BECOMING VISIBLE

Economic and Social Transformation and Marginalization of Akie Hunters and Gatherers in Northern Tanzania

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ABSTRACT

The thesis ‘BECOMING VISIBLE’ is about economic and social transformation and marginalization of Akie hunters and gatherers in Northern Tanzania. My initial interest in the Akie ‘Dorobo’ was motivated by the fact that they have constituted an almost blind spot on the ethnographic map of East Africa. In this study it will become apparent that the Akie have also been invisible in a political sense and subject to marginalization.

Economic and social changes are explored within a wide historic frame, through a process of fitting and contesting different sources of data. My observations and insight acquired over twelve months among the Akie to the extreme south in Arusha Region in 1996/97 are revealing. Conceptual tools and frameworks of understanding evolve gradually in accordance with the presentation of material, in order to highlight aspects of economic and social transformation from different angles.

An outline of Akie and ancient and pre-colonial history is proposed. Akie history does not begin with the coming of German and British colonialist from overseas. Changes in the Akie economy are explored in relation to external forces of push and pull, implications of colonial and post-independence policy and intervention, and how it has articulated on the local leve. The changes in the Akie economy has taken place through social and economic interaction in a shifting socio-political context of change. I have examined internals of the Akie economic system - described subsistence technology (including ideological components) and analyzed particular features of Akie social and economic organization, to try to explore further how the economic system may have changed - also over larger span of time. I have analyzed relations to neighbors, stigmatization and avoidance strategies. Focus is set on how the Akie have become muted in the land quest. Control over land and vital resources have been lost due to forces largely outside the Akie realm of influence. Land legislation is a part of this picture. The Akie vote with the feet even in the few cases they are represented on even the lowest levels of the modern administrative set-up, understandable in the light of their marginal influence, stigmatized status and previous negative experiences. I have shown however, that Akie can mobilize renewed interest and take initiative themselves. Unfortunately the Akie are not politically organized, lacking the means and knowledge to do so.

Finally, I have pointed to some changes that have occurred since I left field, if with uncertain consequences. An Akie participated in a conference on indigenous peoples in Tanzania in 1999. The African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights has also made a major reorientation on the politics of difference, etc.
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This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the Cand. Polit. Degree at the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo. A number of people have contributed in various ways in making this study possible.

Espen Wæhle, then with the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo, and Knut Odner, at the time with the Department of Social Anthropology in Oslo, both inspired me in different ways to do a ‘Dorobo study’ in Tanzania. A period of work with the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), Oslo encouraged my interest for what may labeled ‘this kind’ of minorities, if the definition may be problematic. This is also reflected in my close interest in the formation of the IMUSOT e PURKA Pastoralist Association in Handeni District, Tanzania, that evolved during my fieldwork. In fact, this interest is apparent in several of my previous examination papers in social anthropology (Bakken, 1993; 1994, unpublished).

I would like to express my deep-felt gratitude to the many Akie in the Kijungu/Talamai and Kibaya area that welcomed me and shared their knowledge with me, I can not name all. The old hunter and tracker Kisenga and his companion Mama Reina firstly introduced me to their many friends. Simmel accompanied me during the very initial phase of fieldwork and tried to teach me to climb Baobab trees in search for wild honey. Koko, ‘the grandmother of all’, housed me along with her daughter, months on end. I will never forget it, the long hikes, and the quiet talks when waking up to bring the fireplace back into life in the middle of the night, the many experiences I was allowed to share.

1 The Cand. Polit. degree is a 2.5-3 year postgraduate study or longer depending on the project (following 4 years of undergraduate studies including 1.5 years of foundation-level and intermediary level courses in social anthropology, the rest in other disciplines) involving independently designed and conducted research, at least 6000 pages of readings and a thesis of 100-200 pages. It is more comparable to a research-oriented M. Phil. degree rather than, for instance, the MA degree.
2 My contact address: Vogtsgt. 48, 0477 Oslo, Norway
Tel.: (+47) 915 94 749
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3 Wæhle provided me with numerous copies of accounts of early explorers of the interior in East Africa, as well as the reports and notes of early missionaries and colonial officers – related to an intended ‘Dorobo’ study in Kenya. Due to the political relations between Norway and Kenya he was denied a research permit however, and re-orientated his project to a study of the Mbuti ‘pygmies’ in Zaire. Odner gave me the idea of aiming my own study at the Akie Dorobo in Tanzania on the basis of a visit to Kiteto district in relation to a pilot study on the Maasai in the area, and where he came across ‘Dorobo’.
4 IWGIA was founded in 1968 and is a non-profit, non-governmental, politically and ideologically non-aligned organization. Financed by subscription and support from Scandinavian governments, IWGIA is a documentation and research organization which sets focus on the problems facing indigenous minorities and represents their perceptions and preoccupation’s with the overriding aim to let the speak them for themselves. Apart from publications (Documents, Newsletters in English and Spanish and the annual Yearbook) IWGIA operates on an international level to promote human rights, for instance within the context of the UN system as in the UN’s Working Group on Indigenous Populations (Geneva). The International Secretariat of IWGIA is based in Copenhagen, Denmark.
I owe special thanks to my field assistants. Karani Salepu accompanied me on many of the long hikes in the bush, asking the trees for guidance and the wild animals to leave us in peace in the Akie way. I spent considerable time with three particular women, always patient and eager to set things straight for me and correct my understanding of Akie ways of life, especially on issues related to the domestic sphere. Rafael Reyet ole Moono (secretary and coordinator of the IMUSOT e PURKA Pastoralist Association in Handeni District) and Jacobo Ole Paringo, Maasai from Handeni District, helped translating on two of my field trips and contributed directly and indirectly with valuable insights on Maasai - Akie relations and vice versa. I am also indebted to Adam Kuleit ole Mwarabu, (with the IMUSOT e PURKA Pastoralist Association in Handeni) who cross-checked some information for me after I had left field.

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5 Research Project Leader Mette Bovin at the Institute invited me to the ‘Africa Days’ in September 1997 to present a paper at the ‘Ethnicity and Inequality’ workshop, and also to present a paper together with Rafael Reyet Ole Moono from Tanzania (Bakken and ole Moono, forthcoming) on her ‘Culture and Crisis in Africa’ conference in March 1998. I would also like to thank Director, Professor Kjell Havnevik at the Department of Rural Development Studies in Uppsala, for letting me participate at the workshop ‘Land Issues in Africa with Emphasis on Tanzania” in April 1997.
Ian Bryceson, at the time Senior Environmental Adviser with the Norwegian Agency for Development (NORAD) in Oslo, and also Caroline Rusten Rugumayo and Halvor Wøien, at the time Research Fellows with the Center of Environment and Development (SMU-UNIT) in Trondheim, helped out with valuable practical information and contacts in Tanzania before leaving Norway.

