

## RECONSIDERING THE “INDIGENOUS PEOPLES” IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF CURRENT LIVELIHOOD AND ITS HISTORICAL CHANGES: THE CASE OF THE SANDAWE AND THE HADZA IN TANZANIA

Haruna YATSUKA

*College of International Relations, Nihon University*

**ABSTRACT** The Sandawe and the Hadza are regarded both hunter-gatherer groups in Tanzania, once categorized as among the vulnerable minority groups subjected to flagrant violations against communal and individual rights in East Africa. Today, the Hadza are recognized as “indigenous peoples” internationally, while the Sandawe are not. To understand the reasons for the different situations, the author compared their current livelihoods and historical changes. Through the comparison, current livelihood patterns and relationships with and support from outsiders were in total contrast between the Hadza and the Sandawe. This article focuses on three points: 1) The Sandawe who mainly engage in agriculture today are not deemed different from the mainstream of the Tanzanian society. 2) The Sandawe’s agricultural livelihood leave them free of land violation than would be otherwise if they engaged in hunting and gathering mainly. 3) The agricultural lifestyle of the Sandawe is unbecoming to image of the indigenous peoples.

**Key Words:** Hunter-gatherers; Livelihood; Indigenous peoples; Land rights; Tourism.

### INTRODUCTION

In 1989, Tanzanians Moringe Parkipuny,<sup>(1)</sup> a Maasai activist, and Richard Baalow,<sup>(2)</sup> a Hadza activist, addressed the sixth session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva as the first representatives from any community in Africa. Parkipuny spoke on behalf of hunter-gatherers –the Hadza,<sup>(3)</sup> the Dorobo and the Sandawe and many groups of pastoralists as vulnerable minority groups subject to flagrant violations against their communal and individual rights in East Africa. He stated that the most fundamental rights to maintain specific cultural identities and to the land that constituted the foundation of their existence as a people were not being respected by the state or by their mainstream fellow citizens (Parkipuny, 1989). After his speech, East African pastoralist activists and NGOs began to attend the UN Working Group to claim rights and subsequently expanded its’ target group to include a group of hunter-gatherers.

Hodgson (2002) pointed out that in Africa, in contrast with the North, Central and South Americas and Australia, it was quite unclear as to who the first inhabitants were, because of long histories of conquest, assimilation and migration. Most African nation-states claim that all of their citizens are indigenous.

The African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Right (ACHPR) is therefore of the view that a definition of the term, “indigenous populations,” is neither necessary nor useful due to the lack of either universally agreed-upon or single def-

inition that captures the characteristics of indigenous populations. Thus, the ACHPR is of the position that in Africa, the term, “indigenous,” does not mean first inhabitants in reference to aboriginality (ACHPR, 2007),<sup>(4)</sup> and that the defining characteristics of indigenous peoples are marginalization, discrimination, cultural difference and self-identification (ACHPR, 2006).

Kuper (2003) pointed out the examples of the San of Botswana and the Griqua of South Africa, where promoting the concept of “indigenous peoples” has led to many conflicts and ethnic frictions. On the one hand, however, the motivation of the minorities to be active in the indigenous peoples’ movement has been growing rapidly in Africa. One of the interest questions is when is it effective for minorities to claim indigenous status? Another is what motivates some to become active in the indigenous peoples’ movement and not others? In this article, I will consider these questions with regards to the Tanzanian case.

The two ethnic groups, the Sandawe and the Hadza are known as hunter-gatherers in Tanzania. They were mentioned by Parkipuny in 1989 as vulnerable minority groups. In addition, they have been identified by one of the main transnational network organizations recognised as a representative of African indigenous peoples, the Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating Committee (IPACC) as East African indigenous peoples (IPACC online, 2010). However, these two groups have each proceeded on two different paths, one becoming involved in the indigenous peoples’ movement and the other changing their lifestyle.

Today, the Hadza are widely known as indigenous peoples, have joined the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, and they have additional support from the international and local Tanzanian NGOs. The Hadza have claimed their land, and in 2012, they obtained a land title to maintain their traditional use of natural resources. Few people will disagree that the Hadza are indigenous peoples. The Sandawe, in contrast, have never joined the UN Working Group and never have been known as an indigenous people, despite having their name listed by Parkipuny as one of the vulnerable minority groups in 1989. In this article, I will compare these two groups to understand the situation.

As with the defining characteristics of indigenous peoples by the ACHPR (2006), the concept of indigenous peoples is examined through only political or social perspectives. Igoe (2006) stated, however, that definitions of indigenous Africans always stressed that they were pastoralists and hunter-gatherers, as if to imply that the category of “indigenous people” is captured by a single image of their way of life. ACHPR (2006) stated that the African peoples who embraced the term, “indigenous,” cut across various economic systems and encompassed hunter-gatherers, pastoralists as well as some small-scale farmers. Nevertheless, there has been little argument on how the actual way of life or livelihood of the indigenous peoples affected their claim to be indigenous or to join the indigenous peoples’ movement.

The Hadza are still regarded as hunter-gatherers, internationally and domestically. It is little known that the Hadza engage in small scale farming as well. The Sandawe also have the image of being associated with hunting and gathering, and the Sandawe themselves often call themselves hunters. However, in reality, most of the Sandawe were reported to have already settled and adopted agriculture and

animal husbandry in the last half of the nineteenth century (Newman, 1970). This paper will focus on the differences between the current Hadza and Sandawe livelihoods and historical changes, then discuss how the differences affected the relationships with the global indigenous peoples’ movement.

## DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH SITES

The settlement areas of both the Sandawe and the Hadza are located in the central highlands in Tanzania. In the highlands, many ethnic groups have their own different languages and means of livelihood. The Sandawe live in Chemba District in Dodoma Region. The Hadza live near Lake Eyasi, in Arusha, Manyara, Sinyanga and Singida Regions (Fig. 1).

