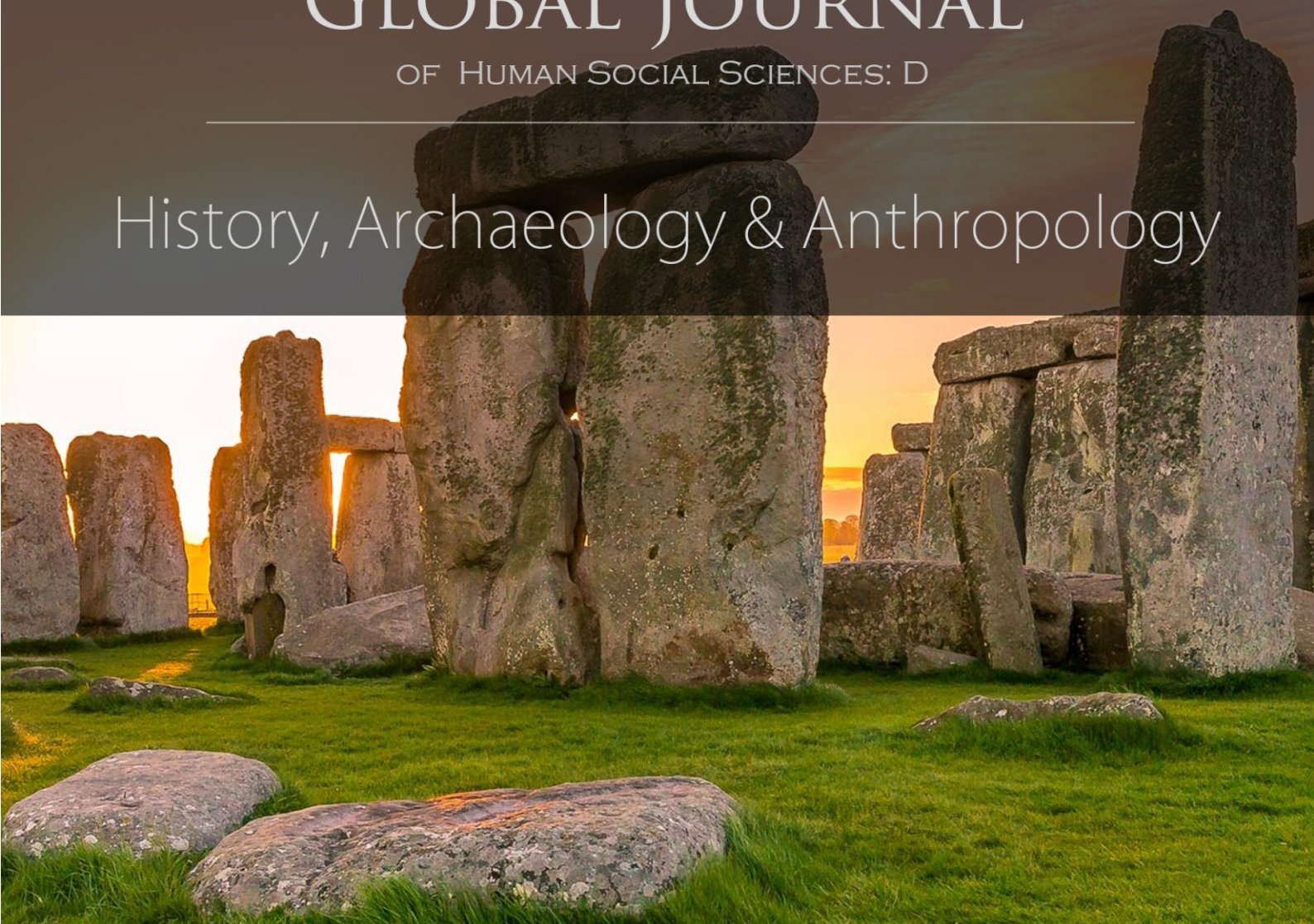
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Historical Roots and Solution

Introduction to Cultural Ecology

Highlights

Imperial Rule and the Politics

The Study of Fishing Settlements

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Yemen Crises; Historical Roots & Solution Spheres

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Abstract- Yemen is an important central state within the Arabian Peninsula, it enjoys an important geographic and strategic location overlooking on Global maritime navigation. Moreover Yemen has various and promising natural resources. As far as its population, it represents almost half of the Arabian Peninsula inhabitants. The Importance of Yemen importance is increased after the north and south unity in 1992.

In the first decade of the 21 st . century Yemen faced political instability status came to the surface by internal struggle on the power, regional and international interferences which worked to deepening the political crises that peaked in 2011. Given the gravity of such crises on the Yemenis state, region security, international peace and security, I selected this crises as my research scope.

Keywords: yemenis crises, yemen contem- porary history, yemenyouth revolution, yemen spring.

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Yemen Crises; Historical Roots & Solution Spheres

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In my research I tried hard to shed the light on such crises in terms of; causes, beginnings, Yemenis youth revolution launching, internal outputs then Security
Council and GCC efforts to dealing with the crises. I also identified the prominent opposition forces thereto, especially the Huthies who invested the crises to expand
their control over Yemen lands then they changed the union state structure through their declaration to form the revolution commission, dissolving the House of Representatives and lastly controlling the state establishments.

This paper discusses the Security Council resolutions of concern to Yemen, Gulf Initiative and its chronic mechanisms, international and regional efforts to settle the crises during 2014/2015, then the Military operation; Decisive Storm was launched by alliance under KSA leadership to recover the legitimacy in Yemen.

This paper also discusses solution scopes in Yemen on the light of Security Council resolutions, Gulf Initiative, political and national Yemenis concurrence leading to road map to solve the crises, and further to re-establish the Yemenis central state supported by regional and international efforts.

Keywords: yemenis crises, yemen contem- porary history, yemen youth revolution, yemen spring.

I. Introdution

Yemen was and still a central state occupying an important position in Arabian Peninsula. Such importance came from components of concern as to its strategic Geographical location, natural resources, fish production as well as tour and economical activities therein. Its area is about 555SKMs, in addition to major part in the Rub al Khali desert. Its agricultural area is consisting of 166 SKMs, representing one third of its total area. While the actual planted area does not exceed one fourth of its agricultural area. Yemen Depends on Monsoon rain and there are no rivers in Yemen.

Its beaches are around 2500 KM, and it practices its control over the red sea routs heading northwards to Suez and Mediterranean Sea, and southwards to Indian Ocean and Arab Sea. It practices its control over Strait of Bab el Mandeb which Oil of Arab Gulf states runs through; i.e. 30% of international oil exports. 7% of global trade navigation passes through Yemen, carrying imports to the area population.

Yemen population is 25 Millions; the Arab Tribes represents 95% of total population. Yemen witnesses population increase at 3% per annum. In Yemen almost Half of the Arabian Peninsula population is living there (F.Gause, Winter 1988, p.35). Even though the importance of Yemen, it still classified as poor country suffering water shortage and witnesses serious water drain. Current studies expectations refer to water drain in Sana' by 2025. The individual water share is 84 M/annum (less than one fifth of the minimum limit of individual consumption as defined by the International Heath organization (WHO). In fact the social disputes in Yemen form 80% of total disputes (Aryani, April 2014, p. 112) in addition to the fact that Yemen is classified in 2014, as 1st. Arab Country and the 2nd. on worldwide level in terms of food poverty.

II. Current Crises Signs

Yemen Suffered in the 2nd. half of twentieth Century a political instability represented by internal power struggle, conflict between north and south Tihama, Costal Plain, tribal revolutions, increase in severity of internal political transformations; military coups, civil wars in a political trend which did not witness strong central state who is able to control and manage Yemen Districts. The political segmentation severity has increased due to tribal relations, hard natural terrains, lack of political national identity that may gather Yemenis population as one nation.

Since establishing the Yemenis unity in 1990, that adopted Pluralist democratic system as alternative system instead of mono-party system, the unity state inherited all disputes, trends, previous multiple crises together without setting out solutions thereto. Democratic transition in Yemen did not generate Democratic transition requirements pursuant to transition science field and its requirements in terms of gradual dismantling of mono-party comprehensive

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system in due time and conclude reconciliation with the National memory, due to Yemenis' political elites in addition to its perceived awareness. (Shamsan, May 2015 p.102), under international and regional complex reality subject to dream to interfere in Yemen Internal affairs; each has its special reasons. The ruling regime in Yemen adopted formal democratic system ruled by tribal mentality. In order to maintain itself the regime head continued to play (Dancing on snakes heads) as President Ali Salih emphasized more than once and thus used to method of fueling the struggles among tribal and political parties.

The political parties incited each against another, and thus the loyalty was directed towards the president in person and persons rather than to the state, the State budget was used to corrupt the Regime loyalists and opponents or fighting thereof. The president and his close group worked to employ the political, tribal, regional struggle to strengthen his power, development plans were neglected which supposed to enhance the state role, gains, economical and social requirements as well as promotion.

Therefore, there were important indications laid its shadows on the Yemenis Scene, which is called Arab Spring started in Yemen by the beginnings of 2011, most important of which are:

1. Accelerated increase in Idleness which is raised from 35% up to 40% in initial community, 45% of which are less than 15 years old. (Al aryani , april 2014, p 105).
2. Retracts in foreign currency reserves starting from 2011 and continued until 2014 whereas the Central Bank reserves in 2014 recorded 4,897 Billions Dollars.
3. Adopting economical and social decision since 2007; that worked to increase southern trends represented by not allocating sources which did not match with the administrative units authorities.
4. Corruption in the armed forces represented by (a) fake jobs reached at one third of total armed forces personnel; (b) 70% of military and security organs leaders in Sinhan tribe (president tribe) which does not exceed 1% of Yemen Population (AlShurjobi, july 2013, p.51) (c) There were not periodical maintenance of the equipments which lead to fall of 10 military jets during 2010-2012 due to technical failures, out of which one Jet fell deliberately in order the president wanted to get ride of one of the opponents; (d) the president could engage his successor (Ali Mohsen Al Ahmer) in six wars with Huthies and ended by conspiracy to kill him in 2009 (Shurjobi, p.52). There was partitioned military believe depending on the leader position rather than the need thereto, and his plan in terms of deployment and military formation which fall under security rather than military trends.
5. Oil revenues declination at 5-10% since 2002. In crises stage the production reached at 90-130 thousand barrels per day only and the gas revenue reached at 700 Million US$/annum (Almoude winter 2015, p. 27.)
6. Declination in economical and social indications; the local production witnessed negative growth as it reached at 10.5% in 2011, while initial data referred that the local total production recorded moderate growth in 2012, reached at 1% and thus 40% of the population we classified under the poverty line, in addition to inflation high rate, (Alaryani, p.106). Also private sector participation in the local and global production became poor; at 54.5% in 2010 (Al Wafi, October 2012, p.317).
7. Apparent shortage in the productive efficiency became worst once the government appointed in 2011, twenty thousand new employees, which it did not need, in addition to not benefiting of fish reserves in the country.
8. Apparent decrease in the foreign aids which did not exceed 2% of local total production during the pervious decade before the revolution (Alaryani, p.111).
9. Corruption in all the state organs.
10. The UN developmental program classified Yemen within the countries which witness low trend in the human development in 2011 and thus it lost four categories between 2006, 2011. According to that Yemen occupied the 154 grade among 187 states included in the UN Report, (Alrewi, oct. 2012, p.40)

All of the above was witnessed in the absence of clear policies, as to economical construction & depletable sources, the wealth and political power were concentrated in the hands of one family who started to prepare itself to inherit the power to the President son, as well as the country was suffering of increasing political congestion the most important trends thereof are:

Clear strained relations between Coalition ruling party and Yemenis reformation party from one side and communist party from the other side since 1997 elections.

- Split the opposition parties on the light of participation in elections between participant and opponents.
- Decrease in parliament elections participation due to many reasons, illiteracy among women, and declination in the political awareness, weak confidence in elections process, and poor registration methods and procedures. The relation among political process parties was shaped by tension. (Abdallah, 2001, p.229)
- Tension increased once the ruling party insisted on performing parliament elections in April 2011, away from opposition party which agreed with ruling party

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to conclude many political and elections reformations before the parliament elections, and the ruling party did not respond thereto (Al Wafi, Oct. p.499)

The ruling regime brought back the traditional figures on the account of modernization figures, and their representations rate raised from 29.6% in 1990 to 44.1% in 2001. The political opposition party acquired only one third of the parliament seats during the period from 1999-2011 which weakened its power (Shamsan, May 2015, p.106.)

III. The Start of Revolution

The foregoing tension lead to a revolution started by the Yemenis youth on 11/2/2011 starting by peaceful comprehensive revolution against the regime, and mutiny against the tribal, social and party's loyalties which were participating in the political regime and directed towards the political corrupted system that seeks to inherit the power.

The Youth revolutionists raised their slogans expressing their needs; i.e. Our revolution is youth one rather than party and no parties "and" no negotiations, our revolution is free people revolution "and" No arguments or running away" No conference, the population is suffering hardships and crises.

The Revolution met the tribes, religious and conservatives support. The general trend of data and Fatwa came supporter as to youth demands and in line with the further stage of the gulf initiative which was laid down to transit to peaceful transition of the power and solve the political crises. All further months witnessed new Fatwa or declaration in addition to Friday's speeches in the mosques that supported the youth revolution, (Al Khateeb, Summer 2014, p.68-69).

After forty days from the revolution start and on 21/3/2011 the revolution has been supported by Military leaders in the Yemenis armed forces and some military troops; i.e. General Ali Muhsen Al Ahmer, East north region leader, 1st. military armory band, Major General Muhammad Ali Mohsen Al Ahmer; eastern region leader who formed the revolution supporters army and Ali Al Ahmer declared his undertaking to protect the freedom avenues and changes avenues in the areas under his control.

Competition then split in the Yemenis Armed Forces between Revolution supporters army and what called Family Army, originated severe confusion in the Yemenis scene even though the general national trend, and Fatwa, speeches and statements which were supporting the demonstrations and youth demands continued to support the peaceful power transition and claims to remove president Ali Salih under slogan (*Leave).*

The most impressive statements in terms of time and strength, was that declared by Yemen religious scientists and tribes leaders which was singed by 110 powerful figures including Yemenis Judge Mohammad Ben Ismail Al Omrani, and issued on 17/6/2011, whereas he asked the Yemenis president to quite his office due to his failure to perform its duties as Republic president caused by injuries he was subject to. Also he asked the president to hand over his constitutional power to the vice president to ward off evil and bloodshed. The foregoing formed shock to the regime and the president replied to such demand via Fatwa from Yemen Scientists society via which he deprived rulers from leave their houses and assured that demonstrations and current set-ins are neither legal nor Shaira (statement was published on 19/6/2011.

IV. Gulf Initiative

After less than one year from the inner struggle in Yemen between expositors and political regime, through which some powerful figures inside & outside the regime could transfer the revolution process into negotiable process and political compatibility. GCC states tried to rescue the Yemenis state and signed what is called "Gulf Initiative and its chronic mechanize" on 23/11/2011 based on the Security Council's resolution No. 2014 of 2011.

