

Introduction

Towards a Nomadic Turn in Anthropology

Haim Hazan, Esther Hertzog

Besides being a major focus for research in the anthropological tradition, nomadism is a state of mind central to the understanding of the ethnographic enterprise. That is not to say that other disciplinary courses of inquiry do not subscribe to the nomadic trope. We merely suggest that the anthropologist's nomadic predisposition, being the constitutive gaze of this unleashed discipline of travelling adventurers, poachers and missionaries, deserves special consideration as the means of manufacturing its ethnographic end-product. Aware of the experience and culture of actual nomadic people, the critical consciousness of the nomadic anthropologist 'resists settling into socially coded modes of thought and behavior' (Braidotti 1994: 5). Emanuel Marx, whose work has inspired this volume and to whose special mark on the discipline it is a tribute, indeed observed that the chief characteristic of nomads is their 'continual adaptation to a changing world' (2006: 92). This is precisely the ethnographer's experience: she encounters incessant changes in the field which require her to be physically mobile, mentally alert, emotionally resilient and socially agile; she must be prepared to modify and revise her theoretical standpoint time and again; and she must cope with the frequent unpredictable mutations in the articles of faith as to the desirable management of anthropological knowledge. In consequence, anthropology cannot be bound by prescribed formulae of writing culture, and each researcher in her turn is challenged to reinvent fieldwork practices, research methods and theoretical orientations. This built-in elasticity renders the discipline patently undisciplined and sets it apart from other behavioural regimes of knowledge whose languages of representing experience are kept at bay from the categories held by those they study. Thus, vacillating between a commitment to an acknowledged scientific inquiry phrased in an apt lingo on the one hand, and aspiring for its articulation in literary and personal terms on the other, the ethnographer is often at a loss as to the just and appropriate manner of positioning her ethnographic products within the scope of a particular discourse.

Thus, the nomadic force drives anthropologists from one idea to another, transcends boundaries, shifts involvements and transforms commitments until it is finally arrested and shaped in the published text. We believe that the flirtatious interplay between the anthropologist's wandering mind and the transient field could strike a seductive chord for accounting for that process of turning lives into works. This quintessential property of the making of anthropological rendition

breaks through set paradigms, undermines research programs and liquidizes solid matters of interest and concern but, nevertheless, clings to the paradoxical ethos of authentic representation. This tension between seeking fact and conjuring fiction exposes the anthropologist as an alchemist whose sorcerer's stone converts the mundane into the sublime and the prose of the field into the poetics of the script, while at the same time being constantly aware of the presence of both performances. In this respect the nomadism ascribed to the anthropologist does not conform to most of the images assigned to describe this mode of discovery. It is not the detached pedestrian exploration of the modern urbanite experience by the blasé Benjaminian flaneur (Buck-Morss 1989; Harvey 2003) whose voyeuristic horizons do not exceed the range of her stroll. Nor is it the authoritative spectre of the 'professional stranger' (Agar 1980), who comes today and stays tomorrow (Simmel 1971 [1908]), and neither does it cast a non-committal, distant tourist gaze (Urry 1990). Furthermore, anthropological nomadism is neither an aimless wandering as in the postmodern condition (Bauman 1992: 164–7), nor is it the 'real' nomads' planned journey towards a desired destination. For nomads 'do not "wander", but rather select migratory routes and new residential locations after carefully sifting information' (Salzman 2001). Nor is it an escape attempt of a free ethnographic spirit from the iron cage of preset, disciplined knowledge formations. Rather, it could be viewed as a way of evidence-based form of Peirce's abductive reasoning of creating and applying novel explanations to new observations (Queiroz and Floyd 2005). We choose to invoke the mythological concept of serendipity to mark the intuitive logic that transcends both subjectivity and objectivity, by which fluid anthropological sense is articulated and constantly reformulated.

