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RESEARCH REPORT

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COMMUNITY PROFILES:
A SET OF CULTURAL SKETCHES
OF FIVE REGIONS IN BALUCHISTAN

by

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**COMMUNITY PROFILES:
A SET OF CULTURAL SKETCHES
OF FIVE REGIONS IN
BALUCHISTAN**

PREPARED FOR

**THE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION TEAM
ICARDA / MART PROJECT AZR COMPONENT**

BY

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SEPTEMBER 21 TO NOVEMBER 23 1987**

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I. INTRODUCTION

The profiles presented here delineate the basic cultural features of the communities under study and are intended to be a tool guiding the Agricultural Extension team of MART/AZRI in the elaboration of appropriate methodologies.

The approach used here assumes that each cultural group has its own set of operating rules, even if these groups are living within a single country's boundaries, and that understanding these rules is essential if one is to achieve effective communication with various peoples. One requirement for achieving an understanding of a social system is divesting oneself of one's own cultural set of premises and rules of behavior and observing, as objectively as possible, the interaction of human beings in their daily round of activities.

In addition, there are several operating assumptions which have shaped this work. The first assumption is that every society consists of groups and that these groups are formed according to their own set of rules. The second assumption is that societies interact with, and are shaped by, the environment from which they derive their livelihood, in other words, that the society's economic base affects not only the size of the community, but also the way in which the community members relate to one another, and how it interacts with other communities. A third assumption is that because of the particular social structure, and the environment (physical, social, economic and political) in which any community operates, particular rules of communication and behavior will be generated which result in continuity of this social organism, through time yet allow it to adapt to changing conditions.

This framework of observation and analysis was used to conduct the interviews from which these community profiles were written. These interviews included informal group, as well as individual interviews, with both old and young representatives of each community. In each of the interviews several salient points were covered, including: the community and how it was established; the social composition of the community originally and now; the nature and changes of the community's economic base; leadership patterns and decision-making processes, both political and economic; and the relations and activities between members of a community and between each community and others in its surrounding area. The picture which emerges here, it is hoped, will form the baseline from which further observations, and fruitful interaction with these communities will be generated. Unless otherwise specified, all information included here was gathered in five weeks of work in the field with the assistance of Dr. Arbab Jahangir acting as translator and as informant of local culture.

The communities studied here correspond to the five regions where the MART Project is active and which were also represented in the Household Agricultural Production Systems survey conducted in June and July 1987. Each of these regions consists of a valley ecosystem within which the population, is fairly homogeneous as well as interrelated through various economic and social mechanisms. These five regions include: the Tomagh Valley in Loralai District; the Dasht Valley outside of Quetta; the Kovak and Zarchi Valleys in Kalat District; and the Ferozabad Valley in Khuzdar District. Of the five areas studied, only the Tomagh Valley is Pushtun-speaking and the remaining four are Brahui-speaking. Aside from this linguistic and ethnic difference, each of the areas presents some unique features, but all of them

share fundamental similarities which, to avoid repetition, are underscored in the following section. This general overview is followed by individual community profiles and a discussion of what these characteristics imply for the generation of extension methodologies.

II. THE COMMUNITIES: GENERAL BACKGROUND AND COMMON CHARACTERISTICS

1. IDEOLOGY

A fundamental feature common to all the communities studied, which is so obvious as to hardly necessitate mention, is that all the communities in question are Muslim. This religious base is emphasized here, not only because it exists and regulates the ritual activities of all these communities, but also because this religious ideology acts as a fundamental agent in shaping the perceptions, and world-views of the people, and structures their attitudes, social relations, and patterns of activities. Islamic thought is the code regulating behavior at all times and in all places and is illustrated in the everyday life of the people. It also engenders a system of ideas about engagement and action and of social relationships where social positions are well defined, hierarchical, and differentiated.

In order to be a good individual, a man must first be a good Muslim, and observe the proscribed religious obligations. However, morality is also expressed in terms of practical wisdom. This means that the good and moral man lives by a recognized set of principles and manipulates them realistically, and it is the mixture of principles and realism that makes a man wise (Lee, p. 43). This outlook has been succinctly expressed by Eickelman: "...a man recognizes the provisional nature of the cosmos, and sees in the way it is constituted the expression of God's will but in the world, a man of reason will act to evaluate correctly the situation of the world as a prelude to action....In the world, men of reason constantly modify their course of action to accomodate the will of God revealed through what

happens in the world" (p. 126). Coupled with this correct assessment of the world, a man utilizes his reason with adroitness or cleverness. Again Eickelman states: "the possession of reason assumes an empirical knowledge and a capacity to manipulate the shared code of conduct..." (p. 130-31). In addition, a truly wise man is also a guide and example to others and capable of earning the respect of the community as well as being (theoretically at least) incapable of deception and wrongdoing towards his fellow men.

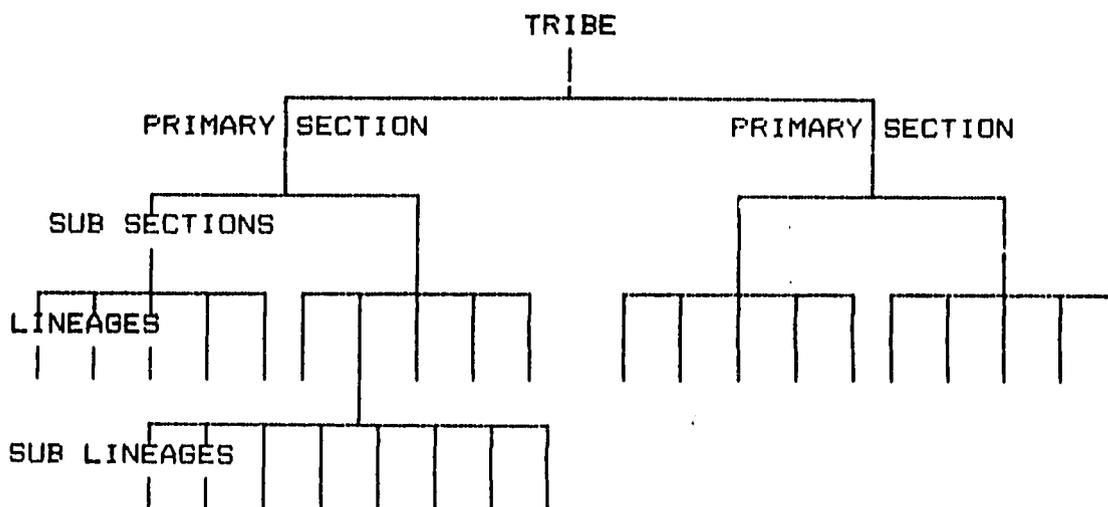
A man who is moral and a good Muslim is also responsible for the correct development of social relationships in his household. Each member has a set of rights and obligations. A man offers his authority, wealth, wisdom and protection to the members of his family. To the women he offers protection and women, on their part, owe the men modesty, subordination, and respect. The sons owe the father loyalty, respect, and work. The sons a man has constitute his pride and his future and clearly delineate a household's economic potential. The women, in contrast, carry a more diffuse but equally pivotal set of responsibilities. A woman's value, both symbolic and practical, lies in her ability to bear children, and by so doing, links two groups of people through marriage. Women can act as agents to preserve or to break social relations with their family of origin or procreation, and most often, bonds of sentiment and pragmatic considerations make women vital links in the preservation of equanimity between groups (Lee, p. 45).

A family that operates according to this model of social relations attains honor in the eyes of the community. Honor thus becomes symbolic of and synonymous with the social order and something to be kept at all costs and under all circumstances.

2. SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In the context of Baluchistan, in addition to this Islamic model which defines the correct modes of thinking and acting, the other concept which structures human relations is that society is self-defined in terms of tribes and tribal sections.

Figure 1.: Tribal Structure and Its Main Divisions



NOMENCLATURE:

Division	BRAHUI	PASHTO
Tribe	Qaum	Qaum
Primary Section	Takkar	Qaum
Sub Section	Shalwar	Zai
Lineage	Aziz	Zai
Sublineage	Aziz	Khel

A tribe, often congruent with an ethnic group is, briefly stated, a socio-political entity which is associated with a particular territory. One characteristic of tribal societies is that they utilize the idiom of genealogy and descent (real or imagined) as the cornerstone of group formation, and as a mechanism for incorporating peoples from heterogeneous backgrounds into a tribe. Because the social group is conceptualized in terms of kinship, kinship becomes a factor which structures individual and group interaction, defines rights and obligations, and affects the physical settlement pattern of communities which tend to respond to threat or stimuli as a unit.

An additional feature of this form of social organization is that the larger unit (the tribe) is subdivided into sections which also reflect lines of descent from original ancestors (Figure 1). In the case of the Brahui tribes the primary sectional division is called "takkar" and these are further subdivided into sections called "shalwar" (literally meaning trousers) while in the Pushtun areas the equivalent term for these two levels is a "zai". At the *shalwar* level people perceive themselves as being related to one another because of common ancestry, yet this ancestry is often imaginary and cannot be actually traced. The importance of the *shalwar/zai* as social units is that in the past they were the units which held jural responsibility in the case of blood feuds, or vengeance and its members were linked in a web of reciprocal obligations and exchanges of goods and services even though the members of a section may have lived dispersed over several locations (Swidler, (a), p. 132-33). Today, the system of prescribed obligations is falling into disuse, but remnants of this sectional solidarity are evident in the contributions given by section members on occasions such as marriages, births, or funerals. Because of

the perceived common ancestry, the *shalwar/zai* members tend to have friendly relations and little friction or cause for conflict, and theoretically, act jointly in cases of conflict with another section, or to resolve common problems.