The Foregoing initiative included many reformations to avoid the Yemenis state declination, and signed by JMP of opposition parties with the ruling National conference party under the supervision of GCC states (Excluding Qatar) and global understanding with states who have vital interests in the Gulf, through which the necessity of peaceful political power transition is to be established that respect the Yemenis people & revolution youth aspirations. By such the Yemenis president is to quite his office to his deputy Abed Rabbu Mansour Hadi, national reconciliation government is to be formed then conclude comprehensive national dialogue conference paving the way to text new constitution in Yemen via which new parliament elections are to be formed and new presidency as well in the beginning of 2014.

During 2012, President Salih abandoned his office to His deputy Hadi, national reconciliation government was formed, and the national dialogue conference started its sessions on 18/3/2013. The conference was supposed to close down on 18/9/2013, but due to some difficulties its sessions were extended until 26/1/2014. The latest term witnessed for the first time the neutrality of President of the Republic. All traditional political powers in addition to new powers participated in the conference such as; youth, women, Hothiyoon, Salafis, South Harak and this wide participation worked to make such dialogue and negotiable process close to be cooperative game rather than zero-sum game. (Al Modei', march 2014, p.7)

After ten months from the start of Yemenis' national dialogue the Yemenis powers coincided on one

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paper included Yemen State re-construction under Federal basis, and authorizing the president of the Republic to form a commission to define number of regions. The first step of President Hadi was to carry out the foregoing and issue presidency decision to form a commission chaired by him consisting of 22 members to divide Yemen into regions.

The conferees agreed to perform legal and institutional procedures to develop the Democratic system and enhance separating the three powers and balancing thereof as well as exchanged control, enhance wise ruling including strengthening transparency and accountability, equality before law, developing institutional structure of all state organs and institutions. The conference as well, sat out recommendations to establish entity to recover the public and private funds and lands which were stolen, issue transitional justice law, perform institutional reformation that prevent human rights infringements, review supreme jobs occupiers law to subject thereof to accountability, convert to individual election system in minor departments to election system based on closed relative list to elect the parliament members on the federal level and federation council on the regional level, provided the woman is to be presented in its legislative commission lists at not less than 30%.

Also the conference recommended to establish independent judiciary council which the judges' General society elects 70% of its members, 15% thereof are elected by lawyers society, and 15% thereof are to be elected by joint meeting of sharia and law colleges councils out of law professors, enhancing judiciary independency, establishing independent constitutional court, establishing independent administrative judiciary, the sub judiciary organs are to report to judicial authority, prohibiting conclude civil trails before Military courts, cancel Journalism court, control and accounting organs to report to judicial authority. The conference also recommended issuing a law and form supreme national body for financial and administrative reformation in order to stop public funds exhaustion and politicization of public offices, and another body for civil service, body for foreign affairs to check up administrative and financial decisions.

The conference obliged the government to perform the National Civil record quickly (within maximum 3 years) to prevent job duplication and set out National database, prohibit appoint any of the relatives of president, prime minister, legislative power chair, Ministers of defense and interior, chief of General Intelligence up to fourth degree and their close relatives in any leading offices in the army, security or intelligence during practicing their offices, cancel the tribes affairs interests, separating among parties and government entity, completing army, security and intelligence organs re-structuring, issuing law of possessing or carrying personal arms, withdraw arms from the Militias, state president and all who fill supreme political offices shall of University graduates, neutralize the army, security and intelligence to practice political business, adopting clear standards, considering transparency in promotion processes and legal rights as to public employee.

As far as Saada Cause is concerned, the paper sat out the religious & intellectual freedom, practicing religious rites, prohibiting imposing thereof or forced prevention thereof from any entity whatsoever, the state and its organs shall be neutral under constitution rules, setting out restrictions as to study methods, religious and private education and to be under the control of the state, setting out constitutional provisions to condemn acquiring money from outside entities under any name and consider such as treason …. Deprive and condemn employing the army in internal struggles … recover the heavy and medium weapons from all parties, groups and individuals and bring it back to the government within defined period of time… preventing trading therewith … treating disputes and revenges due to Saada wars within transitional justice frame and national Interests.

As far as South Yemen's cause is concerned, the conference adopted transitional principle from unified state to federal state provided South Yemen is to be represented through the 1st. election course after adopting the federation constitution at 50% in all leading structures in executive, legislative and judicial entities, including institutions where appointments therein are to be adopted via decisions issued by the President of the Republic or Prime Minister; i.e. army and security (National charter).

The south is represented at 50% in the House of Representatives, after the 1st. electoral session. The Federation constitution states "to form executive, judicial, and parliament mechanisms to protect the vital interests of the south. Such mechanisms may include challenge rights, private voting rights on causes relating to vital interests of the South and in terms of representation process it is based on equalization of area and population. Prohibiting performing amendments on federal constitution of concern as to South, save after obtaining Parliament members majority approvals thereto.

We could notice that the outputs of the dialogue conference were balanced and compatible and further it treated all causes in dispute as well as replied Most Yemenis people aspirations. Moreover, it sat out solutions to existing problems and prospected disputes that may take place in periods to come as well as establishing restrictions thereof. On the other hand, the conference did not set out guarantees to solve the South cause, even though the civil powers, youth and woman achieved clear gains, and in the same time there were losing entities; i.e. tribes Sheikhs who lost some of their political strength in parliament election system and source depending on war economy. But they gained in

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turn, from linking oil & gas sources management contracts to the region that produce oil rather than region authority or federation authority (Alshurjobi, March 2014 , p.9)

The paper formed also, model for national charter specifying basis and main lines to re-building the state and achieve the national interest, then bring Yemen out of its crises; political and social, then stop Yemen's sliding into chaos.

The Security Council issued its resolution No. 2051, whereas it enhanced the dialogue conference steps by imposing penalties and sanctions on anybody who tries to hinder the conference works and in the same time demanded to stop all acts that are directed to undermining the National Government and also undermining the political transition; i.e. undermine carrying out the presidency decrees issued on 6/4/2012 as to Military and civil appointments Yemen declared officially on 10/2/2014, that the Yemenis republic is federal state including six regions; two in the south and four in the north. But such decisions faced the problem represented by the social support weakness; the preservatives power who suffered damages from such decisions and in the same time own weapons, funds and foreign support to practice its influence on the President of the Republic. (Al Shurjobi, march 2014, p.12)

Whereas the process of national dialogue outputs were incapacitated, the gulf initiative parties and UN failed to convince the political Yemenis' forces to attend the dialogue and reach at political solution, the Security Council decision was issued under ref. No. 2140 in 2014, via the XII. Chapter, ordering to form global sanctions commission against the parties who incapacitated the dialogue outputs, and thus it has been transferred into global paper rather than dialogue paper.

V. Crises Peak

Due to various reasons most prominent of which are: *Ansar Allah* group, Huthies, came out of the Yemenis consensus as to divide the regions and their challenge thereto was attributed to preventing them from having access to the sea, and considering thereof as Yemen division between rich and poor, and also the division aim is to maintain KSA interests in Yemen through linking Al Joof; oil-rich area, with Sabaa' being adjacent to KSA and connected tribally with KSA rather than Azal Region (Abdel haleem, July 2014, p.125) and their AC position from suggested constitution and referendum thereto, then the ability of President Hadi and his government to dismantle the deep government in Yemen through armed forces re-structuring commission. Moreover, the government failure; both social and economical. For the foregoing reasons and may be due to others as wekk, *The Huthies* invested the population disturbances originated from raising the oil derivatives prices, known by *(Al Juraah*) and they could seek the help from Republican guards and private guards reporting to previous president Ali Abdallah Salih, to occupy the capital city Sanaa on 21/9/2014.

a) Who are The Huthies

Ansar Allah group, name addressed to their revolutionary component in demonstrations avenues during the youth revolution in 2011. Such name is close to Allah Party name (Al Khidari, January 2014, p.68), and they started as religious and social society called (*Itihad Alshabab Al Moumen*) in 1986 established by Bader Eddin Al Huthey. The group was turned to political party in 1990 under the name of (Right Party). The Union and party depended to gather the youth since early stages in summer camps whereas they received militant doctrine and trained as battle professional groups out of which the Militias were formed. It was clear that the foregoing is calling up for Allah Party (shamsan, May 2015, p.105). *Al Huthey* family had good relations with President Salih and Hussain Bader El deen was representative in the parliament representing the ruling General conference party chaired by Salih. About this party, Hassan Zaid, member of the president political office, stated in 2001 " The party in its current route has revolutionary vision but intellectually disciplined on basis, as the Islamic history did not witness assassinations, which characterized Al Haq Pary in its Yadeidi isolated current. He added " once there were circumstances imposing to establish alternative new regime, such current and thought used to have its role therein, but once such leader who claimed his legacy, the current remains accept the reality" (Alsaqaf, February 2001, pp, 41-42). This means that *Al Haq* party remained till 2001 receives *Al Zaidi* thoughts basically. The relation between President Salih and Huthy was changed after Hussain Al *Huthey* travel to Iran, in summer 1994. He said that he obtained the MS degree in Iran after he believed in The Twelver Shiite doctrine Party thoughts and ideas then returned back to Yemen Holding political and doctrinal thoughts lead to change his stand from the regime, but more opposed President Salih. President Salih heard about such Iran influence in Friday speech at Saadah, once the Huthies repeated after the pray the Iran Cry Emblem, and thence he delegated his Minister of Foreign affairs Abu Bakr Al Qirbi on 7/3/2003 to go to Iran and report a message from him to supreme Guide about Iran stand from Huthies, but Iran stand did not change.

In 2004, President Salih felt that Huthies exceeded the allowed frame and they are circulating for alternative political project instead of its regime in some of Saadah Regions, especially in Maran Directorate. President Salih organized Military campaign against them continued for months and ended by the murder of Hussain Al Huthey then occupy their strongholds. Al Najaf Hawza issued in April 2005 a statement titled " Call for human rights forums in the world, whereas it referred

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to the fact that Shia party in Yemen are subject to unprecedented mass elimination. Popular demonstrations came out in the streets supporting Huthies and claiming to change Yemen street name in Tahran to read Hussain Al Huthey street. The national defense council in Yemen held its meeting to discuss reviewing the relations between Yemen & Iran. Due to communications between Yehya Al Huthey- brother of Hussain , and Iran, his parliament immunity was lifted on 28/2/2007 by accusing him by illegal communication with foreign state, Iran, then he declared his political asylum to Germany (Shathan Jan. 2015, p. 107)

Various sources referred that Huthies received support from Iran since 2004 up to 2009 and such support was financial, and military equipments which were smuggled from Iran to Yemen via Assab port in Eretria to sea coast near Saadh, Medi directorate whereas it were stored then carried by smugglers to Saadh Region, Huthies stronghold. (Taher , International politics, sept. 2015, p.201).

Hostility was developed to armed confrontation between president Salih and Huthies, reached at six bloodshed wars (June 2004, March 2005, oct. 2005, jan. 2007, march 2008, and the last war started in 3/11/2009 and continued until November 2010). KSA participated in the last war after Huthies overrun the KSA Boarders and their entry to Al Dokhan Mountain (big part thereof is located in KSA). Thus the Saudi troops entered as party in the war operations from 3/11/2009 until January 2010, once Abdel Malik Al Huthey declared stop fighting from one side and withdrew from the Saudi territory.

During the military operations it was clear that Iran supported Al Huthies with arms which were caught and proved to be made in Iran, gun machines, rockets, ammunition etc., this was the start of KSA and Iram entry into Yemen crises line for the first time.

In June 2013, President Hadi consultant for defense affairs, Major General Ali Muhsan Al Ahmar in his press conference said that Huthies party *and South Harak* sent hundreds of worriers to Iran for training and they have developed arms and rockets. The Secretary General in Southern Harak supreme council; Qasim Asker, said that some of *Al Harak* youth went to Iran for Training, and they discussed financing and training issues to confront Northern occupation. Also some known leaders went to Huthies for arms, as well as Lebanese Hizbollah Party offered some financing to *Harak* Leadership and they obtained media training to run Adan Life channel which is established by Alharak, and against the Yemen government. It transmit from Beirut (Alkhudari, January 2014, p.71)

It seems that Iran invested the religious variation in Yemen to achieve its regional ambition and to carry out its strategy in extending its power and achieve its ambitions. So it established the supreme Shia council in Yemen chaired by Yemenis scientist Ayat Allah Issam Ali Al Emad who was residing in Iran. Then its relations with non Shia power such as leftists was developed after the Libyan Ambassador visit during Al Qathafi regime to Saadah region and his donation of 50,000 US$ to establish Ahl Al Bair organization, (Shathan, jan. 2015 p.106).

VI. Huthies Expansion

The Huthies invested the term which the national dialogue took in expanding their military operations and their sites outside their strongholds Saadah, and they could, within short time, to achieve wide expansion to the strategic security zone surrounding the capital city, and in the same time showed military superiority in its ability to fight in more than one front at the same time such as:

- *Kattaf* and *Dammage*, against tribal powers and Salafist, and the battle was stopped via agreement.
- *Hashed* tribe front whereas they achieved victories on Al Ahmar Sheikhs in Hooth and Al Khamri
- *Arhab* front whereas they achieved victories against the tribes loyal to Reformation party in the zone overlooking to Sanaa airport.
- Al Joof adjacent to KSA borders
- Hamadan, located 12 KM East capital and they occupied some villages
- confrontations in Imran with Yemenis army (Abdel haleem, july 2014, p. 128).

On the light of Huthies Militias power acceleration, president Hadi declared that Yemenis security organs caught spy networks work in Yemen and loyal to Iran since seven years ago controlled by officer in Iran revolutionary guards and manage spy operations in Yemen and African horn. He added that Iran supports the separatists in the south and religious parties in the north.

After controlling Sanaa city by Houthey Militias and previous president Salih troops, Hothy party concluded structural changes on Yemenis government structure and references thereof by issuing what was called as constitutional declaration in February 2015, and issued by the revolutionary commission chaired by Mohammad Ali Al Huthey, including

- Stopping applying Yemenis constitution texts which contradict the declaration
- Dissolving the House of Representatives which President Hadi offered his resignation thereto, and forming transitional national council consisting of 551 members who shall select presidential council consisting of five members.
- Appointing efficiencies government
- The declaration organizes ruling standards during the transitional stage
- Revolutionary commission is branched from the revolutionary commission in the provinces and various directorates throughout the republic.

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The revolutionary commission shall take necessary procedures to protect country sovereignty, security and stability.

The Huthies and Salih could expand their control on the Yemenis provinces and government. They could force president Hadi to submit his resignation on 22/1/2015.

This caused the Security Council to issue its resolution No. 2201 whereas it demanded the Huthies to withdraw their troops from the governmental establishments which they controlled, and starting negotiations among all concerned parties under the supervision of the UN. But the Huthies refused such decision and remained controlling the Yemenis cities by force.

Huthies and Salih Troops controlled the government structures, establishments and strategic decisions. They disrupted the parliament, formed military commission and cancelled the political transfer and peaceful power transition. They cancelled the comprehensive national dialogue outputs and used military power, armed violence, and killed political opponents to achieve their political aims.