My initial supervisor, Associate Professor Harald Beyer Broch, guided the writing of my project proposal before leaving for Tanzania. Professor Aud Talle, my supervisor since then, has provided comments on drafts and help to systematize data. This has resulted in a somewhat change of focus in the presentation since the initial project outline (Bakken, 1995). My friends and former fellow students Margrete Aarmo and Camilla Bildsteen have read parts of drafts and provided invaluable moral support. Jon-Magnar Brekke kindly helped me arrange the photographs used. I would also like to thank Erling Mumb who dragged me out of the log cabin I used as a writing place for a period in Elverum - to track wolf, lynx and bear in the Norwegian ‘bush’ in order to evaluate the size of the animal populations, a most welcome diversion. In this context there is no way I can forget the hospitality of Anne Marie Karlsen who generously housed me after I returned to Oslo before I could move back into my own apartment.

I would also like to thank the funding institutions, the University of Oslo and the Department of Social Anthropology, Oslo, and Carl Lumholz Fund. I am also in debt to Statens lånekasse for utdanning, Norway, if in more than one way.\footnote{My departure to Tanzania was delayed three months waiting for research clearance. I also lost almost three months sorting out bureaucratically related problems after arriving the country in the end of October 1995, which consequential in extending field work with three months (in accordance with the time budget of twelve months field work approved by the Department of Social Anthropology in Oslo). Such problems obviously have little understanding in Statens lånekasse for utdanning, which promptly denied me financial support on return to Norway and without previous warning - with the argument that I had used the limit of time set for my study. I argued the case and the Department of Social Anthropology wrote a letter of support. The error was eventually realized if almost six months late and without any excuse, or even a letter of information. This, however, had already had the consequence that I had to work full time in almost six months to be able to provide for myself and then moved from the apartment in Oslo to my small log cabin in Elverum in order to cut living expenses as much as possible. Since, I have chosen to work first part-time and later full-time. This is in part accountable for that the write-up of this thesis has taken time.}
Many of my childhood years were spent in East Africa in relation to my father’s work with the Ministry of Wildlife and Tourism in Kenya, and the Norwegian Agency for Development (NORAD) in Tanzania. I am grateful for the support of my family, my brothers John and Stein, and my mother and father in particular - Else Hovind Bakken and late Reidar Bakken, who encouraged me all the way in going back to East Africa. Thomas Kløvstad has had to live patiently with me during the ups and downs of the writing process.

This work is therefore first and foremost dedicated to them, if devoted to the Akie.
1/ INTRODUCTION

The Subject of the Study

The Akie in northern Tanzania, better known as ‘Dorobo’, live in scattered settlements and homesteads on the fringes of their neighbors habitation in an area which is a part of three administrative districts, Kiteto and Simanjiro in Arusha Region, and Handeni in Tanga Region. This area is often referred to as Tanzanian Maasailand or alternatively the Maasai Steppe, the later a heritage from the German colonial period. Kiteto district, the main locus of my fieldwork among the Akie over twelve months in 1996/97, is situated to the extreme south on the dry Maasai Steppe.

They have never been listed as ‘Akie’ in the national census. Colonial officer Maquire suggests approximately 1,000 based on his personal estimates in the case of the ‘Mosiro Dorobo’, most probably Akie (as I will return to). The number of ‘Dorobo’ was given as 1,686 in the 1957 census list with reference to the language ‘Dorobo’ without further elaboration (Polomé, 1980). Later census lists do not provide adequate information on language, if information on language at all. The number could have been higher than indicated in the 1957 census list, the Akie are quite fluent in the Maasai language (maa) and it is possible that some of them have been able to pass as Maasai when census information was collected. According to my experience the Akie do not necessarily want to reveal a ‘Dorobo identity’ as it can carry considerable stigma, and do generally not speak their language in the presence of strangers. Personally I think the Akie may number about 3,000 people in the present. In any case, as pointed out by Kratz (1994) with reference to the Okiek in Kenya whom the Akie may be related historically, the term ‘Dorobo’ encompasses a larger category of people associated with hunting and gathering not necessarily ethnically homogenous – Okiek, other hunters and impoverished Maasai that have taken to hunting. As will become apparent, in Tanzania alone the Dorobo category can encompass the Akie speaking a Kalenjin related dialect, Asa speaking Aramenic, and also most probably impoverished Maasai speaking Maa.⁷

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⁷ I will return to this in more detail in Chapter three.
The Akie are primarily known as ‘Iltorobo’ (sing. Oltoroboni) among their pastoral Maasai neighbors, in reference to an inferior status as hunters and gatherers ‘people without cattle’. Among the cultivating Kiswahili speakers they are generally known as ‘Dorobo’ (Wandorobo, Ndorobo), the Kiswahili derivation of the term. I recall that when I first traveled through the area I did not meet a single person that seemed to know who I was talking about when I asked about the Akie, and so it remained with few exceptions. Inquiring about the ‘Dorobo’ was a quite different matter, at least on the local level. A former Principal Ecologist in Tarangire National Park (further to the north) I hitched a ride across the Maasai Steppe with, told me he hated the Dorobo ‘for their silent hunting with bows and poisoned arrows’. When I asked him if only Dorobo hunt this way he told me no, ‘not necessarily but it’s the Dorobo that have introduced this disgusting poaching equipment’.

This thesis is about economic and social transformation and marginalization of Akie hunters and gatherers in Northern Tanzania. My initial interest in the Akie was initially motivated by the fact that they have constituted an almost blind spot on the ethnographic map of East Africa until recently. The Okiek ‘Dorobo’ in central and western Kenya, with whom they might be historically related, have been studied relatively extensively from within if by relatively few scholars (Huntingford, 1929, 1931 etc.; Blackburn, 1971, 1973, 1982, 1986, 1996 etc; Kratz, 1980, 1986, 1988, 1991, 1994 etc.). In this study it will also become apparent that the Akie have also been invisible in a political sense and subject to marginalization. Control over land and vital resources have been lost due to forces outside the Akie realm of influence. They also generally hold a low profile, understandable in the light of their marginal influence, stigmatized status and previous negative experiences.

Economic and social transformation is explored within a wide historic frame, through a process of fitting and contesting different sources of data. My observations and insights over twelve months among the Akie to the extreme south in the Arusha region are revealing. An outline of Akie origin and ancient and pre-colonial history is proposed. Akie history does not begin with the coming of the German and British colonialists from overseas. Changes in the Akie economy are explored in relation to external forces of push and pull, implications of colonial and post-independence policy and intervention, and how it has articulated on the local level. The changes in
the Akie economy have taken place through social and economic interaction in a shifting socio-political context of change. I examine internals of the Akie economic system - describe subsistence technology (including ideological components) and analyze particular features of Akie social and economic organization to try to explore further how the economic system may have changed over time. I have analyzed relations to neighbors, stigmatization and avoidance strategies. Focus is set on how the Akie have become muted in the land quest.

At the end of this thesis, I have discussed some important changes that have occurred since I left field, related to the Conference on Indigenous People of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa in Tanzania in 1999 and the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the politics of difference, in particular.

**Akie Ethnography**

The Dorobo (spelled in various ways, Wandurôbo, Wadorobo, Ndorobo) appear in many of the travelling accounts of early explorers of the interior in East Africa, as well as in the reports and notes of early missionaries and colonial officers. The German missionary J. L. Krapf provides the earliest account of ‘Dorobo’ that in hindsight might have been Akie, in *Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob* (1854:21-28) after repeated travels into the interior.

