

An SfAA Oral History Interview with Thayer "Ted" Scudder
Pioneering Research in African Ecology, Dam Construction, and Resettlement

This transcript is part of an interview with Prof. Thayer "Ted" Scudder for the Society for Applied Anthropology Oral History Project done by Prof. Lisa Cliggett in 2003. The focus is on his early experiences, graduate education at Harvard University and his early field research in Zambia and Egypt. The early work in Zambia informed his dissertation and became part of a larger study on the social impact of the construction of the Kariba Dam on the Zambezi River done in collaboration with Elizabeth Colson. This was a pioneering impact study of dam that continues to be important as a model for the application of anthropology in the context of large-scale infrastructure construction projects. The project continues to today as the Gwembe Tonga Research Project with the involvement of Professor Cliggett and others. Also discussed is his involvement in a study of the Aswan High Dam. Scudder continued his research and writing on the social costs of large dams for his entire career. For this the SfAA awarded him the Bronislaw Malinowski award in 1999. Scudder is Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at the California Institute of Technology. Cliggett is Professor and Chair of Anthropology at the University of Kentucky. This transcript was edited by John van Willigen.

CLIGGETT: How did you find yourself in anthropology and what was the trajectory of the discovery of anthropology and applied anthropology?

SCUDDER: I think that it's important to say from the start that serendipity plays a very important role in how one gets into one career or another. George Foster, of course, has made that point in regard to fieldwork, the role that serendipity plays in the kinds of questions one asks and what-have-you. But certainly, in terms of how I got into anthropology serendipity played a major role because when I was in secondary school my intention was to become an old-fashioned naturalist, biologist. Biology at that time was classical biology. Modern genetics and things of that nature had not occurred. This would've been 1944 to 1948 at Philipps Exeter Academy. And I cannot remember a single thing I learned there but it was certainly four of the best years of my life because it encouraged all my extracurricular activities, all of which related to kinds of things I wanted to do. I do remember quite a bit of the biology as I'll mention later on. But my idea was to become a naturalist in the Amazon dealing with mainly birds. I had read a whole bunch of the naturalists who had writing on the Amazon like Thomas Barbour.

CLIGGETT: How did you know about the Amazon when you were in high school?

SCUDDER: [My] parents played a very important role here and my father was a professor of English literature at Swarthmore. He had wanted to write his Ph.D. dissertation on Audubon but Audubon ironically at that time, in the 1920s, was not considered an appropriate person for a person in English Literature to write Ph.D. dissertation on. What he would've loved to have done as a career, I think, was to be in forestry service and that kind of thing. So, I was tremendously influenced by father's love of nature. He was a tremendous gardener. Also, a close family friend was Henry Seidel Canby who was the founder of the *Saturday Review of Literature* and he was the one who gave me my first binoculars. Also, in the summer I was, of course, a faculty brat at Swarthmore before I went off to Exeter but in the summer, we used to go to what in effect was a commune in the Berkshires of Connecticut. [These were] people in literature, not flower people and not young people, people like the president of Vassar College, the founder of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, these were mainly people who were musicians, artists, poets, English literature, and what-have-you. And we all used to get together for common meals, for I was the youngest child there.

CLIGGETT: And that was foreshadowing for you.

SCUDDER: This all foreshadowed my desire to have a career which would perpetuate what I enjoyed as a child. And I can remember, for example, that I had certain mystery birds which I had never been able to identify who I literally spent hours and hours and hours, one was the oven bird which had a beautiful flight song in the evening. It would go up into the sky circling around way up, you could just see it as a speck and it would do this beautiful flight song and then it would plummet down to the ground and it took me a long time to identify it. The flight song of the woodcock was another one. The song of the winter wren which only you will find in ravines. There were two mountains, Mount Race and Mount Everett just over the border in Massachusetts that my father used to take my brother and I up to and climbing up the ravines I would hear this beautiful song rippling in and out as we were climbing up these waterfalls. And, of course, it's a tiny little bird sort of creeping around within the foliage and going in and out of holes in dead trees, it took me ages to identify what this beautiful song was. So, anyhow, this was the kind of career that I was headed for. When I graduated from Exeter and went to Harvard I wasn't interested in academics at all. I remember that I was about a C+ student at Exeter and the year I was a senior I think one my advisers told me that if I wanted to be at Harvard it would be useful if I'd bring my average up to a B minus.

CLIGGETT: And did you?

SCUDDER: Yes. Yes. Yes, I worked a little bit harder. I wasn't useless at Exeter, I was doing all of these birding and stuff like this but also, I was very much into extracurricular activities which probably would've gotten me into Harvard without the ...

CLIGGETT: What were those activities?

SCUDDER: I was captain of the cross-country team. I was president, as I mentioned, of the Scientific Society [and the] Biology Group. I was president of the Outing Club. I was president and founder of the Mountaineering Club and these were all, you see, activities which would take me outdoors. Cross-country, of course, you're running in the woods and what-have-you. Outing and Mountaineering Club ... the Outing, of course, took us out of doors but the Mountaineering would take us into mountain areas and things of this nature. When I got to Harvard, again, because of all my work in biology I was allowed to skip all the biology courses that introductory students take. I was able to take courses that seniors and juniors were taking my first year, so that by the end of my sophomore year I'd pretty taken all the courses in biology at Harvard that I was interested in and so, then I began to fiddle around and look for other things. And I began to take archaeology courses, history courses, philosophy courses, and ended up in majoring in General Studies. So, *cum laude* in General Studies, a B- in General Studies of that nature. Still I had the intention when I graduated from Harvard of becoming a naturalist except that then it was going to be a naturalist working in the mountains, mountain climbing because I had become a fanatic on mountain climbing. I was president of the Harvard Mountaineering Club which, is no question about it, the leading mountaineering club in the United States except for the American Alpine Club. And I was elected to the American Alpine Club at the age of maybe twenty-one or twenty-two because I had climbed the Grand Teton for example as a high school student, I had done first ascents in the Alaska Range ... in the McKinley Range, had led Harvard Mountaineering expeditions to Alaska [and] to British Columbia. Then I have to mention one other thing which probably was an important factor in terms of eventually getting into anthropology. When I was in secondary school I started hitchhiking and during the next four or five years I hitchhiked over 30,000 miles.

CLIGGETT: Throughout the US?