VII. Decisive Storm

Due to the political split among President Hadi legitimacy, those who agree on peaceful solution through Gulf initiative provisions and its chronic mechanisms, and UN decisions of concern as to Yemenis cause from one side and those who controlled Yemen by force and trying to impose their ideas by force and armed violence against the political opponents and thus they turned against the national dialogue outputs, kidnapped the power, disrupted the constitution, all is referred to Huthies Coup; President Hadi left to KSA and gulf states seeking their support. Decisive Storm started in its way to recover the legitimacy via military alliance lead by KSA and the military operations started in 26/3/2015, with its political aims; Stopping Huthies expansion and Iran interference and oblige them to set on the negotiations table with all national powers to seek comprehensive solution as to the Yemenis crises.

In the first two weeks from the war, Yemen spheres were controlled, all its air defenses and telecommunication systems were destroyed then the Yemenis spheres were declared as Air ban area.

On 4/4/2015 the security council resolution No. 2216 was issued as International political cover for Decisive storm including:

- immediate cease fire
- Withdrawal of all troops from all zones under Huthies control
- Deliver all arms which were seized from security and governmental foundations
- Release all detainees
- Stopping all provocative actions of adjacent states
- Prohibition of arms imports in illegal manner or indirect manner to Yemen
- Conclude Al Riyadh conference
- Enrolling Abdel malik Al Huthey name, Ali Abdallah Salih and his son Ahmad in the black list.

KSA believed that decisive storm achieved its Military goals represented by destroying Ballistic Rockets, air defense means, weapons and fuel stores, targeting Huthies and cut all their support lines and their strongholds in south Saudi Arabia.

KSA started to launch new stage in Yemen called (Hope recovery), and declared the aim of such issue is to start new life in Yemen and its has been launched on 21/4/2015. The declaration included that during this stage all foreign citizen shall be evacuated from Yemen, offer a room for International efforts to offer their human aids and medical care to stand in front of Huthies operations and their aliens.

It was noticed that transfer from Decisive Storm to Hope recovery has been done without achieving the political aims of the storm represented by forcing the Huthies to abide by the International decision and set on negotiations table then enter in political settlement of the crises away from imposing the current stand, and evacuating the Huthey worriers from Yemenis cities and provinces which they occupied. Also to support President Hadi to recover the power and control on the establishments and stop Iran interference in the Yemenis issue.

VIII. Solution Spheres

No doubt that the Yemenis' political and National reconciliation to work on fixed term political agendas and work as one team is very important issue in Yemen current circumstances. Also compatibility on road map of the transitional stage, dissolve Militias and armed parties, building national army and reviewing applying the regions split of the final stage in building Yemenis government, as applying thereof requires the availability of central government, enjoying power and financial capacity.

Yemen Needs the International community and regional states support, especially GCC, in terms of financial, political and economical support, in order to rebuild the Yemenis government and straightening up its internal relations among all the Yemenis community within transitional justice approved by the Yemenis people.

The Gulf initiative and chronic mechanisms are still acceptable frame and subject to development in order to solve the Yemenis cause. Also the Security Council resolutions on Yemen were compatible in the international sphere and could be activated to reach a solution in terms of Yemenis cause.

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A Miscarriage of History: The Case of Adria K. Lawrence'sImperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire

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Introduction- The writing of history, as always, has been subject to biases, most of the time from those who call the shots, but sometimes from factors so insidious that it is very difficult to isolate them. Books of history written by approved authorities as well as by independent ones, are replete with such examples I do not have space for in this work. I need, however, to draw a line between deliberately sidestepped factors and those that, for one reason or another, have been omitted. My concern in this paper is to highlight the factors that, willingly or not, are overlooked by the author of the book under focus for what I think are ideologically motivated reasons. Pragmatists (Donald Davidson 2001b; 2004; Richard Rorty 1979;1982; Willard Van Quine 1969;1990) and language philosophers (Gontard 1981), indeed, speak of a cultural phenomenon, a driving force among intellectuals, constituted by popular ideas (opinions and thoughts or ethical norms) which, quite often act as doxatic1 factors that either favor alignment behind them or condemn dissident voices. It is, therefore, a major concern of this paper to show that Lawrence, the author has fallen victim of such a phenomenon by truncating chunks of vital historical information of the colonies she has studied, and more particularly the Moroccan one.

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A Miscarriage of History: The Case of Adria K. Lawrence'sImperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire

Mohamed Dellal

I. Introduction

The writing of history, as always, has been subject to biases, most of the time from those who call the shots, but sometimes from factors so insidious that it is very difficult to isolate them. Books of history written by approved authorities as well as by independent ones, are replete with such examples I do not have space for in this work. I need, however, to draw a line between deliberately sidestepped factors and those that, for one reason or another, have been omitted. My concern in this paper is to highlight the factors that, willingly or not, are overlooked by the author of the book under focus for what I think are ideologically motivated reasons. Pragmatists (Donald Davidson 2001b; 2004; Richard Rorty 1979;1982; Willard Van Quine 1969;1990) and language philosophers (Gontard 1981), indeed, speak of a cultural phenomenon, a driving force among intellectuals, constituted by popular ideas (opinions and thoughts or ethical norms) which, quite often act as doxatic[1] factors that either favor alignment behind them or condemn dissident voices. It is, therefore, a major concern of this paper to show that Lawrence, the author has fallen victim of such a phenomenon by truncating chunks of vital historical information of the colonies she has studied, and more particularly the Moroccan one. Generally speaking, these acts are done outside any apparent and compelling material forces. Derridians call this a hegemony of the dominant episteme (Foucault 1969) that compels intellectuals and the rank-and-file to abide by a certain popular view for fear of castigation and outright condemnation. Historians, anthropologists and political sociologists, to name but these, are commonly trapped by such dialogic situation even when they try their best to avoid falling victim of it. S lisli's "Islam: The Elephant in Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*" (2008) is perhaps an illustration one may bring to corroborate the view of how dominant zeitgeists can determine discourses to be held by people despite their claim to a certain seamlessness. Slisli shows Fanon's falling victim, willingly or not, of the dominant Approaches to writing history under an evolving Marxist doxa. It is my belief that Lawrence too has fallen victim of the same bias by muting the role certain actors may have played in the making of French colonies and more particularly of Morocco's Political and Nationalist protests preceding independence.

Her book (2013), indeed, has a rare disturbing quality – not because of the truths she says but rather because of those she ignores – in that it posits itself as a challenging alternative reading to conventional narratives of anti-colonial protests in the French Empire. She advances the view that nationals and foreign researches have come up with narratives of colonial history and mostly of mobilizations for political and nationalist agendas that are plagued with oversights and over-generalizations. To redress this wrong, she proposes a new approach that focuses on each individual state allowing her to tend to the intrinsic factors that may have affected mobilizations against the French colonial presence each state has undertaken. Because of the hegemony of the conventional nationalist narratives, basically romanticizing and/or overrating certain factors, she proposes to undo these readings by trying to focus on credible data that can help her override these and come up with endogenous material likely to substantiate her hypothesis that had the French responded to the political grievances of their colonials subjects, like they had done in some colonies in the Pacific, the history of the French Empire would have been written differently.

Although one would agree with the quality of the material brought forth and mostly with the challenge the approach poses to, basically, most nationalist readings, one would also deplore the muting of the roles played in either acts of 'mobilization and/or demobilization' by

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[1] Doxatic is an adjective derived from the word Doxa (from ancient Greek **δόξα**, "glory", "praise" from **δοκεῖν** dokein, "to appear", "to seem", "to think" and "to accept") is a Greek word meaning common belief or popular opinion. https://www.google.com/?gws_rd=ssl#q=doxa+definition. Accessed on 6th October, 2015.

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large groups of the autochthonous populations, following in this a tradition set up by Marxist readings of the histories of colonized countries as the case has been with Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* on Algeria (Slisli 2008). Three of these players (the Tribal Chieftains, the Zaouya Sheikhs and the so-called Protégés) seem to have played primordial roles be it in mobilizing and/or demobilizing crowds of people with regard to a certain national programme. These actors have, indeed, contributed a great deal; first by cultivating a pseudo-jihadist discourse (sometimes to cover their political drives), and second by immersing in extra-zealous jihadist culture when their plans for spoils have failed. One has only to ponder over the jihadist discursive practices common among the chieftains and protégés like El Rogui (described as the most roguish of these chieftains), Mohamed Ameziane, Raissuli and the Khattabis, to name but these, to get a glimpse at the use of the jihadist discourse produced by these leaders (Balfour 2002). The Zaouyas, however, are unquestionably the home ground for the cultivation of 'Jihadist culture' as we shall see later. In the folds of this paper, I propose to lay bare these 'elephants,'(Slisli 2008) muted in Lawrence's approach, in addition to other argumentation incongruences and methodological shortcomings to the fluency of the arguments held in her book.

II. On the Argumentation and Methodology

Lawrence's reliance on a political culture, common among the Western democracies, to explain mobilization is tarred with flaws. For instance, the political choice in a democracy is necessarily driven by reasoned, unfettered decision-making while in the colonized countries this political culture has not been instated as a practice even through 1980s and 90s, that is 40 or so years into their independences. In the colonized countries – particularly in Morocco and Algeria – politics has always been based on ethnicity and generally on religious affiliations. Democratic culture is still, as we speak, in the stage of construction.

As stated previously, Lawrence proposes to debunk the so much taken for granted explanations of the rise of the nationalist mobilizations in the French Colonial Empire. One of the approaches adopted to debunk the hegemonizing opinion that nationalist mobilization has always been at the heart of any move to organize the crowds, is to rely upon authentic data collected from the French Intelligence services or from official declarations of leaders in the colonial empire as well as those from other groups. The riding principle of this drive has been to show that such protests have only occurred with colonies in which calls for either political mobilization and/or nationalistic agendas have not been answered (Lawrence 2013). Such a rider is meant to highlight the political failures of the French colonial administration; but it also addresses all the root causes of the shift in the motives of the mobilizations. To give her approach more space, two of the five chapters are devoted exclusively to Morocco with one divided between Morocco and Algeria – although she agrees that these two cases are very hard to compare; Morocco because it is hardly a case where the colonial authority was actually deeply entrenched because it was a mandated Protectorate not a direct colonial authority; and also because it was a somewhat modern administrative authority under the tutelage of the Sultan, contrary to the other countries in the empire. Algeria, on the other hand, was a major colony.

Her approach, one assumes, is very controversial on a number of counts, although rightly so at times as for instance when it challenges the nationalists' claims to be the predicators and main engineers of the independence movements; these would also see themselves as custodians of the collective memory of their respective people. The major controversy, however, is that it occults a very large period in the history of the encounter between the French early invaders and the autochthonous populations, at least in North African (Algeria and Morocco for instance). In addition, and although it does acknowledge the import of the international ideological context, it minimizes and, at times, overlooks its impact, while it gives precedence to the quantitative analysis of the data collected which is flawed as has been highlighted above.

The contentions, I voice here, stem from the fact that no factor could be said to be determinant as to how the leaders have swayed their opinions one way or another given the fact that several factors may have always been present during the periods the author has focused on. The period pondered over starts from the early 1900s and goes up to the time immediately following the end of the second world war and the beginning of the wars for independence. My reading, however, should not be seen as a way to reject the entirety of her approach nor the results achieved; I do acknowledge the scientific aspect of the analysis and appreciate the challenge these results pose to commonly held narratives as they allow, even nationals like myself to see their history in a rather different light. What I contest in these results, once more, is that their seamlessness gives them a certain authoritarianism that needs to be debunked.

One of the main methods employed by the author to legitimize her choice of agency starts with what I would describe as a heavy handed enforcement of definitions of key terms such as what she considers as 'mobilization' and what not; what she considers as nationalist and what not. In other words, I start with her definition of 'mobilization' in which she considers.

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> … mobilization to include the kinds of contentious activities described in the social movement literature – such as boycotts, demonstrations, strikes and other protest activity – but I also include non-contentious collective actions such as voting for or joining nationalist parties (Lawrence 15).

There are few problems with such a statement: first there is no literature that describes or defines what mobilization is, particularly with reference to the authors she mentions. The literature she refers to is one that deals with opportunities for a mobilization and all the rhetoric (for a *change* and for *reaction*) that ensues from that (McAdam 1996 and 1999). The second problem with that statement is that there is no reason for legitimizing the type of mobilization she advances as compared to say a mobilization conducted by the Tribal chieftains and the Zaouya Sheikhs where they do not have to 'boycott, vote or demonstrate'. These cultures have their own ways of mobilizing large crowds of devout partisans to support even a war should that be needed. This again is a domain not well researched by anthropologists or political sociologists. On the contrary, one needs to understand its mechanisms and strategies before one writes it off. Lawrence's definition of 'mobilization' presupposes a world with technological capabilities that would allow faster communication to mobilize, easier to persuade and, potentially, reach and touch larger crowds. This is possible, with the current technology, but not at the time of the colonial period targeted by the author. Radio communication was a privilege of some even in the urban centers where this type of mobilization would have been conducted.

This type of 'mobilization' also implies a 'political culture' – including 'democratic choice' guaranteed by a constitution, party organizations and unions – none of which actually existed at the time except among a tiny minority of the elites. The culture predominant at the time was 'armed resistance' (or what some authors would call 'jihad culture') (Slisli 2008) crossing ethnic boundaries and social class ones. Mobilization along these principles would have been easier, particularly among the lower classes, but more importantly among the peasant and nomad communities. Because none of these elements has been highlighted in her book, one may easily assume that Lawrence talks about a specific type of mobilization exclusively targeting 'middle class elites'; which in my view is a biased approach to studying resistance and independence movements within colonized countries such as Algeria and Morocco more specifically. The literature available on the period speaks of a tiny minority who could actually read and write. Ezzaki (1988) speaks of a class of intellectuals who were lettered in Arabic and religious theology and even modern languages; a class that would eclipse the tiny minority of 'Westernized intellectuals'. The latter may have been a significant variant indeed, but not as effective as the religious elites, who also tried to upgrade their methods of contestation particularly in the 1940s and after. Yet, put together, both elites would constitute a very small percentage (although no exact statistics are provided) of the overall population to convince.

A few paragraphs later, Lawrence gets more specific by stating that 'mobilization is nationalist if the actors frame their actions in the discourse of nationalism' (Lawence 16) making thus the segmentation between the discourses she is trying to hammer more problematic and more controversial essentially because one needs to understand, first and foremost what is nationalist and what is patriotic for instance. Such a distinction is based on an *apriori*, not on any tangible study. One has in mind the difficulty social researchers have had to define what nationalism is as compared to what is patriotism and what is not. George Orwell, who may pass for a social scientist, albeit not a specialized one, has been struggling with such a terminology only to conclude that it is a slippery term. He ends up by a tentative approach defining nationalism as "inseparable from the desire for power. The abiding purpose of every nationalist is to secure more power and more prestige not for himself but for the nation or other unit in which he has chosen to sink his own individuality" (1945); this being another distinction very hard to make.