It is the description and understanding of this serendipitous journey towards the elusive vista of knowledge that constitutes our call for revisiting current trends of anthropological thought and practice. The dominant pervasiveness of post-colonial agendas superimposes a-priori master-narratives of power/knowledge that turns the translation of field experience into writing it as culture (Clifford and Marcus 1986) a self-fulfilling prophecy, an autonomous self-sustaining and self-referent textual hyper-reality. Thus, under the guise of a multivocal reflective authorship, supposedly allowing for dialogical engagement between the researcher and the researched 'other', the onus of ethnographic accountability is sanctimoniously shared by all narrators of the field, albeit as scripted in the literary fashion crafted by the anthropologist (Geertz 1988). This storytelling of the ethnographic yarn dovetails with its predestined narrative structure and, therefore, misses the critical junctures of wonderment, indeterminacy and uncertainty engendered by the omnipresent effervescence of field reality in the ethnographer's lived experience. Hence, the prevalence of that self-indulgent literary turn in cultural anthropology tends to position the anthropologist as the ringmaster of an anthropological reality-show in which she plays herself as a proverbial 'other'. Rather, it is the unexpected adventures and escapades in the 'desert of the real', to borrow a term coined by Žižek (2002), that the book wishes to address and invoke as the driving spirit of the discipline.

This sense of the unadulterated 'real' looms before, and at times beyond, symbolization and representation lies at the core of any field encounter. However, its attempted reproduction in the form of a programmed ethnographic account invariably submits its transmutations and permutations brought on by respective changes in experience and consciousness to the aesthetic codes of set textualization. The analytic tension between the two is often resolved in anthropological discourse by resorting to preset consciousness under the guise of untainted experience (Rabinow 1977). That is, an adherence to the ethos and ethics of descriptive activity, sometimes known as 'auto-anthropology' lauding the significance of field experience for eliciting cogent interpretation, while at the same time practicing a personal free-floating, uncritical poetics of 'imaginative horizons' (Crapanzano 2004) or 'dreams and myths' (Augé 1999 [1988]). A counter-movement towards restoring faith in the much maligned, yet obsessively pursued, 'authentic' could offer an alternative way of redressing the balance between presentation and representation in favour of the former. By 'authenticity' we by no means suggest a revisit to any temporally 'frozen' cultural product of the variety of 'primitivism' (Turgovnick 1990) or 'mentalities' (Lloyd 1990). Instead, we issue a challenging call for a rebirth of anthropology as first and foremost a territory of action and interaction rather than a map of language games, as so many of its contemporary exponents would have it, dubbing it 'cultural critique' (Marcus and Fischer 1986). This flurry of agenda-laden cultural commentaries veils the process through which ethnography is created and unravelled, thereby failing to touch base with the rudimentary elements of doing fieldwork. These elementary forms of anthropological life ought to be recovered if the first principles of doing ethnography as generating ever-increasing circles of abductively propelled meanings are to be reinvented. This epistemological call for revitalizing anthropological self-recognition and, arguably, self-respect, is rendered timely in view of recent awareness of the weakening of the intellectual thrust of disciplinarian discourse due to the disregard for the core concerns of context and classifications (Marcus 2008) and in the wake of the growing aporia in anthropological establishment as to the scientific standing of the discipline. Thus, deductive, politically generated, public texts have taken over inductive inference, with the former posturing in the image of the latter as a contrived confluence of actors' texts, a confidence trickster masquerading as a contextually staged literary artist. Today's anthropology is afflicted by the advent of the literary tendency to mistake texts for contexts (Strathern 1987). This trend is amply manifested in the flourishing growth of branches of cultural studies whose claim to anthropological fame is in the name of culture as a social text. This usurpation of ethnography is facilitated by the tenor of the postmodern coupled with the dissipation of disciplinarian boundaries. Hence, ethnography re-inherits the original split between *ethnos* and *graph*. The retrieved construction of context as an emergent property of abduction could salvage anthropology from its current state of erosion and 'suspension' born and bred in the fold of 'the narrative turn' (Marcus 2008: 1).

