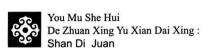


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山地卷

中国社会科学院社会学研究所农村环境与社会研究中心 主编 王晓毅 执行主编 米诺提·查克拉巴提·考尔 等著





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序一

菲利普・卡尔・萨尔兹曼*

1978年,国际人类学与民族学联合会(IUAES)主席邀我组建游牧民委员会(the Commission on Nomadic Peoples),作为联合会的工作组之一。我开始邀请很多不同领域的专家,成立一个关注游牧民的国际性跨学科网络。在接下来的几十年里,游牧民委员会先后在美国、印度、非洲和欧洲组织召开了有关牧民和游牧民的会议。《游牧民委员会通讯》很快变成《游牧民》这一国际期刊,当时在全球免费发行。1990年以后,联合会的其他主席对游牧民委员会的发展给予了很多指导,期刊在更多编辑辛勤工作的基础上也逐步发展起来。然而,这里我不想回顾游牧民委员会的历史,而是想简单谈谈过去多年里引起我们关注的牧民和游牧民生活面临的一些问题。

与任何一般化的社会经济分类——狩猎民、农民、工人、渔民等——相同,在牧民和游牧民这一类别内也存在着很大的差异。这种差异取决于牧民在多大程度上是定居或游牧。如果我们将畜牧业定义为在天然草场上饲养牲畜,那么美国的牧场主是牧民,但他们是定居的而非游牧的。东非的马赛人也是一样。如果将游牧定义为家庭在年复一年的生计中不断移动,我们会发现很多著名的非洲牧民都不是游牧民。拥有一个便利的定居点,而牧羊人或牧牛人在一段时期内会赶着畜群到其他地方去放牧,这种策略是众人皆知的,在卡拉莫琼(Karimojong)这样的东非部落就采用这一策略,而且在欧洲也可以看到,牧羊人离开他们的永久定居点和他们的

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妻小,根据季节赶着羊群到低地或高山放牧。其他部落,如努尔人(the Nuer),根据干季和湿季在粮食种植区和捕鱼区之间移动。

努尔人的例子提出了生产活动的多元性这一重要问题。许多牧民饲养几种不同种类的牲畜。在非洲,同时饲养大畜和小畜(牛、绵羊和山羊)是非常普遍的;在中东,牧民同时饲养骆驼、绵羊和山羊。有时,牧民也饲养马和驴。但生产的多元性决不仅仅局限于饲养多种牲畜。那些坚决要从事牧业并且认为他们自己就是牧民的人,也从事很多其他种类的经济活动,包括种植、捕鱼、狩猎、保镖、走私和手工艺制造,甚至抢劫、勒索。正如上文所述,努尔人以养牛为生,但也饲养小畜,同时还很依赖于种植和捕鱼。伊朗的俾路支人(the Baluch)饲养绵羊和山羊,但也种植谷物、椰枣树、打猎和采集,并且传统上也做过掠夺抢劫的事。昔兰尼加(Cyrenaica)的贝都因人在绿山(Green Mountain)上耕种,在草原和荒漠中放牧。

不同地区面临着不同的环境挑战。牧民通常采取游牧的方式,通过移动畜群中和不利的环境因素,同时最大限度地利用有利环境因素。伊朗南部的巴涉利人(the Basseri)在山地季节性地移动放牧,通过改变海拔梯度,他们避开了低地的夏季酷热和高地的冬季严寒。伊朗西北部戈尔贡平原(the Gorgon Plain)的土库曼人(the Turkmen)享受着适度的降水和稳定的草场,这使得他们能保持或多或少的稳定性,移动放牧也主要是为了搬离久用生垢的营地和避开害虫,有时也出于政治目的以避开国家的干预。沙漠居民如昔兰尼加南部的贝都因人,移动放牧主要是为了响应降水和草场的微环境的变化,他们春季远离水井,夏季则回到水井边上。俾路支人搜寻关于牲畜疾病的信息,这样他们在移动放牧过程中就可以避开有疾病的地区。一些环境挑战还会来自于其他部落人群。东非的图尔卡纳人(the Turkana)作决策时必须平衡水和草场的可得性,躲避疾病,还要确定好自己相对于边界的位置,因为如果离边界太近就会增加敌对部落抢劫的危险。

