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Barbara J Michael

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The Impact of International Wage Labor Migration on Hawazma (Baggara) Pastoral Nomadism

Barbara J. Michael

Pastoral households in general, and those of the Baggara societies in Sudan in particular, exhibit a propensity for economic diversification. Labor migration is one of them, involving economic flows of remittances and cash. This paper concentrates on international migration to Saudi Arabia for wage labor. The practice has effects on social structure, networks and gender roles. It is men who migrate. This is a non-risk undertaking for a man; the prospects for cash to bring back home are good, but if the worst comes to the worst he at least improves his social position by becoming Haji. Through the dynamics of the social system, negative impacts for women and children left behind appear to be minimal. The paper provides an in-depth analysis of an ongoing process of change, evolving around some important aspects of Saudi Arabian influence in Africa. Placed in a nomadic pastoral context, labor migration is but one optional strategy, parallel to, for instance, sedentarization.

One of the striking characteristics of Baggara society, and perhaps of nomadic societies in general, is their propensity for economic diversification. The Hawazma (Baggara) of Kordofan province, Sudan, are cattle herders who also maintain flocks of goats and sheep. Most households also keep chickens not only for home consumption, but for sale of live fowl and eggs. The Hawazma grow crops; sorghum, sesame, cowpeas, and though much of the cropping is opportunistic, some men cooperate with sedentary male relatives in order to obtain better yields. Some men gain access to grain or other sedentary products or services by the strategy of diversifying their families, that is, by polygynous marriages. In many cases one wife will live in the camp, assisting with animal husbandry activities and selling milk and milk products. Another wife might maintain her household in a settled village where her children pursue cropping activities. Each household benefits by exchanging specialized products. Indeed, sedentarization itself is also sometimes an economic strategy. At various points in the domestic life cycle men and/or women may move back and forth between nomadic and sedentary lifestyles, depending on needs of school-age

children, the exigencies of childbearing, or to pursue a variety of sedentary occupations.

This paper describes one of these diverse economic strategies, labor migration, and considers the effect of migration on social structure, networks and gender roles. While internal labor migration, such as service in the army or seasonal employment on mechanized farming schemes, is one type of wage labor exploited by the Baggara, this paper will focus on international labor migration, which is primarily to Saudi Arabia. Seeking employment in a variety of unskilled labor situations is usually combined with the pilgrimage to Mecca.

It is not unusual for Baggara herdsmen to seek temporary or seasonal wage labor. This is a common strategy to acquire investment cash and may also enhance a man's social position. Internal in the Sudan the sorts of employment available include the army, agricultural labor, working as a *gaffir* or guard, or helping out with a shop which might be owned by a relative. Some types of employment do not interfere greatly with a man's animal husbandry responsibilities if they are undertaken only during the dry season when the camp is semi-permanently located at one site and when young men or

hired herdsboys are available to shoulder most of the herding tasks. Employment as an agricultural laborer or joining the army does interfere. Demands for agricultural labor are concurrent with the time of the seasonal trek from dry season to rainy season pastures. Though working only the harvest, which takes place in January and February, four months into the dry season and after the southward trek back to the dry season camp site, does not interfere with intensive rainy season herding demands. Joining the army requires a full-time investment of two to three years, and likely does interfere with a man's efficient management of a herd.

The primary disadvantage in undertaking internal wage labor is the salary level and the difficulty of being able to save sufficiently in order to invest in cattle or small stock purchases. On the other hand, there are some advantages. Internal labor migration requires little economic risk in terms of "up-front" cash investment. Migrating for agricultural labor requires only the cost of lorry transportation to a farming scheme. The army provides housing, both for a man and his family, some clothing, and often an opportunity for education.

In contrast, international labor migration involves higher risk and higher up-front investment, but also has a greater potential for earning substantially more over a one- or two-year period. One risk is the investment for going to Saudi Arabia. Hawazma men intent on labor migration to Saudi Arabia go there as pilgrims on the *Haj*. Cattle must be sold to acquire cash for travel and the pilgrimage, on the speculation that the initial cost plus an investment surplus will be earned. Another risk is a legal one. Most of the men would not be eligible for work permits, so if they enter Saudi Arabia as pilgrims and remain there for wage labor, they are working illegally. As illegal workers they may be fined substantial amounts, jailed, and deported, losing everything they invested. Even if they elude immigration officials, they may not find work as readily as they imagined. Another risk involves the herds at home, left to the supervision of

someone else for a period of one to two years. Even though the appointed herd manager likely has an obligation of trust and kinship to do a good job, a man's herd may suffer. He may earn cash to invest in fairly substantial numbers of new animals only to find his original herd decimated by disease or other losses.

