provides perhaps the single contrary example, but it is an example which is not open to the Baluch because of the difference of political context. However, if area development can be built on Baluch institutions, something similar might be achieved within the Pakistan political system. The relevant Baluch organizations have to do with the management and control of surface water flow and the exploitation of the sparse range vegetation, as well as with certain forms of loyalty and social solidarity. The primary prerequisite for a Baluchistan area development project is a comprehensive rationale that would take account of these institutions and values to the same extent that one would examine the distribution of exploitable natural resources.

The material for this bibliography has been collected from a number of sources, including bibliographic lists and library catalogues. Not all items could be located in the two major research libraries consulted (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. and Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia). Some of the items designated as "not seen" are, in fact, listed as belonging to one of the two libraries, but were unavailable for examination during the bibliography search. Some items listed in the bibliography include unpublished papers which were also unavailable for examination. It should be noted that not all bibliographic references are complete and some may contain errors. This is due to the fact that the bibliography lists from which they were copied contained the omissions or errors and I was unable to verify the information.

In choosing items to include in the bibliography, I have referred only to material written in European languages, as it is not possible for me to assess literature written in Baluchi, Urdu, or Persian.<sup>1</sup> The only exception to this rule is Ulus--which I know to be a monthly written in Baluchi. My guide in choosing the items for the list was to follow leads referring to Baluchistan specifically, and not to India or Pakistan generally. I have therefore not checked thoroughly catalogue listings under the corporate entries "Pakistan" or "India"--to do so would have required much more time and result in making the bibliography unwieldy. There are, in fact, a number of items included in the bibliography that deal with Pakistan or India gene-

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Spooner may suggest pertinent works in the native languages of the area which can be sent as an addendum later.

rally, and only have information on Baluchistan dispersed throughout their pages or collected in small sections. These were included because of their obvious importance (the national census) or because I came across them by chance. There are two items included which don't refer to Baluchistan specifically (Wilkinson 1977; Charpentier 1973) but do deal with subjects having relevance to the situation in Baluchistan (opium production and use, and irrigation, respectively).

A number of items relating to the Baluchi (and Brahui) languages and their folklore have been included with the understanding that such information can reveal much about the way the people themselves look at the world and classify reality. Archaeological material has been included if it deals with geographical matters, problems of trade or other culture contacts in antiquity, or if the authors pursue an ethnoarchaeological approach, thus making reference to current practices of pottery-making, house-construction, etc. The rest of the subject breakdowns, as indicated on the subject key chart, should be self-explanatory. Items dealing with Baluchis in Iran or Afghanistan have been included with the understanding that such information may have relevance for the social practices, history and geography of Pakistani Baluchistan.

It should be noted that the information collected is not of uniform quality for research purposes. A more detailed evaluation of the literature is provided by Dr. Spooner in his literature analysis. Briefly, it should be pointed out that much of the literature written at the turn of the century was produced by British travelers, antiquarians, and military personnel

and is generally of an "impressionistic" nature--that is, there are brief descriptions of people and their activities as observed in circumstantial encounters. Occasionally this genre provides valuable information (e.g., irrigation practices) but as it lacks a problem-oriented systematic approach it has to be carefully screened from the "noise" of entertaining chatter. (The geological writings of the period deal more systematically with their designated topics, but there was more interest in fossils than with minerals.)

Valuable ethnographic material was collected by the British in the course of compiling their censuses and gazetteers--this will be discussed in more detail below.

The 1950s and 1960s saw an interest in writing on geographical information, natural resources, irrigation, and problems relating to development by both Western and native authors. But it is possible that some of this material may now be out-dated. The 1960s and 1970s witnesses a spate of history writing by Baluchi authors but this literature does not appear to be very analytical in nature.

The latest literature is either by anthropologists who take a more problem-oriented approach than those observers who provided the ethnographic detail at the turn of the century, or by political scientists focusing on the role of Baluchistan in the superpowers' "Great Game of Asia". A topic of particular interest for many contemporary authors is the analysis of the cultural and social-structural problems of the tribally organized Baluchi populations in their incorporation, as citizens, of the nation-state of Pakistan, and their growing sense of ethno-nationalism.

A word of explanation should be offered on those great British-initiated enterprises--the censuses and the gazetteers.

At the end of the last century, the British undertook the task of compiling a decennial census of India, which by the turn of the century was to include a special census for each province. Specifically, there were two levels of census published. Starting in 1872 and for every "1" year thereafter (1881, 1891, 1901, etc.) the British published a multi-volume set dealing with the census of India generally. Information on Baluchistan is undoubtedly included in the various sections (I did not see any of the general volumes). Starting in 1901, an entire volume (or volumes) was specifically designated for each province. For a listing of the 19th century general censuses of India and for the specific volumes that dealt with Baluchistan in the 20th century see Hughes-Builler (1902). In 1941, in addition to the numbered volume of the census of India that dealt specifically with Baluchistan there was an unnumbered volume dealing with tribes, that included material on the Baluch and appears in this bibliography as Gastrell (1942b). Again, for a general listing of all the census of India material (general or Baluchi) which appears in this bibliography, refer to Census of India (1878-1884). Starting in 1951, the government of Pakistan took over the decennial census collecting for the province of Baluchistan. The 1951 census appears to have resulted in the publishing of a multi-volume general census with a specific volume devoted to the province of Baluchistan (see Shah 1952 for the volume dealing specifically with Baluchistan). The 1961 census of Pakistan resulted in the publication of a multi-volume general census as well as separate district volumes covering the nine districts of the province

Apparently, in the early 1960s, the government of Pakistan had plans to revise the district gazetteers, but I have been able to locate only one such revision--that for the district of Kharan (see Khan 1966).

There are other items in the bibliography labeled "gazetteer" and which are of the typical geographic-feature-list-type (see Lorimer 1908; 1915).

An allusion was made in one reference to a "Baluchistan Blue Book". Blue Books were British diplomatic documents published in the early part of the century. Upon consulting an index of such documents, I was unable to locate any referring to Baluchistan and thus did not include it in the bibliography.