..the Wandurôbo are poor people, eating anything they may obtain: they eat the meat of the elephant, and of all other game. They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the Wakuafi do, who therefore boast of their own superior houses. These people speak the language of the Wakuafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own. (Krapf, 1854)

The British colonial officer G. W. B. Huntingford (1929:336) is quite certain that he is writing about ‘Dorobo’ in contact with the ‘southern Maasai’ in Tanzania. As to the ‘southern Maasai’ this is probably Maasai belonging to the Parakuyo section as Krapf makes reference to that they spoke the language of the ‘Wakuafi’, a common term for the Parakuyo. In addition the Dorobo spoke an

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8 Ref. Adamson (1968), Chanler (1896), Donaldson Smith (1897), Dundas (1908), Evans-Pritchard (1940), Höhnel (1894), Johnston (1904, Hobley (1902, 1903, 1905, 1906a, 1906b, 1910), Hollis (1909a, 1909b), Neuman (1898), Stigand (1910, 1913), Stiles, Thomson (1885), Wayland (1931), etc.
own language. Those Dorobo might have been the Kalenjin speaking hunting Akie, or alternatively Southern Cushitic speaking Asa hunters living in Maasailand as suggested by Blackburn (1971). Kannenberg, however, encountered people in the area who called themselves ‘Agie’ in 1909, according to Kaare, (1996a).

The article ‘Il-Torobo’ written by colonial officer J. A. R. Maquire that first appeared in Journal of African Society in 1928 (and later republished in 1948 and 1963) provides the first effort to distinguish between the various ‘types’ of Dorobo he found in the ‘Maasai District of Tanganyika Territory and contiguous districts’. His article is based on three years of observations stationed at the center of administration in Kibaya in the early British colonial period, in the middle of the 1920’s. Referring to himself as an amateur linguistic, Maquire makes explicit reference to a small number of hunter-gatherer groups he collectively labels as Mosiro. He thinks the Mosiro might be remnants of hunters and gathers of possibly ancient stock, speaking a dialect related to ‘Nandi’ in Kenya as a first language, and possibly closely related at a point in history to the ‘Nandi Kalenjin-speakers’. He does not know, however, if they call themselves ‘Okiek’, with reference to information from A. C. colonial officer Hollis that the Nandi call the Dorobo Okiek (sing. Okiot) and the Maasai Iltorobo (sing. Oltoroboni) (cf. also Hollis, 1909b) and certainly makes no reference to ‘Akie’.

Apparently Huntingford was the first who carried out more systematic ethnographic studies of the Dorobo as a whole and the Mosiro appear on his list of various groups of Dorobo in Kenya and northern Tanzania in his first published work in 1929, the year after Maquire’s article was first published. On Blackburn’s map of Okiek the Mosiro - and also Mediak and Kisankasa, another two groups of Dorobo mentioned by Maquire, appear as Akie (1971). In Ehret’s reconstruction of Southern Nilotic history relying heavily on linguistic analysis (1980, 1971), the hunting and gathering Akie on the southern Maasai Steppe in Tanzania speak a Kalenjin related dialect classified as South Kalenjin, belonging to the Southern Nilotic branch of the Nilotic language group. He makes no other reference to Akie groups, in terms of other group names that is, than that colonial officer Maquire makes reference to them as well as their language as Mosiro. The Mosiro and the Kisangara, the later yet another group mentioned by Maquire, appear on Kratz’ map of Okiek and and Akie (1994). This indicates that Blackburn and Kratz have visited the Maasai Steppe
in Tanzania and done some investigations - and also arrived at different conclusions as to which names to include on their lists. For instance, Kratz mentions in a footnote (1994:425, footnote 3) a previous visit to Akie in Tanzania. I will follow up this discussion in Chapter three where I try to locate Akie groups and/or sub-groups in the wider setting.

It was colonial officer Maquire’s conviction based on his observations in the 1920’s that the Akie on the Maasai Steppe would in time become Maasai. Some were working as herders for the pastoral Maasai and ‘begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds’, if they primarily led a hunting and gathering life in the depth of the bush. It was also his opinion that their language was ‘dying’ with reference to the mixed vocabulary with Maasai loan words he discovered, among other things:

Among the Mosiro [Akie] Masai-influence waxes yearly, and in time they too will cease to exist as a separate people. The comparatively high prices the Masai are willing to pay for Mosiro women; the fact that the Masai are always ready to employ the younger Mosiro men as herders; the stricter enforcement by Government of the Game Laws, all these factors contribute to the abandonment of bush life of the Mosiro .. (Maquire, 1963:266, my insertion)

Maquire features Akie as a ‘vanishing tribe’ of hunters and gatherers in the face of inevitable change. He explicitly mentions his anticipation of tighter restriction on local hunting practices. The later implies an increasingly difficulty in maintaining an occupation of a hunting and gathering niche, if one thinks of a combination of the two as the mainstay of Akie subsistence – a specialization first and foremost in utilization of wild or natural resources as it appeared at the time of the colonial officers observations.

With reference to Maquire’s predication of the Akie becoming Maasai above, one can argue that ethnic identity does not necessarily change with subsistence specialization (or maybe I should say subsistance generalization). Kratz (1980, 1986) has explored this further in relation to ethnic interaction, economic diversification and language use among Kaplelach and Kipchonwonek Okiek in Kenya, Spear (1993b) in relation to the agricultural Arusha Maasai in Tanzania and Galaty (1982, 1993b) further in relation to boundary shifts in Maasai identity in a larger perspective. It
seems that in the general sense, being Akie is a matter of claiming to be Akie and having shared a hunting and gathering life in the bush, as Kratz also notes among the Okiek groups she studied.

The late Tanzanian anthropologist, B. Kaare (Kaare, 1996a), wrote a doctoral thesis on the Akie based on fieldwork mainly in three Akie villages in west Handeni district bordering Kiteto district (I carried out most of my own fieldwork in five villages in Kiteto district). Kaare’s thesis, constituting the only extensive study of the Akie, was not available to me until after I returned from my own fieldwork. Kaare explores Akie identity in relation to the symbolic construction of community identity, inspired in part by Kratz’s work (1994) on meaning, movement and experience in Okiek women’s initiation. His study approaches the Akie construction of identity by relating their myths of origin, their understanding of how they became into being, to the various rituals they perform during their life experiences, set within a broader context and how they reproduce and negotiate their identity.

My own work clearly has a more material focus, if not solely. The emphasis is on economic and social transformation and marginalization of Akie. Following Marx in the very general sense, people make their own history, but they do not make it as they please. I hope that Kaare’s and my own work will be seen as complementary, however. I have referred to particular parts of his work several places in this study, when it can through light on my own research, and when are our findings diverge which might illustrate local variation and different local histories.

**A Discussion Permeating ‘Dorobo’ Studies ..**

Literature with focus on economic specialization as hunters and gatherers and identity formation in a historic perspective - that might or might not incorporate the Tanzanian Akie ‘Dorobo’ with the Kenyan Okiek ‘Dorobo’, can roughly be divided into two. Perspectives that stress a possible long term historical and cultural continuity between the present day groups and an ancient or indigenous group of hunters and gatherers - and those who are far more reluctant to do so. This is a discussion that has permiated studies of ‘Dorobo’ and therefore included here. Let me provide some examples.