The two groups are located roughly 150 km away from each other. Both areas are semi-arid with erratic rainfall. The Hadza’s country has 300–600 mm annual rainfall (Marlowe, 2010), and the Sandawe’s, 600–700 mm. The Hadza population is about 1,000 (Marlowe, 2010),<sup>(5)</sup> whereas that of the Sandawe is estimated to be 40,000 (Eaton, 2010).<sup>(6)</sup>

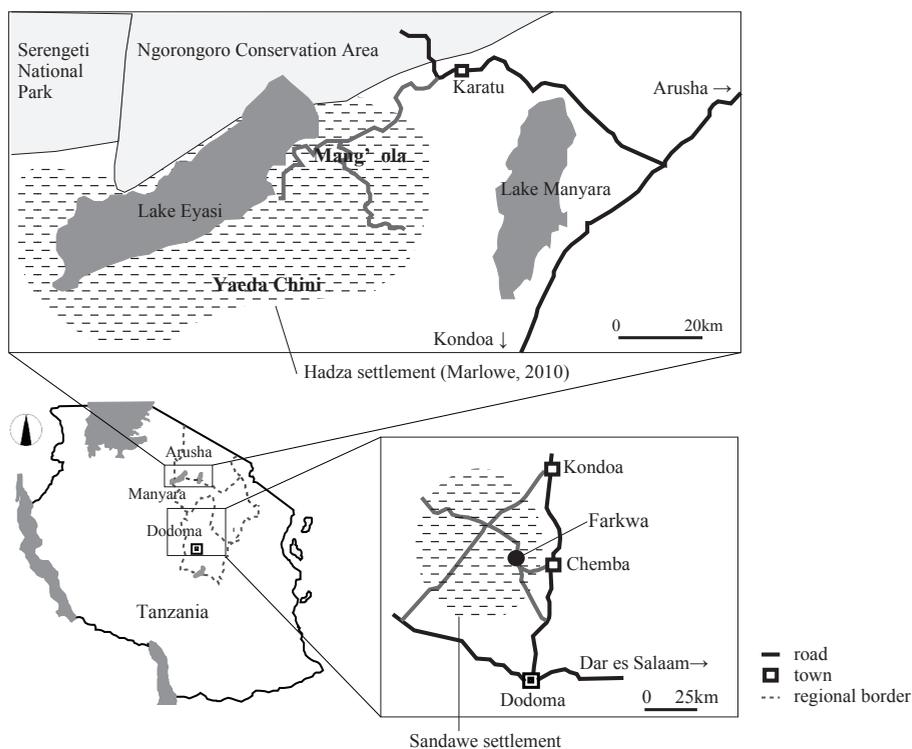


Fig. 1. The spatial distribution of the Sandawe and the Hadza

I conducted a total of two and a half years of fieldwork about the Sandawe in Farkwa Village, Chemba District, beginning in 2003. Farkwa was founded by the compulsory villagization policy of the Tanzanian government in 1971. In Farkwa, there is a Catholic church built in 1929, a primary school built in 1947 and a secondary school built in 2005, with 3,227 villagers according to the population census in 2012.

I researched a month totally in 2012 and 2013 in a Hadza camp in Mang'ola Ward in Karatu District, Arusha Region, east of Lake Eyasi. In Mang'ola, most Hadza live in camps in the bush, but in the southern settlement area, including Yaeda Chini Ward, some live in villages. Marlowe (2009) reported that the locations of the Hadza's camps moved every one and half months or so, and people often visited or moved to other camps. But the camp I stayed had been stationary for more than one year. During my stay in December 2012, there were thirty adults including youth and fourteen children in the camp, but they often visited other camps, as Marlowe (2009) noted. Most of the data on the Hadza for this paper was collected in my field research, which I supplement with some data from the previous studies.

#### COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HADZA AND THE SANDAWE

The Hadza and the Sandawe are estimated to have been in their settlement areas earlier than any other groups. Ndagala (1985) wrote in his paper on the Hadza that the Sandawe and the Dorobo also lived partially on hunting and gathering, as did the Hadza. It is widely accepted that the Sandawe belong to the Khoisan language group, who use click sounds. This group is mainly distributed in two areas: southern Africa and Tanzania. At one time, only the Hadza and the Sandawe languages were categorized in the Eastern Khoisan group. However, later research suggested that the Hadza language did not belong to the group even though they use click sounds, isolated from any other language. Today, many researchers argue that the Hadza and the Sandawe are barely linked linguistically (Sands, 1995). Some analyses of mtDNA and Y chromosomes indicate little genetic link, and that each group had stronger relation to its own neighbouring groups (Tishkoff et al., 2007).

Although linguistic and genetic differences have been discussed, the Hadza and the Sandawe are recognized by other Tanzanians as being the only groups to be so different from the other groups with regard to language and origin. What is more, they are often regarded as bush people, who lived in the bush and hunted animals, and are sometimes called the "Tanzanian Bushman."<sup>(7)</sup>

In the Hadza case, they insisted themselves that the Hadza lived entirely by hunting and gathering until recently (e.g., Gudo, 1999). Because the Hadza's topics are often in newspapers and on the radio as primitive and needing to change or develop,<sup>(8)</sup> many Tanzanian people strongly believe that the Hadza today maintain their original lifestyle.

For the Sandawe, stereotyping leads to a more negative image that they do not

know how to cultivate or that they are too lazy for cultivation. Moreover, the Sandawe themselves maintain a separate identity from other neighboring groups, and consider themselves as originally from South Africa with hunter ancestors. Therefore, the Sandawe say that they see similarities between their language and that of South Africa, as when they heard Nelson Mandela speaking on the radio.<sup>(9)</sup> With regard to the issue of the illegality of their hunting, they told me that they hunted animals, because “we are the Sandawe.” On the other hand, they also point out that agriculture is necessary for their diet. They identify themselves either as hunter-gatherers or as farmers, depending on the context.