A final note should be made in the event that anyone undertaking research using this bibliography attempts to order any items from the Library of Congress through interlibrary loan. The Library of Congress lists in its catalogue numerous items appearing in this bibliography but many are not readily available and calls for them are likely to be returned with the note "Not on shelf".

The following bibliographies classify sources by author and by topic. A select annotated bibliography which is cross-referenced according to topic is included at the end of the work.

Leah Glickman

**PART II**  
**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu-Bakr, M.  
1963 "Physiography of Chagai-Kharan Region, West Pakistan." Pakistan Geographical Review 18(2):1-12.

After naming the rock types of the area, the author discusses the orography of the region. There follows a list and description of the mountains of the region. Regarding hydrography--the author notes that the area lies outside the monsoon area and thus has an annual rainfall of 2-5 inches. There are no perennial streams except for the Kaiser River near Nushki. There seems to have been a more abundant rainfall in the past as the remnants of irrigation dams would appear to indicate. The groundwater, where available at moderate depth, is generally saline. However, water from Karezes is used for irrigation and drinking in certain parts of the region. The population is, of course, sparse due to the limited water supply (2 persons per square mile). They are mostly nomads but 3% of the area is under cultivation (in the Nushki, Dalbandin, and Kharan areas).

Topics: Geography/geology; natural resources; irrigation; water use.

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- Ahmad, A.  
1975a "Baluchistan's Agrarian Question." In Feroz Ahmed, ed., Focus on Baluchistan and Pashtoon National Question. Lahore: People's Publishing House, 68-76.

This article presents a description of some of the agrarian problems in Baluchistan of both a natural and social nature. The author notes that the entire province is generally backward: there are no more than 800 industrial enterprises that can be called large-scale, or even medium-scale; an infrastructure of facilities barely exists with only some 885 miles of high grade roads and 642 miles of broad gauge railway lines; although rich in mineral resources there is no exhaustive estimate of this potential--only coal, sulphur, chromite and natural gas have been exploited. The society is largely agrarian and feudal--more so than the rest of Pakistan. Yet the population density is relatively low (possibly 8 persons per square mile--there are no clear statistics) and Baluchistan produces no more than 1/3 of its below-subsistence-level food requirements. Patterns of land appropriation and utilization have led to concentration of holdings, wastage, absenteeism, and lack of interest or initiation on the part of the peasants. No uniform pattern of land appropriation prevails in Baluchistan; practices of taxation are diverse, and questions of ownership have often not been settled--this undetermined character of ownership and taxation makes for a tension different than that found in peasant struggles in the Punjab or Sindh where ownership questions have been largely settled and taxation is more uniform.

The author provides descriptions of what he sees as the four basic patterns of land utilization in the Brahui-Baluchi part of Baluchistan: (1) tribal holdings, communal in ownership; (2) jagir--land awarded to Baluchi Sardars by leaders of central governments, such as the Khan of Kalat, or the British; (3) mahmani lands--tribal land that certain Sardars were able to get transferred to their own private holdings; and (4) ghammi lands--system used in former Kalat state involving tribesmen in a relationship with Sardars. Most of these systems have benefitted the Sardars and Maliks; agricultural surplus has gone to their consumption in Quetta or outside Baluchistan. Baluchi rural unemployed are now migrating out of their land to other parts of Pakistan where they suffer discrimination. The author suggests revolution as a solution, but not one based on ethnicity but, rather, class.

Topics: Land use; land tenure; agriculture.

Ahmad, A.

1975b "The National Question in Baluchistan." In Feroz Ahmed, ed., Focus on Baluchistan and Pashtoon National Question. Lahore: People's Publishing House, 6-43.

This article deals with the problem of Baluch national identity and the question of whether this should find expression and solution in an ethnonational revolution. The author, who appears to be of a Marxist persuasion, is of the opinion that Baluchi nationalism should not be considered separately from the problems of the proletariat Pakistan-wide. The author notes that while Baluchistan is physically larger than the Punjab and Sindh together, it has only 7% of the total Pakistan population according to the 1961 census (and not including Bangladesh). Migration of Baluchis out of their province exacerbates the problem. Further, the population within Baluchistan is ethnically diverse--speakers of Baluchi are a majority only in Kharan, Makran, Sibi and Chagai. (Pashtuns make up the majority in Quetta; Pishin, Zhob, Loralai and Sindhis make up the majority of Las Bela; Kalat is almost entirely Brahui.) There are a majority of Baluchis outside Baluchistan, especially in Karachi and West Sindh, where they suffer from discrimination. Within Baluchistan Province, the author claims there is no really effective development in social organization to supercede clan exclusivity, in spite of the presence of feudalism. Sardars have an interest in preserving the tribal exclusivity. Although some Baluchi elite have developed an ethnic consciousness, it is not clear how developed ethnicity is among the Baluchi masses. The Baluch never had a state. There is no point in talking about a separate nation-state of Baluchistan because it could not be self-sufficient. There is a need to develop the rich mineral resources, which requires capital outlays and technical know-how of a kind not yet available, plus the entire pattern of ownership and production would have to be changed in order for the land resources to produce the food requirements for self-sufficiency. These problems are those of the type faced by a proletariat generally and not of a Baluchistan nationalism specifically.

Topics: National and local political issues.

Ahmad, K. S.  
1951 "Climatic Regions of West Pakistan." Pakistan Geographical Review  
6(1):1-36.

The article opens with a call for more study by Pakistan students of geology because of the need to locate the mineral resources and harness the water supply in Baluchistan. The author notes that the Geological Survey of Pakistan has been handicapped by a lack of suitable personnel. There then follows a history of the terminology and systems used to classify climates. The author lauds Russell's "climatic year" concept which advocates the idea that any particular climate, such as a desert, expands in some years, and contracts in others--it is thus necessary to look at the frequency of "desert years", "steppe years", etc. in any one place. The author also cautions that in typologizing climatic regions, the human factor should not be overlooked. Human activity must be included in any region's climatic profile. The author then describes the climatic profile of every region of West Pakistan, but does not give very much information on the human activity of these regions.