Cynthia Chang in ‘Nomads without Cattle’ (1982) argues that it may be erroneous to project the present day ‘tribal associations’ of people into their past. She is of the opinion that boundaries
between tribal groups in the past seem to have been extremely fluid. Present day perceptions of identity of ‘Okiek’/’Dorobo’ hunters and gatherers in the Rift Valley of Kenya and northern Tanzania must first and foremost be understood on the background of the closing of tribal boundaries by enforcement of administrative units based on ethnic divisions. In her view it is most likely that the majority of the ‘Okiek’/’Dorobo’ groups are disenfranchised pastoralists and farmers, rather than being descendants of ancient populations who have hunted since ‘time immemorial’. Chang’s viewpoint derives primarily from the travel journals of the late-nineteenth-century British explorers. ‘Early ethnographic descriptions of East African peoples were most often written by colonial district officers and were aimed primarily towards arming the colonial government with information that would facilitate the administration of native peoples’. Chang does not, however, completely rule out that some of the Okiek may indeed constitute populations whose historical roots are distinct from surrounding pastoralists. (Chang 1982:269, my emphasis)

Knut Odner (1986) sees Kenyan Okiek identity formation and economic specialization as largely a product of the Maasai expansion starting in the seventeenth century based on archeological and linguistic material in the main and by ‘putting together pieces from other peoples research’ (1986:308). Ethnogenesis is related to ‘structured’ and ‘unintended’ consequences of differentiation within less previously differentiated societies. He rejects that Okiek genesis is a very early evolutionary phenomenon or an adaptation to colonial rule if not completely ruling out that ‘international contacts’ may have played a role in the process of differentiation. He adds, however:

My suspicion is, however, that the hard core of the Okiek can trace their ancestry beyond colonial times. (Odner, 1982:309, my emphasis)

Huntingford (1929, 1931), Blackburn (1971, 1982) and Kratz (1980, 1994) defend the view of Okiek as possible remnants of ancient indigenous hunters and gatherers based on extensive research. It is insisted that Okiek are not Maasai and do not see themselve as such. They share a
number of distinctive and recognizable features of language, social organization and technology in
their foraging way of life, in spite of variations between the groups. Age-sets and clan organization
seem to be less important than for instance among their pastoral Maasai and agro-pastoral Nandi
neighbors, monogamy is the rule rather than the exception as opposed to polygamy, and they have a
strong affiliation to the areas they collect honey in. According to Blackburn:

Perhaps the most interesting clue to a common Okiek history is the fact than one local group, the
Omotik, who like the Digiri, keep cattle and speak Maasai as their domestic language, not only know
Kalenjin but in addition know a third language which is unintelligible to Maasai and Kalenjin
speakers. This has been identified (Heine, 1971:54-5) as a derivative of ‘Proto-Southern Nilotic’
from which ‘Proto-Kalenjin’ later developed (see also Blackburn, 1973:57); which is to say that the
Omotik language, which may or may not once have been shared by all other Okiek, split from the
main Kalenjin stock as much as 1,500 years ago (estimate by glottochronology, Heine, 1972),
suggesting a distinct identity for these foragers of considerable antiquity. This conforms with the
Okiek assertion that they were living in central Kenya prior to the arrival of any other existing
people, an assertion which is also supported by the traditions of the other groups such as the Kikuyu,
Maasai, Kipsigis, etc. (Blackburn, 1982).

Interestingly, Blackburn has more recently become less convinced if the Omotik and the Digiri (and
also the Saleita) are ‘Okiek in origin’ with reference to extended field studies. Their similarities to
Okiek may be a result of more recent adaptation. They may have ‘become’ Okiek by adoption or
assimilation. (Blackburn, 1996).

If one is to follow Blackburn, diversity among Okiek groups can generally be accounted for
by reference to differences in subsistence base, ecosystem, and/or the length of time and closeness
of relationship to neighboring non-Okiek peoples. Kratz (1994, 1986) provides an example by
comparing two Kenyan Okiek groups, focusing on ethnic interaction, economic diversification, and
language use within a framework of changes affecting population composition including colonial
and post-independence dispositions.

Now Chang calls for cautiousness in interpretation of available sources. It is important to consider
the political and economic context in which information was gathered and diffused - and it is
necessary to question the objectivity of informant and ethnographer that may be clouded by ideological and material conflicts. Source materials should be interpreted in the light of the context in which they were written. As noted Chang (1982) defends her viewpoint of ‘Okiek Dorobo’ as primarily impoverished pastoralists or farmers in reference to her examination of traveling journals of the late-nineteenth-century explorers which she finds more reliable than ethnographic descriptions written by colonial district officers.

Kratz points to that that the general pastoralist Maasai view of Okiek hunters and gatherers as culturally and economically deprived peoples (living in scattered groups and dwellings on the forest fringes providing Maasai with honey, herding labor, ritual services seen as ‘polluting’ like circumcision of young men, and refuge), is reflected in some of the early traveling reports. She is of the opinion that this derogatory and biased viewpoint also reappears in anthropological debates about Okiek identity. What follows from this line of argument is that Chang’s analysis may suffer from bias in her own interpretations. Further, as pointed out by Kratz, as a number of these groups speak the language of their pastoral neighbors, follow some of their practices and sometimes have acquired membership in pastoralists age sets and clans, this has encouraged the view of Okiek as a depressed caste or serfs within pastoral society, similar to ‘ironworkers’, or as impoverished cattle nomads who have taken refuge in the forested highlands in response to more recent disruptive developments.

Another central point in Kratz’ argumentation is that discussions about the Okiek are often confused by the term ‘Dorobo’ (Wandorobo, or Ndorobo etc.) applied to them, the Kiswahili derivation of the term Iltorobo. Iltorobo is what the pastoral Maasai call Okiek, other hunters, and poor Maasai in their Maa language. The merging of two distinct clusters of hunting groups, the Kalenjin-speaking Okiek found in the central and western highland in Kenya and Maa-speaking hunters in northern Kenya has caused misunderstandings. This is further complicated by that even other linguistically and historically distinct hunting peoples like the Yaaku and El Molo have been included in the Dorobo category.

9 ‘Polluting’ usually refers to what contradicts and confuses cherished classification (Douglas, 1975). I will return to this in Chapter seven.
Huntingford (1929, 1931), Blackburn (1971, 1982) and Kratz (1986, 1994) defend their views of Okiek as possible remnants of indigenous hunters and gatherers of ancient stock. They draw on extensive fieldwork, what the people say them selves, particular cultural features they find common to the various groups of Okiek, and heavily supported by what they find to be linguistic evidence.

The in part different views of Okiek ethnogenesis and economic specialization as hunters and gatherers and ethnogenesis in a time perspective presented above has in part been influenced by differences in the epistemological status one gives to various kinds of data and sources of data. Furthermore, it illustrates that one must be critical to all sources of data, and also open for revision of former insights, either by own extended studies, or others.

**Economic and Social Change, and the Forces of Marginalization**

A lesson learnt from hunter-gatherer research over the last twenty years is that hunter-gatherer life and economy is not necessarily a cultural ‘throwback’ that has survived by virtue of self-contained isolation.