SCUDDER: Not just around the US, going up into Canada. So, the hitchhiking though ... you know, back and forth across the United States, for example, two

summers we would often alone or with a friend we would leave and hitchhike from New England to Washington and then from Washington down through Oregon to California and then one time I came back to the Mississippi River and then turned around and went back out to Wyoming and then turned around and came back to the East Coast. And so, that kind of mileage piles up. And, you know, you meet a fantastic range of people and hitchhiking was relatively safe at that particular time. This was mainly in the '40s, you see, that I was doing all of this hitchhiking. I met a tremendous range of very fascinating people from all levels of society. I mean people who would be very rich and would take me back to their house for a meal and the night, to people who had just got out of jail and were trying to find the person who had sent them to jail so, that they could knock him off.

So, more often than not the people who'd pick you up on a long haul. I mean some of the hauls would be a thousand miles. [It] would be people who wanted company and knowing that they would never meet the hitchhiker again would be willing to tell you the story of their life, all of their problems, fascinating. So, my guess is this has probably influenced my interest in people.

CLIGGETT: Did you feel that you have an innate ability to communicate with all of these people or did your ability to communicate improve over time with exposure to the diversity or were you just naturally good at talking at people very different than you? The hitchhiking had exposed you to a variety of people and so, maybe people hit the horizon as something interesting in addition to the natural world?

SCUDDER: Yeah. Yeah, see, what eventually happened was I realized that people were animals. At Harvard I primarily wanted to still become an ornithologist, and this was even after our marriage. So, for example, my sophomore year I was research assistant for John Peters who was the leading ornithologist of the time dealing with birds of the world. He was doing a huge nine-volume checklist of birds of the world and I was his research assistant working on the fourth floor of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, maybe the fifth floor. My job was to dust. He had huge stacks of bird skins because in those days taxonomy and morphology of birds was what ornithologists did. And they went off into the Amazon and they shot thousands of birds and then they skin them and brought them back and did measurements on them and work out the systemics, the taxonomy of birds. And so, I was his official duster and maybe this is what got me interested in Africa, I don't know because one of my earliest [and], my only memories of dusting birds for Peters were dusting African Bee-eaters. All these different kinds of beautiful Bee-eaters. Okay, so, then I went to work for Paul Mangelsdorf. Now you see we're getting closer to anthropology because Mangelsdorf was at that time the leading scholar dealing with

the phylogenetics of maize and he was studying the corn of little tiny cobs from Bat Cave in New Mexico. And, you know, he was looking into how maize came about and his theory was the highlands of Mexico, tripsacum and all these other kinds of varieties that he thought were going into the genetics of and the origins of maize. So, my job was to dust all these little cobs and then to measure and the cobs were about an inch and a half long and, of course, they'd been eaten. So, we just had the cobs and I was measuring them and decided ... and I noticed there was a hell of a lot of dust falling out of them and I got more and more interested in what this dust was. So, then I began to analyze the dust and I realized it was fecal material that the ... and inhabitants of Bat Cave were using these little cobs as toilet paper ... when you think about it, you know, have a nice big cob of corn and you can eat it and it's soft.

CLIGGETT: How old ...

SCUDDER: It was old, it was over a thousand years old. They weren't coprolites but because the fecal material was on the cobs, but it was used as toilet paper. So, I decided I don't want to be an ethnobotanist. So, that was my interesting end of my career in ethnobotany. And then I was taking courses in archaeology. And I remember I took just about every course in archaeology that Harvard gave us in undergraduate, all courses by Hal [Hallam L.] Movius on the Paleolithic but again my interest in the out-of-doors and people came in because Movius gave a course with contemporary gatherers and hunters to see what archaeologists could learn from the settlement patterns and the production systems of hunters and gatherers. I'm very fond of Movius. In fact, [my wife and two daughters and I] visited him Les Eyzies in France when he was over there doing excavations when I was doing postdoctoral research at the London School of Economics. We went over and spent a couple of days at Les Eyzies. Anyhow, he was very interested in what archeologists could learn, especially archeologists dealing with the paleolithic, what they could learn from studies from contemporary hunter-gatherers. Okay, I didn't take many courses actually in cultural anthropology or social anthropology. In fact, I can't remember any ...

CLIGGETT: During your undergraduate?

SCUDDER: No. Gordon Wiley, for example, gave courses on Meso-America and on South America, I took those courses. I took courses in Physical Anthropology, [Earnest A.] Hooton's course, for example, in Physical Anthropology, a whole range of courses in archaeology and physical anthropology and virtually nothing in socio-cultural. So, I graduated from Harvard in 1952 in General Studies and mountaineering had now become more important really than being a naturalist. So,

you know, what to do? Well ... oh yeah, another thing I was interested in Harvard was Primitive Religion. There was a wonderful professor there by the name of Arthur Darby Nock who taught primitive religion and he was in the Divinity School and also, had an appointment I guess in Comparative Religion maybe at the graduate school of Arts and Sciences anyhow, he taught this course and I was fascinated by that and I was fascinated by religion not as a practitioner of religion but just why was religion a cultural universal? So, I came back to Harvard at Peabody. I remember now there were really two ways to get a Ph.D. in Anthropology at Harvard in those days. You could be in Social Relations where you get much more Sociology but there were still anthropologists in the faculty association of social relations or you could be in Peabody where you had to get the conventional degree in physical anthropology, linguistics, archaeology, ethnography, and social cultural anthropology.

CLIGGETT: So, Peabody was a four-field Americanist approach ...

SCUDDER: That was the classical field of anthropology classic ...

CLIGGETT: ... and Social Relations ...

SCUDDER: ... yeah, classical

CLIGGETT: ... and Social Relations was more on British social anthropology level?

SCUDDER: Well, no, I wouldn't it was more on the British, it was more, Talcott Parsons, [Robert] Merton, people of that nature. I mean, for example, Cliff Geertz who was a classmate of mine at Harvard, he was in Social Relations. [The two programs had] totally different buildings.

CLIGGETT: Right.

SCUDDER: We called it Peabody because all of the offices and the faculty, there were a few joint appointments like Evan Vogt, for example, who I guess maybe not had an office in Peabody, but the Peabody Museum had, of course, the collections. So, most of the offices, people like Gordon Willey, Hal Movius, people like that were all housed in the Peabody Museum. And the social anthropologists were people like Doug Oliver, Cora Dubois, and various others. And it was a good department. In the '50s Harvard Peabody was still probably the best Department of Anthropology in the country.

CLIGGETT: Well, we need to talk about what happened at Harvard and how you ended up in Africa.