The above definitions, have provided a ground floor for further applications allowing a focus on the type of mobilization that the author has in mind; basically the ones held for: (a) political demands and (b) for nationalist agendas. My objection to this use comes from a conviction that Lawrence has tied population contestation to a Structural Approach that would deny any role to the Cultural variables; a reading that is much nostalgic of the 1960s and early 70s. In doing so, the author is also muting actors that may have played a significant role in any of the uprisings targeted by the study, on the grounds that they do not belong to the political structures she has in mind (see Dochartaigh 2010; McAdam et al 1996; McAdam and Larks 1999).

III. On the Incongruence

Reading Lawrence as has been suggested above, is most unsettling due to, among other things, the frequent in congruences one has to face up to in the fabric of the text. One is indeed baffled by the underlying paradoxes that the text is studied with. For instance, there are statements that acknowledge the salience of the context in which events have evolved. She, as a matter of fact, asserts that 'opponents of French colonialism were both empowered and limited by what appeared possible, by the menu of options they saw before them' (Lawrence 22), underlying thus the

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influence offered by the context. This is reiterated in "they were bounded by the particular circumstances of living in the twentieth century of French empire" (Lawrence 23); or much clearer in "actors' opinions were shaped by a wider global context in which particular political frames were gaining currency while others were in decline" (Lawrence 23). Yet this recognition is undermined by other statements whereby she decides to sidestep the overall context by focusing only on the intrinsic factors which, one has to acknowledge, are "proximate causes of action". But her determination to ignore "the background conditions that serve to facilitate it" undermines any importance the overall context may have had. This amounts to conducting an in-vitro experimentation, so reminiscent of the structuralist approach which cuts off all other possible influential ingredients and consequently resulting in a biased view of the problems addressed.

One understands the reasons why Lawrence has had to opt for this approach which cuts across the approaches so common among the Nationalists. The hegemony of such totalizing narratives has had negative renderings that previous historical readings have fallen victim of. Yet one cannot avoid to find out traces of hegemonizing and over-generalizations in the folds of the book, something that Lawrence has striven to avoid. Several instances can be dug out of the text to corroborate this:

a) The lumping together of a number of French colonies to make them amenable to the hypothesis she is trying to advance. The method she has elected to use: the Middle-N study as opposed to the Large-N one, on the assumption that the latter is over generalizing and, therefore, leading to incongruence's is as questionable as the one she has tried to avoid. When one looks closely at the method, one cannot fail to find out the same pitfalls she has been trying to avoid. None of the French colonized countries she has studied has a similar approache to things given the class structure, the history, the culture, but mostly the political structures of each. One finds greater disparities between Morocco and Algeria for instance although they share some features, let alone comparing them with Sub-Saharan and Pacific French colonies. Lumping these together produces the same over generalizing view as with the Large-N study approach she has striven hard to avoid.
b) By failing to: (i) conduct a discourse analysis of the leaders' speeches, be they of the Zaouyas, or the Tribal Chiefs or those of the political or union organizations, a considerable testimonial material has been overlooked. (ii) Similarly, unconventional historical material represented by anthropological, sociological and other cultural literatures could have added to the flair that Lawrence has been striving hard to bring home.

Having pondered over what I describe as methodological and argumentative shortcomings that impair the findings of the book, I finally want to disagree with the fact that no mention has been made of the political structures that could have made a serious difference when it comes to mobilizing and/or demobilizing public opinion in the country (Morocco) against/or in favor of a specific agenda. The main structures responsible for shaping any political culture at the time were, as suggested above the Zaouyas, the Tribal chieftains and the Protégés. I should not, on the other hand, diminish the role played by the global context – albeit an exogenous factor – as an ideological structure in shaping public opinion worldwide, including in the colonies. For the sake of convenience, the role played by each of these actors will be dealt with under the following order: first the Tribal chieftains and the Protégés as the two seem to have enjoyed sponsorship from their protectors, and second the Zaouyas and the role they played; although one may also think that some of these actors may have benefited from the Protégé programme at times. At a later stage, a survey of the forces shaping the global ideological context may be elicited.

IV. Tribal Chieftains and the Protégés

There is need to underline that these two categories of players can be merged into one given the fact that, practically speaking, Tribal Chieftains have all benefitted from the 'Protection System' set up by European powers – France, Spain, Great Britain and even countries like Portugal and Italy – to safeguard the political and economic interests of the sponsoring state and offer them an eye on the internal affairs of the country. Whether I go back to the 16th century or content myself with the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, the Protection System has always included Tribal chieftains. In this connection, I may invoke El Rogui also known as Bou Hamara (Taza); Mohamed Ameziane (in the Eastern Rif area); Raissouli and the Khattabi family (in the larger Rif regions). One may also speak of Laglaoui (Marrakech) or Addi U Bihi (in the Tafillalet). Most of these have enjoyed the privilege conferred on them by the European powers they have served. But the system also covers a large number of individuals who have no authority over the population apart from the privilege of the Protection. Kenbib (1996) has widely researched the phenomenon and brought forth lists with names of individuals from all walks of life (notables and gardeners, etc.) who benefitted from such a programme. The role he gives these structures is clearly stated in the following:

> The role of the holders of protection patents in the nationalist mobilization has, starting from the 1930s, been clearer than ever since they were the principal organizers of the protest campaigns against, mainly,

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the '*Berber Dahir*' and the dissolution of the *Comité d'Action Marocaine*. This phase, in the history of the protection programme, was crucial. It allowed the rise of the traditional mercantile bourgeoisie which, after feeling threatened to be marginalized by the progress and the direct control of the French businesses and the 'colons' on the resources of the country and the distribution networks, decided to mobilize for the 'national cause' and request a share in the management of the affairs of the country. (Kenbib: 22) (Translation is mine)

Earlier, Kenbib speaks of the Protection System as being responsible for the multiplication of pockets of violence (Kenbib:18) as has been the case in the Rif area and elsewhere, that is in areas where contracts have either been withdrawn from one mining company in favor of another be it by the Tribal Chiefs themselves or by the occupying force. El Rogui, Raissuli and the Khattabis have all started their campaigns as a result of such advantages being taken away from them or because of their greed (Balfour 2002). These pockets of violence, in Kenbib's view, have contributed largely to the deterioration of the control of the *Makhzen* and the eventual imposition of the French Mandate in the Fez Treaty to protect the Sultan and pacify the country (Kenbib:18). In addition, Kenbib evokes a large number of cases where protected families had to dictate judicial procedures to the ruling Sultan with regard to certain national issues. This intrusive behavior, which has dented the sovereignty of the country, may have started since the 16th century, but it has duly been recorded through official correspondence only since the 19th century (Kenbib: 48 – 66). This survey of the protégés' influence shows that they have always been a force to contend with as they threatened the authority of the sovereign in several ways: (a) the sultans had no authority over them and could not bind them to any law; (b) they allowed external power to directly interfere in the running of the country; (c) they had extended power to manipulate public opinion either by calling for alignment with the central authority's policies or by disobeying them.

It is true that the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the Protégé System has frequently come under fire as the examples show with Ba Ahmed (in the Draa) who had to conduct a campaign against Tahar Ben Slimane (a protégé); or by the fatwas issued by imams against the protégé system as a whole (Kenbib:261-280). But common sense allows us to think that the non-existence of structures likely to reduce the influence of such protégés has favored their proliferation into a discursive power structure of its own likely to favor mobilization and/or demobilization through the periods preceding independence, and in cases even after that (the case of Ait Hadidou's uprising in 1957).

With this being said about the Protégés and the Tribal Chieftains, one should not ignore that what has been said about these can also be said about some Sheikhs of the Zaouyas who had also been on the pay role of these European powers. Yet, these had power on their own, which I am going to embark on in the folds of what follows.

V. The Zaouyas

The Zaouyas, to begin with, remained the unescapable route for any talk on mobilization as they had the means to galvanize crowds for any sort of protest imaginable that could cause problems to the Sultan and mostly to the French. Historians are all agreed that the role these played in mobilizing populations either against the central authority or in favor of it was very great (Harris 192; Landau 1955). Sociologically speaking, most of these sources speak of the greater influence that these Zaouyas had; this being one of the reasons that led French military analysts and political sociologists to study these structures and underline the role these Sheikhs could play in either allowing France to settle down or cause her problems she would need years to grapple with. In this connection, I may quote Edward Cat's (1898) exhortation of the French colonial administration to pay close attention to the role of these Zaouyas:

> Our administrators and our diplomates have a strategic interest in getting to know these congregations, their role and their tendencies, the influence they can have, and it would not be too much to safeguard our interest in North Africa to set up a very tight and constant surveillance on them (Cat 18)(My translation).[2]

It is also in this line of thought that the military report by both Octave Depont and Xavier Cappolani (1897) on "Les confréries religieuses musulmanes" has been drafted and well documented. In this report, the two colonial administrators, drew a very impressive picture of the power these marabouts had on the population and on the central governments in both Algeria and Morocco. "In Africa, and since the Berlin Conference (1884-5) France and England, which have been trying to penetrate each in its respective hinterland, are particularly interested in following the movement of Islamic propaganda conducted by these religious congregations" (Depont xiii).[3] The report also outlines the power of mobilization that these congregations have always had over the years even beyond the bounds of the Maghreb. "However, between the Islamic faith, very simple and perfectly in harmony

[2] See original text : « Nos administrateurs et nos diplomates ont donc un intérêt supérieur à connaitre les confréries religieuses, leur rôle et leurs tendances, les influences qu'elles peuvent subir, et ce ne sera pas trop pour sauvegarder notre avenir dans l'Afrique du Nord d'une surveillance très perspicace et de tous les instants ».

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with the existence of the black Africans as compared to our complex civilization, our success against these is very doubtful" (Depont xiii).[4]

One thing that needs to be said though, is that contrary to the methodology adopted by political and/or nationalist elites in the 40s, the Zaouyas had rather more insidious approaches. The hierarchical structure of the congregations with its culture of blind obedience to the Sheikh was predominant; one word would suffice to mobilize swathes of followers and bring fatal blows to the social and economic beings of the state (known mostly as the *Makhzen*) and the colonizers at the same time. For instance, the threat that the Shereef of Ouzzan Mouley E. Tayeb constituted against one of the most aggressive sultans Moulay Ismail, was not a hot air, but a tangible threat that all leaders, even the French, had to take seriously.5 Given this power in the hands of these Sheikhs, one would only conclude that this is a domain that has remained even today under-researched despite the French efforts. But it has to be agreed that it has remained a political taboo even among nationalists who have been very much under the sway of leftwing ideology particularly in those years of a growing Marxist zeitgeist.

In Lawrence's book, the political technology she has used does not account for such a phenomenon. When one wonders about the role these congregations could have played in either mobilizations or demobilizations strategies, one is stunned at the carefully orchestrated silence that she has opted for. This is obvious partly from the exclusive reliance on official documents which is no doubt more reliable since it is collected by French Intelligence services for political decision making by the Metropolis; but the fact that it does not account for the non-official aspects of this historicity makes it incomplete. On the other hand, the language in which it is couched, quite often polished to achieve *perlocutionary* objectives commensurate with the political stance that the occasion requires, tempers with the realities that it is supposed to be reporting. A more comprehensive analysis, in my view, would require that other "unconventional data" be collected and measured against the official documents to complete the picture. What is meant by 'unconventional data' is, for the sake of illustration, the 'jihadist culture' embedded in the competing speeches of the leaders and the Tribal chieftains, as well as other literary voices during and after the period under focus. Where else can a better and more varied data be collected except in mosques and Zaouyas, thought to be the holy shrines of the collective consciousness of the time? Unfortunately, these are the exact locations Lawrence has overlooked; enacting thus a myopia *à la Paul de Man* (de Man 1971). Any public space offering venues for the contestant and dissident voices would have been helpful; that is exactly what the voice of the Chiefs and the Sheikhs of the Zaouyas meant for the communities they represented. These elephants are the muted agencies that this paper speaks of. Not that these should have any precedence over the other documents that Lawrence has used, but their value resides in the fact that they offer a leverage likely to help gage the public mood in a more comprehensive way. On the other hand, the literature produced by elites, if any, popular arts like graffiti (if any), music, etc., could have offered other possibilities of gaging the mood.[6] Reliance on party and union leaders' speeches is politically and epistemologically sound, because in the end of the day, it is their decision that counts; but the Zaouya Sheikhs and the Tribal Chieftains would undermine that decision have they been given a say. Similarly, it would undermine the findings of Lawrence, as they could have shown other factors at play and possibly blur the picture she is trying to draw.

The main hypothesis at the heart of the book is that had the French responded positively to the population's grievances and demands to be treated as equals with the Colons, the French empire would have been differently drawn. In her view, the leaders of the parties (or contesting groups) leading the protests would have talked their followers into acquiescence.

[3] See : original text : « En Afrique, la France et l'Angleterre, qui, depuis la convention de Berlin, ont à pénétrer chacune dans son hinterland respectif, sont tout particulièrement intéressées à suivre le mouvement de propagande islamique dirigée par les confréries religieuses. » p.xiii

[4] See original text : « or, entre la foi musulmane, si simple, si parfaitement on rapport avec l'existence des noirs, et notre civilisation compliquée, le succès de la partie à engager n'est rien moins que douteux pour nous. »p.xiii

[5] See (Cat 1898). Edward Cat says that: "Most important of all is that those *Khouan* are numerous, and that the zawiya that is scattered over large area starting from Tangier to the desert is that of Taybiyas. It originally connects to Moulei-Edris, the founder of Fez; and also to another disciple brotherhood of the University of this city around the tenth century AD. In reality we cannot say if it existed before Moulei Abdallah, Sharif scientist who came to settle in Ouazzan in 1678 and founded the Great Mosque. Following some hagiographers, he received the instructions of the Prophet for the organization of the order; others attribute this honor to his son and successor, Moulei-Tayeb, who gave his name to the Brotherhood. Anyway, one and the other were on good terms with Moulei Ismael, who came in 1672 to establish the dynasty that ruled until now; he powerfully helped to seize power; and Mouylei-Tayeb passes for somebody who cooperated in the creation of the famous black Boukharis guard. The sultans registered as members of the order of the *Khouan*s, sent gifts to the chiefs, often took their advice from them, and consequently the congregation of Tayibiya became a national sect against the Quadriya, which received its orders from Baghdad. We generally attributed to Moulei-Tayeb the following words: "None of us will have the empire, but none will have it without us." In any case, it is a tradition that at the death of the Sultan, the pretender to the empire should be recognized by the Sharif of Ouzzan as the legitimate Sultan. At the death of the last sultan in 1894, this was the case." (p.10) (My Translation)

[6] Reference can be made to the novel by Paul Bowles, *The Spider House* where a youth contests the authority of Allal Al Fassi, the leading Nationalist figure during the campaign for Independence. (Bowles 1955)

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While this is only hypothetical as the writer acknowledges, it is important to underline the fact that political courses of nations –including the French Empire – are never drawn by single circumstantial factors, although this is not impossible. In the case of the colonies, and in particular Morocco, the actors contesting the political space were numerous – although not organized in the form of political parties, at least in the beginnings of occupation (1907) and even periods before up to the Protectorate (1912). Zaouya Sheikhs, along with other existing structures, had a say in the political course of their countries as they could do and undo central authorities, something we already mentioned above. These, contrary to the urban (middle class) elites would have certainly influenced the making of the political deals with the French as has been duly demonstrated above with Landau (1955) and Cat (1898).