If they can avoid immigration problems, and if they find work, their gain can be substantial. From one perspective, it might be possible to suggest that a Hawazma man never loses by this strategy. Since labor migration is tied to the pilgrimage a man gains, whether or not he earns sufficient cash to invest in cattle or other goods. Even if he comes home empty-handed he will be a *Haji*, a person honored for having gone on the most important pilgrimage in Islam to the shrines at Mecca. Enjoined by one of the Five Pillars of Islam to make the pilgrimage at least once in a lifetime, participation remains out of the reach of a great many Moslems, so the status of *Haji* is itself investment capital. A man might not be able to increase his herds immediately, but he will still be able to enhance his social position. Those men who are able to achieve *Haji* status and save cash earnings have a great deal to gain from their initial investment.

The Case Study

The Hawazma are one of five major sub-tribes of Baggara who occupy territories in Western Sudan. The Hawazma are located in Kordofan province and range, through their annual migration, from an area in the environs of the town of El Obeid to the southern reaches of the Nuba Mountains region. The Hawazma are cattle herders, as are the Messiriya and Humr groups in Kordofan, while Baggara groups in Darfur herd camels (Cunnison 1966; Michael 1987a; Doxiadus 1966). The Hawazma lineage studied has its dry season camp and its *dar* (home territory) near the town of Kadugli in the Nuba Mountains. During the rainy season they migrate to North Kordofan to an area fanning out just to the south of the town of El Obeid. The Hawazma

spend approximately eight months in dry season camps, one or two months in rainy season camps, with the remainder of the year spent trekking either north or south. The Hawazma camp studied is a sub-lineage of the Oulad Nuba lineage. The camp is closely linked to kin in the hamlet of Um Batah, a "suburb" of Kadugli, and to several other hamlets or agricultural villages. Since marriage patterns are strongly endogamous, both men and women are related through multiplex kinship relations. A few households in any given camp may be from a second or third Hawazma lineage or from non-Baggara groups. However, the role of these households, particularly as regards reorganization for wage labor, varies from that of households belonging to the sub-lineage dominant in the camp.

With this brief background, we can now move to a closer look at what took place in one Hawazma group when several men decided to go on the pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia and remain to seek wage labor. The discussion focuses on changes in camp demography and social structure occurring between the dry season of 1982/83, the rainy season of 1983, and the dry season of 1983/84. During these years the time of the *Haj* fell rather neatly at the end of the rainy season of 1983. Changes in camp composition typically occur before or after the trek to northern pastures for the rainy season. Therefore, not all of the changes to be noted in this case are a result of men deciding to seek wage labor. Change, rather than stability, in camp composition is the rule, with households moving in and out of a particular camp for a variety of reasons. Households may move from camp to camp for convenience or as a result of shifting kin alliances, among other reasons. They may also move into a camp representing a different lineage than their own. Households may move from camp to village, or vice versa, depending on the stage in the family developmental cycle. Again it must be stressed that change and movement is the rule, and leaving for wage labor is only one of the many motivations. Shifting residence because of wage labor, however,

can be expected to be different from that resulting from other causes. It is the particular impact of wage labor that will be examined here.

In terms of the whole group, one of the major impacts of men being absent is on the decision-making and management structure of the camp. While Hawazma men begin participating in decisions by about age 18, it is men about age 40 who have the most authority. Age is not the only factor, so that men in this age category, but who are not related to the dominant lineage (or who are nomadizing Nuba or Shanabla grafted onto the lineage) cannot exercise as much authority in decision-making. This is true even after several generations. Thus, the primary responsibility for the camp and the herds falls to men age 40 and above, who are full-fledged members of the lineage.