经济生活的一个主要考虑因素是人们的生产是为了自己消费还是为了市场出售。显然有一个连续系统,其中不同的点代表着生存型生产和市场型生产不同程度的组合。依靠自己生产的产品生活的人,即生存型生产者,必须实现多样化,这样他们才能够获得他们所需要的各种产品。有能力到市场上销售产品的人才能实现生产专业化,他们用产品销售收入在市

场上购买产品。这样,越偏远的牧民与那些市场导向的牧民相比,其生产系统越多样化。例如,日瓦拉(Rwala)贝都因人有专业化的骆驼饲养,因为他们能把骆驼卖给沙漠中的旅队,并且能用这些收入购买那些骆驼不能提供的必需品。相反,伊朗的俾路支人远离市场,他们的生产多样性就很高,他们用自己的山羊羊毛做帐篷,用棕榈叶来编织垫子和绳子。

许多牧民独立生存,远离强大的外来者,组成我们称之为部落的地区性安全群体。但是,那些国家可以有效控制的牧民必须满足国家的要求。例如,昔兰尼加的贝都因人接受了(如果不是狂热的)奥斯曼帝国的宗主权,力所能及时他们会交适当数量的税。一些牧民,例如伊朗克尔曼(Kerman)的柯马奇人(the Komachi),受到国家权威和历法制度更充分的控制,因此他们可以被认为是农牧民。土耳其南部的尤鲁克(Yoruk)游牧民和希腊西部的萨拉卡特萨尼人(the Sarakatsani)就是这样的牧民,他们不得不向当地村民租用草场。中亚和东亚的国家,近几十年里牧民经历了集体化,而后又解散了集体。这个逆转的过程,具有非常重要的历史意义,它是国家得以控制游牧部落的过程,正如中东和其他地区经常发生的那样。在西非,富拉尼(Fulani)牧民成了豪萨王国(Hausa Kingdoms)的统治精英。近年来,国家通过经济发展和军事技术获得了强大力量,因而拥有了控制牧民部落的力量。

Preface I

Philip Carl Salzman

In 1978, the President of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) asked me to form the Commission on Nomadic Peoples as one of the working groups of the Union. I proceeded to invite a wide range of specialists to form an international, interdisciplinary network focusing on nomadic and pastoral peoples. In the subsequent dozen years, the Commission organized conferences on nomadic and pastoral peoples which were held at venues in America, India, Africa, and Europe. The Newsletter of the Commission on Nomadic Peoples quickly became the international journal Nomadic Peoples, which was distributed free around the world during this period. Subsequently, after 1990, the Commission benefitted from the guidance of other chairs and the journal from other editors. However, rather than reviewing the history of the Commission, here I shall mention briefly some of the issues in the lives of nomadic and pastoral peoples that have drawn our attention over the years.

As with any general socio-economic category-hunters, farmers, workers, fishermen, etc.-pastoralists and nomads exhibit great variation within the category. Pastoralists vary in the extent to which they are sedentary or nomadic. If we define pastoralism as raising livestock on natural pasture, then American ranchers are pastoralists, but are sedentary rather than nomadic. So too with the Maa-

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sai of East Africa. Defining nomadism as movement of the household in the course of the annual round of making a living, we find many notable African pastoralists are not nomadic. The strategy of having a central settlement, with shepherds or cowherds taking the flocks or herds away for periods, is well known, and seen in such East African groups as the Karimojong, but also among Europeans whose shepherds leave their permanent settlements and their women and children, to take their flocks to the lowlands or highlands, depending upon the season. Other groups, such as the Nuer, migrate according to the wet or dry season, and between areas of grain cultivation and those of fishing.

The Nuer case raises the important issue of the multiplicity of productive activities. Many pastoralists raise several different species; it is common in Africa to raise both large and small stock: Cattle, and sheep and goats; in the Middle East, camels and sheep and goats. Sometimes horses and donkeys are raised as well. But multiplicity in production by no means stops with multiple species of livestock. People who are strongly committed to raising livestock, and who often think of themselves as pastoralists, engage in a variety of other economic activities, including cultivation, fishing, hunting, predatory raiding, extortion, security services, smuggling, and crafts. As mentioned, the Nuer, who are devoted to their cattle, also have small stock, but also depend heavily on cultivation and fishing. The Baluch of Iran raise sheep and goat, and camels, but also engage in grain cultivation, date arboriculture, hunting and gathering, and, traditionally, predatory raiding. The Bedouin of Cyrenaica plow on the Green Mountain and herd on the steppe and desert.