Language, appearance, history and livelihood have served to set the Sandawe apart, in both their own mind and others’ (Newman, 1978). Such distance has given even researchers the image of the Sandawe as hunter-gatherers until recently. In fact, it is not clear until when they primarily supported themselves with hunting and gathering.<sup>(10)</sup>

Certain perceptions set apart the Hadza and the Sandawe from their neighbours, and it is interesting to note that they are the only groups in Tanzania who are associated with such perceptions.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE HADZA AND THE SANDAWE: EARLIEST RECORDS

### I. Subsistence in the Past

The first written records of the Hadza and the Sandawe were issued during the German colonial period, at the end of the nineteenth century. It was reported at that time that the Hadza foods were exclusively bush products such as baobab fruits, plant roots and bush meats (Bagshaw, 1924/25a; Woodburn, 1968; Marlowe, 2010). They were first relocated by the colonial administration in 1927. After that, although the Hadza experienced forced relocation again, they returned to their hunting and gathering lifestyle in the bush every time (Ndagala, 1985).

In contrast, most of the Sandawe had already adopted crop cultivation and began livestock keeping in the end of nineteenth century, although they greatly depended on bush products such as honey and wild plants (Newman, 1970). Baumann, who made the first observation of the Sandawe, reported that the importance of bush products and bush meats were on par with crops as food staples for them (Bagshaw, 1924/25b; Newman, 1970). Roughly thirty years after Baumann’s report, Bagshaw (1924/25b) noted that they were quite at home in the bush, and they gained weight when other ethnic groups starved. According to Newman (1970), Kimmanade<sup>(11)</sup> mentioned that as late as the 1920s, it was still possible to find some Sandawe living almost exclusively off game, bush fruits and honey. Compared with other ethnic groups in Tanzania, the subsistence economy of both the Hadza and the Sandawe at that time depended on hunting and gathering, much more than any other groups.

## II. Government Policy and NGO Supports

Tanganyika<sup>(12)</sup> was a German colony from the end of nineteenth century, and the Mandate and Trusteeship of the U.K. from 1919. In 1961, Tanganyika gained independence and in 1964 merged with Zanzibar as the United Republic of Tanzania. The Hadza and the Sandawe have had separate histories during and after the colonial period.

After independence, Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania, made a strong effort to develop agriculture in rural areas. The government maintained the colonial government policy of forcing the Hadza to settle and to take up farming. According to Ndagala (1985), the state government built houses, provided clothes, food, hoes, cereal seeds and livestock, cleared the land and planted crops. Food was provided until the Hadza were able to produce enough for themselves through agriculture and livestock keeping. As a result, some have become self-sufficient and have received formal education, but others returned to the bush and have continued hunting and gathering for subsistence, with the support of some NGOs (Ndagala, 1985; 1988). In the 1990s, some of the NGOs that support the Hadza today were founded in Arusha, including the Pastoralists Indigenous Non-Governmental Organizations' Forum (PINGOs Forum) and Ujamaa Community Resources Trust (UCRT). The former promotes the rights of marginalized indigenous pastoralist and hunter-gatherer communities, and the latter focuses on strengthening the capacity of local ethnic minorities in northern Tanzania.

The Hadza are always regarded as hunter-gatherers and minorities by outsiders, and here is a recent example, an extremely rare treatment of the Hadza by the district commissioner during the national census in 2012. The district office handed out zebra meat to each of the Hadza camps in Karatu District so that the people will gather in one location to take part in the census.<sup>(13)</sup> This episode shows that the government recognized them as hunter-gatherers, which is quite unusual in Tanzania, where hunting without a license is illegal.

The Sandawe, on the other hand, are regarded as former bush foragers who practiced hunting and gathering until the mid-nineteenth century, but who now mostly engage in agriculture. They have not been forced to settle, except at the time of the "villagization" policy that the Tanzanian government enforced in many parts of Tanzania in the 1970s. The Sandawe were forced to settle along the main road and to engage in agriculture, as were the neighboring peoples. In 1996, World Vision Tanzania, an NGO, started some support activities in their settlement area. They have sponsored children, provided preventive education for HIV/AIDS, sold crop seeds at low prices and introduced the plow. They chose the Sandawe as a target population because their area is recognized as inconvenient and remote, not because the Sandawe are indigenous peoples.

## III. Relationships with Their Neighbours

In the Hadza country, although farmers and pastoralists have lived for several centuries (Sutton, 1992), many non-Hadza have moved and settled into the heart of the area since the 1940s (Tomikawa & Tomita, 1980). Today, there are huge

onion fields fed with water from a spring in Mang’ola, and many pastoralists graze their livestock on Hadza land. According to Ishige (1971) and Tomita (1971), the Hadza were at times employed by their neighbours as day laborers, for cultivation, making houses and drawing water, and in return were given maize or sweet potatoes. Ndagala (1988) reported that the Hadza worked as laborers in a number of enterprises, and also in the fields of their agricultural neighbours. Even today, some Hadza graze livestock for their pastoralist neighbours. Marlowe (2010: 19) reported that some Hadza guarded against and killed pest animals in the maize fields of non-Hadza neighbors, and received maize and the meat of the raiding baboons and vervet monkeys. However, in Mang’ola, few Hadza work in the larger scale onion fields, even though the owners employ many locals and migrant workers from other regions of Tanzania.

In the 1990s, cultural tourism started where foreigners come to the Hadza camps to see their “traditional” lifestyle. At first, there were few tourists, but since the 2000s, the number of tourists has increased mainly in Mang’ola, because the camps are accessible in just several hours from the popular tourist routes, which include some famous national parks in Tanzania (Fig. 1). All of the tour guides to the Hadza camps are non-Hadza neighboring peoples such as the Datoga, the Isanzu, the Sukuma, the Iraqw and stuff. Tourism has had a measurable impact on the relationship between the Hadza and their neighbours. I will discuss the cultural tourism in the next section.

Many ethnic groups live around the Sandawe as well, and in the history of their livelihood transformation, neighbours have been very important factors. According to Newman (1970), the first people to inhabit the Sandawe land were the Datoga pastoralists, around roughly ten centuries ago. Subsequently, Nyaturu agro-pastoralists arrived, but not clear as to when. During a severe famine, some Sandawe eventually settled among the Nyaturu, and some Nyaturu settled on the Sandawe land. Thus, the Sandawe gained much information about domesticated plants from the Nyaturu, such as bulrush millet, sorghum and cowpeas. A possible secondary source for the spread of crop cultivation are the Gogo agro-pastoralists, especially in the southern part of the Sandawe land. Livestock seem to have been acquired basically from the Datoga, either directly or with the Nyaturu as intermediaries. The Gogo brought livestock also. New crops, such as maize, sweet potatoes and haricot beans, came from the Nyamwezi.