Smaller than the tribal section (*shalwar/zai*) is the "aziz" (Brahui areas) or "*kheI*" (Pushtun areas). This is a unit whose members can actually trace lines of common kinship and its members usually live grouped together in village settlements (though there are some villages which have more than *aziz/kheI* living in them). Units at this level of segmentation tend to have many different kinds of ties and interactions. People of the same *aziz/kheI* are preferred marriage partners, and because of its spatial and residential distribution, the people of an *aziz* or *kheI* are in frequent contact and share labor, implements, or information. In short, this social unit is, beyond the level of the nuclear or extended family, the minimal community and primary social reference point.

It must be emphasized that this is a model used by the people to conceptualize their society, but that in reality, these categories become blurred and often people do not remember the number and names of tribal sections and divisions, and only retain the names of units which are significant to their lives. In addition, kinship may be the primary mechanism of recruitment to a group, but often there are other people who become attached to a tribal section because of necessity or political alliance.

3. VILLAGE LIFE AND COMMUNICATIONS

The existence of this kind of social structure, and its operation within an Islamic ideology, has certain consequences for the types of relations which exist within and between villages. Personal networks and communications are structured by several factors, and among these the most important are the homogeneity or heterogeneity of people in a village, its size and spatial location, and the degree and nature of social stratification.

The prevailing settlement pattern is one of small villages which are congruent with descent groups. People in a village are usually one's relatives and, social interaction and the transfer of information tends to be unrestricted and informal. Within a village social interaction takes place in an unregulated manner and visits between household members are frequent and tend to occur during periods where the daily work pattern is slow. However, Swidler indicates (a, p. 112), frequent visits to the same compound mark a man as an ally to that household head and most men prefer to retain the appearance of independence. Furthermore, meetings within the compound lack privacy as women and children listen and quickly pass on any overheard news; and if a man wants to ask a favor of another man, he waits until the opportunity for a private conversation arises.

Social interaction is more structured between villages, and the factors of proximity, both spatial and social, also regulate these interactions. In all of these communities social gatherings are associated either with religious ritual (Friday prayers of *Eid* prayers and celebrations) or with life rites (births, circumcisions, marriages and deaths). Given a choice of attending some of these gatherings, the

people will feel more obligated to attend if they are visiting close kinsmen or members of their *shalwar* except in cases where long distance is a limiting factor. However, in cases where people of different *shalwar* or even different tribes live in close proximity, social interaction will not be precluded because of social structural features.

The relative ease of social interaction within and between communities however, is nevertheless structured by concepts of space and of how it is controlled. A household or family compound defines the space within which the family operates, as well as the boundary of women's free space. Outside of this boundary women do not wander freely, and in any case, never alone. This well delimited household space also establishes the threshold which foreigners to the community cannot trespass without explicit invitation. A village, may also have a guest house, often built by a village leader where visitors are entertained or lodged

The small size of these communities also means that there are few formal offices and, aside from the old men, to whom respect is due and who have special duties on certain occasions, and the village leader whose role will be discussed in the next section, few other specialized positions or roles exist. Consequently within the community, there is little control over information because the social distance existing between its members is small. If there are "gatekeepers" to any information transfers they are limited to these elders and to the village leader. Within the household, however, men exert the role of gatekeepers fairly effectively when it comes to transferring information to the women in the family, and it is evident from preliminary observations, that separate networks of information transfer and social interaction exist based on gender. The nature of

community decision-making processes and of leadership will be considered separately, however, here it is important to note that aside from experience associated with age, the level of knowledge in these communities is perceived to be fairly generalized and limited to those areas of experience which the villagers deal with directly on a daily basis. The individuals perceived as being most successful in a community are always those who are lucky enough to have more resources rather than specialized knowledge, attitudes, or techniques to improve their condition. However, because these communities are effectively encapsulated within a larger economic and political system, an awareness of economic deprivation and of a community's marginalization exists and is voiced by both old and young men regardless of education. As remedies to this condition, most people in these communities place a great value on education, and aspire to obtain an integration into this wider system as long as the traditional cultural and ideological pattern is kept.

4. LEADERSHIP

A society with the characteristics discussed above also develops particular patterns of leadership and these structure power relations both within and between communities at all levels.

At the village level, leadership is vested in a "takkari" (Brahui) or "malik" (Pushtun). The village leader has several important functions. Within the village is is the agent of conflict resolution and in addition he is the spokesman of the decisions reached by consensus. The *takkari/malik* also acts as the main spokesman and representative for the village and its interests in assemblies gath-

ering several village leaders, or before the *sardar*, who is the leader at the tribal level (though in some areas the primary division level leader is also referred to as a *sardar*, see section on *Khuzdar*). The investigation of leadership issues in both Brahui and Pushtun areas, revealed that the position of *takkari/malik* is one which is inherited along family lines, belying the notion that leadership in segmentary societies is essentially egalitarian and its leaders temporary. However, despite the fact that a single family achieves predominance over others in a village because of this leadership function, the *takkari/malik* retains his position only with the consent of the members of the community he represents, and only as long as he fulfills his role and duties satisfactorily. In cases where a *takkari/malik* is judged by the people to be incapable of fulfilling his duties, either the people chose another (usually from the same family) or else (in cases where the leader refuses to step down), the people of the community essentially ignore him and he becomes a leader only in name.

There are certain qualities of leadership which are sought in a *takkari/malik*. First he has to be of a high moral character to win the confidence of the people; he must also be capable of dealing equitably with all the families in the village, and have the ability to conceptualize and solve problems. Second, he must have the confidence and personality to be an effective spokesman for the village before larger assemblies. The villagers indicated that the *takkari/malik* was an inherited position and followed family lines because it was easier that way, and minimized competition, and also because one person acting as spokesman for the group was more efficient than many trying to affect or control decisions. However, the *takkari/malik* in addition to maintaining his position by acquiescence of the rest of

the males in the village, is ultimately only the channel for voicing consensus decisions which are arrived at with the aid and advice of a selected number of elders, or important individuals in each local community acting as a council.

The council, called a "*mer*" or "*faisala*" (literally meaning a decision) in Brahui areas, and known as a "*jirga*" in Pushtu areas, is the crucial mechanism and institution of community decision-making, and conflict resolution. This council is formed of individuals selected *ad hoc* by parties in a conflict to represent them and their claims or problems. Usually the individuals called upon to take part in a *mer/jirga* are older men who have proven, by their experience, to be just and impartial and of sound judgment. So, while the final decision in a dispute or problem settlement is voiced through the *takkari*, it is in fact with the advice and consent of the *mer* that the decisions take shape.

While one must emphasize that this council does not operate as a permanent institution, and that its membership may not be identical for all problems or disputes, it must also be emphasized that this institutionalized method of resolving problems affecting a community or any of its members, is a measure of a community's solidarity and ability to jointly solve problems concerning all its members. It is only in cases where a conflict or problem surpasses either the spatial boundaries of a community, or the ability of its members to resolve a problem, that its resolution is passed on to a higher level, in most cases the *sardar* of the tribe. The most frequently cited problems requiring the assembling of a *mer/jirga* and the participation of the *takkari/malik* were those concerning land disputes and problems of water distribution within villages and between villages. This is

not surprising if one considers the relative scarcity of these two critical resources in most of the areas studied,

The processes and institutions described above become the symbols around which tribal and ethnic identification hinge. But, the value of these institutions and symbols is changed with the incorporation of these peoples into the context of a nation. Tribes, in a modern setting tend to be anachronistic entities because of their particular ways of relating and interacting and this often results in a marginalization of the tribal population vis a vis the wider economic and institutional context. This phenomenon of marginalization is particularly marked in the case of the Brahui population examined here and results in differential access to resources and information detrimental to the population.

5. ECONOMIC BASE

A fifth characteristic common to the communities studied is that they all have a mixed economy with cereal crop production and livestock raising. None of the communities under study are exclusively livestock producers or agriculturists. In the past, the Brahui communities emphasized livestock production more than they do today, and transhumance was an adaptive strategy which allowed effective use of the resources in various ecosystems over the course of a year. In all of these communities, the environment is perceived, not as a system to be explored and understood or explicated but rather it is defined in terms of pragmatic motives and solutions. There is no philosophy attached to the use of the environment. Nature, and its use, lands and animals together, is simply another aspect of the world of experience. The peoples' relations to their lands and animals

are guided by pragmatic motives and short-term needs without further awareness of conservation and management. Range lands may become exhausted without new strategies for their maintenance generated because the determinants of the wealth and status of individuals: lands and livestock, are guiding the system.

In addition to this common agro-pastoral economic base, the communities dealt with here are rural and have limited contacts with, and access to, the broader national economy. All of these communities have also experienced economic changes in the last two decades to varying degrees. The specific nature of these changes will be described in the individual profiles, yet, one common denominator is that changes have occurred in part as a result of environmental degradation and natural increase in the population and these factors, coupled with a traditional economy and limited access to technology, has resulted in accentuating the economic marginalization of these rural communities. In the descriptions that follow these characteristics are examined and their consequences for each community analyzed.

