

residence, preparation of food, consumption, reproduction, production, and budgeting.

The place of residence is the tent (cf. Holter 1995). It should be remembered that every married woman occupies her own tent, though the tents are the property of the husbands. Adolescent and adult unmarried males never sleep in the tent together with the other members of the residence unit. Their sleeping place is outside in the open air.

As a rule every residence unit prepares its own food. Men and women eat meals separately. Children eat with the women, adolescent boys with the men.

Production here means (camel-)herd management. It is the responsibility of males. Girls are sometimes used as herd-hands, if there are no boys of suitable age available. Milking of camels can also be done by girls and young women. They usually look after the goats, if there are any.

Budgeting, that is, control of the financial resources, is the prerogative of the head of the domestic group, and procuring staple goods from the market as, for instance, the staple food, millet, is his duty. Generally, women depend for money on the men. They have no money of their own to be used for regular consumption.

In the simplest case all these domestic functions are combined in one domestic unit. But this is not the normal nor – from the point of view of the men – the desirable state of affairs.

Deviations from this state result from marriage and the position in the domestic cycle. Polygyny creates several residential units within one budget unit. The tents of a polygynist may be located in different camps – the nearly universal technique for reducing tensions between co-wives. But the functions of residence, food preparation, and reproduction are almost always combined in one unit.

The position of the domestic group in the developmental cycle primarily affects the production unit. In its early life cycle, a family cannot provide sufficient labour for herding. Depending on the circumstances, the man of such a young family herds his animals together with his father, a brother or a friend (who will be most of the time also a relative). Thus several residence units form one production unit. In the case of cooperation between father and son budgeting may be done together. In rare cases (see below) the head of a young family may hire a herd boy. Cooperation does not necessarily end when self-sufficiency in labour is attained.

Old age also creates composite units as described above. A single old woman has her tent normatively near that of a son. She belongs to his budgeting unit, but can be looked on as a separate food preparation unit. The same applies to an old couple. Data on the life cycle of females, males, and the family will be published separately.

Table 14: Domestic Groups by Members

Budget units of	1 Tent		2 Tents		3 Tents		row Σ
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Cases	29	80.6	4	11.1	3	8.3	36
Tents	29	63.0	8	17.4	9	19.6	46
Members	140	63.6	38	17.3	42	19.1	220
Male	70	63.1	19	17.1	22	19.8	111
Female	70	64.2	19	17.4	20	18.3	109
Mean/budget u.		4.8		9.5		14.0	
Mean/tent		4.8		4.8		4.7	
Family members	128	64.6	32	16.2	38	19.2	198
Male	67	66.3	15	14.9	19	18.8	101
Female	61	62.9	17	17.5	19	19.6	97
Other members	12	54.5	6	27.3	4	18.2	22
Male	3	30.0	4	40.0	3	30.0	10
Female	9	75	2	16.7	1	8.3	12
of which							
hired herders	3		0		3		6
donated girls	4		0		1		5
both	7		0		4		11
							50.0**

% values refer to row totals with the exception of

* – % of all (male, female or both) members

** – % of nonfamily members