The view I posit here is that the Zaouyas (like the Tribal Chiefs) are political structures – and powerful institutions for that matter – with a specific political culture that had a significant impact to either mobilize or demobilize their followers be it for political motives or nationalist ones or any other motives. If they did, the question would be to know how and why they had done it. The likelihood is that answers to these questions may undermine Lawrence's theory which privileges the urban agency. In fact, looking at the issue of mobilization from the point of view privileged by Lawrence amounts to treating the issue as a highly urbanized phenomenon while the realities on the ground contest that. One only needs to look at the urban/rural demographics during the protectorate to understand that more mobilization may have been possible in the rural areas than in the urban ones (see Kenbib 1996). It has to be agreed, however, that the mobilizing agency was mostly based in the urban centers. Yet without the rural factor, results would have been very minimal.

To substantiate such a fact, one needs to ponder over these Zaouya structures and the way they worked, to understand their capacity to respond to any political and/or military situation they were confronted with. Needless to go back into the periods of 1920s to find out stern and vigorous resistance to powerful armies such as the Spanish and the French (Balfour 2002; see also Dunn 1977). To mobilize warring communities behind one objective (to fight against regular armies), one needs ethnic credentials, and much oratorial skills. Selling such ideas as Abdelkrim did by rallying even hostile tribes to his father requires more political skills, diplomatic and certainly military ones. More research into the strategies he used would be helpful to historians and political sociologists in enhancing their understanding of social movements and mobilizing techniques at the time. This area, like so many others has remained a taboo, therefore under-researched even by national academics.

It is my assumption, as has been already advanced, that the "jihad culture" and the accumulation of scars from previous wars fought and lost may have been very determinant factors in the mobilization drives of Abdelkrim (Balfour 2002). What is not clear so far is why would Lawrence opt for a biased and restrictive definition of 'mobilization'? When it comes to the Zaouyas. These institutions, which could cultivate specific cultures with their mosques and *medersas*, have been underestimated and in my understanding, the most muted agents in the book. Anthropological literature available shows that these institutions can and have always cultivated even a 'counter-state nationalism' (see Cat 1898; Landau 1955; Dochertaigh 2010), that has been and would be very hard to defeat. Edward Cat's advice to buy their services comes out of his understanding, better than any official at the time, that these institutions had a culture that they (the colonial authorities) had better accommodate by buying their services against competing voices for national liberation. If they have been bought and silenced by France, it is not obvious where their followers' allegiance have gone.

In fact; some of these national competing moods of the era haven ot been duly probed except where they substantiated Lawrence's hypothesis. One does not understand why opposition leading to war against France in the South led by Ma Al Aynain in 1912 has simply been brushed aside. Historians say that he drove France out and has ruled Marrakech for up to 2 months. Similar "traditional oppositions" like this one were many in the early periods leading to confrontation with the colonizers be it in Morocco or in Algeria. That the writer does not ponder over these – except slightly – because they do not support her thesis is a disturbing fact that this paper interpellates. For one question remains hanging in the air; where would the sentiment of early revolt felt by these combatants go after their revolts have been crashed? Has it died out because they have all been exterminated? Or because the factors that brought it have disappeared? Could it not simply lie dormant waiting for the right moment to erupt again? In the case of the fight against France –speaking of the traditional resistance – historians underline the fact that the rural populations, mostly those devoutly muslim, saw the French as a continuation of the Christian crusades against the Muslims. Although this remains to be confirmed, the pockets of Muslim returnees from Andalusia in the North and other parts of the country had memories of their expulsion from Spain still fresh (Balfour 2002), a very good grist for the Zaouyas' enticing discursive campaign.

Morocco, and Lawrence is right to underline this, has been an Empire with a modern administration (not the Webberian style though) and for that matter, much aware of the notion of sovereignty: a basic pillar of any modern state by then. The Sultans have always

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shown stern resistance to invaders on the same ground. One remembers the battle of Alcazar (1578) and that of Isly (1844), but also resistance shown against the Turkish armies kept at bay in the eastern confines of the town of Oujda. One argument to waver against such a proposition would be to consider the Protectorate as a contract signed by a weakened king who looked for protection when he was unable to control his subjects anymore; in which case the issue of sovereignty would be null. That again would be an untenable argument – at least needing verification – because the issue of sovereignty is one that the local populations have enshrined to a stage that if has become part of their 'demos'; that is their collective consciousness. Several events in the history of the country have shown that the tribes have risen to defend their sovereignty where the king's authority has been defeated or inexistent. The two cases brought above are meant to substantiate that point.

a) Why Would the Global Context Matter?

Although Lawrence acknowledges the importance of the ideological context – another important agent in the development of mobilization movements towards independence – she decides to ignore it by focusing only on what she perceives as internal factors. Exogenous agents like the competing ideologies in France's internal politics have been overlooked; and so has the ideology that brought forth the French Mandate on Morocco a few years before the Mandate Policies have been put on the table for negotiation by the first ever international institution: The League of Nation (1919). President Wilson of the USA – described as an idealist by the majority of historians has been competing with a conservative political opinion of the Political elites and Congress – put his weight behind the project years before the end of the 1st World War and the eventual Versailles Treaty (Anghie 2004: 139). One would only assume that if such a system has been on the table during all these years and as it has been consecrated by the Versailles Treaty, it would be myopic to ignore the possible repercussions it may have on progressive thinkers even within the French government itself. The Westernized as well as Arab/Islamic intellectuals may have also saddled such views. How much influence each one of these actors may have had would be a very difficult line to draw. After Wilson's drive, one would only guess that it would be difficult – until otherwise proven – to think that it may not have gathered momentum among progressive thinkers; all nationalities and ethnicities confounded. Antony Anghie (2004:138 - 146) speaks of groups of lawyers putting all their efforts behind the project; a testimony backed up by the following:

The liberal humanist sentiment that animated Wilson's condemnation of colonialism was shared by a number of important international lawyers (Lauterpacht 39). Further jurists of the League period, including Wright and Lindley (Wright 6), pointed out that many of their distinguished nineteenth and early twentieth-century predecessors, such as Lawrence, Westlake and Oppenheim, had endorsed, if not authored, a system of international law that sanctioned conquest and exploitation (Wright 7). The interwar lawyers, then sought not only to challenge the formalist law of their predecessors, but also to reform the international law that had legitimized the dispossession of non-European peoples (Anghie:144).

Anghie extends the origins of the humanist drive – although with reservations – as far back as the 16th century by referring to the work of Francisco de Vitoria, who may have had earlier conceptions leading, in the years to come; to the development of political stands such as self-determination (Anghie :144 -146). With the drafting of the Charter of the League of Nations (basically article 22)[7], the notion of self-determination must have been in the minds of any colonial administration; the modalities and timing may have been different but the idea may have already germinated. Only speculation could determine the impact it may have had on the colonizers as well as on the colonized. To deny these any impact would amount to another violence enacted upon the colonized countries' history, Morocco for one.

[7]Article 22 of the Charter of the League of Nations says that: To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.
The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.
Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.
Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.
There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of

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VI. Concluding Remarks

What Lawerence should have said is that despite the importance of early resistance movements, which may have left scars in the native population; and despite the contamination that may have occurred from factors exogenous to the national cause(s), her focus would be only on the reasons why 'mobilizations' for political rights shifted to ones for Nationalist agendas. This would have given her enough leeway to deal with the specific period with no risk of digressing or falling short of accounting for all the agencies involved. The way she posits the hypothesis presupposes that she is familiar with the vulenrabilities of the nationalists' mobilization compaigns; a fact that is not supported by the details she has provided. Besides, what she is saying is that because institutional change does not happen, the other structures (institutions) would respond accordingly. This is a statement that priviledges structures over culture as it denies the political cultural context, in general, and of the countries targeted any impact whatsoever. The ethnic communities, the social structures and the dynamics inherent to each of them are denied the role as they undergo the tyranny of the structure they are being embedded in.

What could have been more supportive and convincing would have been a probe of the social, cultural and political dynamics of the countries targeted during the period under scrutiny. Short of that, we are confronted with a disturbing mutism; one that leads to questionning the legitimacy of the hypothesis posited by the author.

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civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

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Maritime Anthropology and the Study of Fishing Settlements in Archaeology: A Perspective from the Peruvian North Coast

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Introduction- Maritime anthropology is a sub-field devoted to the study of coastal cultures from an anthropological perspective that was popular in the mid-1970s (Casteel and Quimby 1975; Smith 1977a; Spoehr 1980; Acheson 1981). In other areas of the world, such as the American Northwest, Southwest California, the Pacific Islands, North Atlantic regions and the circumpolar zone, this field has identified the importance of marine resources and their role in the development of social complexity in the past (Casteel and Quimby 1975; Fitzhugh 1975; Dumond 1998; Kirch 1995; Arnold 1993; Arnold et al. 2004; Ames and Maschner 1999). Maritime fishing communities can be defined, from a functional perspective, as human groups who have an emphasis on the exploitation of maritime environments. They may not be exclusively dependent on the maritime environment. As a consequence, they have developed and adapted a unique technology, which is highly variable and open to rapid changes in order to optimize its function and costs (Yesner et al. 1980). From a social perspective, fishing settlements can be defined as groups who identify themselves as maritime people but who perform a highly variable and different set of activities according to the available resources. Thus, they could be part-time farmers, part-time traders or part-time craft specialists.

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MARITIMEANTHROPOLOGYANDTHESTUDYOFFISHINGSETTLEMENTSINARCHAEOLOGYAPERSPECTIVEFROMTHEPERUVIANNORTHCOAST

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Maritime Anthropology and the Study of Fishing Settlements in Archaeology: A Perspective from the Peruvian North Coast

Gabriel Prieto

I. Introduction

Maritime anthropology is a sub-field devoted to the study of coastal cultures from an anthropological perspective that was popular in the mid-1970s (Casteel and Quimby 1975; Smith 1977a; Spoehr 1980; Acheson 1981). In other areas of the world, such as the American Northwest, Southwest California, the Pacific Islands, North Atlantic regions and the circumpolar zone, this field has identified the importance of marine resources and their role in the development of social complexity in the past (Casteel and Quimby 1975; Fitzhugh 1975; Dumond 1998; Kirch 1995; Arnold 1993; Arnold et al. 2004; Ames and Maschner 1999). Maritime fishing communities can be defined, from a functional perspective, as human groups who have an emphasis on the exploitation of maritime environments. They may not be exclusively dependent on the maritime environment. As a consequence, they have developed and adapted a unique technology, which is highly variable and open to rapid changes in order to optimize its function and costs (Yesner et al. 1980). From a social perspective, fishing settlements can be defined as groups who identify themselves as maritime people but who perform a highly variable and different set of activities according to the available resources. Thus, they could be part-time farmers, part-time traders or part-time craft specialists.

From a gendered perspective, despite the prevalent male connotation (fisher*men*), it is evident that families work together in order to maximize maritime production for subsistence, for surplus to be bartered, sold or used as gifts in reciprocal exchanges, and to participate in communal activities. From an outsider's point of view, male fishermen are the emblem of these groups. On the other hand, from an emic perspective, fishing community members of both sexes are seen as a dual component in which the producer of fish is rarely present in a social-interaction context and his wife is the representative of the household and subsequently of the entire community (Acheson 1981). It is evident that in traditional fishing settlements there is a prevalence of adult male's participation on the seafaring and fishing activities (Lepowsky 1995), while adult women are more engaged in molluscs, algae and crustacean gathering and marine product marketing. At the same time, children as well as young males and females prior to marriage, share and help out their parents in many complementary tasks such as household activities (cooking, cleaning, child-care, etc.).

In traditional fishing settlements, men, women or children have to develop detailed knowledge of the zone in which they live, especially the behaviour of fish, birds, crustaceans, molluscs and mammals they are seeking–their breeding and spawning cycles, feeding habitats and more importantly migration patterns and their relation with seasonal changes (Acheson 1981: 291). Under this perspective, fishermen have to accumulate as much knowledge as a farmer, with the only difference that farmers move more slowly, whereas for fishermen, changes are so fast and unpredictable that if they make one mistake, then the food or the activities for the day are gone. Thus, I would argue that fishing settlements or maritime/fishing communities have to be constantly aware of changes in the environment in order to achieve their agendas. It has been argued that fishing communities cannot control the weather and location of fish (Acheson 1981: 277), but almost all ethnographic research done in these settlements confirmed the skill of its members to identify when fish is available and even what kind of species are going to be caught (Keegan 1986). I propose that the necessity of being aware of the environment resulted in a particular sensibility of these people who observe natural signs in order to predict what is going to be caught in the next hours or days.

II. Defining Fishing Settlements in Archaeological Studies

How can we define a fishing settlement? For Andersen and Wadel (1972), cited in Smith (1977b: 12-13) there is a list of features that fishing settlements have across cultures. First they are usually small coastal settlements; there are no roadways linking the settlements, and the surrounding land is commonly unarable or, at best, suitable only for small gardens and production of feed for a few grazing stock. According to these authors, maritime fishing settlements have poor communication links with the outside; populations are small, culturally diverse yet relatively simple with regard to specialization and complexity (Smith 1977b: 12). The

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last statement is not necessarily true, due to the fact that almost all the cases that I have reviewed showed a high degree of interaction between fishing settlements and the rest of their immediate region. Moreover, in those places in which watercraft is used, contact occurs by sea (Feinberg 1995).

Different perspectives that emphasize the location of the settlements indicate that maritime coastal settlements are usually close to a high and diverse resource biomass. At the same time, a fishing settlement seeks an area with environmental stability and is close enough to spots where migratory species can be intensively exploited (Yesner et al. 1980).

In this light, it has been proposed that settlements are commonly scattered along the coastline to better control the catchment area. Thus, geographically, maritime fishing settlements tends to favor the following areas: protected and/or productive bays; areas with streams or lakes serving as additional habitat for waterfowl and fish as well as a source of fresh water, areas close to upwelling zones; strand flat zones where shellfish and other invertebrates are available; and good areas for beaching vessels (Yesner et al. 1980: 728-730). Linear settlements are popular along the Andean coast. In other regions, for example South Korean and Malaysia, fishing communities are nucleated instead of having a linear pattern (Firth 1966; Brandt 1971). That is also the case of the Western Salomon Islands where houses are aligned around the edge of a promontory looking in towards the village (Flores 2009: 19).