III. COMMUNITY PROFILES: THE KOVAK VALLEY

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN

This valley, located immediately to the east of Mastung, is inhabited by four tribal groups: the Mohammad Shahi (often pronounced Mamadshai), the Bangulzai, the Langoo, and the Sumalari. These tribal groups are settled in small agglomerations distributed throughout the valley each of them with a population which is homogeneous, i.e., it belongs to the same tribe, *shalwar*, and *aziz*. There are differing accounts of the number of small hamlets in the valley. According to the Potwari records, there are fifteen such hamlets, however, the people in the valley recognize only eleven, the remainder being too small or now deserted to be included in their calculus. The Mamadshai, as the largest tribal group in the valley, occupy most of these small villages while the other three tribal groups occupy only three. Informants estimated that there are approximately 500 households in the Kovak Valley which belong to the Mamadshai tribe. This numerical superiority is significant because it is the Mamadshai who control most of the land in the valley, with the other two tribal groups as their tenants.

The Mamadshai according to all informants, have long been established in this valley, and the available historical information locates the Mamadshai tribe in this region for 400 to 500 years as one of the important tribes of the Brahui Confederacy living in Sarawan (Bray, p.4). At the present time, the people no longer recall where the group may have been located prior to their establishment in Kovak and the adjacent area of Mastung, and stated that the lands they own and exploit have come to them from the times of their forefathers. Some stated that the lands were given to them by

the Khan of Kalat as "blood reward", in other words, as payment for their participation in warfare. These lands became private property and no rent was due to the Khan of Kalat. In the eighteenth century, and also because of the role the Mamadshai had in the Khanate, they gained lands in Kachhi after overcoming local groups and these lands in the lowlands, became vital to their pastoral economy (Swidler, (b), p.117-118; Gazetteer, p. 15). These lands were used by the Jats who became (and remain today) hereditary tenants of the Mamadshai.

In contrast, to the Mamadshai, the Bangulzai inhabiting the village of Nichari, and the Sumalari and Langoo in the villages of Mengal and Langoo, report their existence in the valley and the surrounding region to be limited to around four to five generations, or about 100 years. The Bangulzai, reportedly came from Jhalawan and became established in the Kovak Valley because of the more advantageous environment for livestock rearing. Some individuals have reportedly purchased lands from the Mamadshai while the majority remain as their hereditary tenants, giving the Mamadshai landlords 1/4 of the harvest as rent. They also, have preemptive rights to purchase up to half of the land rented if the landlord puts these lands up for sale. The Sumalari informants perceived themselves to be part of a tribe which is dispersed over the territories of Sarawan and Jhalawan, and without a specific center or "homeland", though some sources indicate the main body of this tribe is located in Jhalawan and were previously nomadic (Swidler, (a), p. 85-86). Some of the Sumalari do have lands in Kachhi and Mitri, near Nari, but those living in the Kovak Valley are there as tenants of the Mamadshai.

THE NATURE OF VILLAGE LIFE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Within this setting, the population in the Kovak Valley carries out an annual cycle linked to agriculture and livestock production. This cycle is defined by a seasonal calendar beginning with spring "Hatam" from March through May; summer "Ahar" in the months of June through August; fall, called "Sahai" or "Khazan" in the period of September through November; and winter "Sayit" from December through February. For those who reckon in months, the most used are the Muslim lunar months, with but a few individuals reckoning in terms of a western calendar.

The annual cycle begins with the movement, in October or November, to the Kachhi lowlands, where the people remain with their livestock until the month of March. The return from the Kachhi takes place in March and April, generally after lambing is over, and when the vegetation is good in the highland area. The people then become more involved in agricultural pursuits and remain there until the harvest is completed in late summer and winter crops are planted before they embark on the next cycle.

In the past this transhumance cycle was more significant, and each *shalwar* moved as a unit accompanied by their *takkari*. The decision to move to the lowlands was taken collectively by the old men together with the *takkari*; influencing the decision was their assessment of risks based on rainfall and weather conditions. Informants indicated that in years of good rainfall they would chose to remain in the valley, and in those years with poor rainfall entire villages would move out. The old route of transhumance followed the Bolan Pass to Dadhar where the people would divide and go to their respective lands, in Zardad, Mitri, and

Mhiri. This movement was done in large groups for added security. While in the lowlands, the people generally worked, either their own lands, or the lands of others. Groups such as the Sumalari who have few lands in the lowlands, generally went and continue to go there as laborers. They reported that this annual movement was more marked in the past, but that now, due to increased labor opportunities in the Manguchor and Mastung region, they tend to remain in Sarawan. When Sumalari families move, they move in small groups of only two or three households and spend only two or three of the winter months there. During this time the livestock are allowed to graze in the areas where their owners are working as laborers.

The Bangulzai for their part reported that transhumance is limited, and that those individuals who have large flocks prefer to stay in the valley because of the trouble and expense of moving livestock to the lowlands. Those who stay graze their livestock in the valley and adjoining mountains year round and keep the livestock in buildings to protect them from excessive cold. Among the Bangulzai out-migration in search for labor to the Manguchor area is increasing, leaving the villages with only a few men.

But, for the Bangulzai as well as for the others, transhumance is becoming secondary. Movement out of the valley, seasonal or permanent, is linked to economic considerations and to a gradual shift from an economy with a dual emphasis on agriculture and livestock production, to one with more emphasis on crop production. Old informants recall earlier times when they lived in tents and they have seen a gradual buildup of houses, attesting to a change from a transhumant to a more sedentary way of life. The people perceive this change as being partially due to environmental factors. All

informants stated that they thought there was more rainfall and snow and consequently more water available in the past, as well as more vegetation for the livestock. The people reported that there has been no snow in the valley in the last four years, and little in the last ten year period, in contrast to twenty or so years before when large amounts of snow fell in the valley. As a result in the past, they stated, vegetation was plentiful enough to allow livestock to graze year-round in the Kovak Valley, whereas now they are forced to take their livestock to nearby Katkoocha to graze on lands belonging to the Shawani who allow them grazing rights. Because of this change in rainfall and vegetation, these people claim they have been forced to keep fewer animals, though given availability of water they would choose to keep more than they do now.

This change, perceived in terms of vital resources becoming increasingly scarce, and of a general impoverishment of the communities in the valley, has had repercussions on the social life of these communities. In a situation where the nearest source of water is a day's walk away, large gatherings of people become onerous to hosts. As one informant reported: "If I want to offer you tea, I have to borrow a cup of water from my neighbors." As a result, community gatherings are limited to celebrations associated with life rites, such as births, circumcisions, or marriages, or with death. Marriages in the past used to be occasions for assembling people from several *shalwar*, but today they have become limited to inviting only people from the same *aziz*, and only a few wealthy individuals can afford to invite more people. Other gatherings do occur for ritual occasions, such as the *Eid*, or, when labor is required for bund building or water harvesting. In a year of good rainfall people might gather at the beginning of the harvest in a small

feast called "Hashar", and in general more social gatherings occur. Sometimes hunting parties are arranged by the people for visitors to the valley, and in the past mountain sheep were hunted. These are reported not to have been seen in the last ten years.

However, a decline in the frequency and scale of social gatherings is only a partial indicator of the nature of community life, and other information attests to a continuing cohesiveness and solidarity in these communities. One indicator is the existence of "*bijar*", a collective contribution made to a bridegroom prior to his marriage by members of his lineage and friends of the family. Giving a contribution on such an occasion is seen as an act of loyalty and support (Swidler, (a), p.133), and is not compulsory, though people in Kovak perceive it as being a reciprocal exchange. Similarly, contributions are made when there is a death in the family. This "*purs*" or condolence contribution, as well as "*bijar*" links together networks of families both within and between villages. Swidler in her fieldwork conducted in 1963 to 1965 indicates that these family networks had already replaced then, to some extent, the collective obligations based on lineage membership (Swidler, (a), p. 133). Another significant expression of village solidarity is the existence of a welfare fund reported to exist in Kovak among the Mamadshai. This welfare fund exists at a tribal level and the contributions collected from all the members of the tribe are gathered and kept by the *sardar* for use in emergencies such as payment of blood money or ransom. It is reportedly not used in cases of material emergencies unless a community finds itself confronting a crisis. The *sardar* is entrusted with keeping a record of all the contributions and of the money available in this fund. Aside from this fund, which is traditional, there are no other collective funds or

organizations in the Kovak area. However the individual communities set up their own funds gathered from the *zakat* (Islamic tax used for the support of the needy and religious institutions) for the upkeep of the mosques where they exist, and for the maintenance of the *imam* and the schoolteacher.

All of the villages in the Kovak Valley whether they belong to the same tribe or not, maintain cordial relations. People belonging to the same tribe and *shalwar* say they are amiable "because we are brothers", and the *takkari* and old men of the *shalwar* join together to discuss and solve problems in cases which affect the welfare of more than one village in the valley. Conflict within villages, or between villages and tribes in the Kovak Valley is not an area of social life which is easily discussed in interviews and therefore specific examples of conflict, and its resolution were hard to elicit from informants. On the contrary, the people specified the cordial nature of intra and inter-village relations and the ties of marriage linking most villages in the valley. They indicated that conflict, where it occurs, is primarily associated with land disputes or water rights and distribution and these are resolved by the village *takkaris*. The only example cited of conflicts requiring the intervention of the *sardar* were those associated either with a blood feud or conflicts involving two tribes.

The majority of the informants in Kovak perceive changes which have occurred in the valley in the last two decades as generally positive. They place in this category of positive changes things like the road which runs through the valley, and bus transportation, as well as the establishment of schools in some of the villages. In general, however, they feel that there are basic services which they should have

and which never come, such as electricity, medical services, and the perennial problem of provision of water. But even when these problems exist and lands are poor, the people assert that this is where they belong because they have always been here since the time of their forefathers, and this is where they will remain.