Topics: Geography; natural resources.

Ahmed, Feroz  
1975 "Pasni: Social Conditions in a Fishing Village." In Feroz Ahmed, ed., Focus on Baluchistan and Pashtoon National Question. Lahore: People's Publishing House, 68-76.

This article presents a brief description of the different classes and social conditions at Pasni, a fishing village on the Pakistani Coast, whose exact location is not given. The author delineates the following "classes" (as he calls them): (1) absentee trader-owners, mostly Ismaili Khojas, who are Karachi-based businessmen who monopolize the fishing industry of the Mekran Coast, controlling both the distribution of fish for commerce and the means of production (boats and nets); (2) local Pasni gentry, mostly Khojas and Meds, who own some boats, but operate largely as agents of the absentee owners and as money lenders; (3) small owner-lesers, mostly Baluch, who usually own one small boat which they lease out; (4) small owner-fishermen, Baluchis and Meds, who engage in fishing as a family operation, but who are economically tied to agents of the absentee owner class for salt for fish preservation; (5) fishermen-workers who comprise the captain and crew of leased boats and who get varying proportions of the catch; and (6) laborers who do the more dangerous and dirty work involved in the fish trade. Groups (4) and (6) are especially poor.

Although the area is generally rich in fish (rock fish, shrimp, lobster, and crab) the inhabitants do not reap the benefits of this because of the external control of the business coupled with general government apathy towards improving conditions. (There is no local processing plant and, indeed, no electricity.) Local branches of government agencies are staffed by Urdu-speakers who, the author claims, are little more than bribe-takers and thieves. Health facilities and education are also poorly developed.

In addition to fishing, the people also earn a livelihood by some small-scale herding, agriculture, and smuggling.

Topics: Fishing; health; education.

Barth, Fredrik

1964a "Competition and Symbiosis in North East Baluchistan." Folk 6(1): 15-22.

This article is an example of Barth's ecologically oriented approach of accounting for social phenomena. The focus here is on the Marri Baluch, using data collected by Pehrson in 1955 and by the author in 1960. The author claims that it is possible to understand the seasonal migration patterns of the Marri with reference to their subsistence patterns in relation to the subsistence patterns of their neighbors. Populations are viewed as exploiters of "niches" ("positions in a biotic food web, or, from man's point of view, potential sources of organic energy"). Different subsistence and political patterns permit different niches to be exploited in some areas. Thus, the Marri Baluch and certain of its neighbors can live in harmony (symbiosis) when they exploit different niches-- as for example is the case with Marri summer migrations into Sindh, where the Marri herders have established a symbiotic relationship with the cultivators there. On the other hand, competition results when more than one group attempts to exploit the same niche, as is the case between the Marris and the neighboring Powindahs. In the latter's region, it is necessary for the Marris to lease land for grazing from Pathan owners who are agriculturalists, being unable themselves to engage in pastoralism because of the presence of the strong pastoral Powindahs. Although this competition and leasing discourages certain Marris from migration to Pathan/Powindah country, it is attractive to certain other Marris with large herds for just the reason that over-exploitation of the land by too many Marris is avoided as not all can afford the lease.

Topics: Land use; land tenure.

Barth, Fredrik

1964b "Ethnic Processes on the Pathan-Baluch Boundary." In George Redard, ed., Indo-Iranica: Melanges presentes a Georg Morgenstierne a l'occasion de son soixante-dixieme anniversaire. Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 13-20.

This article deals with the fact that on the border between Pathans and Baluch in northeastern Baluchistan there are several groups which are now Baluch but are considered to be of Pathan origin, but no Pathan groups considered to be of Baluch origin. Barth argues that despite the fact that Pathans are generally thought to be more affluent, more aggressive, and to have a higher birth rate than the Baluch, nevertheless Baluch society has been expanding at the expense of the Pathans here because the chronic intertribal conflict of the last few centuries produced large numbers of refugees and Baluch tribal structure was able to assimilate them, whereas Pathan tribal structure was not.

Topics: Local political issues.

Charpentier, C. J.

1973 "The Use of Haschish and Opium in Afghanistan." Anthropos 68: 482-490.

Although this article deals with Afghanistan, the ethnographic data on hashish and opium is so rare that it may serve as a guide to other neighboring areas.

Hashish is cultivated in Afghanistan especially in Kandahar and Balkh. It is smoked or used in a candy and is sometimes put in tea. It is used as an intoxicant, aphrodisiac, or remedy. Hashish is used by all ethnic groups in Afghanistan and in both rural and urban settings, but only by the lower and middle classes. Although officially illegal, it is not difficult to obtain. In spite of the fact that it is used commonly, it is considered a poor habit and not socially acceptable.

Opium is also cultivated in Afghanistan, especially in Jalalabad in Eastern Afghanistan, in Herat, Badakshan, and Balkh. It is smoked, eaten, or used in tea, but use is restricted largely to the northern part of the country. It is considered socially inferior to hashish and used only by the lower classes.

The rest of the article is given over to a description of the preparation of the intoxicants.

Topics: Health and education; markets and economics.

Gankovsky, Yuri  
1982 "Social Structure of Pakistan's Brahui-Baluchi Population." Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies 5:57-73.

This 17 page article is a very selective survey of the literature on Baluchistan and the Baluch, mainly within Pakistan, from a Soviet-Marxist point of view. It is largely statistical and emphasizes the poverty and social inequalities, which are simply attributed to class and colonial interests without any attempt at historical or social analysis. The article may, however, be the most accessible modern source on the distribution of tribes and political figures in the Province.

Topics: Social organization; pastoralism.

Gardezi, Hassan Nawaz  
1968 "The Marri: A Case-Study of Tribal Life in Baluchistan." In Haidar Ali Chaudhari et al (eds.), Pakistan Sociological Perspectives: Collected Papers of the Pakistan Sociological Association's II, III, and IV Conferences. Lahore: Pakistan Sociological Association, Dept. of Sociology, University of Punjab, 117-124.