III. Defining Fishermen

There is a general tendency to consider fishermen as hunters (Acheson 1981). This idea departs from the simple definition of hunters as the people who pursue living animals for food or trade. For Andersen and Wadel fishermen are hunters, but they hunt a prey "which does not occupy the same environment as the hunter" (Andersen and Wadel 1972: 154). From an anthropological perspective, fishing is traditionally best considered as a kind of hunting activity (Leap 1977: 252). For Leap, the connections implicit in the hunting reference further strengthens the ecologically derived claim that fishing and hunting be viewed in complementary relationship (Leap 1977: 256). In Mesoamerica, specifically in the Yucatan peninsula, fishermen are also described as hunters (Delfin Quezada 1996: 14). In a study of the ecology and fishing practices of Lucayan Arawak of the Bahama Archipelago, it was proposed that fishing is a form of predator-prey interaction with capture resulting from the articulation of behaviours (Keegan 1986: 817). However, this group also relied on extensive manioc and maize cultivation (ibid.). In the cases previously cited, the "hunting" of fishermen was integrated as part of a number of subsistence activities that more or less complement and supplied the hunting of fish and other species. According to Firth, who studied in detail the case of Malay fishing community, fishermen can be described as primary producers (Firth 1966). A good case of fishermen developing not only sea activities but other subsistence strategies are the groups living on the Swedish coasts along the North Atlantic and the Baltic seas. Lofgren (1979: 86) subdivided them in different categories, including farmer-fishermen. Lofgren adds that fishing alone was not sufficient to secure a livelihood. To secure a more stable subsistence, most of these new peasant fishermen started to clear small patches of land in the heather. These agricultural activities were often supplemented by several sheep or perhaps a cow that grazed in the heather or on the marshy fields close to the water (Lofgren 1979: 89).

In Catalan (Spain) fishing settlements many fishermen, with the general exception of the trawler men (who are a relatively modern activity in the area), own smallholdings (small cultivated areas), olive groves, vineyards, vegetable gardens and divide their time between working the land and fishing. In fact, Catalan fishermen can be seen as a variant of Catalan peasantry (Pi-Sunyer 1977: 42-3). In the Swedish case at least four different types can be identified, all of which are adapted well to social reality and historical events. However, that does not mean that this has to have happened in other places. Lofgren's description is interesting, because it brings up a number of categories that can be applied in each case. The variability of fishermen's status is ultimately the outcome of historical constraints, which shows that these communities were participating in and were affected by political and economic factors in their surrounding areas.

Kim Geheb, who studied the subsistence activities of people living around Lake Victoria in Africa, concluded that fishing and farming represent but two components of a survival strategy designed to ensure nutritional security in Lou communities (Geheb and Binns 1997: 91). Although this is a non-maritime case, it is useful because it shows how in other environments people adapt their activities in order to maximize their production and food provisioning. In fact, when environmental conditions are not optimal, herding, farming and fishing are no longer individually capable of providing the necessary subsistence and income. Instead, all three elements have to be utilized simultaneously in order to make up for declining productivity (Geheb and Binns 1997: 93).

In the most pure essence fishermen are primary producers engaged in a number of alternative productive activities. Fishing community members consider themselves fishermen because they concentrate their efforts in exploiting maritime resources. Psychologically it is a way to express their pride for their work in an environment that is not natural for humans. The maritime activities give them a source

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of identity and distinguish these groups as a separate social entity. However, this is a false perspective because in most cases fishermen are part of a larger social system in which other groups are scattered around the landscape exploiting other resources but complementing each other with their "exotic" products. This could be the case of the Moche valley in the North Coast of Peru, where Gillin recorded in the 1940s that the inland farming communities of Simbal, Laredo and Moche considered the people of the fishing settlement of Huanchaco located on the coastline as their "brothers" and part of a "Moche Community" (Gillin 1947).

IV. Household in Fishing Settlements

The classic example of a fishing settlement household organization is the one provided by Thomas Fraser (1966) for the case of the fishermen of South Thailand. Here, the nuclear family is the basic social and economic unit in the coastal Malay villages and is ruled by a bilateral kinship system (ibid.). According to Fraser, the husband is the main provider, engaging in the major occupations of fishing, rice cultivation and plantation management. He also represents the family in the religious and political activities of the community. The wife has a secondary role in religious ceremonies and is the manager of the household economy as well as the distribution and marketing of fish. Usually, when a young couple marries, they form a subordinate unit in the household of one of their parents (Fraser 1966: 30). Although the nuclear family is the basic unit of the society, the most important unit is often the village or *kampong* (ibid.: 32). Thus, everybody is at some point related by ritual or blood kinship. That is what configures ethnicity among these groups. The only precise kinship distinctions tend to occur within the nuclear family unit in order to separate roles and to establish a status hierarchy. Events such as birth, naming, puberty, pilgrimage, marriage and death are celebrated as part of the religious calendar, and they are important in bringing together and formally involving a larger group of kinsmen than ordinary functions. In this light, the concept of household is closely related to the idea of community in which, through kinship relations or shared economic activities, its members have a sense of common identity (Munch 1977: 140). One characteristic of this system is that since kinship relations are recognized bilaterally, they do not result in the formation of clearly defined and mutually exclusive groups like patronymic "clans" (Munch 1977: 142). The latter statement is not necessarily true for all fishing communities but is more or less a general tendency among these groups.

V. Gender and Fishing Settlements

As I mentioned above, the term "fishermen" tends to separate or to obviate the female component of these communities. However, in the last 20 years with the emergence of issues related to gender in anthropology and archaeology (Preucel and Hodder 2008: 415, 420-422; Trigger 2006: 458), more attention has been paid to the role of women in fishing communities. Modern western assumptions about the division of labor are typified by phrases such as "Women, the shell gatherers" and "Men, the fishermen." Women's role in fishing communities was therefore reduced to just the collection of shells during low tides (Classen 1991; Moss 1993: 632; Meehan 1982). Thus, in archaeological interpretation is not common to see proposals emphasizing the role women played in fishing community activities (however see Chapman 1987: 269, Table I). Based on a survey of modern Peruvian fishing communities, I realized that women played a crucial role in the economy and in the maintenance of the household (Prieto 2013).

This is also the case on other parts of the world. Based on the importance of women in shark fishing in Fiji, Acheson pointed out that women may often be more knowledgeable about particular technical or ecological aspects of a project than men in the community (Acheson 1981: 283). However, in general, women's fishing is more restricted in exploitable areas, and usually they do not use elaborate technology. The important point here is that women *do* fish, which is something has never been taken into account in analyzing archaeological cases. In fact, in American Samoa, women contribute 32% of the total fishing yield of the community in a single year; the quantity is similar to Western Samoa. A similar situation has been proposed for the coast of Huatulco in Oaxaca (Mexico) where women had a prominent role in marine resource exploitation and processing (Pankonien 2008: 108). Malinowski observed in the Trobriands that women not also played a major role in the economy of the villages but they also had a very high social position, giving them certain privileges in gardening work, sorcery and prominent roles during events of ceremonial food division (Malinowski 1932: 54).

In other words, women's activities and role in the fishing communities are important as offshore fishing done by men. Offshore fishing presents a number of risks and problems. During periods of stormy weather when men are unable to go out fishing, the products gathered and fished by women support the household. Also, women's fishing is important where men's fishing is seasonal due to competing subsistence commitments. In New Ireland, during the months of September and October when men are completely committed to gardening, women´s fishing provides a valuable source of protein until the men can return to their fishing activities (Acheson 1981: 277). On the other hand, in the Pacific Islands the type of fishing in which almost all women in the region participate actively is reef

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gleaning (walking with a stick and collecting whatever is found) (Chapman 1987: 268).

Another case is Tanzania where women are usually restricted to intertidal areas for a limited time of a few hours per day (Jiddawi and Ohman 2002: 521) but they are crucial for trading and marketing the household surplus. That is also the case of Malay fisher wives or mothers of the crew who unload and distribute the fish (Fraser 1966: 11). Due to marketing activity, Fraser considered that women have a more cosmopolitan daily outlook and thus are more informed about the political and economic situation of the region (Fraser 1966: 38). This information flows in a context of the marketplace, which was "a festive occasion on which women from many different villages could congregate once a week to gossip and compare ideas on a variety of village activities" (Fraser 1966: 39). In Newfoundland, women are also in charge of marketing fish (Faris 1977: 239). In Ghana, females have always controlled the sale and processing of fish after the fishermen landed the catch on the beach (Christensen 1977: 71-2). In this part of the world, every fishing town or village had a woman known as a *konkohen* (selling or retailing chief or head) who was elected by the women involved in buying, smoking and selling fish (Christensen 1977: 78). A fisherman usually would turn his catch over to his wife or to a sister or some other female in his family. The control over the economy by women in Ghana's fishery was so great in the late 1970s that market women were the major source of capital for financing equipment to the local fishermen.

In the Pacific Islands some fishing communities believe that women hold a wealth of information about marine ecology and biota and have intimate knowledge of the natural order as well as changes and fluctuations in the system. In fact, women keep much of the traditional ecological knowledge (Mehan 1982). In Europe, in the Scottish East Coast, fishermen prefer to have their wives prepare their bait and mend the gear because they have more skill (Baks and Postel-Coster 1977: 30).

A similar situation is present among the traditional maritime communities of the North Coast of Peru. My own ethnographic data confirms that the women of the communities (wives, daughters, sisters) are in charge of the economy of the household (Prieto 2009, 2013). Usually the women are the ones who exchange or sell the marine products in the market place or to the middlemen who come to the beach to buy fish and other products. In Huanchaco a modern traditional fishing settlement of the North Coast of Peru, the wives of the fishermen go to the marketplace in Trujillo (located five miles southeast of Huanchaco) every day to sell their husband's fish. They are also in charge of the economy of the household. An old woman in Huanchaco once told me, in a remarkably telling comment, that the fisherman is just a mediator, who passes the fish from one female hand into another female hand. In the local belief system of Huanchaco, the sea is a woman and therefore her fish is caught by the fishermen but then returned to another female, in this case his wife to be cooked or sold to other woman who will prepare it for food (Prieto 2011). Ethnographic accounts from modern fishing villages north of Huanchaco confirms that women were in charge of the distribution and other economic transactions concerning the fish and other marine products obtained by the household (Schaedel 1989; Sabella 1974).

VI. Sea Tenure

In its most elemental explanation, sea tenure must be understood as well-defined rules of access to specific spots in the ocean. In this light, sea tenure is closely related with the responsibility to learn the cycles and seasons of the sea's area in order to maximize its exploitation, control and accessibility that a given individual, kin group or community has on a shoreline or offshore. The former refers to the control of the resources on the beach and the shallow submarine sub-surface. The latter is considering a specific portion of sea where a single person or a given group can exploit for its own benefit.

It has been argued that individuals of fishing settlements do not have access to private property or at least control over a demarcated territory to fish. Usually private property in fishing communities is reduced to boats and fishing equipment (Nasson 1975: 20). This last statement is not necessarily true and sometimes fishing areas are owned by individuals as is the case among the Salish and in the Baltic Sea. In parts of Oceania fishing rights are owned by groups although access to them is controlled by leaders. However, in most parts of the world fishing areas are owned communally (Acheson 1981). For Durrenberger and Palsson (1987: 508-9) the sea is not a common resource. Since rules of access are parts of larger systems of social relations, and not just aspects of catching fish from boats, these authors argued that the discussion of access to resources should be in terms of the place of such rules in the larger system. Thus, for the case of private property in the sea, no conceptual distinction exists between land holdings or land tenure and sea holdings or sea tenure (ibid.).In this section I will focus on the cases where maritime people developed mechanisms to control territories and its production for its own benefit.

The better case is perhaps the lobster fisheries of Maine. James Acheson is a pioneer on the study of sea tenure from an anthropological perspective. In Maine, local fishing territories are the rule and usually this pattern is encapsulated in a political system or in other words is a system within a system (Acheson 2003: 24). Despite the fact that now "fishing territories" among

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lobstermen are regulated by state rules, it used to be a sort of "informal" control of territory only valid by the people directly linked to it. Due to the fact that it walls cannot be built upon the sea, the way to mark the territory is along the shore, and the boundaries are marked by such small features as coves, trees, houses, rock formations or islands. Offshore, the boundaries are recognized by more visible landmarks or underwater features (Acheson 2003: 25). However, the most effective way to delimit a territory is through the use of a piece of ocean where a number of lobster traps will be sunken in order to catch this valuable resource (Acheson 1979, 1981). What it is more interesting is that the mechanism to defend the boundaries is basically by destroying the intruding lobster-traps. Moreover, by removing traps not only removes the symbol of someone else's incursion into your territory; it also limits the intruder's ability to reduce the defender's catch, which is the prime goal of this action (Acheson 2003: 28). Acheson identified two types of defended areas which differ in the amount of boundary permeability permitted and the ease of entry into harbour gangs. Thus, the perimeter-defended areas are territories defined in terms of the peripheral boundaries. In these areas the sense of ownership remains strong out to the perimeter of the territories. On the other hand, nucleated areas have far larger territories and the gangs controlling them have more fishermen than those in perimeter-defended areas. Thus, the territorial system of Maine's lobster industry is a threat system used to regulate access to ocean territory. It is an informal system of rules, which are unenforceable by third parties such as the state. Two sets of rules should be distinguished: boundaries rules defining where different groups of fishermen have rights regardless of how temporary and rules of the game defining how these territorial rights are to be defended or new territories generated. The territorial system in Maine at present is the result of a long historical process in which some territories have remained intact, while other have been consolidated into larger nucleated territories. The way this system evolved is the result of changes in the factors affecting the costs, and benefits of territorial defense and incursion (Acheson 2003: 40). In the past, ownership of fishing areas was tied to legal ownership of land. Almost certainly these small areas were adjacent to the fisherman's own property and legal ownership over the land was extended to include nearby waters; "... these areas were owned by one man or small groups of kinsmen" (ibid.).

The control of sea spots by Maine's lobstermen is a case that could be considered modern because it was developed by European migrants in the north east coast of the United States (Acheson 1981). However, it departs from a generalized contradiction known in anthropology as the *tragedy of the commons*(Hardin 1968). For McCay and Acheson (1987: 1) the tragedy is a result of irreconcilable contradictions between individual and system interests. Then the concept of private property arises and individual control over land, sea and its resources began. However, it is difficult to generalize at this point because every case will depend on the political and economic circumstances. In the case of the Maine's lobsteries seems that the case was an increasing specialization of the fishermen in lobster fisheries due to an emergent demand of lobster in America's restaurants and homes.

In more traditional societies like the Eskimos/Inuit the Tinglit and the Yahgan, notions of the source control ranged from nuclear-family "ownership" of fish camps or shellfish beds and the motivations for territoriality is more closely related to issues of social prestige, ideological concerns, etc. (Yesner et al. 1980: 732). In Japan each fishing community enjoyed exclusive rights to well-bounded and demarcated fishing grounds; these rights were owned by the feudal rulers of Tokugawa and given to specific occupational communities in return for specific taxes. In Newfoundland fishermen group according to types of gear try to keep those with other kinds of gear away from certain areas and reserve them for themselves. Here there seems to be no concept of individual territories to defend or to be owned, only places reserved by regulations of various kinds of gears. There are local variations in restriction to access (species fished, factors of community connectedness ashore, gear used, or cultural differences). Durrenberger and Palsson suggest the explanation might best be developed in terms of the particular articulation of relationships between the localities on the one hand, and markets, firms, and the state on the other (Durrenberger and Palsson 1987: 512). In the South Pacific Islands, although Crocombe is referring to the tenure of land, he proposed that human beings do not own the land itself, what they own is rights to land. Thus, the concept of tenure (sea or land) is a notion of exclusion (Crocombe 1972: 220).