IV. COMMUNITY PROFILES: ZARCHI

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Zarchi is the wide valley located immediately north and west of the town of Kalat. Its location makes this area a boundary zone between the highland, Sarawan, and lowland Jhalawan regions. Because of this the population in this valley is more heterogeneous than that found in other areas studied. The population in Zarchi lives in six geographically distinct areas (Ahmad Abad, Chappar, Dullo, Hajji Pas-sand Khan, Toghau, and Ziarat), and within these areas is settled in approximately eighteen small villages which generally bear the name of the current village leader, and are occupied by segments of various *shalwar*. Some of these villages were established as long as 400 years ago, while others are more recent creations.

In Zarchi, the history of village settlements and of the population, is closely tied to the history and development of the Kalat Khanate. The people belong to tribes which, while having diverse origins, were incorporated into the Brahui Confederacy during the early period of consolidation of the Khanate. These tribes include the Mirwari, a collateral line of the Khans of Kalat, who were among the tribes forming the nucleus of the Brahui Confederacy and were its earliest leaders; the Nichari who were aboriginal to the area of Jhalawan prior to the formation of the Confederacy; the Sarperra reputed to have a Pushtun origin; The Mengal of Persian origin attached to the Brahuists in Sarawan; and the Langoo, supposedly of Baluch origin also attached to the Brahuists in Sarawan (Bray, p. 3-6). This ethnic heterogeneity is reflected in the language abilities of the people inhabiting Zarchi. As a contrast to the Kovak

Valley, where Urdu is spoken and understood by nearly 37% of the population, in Zarchi, Baluch is the main second language used by 78% of the people, while Urdu is third with 30% of the population speaking and understanding it.

The different origins of this population, and the roles each tribe played in the development of the Khanate are reflected in the land tenure system. It is important to note here that the mechanism used by the early Khans to consolidate the Khanate and to secure internal cohesion and cooperation from the unruly tribes in the region, was to parcel out conquered lands to impoverished and land hungry people who then gained a vested interest in the welfare and continuity of the Khanate (Gazetteer, p. 15). With the expansion of the Khanate, many of the people who had received lands were forced to pay a tax to the State and in many of the villages in Zarchi this was slowly transformed into a form of hereditary tenancy. Consequently today, even though lands are theoretically privately owned by some of these people, the Khan has assumed rights of ownership and the people are forced to pay a rent to the Khan of Kalat (villages of Ziarat, Chappar), ranging from 7/8ths to 1/3rd of the annual harvest. Other villagers (Toghau), are hereditary tenants of the Raisani tribe with payment of 1/6th of the harvest annually. According to informants their forefathers were brought by the Raisani into the Zarchi area from Nushki. One village (Ahmad Abad) is a recent creation of the Khan who brought people from one of the adjoining villages to settle in newly cleared lands as his tenants. Only one village (Dullo Shumali) reported that their lands were held in private ownership and that they were not obligated to pay anything to the Khan, though admitted that they occasionally gave him something if he asked for it. In contrast

to the population of Kovak, the Zarchi people do not own lands in the Kachhi region, and this has repercussions on the economy of this valley.

THE NATURE OF VILLAGE LIFE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Because none of the people in Zarchi own lands in Kachhi or Sind, seasonal movements, usually from October through March, are a response to labor demands rather than to live-stock needs. Some villages reported that they did not recall ever having gone to the lowlands and did not go there because they did not have lands there, and because, as long as there was water in Zarchi they could live there (Ziarat, Ahmad Abad). Others reported that an annual movement to the Sind was common among the families who do not own any live-stock and who go there as laborers, while families with livestock either stayed in Zarchi year round or else left their livestock in the hands of a hired shepherd and went as laborers for a portion of the year (Toghau). In addition to the temporary labor movements to the Sind or Kachhi, other people move to areas closer to Zarchi for shorter periods of time, going to Manguchor and Kalat as harvesters of potato and onion crops (Dullo) and some families have permanently left the Zarchi region to become established in Kalat, Sind, and even Turbat (Ziarat, Ahmad Abad).

As in Kovak, the decision to move to the Kachhi or Sind area is made jointly by the men of a village after an assessment of the local conditions and weather. In years of good rainfall the movement may decrease, while in other years, where there is no summer rain, or little perceived chance of winter rains, more families may make this seasonal move. The severe drought in the summer this year caused

many families to make a move out of the Zarchi area earlier than the normal time of October. In the past when families moved out of Zarchi they transported their household goods using camels; these have now been replaced by truck transportation; when the people move out they leave only one or two members of the village to safeguard their houses in their absence.

These seasonal labor movements, which are reportedly increasing in magnitude, are perceived by the people as a response mandated by changes in the local environment rather than as a choice to change their traditional life style. Livestock keeping is still the preferred option among the majority of the people, and several informants stated that they do not keep livestock because they are too poor, but that given the chance for investing in livestock they would opt for it and then would not have to move out of the area in search of labor. But, livestock raising is inevitably tied to availability of water and vegetation, and here, as in Kovak, the people in Zarchi see that there has been a severe change in environmental conditions in the last two decades.

Each village has at least one well, and in most cases these are wells which have existed for several generations. Old men reported, however, that the water level has dropped, though they found it hard to estimate exactly by how much. Some of these old wells have run dry, and the main source of conflict, and of animosity towards the Khan of Kalat, is tied to disputes over permission to dig more wells, even when he is not the owner of the land. But, even if there were more wells, they would not solve the larger problem of a deteriorating environment. The Zarchi area, people uniformly stated, used to be more fertile than adjacent valleys

because in the past there was more rain and snow, and old men remember when the valley had grasses that were knee high. In the last decade informants stated that there had been two years where there was no harvest at all, and four where there had been good production, with four years of mediocre and insufficient harvests. In the same period, because of a lack of vegetation, the number of livestock has decreased and fewer people now are keeping livestock.

One strategy which is followed in Zarchi is that in years of poor rainfall the livestock may be placed under the guard of a shepherd who joins several flocks and takes them to graze in nearby mountain areas. Informants indicated that because of the lack of vegetation in Zarchi they had had to do this three out of the last five years. When this strategy is opted for, the shepherds are hired for the year and keep one out of every ten lambs born, plus 100 rupees, one bag of wheat, and one female goat as payment. They reported that a single shepherd can control a combined flock of 300 sheep and goats. Even in years where there is little or no vegetation in Zarchi, however, people do not supplement their livestock, and wheat or barley are only given to animals which are either sick or destined to be sacrificed. The perceived environmental, and concomitant economic changes, are always attributed to changes in rainfall and never to a population increase of both human and animal populations.

The periodic movement out of the Zarchi area leaves the valley nearly deserted and villages take on the appearance of ghost towns until their inhabitants return. This means that there is a rupture, however temporary, in the networks of social relations² which are renewed and re-established each year as the valley becomes populated, once again, in

the Spring. Relations among all the villages in the area, regardless of tribal affiliation, are said to be friendly, and with little conflict.

Ceremonial occasions, linked here as in Kovak to religious celebrations and life rites, incorporate people from the same and different *shalwars*, and also from tribes living in close proximity to a given village. Contacts with outsiders is said to be limited, and the web of social relations extends only to the villages in Zarchi and to close friends and relatives in the nearby towns and rural areas. The *bijar*, donations on marriage occasions, also exist here, however, while some villages reported that all the villagers cooperate in this reciprocal system, others indicated that the *bijar* is only collected in cases where the groom is poor and in such cases members of all the *shalwar* of a tribe living in Zarchi would contribute. In Zarchi the *bijar* is used not only to defray the wedding expenses, but also to help pay the bride price.

Only one area in Zarchi, that of Toghau, reported the existence of a community welfare fund as an institution. In this case, in contrast to the information received in Kovak, the fund is under the control of the *takkari* and it is used at his discretion to help individuals in need rather than for a *shalwar's* common needs as was found in Kovak. It is also used for the upkeep of the mosque. All the other communities lack such a fund, but these communities will collect funds for the needy in the village or in cases where a man dies penniless will collect money for burial.

Though most villages in Zarchi reportedly have labor exchanges, their occurrence seems to be less frequent than in Kovak. This is, in part, because more people are engaged in

wage labor and are less willing to donate their services. Because of this, the "hashar" feasts given by hosts to these cooperative labor endeavors are not as common as in the Kovak area. When these labor exchanges occur, mostly at times of harvesting or planting, they are reciprocal in nature. Other times when cooperative labor is called for are for building or repairing a mosque or an individual's house. In these cases, if a man is poor, the labor is freely given without him providing the *hashar* for the people helping him.

If there are any strong differences in the institutional life of the villages in Zarchi these are most evident in the area of leadership and community councils. In all cases but one, the *takkari* is not an important man in the community; in fact, most of the *takkaris* though theoretically representing a village, do not live in Zarchi but rather in centers such as Kalat, Mastung, or Quetta, and thus are not directly involved in the daily lives, problems, and decision-making processes affecting the villages. The role of *takkari* exists in this area at a higher level of tribal segmentation, and called upon to resolve issues involving an entire shalwar or even primary tribal sections rather than village affairs. Because of this, the *mer* (local council) becomes a more vital institution in the local affairs of the people and its decisions are passed on to the *takkari* for information only. ;

The *mer* is assembled from among the old men of a community as an *ad hoc* body to solve conflicts within and between villages, and its decision-making patterns are similar to what was found in Kovak. However, there are situations where it was reported that usually there was no formally assembled *mer*, but rather that the decisions affecting the entire village are made jointly by all the old men. Only serious in-

dividual problems are taken to the *takkari* or to the tribe's sardar. Problems of land succession are generally taken to a government appointed *Sharia* judge in Kalat to be settled according to the cannons of Islamic law and his decision is considered final and binding.