Camps tend to have an average of 10-12 households, comprising 5-7 members each. The camp under consideration had 11 households during the 1982/1983 dry season; 12 in the 1983 rainy season; and 12 in the 1983/1984 dry season, with a total population of 67, 56 and 56 respectively. In this camp the population is almost evenly divided into males and females. Table 1 tabulates the total camp population in several categories. We can see that males 40 years plus make up 17.6% of the dry season population; 15.4% of the rainy season population; and 14.8% of the subsequent dry season. Keeping in mind that the 1983 rainy season was the period when several men left for Saudi Arabia, it would appear that the ratios remained about constant. Numbers of herding-age males also remains fairly constant. However, it is necessary to look further than mere numbers to understand the impact on the decision-making category of men.

Table 2 specifies each woman-headed household present in the camp in these three seasons under consideration. It also indicates the presence or absence of the male head-of-household. In the 1982/1983 dry season there are three households without a male head. In households #3 and #9, the husband was away for periods of local wage labor. Number 12 is

Table 1. Camp Population by Season

	1982/83 Dry Season	1983 Rainy Season	1983/84 Dry Season
TOTAL POPULATION	67	56	56
Total Number of Households	11	12	12
Total Males	34	26	27
Total Females	33	30	29
Percent Total Males	50.70%	46.40%	48.20%
Percent Total Females	49.39%	53.60%	51.80%
Males 14 years or less	18	14	14
Males 15 years +	16	12	13
Males 40 years +	6	4	4
Percent Males 40 years +	17.60%	15.40%	14.80%

the household of a widow. In the 1983 rainy season there are 5 households without male heads, all absent because of wage labor. Three male heads were in Saudi Arabia; two were in the army, stationed in Khartoum. It should be noted that whatever the reason for the absence of a male head-of-household, no female-headed household is left without a male protector.

Table 3 indicates the number of dependents by household, compared by season. The changes in the numbers of dependents were due to the death of children or a parent, or the

marriage of a child. None of the households added members by birth during this period. In one case, a household left orphaned was reconstituted by the eldest female child who had still been living with her widowed mother. When her mother died, leaving them orphaned, she assumed the care of her other unmarried siblings. That young woman was married, but her husband was in the army, stationed in Khartoum.

Spatial relations in camps should also be noted. Camps are circular in shape, with households spaced around the perimeter,

Table 2. Camp Membership by Household

HOUSEHOLD/HUSBAND	SEASON					
	Dry 1982/83		Rainy 1983		Dry 1983/84	
	Present	Absent	Present	Absent	Present	Absent
Zeinab/Younis	x		x		x	
Khadija/Mohamed El Ahmar	x			x(1)		x(1)
Fatna H.H.		x		x(2)		x(2)
Hakmula/Hamid Hanai	x		x		x	
Um Khalthum/Ahmed Sultan	x		x		x	
Kosha/Mahdi	x				-- (3)	
Fatna H./Mahdi	x		x		x	
Naima/Hamid	x		x		x	
Amna/Bilal		x	x		x	
Amina/Ahmed Said	x		-- (4)		-- (4)	
Ganina/Yahyah	x		-- (5)		-- (5)	
Amana Mohamed		x(6)	-- (7)			
'Aniya/'Aris	--		x(8)		x	
'Aisha Hamid	-- (9)			x(10)	x(10)	
Hawa Daduna	-- (11)			x(12)		x(12)
Halima Mo. Abbas	--		--			x(13)
Ajara	--			x(14)	--	

Notes to Table 2:

- Household not in camp
 1. In Saudi Arabia
 2. In Saudi Arabia

3. Kosha died; household disbanded
 4. Household moved to another camp
 5. Household moved to village
 6. Widowed

- 7. Died; household reconstituted as daughter's (#15)
- 8. New household
- 9. Was living with husband in village
- 10. In Saudi Arabia

- 11. Married, husband in army in Khartoum; living with mother (#12)
- 12. Reconstituted household to care for siblings; husband in army in Khartoum
- 13. Moved from village. Husband in Saudi Arabia
- 14. Husband in army.