In my survey among the fishermen of Huanchaco on the north coast of Peru, I found that fishermen have developed a concept of sea tenure to exploit fish resources. Each head of the traditional lineages owns a spot on the sea. Usually these spots are specific areas where large shoals of fish concentrate to feed or to spawn. According to the "owners" of these fishing spots they have exclusive rights to fish in these places. The species that are within the waters and in the marine ground of that particular area belong subsequently to the owner of the spot. What is more interesting is that each head of the traditional families owns the adjacent beach of the given sea spot. The boundaries of each spot is physically demarcated by a roofed area named *cala* which is a structure made with reed mats and wooden posts. In each *cala* the fishermen occasionally left their reed boats and their

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fishing gear, especially fish nets. Later, fish nets are used to catch fish from the beach and not offshore. When the fishermen are fishing on their respective spots in the sea, they can recognize them by a number of floats marked with their initials. Also they can orient themselves in using the landmarks that can be seen from the sea (a mountain, a ravine, a modern building, the tower of the church, etc.). This system of sea tenure seems to be very old and more research has to be done in order to fully understand this mechanisms.

VII. The Study of Traditional Fishing Settlements in Peru

The Spanish chroniclers of the 16th and 17th centuries as well as the travellers of the 19th century wrote some descriptions on the coastal fishing villages and their customs, but nothing substantial regarding kinship, economy or religious practices. Remarkably, Maria Rostworowski has written extensive and well digested data of the 16th – 17th century decribing fishing communities of the Peruvian North Coast based on judicial cases and legal documents written by the officials of the Spanish crown in Peru (Rostworowski 1970, 1980, 1981, 1997, 2004).

The data gathered from ethnohistorical sources by Rostworowski can be summarized as the following: 1) the specialization of fishermen and coastal residents in general, who developed a system of exchange based on what they produced, 2) patterns of endogamy in fishermen populations, 3) religious beliefs associated with the cult of birds and 4) technology for the extraction and processing of marine resources. The concept of specialization of the fishermen is one of the most significant contributions of Rostworowski in this field. Based on testimony from many fishermen from the 16th to 18th centuries she proposed that because they had no land, they were therefore not subject to work in farming activities or annual operations of cleaning hydraulic channels. Many of the testimonies offered by Rostworowski emphasize that coastal inhabitants were dedicated only to fishing and then selling or exchanging their marine products. Some years later, Susan Ramirez analyzing documentary sources of the Moche and Chicama valleys found direct references to the fishermen who had no land but only had the sea to supply food and owned herds of llamas to transport their products for exchange with other populations (Ramirez 1995).

Ethnographically, the earliest known work ever written and published on a fishing community of the Peruvian coast is a short description of the fishing village of Huanchaco. This description was part of a large monograph devoted to the study of the town of Moche, a coastal farming community (Gillin 1947). The author included the inhabitants of the village of Huanchaco as part of what he called the "Moche Identity." Gillin conceptualized this phrase as the shared traditions, race and technologies of the towns/villages scattered in the Moche valley, North Coast of Peru. In his notes about Huanchaco, Gillin restricted his observations and descriptions to the study of fishing gear, the use of the traditional watercraft or reed boats as well as its construction. Also, he spent some paragraphs in describing the distribution system of the fish (Gillin 1947: 30-37).

The latter is perhaps the most important contribution made by Gillin to the field. He described that a crew of sailing boats was usually composed of four members, one of whom is usually the owner of the boat. They were always relatives and traditionally the youngest is the commander or *Patrón* (Gillin 1945: 32). The division of the catch was as follows, nets belong to individuals not to the boat, and four nets (one for each member) were considered as a proper minimum. The catch from the net is divided into two parts: one part belongs to the owner of the net and the remaining half was divided share and share among the members of the crew and the boat. That means if there were four members, the second half of the catch was divided into five parts. Also, as each net is drawn up, the fish from it are marked with a knife cut which identifies them as having come from that net. When the boat returns to the shore, the fish were unloaded from the boat and once at the beach the fish were first sorted into separate piles belonging to their respective nets. Each pile is then sorted into separate piles by species of fish. Then they proceed to take their parts of each half of the other nets (ibid.).

There is no direct evidence that Prehispanic Peruvian fishermen used large boats to fish. Ancient iconography reproduced on plastic supports (ceramic, metal, wood, textiles) as well as on mural decoration show large reed boats known today as *patachos* by the fishermen from Huanchaco[1]. However, the context in which *patachos* are represented is always related with ritual activities (Donnan 1976). Even today, *patachos* are only used for ceremonial purposes in the context of a modern Catholic celebration. Every june 29th, the official day of Saint Peter the Apostle, local fishermen put the 19th century wooden image of Saint Peter on a large *patacho* (usually 15-20 meters long) and with the companion of a select group that includes the mayor of the town, the local priest and the president of the fishermen association, take a *patacho* ride around the Huanchaco bay. The main goal is to make offerings for the dead fishermen who died in the ocean and to bless the sea for a good year (Prieto and Rodrich 2015). Despite the fact that this is a modern celebration

[1] Hammel and Haase (1962) recorded the word *patache* in the fishing village of Asia (south coast of Perú) to distinguish a small version of the reed boat for carrying the hauling ropes (Hammel and Haase 1962: 220).

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(started in 1995) and that there is no connection between modern celebrations and the rituals depicted in Prehispanic art, it is interesting that modern fishermen decided to use the *patacho* to perform a religious ceremony. It is true that there are no wooden boats in Huanchaco today that can be used instead of *patachos* due to the shallow submarine surface and that touristic purposes could be involved behind the creation of the June 29th celebration. However, as far as I know, huanchaqueros never used *patachos* to fish or to make cargo service during the period in which Huanchaco was a gateway to export sugar. If *patachos* were used for fishing in the past, it is something that will have to be determined by archaeological research. I will argue that if *patachos* were used for fishing and for ritual purposes in the past, then it could be possible that the division system recorded by Gillin was developed in Prehispanic times. Otherwise, that division system is an introduction made by the Europeans since the 16th century[2], when they were involved in fishing activities on the coast of Peru (Castañeda 2004).

At the end of the 19th century and during the first two decades of the 20th century, Heinrich Brüning did an extensive study of fishing communities between the Moche and Lambayeque valleys, but he never presented his data systematically. Also, he took thousands of photographs portraying fishing communities daily life, their fishing gear, their religious parties, etc. Based on this archive and on notes written by Brüning, Richard Schaedel published a book in which he synthesized and organized Brüning's data. Some pages were devoted to the manufacturing technology of traditional watercraft, fishing gear and the production of reed mats. Perhaps one of the most important contributions made by Brüning was that he saw in the 1920s that in fishing villages like Santa Rosa, San José and Puerto Eten (Lambayeque region) local fishermen had begun to use wooden sailing boats (Schaedel 1989: 110-111). This observation is important because it can give us a departing point to evaluate the persistence of traditional watercraft technology. In fact, in a recent visit I did along the Peruvian north coast, I saw that at least in Santa Rosa and Puerto Eten fishermen are still using (although no more than a dozen of them) reed boats whereas in San José the last fisherman, who used one of this vessels, died five years ago according to a local informant. The other important contribution made by Brüning is the description of a mixed pattern for fish marketing. According to the synthesis made by Schaedel, Brüning observed that in Santa Rosa women were prohibited by taboo to walk into the beach when the fishermen arrived with their catch. Recently, men sold their maritime products at the beach in Santa Rosa. On the other hand, in Puerto Eten women were in charge of cleaning the fish at the beach and then they had to sell their catch at the markets (ibid.). Despite the fact that a deep study on the impact of European influence in the patterns of fish marketing and distribution on the Peruvian Coast is necessary, it is interesting that at the beginning of the 20th century there were two complete different models of fish distribution.

Between 1957 and 1958 E. A. Hammel and Ynez D. Haase covered the Peruvian coast from Ica to the Equadorean border, visiting over 37 fishing villages in 10 days (Hammel and Haase 1962: 211). These researchers realized the lack of studies in these fishing communities and the importance to gather ethnographic information in order to understand their role in the local economy as well as their importance on the emergence of social complexity in this part of the world. According to these authors, in the late fifties, most of the fishing villages had a population between 200 to 500 people and generally the houses were made of wattle and daub or just cane (Hammel and Haase 1962: 212). This is not longer the case and in a recent visit of the same places, I found that fishing communities have seen an 80% increase in its population since the 1950s. This situation is not exclusive for the Andean coast; Indonesian coastal villages have also witnessed a rapid increase of population since the mid-20th century (Kramer 2002: 367).

Hammel and Haase (1962) devoted most of their work to the study of fishing gear, concluding that most of the net names as well as the biological species have Spanish denominations, therefore the influence of Iberian culture on these arenas had a great impact (Hammel and Haase 1962: 214). However, recent evidence recovered from archaeological sites, demonstrated that most of the current fishing gear used by traditional fishermen has an early Prehispanic origin (Marcus 1987). I will argue that what were adopted by coastal communities are the names of the European nets and angling devices but the technology knowledge to use it is indigenous. Available data from Brüning (Schaedel 1989) Rodriguez Suy-Suy (1997), Anhuamán (2008) and myself (Prieto 2015), demonstrate that there is a large list of traditional fishing gear as well as marine species (fish, birds, algae and molluscs) that conserve their names from extinct native languages.

Perhaps the most valuable description of Hammel and Haase was about fishing vessels used by these communities. They listed all the watercraft used during the late 1950s along Peruvian coast. They saw the presence of reed boats where today they are out of use and in fact made a detailed list of the vessels used by each town (Hammel and Haasel 1962: 226-7). It is beyond this manuscript to give more detail about watercraft technology of South America and detailed research on this issue was first published by Samuel

[2] I did not have the chance yet to study and review the sharing practices of the traditional Spanish fishermen in the Mediterranean Sea. This comparison will be crucial in order to define the precedence of Gillin catch division system. good point

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Lothrop in 1932, then by Philip A. Means (1942) and later by Clinton Edwards (1965). However, due to cultural alienation, it is impossible to have a better understanding of the symbolic meaning and other issues related to these vessels like in the case of Oceania where due to the preservation of traditional fishing practices and ideology, communities still conserve some traditions and the symbolic meaning of their watercraft (Feinberg 1995).

Another important contribution of Hammel and Haase is that fraternal organizations seem to be relatively unimportant in social organization although they supported a local saint. This is important because traditional Iberian fishermen tend to organize their communities under a fraternal organization system. Thus, it could be possible that Peruvian fishermen kept their Prehispanic traditional system of social organization until the mid 20th century. In fact, these authors emphasized that the prevalent kinship system among these communities is *compadrazgo*or ritual kinship, and usually people of neighbouring fishing villages are socially tied together (Hammel and Haase 1962). This situation is similar to the traditional patterns of social organization in the highlands (Mayer 1977). Another interesting issue pointed out by these authors is that "the combination of farming and fishing reflects an aboriginal dual economy (Hammel and Haase 1962). The idea of fishing-farming activities performed by fishermen is something that I also saw in my survey among the north coast villages, especially in the towns of Huamán, Las Delicias (or Playa deMoche), Huanchaco (Moche valley) and Magdalena de Cao (Chicama valley).

The fishing-farming pattern seems to be worldwide when the environmental conditions allow it. Additional information that might be relevant for our purposes here, is that in the northern north coast of Peru (Piura and Lambayeque) the authors saw that coastal fishing communities and beaches are seasonally visited by highland people who came down to fish and gather molluscs. This information corresponds to the pattern observed by Shozo Masuda in the southern south coast of Peru in the eighties. His research focused on the exploitation of algae in the littoral coast of Arequipa (South of Peru) (Masuda 1981, 1986). One of the most interesting aspects is the one algae known locally as "Cochayuyo" (*Porphyra columbina*) which is collected until the present not for coastal populations but for herders (and some peasants) who come with their herds of animals (llamas, goats, sheep) to take advantage of the seasonal grazing on the hills near the coast. Some families set themselves up in specific areas of the beach to remove the algae, which are then dried and compacted into rectangular plates (previously they used some form of bread mold), for transport and trade. This process occurs from July to November. What is interesting is that the "Cochayuyo" is a highly valued product in the mountains, so these groups of farmers and herders probably did not use it for their own consumption, but used it in exchange for other products during the journey back to their towns. Thus, "Cochayuyo" is a medium of exchange, a valued resource that enables them to obtain salt, vegetables, corn, peppers, fruit, fish, etc. (Masuda 1981). The seasonal exploitation of the "Cochayuyo" is also associated with the exploitation of shrimp, mussels and figs (Masuda 1986). From these products, only the figs are a late European introduction, so it is very likely that the mechanism of coming down from the highlands and exploiting coastal resources operated during Prehispanic times in the south region of Peru (Burger 1992).

There is no detail about the fishing and gathering activities done by highland people in the region of Sechura and Lambayeque and it is something that merits a more detailed study in the near future in order to compare it with the pattern described by Masuda for the south coast. As in the previous cases described, Hammel and Haase, despite the valuable information provided about some crucial points, they did not accomplish a substantial anthropological study of coastal communities.

James Sabella offers perhaps one of the most complete studies about a fishing community of the Central Andean coastline. He based his investigations in the fishing village of San Pablo, located in the Piura region (north coast of Peru). The main goal of Sabella's thesis was to investigate the interrelationship between technology and the social and economic organization of artisanal fishermen in caleta San Pablo. In the process of the research, Sabella found that fishermen used to be part-time agriculturalists; in fact, they used to divide their time among planting, fishing, and harvesting activities, showing a relative degree of self-sufficiency (Sabella 1974: 52, 283). One of Sabella's most important insights was the description of an annual cycle or a seasonal calendar that is crucial in determining the productivity of the ocean. This fact is more interesting when it was explained by the same fishermen. According to these descriptions, summer is usually the period of highest productivity and also corresponds to a time of intense social interaction with two major fiestas being celebrated in November and December (Sabella 1974: 53). During summer time there is a holiday atmosphere in which daily excursions of large groups of women and children go out to gather molluscs and crustaceans from the beach (ibid.). The existence of a seasonal division in the northern north coast of Peru seems to be part of a larger system shared in every single fishing village at least from Puerto Huacho, north of Lima to the northern sector of the Piura region. In my own survey, I found that fishermen refer to the summer season as the *temporada* (the season) which is expected every year because this is when there is an abundance of first-class (valued) fish

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(drums, black ruff, white-fish, sea bass, rock bass, etc.) due to the presence of huge schools of anchovies that reach shallow waters at this time of the year, following the currents that concentrated phytoplankton and zooplankton. In Huanchaco the fishermen refers to the summer as *tiempo de abundancia* (abundance time) due to the same phenomenon[3]. It seems that scholars have not paid enough attention to Sabella's claim regarding the importance and implications of seasonal effects on sea productivity and on the economy and social relations of fishing villages.