The majority of the people in each of the villages visited believe that their knowledge is the same, and that there are few distinctions of social or economic rank among them. The only exceptions are a few individuals who have more resources, and of course, the Khan of Kalat who controls a sizable part of the resources in the valley. There are few individuals who are perceived as having a knowledge of special techniques associated with crop production and livestock rearing, and success in these areas is associated not with individual abilities and expertise but with availability of resources. Only a few individuals are known and respected because of their level of general knowledge and learning or because of advanced religious education. This perception of equality among villagers was often expressed, and one informant put it succinctly, and with some exasperation, in the following terms: "I don't know why you insist on doing individual interviews because here we are all alike and all the same, and what applies to one of us applies to all."

V. COMMUNITY PROFILES: KHUZDAR

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN

The Ferozabad Valley located west of Khuzdar is one of the important valleys of the Jhalawan region. It includes a large number of settlements more widely dispersed over a greater area than either Kovak or Zarchi. The total number of small hamlets according to Potwari records is thirty, and the population is primarily Mengal, with the Zahri tribe, formerly the leading tribe in Jhalawan, being second in population in this valley. The notions of tribal affiliation, however, are more diffuse and uncertain in Ferozabad than in other regions, and the population identifies itself in terms of their affiliation to the primary branches of this tribe. This particular feature of social organization would not be emphasized here if it were not for the fact that it has certain consequences for the type and style of power relations which impinge on the people in Ferozabad as will be seen in the next section.

The collective memory of the people in Ferozabad does not extend beyond three generations, and all those interviewed had no real knowledge of how long the villages had existed, only stating the formula that they were established in the time of their forefathers. There has been no immigration of other people into the valley, and the number of settlements has grown only through a natural population increase. This perception is interesting in light of other reports which indicate that the entire population in this region was devoted, and preferred, flock-owning to cultivation and that in 1901 there were only 299 settled villages in the entire Jhalawan region (Gazetteer, p. 172,173).

The majority of the population in Ferozabad, regardless of their past history, now owns and cultivates lands in this valley, and these landholdings are concentrated in the areas surrounding the settlements. Some of the wealthier people also have tenants who exploit these lands, and these generally are poorer people from the same shalwar or aziz. The terms of tenancy are generous compared to other areas: the tenant retaining 50% of the crop if he provides the bullocks and the labor, and retaining a fifth of the crop if the landowner provides the bullocks and seed. Many of these tenants, according to reports, do not have written contracts. There is only one *shalwar* which reportedly has lands in the Sind, while all the others report that their lands are only located in the valley. The links of the Ferozabad Valley population to the Sind, however, are long-standing, and reflect a traditional economic inter-dependency between this area and some of the districts in Sind. These ties affect the nature of the communities as well as their annual production cycle.

THE NATURE OF VILLAGE LIFE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Time in Ferozabad is generally reckoned according to the Brahui calendar in terms of seasons rather than specific months. All the villages in Ferozabad report an annual movement to the Sind beginning in the fall (around October or November) and returning in spring. They go there as laborers and work for wages because they own no lands there. The trip to the Sind includes all members of a household as well as their livestock. Because this is a general movement the trip can take as long as a month in cases where households walk the entire distance, and a shorter time when only livestock is walked there and women and children transported

by truck. The decision to go is taken individually, and perchance combines four to five households of a given village if they are travelling on the same route at the same time. If some households in the village remain behind that too is their individual decision, and only in some cases are people commissioned to remain behind to guard the vacant houses.

The decision to move to the Sind is based on individual assessments of the weather conditions, and in years of good rainfall fewer families opt for going there, remaining instead in the valley to cultivate their lands. In years of drought, the decision as to whether to go to Sind or to remain behind is made again on the assessment of weather conditions, but also on an assessment of the chances of obtaining labor there. In years such as the present one, fewer people from Ferozabad may move out because they perceive the drought to be generalized enough so as to preclude obtaining labor in the Sind. Those families who have moved from Ferozabad this year did so much earlier than normal to maximize their chances of labor. In addition to the periodic migration to Sind, this area has experienced some out-migration to Saudi Arabia and the Emirates. This type of migration is of two different sorts: most frequently only some of the men in a household go as laborers while members of their family remain in Ferozabad; less frequently, entire families move on a more permanent basis and return to the valley only occasionally to visit relatives. In the first case, the out-migration of men results in larger household groupings because the women and children remain under the guardianship of the oldest resident male, and in Khuzdar some of these households are reported to be as large as 40 people. Regardless of the type of migration, however, the men retain rights to their lands in Ferozabad and these lands are used

either by members of the migrants' own families or relatives, or rented out to tenants.

Movements out of Ferozabad, whether seasonal (to Sind) or more lengthy (to Saudi Arabia and the Emirates), have been gradually changing. Informants reported that the movement to the Sind used to be more prevalent and regular until recently when more economic opportunities have been opened with the introduction of mining in Ferozabad in 1976. In addition, and perhaps as a result of cash revenues coming into Ferozabad from migrants residing outside of Pakistan, more wells have been dug and equipped with pumps which has permitted an increase in irrigated agriculture in this valley.

The lack of water remains the region's main problem despite an increase in the number of wells and pumps. The people reported that the scarcity of water, has become worse in the last ten to twelve years and because of this there has been a change in the potential of dryland farming, and concomitantly, of supporting larger numbers of people. Decreased vegetative cover also has meant a necessary reduction in the number of livestock kept in the valley, and in Ferozabad, as in some of the other regions, fewer families are keeping livestock, and those who still have animals are forced to have smaller flocks. This environmental change, and its consequences for the people (in contrast to Kovak and Zarchi) was attributed to both a lack of rainfall and to an ever growing population dependent on these scarce resources. Even in those villages where wells have been dug, increased availability of water has not always had felicitous results but has rather become another cause of friction and disputes and in some cases has divided entire villages into competing factions. Here as elsewhere, the universal

cry is for government subsidies to provide capital for wells and water pumps. In addition, the people in most of the villages visited also complained about the lack of services and the corruption of local officials who do nothing to improve their condition.

This often voiced complaint is based on facts and local experience, and many examples were given in all the villages of diversion of funds, of irregularities in the distribution of funds or services to these communities, and of unfairness in dispute settlements by the sectional *takkari*. In addition, the feeling most often expressed among the people is that without fundamental change in local-level structures and institutions, the quality of their lives stands little change of improvement. It is open to question as to whether this malaise is due to the wider political environment in this part of the country, to basic features of community structures in Ferozabad, or to a combination of these factors. However, regardless of the origin, the net result is a series of communities which are increasingly hostile to government agencies, and to communication with people outside of the area having any notions of development. Khuzdar was the only region in this study where villagers were hostile to the interviewers in both the Household Agricultural Production survey conducted in the summer, and to the Agricultural Extension survey. Indeed, in one village the local perception was that the interviewers had doubtless been given development funds by the government and that the interviewers had appropriated the money; thus the second survey for these people represented yet another instance of getting information to get more funds and exploit them once again. Other villages, though less hostile, nevertheless expressed reluctance to talk or refused outright to give interviews, others greeted the team with circumspection, and

in all cases but one, only the minimal hospitality was extended. These attitudes are interesting because they reflect the degree of apprehension the people in this valley have towards any government agency. In this case, and in both surveys, the interviewers took pains to explain why the information was wanted, and the use it would be put to, emphasizing that they did not belong to any government agency, that they could not generate projects or programs, but that the information would be gathered into a report on the condition of agriculture and livestock in the region.

This closure to people coming into the valley from outside is controlled by the villagers themselves who tend to go to Khuzdar to deal with problems rather than expecting or wanting outsiders to come into their villages. However, this does not extend to the other villages in the valley which claim to get along together and have little cause for friction and conflict. Relations between villages however, tend to be limited to those which are close to one another, and frequent contacts between villages located in different areas in the valley are almost entirely precluded by distance. The villages which have closest relations generally also coincide with those belonging to the same *shalwar*, but distance is the determining factor in relations and if two villages are adjacent, relations will exist, including marriages, regardless of tribal or *shalwar* affiliation.

The nature and extent of communication between families within these villages was less easily determined in Ferozabad than in other areas because of the degree of distrust of the people. Two different indicators of the degree of community cohesiveness can be used in the absence of sounder information. The first of these is the existence of commu-

nity institutions such as have been described for Kovak and Zarchi; the other is the nature and quality of leadership.

Within the villages the families get together for marriages, births, deaths, or on religious holidays and Friday prayers. The *bijar* on marriage occasions also exists here, in some villages limited only to poorer members of the village who need contributions to pay wedding expenses, in other villages extended to all men regardless of economic condition. Communal activities, whether for agricultural labor or for construction or repair of community buildings were reported for only one of the six villages visited, thus the *hashar* feasts on such occasions are limited. None of these villages reported the existence of a welfare fund, though one village indicated that they all looked after the poor families in the village and contributed to their upkeep in case of need. The same village reported village wide gatherings for all life rite occasions and for religious holidays.

The quality and kind of leadership found in Ferozabad is also an indicator of the kind of community life, and distinguishes these villages from those studied in other regions. The existence of *mer* or *jirgas* in the villages of Ferozabad is extremely limited, and two villages reported that they did not exist and were never convened for either dispute settlement and arbitration nor for discussion of community affairs or problems. Thus, the degree of community wide participation in any decision making process affecting these two villages is non-existent. In three other villages the *jirga* was convened only rarely to settle minor disputes between village members, and only in one case was it reported that the old men got together frequently to discuss problems affecting households in the village, to arrive at decisions,

and convened as a *jirga* to settle disputes. In the latter case, it is the old men convened as council that reach a decision which is then communicated to the *takkari*.