SCUDDER: Okay. So, at Harvard again serendipity comes in because there was no faculty who'd done any research in Africa and there was only one course taught on Africa and it was a good course. It was Doug Oliver's. Oliver at that time he'd just come out with his monumental ethnography on the Sewai in the Pacific and had a very interesting theoretical approach and I'd taken that course which I found fascinating. But that was it. But just at that particular time, W. O. Brown had started what was one of the first African studies programs at Boston University and at that program at that particular time was Elizabeth Colson and also, Phil Gulliver both who obviously played a very important role in my life. At Harvard the two people who had played the most important role in my life were Cora DuBois and Derwent Lockard. Cora DuBois had done the first probably very detailed research, urban research in India and Lockard was a lecturer, I don't think he had done his Ph.D. because his field data had been torpedoed during World War II. I think and then sunk to the bottom of the ocean. Now anyhow, he was in the Center of Middle Eastern Studies and I was a teaching fellow in his course. But those were the two people at Harvard, Cora DuBois because when I was preparing for my Generals she met with me one on one for quite a while.

CLIGGETT: Who was your adviser?

SCUDDER: Kluckhohn, Clyde Kluckhohn.

CLIGGETT: You don't mention him?

SCUDDER: No, Elizabeth Colson had been a research assistant of his and a junior colleague of his at one point in time. We'll get to Kluckhohn in a moment, later on. I went over to BU because, you know, serendipity is important but also, it's very important to put yourself in the right place at the right time. You have to go out and be a little bit entrepreneurial. So, I went over to BU to find out what was there and took Elizabeth Colson's course.

CLIGGETT: So, you were allowed at Harvard to take courses [at another school]?

SCUDDER: You could. I mean one has to make a good argument, and it was very easy, well, you don't have courses in Africa how the hell am I going to become an Africanist if I cannot talk to people who've done research in Africa? So, that wasn't a

problem. Elizabeth, of course, she was an associate professor at BU at that particular time. I didn't get to know her too well then as a person, but I was immensely impressed by her course on Central Africa which covered all the classical ethnologies that people from British schools, social anthropology, had carried out in connection to The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute as well as her own research in the Plateau Tonga. This is '56 ...

CLIGGETT: So, the end of your second year ...

SCUDDER: The end of my second year and it is because I was a teaching fellow, I hadn't finished my course work and I hadn't taken any of my languages let alone my orals or my generals. So, in June or I guess or maybe May of '56 Elizabeth told me that she had been asked by the then director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Northern Rhodesia, Henry Fosbrooke, geographer, that he had gotten money from the Northern Rhodesian mining companies to do a pre-relocation benchmark study of a population of tens of thousands of people who were going to soon be relocated in connection with the first main stream dam on the Zambezi, the Kariba Dam and that he wanted her to head up the team of two people because Elizabeth had already been the director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in the '40s and had done research among the Plateau Tonga and had actually gone on safari down into the middle Zambezi Valley I think in 1948. [Colson asked Scudder for help in recruiting a geographer in the United States.] I remember I went back to Elizabeth and said, Well, I'm not having much luck, what about me? And Elizabeth in classic fashion said, "Humph, I didn't realize you were interested."

CLIGGETT: [chuckle] In classic Elizabeth fashion.

SCUDDER: Yes, classic Elizabeth fashion. True to form I was in the process of applying to the Ford Foundation to study the Bakonjo of the Rwenzori, the only people that lived in the Mountains of the Moon, the Ruwenzori who goes up to 16,000 feet and heavily glaciated are the Bakonjo and the Bakonjo they even yodel. I mean the Bakonjo were damn good yodelers and they'd stand on the ridge and yodeling back and forth. So, I wanted to study to Bakonjo, the Rwenzori. And where did I end up?

CLIGGETT: In a valley.

SCUDDER: In a rift valley ... not just in a valley but in a rift valley, in a semi-arid habitat, hot, disease ridden and what-have-you. So, that's the beginning.

CLIGGETT: Well, So, Elizabeth said 'Humph and then ...

SCUDDER: Well, So, then I was recruited and ...

CLIGGETT: She said, Humph and then said, well, okay? You didn't have to work more to persuade her?

SCUDDER: No. No. Because I think I was probably the best student in her class [at BU]. I'd spent a lot of time with her, at that particular time she knew that I was very interested in Africa and had worked very hard in her course and had come over to BU. I think I had done better in the course probably than any other students. We left to go [to Zambia], Elizabeth likes going to meetings of the ASA, the Association of Social Anthropologists in England. This was September '56. In the meanwhile, of course, I went back to Harvard and told Kluckhohn that I was going to do this, and he was dead against it, dead set against it. He said this is not the way you do it. I mean you haven't finished your course work let alone taken your languages or your Generals. You're not ready to go out to the field. Well, I disagreed, and Elizabeth disagreed and whether Elizabeth talked to Kluckhohn I don't know, you see, because she had been formally his research associate. As a matter, she did her Ph.D. on the Makah Indians of the Northwest and so, Kluckhohn's interest in the Navajo and her interest in the Makah somehow or other must have brought them together when she was at Radcliffe. So, Kluckhohn disapproved but obviously, you know, had no means for stopping me. I mean I had a fellowship from the Danforth Foundation and I was a student in good standing and so, off we went in September.

CLIGGETT: With your advisor not supporting you?

SCUDDER: Yeah, but, you know, Kluckhohn was not the kind of person who would hold it against you. He said I don't think it's a good idea. He was actually wrong because, of course, having done fieldwork when I came back I was in a much better position to finish my course work and to do my Generals. And I think I may have been the first member of my class to graduate. I think there were one or two people who graduated in 1960, I think Laura Nader and a couple of others, but we were certainly the first to graduate in terms of that year. I mean nobody graduated in '59. I became a graduate student at Harvard in '54 and one year in the field, so, it was in effect five years. When I came back from the field. I think that was one reason why Kluckhohn probably thought what he did, I wouldn't be able to concentrate on writing my dissertation. I'd have to concentrate on finishing courses, taking languages, taking orals, take the Generals and writing a dissertation. So, he had a point. But it worked

out well and therefore I think he was wrong in my case, he might have been right in other people's cases. Anyhow, on the way to Northern Rhodesia we stopped over in England to go to the ASA meetings in Oxford and that's I think when I decided perhaps that I didn't want to ever be part of a Department of Anthropology. British social anthropologists are just incredibly... well, I would say cruel because at that particular time they were all dumping on Reo Fortune and I can remember that. I guess he must've given some papers and they were leaping on him about the paper and we all went off to a pub and they were continually ridiculing him and laughing about him at the pub and so, on.