Abductive weaving of context is a double-edged artistry, for its relativistic properties enable both the quiddity of the milieu under study (Scharfstein 1989) and open-ended levels of comparison (Kuper 2002). The anthropological conversation between the two epistemic contingencies is conducted in a peripatetic fashion that could take a turn for the worse as futile meandering, or for the better as dialectical nomadism driven by discursive oscillation between symbols of localized knowledge and signs of common humanity, hence drawing on a contemporary image of a 'hetero-logoi' anthropos (Rabinow 2007). The logic of such movement is tracked down in the present volume where each and every chapter is marked by the footprints of processing contextualization according to the domains of experienced reality relevant to a particular field of research, and in accordance with the serendipitous dialogue between the hetero-logoi of the field and the accommodating logic of the anthropologist.

The seeming polyphony of voices echoed in the texts can be reduced to five key themes, to each of which a section is devoted. The five sections composing the volume illuminate the anthropologist's spatial and intellectual erratic journey of revelations within and without a designated human society. They follow the ethnographer's search for undiscovered and unexpected destinations till she comes to roost in an unintended one.

The first section – 'navigation' – traces the multi-directional trial and error quest of transforming a socially grounded reality into conceptualized cultural categories through making choices between serendipitous moments and mutations. It addresses the core problem of making sense of the ethnographic encounter, namely the modes and stratagems of translation adopted to transmute the exploration of a vibrant context into the print set of the text.

The central role of discovery in anthropological practice is discussed by Ugo Fabietti. His chapter develops the subject of discovery in ethnography through his personal experience in some areas of the Middle East, Indian sub-continent and 'beyond'. The course of the argument juggles between ethnography, anthropological theory, history and human sciences, and shows how the ethnographer, through her errancy between 'field' and 'theory', may bring a substantial contribution in understanding the specificity and uniqueness of anthropology.

Emanuel Marx, whose groundbreaking work on nomads, immigrants and refugees (ex. Marx 1967; 1971; 1976; 1984; 1992; 2001) has stirred this volume, elaborates on the process of conceptualization, which stands at the core of anthropological work. He argues that only an incessant dialectic between our selective observations and tentative interpretations can get us somewhat closer to understanding a reality that is almost impervious to conceptualization. Marx's analysis emerged from a series of studies of Bedouin spanning half a century, first in the Negev, and then in Sinai (Marx 1967; 1977; 1980a; 1984; 1987a; 2005; 2006; 2008). His work demonstrates the fruitful process of 'obstinate drilling in the hard rock of our mind, in order to overcome our stereotypes and mental blocks, and continuously to revise our interpretation of ever larger quantities of amorphous data'.

The culturally malleable concept of Community is at the core of Haim Hazan's essay and it is brought to bear the cutting edge of conceptualizing reality to the extent of abandoning its power of representation. As 'a catch word', 'community' could imply delineated geographical boundaries and face-to-face interaction. It can also abandon these parameters completely. It can denote a lifestyle, or it can be used to convey a social ideology. Using a case of an urban renewal project in an Israeli poor neighbourhood Hazan offers a reading of three different narratives that demonstrates how 'community' is an image, whose seduction allows it to metamorphose and ultimately simulate and substitute basic reality.

The second section – 'mirage' – reflects the anthropological urge to reconcile between the desire to transfix field reality into a system of disciplined representations on the one hand, and the awareness of its unbridled nature through constant experiential transience and ephemera on the other. Encountering this dilemma constitutes the main epistemological paradox upon which any ethnographic inquiry is built, that is the simultaneously dual position of the researcher as a subject-cum-object. This double bind is responsible for painting the spectrum of anthropological discursive practices as stretching between evidence-based conventional science and mere storytelling. The constant interplay between defining fact and refining fiction, while transgressing and questioning the boundaries of the discipline, gives it the drive of its vitality and endurance.

Discussing fieldwork and the dynamics of participant-observation, Eyal Ben-Ari argues that the attempt at self-critique is both a precondition for, and a limit on, the validity of 'findings'. Using his experience as an Israeli soldier during the first Palestinian Uprising (1987–92), and as a fieldworker in Japanese day-nurseries (in 1988), he traces out how facets of his identity as Jewish, male, scholar, soldier, and committed citizen figure in his research and writing.