In fact, the Sandawe had been more known as honey collectors than as hunter-gatherers among their neighbours. The Sandawe themselves told me that they acquired livestock through exchange with honey in the past.

At one time, the Sandawe land was on a long-distance trade route. Therefore, many Arab traders passed through in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, French missionaries arrived in 1908, and Christianity spread. Through these historical interactions, there was a fair amount of fusion and intermarriage between the Sandawe and their neighbours (Newman, 1970: 50).

## DIFFERENCES IN THE CURRENT MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD

It has been reported that about 400 Hadza subsist on hunting and gathering (ex. Marlowe, 2002; 2010)<sup>(14)</sup>, but in some parts of the settlement, they engage in agriculture to supplement their diet. The yield is very much affected by erratic rainfall and sometimes they will be not able to harvest at all. In my research camp in Mang'ola, however, there are no crop fields. I will focus on the case that I observed in Mang'ola in the subsequent parts.

During my stay in the camp, the Hadza men often went hunting to obtain their daily foods and sometimes they returned with bush meats such as impalas, dik-diks, bush pigs and baboons. Women frequently went gathering wild fruits such as *Cordia sinensis* and *Adansonia digitata* and wild herbs, such as *Potolaka olarecea*, *Ceratotheca sesamoides* and *Limeum viscosum*. Actually, their main gathering sites for wild herbs were the old settlement sites of the pastoralists and their grazing area. The gathered herbs are in a way, edible “weeds,” which grow in the disturbed area.

One of the heaviest impacts on the Hadza livelihood today is cultural tourism. Tourism now brings income to the Hadza and has had a tremendous effect on their livelihood, diet, residence and nomadic patterns. During my twenty-one day research period in a camp in Mang'ola, in December, forty tourist parties came from twelve countries, including Tanzania, in eighteen days. The tourists usually arrive at the camp at 6 am, and go hunting with the Hadza men. After hunting, they can enjoy the “traditional” Hadza dance and experience shooting arrows. Sometimes they go gathering edible roots with the Hadza women. Finally, they peruse and sometimes buy the goods that the Hadza make and sell, such as beaded accessories, bows and arrows and pipes for souvenir. There were two types of cash income earned from tourism: the collective income prescribed by the village cultural tourism office in Mang'ola<sup>(15)</sup> and the individual income earned through selling their souvenir goods. During my research period, seventeen people sold souvenir goods among the twenty-six people manufacturing the goods, but the amounts they earned<sup>(16)</sup> were not uniform. They used the individual income to obtain food ingredients such as vegetables, fishes, meats, cooking oil and salt, as well as goods such as clothes, batteries, flashlights and alcohol. In my research camp, the collective cash income for the camp was used to buy maize and alcohol to share. On the market day, they shared a portion of the collective income as well. In my observation in Mang'ola, tourism seemed to have significantly changed the Hadza subsistence economy and lifestyle.<sup>(17)</sup> However this tourism is possibly conducive to widely fixing the hunter-gatherer image of the Hadza.

In the 1960s, the Sandawe subsisted primarily on domestic crops supplemented with livestock products, but hunting and gathering were still important activities with substantial contribution to the food supply (Newman, 1970: 27). In the 1980s, Lim (1992: 73–74) reported that if a Sandawe was asked what he did for a living, the response was “farming,” but also he would attest to the Sandawe enthusiasm for hunting and gathering.

Currently, most of the Sandawe cultivate their own fields, and they produce many kinds of foods themselves including cash crops (Table 1) supplemented with

**Table 1.** Crops cultivated by the Sandawe

Usage	Common name	Sandawe name* <sup>2</sup>	The number of growers* <sup>3</sup>
Staple foods	Bulrush millet	<i>lekoo</i>	+++
	Sorghum (red)	<i>lhao</i>	+++
	(white)	<i>lalangaa</i>	+++
	(white)	pato	++
	(white)	tegemeo	+++
	Maize	<i>anan</i>	+++
	Finger millet	<i>beren</i>	+
Staple foods, snacks, side dishes* <sup>1</sup>	Cassava	<i>moogo</i>	+++
	Sweet potato	<i>mphokaa</i>	++
	Pumpkins and melons	<i>amphani</i>	+++
		<i>koongo</i>	+++
		<i>tanga</i>	+
Side dishes	Common bean	maharage	+++
	Cowpea	<i>kosa</i>	+++
	Pigeon pea	baazi	++
	Bambara groundnut	<i>koziga</i>	++
	<i>Amaranthus</i> sp.	mchicha	+
	Cruciferous vegetable	chainiizu	+
	Okra	bamia	+
Seasoning	Groundnut	<i>khalang'ga</i>	+++
Snacks	Watermelon	tikiti maji	++
Cash crops	Sunflower	alzeti	+
	Sesame	ufuta	+
Alcohol	Sorghum for alcohol (red)	<i>gorombaa</i>	+++
	Rosela	choya	+

\*<sup>1</sup> These roots and fruits are used as staple foods or snacks, but their leaves are used in side dishes.

\*<sup>2</sup> The Sandawe names are written in italics. The others are in Swahili and have no Sandawe name.

\*<sup>3</sup> +++: almost all growers, ++: roughly half of the growers, +: few growers.

Source: Fieldwork conducted in 2007.

livestock, hunting-gathering and bee keeping. Each household produces some kinds of staple crops based on field soil conditions (Yatsuka, 2012). According to my research in 2004, their crop fields for staple food amounted to approximately 90% of the total crop field area (Yatsuka, 2005). However, cash crop fields are increasing. The Sandawe engage in slash-and-burn style agriculture, and in five years after slashing, they typically rotate their fields. The soil contains much sand and is not very fertile, thus shifting is very suited for their soil condition. Today, some Sandawe have opened their crop fields in the area with much clay soil as a result

of diversification of crop species, and cultivated the same field for more than fifteen years. But the majority continue with their original slash-and-burn agriculture (Yatsuka, 2012).