This is a partial description of Marri tribal organization and customs based on personal information and selected publications. It is uncritical and contains no analysis.

Topics: Social organization; pastoralism.

Giliani, A. C. S.  
1972 "Education in Baluchistan." Pakistan Quarterly 18(3/4):38-49.

This article charts the evolution of education in Baluchistan, which had been for long a much-neglected area of development. In the Pre-British period, education was confined largely to mosque schools. In the British period, secular education was introduced (c. 1880s) and included instruction for girls. In the Quetta region there were over 100 primary and secondary schools established with an enrollment of close 18,400, but the picture elsewhere in Baluchistan was, at that time, rather gloomy. After Independence a degree-college was included in the Quetta region and the number of schools and students there continued to grow, although there was as yet no teachers training institute. The other regions of Baluchistan continued to lag behind the area of the capital. At the time of the writing of this article, the Quetta division had 1000 schools (primary, secondary and degree college) and over 60,000 students; Kalat division, by contrast, had less than 600 schools and only about 26,000 students. A primary school teachers training institute was finally established but not yet a training school for secondary

school teachers. The Baluchistan University was established in 1970. The rate of literacy in the Quetta region was estimated at approximately 40%, but only 15% for Baluchistan. The educational situation in the other provinces of Pakistan is better but the author expresses the belief that the government is sincere in its desire to further the education in Baluchistan. This article, which has little in the way of analysis, is accompanied by numerous charts.

Topics: Education.

Ibragimov, Beknazar

1973 Beludzhi Pakistana (Sots.-ekon. polozhenie v. Pakist. Beludzhistane i nats. divizhenie beludzhei v 1947-1970 g.g.) [Russian].

This book is subtitled "The social-economic situation in Pakistani Baluchistan and the national movement of the Baluch 1947-1970." It is divided into four chapters treating: (1) the social economic situation in Pakistani Baluchistan 1947-1970, (2) the political atmosphere there 1947-1958; (3) the national movement of the Baluch 1959-1968; and (4) the policy of the military administration of Yahya Khan and the situation in Baluchistan 1969-1970. The writer takes non-Pakistani authors to task for neglecting the role of progressive class differentiation in the explanation of events during this period. He assesses the Baluch nationalist movement in this light but warns that it can only reach its goals in the context of Pakistani national political and social development.

Topics: National and local political issues; markets and economics.

Pastner, C. McC.

1972 "A Social Structural and Historical Analysis of Honor, Shame and Purdah." Anthropological Quarterly 45(4):248-261.

This article deals with the issues of honor, shame and purdah in the Panjgur Oasis in Mekran. Although there is a distinct notion of male honor among the Baluch of this area, for the most part male honor is inseparably linked to the honor of kinswomen. Women should practice purdah--"invisibility" through restrictions on mobility and the wearing of concealing clothes. In actuality, only the wealthier people can afford to seclude women totally as it requires a large enough house to have separate private and public domains, and there must be no need for the family's women to engage in agricultural labor. Before the second half of the 19th century only the hakim (upper strata) of Panjgur society practiced purdah. Today, the oasis serves as the local arm of the Pakistan government. The presence of non-Baluch in the area who work for the government (mostly Punjabis and Pathans) are considered strangers and this encourages the local Baluch inhabitants to shield their women all

the more carefully. Even in kinship affairs among themselves, the Baluch are concerned to maintain their women's honor as it is linked to agnatic responsibility and solidarity.

Topics: Social organization; women.

Pastner, C. McC.

1974 "Accommodations to Purdah: The Female Perspective." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 36(2):408-414.

This article explores the means by which women in a Makrani village develop "safety valves" against the restrictions and frustrations of purdah. Because women's purity is so intertwined with men's izzat (honor), purdah, or the seclusion of women through restrictions on their mobility and the wearing of body-coverings such as cloaks and veils, is considered an effective means to check any chances of women bringing shame upon their menfolk. Women, however, develop numerous strategies to break away from the limitations that constrict them, such as the formation of ego-centered women's alliances, frequent visitations (even between women of different social status), subtle manipulation of their menfolk, etc.

Topics: Women.

1978a "Kinship Terminology and Feudal Versus Tribal Orientations in Baluch Social Organization: A Comparative View." In W. Weissleder, ed., The Nomadic Alternative, The Hague: Mouton, 261-274.

This article compares the kinship terminology and socio-political structure of three Baluch groups: those of ~~the~~ Pakistani Makran (mixed pastoral/agricultural subsistence), the Marri of the Sibi District in northeast Pakistan (largely pastoral), and the Yarahmadzai of the Sarhad region of northern Iranian Baluchistan (largely pastoral). The author attempts to link the different kinship terminology and socio-political structure of these groups to ecological and historical variables. The feudal organization of the Makranis, for example, is linked to their dependence on irrigated agriculture, as is the predominance of aristocratic pedigrees and cognatic kin-terms in their social structure. The other two groups have "tribal" as opposed to feudal social structure--organized into lineages and camps whose heads do not possess the power of the centralized chief. Yet kin terms among the Marri emphasize agnatic relations, while those of the Yarahmadzai emphasize bilateral relations. The author accounts for this difference by suggesting different historical backgrounds for the two groups.

Topics: Local political issues; land use; land tenure.

Pastner, C. McC.

1978b "The status of women and property on a Baluchistan Oasis in Pakistan", in L. Beck and N. Keddie (eds.), Women in the Muslim World. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 434-450.

This article explores the relationship between Muslim (Koranic) dictates concerning women's economic and inheritance rights and actual practices among the people of the Makrani oasis community. The general conclusion of the author is that while women do in fact inherit property (in the village studied) according to Islamic prescriptions there is a distinction to be made between legal transmission of property and actual control. Because the village under study was particularly conservative regarding purdah, the women were restricted from fully acting out economic roles and controlling their property--women cannot enter the public arena because of purdah, and actual control of their property generally resides with their menfolk, although the women are able to influence decision-making--also older (sexually neutral) women are more capable of pursuing economic roles than younger women who may endanger their men's izzat (honor) by doing so.