CLIGGETT: And you hadn't seen that kind of critique and ever in your other academic experience? Never?

SCUDDER: No, no, this was my first experience as a professional anthropologist to be in a meeting of professional anthropologists. You don't get this kind of ... remember, in England it's just social anthropology so, there is a smaller number of people, you don't really get this at the AAA meetings. You don't get this at the SfAA meeting either. They're much more congenial and areas for job hunts whereas they're totally intellectual.

CLIGGETT: I think there are some of those small groups within the American Association, within any association the small groups that ...

SCUDDER: I expect so, but certainly it was in departments. I mean the reason of falling apart of various departments. I think probably that experience was one reason why ... and remember also, being trained in the natural science in my early years - we're jumping ahead a little bit but when I came back from Africa in 1960 the only two job offers I was interested in were Cal Tech and MIT because I would there be in institutes of science in departments which didn't have an anthropologist.

CLIGGETT: Or alternately they had multi-disciplinary conversations.

SCUDDER: Another important experience in England was that a student that Elizabeth Colson who was then helping, was a student at Gray's Inn getting his law training, that was Mainza Chona Mainza, who subsequently became vice president of Zambia under the UNIP government and, of course, ambassador to China. Elizabeth has been throughout almost sort of a grandmother to the Chona family, to Mainza and his wife, and Mainza's children and Mainza's grandchildren. Mainza recently died

but he taught me my first words in Tonga and I remember that. And then we went on to Zambia or Northern Rhodesia and that was the beginning.

CLIGGETT: So, clearly the Gwembe project and that experience with Elizabeth in the field was a pretty formative time. So, I'd like to talk a little bit about the Gwembe project or do you want to finish up education? Talk a little bit about what it was like to work with Elizabeth and what that first fieldwork was like and how that kind of shaped your ...

SCUDDER: I consider Elizabeth probably one of the top ... not probably, definitely one of the top five social cultural anthropologists in the world today. So, of course, I was incredibly fortunate to have the opportunity to work with her. And I'll give you an idea of the kind of person that she was. Henry Fosbrooke whom I became very fond of, he and his wife, Jane, was pretty much intending that the geographer that Elizabeth would recruit would be under Henry's thumb and Henry being, you know, a former district commissioner in Masai Land and head of the Ngorongoro crater and things of that nature, you know, was a pretty top down person and I have a wonderful vision of Henry ... he didn't actually have a sjambok [a kind of whip, made of rhinoceros hide or plastic] but symbolically he might have, standing up behind a number of Africans crawling along on their hands pulling out crabgrass in the lawn and, you know, this was colonial Northern Rhodesia. Henry was a wonderful person and had many, many close friends and what-have-you but he also, had a huge black dog called Puppy, it must've weighed a hundred pounds and was eventually poisoned by an African who was scared of him. Anyhow, Henry, you know, had many good ideas of what he wanted me to do and I think was pretty much inclined to treat me as his research assistant. Elizabeth very quickly educated Henry. I can remember now, Elizabeth frequently when she is about to make a pronouncement will start off by saying, Look, and then I think she went out to say, "Look, Ted is my colleague," she emphasized colleague, and we are here to do the research as co-colleagues and *he* will decide what *he* feels is important.

Of course, we'll be coming up to the Institute fairly frequently and we'll be talking with you and with the other anthropologists trying to get ideas and participating in the life of the Institute and that kind of thing but he's my colleague and we're working together. So, she made that very clear from the very beginning, the first couple of weeks. I think anthropologists working in different field conditions probably have two kinds of reactions. One is, oh my God what am I doing during the first ten days; and the other is, the excitement of the first ten days is such but it wears off after about three months and you say, my God I got to stay on for another nine months collecting

a lot of stuff which is boring but other stuff which is interesting. It's not culture shock ... well, the first ten days can be culture shock. If it happens after about three or four months you just realize, my God, it's not fun anymore ... you know, it is fun, but it is not fun. Elizabeth and I we only had one vehicle to start with and, So, we moved into a village called Sinafwala which is the village that you've been concentrating on also, but Sinafwala at that particular time was not on the Zambezi. It was located inland on a little river called the Chezia, it was a big village. Elizabeth wanted to move right into the village but on the edge of it and, so, we ended up with two tents side by side in the same village with Elizabeth. This was in the dry season, September-October which as you know are the hottest months of the year. Elizabeth automatically starting off speaking Tonga and getting right down to fieldwork. And here I [have] never been outside the United States in my life except hitchhiking to Canada. As a little boy, my father had a Fulbright at one time and he was writing a book and he took the family to Bermuda, but I was only seven at that time, I don't remember that too much and with enough background in biology to be terrified of things like schistosomiasis ...

CLIGGETT: Yes.

SCUDDER: ... and told that the only way to kill the schistosome in your bath water was to put copper sulfate crystals into it. And of course, I put too much into my water and it turned blue ...

I was being impacted by being out of the US. Elizabeth was getting on with the work, So, I was very well aware of how little I knew. And so, I can remember on the tenth day wandering off in the shimmering heat, you know, along one of those little paths going out of the village with everything dead and dying on the sides of the path and the temperature was over a hundred degrees Fahrenheit and rising and saying, this is not for me. And I remember coming back to Elizabeth and saying, hey, you know, I'm not too sure that this is going to work out and that I made the right decision. And she said, Well, you just going to have to decide, aren't you? [both chuckling] So, about a week later Henry Fosbrooke said that *my* Land Rover was ready. We were both hired, Elizabeth obviously as a senior research fellow and myself as a research fellow so, we were both on salaries and the understanding was that we would be in separate villages.

CLIGGETT: I see, and separate vehicles.

SCUDDER: We have our own vehicles and we have our own camping equipment but only one vehicle was ready So, that I had to start off in effect in this huge big village with Elizabeth already right in the middle of it. So, as soon as I got my own vehicle

then I picked a smaller village which was on the edge of the Zambezi, So, I could see the Zambezi, the village was surrounded by, beautiful bio-diversity. It was a village of 126 people whereas Elizabeth's must have been over a 500 hundred. In fact, there were two big villages, Madonda and Sinafwala village were side by side. In fact, you couldn't really tell where one began and the other ended, you pretty much had to be told whereas Mazulu village was not just nucleated but it was strung out. Half of the village was on one side of a beautiful Indian tamarind tree and the other half of the village was on the other side, and so, I put my tent up under the Indian tamarind tree. I didn't realize at the time that that was the dancing ground or on moonlight nights both for people and scorpions and snakes and what-have-you that would come out of the holes of the tamarind.