Table 3. Number of Dependents by Household

	1982/83 Dry Season	1983 Rainy Season	1983/84 Dry Season
Zeinab	4	4	4
Khadija	6 (1)	5 (2)	5
Fatna	6	5 (3)	5
Hakmula	5 (4)	4 (5)	4
Um Khalthum	1	2 (6)	
Kosha	2	-- (7)	
Fatna	4	7 (8)	4 (9)
Naima	1	2 (10)	2
Amna	3	3	3
Amina	3	-- (11)	
Ganina	2	-- (12)	
Amana	5	-- (13)	
'An iya	--	0 (14)	0
'Aisha	--	3 (15)	3
Hawa	--	3 (16)	3
Halima Mo. Abbas	--	--	2 (17)
Ajara	--	1	--

Notes to Table 3:

1. 4 children of her own; 2 children of her husband by second wife who was dead.
2. 1 child (2nd wife's) died.
3. 1 child died.
4. Includes 1 grandchild.
5. 1 child married.
6. Took in granddaughter for season.
7. Kosha died; 1 child married; 1 child to household #7.
8. Took in married daughter and her child; 1 child of Kosha.
9. Married daughter and child joined husband in Khartoum; Kosha's child went to Um Batah for school.
10. Took in younger sister when her mother (household #12) died.
11. Household moved to another camp.
12. Household moved to village; son remained without household to herd cattle.
13. Amana died; household reconstituted as #15. Youngest child to household #8.
14. Married Kosha's son (household #6); established new household.
15. Moved camp in rainy season, after husband went to Saudi Arabia; had been living in village.
16. Daughter of Amana (household #12); after mother's death, became female head-of-household to care for unmarried siblings except youngest, who went to #8; her husband in army in Khartoum.
17. Moved to camp from village. Husband in Saudi Arabia.

Table 4. Household Clusters

Dry Season 1982/83	Rainy Season 1983	Dry Season 1983/84
I. 1. Zeinab/Tounis 8. Naima/Hamid 10. Amina/Ahmed Said	I. 1. Zeinab/Younis 8. Naima/Hamid 14. 'Aisha Hamid	I. 1. Zeinab/Younis 8. Naima/Hamid 14. 'Aisha Hamid
II. 2. Khadija/Mohamed El Ahmar 12. Amana	II. 2. Khadija 15. Hawa	II. 2. Khadija 15. Hawa
III. 4. Hakmula/Hamid Hanai 3. Fatna H. H.	III. 4. Hakmula/Hamid Hanai 3. Fatna H. H.	III. 4. Hakmula/Hamid Hanai 3. Fatna H. H. 16. Halima Mo. Abbas
IV. 5. Um Khalthum/Ahmed Sultan 11. Ganina/Yahyah	IV. 5. Um Khalthum/Ahmed Sultan	IV. 5. Um Khalthum/Ahmed Sultan
V. 6. Kosha/Mahdi 7. Fatna H./Mahdi 9. Amna	V. 7. Fatna H./Mahdi 9. Amna/Bilal 13. 'Aniya/'Aris 17. Ajara	V. 7. Fatna H./Mahdi 9. Amna/Bilal 13. 'Aniya/'Aris

facing inward. Households tend to cluster because of being more closely related, by friendship, or by who is the male protector. Table 4 shows the household clusters by season. Comparison of the clusters with Table 5, indicating male protectors, will show that the male protector is not always in the cluster. For example, in Table 4, in Cluster II, the male protector for household 12 is in Cluster II. We also see Cluster II (rainy season) is comprised of households both lacking males. While both have the same male protector (Cluster II), there is considerable physical distance between Clusters I and II.

Table 5 identifies female-headed households, the male protector, and the number of dependents. As will be noted, one male protector serves that role for 4 households, and a second male is protector for two. Also, it can be seen that for 7 female-headed households, only 3 different men serve as male protectors. Husbands in four cases had gone to Saudi Arabia; two husbands

were serving in the army, one husband was dead.

As mentioned earlier, all Hawazma women have a male protector. For married women the male protector is the husband, unless he is away, in which case he appoints another man protector of his wife and family. Widows and divorced women also have appointed protectors. The male protector is usually a father, brother, brother-in-law, or a grown son. Table 7 tabulates the number of persons under special protectorship, comparing dry and rainy seasons. Table 7 looks at the responsibility of Protectors across seasons, in terms of numbers of persons each is responsible for. Ten men are shown to have this sort of authority and responsibility. While there are four married men in the camp who qualify as heads-of-households, they are not age 40 plus, qualifying them for neither special protectorship nor much authority or responsibility for decision-making in the camp. In fact, their authority is