Topics: **Women; irrigation; water use.**

1979 "Cousin marriage among the Zikri Baluch of Coastal Pakistan." Ethnology 18:31-47.

This article is yet another contribution to the arrangement concerning the reasons for and incidence of FBD marriage and endogamy generally in the Muslim world. The author claims that among the Zikri Baluch, fisherfolk living on the Pakistani coast, there is an extremely high incidence of cousin marriage (not just FBD, but for the offspring of siblings of either sex)--64% of the sample. The Zikri Baluch will not marry out of their religious (Zikri) or ethnic (Baluch) group. The author accounts for the high rate of endogamy with reference to sibling solidarity and territoriality, not political or economic strategies. The author presents a number of case studies to illustrate her point.

Topics: **Social organization; production techniques.**

1981 "The negotiation of bilateral endogamy in the Middle Eastern Context: The Zikri Baluch Example." Journal of Anthropological Research, 37(4):305-318.

The author begins this article with a review of the literature on father's-brother's daughter marriage (FBD) which is regarded as prevalent in the Middle East. She makes note of F. Khuri's suggestion that FBD marriage contributes to family harmony, and then records the criticism against this notion--namely that of E. Peters and D. Eickelman who point out that one should not over-

simplify explanations of marriage practices in the Islamic Mid-East and that descent and lineality are not necessarily the most important variables in social organization in the Middle East. The author notes that, based on her work among the Zikri Baluch of the Mekran coast, the context in which kin endogamy is negotiated, is not one of agnation or sementation, but instead involves the reckoning of reciprocal obligations. Endogamy among the Zikri Baluch does not involve corporate political or economic advantages. Rather, the marriage enterprise must be viewed in the light of their ideas concerning exchange. The Zikri Baluch exchange with both kin and non-kin, but the former is dictated by considerations of obligation (hak) while the latter is conducted under the spirit of free choice (marzi). Due to the twin tendencies of women to seek further entanglement of kinship and of men to attempt not to overload their kin obligations by extending these obligations to an ever wider group of people, endogamy presents itself as the most satisfying marriage strategy--this endogamy is not restricted to the male side of one's family. But this practice of endogamy should not be viewed as a rule but rather a preference for keeping daughters as close as possible without being incestuous. The Zikri Baluch do not marry other Baluch of the Sunni persuasion nor Zikris of other ethnic groups.

Topics: Social organization; production techniques.

Pastner, C. McC.  
1982 "Rethinking the role of the woman field worker in purdah societies."  
Human Organization 41(3):262-264.

In this brief article the author addresses the problems faced by women anthropologists doing ethnographic field work in areas where purdah (the sexual segregation and seclusion of women) is observed. The author refers to the work of Hannah Papanek, who suggested that women field workers should take advantage of ambiguities in the social system where purdah is practiced, and thus get into a flexible position. However, the author argues that Papanek's suggestion is based on an urban-Pakistani experience; the author herself did field work in rural (Baluch) areas where there was a greater degree of conservatism and fewer alternatives of social action from which to pull out ambiguous situations. The problem was further exacerbated by the presence of the author's husband during the field work. To be in any way accepted by the society, he had to accept the restrictions placed on the honor of the local women, and was expected to reciprocate by placing purdah restrictions on his own wife. The author and her husband finally accepted a division of their anthropological labor--he, working in the men's world, and she, immersing herself in women's culture. However, she was able to get general recognition of her right to dress in

Western garb, unveiled, on excursions to Karachi. While the author recommends such compromise situations to others facing this predicament, she cautions that the anthropologist must make clear, by action, his/her respect for native values and behavior. As a point of interest, the author notes that purdah is not as strictly observed among urbanites or nomads as among rural villages in Pakistan.

Topics: Women; social organization.

Pastner, Stephen

1971 "Ideological aspects of nomad-sedentary contact: a case study from southern Baluchistan." Anthropological Quarterly, 144:173-181.

The social organization of Makrani nomads is strongly influenced by their participation in a wider social system involving substantial sedentary populations as well as by the constraints of a migratory herding life. The writer examines the ways in which Baluch ideologies of feminine and masculine honor, in the context of nomad-sedentary interaction, have helped to shape aspects of Makrani nomad social organization. Such organizational features reflect the nomad's desire to shield his women from sexual breaches which reflect on male status--a concern which is heightened during periods of nomad sedentary contact, such as the yearly date harvest or when drought forces nomads to turn to the settlements for survival.

Topics: Social organization; women; pastoralism; irrigation.

1978a. "Conservatism and Change in a Desert Feudalism: The Case of Southern Baluchistan." In Wolfgang Weissleder (ed.), The Nomadic Alternative: Modes and Models of Interaction in the African-Asian Deserts and Steppes. The Hague: Mouton, 247-260.

This article traces the political history of Baluchistan from the 19th century to its incorporation as a province of the nation-state of Pakistan. The author notes that before the coming of the British, Makran (the focus of his interest) was composed of continuously warring factions, vying for dominance. Paramount chiefs (sardars) usually drawn from the elite strata of the society (hakim) sought to develop patron-client relations with as many backers as possible. Nomads who were impoverished as a result of this power play were forced to settle. When the Brahui Khan of Kalat assumed hegemony over the area, the warring factions continued their activities; the British rulers however, effected a freeze on the continuously changing political situation, but they only engaged in indirect rule, supporting local headmen, who in their turn, controlled the population. With the coming of Pakistani rule, conservative political patterns have been largely maintained, that is, the upper strata of the Baluch society maintains its hold on the upper portion of

a political hierarchy and carries favor with the central government in its own self-interests. However, an egalitarian spirit is growing, hand-in-hand with ethno-nationalist Baluch sentiments. The author predicts that this nationalist spirit will be exploited by outsiders interested in continuing the "great game of Asia".

Topics: Local political issues.

Pastner, S. L.

1978 b "Baluch Fishermen in Pakistan." Asian Affairs 65 (n.s.9):161-167.