Following on Marx's work (1987b) on the Bedouin society in the Negev, in which he defied gender dichotomy, Shifra Kisch reflects on her own experience of negotiating her gendered position among the Negev Bedouin. In the process of manoeuvring creatively within seemingly rigid power relations she occasionally found herself abruptly shifting positions and status to the subtle signs of her interlocutors she had to learn to read. Thus, she concludes, the privileged nomad often travels roads paved by others. 'Seeking guidance from those we encounter as we linger and from the signs left along the roads, we attempt to draw maps of newly assembled routes.'

The long and hard journey to anthropological discoveries is elaborated on by Reuven Shapira, who describes his personal *via dolorosa*, as a non-conformist Kibbutz member and researcher. Using Bourdieu's concepts he investigates how his changing habitus and capitals caused his departure from conventional careers, both managerial and academic, and made him persevere in overcoming stumbling blocks and achieving major discoveries. He argues that blind alleys in which one progresses for a considerable distance while seeking new directions may encourage a study of unexplored parts of the field and efforts at radical change. Shapira emphasizes the advantage of home or native ethnographers in

overcoming what Emanuel Marx considers as the (1985: 147) 'hardest part of [ethnographic] research', that is 'discerning the context of phenomena'. They can advance social science way beyond adding authenticity up to reforming a whole field of study.

The anthropologist's contention with the romantic image of Nomadic life is discussed by Harvey Goldberg. Adopting Emanuel Marx's ability to see the logic of an 'exotic' way of life, as reflected in his work on Bedouin in Israel, Goldberg challenges romantic notions of society. While often accused of succumbing to and perpetuating such images, whether embedded in popular or academic discourse, anthropologists more often wrote against them. This complexity is explored on the basis of Goldberg's experiences among Jews from Libya living in Israel. He shows the range and variety of reactions of members of a group to the work of anthropologists, indicating that today it is the very discipline of anthropology that the practitioner must carefully convey in writing.

Elaborating on moving fieldwork and ethnographic experiences in conflicting contexts, Cédric Parizot suggests that nomadizing between conflicting affects can provide a unique tool of inquiry in the anthropology of conflicts. He describes his constant passages from Arab to Jewish environments and between Israel and the Occupied Palestinian territories, during his research and life in the Israeli-Palestinian space. Drawing on his hardships and being inspired by Emanuel Marx's recommendation, to look at people's actions and choices as being highly emotional, he stresses the power of politics of emotions in drawing power relations between people as well as in shaping their representations of the conflict.

The third section – 'the journey' – grapples with the role of memory, mimicry and risk-taking in constructing the thrust of the ethnographic momentum. It demonstrates how the process of ethnographic decision making hinges on succumbing to field realities that might pose an intellectual as well as an experiential challenge to received opinions and given cosmologies. The suspension of disbelief required for confronting such ruptures in consciousness calls for a relinquishment of self-identity in favour of a mutually bounded space shared by both ethnographer and 'native'. The anthropologist's journey, therefore, is always encoded by a double helix of self and other whose inextricable interdependence blazes the trail towards the legible end-product.

The ways anthropological thought and action are forged in active dialogues with local residents is discussed by Susan Rasmussen. She focuses on incidents in which the anthropologist is drawn into the 'discovery procedures' of spirit possession. Elaborating on field research in semi-nomadic, stratified Tuareg communities in northern Niger and Mali, West Africa, Rasmussen explores how the local concept of spiritual and 'wild' space, called *essuf*, both guides and disorients the wandering soul of a person in spiritual and social space. It is locally viewed as a kind of spiritual wandering.

Aspiring to bridge between the spatio-temporal journeys and the marks on the page, Raquel Romberg uses her account of the embodied memory which connected past magic acts with embodied mimetic memory. She describes her conversations

with Tonio Lacén, the Witch of Loíza, in Puerto Rico, whose mimetic wanderings mesmerized her and stirred her imagination. She found herself drifting off to the interstitial spaces between magical power and its terrors, which have successively conflated the work of healers with heresy, charlatanism, and heritage.