Environmental challenges vary from place to place. Pastoralists often engage in nomadism to move their livestock to neutralize negative environmental factors and maximize positive environmental factors. The Basseri of south Iran migrate with their flocks seasonally up and down the mountains, changing altitude to avoid lowland summer heat and highland winter cold. The Turkmen of the Gorgon Plain in northwest Iran enjoy moderate rain and reliable pasture that allow them to remain more or less stable, shifting mainly to escape dirty sites and to avoid insects, but using their mobility primarily for the political purpose of escaping state interference. Desert dwellers such as the Bedouin of southern

Cyrenaica move in response to micro-environmental variations of rainfall and pasturage, and away from wells in the spring, and back toward wells in the summer. The Baluch seek information about livestock disease, so that they can, in their migrations, avoid areas with disease. Some environmental challenges come from other human populations. Turkana of East Africa must balance in their decisions water and pasture availability, and absence of disease, but also positioning in relation to borders that would increase threat of raids from hostile tribes.

A major factor in economic life is whether people produce for their own consumption or for the market. Obviously there is a continuum, different points of which represent different mixes of subsistence production and market production. People living on what they produce, i. e. subsistence producers, must diversity so that they have the variety of products that they need. People with products that they can sell in the market, can specialize in production and use the income from sales to buy products in the market. Thus, the more remote pastoralists will have a more diversified production system than pastoralists who are market oriented, who can specialize and then buy what they need. For example, the Rwala Bedouin were able to specialize in raising camels, because they sold them for the caravan trade, and could use the income for necessities that the camels did not provide. In contrast, the Baluch of Iran, without access to markets, had highly diversified production, e. g. making their own tents from their own goat hair, and weaving mats and ropes from palm frond leaves.

Many pastoralists live independently, far from powerful outsiders, organizing themselves into regional security groups that we call tribes. However, pastoralists that fall within the effective reach of states must accommodate state demands. For example, the Bedouin of Cyrenaica accepted, if without enthusiasm, the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire, and paid moderate taxes, when they could. Some pastoralists, such as Komachi of Kerman, Iran, are more fully under the control of state authorities and civil institutions, and so can be considered pastoral peasants. Likewise with the Yoruk nomads of southern Turkey, and the Sarakatsani of western Greece, who had to rent pasture from local villagers. States in central and east Asia, during some recent periods, imposed collectivization upon pastoralists, and in later stages, disbanded collectives. The

converse process, historically very important, is the conquest of states by nomadic tribes, as often happened in the Middle East and elsewhere. In western Africa, Fulani pastoralists become the governing elite of Hausa kingdoms. In recent times, states have gained great power through economic development and military technology, so the scales tend to weigh in favour of states rather than tribal pastoralists.

序二

白爱莲*

《游牧社会的转型与现代性》系列丛书的目的在于为中国读者提供有关畜牧业变迁和连续性的重要国际经验的信息与分析。

丛书出版之际也是中国牧业社会的关键时期。2011 年 8 月 10 日《人民日报》的文章报道:草原占中国国土面积的 2/5,这里还分布着全国70%以上的少数民族人口,70%以上的国家扶贫开发重点县。文章强调"生态安全、经济安全、国家安全,都要求我们必须重新审视草原的发展",并提出一系列难解的问题:怎样统筹推进,让生态保护强起来,让牧民增收快起来,让牧区经济好起来?大美草原面临着新的抉择^①。

随后,中国政府召开了1987年以后的第一次全国牧区工作会议。正如会议名称本身所显示的重要意义:"牧区"不仅是"草场",即承认了这些地区独有的特征以及牧民、牧业和牧场(三牧)间关系的重要性。但是,要在"三牧"间找到适合的平衡关系仍旧是全球牧区发展面临的一个重要问题。幸运的是,针对不同形式的社区推动的草场管理和监测,社会科学具有独特的优势提供分析洞见,而这对建立有效的草场资源和社会管理是很重要的。因为中国的牧区地广人稀,地理和文化多样性高,只有了解当地牧民维持自然资源的创造性和积极性,才能实现保护生态、增加牧民收入和提高牧区经济水平的目标。同时,这些研究对于国家项目投入,尤其是长期投入,也非常重要。