In the Ferozabad region, like in other areas, the position of *takkari* is inherited from father to son, and if there are no candidates in a direct line of descent, the most eligible candidate is selected from an immediate collateral line. Power then, stays within a family. In those villages where the level of community participation is low, the *takkari* assumes two different roles, he either becomes the sole decision maker and arbiter of community affairs and problems, or else he acts as the intermediary and turns the decision-making process over to the local sardar. In either case, and excepting the villages where a wider degree of participation is evident, the *takkari* becomes the sardar's man and it is at the larger tribal section level that decisions affecting the villages are taken.

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The sardar's role in this region is also significant in that he is the recipient of funds from the government destined for the villages under his control, (and here it must be emphasized that all the villages in Ferozabad are under this sardar's jurisdiction). This particular combination of a lack of strong community networks at the village level and strong centralization of power in the *sardar* effectively moves the villagers one step further from control over their own affairs, a condition which is resented, but which they feel unable to alter.

The picture which emerges from this region, albeit resulting from limited contact, is one of a set of villages which are nearly anomic as a result of material poverty and lack of services, degraded natural resources, and intra-community

competition for scarce resources which pits households against one another and against the outside world.

VI. COMMUNITY PROFILES: DASHT

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Even more extensive in area than the Ferozabad Valley in Khuzdar, the Dasht, more than a simple valley, consists of a vast plain with a variable population density and a large number of villages. The area selected for study within the Dasht is located between the road to Bolan Pass and the road to Lak Pass, both south of Quetta. Within this area alone there are over fifty small settlements ranging in size from ten households to 200 households in the larger villages. As in other regions studied, the information was gathered in the same villages that had been previously included in the Household Agricultural Production survey in the summer of 1987. In order to provide a fairly accurate picture of differences or similarities within this population, and given the large number of villages, and the dispersed nature of the settlements over a very large space, the villages were selected to include the major tribal groups living in this corner of the Dasht while covering the broadest space possible.

There are four major tribal groups represented in this region, the Shawani and Bangulzai tribes have the most population, and the Kurd and Lahri are a minority in this particular region. As in other regions studied, the villages tend to be homogeneous and to include kinsmen from the same lineage or the same *shalwar* in the larger villages. There are very few households from tribes other than the ones listed above that become incorporated into these villages, because, the people are afraid to let in strangers who might eventually compete for, or appropriate their lands. These tribes have been settled in the Dasht for a time ranging from 200

to 400 years; some informants stated that the lands they own were ceded to them by the Baluch (Rinds) when they left this area more than three centuries ago. However, not all the tribes are landowners in this valley, and in many of the villages included in this study, the majority of the population consists of hereditary tenants of the Kurds living near Kolpur. Most informants indicated that they did not recall when these land tenancy contracts had been established, but that they have existed for five or six generations. Some, very few individuals, have managed to purchase lands from the former landlords and exploit them now, and others have some lands in the Nari region. Under the terms of most tenancy contracts the tenant provides seed, labor, and all other inputs, and the landlord receives a quarter of the harvest as rent.

THE NATURE OF VILLAGE LIFE AND COMMUNICATIONS

The agricultural cycle of the Dasht villages does not differ much from the other regions studied, and includes an annual movement to the Nari and Sibi region in the Fall with a return in Spring. There is evidence to suggest that the entire population in the past was, if not nomadic, definitely transhumant, and that crop production was secondary to livestock rearing. Old informants stated that in their grandparent's days most people were living in tents and owned large flocks, a fact corroborated by information provided during the colonial period (Gazetteer, p. 23). Today, as in other regions, this seasonal displacement of people is no longer strictly speaking a transhumant one, because the households move to other areas in search of labor and to escape the cold winter in the valley.

The Dasht Valley has experienced changes similar to those described for Zarchi and Khuzdar: a progressive environmental degradation which has resulted in diminished vegetative cover and, consequently, a diminution in the number of livestock kept by the people. This reduction in livestock numbers, however, is not in reality an economic decision but rather the result of drought which has decimated the flocks. As in other areas, the environmental change has been noticeable in the last 10-15 years, and old informants perceive that the change has been towards drier weather with warmer winters, contrasted to a period 20-30 years ago when winters were longer and colder and there was much more snow and therefore more vegetation. These changes have also affected the agricultural potential of the region, perhaps even more severely here than in other areas, and reportedly in the last ten year period there have been five or six years without any cereal crops, and in any given year at least 70% of the lands remain unused because it is not economic to plant them. When there is a harvest, usually 2 out of every 5 years, it is meager and insufficient for family needs.

But perceived changes in weather, progressive desiccation of the environment, and loss of livestock, have not been the only reasons for a change in seasonal movements. Increased labor opportunities in both Quetta and small centers like Mastung, have provided an outlet for these people and there are villages which now remain in the valley year round. Those that continue to move also base their decisions on assessment of weather and cold, and on conditions in Bind as well. Entire villages continue to move to the lowlands leaving their homes sealed for the winter months in some cases, and leaving only a paid guardian in others. In the past this movement was done using camels as transport and today it continues using truck transportation. The decision

to move, however, continues to be made jointly by all the men of an aziz living together. Because they go to these lowlands as laborers and receive payments either in daily or monthly wages or in kind, (a portion of the harvest), this seasonal displacement becomes an essential element of the household economy. The image provided throughout this series of interviews, nevertheless, is one of communities living on the edge of survival regardless of these labor opportunities, and, as one informant stated: "...if I have bread for morning I wonder how I will provide bread for dinner."

In recent years, new wells have provided a minimal water supply to some of these villages. This water is used only for household consumption and not for irrigation. However, it was reported that wells have been dug to the depth of the water table, (as deep as 350 feet in some cases), and sealed up again because the villagers could not provide WAPDA with the cash for pipes and pumps to be installed. One amount cited was that WAPDA required 80,000 rupees to make the well operational, and investment of this nature is beyond the means of any community. The people in this area perceive that their lands are fertile and that given a small amount of water for irrigation they could produce not only sufficient food for their families, but cash crops as well. This perception of agricultural potential and of impotence because of lack of capital makes many of these villagers bitter towards the government and its agencies. The lack of services adds yet another element to their feeling of marginalization and isolation, and here, as in other areas, the cry for a fundamental reform was often heard.

Yet, despite the harsh economic conditions of life in the Dasht valley, most people stated that the quality of life has generally improved in this generation with the introduc-

tion of some services: improved water supply and electricity in some villages, as well as some elementary schools, and some transportation within the valley. The general perception also is that the nature and quality of human relations within and between villages has not changed much from the past. Village wide gatherings are held not only on religious holidays and life rites such as births, marriages and funerals, but also when the harvest is good. Labor exchanges are more prevalent here, and the *hashar* a traditional institution as well. *Bijar* is collected on marriage occasions from all the households in a village, as are *purs* for funerals. Though there is no community welfare fund in any of the villages observed, all households contribute to maintain the poor and needy. Marriages are preferred within the *aziz* for social reasons, but also for economic reasons, because bride prices in this region of Baluchistan tend to be high. When marriages occur within the *aziz*, the bride price is sometimes dispensed with altogether. If partners cannot be found within the *aziz* then the preference is for marriages within the same *shalwar*. Despite sizable bride prices, marriages do occur between different tribes, and often the amount is not fixed but rather established commensurate to an individual's economic potential.

Conflicts between villages are reportedly rare, and villages strive to get along well with their neighbors. When problems do arise, either within a village or between villages, a *faisala* or council is assembled from among the older members of each community to resolve the problem. It was emphasized that these are not the only occasions for such an assembly to be called forth, but that such councils also met frequently and informally to discuss village needs and problems affecting the community. These statements of a fairly strong participation of all the men in community af-

fairs, however, should be qualified, since there are always, people reported, certain individuals who are more influential and important than others, and they usually carry a louder voice in such councils.

As in other areas, the *takkari* participates in such councils but is not the sole decision-maker but rather the spokesman for the council and the decisions are made by consensus of its members. In those cases where a dispute cannot be locally solved it is referred to the sectional *takkari* for resolution. Because often members of a single shalwar live in adjacent villages, the *faisala* becomes an important mechanism of inter-village communication and decision-making. Often, however, people in a village may be in agreement as to how to solve a problem yet examples were given where they were unable to solve problems affecting them when these relate to a wider set of legal, economic, or political institutions. When such conditions arise, people reported that the sectional *takkari* or the sardar were not effective in aiding these communities because they are simply not sufficiently interested in the problems of the villagers. The villagers prefer then, to have such cases carried forth to government authorities or agencies by their own *takkari* since he is the appointed spokesman of the village and accountable to his constituency; but the *takkaris* differ in their abilities to deal with institutions beyond the village level and thus are not always able to effectively present a case requiring action, leaving villages without any mechanism to voice their needs and obtain action.

Regardless of this limitation in leadership structures, and despite the precarious economic condition of most villages in the Dasht Valley, it stands in almost stark con-

trast to the situation found in Khuzdar. The villagers encountered are all eager for change, social as well as economic, and welcome any initiative that stands an even minimal chance of improving their lives.

VII. COMMUNITY PROFILES: TOMAGH

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN

The Tomagh Valley, located in Loralai District south of the town of Sanjawi, is the only Pushtun area of the five studied here. However, more than ethnicity and language, the ecological characteristics of this valley and its location, together with a Pushtun population give these communities an altogether different character from those of the Brahui region.