Table 5. Female Headed Households and Male Protectors

Cluster and Household No.	Woman	Dependents	Protector	Cluster and Household No.	Relationship to Woman	Relationship to Woman's Husband
II. 2	Khadija	5	Younis	I. 1	FFBSS	
III. 3	Fatna H.H.	5	Hamid Hanai	III. 4	F	FB
II. 12	Amana	5	Younis (1)	I. 1	B	
I. 14	'Aisha	3	Younis	I. 1		B
II. 15	Hawa	3	Younis	I. 1	MB	
III. 16	Halima Mo. Abbas	2	Hamid Hanai	III. 4		F
V. 17	Ajara	1	Mahdi	V. 7	F	

(1) Male protector only in 1982/83 dry season; Amana died before rainy season; dependents and protectorship transferred to II.15.

subject to one of the 6 men age 40 plus, because of age or because their herd still remains a part of the parental herd. It is here that we can see the impact on the decision-making/authority structure of the camp due to men being absent for wage labor. Of course the impact would be the same whether the absent men are in Khartoum or Saudi Arabia. Therefore, this is only one issue to be taken into account when considering the overall impact of international wage labor.

Table 7 shows that in the 1982/1983 dry season, 6 men qualifying for Special Protector, are together responsible for 88.1% of the total camp population. Four other men are responsible for the remaining 11.9%. However, in the 1983 rainy season, three men are responsible for 75% of the total camp population, with the one remaining man (in the same age category) being responsible for only 7.14% of the total camp population. Three younger men are responsible for 17.9%. In actual numbers, three men each average 14 persons for whom they are responsible, while the remaining men are responsible for 4, 3, 3, and 3, respectively. The 1983/1984 dry season shows approximately the same distribution as the 1983 rainy season.

This one age 40 plus man is not a member of the primary camp lineage. He joined the camp to escape problems in his own lineage. Though he is in the right age category to have earned respect and authority, he is not in a position to claim it in the camp of a lineage which is not his own. In the rainy season his authority and responsibility are pretty much limited to his own family even though he is one of four men remaining in the camp in the appropriate age category for decision-making and/or protectorship.

While we can, from one perspective, look at households in terms of who is the male protector, we must also consider that in many respects households are run by women. The house and its goods belong to the woman and, all married women have households, with the exception of a woman staying temporarily with her mother. Women are fairly autonomous in making household decisions whether or not their husbands are

present. This autonomy includes control over household expenses and earnings from the sale of milk and milk products (Michael, 1987a, 1987b). This means that while men contribute to the household budget by selling cattle or by growing sorghum, camp women lineage group and were thus connected to this camp somewhat tenuously. While he participated in general camp decisions, he was not in a position to act in the role of male protector on behalf of any of the absent men.

Labor allocation for the task of actual herding was not much affected by the absence of the men who went to Saudi Arabia. Typically, it is the younger married men and unmarried boys/men from about age 10 upwards who are primarily responsible for the day-to-day herding activities. As seen in the tables, males in these age categories remained in the camp, with the result that there was no labor shortage.

From the perspective of the women, changes occurred, though it is difficult to say that the absence of men for wage labor had a major impact. Of the three female-headed households whose husbands were in Saudi Arabia, two had already been resident in the camp. One had been resident in a village and moved to the camp when her husband left for Saudi Arabia. She was one of two wives her husband left behind; the other remaining in the village under the supervision of a different male protector. It is interesting to note that the absent husband and the two male protectors are all brothers. Moving from village to camp or vice versa is not perceived as unusual. A woman may move back and forth several times during her lifetime because of marriage, pregnancy, or as in this case, because her male protector was resident one place or the other. In fact, women view living in the camp as a boon, as there they have greater access to milk both for household use and sales, and they have greater personal autonomy. As in most Islamic societies, the seclusion of Hawazma women increases with sedentarization. The woman in this study who moved from village to camp remained resident in the camp even after her husband returned from Saudi Arabia. Another reason

Table 6. Persons under Special Protectorship

Protector	Number of Persons Protected		
	Dry Season 1982/83	Rainy Season 1983	Dry Season 1983/84
Younis	9	14	14
Hamid Hanai	2 *	6	9
Mahdi	4	2	0
TOTAL	15	22	23
% Total Population	22.40%	40.70%	41.07%

* His elderly brother; his wife's mother, who spent only dry seasons in camp.

this woman was sent from the village to the camp under the protection of her brother-in-law was due to the ill health of her youngest child. The infant had just barely survived a bout of severe dysentery and though hanging onto life, suffered from marasmus. In camp the child's mother would be responsible for milking her husband's cows. In that way the mother could be assured not only of a reliable income in the absence of her husband, but also a fortified diet for her ill child. In addition, the Hawazma believe, with good reason, that people are less susceptible to illness in a pastoral camp, away from the crowding and generally unsanitary conditions of the village hamlet. The strategy succeeded and the child regained her health in the year her father was absent.