福特基金会北京办公室环境与发展项目官员。

① 《财经》杂志在2011年7月3日在《牧区何往》一文中讨论了相同的问题。

2 游牧社会的转型与现代性1山地卷1

这三本系列丛书的主要目标就是要传播针对以上这些问题的研究成果^①。这些文章不是(其实也不能)为中国牧区发展问题和道路选择提供"答案"(甚至部分的解决方案)。然而,"他山之石,可以攻玉",这些文章确实提供了一些进行比较的关键参考点。因而,它们也服务于另外三个目的:

首先,它们有助于国内读者将国际上有关牧业管理过程的著作和思考历史化,从而更好地理解在特定时期和特定环境中,哪些特定的问题被识别和被讨论,为何选择这些问题讨论。因此这套丛书涉及的关键主题包括:"项目"和"市场"作为牧区发展主要方法的出现、畜牧业与发展中国家之间的关系以及牧业系统和文化中的连续性本质和内在的适应性。

其次,这些文章试图使国内读者能接触到多样化的国家和文化的案例。国际上很多关于中国牧区管理的文献都来源于美国、加拿大、澳大利亚和新西兰的经验。然而,这些都主要是外来移民的使用和适应经验,并且是通过外部引入的过程来实现的。这些地方的经验并没有包括之前就存在的、具有适应性调节特点的草场管理策略和偏好的牧民群体。相反,这些地方的放牧活动和牲畜品种都是移民带来的,并适应移民不断发展的需求,通常是国际市场的需求。结果是这些牧民群体所面临的挑战就是学会如何适应、生存和尊重新的环境及其自然法则。

这种经验与世界上其他很多地区的情况有很大差异。在这些地区,大量的牧民已经存在了几个世纪,他们与周围的人群和正在出现的国家边界维持着复杂的文化和关系。萨尔兹曼教授在他的序中提及了一些非洲牧民群体的情况。另一个例子是蒙古国,它是这套三卷系列丛书第一卷关注的焦点。蒙古国与中国的牧区有很多相似的特征:严酷的大陆性气候,容易

① .中国的一些研究者和实践者已经在促进可持续的自然资源管理方面展开了一系列的与牧民合作的试点实验。这些试点包括:(1)当地社区与政府部门协商管理草原(内蒙古东部);(2)扩大牧民草场利用范围以增加牲畜移动性和减少牧业风险的牧民合作社(内蒙古);(3)牧民联户合理利用草场资源(甘肃南部);(4)建立社区草原管理基金以加强牧民自我发展和自我管理能力和实现可持续的草场利用(四川西部)。这些活动在以下著作中有详细讨论:王晓毅:《环境压力下的草原社区:内蒙古六个嘎查村的调查》,社会科学文献出版社 2009 年版;达林太、郑易生:《牧区与市场:牧民经济学》,社会科学文献出版社 2010 年版;曹建军:《青藏高原地区草原管理利用研究》,兰州大学出版社 2010 年版;邓维杰、韩伟:《社区主导的草原发展:态度、视角和方法》,四川人民出版社 2010 年版;还有英文著作:María E. Fernández-Giménez,Xiaoyi Wang 等,《恢复社区与土地的联结:通过基于社区的草原管理建立中国和蒙古国的弹性》,国际应用生物科学中心(CABI)出版部 2011 年版。

遭受严重的自然灾害,对气候变化越来越敏感;对植被、水和牲畜的使用权,其草场资源形成了一套"耦合的共有"或复杂的联系。当地的牧民群体以历史悠久的经验和不断发展的文化实践来管理草场。蒙古国也在从中央计划经济转向更多的与市场和市场风险发生联系的经济体系,包括那些快速增长的地方和区域经济,这些经济引发了对于矿产、能源和水的不断增长的需求。这些变化,反过来又对现有的草场管理形式施加着新的压力,从而导致草场破碎化、相互竞争的资源使用、土地侵占和牧民贫困程度的增加。因此,蒙古国内目前就何种政策才最适宜于草场产权制度、管理和使用展开激烈讨论。

最后,这些文章试图帮助国内读者参与更大范围的国际畜牧业专家的 思考。如果中国想要更多的社会科学研究和实践在学界占有一席之地,并 被有关牧区发展的国际学术界认可,这一点至关重要。