Another important insight of this work is the determination that at least in caleta San Pablo the base for social organization is the nuclear family which was governed by a bilateral kinship system (Sabella 1974: 55). According to Sabella, the nuclear family in this community is composed of the circle of kinsmen, the kindred and the ritual kinsmen (Sabella 1974: 56). This conclusion is interesting because it reaffirmed earlier observation made by Hammel and Haase in 1962. In fact, for Sabella ritual kinship, *compadrazgo* and co-parenthood was the principal mechanism for social cooperation and unity. The system is often extended to include sponsorship of objects or ceremonies, which creates similar ties among the participating parties (Sabella 1974: 65). The compadrazgo system in San Pablo serves as an integrating function within the local community by establishing ritual ties among various members of the major families and their kindred (Sabella 1974: 72). Sabella ends delineating the economy of caleta San Pablo in which middle men have control over fishermen production. However in the past, it was fishermen's wives who were in charge of fish marketing (Sabella 1974). where was the fish sold and how transported?

More recently, a number of ethnographic descriptions about fishing technology, religious practices, oral traditions and gastronomy were being compiled and published by the descendents of traditional fishermen families (Rodriguez Suy Suy 1997; Pedro Anhuamán 2008). These monographs, entitled "Los Pueblos Muchik en el Mundo Andino de Ayer y Siempre" (Rodriguez Suy – Suy 1997) and "Cultura Viva Muchik-Chimor de la Costa Norte del Perú" (Anhuamán 2008) provide excellent endogenous perspectives about the traditions of fishing and farming communities of the Moche valley in the north coast of Peru. In the case of the description of the "muchik" fishing communities, I will point out that these books are a source of first-hand raw data that has to be contextualized into a broader perspective, considering issues of political economy, kinship, ideology and cultural resistance through time.

[3] Rodriguez Suy-Suy recorded that in the 1940s, people of the Moche valley and Virú called this season as the *Pesca Grande*, (Big fishing) due to the abundance of fish (Rodriguez Suy-Suy 1997: 65).

To sum up, it could be argued that there is a corpus of raw data that must now be systematized in order to determine patterns of behaviour in traditional fishing communities of the central Andes region. There is plenty of information about technical descriptions of watercraft technologies and uses, as well as traditional fishing gear. However, there is still a lack on the social implications of this technology and its repercussion on the economy of these communities. There is a long list of myths, legends and traditions that are a rich source of information to identify social patterns, kinship relations, ruling procedures, etc. At the same time it is not clear the gender roles behind tasks within a fishing community although it is acceptable to propose that women were in charge of marine product marketing and that males spent their lives fishing in their vessels or along the shoreline and fixing their nets and other fishing devices. Women gather mariscos, but men also dive for them. It is also clear that as was proposed long ago for the highlands, a *compadrazgo* system is the most effective social institution within Andean maritime fishing towns. The role of this important institution was (and is) to tie, to generate mutual dependence and to provide a general sense of ethnicity and identity among these groups.

VIII. Conclusion

In sum, fishing settlements or maritime communities are complex and dynamic entities where gender plays a major role and where the sense of economic exploitation depends on the ecology of the area and the knowledge developed by those who exploit those resources. Fishing settlements are not only specialists devoted to marine activities but they are also engaged in other subsistence activities related to the resources available in their area. The constant movements along the coast make fishermen and their families dynamic individuals who are always changing and are open to new patterns, which make them anything but monotonous agents.

The importance of having more detailed studies about modern fishing communities in the Andean coast is crucial. Research that includes a confrontation between modern ethnographic data and archaeological evidence will be pivotal in order to propose which behaviour or practices are traditional or at least indigenous in the Peruvian coast. Parallel to this, it will be necessary to study European fishing practices in order to measure the impact of them on the Andes. From a broader perspective I try to expand the concept of "Specialized fishermen" by "fishing community" which imply a more inclusive definition due to the particular characteristics of each case. It also implies that fishermen were more than that and they were involved in different economic activities that included gathering, herding, farming, crafting, etc.

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The idea of specialized fishermen is a modern concept applicable only for the people working in the industrial fisheries. Archaeologically, it can be measured based on the study of the cultural remains and with a special focus on the productive activities performed by the given fishing community. At the same time, the location of fishing communities in the Andes has to be more carefully studied because it can provide a number of social, economic, environmental and ideological angles that can be used to understand these settlements. The analysis of each category, will allow having a better understanding of the settlement that is under study. Perhaps the study of household in Andean fishing communities is most difficult due to the fact that based on ethnographic data, ritual kinship is the most effective way to organize and link these societies. Thus, *compadrazgo* is very difficult, even impossible to dig in an archaeological site, so this is a significant challenge that will need further study and it will very hard to determine through archaeological research.

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Introduction to Cultural Ecology

By Sutton & Anderson
University of California

Introduction to Cultural Ecology. Sutton and Anderson.North America:ALTAMIRA PRESS, 2004. PP.Xiii +384,1st Floor,Angel Court. 81 St Clements Street.ISBN 1 84520 056 X (Cloth) 1 84520 057 8 (Paper). Reviews of Book by Abdissa Ayana Biftu.

Sutton's and Anderson's text book entitled 'Introduction to cultural ecology' is organized into ten chapters. Chapter one deals with a very introduction of the concept anthropology, ecology, cultures and humans using some scientific inquiry. The second chapter provides the general conceptual frameworks and terms used in Ecology, Human Biological Ecology is explained in chapter three becoming to be considered as background to understanding and distinguishing cultural adaptations. Chapter four talk about cultural ecology in which knowledge is observed to be adaptive to cultural elements. Beside to this, chapter five deals with hunting and gathering with consideration of these terms as foraging. Generally, hunter-gatherers do not make intensive effort at environmental manipulation. The origin of food production is depicted in chapter six in dealing with the significant impact of agriculture on both the natural and cultural environment. In chapter seven, the issue of horticulture is dealt by giving a sort of emphasis to their utilization of wild resources. Chapter eight on the other hand, refers to pastoralism indicating the other aspects of agriculture for domestication of animals.

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INTRODUCTIONTOCULTURALECOLOGY

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Book Review

Introduction to Cultural Ecology

Sutton [α] & Anderson [σ]

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The authors' Introduction to cultural Ecology is the most suitable text book for advanced undergraduate and beginning graduate courses that deal with the impact of humans on the environment in traditional societies. The text book is very interesting to the readers since it presents the basic principles of cultural anthropology, environmental studies and human biological adaptations to the environment. In this regard, it provides a detailed discussion of the history of cultural ecology and theoretical basis behind this ecology (Ibid).

The main parts of the work show the description of the broad economic strategies that revealed by traditional cultures, hunting /gathering, horticulture, pastoralism and agriculture. Though Sutton and Anderson talk about the intersections of humans and the environment in traditional societies, great emphasis is given to the nature of contemporary ecological issues, how people worldwide adapt to these issues and what the western world can learn from other culture experiences. Consequently, the book is very significant for the courses in anthropology, environmental studies

The main objective of Sutton and Anderson is to share their empirical studies of the anthropological side of ecological matters. Their intention is not cover all the ecological problems of the world like modern matters of pollution, climate change and environmental degradation. The authors' aim is particularly to explore how traditional cultures operate and adapt to their environments, how they function, and what the western world can learn from them (Ibid: Xii).

In line with the conceptions of the authors, cultural ecology is based on the interaction of culture, man and environment. To the understanding of this relationship, the present paper discusses the origin and development of cultural ecology (Ibid: 20).

Ecology is not an anthropological sub-discipline, nor is it even a standardized approach in anthropology though it refers to "the study of the interaction between living things and their environment" (Ibid: 2).

Ecology may be defined as the science dealing with the study of entire assemblages of living organisms and their physical settings, which to gather constitute integrated systems (Ibid: 31). More simply, ecology is the study of the structure and dynamics of nature, mankind being a part of nature (Ibid: 31). Both of these definitions stem from concepts developed from Biology and the Biological nature of the world. The dualism which separates the study of "natural environment" from the study of "human environment" had effectively worked in the past to isolate the natural sciences from the social sciences. The holistic concept of ecosystem a type of general system capable of including the activities of man-has recently gained wide acceptance. The ecosystem conceptually unites the Biology, organization and behavior of man with other animals, plants and inorganic concepts within a single frame work in which the interaction of the components may be studied (Ibid: 36). This is particularly appealing to anthropology since it allows for the study of the mutually dependent interactions of organic (biotic), inorganic material (abiotic) and socio cultural components (Ibid: 32-35).

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Within the discipline of anthropology, the concept of cultural ecology arose from a long series of thoughts and publications concerning environmental problems such as the tragedy of the commons, agricultural involution, agricultural intensification and deforestation (Ibid: 298-301) as it should be the concern of every one. Early in the ecological study of culture, two intellectual camps formed. The environmental determinists (Ibid: 13) claimed culture resulted from "a mechanical action of natural forces upon a purely receptive humanity" (Ibid: 13).

The environmental possibilities (Ibid: 19) felt culture act selectively, if not capriciously, upon their environments, exploiting some possibilities while ignoring others (Ibid: 14). The author thought the use of a combined theory is very significant. He, then, felt that non human environmental factors determined cultural development, but also stated that the environment provided options for cultures (Ibid: 14).

Perhaps the most influential figure in the development of cultural ecology was Julian Steward (Ibid: 20 -21). Steward recognized in here that the principal difficulty in using the cultural factor in ecological studies was the lack of clear objectives found in the Biological use of ecology. Accordingly, Steward proposed the use of an explanatory or causal method with cultural ecology and an operational tool rather than as an end in itself.

To do this, two different objectives were suggested: 1) An understanding of the organic function and genetic variations of man as a purely biological species and 2) a determination of how culture is affected by its adaptation to environment (Ibid: 20).

For anthropology, the second of these objectives was seen to have the most emphasis to Steward defined cultural ecology as a methodological tool for ascertaining how the adaptation of a culture to its environment may entail certain changes, or, in a larger sense, to determine whether similar adjustments occur in similar environments (Ibid:20-21).

Sutton and Anderson felt that the relationship of man as the organism, to the environment had to be considered separately from the relationship of culture to the environment. The Biological adaptation of man is seen as constituting a separate segment of ecological research.

The key concept for anthropology, then, is the interrelation between culture and environment. This idea is best studied through the use of three fundamental procedures of cultural ecology: 1) Techno-environmental relationships (Ibid: 22; 94), 2, exploitation strategies (Ibid: 142), and 3) the effects of technological exploitation procedures on other aspects of culture (Ibid: 181-185; 252-255)

The purpose of cultural ecology is to explain the origins of particular cultural patterns which characterize particular cultural areas instead of deriving general principles applicable to any cultural-environmental situation (Ibid: 90). Emphasis is placed on the study of the particulars of local environments rather than on unique cultures histories (Ibid: 91) However, the authors' method ultimately leads to the identification of related types of exploitative and demographic patterns which seem to shape kinship organization (Ibid: 218-219).

At the present time, the field of cultural ecology can be divided into several different approaches, each approach tending to center on one or more aspects of the relationship of culture to environment. In this regard, Anderson and Sutton have devised classifications schemes for some of the approaches toward cultural ecology. For the purpose of this review, certain of the categories as defined by Sutton and Anderson, and deemed particularly significant by these authors, will be examined in light of their past achievements and future potentials.

The first of the approaches to be examined is that of demography and population structure. The central question of this approach is how socio-cultural and other ecological variables relate to the numbers and distributions of human populations (Ibid: 135). Factors such as fertility, mortality, disease, nutrition, migration and social organization are all pertinent variables that must be examined.

Furthermore; recently much attention is given to the concept of carrying capacity (Ibid: 44). Carrying capacity deals with the optimal number of people that a particular resource area can support (Ibid: 61). While still in its developmental stages, several people are using this concept to further their demographic knowledge in relation to archeological circumstances.

The use of subsistence patterns in relation to cultural ecology probably embodies the largest percentage of the cultural ecology literature. Hunter and pastoral nomadic societies have been the focus of anthro-pological studies for many years. Central to these studies is analysis of the energetics involved in the food procurement processes. Whether the analyses show maximal subsistence from minimal energy expenditure or an energy consuming struggle for sustenance total energetic processes remain unclear. Analysis of human energy relations in these types of societies is hypothetically simplistic; one reason being that they are seen to exist independent of other societies (Ibid: 46). It should be noted, however, that they do not.

The subsistence oriented cultural ecological studies take an essentially deterministic position that: 1) Adaptation is seen as the major process in culture change, and therefore, studies have an evolutionary tone (Ibid: 8-9; 54-60) 2) Analysis is limited to the relationship between environmental and subsistence concerns.3) Both culture and environment are divided into relevant and irrelevant parts, and 4) The goal is to uncover modeless of linear causation by describing relationships which obtain between relevant variables (Ibid: 135)

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An additional aspect of the subsistence pattern studies is the use of cultural ecology in studies of land use and the development of agriculture. When dealing with agricultural development a greater number of variables must be taken into account. Such things as the human ecology of the area, the demographic and population distribution figures, the level of technology and the social organization are especially important. Through the use of human ecology and cultural variables, certain progress has been achieved in this area (Ibid: 184).

The problem of cultural variables center around the effect of features of the habitat upon the organization of groups, stratification, leadership and other social institution (Ibid: 96). Ecological studies are often based on the belief that socio-cultural institutions of populations…laws, warfare, political organization, economic organization are adaptive processes of these populations to the surrounding environment (Ibid: 54-60).

In conclusion, the concept of man against nature is looked upon by many as a powerful influence. Man is seen locked in a constant battle for conquest over nature. Man is placed above and separate from nature in which nature being placed at the disposal of man to be used as man's rationality and purposes dictate. Growing from these ideas is the "nature-nurture" question and the idea of progress defined as technological advancement.

In this aspect, authors deal with the interaction of man, culture and environment. Hence, the book attempted to link of anthropology to ecology though the authors' original ideas talks about cultural ecology. The greatest factor responsible for the delay of instituting this approach is the required reuniting of culture and biology. To accomplish this union, the anthropologists must stop trying to explain culture only in terms of culture and begin to use the interaction of environmental, behavioral and cultural factors.

As result, the authors attempted to impress on the readers that''…no culture has a monopoly on environmental care or on environmental carelessness'' (Ibid: Xiii). This considers the idea that the combination of the best workable approaches according to their physical settings will save the human species itself. In general, this leads human being to the best ways of not only learning how to manage the earth but also how to motivate other people to manage the earth better. The authors spend some time discussing and critiquing evolutionary ecology since it is very widely used and misunderstood.

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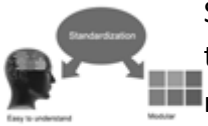


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3. Submission of Manuscripts,

4. Manuscript's Category,

5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,

6. After Acceptance.

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Mistakes to evade

- Insertion a title at the foot of a page with the subsequent text on the next page
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- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence

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· Use past tense to describe specific results

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An abstract is a brief distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approach to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

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- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
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- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

Approach:

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Approach:

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- If use of a definite type of tools.
- Materials may be reported in a part section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

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Approach:

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What to keep away from

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The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part a entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

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Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
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- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
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Approach

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- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

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Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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