Not many households keep livestock. On average, the number of livestock for each household is little, but a few households have twenty cows or so. They occasionally sell their livestock at the local market held once a month. This is a significant opportunity for the Sandawe to earn money.

Since they incorporated cultivation and livestock keeping to their livelihood, hunting and gathering activities, especially hunting, hardly contribute to their caloric intake. They no longer rely on hunting for subsistence, but the cultural importance is still significant for them. The Sandawe use bows and arrows and nets for hunting, mainly for small antelopes. The Sandawe men almost all travel with their bows and arrows wherever they walk around their village. Traveling with bows and arrows does not mean that they are always looking for game—it merely reflects the ideal of the Sandawe man, as they are very proud their bows and arrows and their techniques for using them. They rarely use a gun, and they use traps only when they hunt small animals, such as bush hyraxes and porcupines, or when children hunt birds and rats. I suspect that they could keep their original hunting method without guns, because they have long ceased to strongly depend on hunting products for their main calorie source.

Under Tanzanian law, hunting without a license is illegal. However, few Sandawe can obtain the license, because it is very expensive for them. Consequently, they are arrested sometimes for “illegally” hunting. The Sandawe often complain about this, but they seem to accept the situation. I believe that just because they engage in agriculture mainly, it does not mean their hunting is not important for their culture and society too.

The Sandawe often gather wild plants and mushrooms. They use at least seventy-two species of wild herbal and woody plants for food (Yatsuka, 2012). In the dry season, they often eat fruits of baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) and kernels of marula (*Sclerocarya birrea*), and in the rainy season, they use many kinds of wild plant leaves. However, among those species, the most important ones for their dishes grow in their cultivated fields as non-domesticated herbal plants.<sup>(18)</sup> These plants, referred to as “weeds,” tend to grow in large clusters in the rainy season, and they are easier to gather than are entirely wild vegetation. Thus, the cultivated field is valuable also as convenient gathering fields.

To summarize, the Hadza, especially in Mang’ola, maintain their hunting and gathering, with significant changes to their subsistence economy. The Sandawe engage in multiple livelihoods, namely, agriculture and the traditional hunting and gathering. Recently among the Sandawe, production of cash crops such as sesame and sunflowers<sup>(19)</sup> is quickly increasing. With the spread of cash crops, cultivation continues to occupy an increasingly important place in their livelihood, and there have been new labor exchange between some Sandawe making serious attempts to cultivate a wider range of cash crops and the other villagers.

PERSPECTIVES ON DIET

In this section, I compare the diet of the Hadza and the Sandawe using reports from the previous researches and my research. The Hadza take roughly 90% of their calories from bush products and only 5–6% from agricultural foods acquired from neighboring non-Hadza peoples, NGOs, or missionaries (Blurton-Jones et al., 2002; Marlowe, 2006; 2010). The Hadza in Mang’ola ate staple food and side dishes if they had maize flour. Maize flour is purchased or exchanged with neighbours, and is cooked to make a kind of porridge, called ugali in Swahili and manaketa in Hadza. They eat ugali with bush meats, gathered plants and purchased leafy vegetables, livestock meats, or beans. When they do not have maize flour but have meats or wild fruits, they eat only these products. They can buy their food from the neighbours, because they earn cash from the tourists. During my research of twenty-one days, the camp earned Tsh. 862,000 collectively, and the Hadza purchased a total of 460 kg of maize with Tsh. 345,000. The visiting tourists like to go hunting with the Hadza, but the Hadza seldom find big game during their hikes with their guests.<sup>(20)</sup> For the Hadza, tourism is a way to earn money, not to acquire their daily foods directly. They often go hunting and gathering only by themselves when there are no guests.

I conducted a diet survey of the Sandawe from February to May in 2006 in three households.<sup>(21)</sup> Fig. 2 shows the percentages of intake for each ingredient, divided into staples and side dishes. The Sandawe eat many different cereals that they cultivate by themselves, which account for 93% of their staple foods. I did not calculate the calorie of each crop, but it was possible to deduce that they acquired many calories from crops. The gathered “weeds,” mushrooms and wild plant leaves accounted for 52% in the side dishes, where 18% were agri-

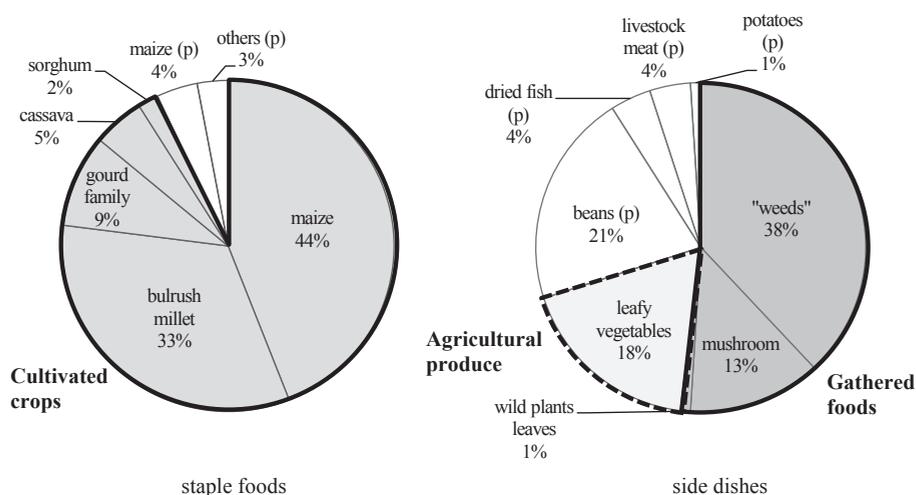


Fig. 2. Sandawe diet survey

\*(p): purchased foods

Source: Diet survey conducted from February to May in 2006 for three households.

cultural produce. Among gathered foods, 38% were “weeds” from their crop fields (Yatsuka, 2012).<sup>(22)</sup> Typically, in the rainy season, they use more wild plants than other ingredients.