This is not to say that male/husband absence puts no strain on a household. Cash may be short if expenses are unduly high or there is an emergency because a woman cannot decide to sell cattle, unless she owns them. Certain decisions may be postponed; such as the decision to circumcize a son or daughter who reaches the appropriate age

while the male parent is absent. A woman is not likely to make the decision to send a child to school. A cash-flow problem is probably the most crucial problem a woman would face. If this happens, she can call on her male protector, or activate a variety of other social networks to call in accumulated reciprocal obligations.

The next question to consider is the profitability of international wage labor for Hawazma herdsmen. As noted earlier in this paper, going to Saudi Arabia for the pilgrimage and the staying in order to seek wage labor involves considerable initial investment. There are relatively high risks, even though the risks are calculated. Table 8 tabulates the cattle sold in order to purchase tickets to travel to Saudi Arabia for the pilgrimage. The men travelled to Khartoum by lorry, and flew from Khartoum to Saudi Arabia. Each man invested approximately LS 1000.00 in the venture.

Collecting data on actual income earned and specifically how it was spent was difficult, therefore detailed data on all the men who went to Saudi Arabia is incomplete. One informant was willing to provide those details. Table 9 provides the data from this informant. He told me that he earned more than LS 6000.00

Table 7. *Distribution of Responsibility*

Male Head of Household/ Protector	Dry Season 1982/83		Rainy Season 1983		Dry Season 1983/84	
	Number Responsible for	% Total Population	Number Responsible for	% Total Population	Number Responsible for	% Total Population
Younis*	15	22.40%	21	27.50%	22	39.30%
Hamid Hanai*	16	23.90%	13	23.20%	15	26.80%
Mahdi*	13	19.40%	8	14.30%	6	10.70%
Mohamed El Ahmar*	8	11.90%	--	--	--	--
Ahmed Sultan*	3	4.50%	4	7.10%	3	5.40%
Yahyah*	4	6.00%	--	--	--	--
Ahmed Said	5	7.50%	--	--	--	--
Hamid Y.	3	4.50%	3	5.40%	3	5.40%
'Aris	--	--	2	3.60%	2	3.60%
Bilal	--	--	5	8.90%	5	8.90%

* Men age 40 years +

in the year he was in Saudi Arabia. As can be seen, he spent approximately LS 4430.00 on livestock. In addition he purchased gifts for many people in the extended kin group, both in the camp and those resident in the village. Many of the gifts were clothing or fabric. If a person received fabric, he also received cash to pay for the sewing. He also bought some consumer goods, such as a radio/taperecorder, a Saudi Arabian cloak and headdress, a camel riding saddle, suitcases, an attache case, and a variety of blankets and mats. Upon his return he purchased at least

two sacks of sugar to contribute to the feasts for the returnees. In addition to the earnings spent on gifts and feasts, he sold 2 bulls (older ones of lower value) to cover these costs.

The other returnees also purchased cattle and gave gifts to a wide range of kin. Some of the men had also been able to send remittances to their families once or twice during the year. One man financed a younger brother's wedding. Two men who had worked in Saudi Arabia and one (a shopkeeper) who had not, invested together to establish an abattoir and

Table 8. Investment in Labor Migration - 1983

Man	Animals Sold	LS Value ± (1)
Mohamed El Ahmar	3 bulls	750.00 - 900.00
Abdullah Hamid	3 bulls	750.00 - 900.00
Mohamed Daduna	5	500.00 - 600.00
Anonymous	2	500.00 - 600.00
Anonymous	2	500.00 - 600.00

* 1983/84; LS 1 = USD 0.50

butcher shop. Even in simple economic terms, the year spent in wage labor in Saudi Arabia was highly profitable. A man working locally as a guard could not expect to earn more than LS 30.00 per month; probably much less. Even at the rate of LS 30.00 per month, the total year's earnings would amount to only LS 360.00, as compared to LS 4000.00-6000.00 realized through wages earned in Saudi Arabia. It should be emphasized that the LS 4000-6000.00 are net earnings, above and beyond the amounts spent in Saudi Arabia for living expenses and travel back to Sudan.