Whether hunters and gatherers of today represent ancient hunters and gatherers or not, is a problematic question. Hunters and gatherers have in most cases coexisted with herding and/or cultivating economies for centuries, possibly thousands of years, and particular adaptations or specialization’s rests as much in their relations to the encompassing social world and relations to neighbors as the natural environment (Keesing, 1981; Bird-David, 1991; Wæhle, 1997). Because hunting and gathering peoples in the last several millennia have in most areas coexisted with and traded with cultivators their occupancy of a specialized ecological niche cannot be easily assumed to be ‘survivals’ from an ancient past. Cautiousness must be displayed as to placing hunters and gatherers into imaginary chronologies and development scale’s where hunters and gatherers constitute the bottom rung and the development always goes one way in the direction of more
complex societies, from reliance on hunting and gathering, to cultivation or the keeping of livestock (Keesing 1981:112).\footnote{Pastoral societies like cattle nomadism is often seen as a side-step in this context (Keesing, 1981:112).} \footnote{Also if the ‘tribal’ world is viewed as a mosaic of cultural variation, this may attribute spurious ancientness and stability to these ways of life, and easily overlook the way peoples were tied into regional systems of trade, exchange and politics (Keesing, 1981:113).}

Revisionists like Wilmsen and Denbow have challenged earlier representations of hunters and gatherers. As Burch and Ellana (1996:7), I take it that that one of the main points in this debate is whether hunters and gatherers in our time can be seen as representative for ancient hunters and gatherers – and how to deal with contact, change and integration. Central in this discussion is the critic of Lee’s representations of Kalahari San (also called ‘Bushmen’). Wilmsen (1989) proposes that Lee has given a wrong picture of San as original or ‘pure’ hunters and gatherers living in timeless isolation.\footnote{Paleontologists and archaeologist have also been interested in San from this point of view.} Lee and Solway (1990) explicitly fronts this problem in *Foragers, Genuine or Spurious?: Situating the Kalahari San in History*, and point to that the Dobe San (among whom Lee conducted most of his fieldwork) and the Kweneng San have had radically different historical experiences, while the former have been relatively isolated and relatively independent, ‘even to this day’, the latter were intimately involved with Bantu pastoralists and furtraders – drawing on oral history, archeology and ethnography (Grinker and Steiner, 2002a). A reading of Lee’s second edition of *The Dobe Ju’/hoansi* (San) (1993 (1983)) provides an update on how his own views have changed overtime. He no longer believes that studies of contemporary hunters and gatherers are primarily a tool for understanding the evolution of human behavior. On the basis of his own research he still finds grounds for defending that there is no evidence for that the Dobe area residents were pastoralists in the distant past, as has been argued, however. ‘From the archeological record – the Dobe area has been a hunting and gathering stronghold for literally thousands of years’ (1993:18) Lee also shows much the San have changed since the first edition. ‘Trends visible in the early 1980’s, have intensified and have created new crisis (and opportunities) for the Dobe people’ (page: x), not to speak of changes since he first visited them in 1963. Lee notes among other things that in the Dobe area there were no trading stores, clinics, government feeding programs, borehols or airstrip, except for the tribal headman, clerk and constable civil servants - all these institution...
were in place by 1992 (page:154). Further, in one generation the Ju/'hoansi had changed from living by hunting and gathering in the main (some herded and worked for others), to eking out a living by herding, cultivation and craft production, along with some hunting and gathering.\(^{13}\)

The challenge is to see regional processes in historical context. To fit the ethnographic present of fieldwork within a larger frame of historical development, process and change (Grinker og Steiner, 2002b:XXV) and be sensitive to that one cannot easily generalize from one area to another, without taking into account the total historical contexts of both groups. Following Kent (1996:1) understanding diversity has been a hallmark of anthropological inquiries since the inception of the discipline, while hunter-gatherer (or forager) studies have tended to stress similarities. Diversity can be masked by fallacious uniformity. Apart from similar food procurement strategies (an emphasis on the use of wild plants, wild animals, fish), groups may differ in almost every other way possible – from the social and ecological environments they occupy to their stratification, hierarchies, and gender relations, as well as the organization of their economies. This work is a contribution if mostly indirectly, to the larger project of studying diversity as similarity between and within various groups in a historical context for the purpose of a more explicit comparative investigation in the future. This is not to say that I have not drawn on a variety of sources when it can through light on my own research or argument. The anthropological enterprise is after all the comparative study of culture and society (Eriksen, 1993:11), whether explicit or more implicit. The difference is the level of abstraction one aims towards. The relation between the particular and the general is always a stressfull one. Representations will always be reductions of more complex and nyanced wholes.

Several researchers have noted that hunter-gatherer research is in crisis as it faces serious practical, methodological and conceptual challenges (Barnard, 1983; Burch, 1996). Burch notes that the very subject matter of our investigations is disappearing, and has been disappearing for a long time. Old people die. Younger informants may know little or nothing about a past that could be of interest to anthropologists. It does not necessarily exist useful written documentation in the form of historical and ethnographic sources. Participant observation in an ongoing system may provide

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13 'For the large majority of Ju/'hoansi with little or no schooling, the job prospects are poor, and a life of odd jobs combined with heavy drinking is not uncommen. It was a bitter irony of underdevelopment that in the mid-1980’s many youths were attracted to Namibia where jobs in the South African Army were the only ones available’. (Lee, 1993:159)
limited insight as to reconstruction of the past if there are little or no such sources – and if existing
must be read critically. On the other hand there may be a problem of ‘read-back’, native informants
give information on their ancestors way of life that they themselves acquired by none-
discriminative reading of previous anthropological research. This may result in that anthropologists
essentially talk to each other through the intermediary filter of native informants.

A study of economic and social transformation of Akie in Tanzania clearly faces a number
of challenges, when it comes to practical and methodical problems related to handling the extent of
their relative autonomy and integration into the wider society and larger-scale systems in a longer
time-perspective. There might have been rapid and considerable changes over a relatively short
span of time starting with the colonial expansions but it must not be forgotten that there is history
prior to it. In the case of the Akie there is little previous research done and accordingly little written
documentation. This still requires an effort at reconstruction and problematization going beyond
participant observation in an ongoing system and by drawing on sources and different tools that are
after all available. I have drawn on various sources (linguistic evidence beyond human memory in
oral report and written documents, early travel and missionary reports, the reports of colonial
officers, relatively scarce ethnographic material, land management programs, environmental impact
assessments - what Akie report, what their neighbors report and my own revealing observations
over twelve months among the Akie in 1996/97, mainly in Kiteto district to the extreme south in
Arusha region), moving back and forth in history. Different conceptual tools and theoretical
frameworks of understanding evolve gradually, in the course of analysis. I have done this in order
to highlight and discuss aspects of economic and social transformation among the Akie in a historic
perspective from different angles, moving between eksternals and internals. The underlying
analytical premise however, is a generative approach as developed in particular by Fredrik Barth
(cf. for instance 1966, 1981). People make choices and decisions according to situations or
opportunity situation (Barth 1966). External factors shape, constrain and define the context within
which people act.