Predominant in this valley are the Dummar, one of the main divisions of the Kakar tribe. In addition there are other Pushtun villages of Tareen and Ander tribesmen. The Tomagh population lives in eleven villages located along the same axis as the road which goes from Sanjawi to Harnai, for approximately 25 Kms. These villages, in contrast to those in areas examined previously, are large settlements of up to 300 households, and only a few villages, located at the farthest point from Sanjawi, are small settlements. In addition, some of these villages, due to the nature of their resource base, have a very dense settlement pattern with walled gardens surrounding each household giving these villages a very distinctive character. Two of the larger, nucleated villages, are said to be about 200 years old, while others are more recent, established only two generations ago, and still others are just now being established and beginning to grow.

The majority of the people inhabiting these villages are landowners and most have two different types of lands which are both critical elements in the local economy: drylands which are often adjacent to the villages; and irrigated

parcels found either within the villages or contiguous to family residences. The way in which these two resources are utilized in the Tomagh Valley will be examined next.

THE NATURE OF VILLAGE LIFE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Tomagh is the only region studied where there is no seasonal transhumance or migratory labor movement and in this respect it offers a dramatic contrast to the Brahui areas. The agricultural cycle in this valley is oriented primarily towards the cultivation of cash - vegetable and fruit - crops. Livestock is kept, and there are large flocks in the valley, but livestock rearing is becoming less important as the people in this valley become increasingly incorporated into a cash economy.

The information gathered from old men in these villages indicates that this change from livestock raising and dry-land cereal agriculture to the production of cash crops is still a relatively recent phenomenon, having rapidly diffused only in the last 10 to 15 years. In older villages such as Uzlez and Giwari, the existing *karez* previously irrigated only small gardens which were devoted to the production of maize used as a supplementary feed for the livestock and until recently the livestock and the drylands (*kushkaba*) lands were the mainstay of people's lives. However, other information indicates that orchards have existed in some of the small villages (such as Asghara), for at least three generations and the present owners have recently uprooted some of the original trees because they were already old and unproductive and have replanted them with new ones that are not yet productive. The expansion of orchards in this region of Loralai District and in Tomagh Valley continues at a

rapid pace since fruit crops have been demonstrated to be a good investment.

This emphasis on fruit crops attaches the people to their lands throughout the year. However, most households in the area still keep livestock even if sometimes these are only small flocks or just a couple of animals. There are various strategies used to raise livestock, and these vary according to the availability of other resources, but in all cases there is no transhumance and the owners keep the animals in the valley year round..

The livestock owners in villages which have large orchards, such as Uzlez and Giwari, as well as drylands outside the villages, keep livestock in the villages where they are allowed to graze in the gardens and they are supplemented with fresh lucerne, berseem or maize depending on the season (usually August through November). In these villages, however, the livestock must be kept away from the orchards to prevent crop damage during the period of time when the trees are heavy with fruit being harvested. During those periods (spring and summer) the livestock are run in the grazing lands around the villages, kept by a paid shepherd or by household members if sufficient labor is available. Young children, including girls are often entrusted with this task but entire households also move in the summer out of the villages and away from the orchards into the grazing lands living in temporary shelters while they supervise the flocks. This strategy maximizes the range resources at the time when they are in optimal condition, and into the season when the vegetation begins to dry out if the summer monsoon rains have been scarce. Simultaneously, it permits the optimization of orchard crops and the income these provide.

Another strategy is one where livestock are grazed in the nearby mountains year round and are brought into the village each night. This makes for heavier use of some of the grazing lands, but at the same time these livestock producers need to and do supplement the livestock during the winter months when there is little vegetation. These supplements include dry maize, berseem and lucerne, and are given to all livestock for about a three and a half month period even if the feed has to be purchased. A third strategy reported is one where the livestock stay in the village most of the year and take advantage of the grasses in the mountains only during the period after winter rains when there is new vegetation. Unfortunately, there was no opportunity to obtain sufficiently detailed information to outline this strategy, but at first glance it would appear that this may be followed by the people in those villages which do not yet have productive fruit trees but where other vegetation is available to sustain livestock year round.

These details of the livestock production cycle however, must be seen as only one component in a mixed economy where fruit crops are of primary importance. Though most people continue to think that livestock are worth keeping as a component of the household economy, when asked about preferences, most people indicated that they would rather invest in land and fruit trees than in livestock. This preference is based on two factors, one is the decrease in range vegetation which informants indicated, has resulted in a forced reduction of livestock numbers, and second, the perception that cash crops are much more profitable and vital than livestock production.

The orchards in Tomagh Valley have been, in many cases, literally carved out of rock piles. The land is carefully

terraced, leveled, and rocks eliminated, then irrigation channels are arranged before the trees are planted. All this takes much time and labor, particularly given the constitution of many of the soils in this area and the lack of modern technology to do this work. Two informants indicated that they have expanded their orchard land only 2 to 2.5 acres since they received the lands from their father now over 40 years ago. When the trees are small and unproductive, other crops are grown in the same orchard, usually cash vegetable crops as well as fodder for the livestock. This practice is discontinued two or three years after the trees have been planted so that the trees may not suffer in competition with the other crops. When the trees become productive, an orchard owner can either market his crop directly or sell it to middlemen who buy the crop while it is still on the tree.

The decision to sell the crop rather than marketing it directly depends on the prices offered by the middlemen. Once the crop is bought, the middlemen become entirely responsible for it, providing all the inputs and labor required to bring it to maturity and to market. There are no long-term relations established between the orchard owners and the middlemen purchasing crops, and the buyers can change every year, depending on who is offering the best price. The only seasonal movement out of the valley is associated with those individuals who choose to market their own cash crops in areas outside of the valley and thus go to the Punjab for a variable period of time, once or twice a year depending on the crops. These people tend to become local entrepreneurs and return to the district with other types of crops or merchandise to sell in the local district markets. The people in these villages, because of the nature of their economy and the proximity to Sanjawi, frequently travel to this

small center, either to sell their crops, livestock, and wool, or to purchase a variety of items, ranging from household needs and food supplies, to agricultural inputs.

The resources which form the backbone of the economy in Tomagh have structured, and in recent times changed, community life. With expanding cash crop production, lands have become a critical, and monetized, factor of production. This has initiated a process of social structural change which is essentially changing villagers from tribesmen to peasants.

A change in the value placed on land in this area in contrast to the Brahui areas studied, has initiated the formation of a stratified social system with those individuals who have become wealthy through either land sales or land purchases emerging as local elites. Some of these individuals then have gone beyond orchard production to become entrepreneurs, and have become influential members of the villages. This is a new element in the context of the life of these villages because it modifies the definition and perception of what constitutes social value. In past times, age and certain cultural values such as bravery, honor, or individualism were the weights by which influence could be defined and assessed; today wealth occupies an increasingly important part of this calculus. The same economic process has made tenants of those people who have been forced to sell lands, or who have insufficient lands of their own and they have become economically dependent on the wealthier people. An indicator of this economic, and by extension social, stratification is that most villagers in Tomagh can rank their socio-economic standing in their village much more readily than in other locations. In this respect Tomagh offers a distinctive contrast to other areas studied where the population has a self-perception of social as well

as economic homogeneity. Yet, this social and economic transformation is not quite complete in Tomagh and this is reflected most distinctly in the evolution of local leadership structures.

With an increased government presence established after independence, most people perceive that there has been a decline in the quality of government, and a fragmentation of political as well as community life. These changes are expressed in terms of the perceptible changes in local institutions, like the role and functions of the *jirga* and other traditional forms of social control

The traditional functions of the *jirga* included not just dispute arbitration, but effective regulation of many aspects of daily community life. This council, composed of most if not all the old men of a village, in this area used to have regular meetings, held about once a month, and special meetings when there were urgent problems to be resolved. The *jirga* was, according to reports, an institution which was valued because it was the *vox populi*, and its members arrived at their decisions by establishing a consensus. During the colonial period the *jirga* became a body which was recognized by law and whose decisions were binding in the cases it adjudicated. Members of the *jirga* at this time also received a stipend from the government for the services they rendered to their communities. Today the *jirga* still operates as an established institution in most of the villages in Tomagh but its role has been restricted to settlement of local (village) disputes and it acts as an intermediary between the community and the government at large. Other matters are placed before the court system, a process which is costly, and is perceived as being very disruptive to the life of a community because of the time involved be-

fore a case is heard and resolved. In the eyes of many villagers, this change in the functions and limits of authority of the *jirga* illustrates a general decline in the order within the community and a rise of lawlessness.

As in other regions studied, the position of *malik* or village headman is traditionally an inherited one and the *malik* played a critical role in the *jirga* acting as a spokesman for its decisions and enforcing them. His role in this respect has not changed, and only some of the specific tasks which were formerly assigned to the *malik*, such as tax collection, have changed. His most important function in the contemporary setting is that of a representative and spokesman for the community before the other communities or the larger set of government institutions.

Within this institutional and social framework, the life of the villages in Tomagh does not differ dramatically from that examined in the Brahui areas. In those villages where the *karez* continue to irrigate the gardens, there is, of necessity, close interaction and accord between the shareholders to determine and regulate the use of water. In other villages, relations may be more diffuse, but nevertheless there is a strong feeling of village solidarity, paradoxically combined with a fierce individualism. Here also, as in other areas, spatial proximity together with social structure determines the ties that villages have with one another. Because the population in the valley is relatively homogeneous, most people belonging to a single tribal division, social structure takes a secondary place to proximity. Informants indicated that there is no animosity between any of the villages, but that only the villages that are close together tend to interact, while there is rarely interaction with the villages located farther away.