In addition to the tangible profits, the men who worked in Saudi Arabia also realized several social profits. Since they participated in the pilgrimage, they earned the title of *Haji* and its accompanying respect. Even if they had not been able to earn as much as they had anticipated, the role of *Haj* would have earned them an increased social standing. Though gifts were expected and the returnees had to diplomatically allocate them, gifts are also a social investment. Giving and receiving gifts strengthens bonds and creates reciprocal obligations. Thus, the gifts can be viewed as a type of social insurance which has potential to be used in a variety of social ways.

In 1989 men were more reluctant to tell specifically their profits from international wage labor, but the results were quite evident. All of the households, except one, residing in

the camp during both fieldwork periods (1982-1984 and 1989) had significantly increased herd sizes. For example, one woman who had been milking five or six cows in 1983/84 was milking 15-21 cows in 1989. Her son's wife, living in an adjacent house, was milking a comparable number. Another young man, son of the same woman's co-wife and who had been reared in a village, was able to take up pastoralism after his stint in Saudi Arabia. One man told me he and his father had a "small" herd in 1989, because his father had had to sell 12 bulls to raise LS 2500.00 to obtain another son's release from prison. But, as evidenced by the amount of milk the wives of my informant and his father had to sell, the herd was considerably larger than it had been in 1982-1984. In 1984 the older woman had been selling 2.79 safiha per week while in 1989 she had 14 safiha per week available for sale. This tremendous increase in herd size was evident in the majority of households in the study camp as well as in other camps in the area in 1989. Another indicator for increased herd sizes in 1989 was the fact that the 17 resident households were arranged in four separate associated camp circles, because "the bulls will fight if there are too many cattle in one camp circle." Previously all the houses had been in one circle. Even with cash available from international wage labor to purchase additional cattle, the dramatic increase in herd sizes observed between 1984

Table 9. Expenditures of Wage Labor Earnings (1 Informant) - 1984

	LS Value *
3 cows (2+1 calf)	500.00
1 cow	230.00
1 cow	225.00
1 bull	250.00
1 bull	80.00
1 bull	67.00
1 donkey	170.00
TOTAL	LS 1,522.00
12 head cattle à av. LS 169.00	2,028.00
12 sheep à av. LS 40.00	480.00
1 camel	400.00
GRAND TOTAL	LS 4,430.00

* 1983/84: LS 1 = USD 0.50

and 1989 are more remarkable when environmental conditions during that five-year period are taken into account. 1984 was the peak of the recent Sahelian drought. Pastoralists in many areas of East Africa and in other areas of the Sudan were severely affected. While no particular loss of cattle was observed in 1984 in the study camp, the animals were tremendously stressed due to scarcity of water and grazing. Still, the herds did not simply maintain their numbers; they tremendously increased during the five years. Since Hawazma women are capable of being economically self-sufficient by selling milk and milk products, husbands do not need to send remittances. Earnings can be saved to purchase cattle. The increase be accounted for by the annual calving rate, which is about 48.7 percent (Bunderson et al. 1984:45). The

logical conclusion is that herd managers were able to maintain herd size even under stress, and that wage laborers were able to build herd size by purchase as well as natural increase.

Summary

A question often raised about pastoral nomadic groups is how they survive in a social setting under apparently rapidly increasing social pressures. The Hawazma appear singularly committed to animal husbandry, an economic mode subject to environmental stress, government pressure to sedentarize, and encroachment of farming into traditional grazing areas. Since the general perception is often of a sharp

demarcation between pastoralists actively pursuing nomadism, and pastoralists involved in sedentary activities, sedentarization is often seen as a goal for extremely wealthy herdsmen or a result of failure in the nomadic mode. It seems, in addition, that sedentarization or the pursuit of sedentary economic enterprises by pastoralists should be viewed as one among many strategies undertaken in order to attain the primary goal of achieving maximum success in the pastoral nomadic economic mode.