CLIGGETT: How did you decide of that village? Did that occur in conversation with Elizabeth about where you would go and the kinds of work that you planned on doing or was it purely your own independent choice of how to survive?

SCUDDER: My own independent choice but it was the closest village to Sinafwala. It was very important ... Elizabeth's methodology was a methodology that she had developed and a fieldwork procedure which I still follow, she had a very systematic way of taking notes which you know, and every day when it would get hot after lunch, you know, she would get out a little typewriter and I still have my old Olympia typewriter and she would type. She would get out her little typewriter and I would get out my little typewriter and we'd sit at tables and we'd type up notes. I followed her note taking procedure and still do.

CLIGGETT: And I do as well.

SCUDDER: Her system is an excellent system and we would type them in triplicate. I would get one copy of everything that she did and then there would be one copy which we would give to the Institute. I don't think we give one copy to the Institute anymore, but we continue doing our field notes in making them available, not just duplicate but make [notes] available to all research members of the team whoever they may be. So, I would follow her procedure, but we would want to get together either once a week or at least once a fortnight and that could mean being close together and also, from the point of view of going up to the plateau periodically to resupply. We would combine forces for that.

CLIGGETT: So, how far apart were Mazulu and Sinafwala at that time?

SCUDDER: It couldn't have been more than two miles.

CLIGGETT: So, would you walk or drive back and forth?

SCUDDER: Both. Both because when I was mapping gardens frequently the gardens of Mazulu especially the ones in the bush would be adjacent to the gardens of Sinafwala and then I would walk into Sinafwala and say hello to Elizabeth. But no, most of the time we'd drive and forth, so, it must've probably been closer to two miles, [The location] was also, to a certain extent determined by the district commissioner. The district commissioner, of course, was responsible for the resettlement of 37,000 people on the Zambian side and he didn't want to be bugged, you know, by two anthropologists getting in trouble. So, he did say, I don't want you on the other side of the Chezia River or on the other side of the Chibuwe River. Now see there was just one road then which had been opened up in 1948 which went down to a mission, Chabbo Boma Mission. To a large extent the district commissioners in effect told us we had to be in villages between these two rivers.

CLIGGETT: For fear that the rivers would come up and ...

SCUDDER: And flood and we couldn't get out and so, we'd come down with malaria and then the government would've to run a rescue operation and so, on. So, Elizabeth then had picked the biggest two villages ...

CLIGGETT: Sinafwala and Madonda.

SCUDDER: Sinafwala because she was wanting to concentrate on social organization and kinship. And meanwhile the closest village that would enable me to stay in contact with her but would be small enough for me to measure all the gardens.

CLIGGETT: And was that focus determined by Fosbrooke in hiring you that you were going to do ecology and gardens and livelihood?

SCUDDER: No. No, that was decided between Elizabeth and I. She said, anything of, you know, or relevance to anthropology you write up. So, for example, with the first couple of weeks or maybe it was the first month or so, one of the eldest of the village died and so, I spent the next few days at his funeral and I brought up very detailed notes on the funeral. But we had a division of labor. Elizabeth was going to concentrate on kinship, social organization in general, political organization, the legal system. I was going to concentrate on the production system, which would mean

very detailed study of agriculture, gathering, hunting, fishing, general relationship with people to their environment. Also, she was going to concentrate on very detailed studies of - we hadn't decided at that time on the number of villages - of the small number of villages whereas I was going to be responsible for covering the whole middle Zambezi Valley and obviously that was exactly what I wanted to do.

CLIGGETT: When and how did you have those conversations?

SCUDDER: Pretty much early on, but remember she'd already been in the area. She knew its geographical extent. We knew that the 57,000 people [in the district] were going to be relocated, probably two thirds of them were on the northern Rhodesian side, one third on the Southern Rhodesian side. The Zambezi was not a barrier. Tonga would go back and forth by dug-out canoe, they would marry from people the other side, they would have gardens on the other side. So, it was very clear that I would have to in dealing with the human ecology and remember my Ph.D. dissertation and my first book was *The Ecology of the Gwembe Tonga*.

CLIGGETT: Right, but as you went into your research you didn't necessarily know that that was going to be the book that you write.

SCUDDER: Oh yeah.

CLIGGETT: Really?

SCUDDER: Sure, a combination of biology and anthropology. I'm sure we talked about this ... we must have talked about this as early as May and June of '56 and we certainly talked about it on the plane going over and talked about it ...

CLIGGETT: As it being your dissertation project and the ...

SCUDDER: Oh sure. I mean I took this job with Elizabeth for my Ph.D. dissertation and my Ph.D. dissertation was going to be in what I was interested in, which was in effect the ecology of Gwembe Tonga which would be a combination. See, I collected all the various food plants that they ate and had them identified, collected the fish, went hunting with the Tonga, all of these kinds of things so, that I could come up with a generalized ... but my responsibility also - and this was again it came from our early conversations. Henry, I'm sure had an input on this too being a geographer - we were not doing a classical community study. We purposely tried to pick a number of villages that were going to be resettled and at least one village that wouldn't ...

CLIGGETT: Right.

SCUDDER: ... a control village. And since we were dealing with a population of 57,000 people who were going to be resettled we needed to know the whole area in which they lived. So, I spent a lot of time touring with my new Land Rover. I quickly took the roof off, put the windscreen down, got one of those hats that the young Wags, you know, the young white colonial officers in the bush, not the provincial administration type but the agricultural types and what-have-you, the fisheries and wildlife types would wear, you know, a little hat where one side is buttoned up and wearing very short shorts and spats, you know, So, snakes wouldn't bite you as you were trudging through the bush and all that kind of thing and I got a shotgun and, so, I would shoot birds over my windscreen for the pot, you know, this was colonial anthropology. Alright. So, Elizabeth and I formed a very, very close team and we still are a very, very close team. Initially we wrote separate books, now increasingly we give the other person the option of being a co-author of an article or of a book. We've also agreed that we're never going to say, who collected this particular data? The data which is available is available for any member of the study team. They have the option to give credit to the study team and say that this is data which has been collected and what-have-you, but one doesn't come up with saying, well, this was so-and-so's first idea, they first thought of this and I'm going to write it up. You write up what you're interested in using the database.

CLIGGETT: When did you work those arrangements out? How did that occur?