When this is said, my own research is not aimed at finding evidence for if the Akie have been
hunters and gatherers since ‘time immemorial’ or not (whether hunters and gatherers in our time
can be seen as representative for ancient hunters and gatherers, is irrelevant to this study), as a
project in itself. It is rather an effort to make sense of the relatively unknown Akie with the
different data that after all is available – and over a relatively large span of time. As such economic
and social transformation is interesting in itself, and in particular in relation to the process of
marginalization I will unfold in this thesis threatening the existence of the Akie as a hunting and
gathering people and their overall survival.

Where there is a state organization seizure of whole hunting and gathering communities and
their land often occurs. Domination over and stigmatization of people defined as alien, of whom
hunters and gatherers are almost the prototype, can be particularly severe (Woodburn, 1991a:45).
Historically such peoples have been subject to massive slaughter, and forceful assimilation and
neglect – the Australian aborigines were not even counted in national censuses until the 1960’s
(Eriksen, 1993a:126). Eriksen also refers to the conflict over rights to territory between the Cree
Indians and the Canadian state over a major hydroelectric project in James Bay. In Key Issues in
Hunter-Gathering Research, Borrero (1996:126) provides a sad account of the ‘extermination of
the Selk’nam (Ona) who inhabited the northern part of Isla Grande of Tierra del Fuego, at the end
of the twentieth century the Selk’nam are gone\(^\text{14}\). Following Crawhall (2003) into the African
context, Batwa in Rwanda and San in Botswana find themselves in a very precarious situation.
Batwa have almost completely lost the land base through the distruction of the Gishwati forest and
the loss of rights in forest to the north and south. Further, possibly 1/3 of about 30 000 Batwa were
killed during three months of intensive warfare in 1994. Several thousand San were recently
expelled from the Central Kalahari Game reserve by the government of Botswana. In South Africa
however, San have gained ground with the help of the South African San Institute and the Khomani
San community. As to the different development in Botswana and South Africa, Professor Sidsel
Saugestad (University of Tromsø) provided an interesting lecture at an institute seminar at the
Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo in November 2003 with reference to
different processes of decolonialization and development of democracy, also based on her former

\(^\text{14}\) Following Borrero (1996), after first bloody confrontations with Spanish explorers and gold seekers, mining companies were
established and spread lethal tuberculosis, pneumonia, measles, diphtheria and syphilis – the Chilenian governments’ strategy of
expension encouraged the establishment of sheep ranches in the area. The partition of land with wire fences and the introduction of
sheep – which appeared as new prey to the Selk’nam, resulted in that Selk’nam men were hunted down and killed selectively and
woman and children deported.
work (2001). Following International Work Group of Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA, 2003a:389), news started to emerge in the late 2002 of atrocities against local populations, including Pygmy communities in the Ituri District in the Democratic Republic of Congo. It is claimed in reports that Ugandan-backed rebel-groups had been forcing their captives to eat human flesh in several areas including Mambasa, ‘Mambasa covers an area of 37,860 km2 and Mbuti Pygmies are thought to comprise 50% of the population’.

I agree with Guenter (1995:705) that the plight of hunters of gatherers should be in focus in hunter-gatherer research - and how they try ‘to resist and prevail, by whatever economic, social or cultural means they have come to adopt, whether through circumstance or choice’. This is the essential of what this work on the Akie is about. The intention is to give Akie a wider hearing.

The Layout of the Study

I have allocated an entire chapter to my fieldwork among the Akie. If this work is set within a relatively wide historic framework and various sources are drawn on, my own revealing observations insight acquired over twelve months among the Akie in 1996/97 are central in the analysis. Chapter two is about this fieldwork; my journey into the land of the Akie, the first trip to an Akie settlement, finding research localities, self-management and data collection, particular challenges, my own position - and important ethical considerations.

Chapter three and four forms the general historical background to discussions in following chapters.

In Chapter three I try to provide an outline of Akie and ancient and pre-colonial history - before the coming of the German and British colonialists. The Akie as ‘people of the land’ in the conception of the Akie and their neighbors, and ancient migrations and origin drawing on linguistic analysis, in particular Ehret’s (1971, 1980) reconstruction of Southern Nilotic history. A rather lengthy section follows on the distribution of Akie on the Maasai Steppe. Ehret’s above-mentioned works provides few details on present territorial distribution or reference to particular groups of Akie on the southern Maasai Steppe, other than that colonial officer Maquire made reference to them as well as their language as Mosiro. I investigate the present territorial distribution of Akie
with observations made by colonial officer Maquire (1963 (1948) (1928)) in the 1920’s as a point of reference (he provides the first effort to systematically distinguish between the various ‘types’ of Dorobo he found in the area). I have also chosen to include different accounts on clans, subgroups or others which is utterly confusing - and may be of interest to researchers or others following in my footsteps. Further, I have described traditional territorial organization and utilization of wild resources based on how older Akie describe to me how they used to live in the past when they lived a primarily hunting and gathering life, before they were exposed to colonial and post-independence influence.

Chapter four is focused primarily on the colonial and post-independence period and provides an account of colonial and post-independence government economic policies and interventions that may have had implications for relatively recent changes in the Akie economy. For the sake of clarity, the colonial period is from 1886 to 1961. In 1875 the Germans looked to East Africa, particularly the area south of Kilimanjaro as a site for potential colonization with imperial ambition, a consequence of industrialization and the race for raw materials and cheap labor. A German Protectorate was declared in 1885, in 1891 German East Africa East Africa was declared and under the direct rule of Germany. Under the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, German East Africa was assigned to the British Government under a League of Nations mandate in the interests of the ‘native inhabitants’, and the country became renamed Tanganyika Mandate Territory. 1961 marks the year of independence from British rule. In 1964 Tanganyika formed a union with the island Zanzibar and became the United Republic of Tanzania. The actual changes in the Akie economy as well as some of the implications of colonial and and post-independence economic policy and intervention will be discussed further in subsequent chapters. In the beginning of this chapter however, I have found it convenient with an introduction of present day Kiteto district where I did my field work among the Akie, land pressure and conflict - and the sub-district land management program 1996-99 aimed at dealing with the situation.

In Chapter five, I have explored changes in the Akie economy in reference to externally generated forces of push and pull and how they have articulated on the local level. I call this chapter ‘A Diversification of the Akie Economy’ and not ‘The Diversification of …’ because it only covers a period of a little more than two hundred years. Hypothetically there could have been prior shifts in
the other direction and vice versa in the long span of history, as I will return to in Chapter six. In this process of reconstruction I have drawn on a variety of sources, including an overview of five Akie settlements and my own observations during fieldwork among the Akie. I have noted changes in the economy and settlement pattern, but not without problematizing ‘good years, bad years and worse’. I have also included some further notes on fragmentation of former Akie clans and lands in a sub-section – with reference to the section in Chapter three on clans, subgroups or other’s that might throw additional light on the ‘amnezia’ recorded first by colonial officer Maquire and myself on the ability to name clans and subgroups and membership.