Social occasions in these villages are similar to those encountered elsewhere: weddings, funerals, circumcisions, births, as well as religious holidays. Cooperative labor exchanges also occur frequently, usually associated with harvesting or planting, but also on occasions when labor is required for building or repair of a mosque, school, and when the sheep are shorn. The *hashar* feasts in these cases take on the same aspect as those described for the Brahui areas and such labor exchanges are reciprocal in nature. Marriage is the most important and expensive occasion in Pushtun society, and marriages tend to be endogamous within the *zai* (tribal section division, either a clan or localized lineage). This partly reduces the bride price, and particularly when marriages occur between close agnatic kin, there is frequently an exchange of brides between these two groups rather than a payment of bride price. It is because of the type of social life which is found in these villages as well as because of the continued importance of *Pukhtunwali*, or code of honor in Pushtun society, that one can say that Tomagh is still basically a tribal society, albeit one in transition.

VIII. THE COMMUNITIES: IMPLICATIONS FOR EXTENSION METHODOLOGIES

The five community profiles focused on three elements: (1) the social structure; (2) the resources upon which a community depends, and; (3) the relations generated by the combination of the first two elements. In this section these three elements will be the framework over which we will overlay an examination of certain cultural elements which have important implications for the creation and implementation of extension methodologies.

To begin, it is useful to re-emphasize two points presented in the introduction. First, the rationale for this study was to enhance our understanding of how these communities operate in order to determine the most appropriate mechanisms for communicating with or transmitting information to them. Second, determining the best methods of communication requires an understanding of what constitutes knowledge in any given community, how knowledge is communicated, and how it is used. In the course of an interview, two faces, or levels of knowledge are revealed. The first level is factual information which gives an understanding of community life as presented by the informants. From their presentation of facts one can infer what people know, how superficial or deep their knowledge is about different aspects of experience, which people are the most informed, etc. A second level is the information which the interviewer does not get, and which is also revealing of knowledge, how it is shared, perceived, and manipulated. In an interview, the manner in which information is given, the lapses or lacunae in the information, the reluctance to share information, and the attitudes and context within which information is received become as important as the actual content of the information transmitted. If the commu-

nity profiles are the result of the factual information transmitted to us in the course of interviews, this section includes elements of both, the factual base, as well as the interpretation of some of the information received.

There are two aspects of communication which are significant and are discussed here. The first is the question of how to transmit information to these communities; The second is what messages to transmit.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING COMMUNICATION : CONTEXT

Communication, or information transfer is always affected by the social and cultural context in which it occurs, and the community profiles have highlighted some of the significant contextual factors affecting the communication process: community homogeneity, leadership, networks, economic cycle, celebrations and visiting patterns, and inter and intra community relations. However, in addition to these factors, two often heard statements merit discussion in this section. In the course of this study, informants with the exception of those in Tomagh, stressed that all the men are equal in the community and that they all know the same things and have the same opinions. These statements are significant because they are controlling images in the informants' minds which define the concepts of community and of what constitutes knowledge.

The assertion of equality and homogeneity in these communities is a re-affirmation of the model of what tribal society should be like: members all have the same standing and rights in the community by virtue of their birth; and we know that with the exception of Tomagh, there is little eco-

conomic differentiation in these communities. But, in addition, the stress placed on equality and homogeneity becomes in the minds of the people, an element which binds the members of the small community and defines and separates it conceptually from the rest of the world. Within the boundaries of the community, networks are built up based on both family ties and friendship, and these are fairly open and informal because the social distance between the people is small. The emphasis on consensus as the mechanism to settle disputes or community affairs also illustrates that there is value attached to age and experience, and that decisions and information are accepted when coming from the elders in a community. Theoretically at least, communication is not controlled by a stratified social system, and is facilitated by the size of the community and the equality of its members. This means that access into these communities is generally speaking, easy, provided that the local community leader and the respected elders approve it; and their approval depends on the perception these people have about the world outside of their community.

The community boundary lies where the diffuse ties of descent and tribal affiliation end; beyond this boundary people are perceived as potentially hostile, because they are unknown, and the community boundaries are structured to keep out these foreign elements. The concepts of homogeneity and community distinctiveness, are reinforced by the relative physical isolation of these villages, and though all people experience the world beyond the boundaries of the community, the daily round of activities occurring within the household and in the village constitutes the focus of their experience. Very few individuals have established significant contacts with larger centers. The contacts most villagers have with urban centers are limited in most cases to spo-

radic marketing activities . In addition, it was found that there are also few visitors to these communities, and these were mostly occasional merchants. All of these elements become significant in an appraisal of the feasibility and viability of extension programs, and have to be evaluated in conjunction with the problem of what kind of information ought to be transmitted.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING COMMUNICATION : CONTENT

Underlying the statement that all members of a community know the same things and share the same opinions is the assumption that because people are equal, live in close proximity, and have similar lives, knowledge is nearly identical. This perception is fairly accurate, and corroborated by the field studies which show that knowledge and awareness of community history, agricultural techniques, and knowledge about the world beyond the community, is fairly equal and generalized. There are few individuals in these communities who are distinguished because they are learned, or because they have specialized knowledge about any subject. As we have seen, rather than knowledge or special techniques, an individual's success is measured by his material resources. The level of literacy is low among the men and even lower among the women (data from Women's Household Agricultural Production Systems Survey, Summer, 1987; and Agricultural Extension Survey, Fall, 1987). These surveys also show that language abilities are also restricted, and though all the respondents know more than one language, the percentage of respondents who both speak and understand Urdu is fairly small, ranging from 40% in the Dasht to 17% in Khuzdar. These two elements alone: literacy and language, are critical ones in the definition of appropriate methodologies for

extension, but in addition one must consider the general perceptions about what constitutes knowledge or information in these communities.

In the setting of the communities studied here information and knowledge is associated in the minds of the people with formally communicated information. The contacts the people have with other villagers, with other centers, and with mass media, are not perceived as contacts where information is transferred. In other words, unless information is transmitted in a formalized presentation, there is little awareness among the people that they know something. This perception in turn, points to two other problems: the communication channels used, and the level of comprehension people have of the information being transferred. To illustrate these points an example can be given. A field demonstration is perceived as being formal communication because the message is well defined and the presentation is set aside in time and space, in other words, it constitutes an event. It is a valuable communication channel because it combines practical knowledge with specific demonstrations of techniques, and because people are in immediate contact with those transmitting the information. In addition to the setting and the channel of communication, the message, assuming it is relevant and correctly transmitted, is presumably understood by the audience. In contrast, in the Agricultural Extension Survey, the respondents could not provide any examples of specific information presented in agricultural programs on the radio, nor could they discuss specifically what advice was given or whether what was discussed in these programs was pertinent and applicable. One can say that on one hand it is good that some people are using radio for this purpose, on the other hand, the data gathered shows little comprehension and application of the information pre-

sented, partly because of the nature of the channel of communication, and doubtless, due to the adequacy and relevance of the message being communicated.

This diffuse comprehension of information extends to other areas as well. News is not conceptually differentiated, any news is good, and there is no expression of preferences or choices about the type of information that is most wanted or liked. Despite the fact that decisions are made when it comes to radio listening, the impression received is that people are apathetic or passive about listening or reading, and not interested in choices except in a few cases where respondents indicated a strong reason for not listening to the radio. Many people indicated that they listen to the radio despite the fact that they do not understand what is being said, and many listen to or read whatever is available.

However, this indefinite attitude regarding news and information does not extend to the areas of agricultural and livestock extension. In these areas the respondents indicated an awareness of specific information and service needs. The data from the Agricultural Extension Survey will highlight the lack of information and services about agriculture, and the extremely limited extent of these for livestock.

Several conclusions of a general nature can be formulated based on the material presented here, and these can serve as starting elements to be considered in the elaboration of methodologies for extension.

1. The nature of the communities and their setting does not preclude access to them, and the people, on the contrary

welcome any programs which will improve any aspect of their lives with the exception of those areas (such as Khuzdar) where some villages reject the idea that any benefits might accrue to them from the outside. There are no outstanding social or cultural obstacles which would limit access to these communities or acceptance of innovations. However, because of the structure of these communities, any program should aim for inclusiveness of all the various social groups in a region to minimize friction or jealousy. If a program focuses only on certain villages in these regions, or if only certain farmers are selected for demonstrations and participation in programs, it will inevitably incur the hostility of other individuals or villages and limit the acceptance of the information which is being transmitted.

2. The best source of access to these communities are the village leaders as well as the older men, who will act as poles of diffusion and communication to other village members. The critical factor in initiating access, however, is the clarity and honesty of the message. The introduction of any program or project has to be unambiguous, clear, and understood by members of a community before it will be accepted, and stands any chance of success. It goes without saying that the message must be transmitted in the language of all the people, not just the language understood by a minority, and that it has to be presented in terms which are conceptually relevant and significant to the people. Regardless of good intentions, technical personnel often lack the sense of what people can understand and the best ways of presenting information.

3. In addition to the above, effective communication will establish working relationships with individuals in a community. Relationships depend on good communication for conti-

nuity, and are structured by the people involved. It is essential for technical personnel to be in close touch with the community, and to listen to the messages and information which the people are transmitting to them. This iterative process in project or program implementation is very often neglected.

4. The material gathered in the community profiles, as the term would indicate, represents only a point of departure in the establishment of a solid data base. This set of preliminary observations as well as the data collected in the surveys should be updated and amplified with specific studies which should be done and shared by all the teams in the MART project. As always, the information should not be collected for the sake of information alone, but for its usefulness and service to the people from whom it was collected.

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