SCUDDER: Well, that probably didn't occur until after we came back from the field the first time because we weren't writing anything up. Whether we discussed that, you know, we had to give papers I suppose, I cannot remember, but part of being a research fellow of the Institute would mean that occasionally the Institute fellows would get together and give papers and stuff. Whether or not we gave papers that first year I cannot remember so, I'm not sure ... any more we are exactly sure when we decided to turn the study into a long-term study although we have both different impressions.

CLIGGETT: A lot of people ask that question when did you start the projects and the anticipation of it being a long-term study?

SCUDDER: No, no, we did not. Henry, fortunately, had gotten money for a before and after study. He had gotten enough money from the copper companies to do a

study just before resettlement and then a few years after resettlement and that was it. I mean there was no money and no intention. So, at some point between 1962 ...

CLIGGETT: When you went back for the after study?

SCUDDER: Yeah ... and 1967 we decided to turn it to be a long-term study. And I think ... and that's where we have slightly different impressions, but I think we will both agree that the Zambia independence coming along in '64. So, in other words, I think by '64 we had realized, we got a one-year pre-location. Notice, I never say baseline study because I see, as Elizabeth does, a social-cultural system is a dynamic open-ended coping system which are always open to change. Change and continuity are both very important aspects of it. So, we had had ... pre-resettlement benchmark study and then a post resettlement how-are-they-doing? And we knew that ...

CLIGGETT: And the years of that post resettlement ...

SCUDDER: ... the post was '62-'63 ... and primarily the resettlement was over by '58. We should, of course, if we had known more about resettlement at that time ... Elizabeth did go back briefly in '60, very briefly, but if we had known now, we had known then what we know now we should have been there during the resettlement process and we should have been shortly after the resettlement but ... so, some time before Zambia Independence in '64, after we'd done the benchmark study, we certainly had not agreed to turn it into a long-term study before we did the re-study. But after we did the re-study in '62-'63. So, some time in '63-'64 we decided to turn it a long-term study.

CLIGGETT: During the re-study, during the '62-'63 period what kinds of things did you see? What kinds of things were you learning? What did you absorb of that experience that would have led to you thinking about looking at it ...

SCUDDER: As a long-term study? I think increasing awareness of the dynamics of the behavior of individuals as actors within communities in response to different opportunities internal and external. For example, at the very beginning of the study it was rather amazing to us that we were welcomed in '56-'57 by people who were about to be forcible relocated. You know, and since we were driving vehicles which had Rhodes-Livingstone Institute on them it was clear to the people that we weren't missionaries or traders we were, if not government personnel, people who were very closely associated with the government. And yet there was no hostility at all ever. We never had any hostility. I mean there are always individuals at any society who suck

up to you, other individuals who like you for what you are and are very cooperative, and other individuals who don't like you at all and always gruff and grumpy and what-have-you with you although even they as time goes on which is one of the benefits of a long-term study, realize as Elizabeth has said on a number of occasions that very well, this guy may be a son of a bitch but old Scudder has been with us through thick and thin and he's aware of the various problems that we had in time and so, you know, I'll keep talking to him. So, I've never found anybody who's been unwilling to talk to us. But I know that there [are] Tonga as individuals, you know, vary in their reactions to us. But the reactions were never negative.

CLIGGETT: Even when you went back in '62-'63?

SCUDDER: No, no, no, no, we realized by when we went back in '62 that there was denial, that they didn't believe they were going to be relocated, and then, of course, when we got to know more and more about forced relocation we found that this was a very common pattern. Janice Pearlman has come up with the same kind of work with her research in favelas in Brazil, the government is going to do an urban redevelopment project ... well, you know, it takes about ten or fifteen years before it actually gets going. People now, in effect, if they realize that. fifteen years before it happens ... and planning for Kariba, for example, the actually planning goes fairly quickly but for most big dams planning starts at least ten years before people are moved. Well, if people really took it seriously they'd be under stress anticipating this move for ten years. So, denial is a very affective stress reduction mechanism, we just get on with our lives. And so, even the headman of Mazulu who had been taken down to see the map built himself a new homestead with considerable effort on the other side of the little track which went by the village. The village is now expanding, it's expanding out. So, you know, and ... and then in the re-study in '62-'63 we became aware at that time of the multidimensional stress of resettlement, increase mortality and morbidity although hard to document because there weren't benchmark epidemiological studies before relocation, but it was very clear that certain death rates had gone up as a result of resettlement or at least from a theoretical point of view. We were very much aware of the anxiety that women had in @ leaving gardens inherited through many generations through the maternal line. We were very much aware of by '62-'63 that there were quite a few losers, that is the *sikatongo*, the neighborhood ritual leaders, to a certain extent their ritual is tied to particular ritual sites. All of these various ritual officials were getting their influence to a certain extent from long-term residence of them and their ancestors in a particular area and associated with a particular shrine associated with a particular spot. Alright. So, that was social-cultural stress so, all of this stress, physiological,

psychological, also, anxiety about the future - another psychological aspect - how in the world are all these things going to work their way out? We saw the people were just beginning to get back up on their feet. Now, they are beginning to feel at home in the new habitat, to give names to the little tributaries and to land forms in the area and get familiar with the vegetation. So, we wanted to know going to happen. The first couple of years were disastrous and ...

CLIGGETT: Were you discovering these various ways that people were experiencing stress, psychologically, physiologically, socio-culturally while you were in the field or was it after you collected the data and you left and you started processing and analyzing and getting ready to write or was it clear ...

SCUDDER: Some of these things were clear in the field. I mean, for example, in the field how could you miss that the neighborhood ritual leaders had not been able to reestablish shrines? You see, this kind of thing ... now, the Lusitu particularly is of interest ... alright, I suppose I have to define that a little bit. When people were asked, and the British colonial officials were a very dedicated bunch. They didn't have any experience with resettlement ... They didn't really have enough staff, but they were dedicated, and they wanted to do a good job.

CLIGGETT: At what?

SCUDDER: At resettlement.

CLIGGETT: Good job for the people?

SCUDDER: Good job for the people. These people took it very seriously. But they were the minority, they were the provincial administration people who were responsible, you see, the resettlement of Kariba was a World Bank funded project and it was the largest loan that the World Bank had given in Africa up until that time. It was the first main stream dam, a big one, that the World Bank had funded in Africa. In those days the World Bank had no guidelines as to how resettlement should be carried out. Resettlement was considered strictly the responsibility of the sovereign nation.

CLIGGETT: Had the World Bank funded other big dams anywhere else?

SCUDDER: I don't think so, I don't think so.

CLIGGETT: It was ... So, Kariba was the first big World Bank ...