In the last section, I discussed the cultural and social meanings of hunting for the Sandawe. While hunting does not contribute to the food supply, it has much cultural and social importance. There are no bush meat in the survey, but that is not to say that the Sandawe do not eat bush meat. Rather, they often eat bush meat such as dik-dik, impala, bush hyrax and bush pig.

Sometimes regarded as “bush people” in Tanzania, both the Hadza and the Sandawe are even today, in some aspects, hunter-gatherers. However, today the Sandawe grow basic crops for themselves. In contrast, although some Hadza engage in agriculture, most of them in Mang’ola continue hunting-gathering and they are involved in tourism and purchase crops. Tourism of the Hadza is based on their hunting and gathering activities. Thus, the livelihood of the Hadza may likely be hunting and gathering, while that of the Sandawe is not.

It may be said in general that agriculture is a simpler way to show that a place is occupied than hunting, gathering, or pastoralism. Small farmers may move their crop fields from area to area in short spans of time, but still the use of a plot of land is more or less evident when the plot is cultivated. In comparison, nomadic people who engage in hunting and gathering are more likely to have their land rights threatened, because their use of the land is not as obvious compared to farmers.

Furthermore, I consider that the livelihood of the Hadza as based on hunting and gathering, even if this includes hunting and gathering as tourism attraction. As tourism attraction, hunting and gathering is quite suited to the image of indigenous peoples, and as a vulnerable minority with regard to their land rights, while this image does not apply to the Sandawe whose current livelihood is based on agriculture.

## THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES’ MOVEMENT AND THE HADZA

In East Africa, the indigenous peoples’ movement was embraced by the Maasai pastoralists and spread to the Datoga pastoralists and to the hunter-gatherers. The Maasai live in northern Tanzania. Additionally, many offices of NGOs that support the indigenous peoples’ movement are located in Arusha in northern Tanzania. It is easy to reach Arusha from the Hadza settlement, especially from Mang’ola Ward, and this fact would likely have facilitated the Hadza’s joining the movement.

Since a Hadza man addressed the sixth session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva with a Maasai activist in 1989, the Hadza have continued to work in the UN Working Group and other global conferences on indigenous peoples. They have claimed the right to have their own land. As Woodburn (1962: 269) argued, the Hadza have been losing their land to neighboring peoples, particularly the Iraqw agro-pastoralists for many years. Their foraging lifestyle suffered from the migration of other ethnic groups into their

settlement area. Today, the Hadza are a very minority population in their own settlement area. When the Conference on Indigenous Peoples of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa was held in Arusha in Tanzania in 1999, the Hadza attended it and said that they want, as free citizens of Tanzania, to choose their own development on their own land without being told what have to do (Gudo et al., 1999).

In this section, I submit two episodes on the land right issue with regard to the Hadza. In 2007, a foreign safari company negotiated with the Tanzanian government for a hunting concession in a huge piece of land in the Hadza settlement. If the hunting concession had been approved, the Hadza would have lost access to all natural resources in the area. The Hadza launched a campaign against the project with support from Survival International, an international NGO, and finally, the company withdrew from the deal (Survival International online, 2007). This fact received much international attention, and seems to have boosted the motivation by the Hadza to claim their rights.

Another example was in the latest news. Against this background of violations of the Hadza land, the Ujamaa Community Resource Trust in collaboration with the Mbulu District Administration, worked with the local villages and developed a participatory land use zoning and land use plans, backed by legally ratified village bylaws in the southern part of the Hadza’s settlement area (Peterson et al., 2012). Now there are several sign posts with notices written, “This is the area where traditional natural resource use by the Hadza is protected (Eneo la Hifadhi wa Matumizi ya Asili ya Wahadzabe)” in Swahili (Fig. 3). Consequently, in October 2011 the Hadza acquired from the Tanzania Land Commissioner their land title for land encompassing more than twenty thousand hectares in the three villages in Yaeda Chini Ward, to engage in their traditional practices (Dorobo Fund online, 2011). And other areas in the villages also were zoned according to other livelihood activities. This is a very rare endeavor in Tanzania by a specific ethnic



**Fig. 3.** The sign post erected by the NGO and the Hadza in Yaeda Chini Ward  
It states “This is the area where traditional natural resource use by the Hadza is protected.”

group to acquire a land title in an appeal to keep their foraging lifestyle and maintain their claim to be the indigenous peoples in that area. However such land use zoning may lead to potential land conflicts among the ethnic groups concerned. This land use solution needs continued observations by researchers in the future.

Furthermore, there has been a specific right granted only to the Hadza: the hunting license. Non-Hadza peoples see the Hadza as original hunter-gatherers, and this recognition makes it possible to relieve them from the hunting regulations of the Tanzanian government. The Wildlife Conservation Act of 1974 issued by the Tanzanian government restricts hunting without a license, obtainable by both residents and foreigners by paying a regulation fee (Wildlife Conservation Act No.12 of 1974). However, the Hadza have been granted this license under the provisions that allow the Director of Game or his/her assistants to grant the license on behalf of the President of Tanzania. Actually, there is a complexity in that provisions for the use of the license were never made, but almost all Hadza hunting for daily food is tolerated (Madsen, 2000).

With respect to land rights and hunting licenses, the Sandawe case is quite a contrast. They have been almost free from losing their land to the neighbours, and they have not been involved in any social movement for land title. This is probably because most Sandawe cultivate fields for their subsistence. Moreover, hunting is not regarded as their original livelihood, and thus, the Sandawe have not sought license for hunting. Some Sandawe men told me, when I asked about the illegality of their hunting, that they would like to hunt animals because they are the Sandawe. This response is interesting, as Game division and local officers makes a clear distinction for hunting by the Hadza and that by the Sandawe. To me, this distinction seems to be caused by the images projected and held by the two groups as to their main livelihoods and claims, which the researchers and NGOs also have continued to reinforce.