福特基金会之前已经资助了一些促进中国和国际社会科学界有关畜 牧业的学者间搭建联系桥梁的活动。最初是在2006年,一群对草原问题 感兴趣的研究者和实践者在北京组建了"人与草原网络"。这个网络邀 请了一系列研究草原相关问题的国际访问学者来作讲座。包括埃丝特: 玛王吉博士 (Esther Mwangi) (她现在国际林业研究中心工作)、埃莉 诺·奥斯特罗姆教授(Elinor Ostrom)(印第安纳大学教授, 因她在公共 池塘资源方面的研究使其成为 2009 年诺贝尔经济学奖得主之一)、罗 宾·默恩斯博士 (Robin Mearns) (世界银行,是本系列第一卷中一篇文 章的作者)、艾米丽・叶博士 (Emily Yeh) (科罗拉多大学)、玛瑞亚・费 尔南德斯 - 希门尼斯博士 (Maria Fernández-Giménez) (科罗拉多大学)、 皮特・何博士 (Peter Ho) (莱顿大学)。讲座的主题覆盖了中国、肯尼 亚、蒙古国和其他国家土地制度、生计策略和草原政策问题的新的研究 方法^①。然而,单纯的口头报告不足以增加听众对更广泛的理论和各个 报告背后的学术研究的理解。报告者也因为听众不熟悉更广泛的国际上 研究的关键概念和文献而有些遗憾。这种困境部分源于语言障碍, 但也 由于网络成员并不明确哪些学术著作最权威、最有代表性并且与中国的

① 这一非常规性的讨论系列随后由中国社会科学院社会学所的农村环境与社会研究中心 (CRESS) 承办。来此讲座的国外学者包括《游牧民》杂志主编 Saverio Krätli 博士,澳大利亚联邦科学与工业组织 (CSIRO) 的 Jeff McAlister 博士, 牛津大学的 Troy Sternberg 博士。

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情况最相关。

寻找有效的方法来将国际草场管理的概念传递给中国读者的努力继续进行,2008 年在呼和浩特召开了"国际草原与草地"大会,同时,我们出版了《草原牧区管理——核心概念注释》(2008)①。但这本书仅包括了对单个概念的简短学术介绍,而没有对特定草原范式进行充分的拓展。这后一项工作由中国社会科学院农村环境与社会研究中心(CRESS,http://cress.cass.cn/)的三位学者通过创新性的翻译过程得以实现。他们甄选了对关键的范式转变进行系统阐释的文章,并进行了精当的评论来解释这些研究工作在更大背景下的重要意义。这些工作形成了一本很受好评的书——《非平衡、共有与地方性:对草场管理的新思考》(2010)。这本书的出版证实了这种翻译工作很有用也很必要,并且激发了更有挑战性的这套系列丛书(三本)的翻译。

农村环境与社会研究中心的学者在 2009 年昆明召开的"国际人类学与民族学联合会"第十六届大会上,还与游牧民委员会关于草原问题的四个分会的学者进行了交流。这些学者包括游牧民委员会首任主席即序一的作者卡尔·萨尔兹曼(Carl Salzman)教授,游牧民委员会的现任主席、牛津大学的多恩·切蒂(Dawn Chatty)教授,《游牧民》的现任编辑萨维罗·卡拉蒂利(Saverio Krätli)博士。游牧民委员会的期刊已超过 30 年的历史,并有一个国际性的编委会(包括两名中国的成员),在文章筛选中包括了国际同行的评议过程。农村环境与社会研究中心的学者从这个期刊中敏锐地选出了约 30 篇英文文章,并进行翻译,编入这个系列从书中。②

农村环境与社会研究中心的学者、翻译、编者和出版商能将这些国际研究视角带给广大中国读者,我们感到非常幸运。我们希望这本书能推动更多中国学者对牧区问题进行比较研究——中国国内的比较和最终与其他

① 2008 年"国际草原与草地大会"在中国的呼和浩特市召开,这是该大会第一次在亚洲召开。这次大会的三个分会围绕着保护、生产、人与政策三个方面来组织。在资源与生态主题上,占到了52%(210篇);在生产系统主题上,占到了44%(365篇);在人与政策主题上,占到了25%(60篇)。

② 福特基金会资助了《游牧民》1979—1999年的过刊扫描和上传到网的工作。这些资料目前已可以在下面的网址免费下载: http://cnp.nonuniv.ox.ac.uk/pdf/NP_journal_back_issues/, 后续的期刊可以通过《游牧民》的网站下载: http://journals.berghahnbooks.com/np/。

牧业国家与文化的比较^①。中国作为世界上草原第二大国,与近 10 个其他相邻国家的草原相连,并开始对更遥远的畜牧业国家进行国际援助项目,这正是加强中国牧区的社会科学研究和实践的时候。