Labor migration is one of the sedentary pursuits in this strategy. Hawazma labor migration is not undertaken with the aim of escaping an unprofitable economic mode. It is not undertaken as a last resort by failing husbandrymen. In fact, labor migration enables some previously sedentary Hawazma to become full-time herders. The purpose of labor migration appears to be to achieve maximum herd increase with minimum investment. While the investment is relatively high risk, investors stand to gain in the range of 600% on their cash investment on the venture. Potential cash earnings from Saudi Arabia equal in one-year's time what it might take 16 years or more to earn locally - if none of the locally earned salary is used for family living expenses. Since Hawazma women are capable of being economically self-sufficient by selling milk and milk products, husbands do not need to send remittances. Since the men are not obliged to send remittances to their families, any income over their own living expenses in Saudi Arabia can be saved, usually, and mostly, for livestock purchases.

Negative social impacts in terms of families left behind appear to be minimal. Women are capable of managing and maintaining their households at about the same level possible as when their husbands are present. They do not have to depend on remittances. Hawazma women are able to maintain this standard because they are typically fairly autonomous, even when their husbands are present. Since women have their own sources of income they are not left without means to live should

they not receive remittances. They too, can expect to benefit directly or indirectly from their husbands' wage earnings. When their husbands purchase cows with their earnings they have access to the milk, and so, any increase in herd size potentially increases their economic base. Because of the system of male protectorships and a strong social network system, women are assured of assistance should there be any emergencies.

As shown, the greatest impact on the people wage laborers leave behind seems to be in increasing herd management responsibilities for men in the age category of 40 plus years. Labor allocation for herding activities does not appear to be adversely affected. Most of the day-to-day labor is done by boys or young men between the ages of 10-25 years. Hawazma in these age categories, especially before age 20, do not go to Saudi Arabia, making their labor continuously available. If there are not enough Hawazma boys for herding requirements, Nuba herdboys are hired, whether or not men in management age categories are present in the camp.

Social gains are also important. Wage laborers in Saudi Arabia have the coveted opportunity to participate in the pilgrimage. Indeed, the pilgrimage is the means of gaining access to wage labor. Even though large portions of earnings may be spent on gifts, these are also a valued social investment. Gifts also reward those who acted as male protectors and herd managers.

According to my informants, Hawazma participation in wage labor is becoming more prevalent, at least in the five years between 1984 and 1989, and indications then were that it would continue as long as the political situation permitted the pilgrimage and development in the Gulf States requires unskilled labor. Again it is important to stress that in the Hawazma case, participation in wage labor is not the result of failure as a husbandryman. On the contrary, it is one of several strategies which take advantage of a sedentary economic activity to maintain and develop the

primary economic mode of pastoral nomadism. In some respects it is the demands of the sedentary sector for more meat, milk and milk products which currently encourages expansion in the pastoral nomadic sector in the Sudan. At the present time only the pastoral sector has been successful in providing these products. And the Hawazma have found that participation in international wage labor migration is a successful strategy to accelerate their success as herdsman and women milk marketers. And, the strategy works well largely because Hawazma women are traditionally autonomous in terms of the everyday household economy.

Notes

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² The seasonal calendar may be seen to begin with the dry season (November through June), and the establishment of the semi-permanent dry season camp. The rainy season (July through October) is broken into three parts; the trek north (July/August), the rainy season camp (August/September), and the trek south (October). Each of these periods is contingent on weather, so that when equated with the western calendar, may vary by a month or so. For example, the rainy season may begin in June, or end by late August or September. In other words, the seasons are not fixed on a calendrical basis, but by actual weather patterns, primarily rainfall, but also wind patterns and some variation in temperature.

³ 1 safiha = 4 British Imperial Gallons.

⁴ Hawazma herders will never reveal actual herd sizes.

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Barbara J. Michael: 1987 Ph.D. from the University of Kansas. Have been teaching anthropology, most recently (Jan. 1990-June 1991) at the University of Utah. Will be joining the faculty of the Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama at Birmingham in September 1991. Have had two periods of fieldwork with the Hawazma (Baggara) in the Sudan: 24 months from 1982-1984, and 6 months in 1989. Currently completing a film on the Hawazma with Anne Kocherhans, filmmaker, at the University of Utah.