In the Sandawe country, one NGO (World Vision Tanzania) has been working since 1996, and the Sandawe have their own NGO as well (SAWADET: Sandawe Welfare Development Trust)<sup>(23)</sup> founded in 1996. However, the NGOs sponsor children and development in the villages, and do not claim specific rights. I suspect that this is so because the Sandawe engage in agricultural activities just as any other ethnic group, they have not assimilated into the mainstream Tanzanian society.

## DISCUSSION

### I. Historical Livelihood Changes

The Sandawe, although once considered a vulnerable minority and indigenous peoples in East Africa, have almost never been involved in the indigenous peoples' movement. To understand the reasons why, I have shown the historical livelihood changes and current livelihood of the Sandawe, and compared them with the Hadza.

In contrast despite the forced settlement or agricultural activity since the colonial period, Marlowe (2002) reported that about 400 Hadza continued to live by hunting and gathering. The Hadza can exchange bush products such as honey or bush meats for maize or vegetables with their neighbours. Although increasing numbers of Hadza have crop fields in the southern part of their country, suitable land for agriculture are already used by the farmers, and it is difficult for the Hadza to constantly grow enough crops given erratic rainfall. Today, they engage in a new subsistence economy, namely cultural tourism, especially in Mang’ola. In my field research, there was little doubt that the reason why none of the Hadza in Mang’ola has crop fields or livestock is that tourism brings them income and they can buy foods. On the other hand, tourism will reinforce their image as hunter-gatherers, both domestically and internationally.

The livelihood of the Sandawe, in contrast, which was seemingly mainly hunting and gathering until the middle of nineteenth century, is mainly agriculture supplemented with other activities today. Daily food consists mostly of agricultural produce and gathered plants from within their crop fields. In fact, it can be said that historically the Sandawe have made the transition from a hunter-gatherer society to an agriculture-based society in a relatively autonomous manner, that is to say, without being influenced by the government policy or external economy. This historical process seems to have enabled them to keep their culturally significant and original skills in hunting as well as the importance of gathering in their diet, while already establishing the foundation of their lives in cultivation (Yatsuka, 2012). Their agricultural activities make them free from experiencing violation to their land, and they have had little problem with land rights. Consequently, they manage their daily life without contribution from the globalized indigenous peoples’ movement or tourism.

One of the most remarkable historical distinctions between the Sandawe and the Hadza would be in the relationships with and support from outsiders, including the government, NGOs, and researchers. This contrast is especially marked in their relation with the indigenous peoples’ movement. The Sandawe still are seen as very different by their neighbours. However because their main current livelihood is agriculture, they do not stand out too much from their neighbors, either. That is why there is no assimilation policy forcing them into the mainstream of the Tanzanian society by the government. Also there is no support for maintaining their original livelihood, knowledge and livelihood techniques by any NGOs. The outsiders have forced the Hadza to assimilate, because they lived by hunting and gathering, which is quite different from the mainstream of the majority of Tanzania.

Through comparison of means of livelihood and historical backgrounds, one reason becomes clear for why the Sandawe are not involved in indigenous peoples’ movement: their livelihood, now mainly agriculture, is not thought of as one in which indigenous peoples are often considered to engage. In contrast, the lifestyle of the Hadza matches this image exactly, even though in reality some of them live on tourism today. Kuper (2003) argued that the rights of hunters and nomadic herders tend to take precedence, because those people are thought of as original human populations of the world, which also means that the lifestyle of

the Hadza is seen as “primitive.” Igoe (2006), in the same paper where he listed the elements of definition of indigenous Africans, stressed that they were inevitably pastoralists and hunter-gatherers, and that in Tanzania especially, the pastoral ideal dominates the indigenous peoples’ movement, even though increasingly the Maasai practice agriculture. Indigenosity seems often determined by whether the people in question engage in very simple and nomadic livelihood practices, namely, hunting-gathering and pastoralism.

## II. Positioning as Indigenous or Hunter-gatherers

In many countries in Africa, governments regard all citizens as indigenous. Tanzania also does not recognize the existence of any indigenous peoples in the country (IWGIA, 2013).<sup>(24)</sup> Hence, claiming indigenosity is useful for minorities only internationally but not much respected domestically. According to Hodgson (2011), for example, the Tanzanian government and the Maasai, who pioneered the indigenous peoples’ movement in East Africa, exchanged vehement hostility over the acceptance of the Maasai claim of being indigenous. As the result of those confrontations, the Maasai activists reframed their political struggle from the language of indigenous rights to that of pastoralist livelihoods.

To paraphrase, positioning themselves as one “indigenous people” is useful for minorities so long as they are able to use the global network of indigenous peoples. While in most African countries where indigenous peoples’ rights are easily ignored, focusing on the main livelihood might be useful to claim an ethnic group’s rights. The Hadza are regarded as original hunter-gatherers by the Tanzanian government, Tanzanian citizens, the international community and the Hadza themselves, and the government and the citizens are persistent that they need to help the Hadza they can join “modern” life as any other Tanzanian. Because the government does not recognize the indigenous peoples’ rights, it will be advantageous for the Hadza to adopt the position of hunter-gatherers than that of indigenous people as in the Maasai case. Actually, the Hadza hunting of animals is tolerated because hunting is deemed original to their subsistence.

An alternative explanation as to why the Hadza got so involved in the indigenous peoples’ movement may be influence by outsiders and that is was unintentional. The Hadza are currently claiming that they are hunter-gatherers. And by doing so, they have improved a critical situation. When they obtained a land title in 2011 with support from some NGOs, it was a historic achievement. However, I see this as just their first step, and researchers need to continue following the situation closely.

To conclude, I submit three focal points in this paper discussing the Hadza and the Sandawe. First, engaging in sedentary agriculture does not motivate a group to stronger claim for their land use, generally because their original fields are not easily taken by other groups. Second, engaging in agriculture leaves a group free from the government assimilation policy as well as anti-assimilation support from NGOs, because the agricultural way of life is similar to that of the more mainstream neighbouring groups. Third, a group’s projection of hunting and gathering

as an image is more suited to indigenusness than otherwise. In sum, although there are many perspectives in discussion on indigenusness such as interaction with neighbouring groups, supports from NGOs, government intervention and images for each ethnic groups, researchers have tended to discuss those political meanings only. I hope to have clarified that, rather, livelihood is possibly one of the most important factors for discussing indigenusness.