① 除了将更多的国际研究介绍给中国读者之外,福特基金会还支持农村环境与社会研究中心和其他中国的受资助者将自己的研究翻译成英语介绍给国际学者。一个例子就是最近出版的新作《恢复社区与土地的联结:通过基于社区的草原管理建立中国和蒙古国的弹性》(国际应用生物科学中心出版部 2011 年版)。该书包括了中国的研究者和实践者在内蒙古、甘肃、新疆和四川所作的五个案例研究。书中的相应章节都是由那些在当地社区展开项目的中国研究者和实践者所著。其他章节则是当地学者与国外合作者共同将其案例研究放在更大的背景和综合推理中完成的。福特基金会还辅助一些中国学者将其论文翻译成英文并进行同行评议,争取在国际期刊《游牧民》上发表。我们希望通过这种方式鼓励研究牧业社区的国际学者和中国学者间有更多的互动。

Preface II

Irene Bain*

The book series *Transition and Modernity in Nomadic Society* aims to provide Chinese readers with access to, and analysis of, significant international experiences in pastoral change and continuity.

It's publication comes at an important time for China's pastoral areas. On August 10th 2011 page one of *People's Daily* reported that grasslands formed 40 per cent of China's territory, and were home to over 70 per cent of its ethnic minority population, but also contained over 70 per cent of national-level poor counties. The article cautioned that "ecological, economic and national security make it imperative that we re-examine grassland development" and it posed a tough question: How can we protect the ecology, increase herder's incomes, and improve the economic situation of pastoral areas in a more coordinated way? ^①

The following day, China convened the first National Pastoral Area Work Conference since 1987. The title of the Conference was significant in itself: It was about "pastoral areas" and not just "pasture". It recognized that these areas had particular characteristics and it signified renewed efforts to address the relationships between herders, their grazing livestock and the land. However, negotiating an appropriate balance between these three key elements of pastoral sys-

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① Caijing Magazine posed the same question on 3rd July, 2011 under the heading "Whither the pastoral areas?"

tems and cultures is an important issue for pastoral development around the world. Fortunately, the social sciences are particularly well-placed to offer analytical insights about forms of community-driven pasture management and monitoring that can contribute to effective pastoral resource and social management. This is important because herding areas like China's are large, geographically and culturally diverse, and have sparse herder populations. Engaging the creativity and enthusiasm of their herder residents to sustain local natural resources is essential for protecting the ecology, increasing herder's incomes, and improving the economic situation of pastoral areas. It also contributes to the effectiveness of national programming investments, particularly over the longer-term.

A key aim of the three books in this series is to disseminate experiences that address these topics^①. These articles do not, and indeed cannot, offer "answers" (or even partial solutions) to pastoral development issues and choices in China. However, they do provide key points of reference for comparison. In doing so, they also serve three additional purposes.

Firstly, they can help local readers to *historicize* international writing and thinking about pastoral management processes and to better understand what particular issues were identified and addressed at particular times, in particular environments, and why. Key themes include the emergence of "the project" and

Some Chinese researchers and practitioners are already developing a range of pilot activities within China that work with herders to promote sustainable natural resource practices. These include; (1) negotiated agreements between local communities and government agencies for improved grassland management (eastern Inner Mongolia); (2) herder cooperatives that expand the scale of grassland access to facilitate livestock mobility and reduce livestock management risks (Inner Mongolia); (3) grassland management by small groups of households to rationalize access to grassland resources (southern Gansu); and (4) creation of community-managed grassland funds to strengthen herder capacity for self-development and sustainable grassland use (western Sichuan). These activities are variously described in the following books; Wang Xiaoyi, 2009, Pastoral Communities under Environmental Pressure, Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press; Dalintai and Zheng Yisheng, 2010, Pastoral Areas and the Market: A Herder-based Economics, Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press; Cao Jianjun, 2010, Grassland Management and Use on the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau, Lanzhou: Lanzhou University Press; Deng Weijie and Han Wei, 2010, Community-driven Grassland Development-Perspectives, Approaches and Actions, Chengdu: Sichuan Publishing Corporation and Sichuan People's Press; and the English-language publication María E. Fernández-Giménez, Xiaoyi Wang et al., 2011, Restoring Community Connections to the Land; Building Resilience Through Community-Based Rangeland Management in China and Mongolia, CABI.