This article reports on information gathered by fieldwork conducted between 1976-77 among Baluch fishermen living in a village 20 miles west of Karachi. The author notes that the biggest challenge facing the villagers is not the hazards of the natural environment but the need to co-exist with themechanized maritime technology and other aspects of modernity practiced in nearby Karachi. The propellers and other trappings of mechanized fishing boats often ruin the expensive nets of the Baluch sail boats which have to be left out in the water on occasion.

The ancestors of these Baluch villagers had been pastoralists in the interior, but had abandoned their old subsistence pattern as a result of droughts and religious persecution by other pastoralists. (These Baluch are members of the now-minority Zikri sect; the other pastoralists had been Sunni Muslims.) These fishermen have what the author refers to as a very conservative social organization, that is, there is a very high incidence of kin endogamy. Another important socio-cultural feature in the village is the strong sense of izzat (male honor) and the complementary practice of pardah among village women.

The fishermen have no desire to invest any money surplus in livestock and are contemptuous of the pastoral life. They prefer sailing to motorized boats as it permits greater proximity to their village which is important for maintaining izzat, but they do have commercial success as, owing to their proximity to Karachi, they can sell their produce in that great market without recourse to middlemen.

This article is largely factual, with little in the way of analysis.

Topics: Fishing; markets and economics

- Pastner, S. L.  
1978c "Power and Pirs Among the Pakistani Baluch." Journal of Asian and African Studies 13(3/4):231-243.

This article presents a number of brief case studies of Baluch leaders, both secular and sacred (pirs) in an effort to demonstrate that real political leadership, of both the secular and sacred variety, operates according to certain common principles. (For details, see abstract for S. L. and C. McC. Pastner-1980.) In the present article the author includes a discussion of the symbolic meaning of the head gear of secular and sacred leaders, which he considers a marker of their respective potency.

**Topics:** History and general culture; local political issues.

- 1979a "Lords of the Desert Border: Frontier Feudalism in Southern Baluchistan and Eastern Ethiopia." International Journal of Middle East Studies 10:93-106.

In this article, the author suggests that the Baluch fit a model of frontier political organization suggested by Owen Lattimore some years ago with reference to China and inner Asia. Lattimore suggested that a tribal chief's authority over his followers would change from a kin-oriented base to a patron-client feudal oriented base in nomadic frontier areas under the catalyst of incorporation within a state--a settled dynasty incorporates the tribesmen into their state system as subordinate but still privileged, fairly autonomous buffers against more distant, threatening forces. The author maintains that the Baluch of Makran served as a buffer for the Kalat Khans in the 19th century against the Persians, and they later served as buffer for the British against possible Russian encroachment on the subcontinent. In the process, the Baluch (Mekran) political organization has undergone feudalization.

**Topics:** Pastoralism; local political issues.

- Pastner, S. L.  
1979b "The man who would be anthropologist: Dilemmas in fieldwork on the Baluchistan frontier of Pakistan." Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies 3:44-52.

This article discusses the problems faced by anthropologists operating in areas formerly under colonial control--resentment or misunderstanding leads to the anthropologists' being perceived as some sort of political agent. The author presents a brief history of the area and the people there in their relations with the British. The local Baluch elites have had a behavior pattern of colluding with the central powers--today, the central government of Pakistan. These elites, thinking the Pastners were in some way connected with the autonomy schemes desired by the masses, were suspicious of the anthropologists. The author concludes that there are too many factions in the area for the anthropologists to be on good terms with all.

**Topics:** Local political issues.

Pastner, S. L.  
1980 "The Competitive Saints of the Baluch." Asian Affairs 67 (n.s. 11):37-42.

This article discusses the behavior of Baluch holy men (pirs or saints). The author notes that in spite of the Muslim emphasis on equality, the Baluch believe that men are possessed of nafs (greedy and lusty souls) and so cultivate their izzat (personal honor). Although the Baluch saints, heirs of the Sufis, have professed a renunciation of worldly desires, forty-eight case studies made by the author of Baluch saints (living and dead) reveal that they practice the behavior of secular leaders, namely rivalry. Their altruism in aiding others may have an element of self-aggrandizement in it. The saints are often lavishly feted by their followers and they are not above wielding political influence, as in the 1977 elections in Karachi.

Topics: Religion; local political issues.

Pastner, Stephen and Carroll McC.  
1972a "Agriculture, Kinship and Politics in Southern Baluchistan." Man 7(1):128-136.

The authors outline the ways in which they consider land-use practices have played a major role in the patterning of social relations in Makran within the context of the political history of the area. They believe that the particularly fluid patterns of political allegiance and kinship and marriage in Makran are related functionally to the economic-technological contingencies connected with irrigation agriculture. The restraints imposed by the irrigation system on the formation of large-scale kin corporations based on landholding, is consistent with a political system based on patron-client ties and shifting political alignments. The recent emphasis on cash transactions further contributes to the perpetuation of such social fluidity and minimal emphasis on corporate kin activity. However, cultural values continue to reinforce normative ideals of kin solidarity and endogamy as a means of maintaining boundaries between themselves and non-Makranis.

Topics: Irrigation; social organization; local political issues.

- Pastner, S. L. and C. McC.  
1972b "Aspects of Religion in Southern Baluchistan." Anthropologica  
14(2):231-241.

The information for this article comes from fieldwork conducted by the authors for some months between 1968-1969 in the Makran. This is one of the least-populated areas of Baluchistan. The majority of Makranis are now Sunni Muslims, but in the 15th century (A.D.) the Zikri sect had been founded and had attracted the majority of the population. The Zikris believe in the coming of a Mahdi (rightly-guided savior-type personage), don't observe Ramadan, and deviate from orthodox Islam enough to have attracted persecution from neighboring Sunnis--under the Mighty Khan of Kalat the majority reverted to Sunni Islam in the last century. The author notes (after Salzman) that the Baluch of Iran used their Sunni faith as a means to culturally mark themselves off from the rest of the Iranis who were predominantly Shi'ites. In Pakistan, however, the Baluch elite wanted to curry favor with the powerful, and so adopted the same religion (in this case--Sunnism) so the Baluch elite were assimilated into the dominant power structure.