In Chapter six I describe subsistence technology including ideological components, and analyze particular features of Akie internal social and economic organization - also to try to explore how the economic system may have changed over time. I have used a particular Akie village setting with homesteads and interrelated households as a point of departure. This is the Akie settlement I stayed in for the longest time, new best and generally developed the closest relations to Akie. I have made use of and problematized Woodburn’s distinction between economic systems as immediate-return and delayed-return as two ‘types’ within the hunter and gatherer category, delayed-return systems where people do not obtain a direct return from their labor and immediate-return systems where people receive return from their labor without having to wait (Woodburn, 1982, 1991; Barnad and Woodburn, 1991). The Akie economic system is betwixt and between in more than one sense.

Relations to neighbors, stigmatization and avoidance strategies are analyzed in Chapter seven. I have been inspired by Goofmans’s analysis of social encounters from the perspective of the dramatic performance (1990), when describing and explaining some of the Akie avoidance strategies.

In Chapter eight I set focus on how the Akie have become muted in the land quest and lost control over land and vital resources. Tanzanian land legislation is a part of this picture, including poor representation on even the lowest levels of the modern administrative set-up and how the Akie react to it. I also examine the Akie minority situation in light of political organization.

Finally, in Chapter nine I will point to some changes that have occurred after I left field. The Conference on Indigenous Peoples of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa in Tanzania in 1999 and
the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the politics of difference (IWGIA), 1999, 2003a, 2004; ACHPR, 2003) etc, before summing up the main points and rounding up this thesis.
Map 1: Administrative Divisions in Tanzania (after Digital Cartography by M. C. Shand, University of Glasgow, 1997)

Shows Arusha and bordering Regions. Note that the border between Kiteto District and Simanjiro District does not show on this map.
2/ FIELDWORK AMONG THE AKIE

I arrived Dar es Salaam, the commercial capital and government headquarters in Tanzania, on the 28th of October, 1995.\footnote{The government headquarters is later to be transferred to Dodoma.} After three weeks I was on my way to the Regional Administration in Arusha in a borrowed Toyota Pick-Up by driving through Handeni, Kiteto and Simanjiro districts\footnote{The car was kindly lent to me by Pauline Palmkrantz working at the time for the Norwegian Peace Corps in Handeni district.}. On my way I made two brief stops in Kiteto, one of the districts within Arusha region and where I had planned to do fieldwork. Unfortunately, because of some misunderstandings of primarily bureaucratic nature, the following almost three months were spent traveling between different offices in Dar es Salaam and Arusha, back and forth, in the effort to get my final papers in order.\footnote{To be able to pursue field research in Tanzania various letters of recommendation are required. From the Prime Minister’s office in Dar es Salaam to the Regional Commissioner in Arusha, from the R.C. in Arusha to the District Commissioner in Kiteto (based in Kibaya town), from the D.C. in Kiteto to the various Divisional Secretaries and so forth, proceeding down the formal administrative framework. With no intentions of trying to make bureaucratic ‘short cuts’, I was on my way to the R.C. in Arusha with my research permit, semi-residential permit, and a letter of recommendation from the Prime Minister’s Office. I made a brief stop in Kijungu village, situated on the road between Kibaya and Handeni in Kiteto district. As is the grand rule is when traveling in remote areas in Tanzania, I went to greet the Village Chairman and informed him that I would return later with the intention of doing fieldwork among the Akie. The Divisional Secretary, present at the time, was very welcoming and to spare me time on my return wrote a letter to the D.C. in advance informing that everything was fine from his point of view. I presented the letter to the D.C. in Kibaya whom I also visited on my way - anxious, as I was to establish good relations from the beginning. The D.C. (who was replaced by another when I finally returned) perceived of these matters quite differently. He was not happy with my initial visit of courtesy on my way to the R.C. in Arusha to the point that I thought I had messed up my possibilities for carrying out field research at all. As I understood it - I should not have come to see him before I had first seen the R.C. in Arusha. When I came to Arusha the R.C. was on holiday, and no other person seemed to feel authorized to write me a letter of recommendation to the D.C. in Kiteto. I called the Prime Minister’s Office in Dar es Salaam that promised to send a fax authorizing another person in Arusha to write the required letter. I waited and waited, Christmas and New Year came in between. Finally I returned to the Prime Minister’s Office in Dar es Salaam where everything was sorted out before I went back to Arusha once again. From this point and on everything ran smoothly, governmental authorities were very cooperative. I could not accept their offer of driving me into ‘Akie land’ and establish direct contact with Akie their help, however, in anticipation of that it could be inconvenient to become associated with governmental authorities.}

During this delay, however, I made repeated visits to the Institute of Resource Assessment at the University of Dar es Salaam. I visited the Dar es Salaam office of Orgut Consulting AB (the consulting agency connected to SIDA, which provides funding to the planning and implementation of the new district sub-program on land management in Kiteto district and also Simanjiro district). I also visited the unique personal library of the late H.A. Fosbrook in his home in Arusha, besides two safari companies based in Arusha town (Peter Jones Photo and Film Safaris, and Dorobo Tours) who periodically employed Akie as trackers of wild animals.

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At last I was on the road again and heading for Kiteto district. This time I approached the area from almost the opposite direction. From Arusha town and south over the grasslands and open wooded savanna commonly known as Maasailand, or the Maasai Steppe - an anglicizing of the German Masai Steppe introduced during the German colonial period (if it is not really a steppe in an ecological sense). The rain season had begun and what meet’s the eye after the onset of the heavy rains in this area is incredibly green grasses, dense shrubs, thorny bushes and patches of flowering woodlands covering the plains and rolling hills. In the end of the dry season this environment gives a completely different impression, a barren landscape, burnt black by bush fires in patches, the huge and impressive Baobab trees with their curious ‘upside-down’ look - stretching almost leafless branches to the sky\(^\text{18}\).

I hitched rides with various vehicles always incredibly full of people. A Land Rover stacked with home produced liquor for sale somewhere, Land Rover’s run for the purpose of earning an income by transporting people, a truck with people circulating between a numbers of markets selling goods, a woman attached to the Anglican Mission in Simanjiro district, etc. The local bus boarded in Nkasumet (the center of District Administration in Simanjiro district) got stuck in the mud a few hours drive short of Kibaya town (the center of District Administration in Kiteto district) as a result of heavy rainfall. In wait for tractors to come to aid I spent some days enjoying the hospitality of some pastoral Maasai I met on the bus who took me to a temporary out-camp close to Maitema hill, and living entirely on milk.

I reached the village Kijungu with the local bus ‘Simba Mtoto’ a day in February in 1996. I had planned to use the village as a base while locating the Akie and finding a suitable site for fieldwork. When I was stacking my belongings in a small room in a not yet finished guesthouse \((\text{hoteli})\) rented for the purpose of storing equipment, someone knocked my door. Kisenga, a retired

\(^{18}\) The Baobab can grow to diameter of five to seven metres, about the same in height, and can live for many centuries.
tracker and hunter for safari and hunting companies whom I had briefly met passing through the village in November, came with his companion in old age, Mama Reina. They brought me a present of fire sticks to always carry with me in the bush. I received my first lesson in how to drill fire there and then. Soon they were talking together demonstrating the Akie language, which I eagerly taped. I went to bed that night replaying that tape again and again.