The role of the anthropologist as a nomad in a dangerous field and the emergence of Cultural Criminology are at the focus of Dina Siegel's chapter. She views the anthropologist as an inter-disciplinary nomad in the sense that s/he wanders among various intellectual areas, questions stereotypes that are taken for granted and breaks taboos. In her research on Russian organized crime in the Netherlands Siegel was inspired by Emanuel Marx's immense contribution to criminological research, in his studies on violent behaviour in the context of an immigrant community (Marx 1976) and in his description of drug smuggling patterns among the Bedouin of South Sinai (Marx 2008). Following Marx, Siegel illustrates the impact of ethnographic research on the recent study of organized crime in general and on a case study of the Russian Mafia in particular. She argues that the best criminological research is based on ethnographic research.

Longina Jakubowska's chapter is interested in the epistemology of the discipline. She elaborates on her academic and personal anthropological journey and compares the different stratagems she followed in two settings, i.e. the Bedouin in southern Israel and the gentry in post-communist Poland. The different positioning of the anthropologist with regard to informants, historicity, and anthropological canon are perceived as formative to the processes of ethnographic writing.

The fourth section – 'wandering' – extends the anthropological enterprise to overt and covert social claims and agendas looming beyond the boundaries of the field that nevertheless mobilize and shape the disciplinary discourse. This extra-disciplinary ambition for a voice and say in the public sphere sets anthropological routes within landscapes of moral grounds and horizons of social accountability and cultural judgment. Anthropological discourse thus grapples not only with charges of being an accomplice to colonial exploitation of the subaltern, but also with its own self-justification as re-presenting or representing the 'other'. Involvement in the field often breeds identification with the suffering and worldview of those studied and that, in turn, might engender pro-active indebtedness to their version of humanity as well as to what seems to be its implications to promoting the general good. Thus, paying penance to anthropological power that produces knowledge behoves ethnographers to gaze conscientiously upon the human condition at large.

Openness is perceived by Nigel Rapport as a social value and an analytical value alike. Adopting Marx's (1980b) warning against premature conceptualization that tends towards the bounded, closed and monolithic, Rapport calls to convey social life as a series of partially overlapping open systems. The city is conceived as a site where an embodiment of 'global guesthood' might be secured and enshrined; movement and multiplicity as ideal ways to measure just procedures of state; justice as ensuring the free movement that is fundamental to human being and becoming, to its potential for multiplicity.

In his chapter Dale Eickelman emphasizes social scientists' responsibility to engage in public issues, in basic research and in producing outcomes that are not tailored to anticipate what sponsors or policy makers want to hear. Thus he praises Emanuel Marx and the Bernstein Project as having made better sociology, for not distancing themselves from policy objectives and the territorial state as their object of study. Maintaining the balance among these competing factors is in particular a responsibility of those engaged in the study of the Middle East.

Some of the ethical dilemmas that the anthropologists face when studying recollections are discussed in Esther Hertzog's chapter. Using documented interviews with her mother Hertzog tries to combine between the anthropologist's 'instinctive' suspicions and her professional and ethical training, while exploring Holocaust survivors' stories. While ostensibly documenting her mother's story she became a companion to her mother's emotional, verbal and intellectual journey between places, periods and ethical positions. Inspired by Emanuel Marx's unique and subtle perceptiveness, which makes him so skilful in pinpointing hidden meanings of human expressions, Hertzog realized that as puzzling, contradicting and even absurd the informant's stories and interpretations may seem, they all are part of an intriguing conduct of a human being.