The few Zikri who remain in Baluchistan today are mostly nomads. They do have some contact with neighboring Sunni nomads, but the sedentary Sunni are concerned about ritual contact and will avoid the Zikris (i.e., they will not accept food from or eat with the Zikris).

Topics: Religion.

- 1977 "Adaptations to state-level politics by the Southern Baluch."  
In Lawrence Ziring, Ralph Braibanti, and W. Howard Wriggins, eds.,  
Pakistan: The Long View. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 117-139.

This article discusses the problems of the integration of the Baluch into the nation-state of Pakistan. The focus is on Makran where the authors did field work in the late 1960s. In that area, the Baluch are divided into three social strata: the hakim (ruling elite; the baluch (broad middle strata including pastoral nomads and independent agriculturalists); and the hizmatkar (lower strata composed of craftsmen and former slaves--many are Negroid in appearance). The article traces the checkered political history of the region since the early 19th century. With the formation of the nation-state of Pakistan, opposition to the central government developed, especially among the lower strata of Baluchi society (the elite had always curried favor with the central authorities, whoever they were). While growing ethnicity and desire for regional autonomy has led

to a certain degree of egalitarianism (with people in any strata having feelings of Baluch unity against a Punjabi-dominated central government), there is still a certain popular distrust of the Baluch elites on the part of the Baluch masses.

Topics: Local political issues.

Pastner, S. L. and C. McC.

1980 "Secular and sacred leadership among the Pakistani Baluch." Conference on Baluchistan, Department of State, Washington, D.C.

The authors describe briefly three ideal forms of political organization found among the Baluch: (1) tribalism, based upon the tracing of common descent and the use of the lineage principle for recruitment, supplemented by political contracts between leaders and followers--this pattern is largely followed by pastoral nomads; (2) feudalism, in which chiefly lineages form the dominant group in a hierarchy of social strata--this form of political organization tends to be associated with irrigated oases settlements; (3) sacred leadership, a relatively little studied system, composed of holy men (pirs), loyalty to whom crosscuts loyalty to secular leaders. The holy man is believed to possess a blessing (barakat) through communion with God. Ideally, holy men should be cool and meditative (in contrast to the secular leaders).

In the real world, however, all Baluch political behavior, secular and sacred, share certain features--the idea that "might makes right", a tendency to curry favor with whoever is powerful at the moment, the notion that a leader must "guard" his followers' interests without, however, allowing them to disrupt the social order. Even the holy men are not above playing this power game--before a pir's holy power is believed, he must first demonstrate his claim to barakat in the competitive arena.

Recent ideologies such as Marxims, and Pan-Baluch nationalism seem not to have affected traditional leadership patterns.

Topics: Tribal politics; history and general culture.

Pehrson, Robert N.

1966 The Social Organization of the Marri Baluch (compiled and analyzed by F. Barth). New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology No. 43).

Pehrson and his wife studied the Marri (the largest tribe in Baluchistan, numbering perhaps as many as 60,000) from March to September 1955 (when he died, which is why Barth later edited his notes into this volume). The book is mainly concerned with social organization and develops a generative model of camp organization. Pehrson

seems to have made a special effort to experience the difficulties of Marri life first hand, without the benefit of imported aids (which perhaps contributed to his death), but he finished up feeling that Marri life was characterized by an usual degree of distrust and mutual suspicion.

Topics: Pastoralism; social organization.

Pithawalla, Maneck B.

1952 The Problem of Baluchistan: Development and Conservation of Water Resources, Soils and Natural Vegetation. Karachi: Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Economic Affairs.

This report was originally prepared for the Development Board of the Pakistan Ministry of Economic Affairs shortly after independence was declared--the great concern was the development of the water resources of Baluchistan and dealing with related problems of stopping soil erosion and improving the vegetal cover. The book presents a detailed discussion of the geography and geology of Baluchistan, within the framework of a regional breakdown. The author notes that there is historical-archaeological evidence that Baluchistan was less dessicated in the past. The author comes up with a number of areas that can be fruitfully developed: fruit-growing; hide and wool industry; mining of important minerals (chromite, coal, petroleum); fishing industry. The author suggests that the kareze water supply is antiquated and expensive--tube wells would be more inexpensive to install and maintain. The author gives a detailed listing of numerous irrigation and afforestation plans current at the time.

Topics: Geology/geography; natural resources; irrigation; water use.

Rizwanullah, Mohammad

1965 Lonely Guardian of Khojak Pass. Rawalpindi(?).

This is an unsystematic collection of historical records and personal recollections focused on the history of the city water supply for Quetta.

Topics: History; water use.

Said, M.

1961 "Range and Pasture Improvement Projects--the Maslakh Area (Quetta-Kalat Circle), West Pakistan." Oriental Geographer, 5(1):68-72.

The author notes that as hardly 2% of the total land area of the region is under cultivation, and as there is a low rainfall and scanty ground water supply in the area, it is necessary to do everything possible to improve the forage supply. A discussion follows on the history of the range and pasture improvement scheme in Maslakh (near Quetta), a pilot project having over 115,040 acres set aside for testing various improvement schemes, including check damming, gully plugging, pit digging, water spreading, and development of water for livestock. Prior to the establishment of this project (in 1954) the local population, including some Afghans to whom pasture land was leased, had caused severe erosion by overgrazing. A grass nursery was installed by the project (only local varieties of grass seemed to succeed) and after the testing of seasonal rotation grazing schemes, it was decided that 110 acres would be enough to support one sheep for one year. The sheep tested have responded well and after twenty months have increased in weight, wool yields, and general good health, as well as in mortality and successful lambing. The article concludes by noting that it now remains to demonstrate to the local population the benefits of better range management practices (we are not told what happened in this regard).

Topics: Pastoralism; water use; natural resources.

Salzman, Philip

1971 "Movement and Resource Extraction among the Pastoral Nomads: the Case of the Shah Nawazi Baluch." Anthropological Quarterly 44(3): 185-197.