SCUDDER: Yeah, it was the first big one and so, nobody had a clue really what would ... in the tropics, what would be the environmental and socio-cultural impacts of this?

CLIGGETT: And the World Bank wasn't funding the research?

SCUDDER: No.

CLIGGETT: They were just funding the dam.

SCUDDER: There are lots of environmental components that the World Bank funds, but it still doesn't fund much dealing with resettlement. So, you can ask the question, is this to a certain extent that they're concerned about adverse criticism of their resettlement record by human rights and environmental NGO's and so, they have come up with these safeguards, but they still won't fund the actual implementation. They will give them technical assistance money but anyhow that's another side. But this was a World Bank project and resettlement was pretty much left in the hands of, God forbid, of the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia because it was a self-governing colony. And who is the self-governors? White, white, white settlers. So, they were responsible for the relocation of the 23,000 on the south bank and they had, in effect, a total different policy than on the north bank. Their job was just to physically remove the people and then forget about them to a large extent, get them out of the way. They were people in the way whereas on the Northern Rhodesia side there was genuine concern about creating opportunities, fisheries and agriculture for them after they were moved. Now, and the district commissioner and his staff asked all the Gwembe villagers where do you want to move? And in what units? If you look at what they were doing in the '50s, many of their policies were state of the art. They allowed the people to participate to the extent of identifying where they wanted to go. They allowed the people to participate by extending what were the units that they wanted to be resettled in. And they ... most of them followed them... all of them said they wanted to be resettled not just as a village unit but as a neighborhood unit consisting, let's say, three to seven villages. Well, then right in the middle of the construction the Federal Power Board which was responsible for building the dam decided to heighten it. They decided to heighten the dam and what that meant was that a number wanted to move up the tributaries on which we're currently settled around the deltas of which we're currently settled. And so, the land and the areas to which ... there wasn't sufficient land with the dam being heightened, with the reservoir being bigger, with many of the resettlement areas that had been

selected going to be flooded and so, at the last moment the government looked around and found some lands which had not yet been occupied downstream from the Zambezi ... from the ... the dam about a hundred miles from where the existing villages were. And so, 6,000 people were moved down to this area as you know, to Lusitu about 30 to 40 miles below Kariba and they were moved into an area with a totally different ethnic group, people who spoke not a Central Bantu language, but a Southern Bantu language related to Shona of the Goba. Now, remember what we're talking about is, did we know some of these problems at the time of the fieldwork?

CLIGGETT: Yes.

SCUDDER: Well, it was made very clear that these 6,000 people who moved into Lusitu that the ritual authority over this land was the Goba and remained with the Goba and that therefore if the Tonga wanted to go to a rain shrine when the rains didn't come they jolly well would go to the Goba rain shrine and they certainly could not reestablish their own rain shrines. Well, this was the information we got during the re-study in '62-'63 because we were there. We saw that that the Goba were saying, well okay, you we've agreed with the government, you can move into our area but it's our area and ...

CLIGGETT: And we'll give you land temporarily.

SCUDDER: We'll give you land which was uncultivated at the time ... the government, in effect, could not allow the Goba to take back but cultivated fields which the Goba would actually cultivate or had cultivated recently ... in other words, the more fertile alluvial soils which the Goba being a relatively small population ... why? we don't know, probably because they had been wiped out by the influenza epidemic of 1918 and 1919. Okay. Or maybe it was an epidemic of human trypanosomiasis, sleeping sickness, the Rhodesian variety of sleeping sickness periodically arises in the middle Zambezi Valley and hits populations. It hit populations who were resettled on the Southern Rhodesian side for example. Anyhow, unlike the Tonga the Goba buried their dead in cemeteries whereas the Tonga buried their dead just outside the house and so, when these 6,000 Tonga were moved into this area and saw all of these cemeteries for that relatively small population you can imagine they were terrified. And so, of course, we saw that. They at the same time were not allowed to reestablish ritual control over the land ... the political control over the land, that was a little bit uncertain. See, all of these dynamics mean that's something we have to look into. So, the Tonga in being resettled through their district ... the district council ... rural council had a very ... the only university-educated Tonga ... Gwembe Tonga was

Ezekiel Habanyama who was quite an amazing person who had insisted and gotten the district council to assist, that relocation would only occur under certain circumstances ... ten points that the district council came up with and which the provincial administration agreed to. And one of the points was that the tsetse fly had to be controlled in the resettlement area. So, that those Tonga who had cattle to move their cattle into those areas and those Tonga who didn't could in effect get cattle and could may the transition if they wished from [inaudible] cultivation to extraction. Well, Lusitu was a tsetse area and a bad tsetse area and tsetse is still a problem there because it comes across from Zimbabwe. The Goba did not have cattle and so, when the Tonga moved into the area they did establish - and this is one of the interesting adaptive mechanisms - they established institutional friendships with the Goba where they would make their cattle available to the Goba for plowing their fields in return for the Goba giving them alluvial gardens in the delta of the Lusitu or along the edge of the Lusitu which weren't under cultivation. Well, now in recent years, in the last twenty years the Goba have now been asking for those gardens back and are being getting those gardens back. So, you see a whole bunch of processes were in motion by the re-study in '62-'63 which we then wanted to follow full time.

CLIGGETT: I'll start out with another question about what you knew or didn't know back during that second fieldwork time with the Gwembe in '62-'63. Did you know what applied anthropology was at that time and were you already thinking about applications and the reality of what this research could do for future planning and things like that? At what point did you start thinking about applying the knowledge that came out of this research?

SCUDDER: No, I don't think I had any awareness of policy relevant research. After the initial study I was still a graduate student ...

CLIGGETT: After the initial study you're talking?

SCUDDER: Hmm ... and so, I had to concentrate on coming back to Harvard to finish up course work, take languages, I think I spent ten days on French and about two weeks on German ...

CLIGGETT: To test out of them?

SCUDDER: That shows you how useful ... I should say useless those criteria were because it was just a cram session ...

CLIGGETT: Right.

SCUDDER: ... and once it was over I've forgotten them and I ... not able to really use French in a systematic fashion ...

CLIGGETT: Well, more after ... more during and after the re-study. So, you had your Ph.D. ... I guess prior to going back to Zambia you were at the America University at Aswan.

SCUDDER: So, I got my Ph.D. in '60 delivered my dissertation with a ribbon to whatever office you have to deliver such things to, and hopped on a plane for England with our two children because I had received two fellowships. One was a Harvard traveling fellowship and one was a SSRC postdoctoral fellowship. I took the SSRC one for spending a year postdoc at London School for Economics.