Igoe (2006) stated that the indigenous identity reflects combination of “cultural distinctiveness,” and the Sandawe also could have claimed the desire to continue their traditional hunting culture that shapes their own identity. In fact, they possess deeper indigenous knowledge on their surrounding environment that they have got through their livelihood activities—not only hunting and gathering but also agriculture (Yatsuka, 2012). However, in history and the current situation the Sandawe have adopted and developed a lifestyle based on agriculture, rather than continue to be regarded as indigenous hunter-gatherers or claim for their rights internationally. In other words, for the Sandawe there is no need to fit themselves to the international imagery of indigenous peoples, at least for now. Although Tanzanian citizens may still regard the Sandawe as hunter-gatherers, the Tanzanian government does not give them special attention as hunter-gatherers. Because the Sandawe, who have not had serious problems that threaten their survival, being considered indigenous or working with the transnational network has not been particularly attractive.

Lastly I report that in the last several years, the Sukuma agro-pastoralists, the largest population group in Tanzania, have migrated to the Sandawe settlement area. The Sukuma have cleared a huge seasonal swamp where the Sandawe used to hunt and graze, and now have made rice fields. Some Sandawe feel strongly opposed to this social development and against the Sukuma as well. I will continue to monitor how the Sandawe approach this new land rights conflict.

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## NOTES

- (1) He was a representative to the Tanzanian Parliament for Ngorongoro District.
- (2) He is currently a community development officer.
- (3) They call themselves “Hadza” in singular and “Hadzabe” in plural, although they do not clearly distinguish the singular and plural. Sometimes in Tanzania, they are called the “Tindiga” in Swahili, but they dislike this term for its derogatory and discriminatory con-

- notations (Kaare & Woodburn, 1999).
- (4) The UN Declaration of 2007 did not define “indigenous peoples.” Shimizu (2012) commented that this fact opened the possibility for any group whose rights were not respected by their states to declare themselves indigenous peoples.
  - (5) Many researchers estimated that the population is about 1,000. One Hadza community development officer told me that it was about 4,500. He was responsible for the population count, and a Tanzanian newspaper adopted his data (Daily News, 19 Oct 2011).
  - (6) The estimated population refers to the population that speaks the Sandawe language, according to Eaton (2010).
  - (7) For example, in an in-flight magazine of Kenya Air “Ujumbe” issued in 2009, the Hadza were described as “Bushman” (Anderson, 2009) and the Sandawe were described as “Sandawe Bushman” (Cavallo, 2009). The magazine used the word, “Bushman,” to denote the hunters living in the bush like the San in the Southern Africa, but the word also suggests their historical differentiation with other peoples.
  - (8) For example, in Tanzania Daily News, there is a signed article (Sanga, 2008) titled, “Plan to change Hadzabe’s lives.”
  - (9) In fact, Mandela spoke Xhosa. The Xhosa language also uses clicking sounds, but it belongs to the Bantu language group, not the Khoisan language group.
  - (10) Newman (1991/2) stated that the Sandawe had long converted to adopting the methods of cultivation and livestock husbandry, and that the researchers were trapped in the early categorization of them as hunter-gatherers, partly due to the Sandawe’s own view of themselves as such, and through observation of their desultory approach to agriculture.
  - (11) Newman (1970) referred the following article: Kimmanade, M. 1936. Les Sandawe. *Anthropos*, 31: 395–416.
  - (12) Tanganyika is the continental part of current Tanzania.
  - (13) Tanzania Daily News reported this episode, writing that, “they asked for monkey meat” (Nkwame, 2012). In reality, they were given zebra meat, not monkey meat.
  - (14) The reason why the Hadza have little changed their lifestyle in spite of their long time contact with their neighbors had been explained as follows: the expectation of an immediate-return (Woodburn, 1988), poor soil for agriculture, the presence of tsetse flies, lack of development and infrastructure, easy access to wild animals with the presence of many national parks and game reserves around their country, and little confrontation with others (Marlowe, 2010: 37).
  - (15) The village cultural tourism office, which is placed in a village in Mang’ola, manages the Hadza cultural tourism. There is no Hadza staff. However, in June 2013, the Hadza founded their own cultural tourism office in Mang’ola with assistance from a priest.
  - (16) The maximum earned was 115,000 Tsh. and the minimum was 5,000 Tsh. Some earned nothing. In December in 2012, 1 US dollar was 1,579 Tanzania shillings.
  - (17) Marlowe (2010: 287) pointed out that tourism had some negative consequences for the Hadza, for example, creating hierarchy in their egalitarian society.
  - (18) For example, *Amaranthus graecizan*, *Ceratotherca sesamoides*, *Corchorus trilocularis*, *Sesamum angustifolium*, *Cleome hirta* and *Ipomoea farinosus*.
  - (19) In the western part of the Sandawe country, they also cultivate finger millet as a cash crop.
  - (20) When they went hunting with their tourist guests, once in a while they returned with baboons or dik-dik, but usually with only small animals such as birds or squirrels.
  - (21) February to May is in the latter half in rainy season.
  - (22) This is the “weed” I discussed in the last section. It is secondary growth in the fields.
  - (23) World Vision Tanzania is scheduled to end their work in the Sandawe country in 2016. SAWADET has not been active for several years due to the lack of funds.
  - (24) Now Tanzania is in the process of writing a new constitution. The draft for the first time

includes safeguards and protections of the rights of pastoralists and hunter-gatherers (IWGIA, 2013).

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Author’s Name and Address: Haruna YATSUKA, *College of International Relations, Nihon University, 2-31-145 Bunkyo-cho, Mishima, Sizuoka 411-8555, JAPAN.*

E-mail: yatsuka.haruna [at] nihon-u.ac.jp