The fifth section – 'oases' – follows the quest for setting findings and analysis within a broader context of social change and cultural codes. This is the nomad's outpost from which the route hitherto taken could be observed, appraised and recalculated against the backdrop of the overall landscape of other possible tracks and landmarks. This is when the flaneur stops roaming the streets and enters a cafe, when the tourist checks in a hotel room, when the stranger sojourns for the night and when the nomadic anthropologist turns around to look for a publisher or to revisit already published work. This is a moment of temporary respite; a time for reflective reading of field notes as they are rewritten and reshaped as ethnographic scripts. The production of a predestined monograph is thus an encapsulated panorama of the anthropologist's musing and observing that converge into a critically exposed authorized publishable work. This textual resting-place is by no means final, since escaping, revisiting and reshaping are common practices in the ever-increasing circles of the serendipitous enterprise. Thus, any oasis ultimately reverts into yet another attempt at navigation, a different mirage, a new journey and a rediscovered feat in wandering and wondering. Like in the shifting kaleidoscope, the captured composite of anthropological shapes and forms changes as each beholder rotates the tube. The chapters of this section visit the oasis of camping anthropologists as they re-contextualise their fields and calibrate their gyroscopes on a never ending voyage of the hunting of an anthropological 'snark' (Carroll 2008 [1898]).

Abu Rabi'a's chapter demonstrates the importance of contextualization. Drawing on his study on Bedouin tribes in the Negev Desert, especially those that continue to raise livestock, Abu Rabi'a deciphers the range of meanings of colours and their use in medical therapy in pastoral Bedouin society. He suggests that the symbolic significance of colours for the pastoral Bedouin reflects his

environmental and social circumstances, economic situation, religious and folk beliefs, and the exigencies of situations.

In his chapter on the structure of Bedouin Society in the Negev Frank Stewart offers a re-analysis of Emanuel Marx's (1967) groundbreaking work on the subject. He suggests that the richness and accuracy of the information provided by this work make it part of the short list of indispensable anthropological studies on the Middle East. The chapter penetrates beyond superficialities, presents rich factual material, and insists on theorizing it. However, Stewart also offers critical perspectives with regard to terminological and conceptual difficulties of Marx's work.

Alex Weingrod's chapter examines how bones and burials are woven into the fabrics of Israeli society and culture. Different social contexts are briefly examined – among others, the burials and reburials of historic Zionist and Israeli leaders; repatriating and reburying the bones of Moroccan saints and elders; Palestinian funerals during the intifada. These events, both historical and contemporary, are perceived as forming a prism through which the changing features of society can be interpreted.

Ofra Greenberg's chapter is interested in reconsidering the boundaries of the research field, the anthropologist's position within it, as well as in previous interpretations. She revisits her own pioneering study of a women's prison in Israel, in 1972–73. The events that have accumulated over the years have thrown new light on two central figures and provided fresh insights into their behaviour during and after their imprisonment.

The trope of the interchange between being imprisoned and being set free is an apt accord to conclude these introductory remarks. The totality of commitment to ethnographic work and life is broken down by the free spirit of the anthropologist whose serendipitous moments could trigger a surge of creativity and inspiration so as to transcend the canonized boundaries of the discipline and by the power of abduction to move into other realms of consciousness altogether. Serendipity therefore is an engine for moving anthropology forward, but at the same time it holds *in store* the promise and the prospect of derailing elsewhere towards other destinations. It is our conviction that each and every one of the book's chapters could, with a little twist of language, ethos and purpose, transform into text of different genres. The anthropological containment of the chapters in spite of that vulnerability to metamorphic potential proves the strength of their disciplinary conviction.