Data from the Shah Nawazi Baluch of Iran are used to support and illustrate the following propositions: (1) the economies of "pastoral nomads" are based on the exploitation of a variety of resources; (2) nomadism and resource extraction must be kept conceptually distinct so that their empirical relationships can be ascertained; (3) a variety of factors influence the timing, direction and length of nomadic movements; and (4) migration is only one of several kinds of movements important in the adaptations of nomadic peoples.

Topics: Pastoralism; water use; social organization.

Salzman, Philip C.

1980 "Processes of sedentarization among the nomads of Baluchistan."  
In Philip C. Salzman, ed., When Nomads Settle: Processes of Sedentarization as Adaptation and Response. Brooklyn: J. F. Bergin Publ., 95-110.

The core of the article has to do with changes imposed on the nomads of the northern Iranian Baluchistan as a result of political and economic changes at the national level in Iran. As a result of changes in the larger political economy the nomads lost access to some resources and were obliged to adapt to the situation by selecting or defining new resources. They lost the ability to raid their neighbors and compensated by increasing their interest in agriculture and migrant laboring. Salzman finishes up by making some interesting points about social changes that accompany decreased mobility. These are decline in pastoralism, in lineage corporateness, in patriarchal authority, and in force of identity, and the compensating rise of Muslim consciousness.

Topics: Pastoralism.

Snead, R. E.

1966 Physical Geography Reconnaissance: Las Bela Coastal Plain, West Pakistan. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

This book contains a detailed description of the geography and geology of Pakistan's Las Bela Coast. The author addresses the problem of why should land so close to the sea be a desert, suggesting it is probably due in large part to the dry continental air mass that extends over Baluchistan during most of the year. Although many researchers believe the area received more rainfall in antiquity, the author believes the Mohenjo-Darans/Harappans really stored a lot of water. There are extensive charts offered on the soil and vegetation types of the region. The author notes that the dry land supports the xerophytic type of scrub vegetation, but in years when there is more rainfall, a thick layer of grasses appears. Precipitation, however, is scanty and uncertain--there is less than 12 inches per year for all of southern Baluchistan.

The population of the coast includes speakers of Sindhi, Pathan, Brahui, and Baluch. In the coastal villages, potable water is seriously lacking.

The book includes numerous maps and photos of geological features including an appendix of plant species.

Topics: Natural resources; geography; irrigation; water use.

- Spooner, Brian  
1969 "Politics, Kinship, and Ecology in Southeast Persia." Ethnology 8(2):139-152.

Baluch society is divided into four classes, which are effectively rulers, nomads, peasants, and slaves. Each class is divided into groups which are organized on a tribal basis, and political relationships reminiscent of feudal Europe link members of different classes. The writer reconstructs the history of this situation and develops a model, after ibn Khaldun, to explain it. The emphasis throughout is on the relationship between ecology and society.

Topics: Pastoralism; social organization.

- 1971 "Notes on the Toponymy of the Persian Makran." In C.E. Bosworth, ed., Iran and Islam, a Volume in Memory of V. Minorsky. Edinburg: The University Press, 517-533.

Place names in the south of Persian Baluchistan fall into three categories: names of Baluchi origin, new Persian formations, and others. The author classifies some 200 place names accordingly and suggests social and historical explanations for some of them.

Topics: Pastoralism; language; history.

- 1975 "Nomadism in Baluchistan." In L.S. Leshnik and G. D. Sontheimer, eds., Pastoralists and Nomads in South Asia, 171-182.

A brief general description of the Baluch serves as an introduction to a more detailed (but also brief) account of nomadic life in the district of Saravan in Persian Baluchistan.

Topics: Pastoralism.

- Stewart, R. R.  
1958 "Flora of Baluchistan." Pakistan Quarterly 8(3):27-30.

The author notes that few of the flora of Baluchistan were included in the Flora of British India published at the turn of the century. The best collection of Baluchistan plants can be found in Calcutta, Dehra Dun, and London. In the mid-1950s, it became possible to learn the names of grasses of Baluchistan because of attempts by Pakistani and American AID scientists to improve the grazing in Baluchistan--nurseries were established for testing the grasses. More than 1200 species of plants were listed as well as poisonous plants which the animals seem able to recognize. Quetta, Kalat and Chaman regions have fruits (grapes, apricots, peaches, plums, melons, cherries, apples, quinces, almonds) and the possibility of increasing the production and sale of fresh, dried and canned fruits is great. A great jam and canning industry can be developed (we are not given details as to how). Pines (Pinus gerardiana) with edible seeds grow in North Baluchistan where it is an important feature of the diet.

Topics: Natural resources.

Swidler, Nina  
1980 "Sedentarization and Modes of Economic Integration in the Middle East." In Philip C. Salzman, ed., When Nomads Settle: Processes of Sedentarization as Adaptation and Response. Brooklyn: J. F. Bergin Publ., 21-33.

The writer makes a number of interesting points, especially on the significance of exogenous factors and the qualitative change from mediaeval nomadism as more of a political adaptation to modern nomadism which is more economic. She makes an interesting distinction between "dichotomised," "mixed," and "intersecting" economies, according to the types of socioeconomic relations particular nomadic populations have with sedentary communities. The dichotomised economy, which is characterized by complementary labor requirements, such that when demand is highest in the settled sector, nomads take to migrant laboring, allows some improvement on Barth's model which implies that all poor nomads tend to drop out into settled life for economic reasons. She emphasizes the importance of the value of land as a factor affecting the decision to use it for pastoral (and by implication nomadic) purposes, but does not go into what lies behind changes in land value.

Topics: Pastoralism; agriculture; markets and economics.

Swidler, Warren W.  
1968 Technology and Social Structure in Baluchistan, West Pakistan. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University.

This is a study of the effects of habitat and technology on the social structure of the Brahui nomads in Sarawan, Jhalawan and Kacchi districts. The discussion of pastoral nomadism as a technological system, with emphasis on the camp level of social organization, is among the best in the literature and certainly the best ethnography of its type from Baluchistan.

Topics: Production techniques; pastoralism, social organization.

**PART III**  
**GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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