CLIGGETT: And how had you decided to go there?

SCUDDER: Because of British social anthropology and LSE's reputation outside of anthropology and because I was told that, Raymond Firth was there and [Isaac] Schapera was there.

CLIGGETT: And these people had you met while you were ...

SCUDDER: And I remember going into Schapera's office, knocking on his door and saying, Well, I'm Thayer Scudder, I'm here on a year, I think you know from Social Science Research Council that they have arranged for you to be my adviser. And Schapera looked at me and he said, I don't have enough time for that. [Cliggett chuckling] And that's the last I saw of Schapera for the next nine months.

CLIGGETT: [chuckle] You hadn't arranged this with him beforehand?

SCUDDER: Well, Social Science Research Council had made all the arrangements. So, apparently, he knew about it. Fortunately, Raymond Firth who probably is one the nicest anthropologists that you can imagine heard about me being at loose ends and he had a seminar for graduate students who had just returned from the field and there must have been about seven or eight of them and we met every week and so, actually working with Firth in that seminar was far better than working with Schapera. I had two job offers when I was at LSE, one was arranged pretty much by Elizabeth. She wanted me to go to Sudan and take up a position at the University of Khartoum because her colleague Ian Cunnison was there at that time teaching. Ian

had done his work in the northern part of Zambia and was on the faculty there. He would be a good mentor for me. But I'd also, been offered a job by an old friend of mine, Alan Horton who was the dean as I recall at the American University of Cairo, was aware of the work that I'd done with Elizabeth in the Rhodesias and the Ford Foundation had just given to AUC, the American University of Cairo Social Research Center a big grant to do a benchmark study of the Egyptian Nubian population before they were relocated in connection with the Aswan High Dam, 50,000 people. And it was a research project which was headed up by my old friend, Bob Fernea. Both Bob and Alan were aware of my work at Kariba, so, they invited me to join the team to do the similar benchmark work with the High Dam. That was by far more interesting to me than sitting in Khartoum for a year in a hellishly hot environment. So, we arrived in Cairo at the beginning of the fall semester in September. I taught until January and then I worked on the High Dam project from January to the departure in time to go back for the re-study in Zambia.

CLIGGETT: So, what were you doing on that High Dam project?

SCUDDER: Well, the ... the grant that Fernea had included four community studies, three studies in different parts of Nubia because they were different linguistic communities, 50,000 people that were going to be resettled and then another study which was among Nubians who had been relocated. The Aswan Dam was originally built in 1902 and it was heightened in 1913 and then it was heightened another time in 1932 and each time the poor Nubians were relocated. The first three times a number would just move back to the edge of the reservoir, then they were heightening the dam and they had to move again and then they heightened the dam a third time and then move again. But in the meanwhile, some of them got fed up and had moved downstream into the command area and so, another study was of a Nubian community in a place downstream from Aswan. My job was to do pretty much what I'd done with Kariba but more ecological. I was meant to do an ecological survey of Egyptian Nubia and my job was to find out why they had the highest labor migration rate in the world obviously because of these dams and why in effect the Nubian population was probably the first African population which was not predominantly urban because having lived in this Nubian homeland which goes from Aswan all the way down into the Sudan to Dongola, down at the Fourth Cataract, it's just a narrow strip over Nile alluvium with desert on both sides and so, as populations increased the Nubians had to move and so, at the time of our study, the study also included an urban sociologist by the name of Peter Geiser. Peter's job was to study urban Nubians. And it was Peter who pretty much found out that the large majority of

Nubians now are in Cairo, Alexandria, and places like Khartoum, urban areas of Sudan and Egypt.

Anyhow, Peter had to pick a sample to do his study and so, he and I with our two Egyptian research assistants rented a felucca, a sailing boat in Aswan and we traveled all the way up the Nile to the Sudan border visiting in effect every ... every second or so community and in every community, we had a stratified sample. I guess it was a random sample of household maybe every fourth household or every fifth household or what-have-you and then we'd go to them and get the names of people who were in Cairo. But this gave me a chance to, in effect, get a feel for changes in labor migration rates as we moved away from the influence of the Aswan Dam - the original dam because this was before the High Dam was built - the influence of the various heightenings and of the reservoir which pretty much petered out when you got to the Sudan border. So, what I did was, I picked four communities with 100 percent labor migration rates, not a single male in them over the age of 13 and they were pretty much all downstream. And then further upstream I picked the four communities with the lowest labor migration rates which still was pretty high. I mean they were running over 50 percent but there were at least some men in the village. Then with a first-rate research assistant who, frankly, I think was eventually going to outdo Geertz this was Abdul El-Zein, got his Ph.D. eventually at the University of Chicago Zein and I were given a motorboat with two 30-horsepower engines which we had to maintain and spent a wonderful couple of months visiting these eight villages and mapping all of the resources which were in the village and then also, interviewing all of the people from these villages that we could find in urban areas of Egypt. This was in effect when I developed the idea of the anthropologists really in studying labor migration have to study the migrants both in the receiving and in the sending community. See, we didn't do that in 1956-'57 but we did start doing it in '62-'63, well, that came out of the Aswan High Dam study.

Now, the Aswan High Dam study like the Kariba study didn't have direct policy implications because the research was carried out too late. You know, the decisions in the Kariba had already been made where the people were going to be moved and the only time that Elizabeth and I actually had an impact perhaps would be occasionally when we'd be having a gin and tonic or something at the Boma and the district commissioner or the district officer might say, well, what do you think about this, you know, or something like but we had no policy input. In the Aswan High Dam case there was more of a policy input because Bob Fernea met periodically with the Minister of Social Affairs or with people in the Ministry of Social Affairs which were responsible for carrying out the resettlement and I think, the planning had pretty

much been carried out, you see, because this research was when? '61-'62 and the High Dam construction was underway and what we learned about resettlement is that you got to have the plans all ahead before construction begins. They should be done during project appraisal. So, again, it was too late and Hussein [M.] Fahim who was just visiting me a couple of weeks ago, who is the leading scholar of Nubian resettlement today and he's made it very clear that the Nubian project was very important as a salvage anthropology project just like as the UNESCO salvage work on the archaeology was necessarily, but it was carried out too late to have an impact on policy. Nonetheless, Fernea and myself in our discussions were very well aware of the policy implications of our research.

Further Reading

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You are invited to suggest names of anthropologists whose work reflects the utility of anthropology in practice. You can contact the project at johnvanwilligen@gmail.com.