References

- Agar, Michael. 1980. *The Professional Stranger*. New York: Academic Press.
- Augé, Marc. 1999 (1988). *The War of Dreams: Studies in Ethno Fiction*. London: Pluto Press.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. 1992. *Mortality, Immortality and Other Life Strategies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Braidotti, Rosi. 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Buck-Morss, Susan. 1989. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter-Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Carroll, Lewis. 2008 (1898). *The Hunting of the Snark, an Agony in Eight Fits*. London, McMillan
- Clifford, James and Marcus, George (eds). 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Crapanzano, Vincent. 2004. *Imaginative Horizons: An Essay in Literary-Philosophical Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1988. *Works and Lives*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.
- Harvey, David. 2003. *Paris, Capital of Modernity*. London: Routledge.
- Kuper, Adam. 2002. Comparison and Contextualization: Reflections on South Africa, in *Anthropology by Comparison*, edited by A. Gingrich and R.G. Fox. London: Routledge, 143–66.
- Lloyd, Geoffrey Ernest Richard. 1990. *Demystifying Mentalities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marcus, George and Fischer, Michael. 1986. *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marcus, George. 2008. The End(s) of Ethnography: Social/Cultural Anthropology's Signature Form of Producing Knowledge in Transition. *Cultural Anthropology*, 23: 1–14.
- Marx, Emanuel. 1967. *Bedouin of the Negev*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; New York: Praeger.
- . 1976. *The Social Context of Violent Behaviour: A Social Anthropological Study in an Israeli Immigrant Town*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- . 1977. Communal and Individual Pilgrimage: The Region of Saints' Tombs in South Sinai', in *Regional Cults (ASA Monograph 16)*, edited by R.P. Werbner. London: Academic Press, 29–51.
- . 1980a. Wage Labor and Tribal Economy of the Bedouin in South Sinai, in *When Nomads Settle: Processes of Sedentarization as Adaptation and Response*, edited by P.C. Salzman. New York: Bergin, 111–23
- . 1980b. On the Anthropological Study of Nations, in *A Composite Portrait of Israel*, edited by E. Marx. London: Academic Press, 15–28.
- . 1984. Changing Employment Patterns of Bedouin in South Sinai, in *The Changing Bedouin*, edited by E. Marx and A. Shmueli. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction, 173–86.
- . 1985. Hamehkar ha'antropologi-hevrati ve'hakarat ha'hevra ha'aravit' (The Social Anthropological Study of Arab Society), in *Lehakhir 'amim qerovim (To Become Acquainted with Neighboring Nations)*, by J. Bashi et al. Jerusalem: Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, 137–52.
- . 1987a. Labour Migrants with a Secure Base: Bedouin of South Sinai, in *Migrants, Workers and the Social Order (ASA Monograph 26)*, edited by J.S. Eades. London: Tavistock, 148–64.

- . 1987b. Relations between Spouses among the Negev Bedouin. *Ethnos*, 52(I–II): 156–79.
- . 1992. Palestinian Refugee Camps in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 28(2): 281–94.
- . 2001. (Guest Editor). Employment and Unemployment among Bedouin. *Nomadic Peoples*, 4(2).
- . 2005. The Bedouin's Lifeline: Roving Traders in South Sinai, in *Social Critique and Commitment: Essays in Honor of Henry Rosenfeld*, edited by M. Al-Haj et al. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 193–206.
- . 2006. Tribal Pilgrimages to Saints' Tombs in South Sinai, in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Cult: The Sanctuary at Gilat, Israel*, edited by T.E. Levy. London: Equinox, 54–74.
- . 2008. Hashish Smuggling by Bedouin in South Sinai, in *Organized Crime: Culture, Markets and Policies*, edited by D. Siegel and H. Nelen. New York: Springer, 29–40.
- Marx, Emanuel and Ben-Porath, Yoram. 1971. *Some Sociological and Economic Aspects of Refugee Camps on the West Bank*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand.
- Marx, Emanuel and Shmueli, Avshalom (eds). 1984. *The Changing Bedouin*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction.
- Quieoz, Joao and Floyd, Merrell. 2005. Abduction between Subjectivity and Objectivity. *Semiotica*, 153: 1–7.
- Rabinow, Paul. 1977. *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 2007. *Marking Time: On the Anthropology of the Contemporary*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Salzman, Carl Philip. 2001. *Understanding Culture: An Introduction to Anthropological Theory*. Prospect Heights IL: Waveland.
- Scharfstein, Ben-Ami. 1989. *The Dilemma of Context*. New York: New York University Press.
- Simmel, Georg. 1971. The Stranger, in *Georg Simmel on Individuality and Social Forms*, edited by D.N. Levine. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 143–9 (originally published in 1908).
- Strathern, Marilyn. 1987. Out of Context: The Persuasive Fictions of Anthropology. *Current Anthropology*, 28: 251–81.
- Turgovnick, Mariana. 1990. *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Urry, John. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Sage.
- Zizek, Slavoj. 2002. *Welcome to the Desert of the Real: Five Essays on September Eleven and Related Dates*. London: Verso.