The Akie had found me before I found them and almost before I had put my backpack down. News of the person from Ulaya (Europe) interested in the life of the ‘Dorobo’ had traveled fast since I had passed through the area the first time. In very short time Kisenga and Mama Reina had introduced me to a number of people from different places in the surrounding area. I never had to make use of the list of Akie contact persons living in various places in the area kindly provided by Peter Jones in Arusha (Peter Jones Photo and Film Safaris). After a few days I was on my way on foot to the first Akie settlement.

I would like the reader to join me on this first and brief day-trip for a glimpse into the life of the first Akie I met as it first appeared to me and recited here almost as I took it down in the first field notes.

The First Trip to an Akie Settlement

Kisenga came early in the morning. Sorry he could not accompany me because of a bad cough he had brought along a young man to accompany me on a day trip to an Akie settlement in another village, situated on the slope of one of the ridges so typical in this part of the Kiteto district. Samuel and I started out down the road together, soon leaving Kijungu village with its square mud-clad Bantu houses, gardens (shamba’s) with already almost waist high maize plants, small shops, a small church, a small mosque, and primary school, behind us. The sun was already becoming hot on our faces. I recall I was struggling to understand my company’s inland (‘highland’) type of Kiswahili, the official national language in Tanzania. Samuel told me he was a ‘Dorobo’ from the neighboring district Handeni. He could not speak Akie, he lived in Kijungu, worked as a farmhand for a Gogo household and lived alone in a small house made from straw in the middle of their maize garden - and had been away from his family for over two years. He told me he knew some of the Akie we
were going to quite well and knew the way there, but not the shortcut over a smaller hill through the bush.

After a while we took off from the main road and walking up the smooth rise of a hill on a narrow track. The vegetation becoming gradually denser and set with various acacia trees, some considerably twisted and gnarled, something my regular field assistant later explained to me was caused by elephants (now no longer present in this area) rubbing themselves heavily on them. On our way up we passed a few Maasai homesteads barely visible from the track. I could hear the sound of bells on livestock. Maasai children came running up to us shouting ‘mzungu, mzungu’ (white person or European) and excited accompanied us first dropping behind where the track forked, and we proceeded up the hill on an even narrower path. I found out later we must have been taking a route on the outskirts of the lower (chini) part of the village and bypassed the catholic health station run by missionaries, the primary school and a few shops located there, and which I visited later.

We reached the Akie settlement at about noon. There were three homesteads, each enclosed by thorn fencing and with two gateways with the thorny bushes obviously used to close them at night drawn to one side. There were several houses of oval shape and with flat roofs. The homesteads and houses looked Maasai-like to me. Again children ran up to us with the familiar ‘mzungu’ cry, and with a rather flea-bitten dog scampering around their feet. An old Akie woman rose from where she was sitting on a hide in the shade of a tree (doing beadwork?) and came forward to greet us at the entrance of the first homestead. She had been expecting to see me having talked with Kisenga the day before in Kijungu. A few younger women, some with small children strapped to their backs, left their work taking turns at crushing maize into flour in a wooden mortar. Some men also came out from under the trees they had been sitting talking to eye the visitors. In this settlement I could see there were at least three homesteads quite tightly clustered, one could see from one to the next, and during that afternoon I think almost everyone belonging to these homesteads turned up to inspect and greet the visitors. The children were encouraged to come forward - and pushed their heads at us to be touched on top, as I later learned is the custom for children when greeting older persons among the Akie (as the Maasai).
Soon after our arrival we were invited inside one of the houses and I noticed that the house was clad with clay and not cow dung as common among the Maasai. I was offered a three-legged low stool to sit on, a woman came in from one of the other houses with a similar one for Samuel. An old man crept out of the low bed at the back where he had been dozing. Two little girls soon brought the fire in the fireplace in the inner section of the house back into life, blowing energetically at the embers revived from under the ashes, and furnishing it with firewood from a small stack. The house became rather hot and smoky. I was quite happy sitting on my low stool near the doorway of the inner section of the house. No wonder why Akie have a preference for literally sitting or sleeping low barely some ten to twenty centimeters off the hard packed earthen floor, or alternatively on the floor. The smoke from the open fireplace collects under the relatively low ceiling, slowly seeping out through ‘natural’ openings. Water, which I was informed was fetched early in the morning from the natural spring further up in the hillside, was poured from one of the calabashes standing in a corner into a battered aluminum pot/casserole and arranged on the three stones in the fireplace to make tea (chai). A woman ran down to one of the Maasai homesteads and got some milk to put in the tea. We drank tea passing one single enameled cup between us.

Later on we were invited to share the evening meal which was thick maize porridge (ugali) with a delicious mushroom stew made from mushrooms picked among the young maize plants in the garden I was shown later on. Someone also turned up with a few pieces of pre-boiled meat. We ate the meal with our fingers, women and men together. It was rather crowded in the house and the children were shooed out, obviously getting a chance to eat later. A dog kept slinking in snatching scraps that had fallen on the floor.

I kept wondering if the meat I ate was from a wild or domestic animal, I could not make it out by taste. I was sure however, it was not one of the few hens I had seen strutting around the yard. I had seen no traces of livestock, no particular enclosure to keep cattle in at night. Furthermore, there were noticeably fewer flies than in the few Maasai homesteads with livestock I had previously had a chance to visit, flie’s swarm and literally cover every inch of the body the moment one enters one.
In the evening I was proudly shown photographs featuring Akie men with shot game, leopard, lion, antelope and gazelle - and white hunters. The white hunters were posing as what I think of as ‘Hemingway style’. The white hunter showing off the kill, for example crouching with rifle in one hand holding up the head of the dead game with the other, or standing with a foot on the animal and the rifle in the crook of one arm. The Akie were often standing more discreetly slightly to one side or behind, or in the process of skinning an animal. Those Akie were obviously keeping up the tradition from the days of the early explorers and hunters, working as guides and tracking down game.

I was ready to pursue the task of trying to find answers to some of my many questions about the Akie.

Finding Research Localities

Fieldwork was carried out over twelve months from February 1996 to February 1997 on the southern fringes of the dry Maasai Steppe in northern Tanzania, and first and foremost in Kiteto district. Kiteto district is in the southern part of Arusha Region (between latitudes 3 and 6 longitudes 36 and 37 30’ east). The district is one of ten districts in Arusha Region. Kiteto district is bounded by Simanjiro district in the north; Kilosa and Mpwapwa districts in the south; Handeni district in the east, and Dodoma Rural and Kondoa districts in the west. I will provide a closer description of the research area with emphasis on ecology and demography in Chapter four (ref. also map of geographic location).

Following Akie social networks and kinship relations the initial months were spent with shorter visits to localities with Akie homesteads and settlements in villages in the Talamai/Kijungu area in Kiteto district. A large part of the fieldwork was carried out in one village closer to the Kibaya area in the same district, motivated by my wish to study closer how Akie live in the more remote bush/forest a longer distance away from the larger and more established villages. Again I followed social networks and kinship relations of individual Akie in the Talamai/Kijungu area. With this village as a point of reference, Kijungu is roughly two days walk away in one direction and Kibaya one day walk in the other. One Akie homestead was used as a base in each of the four
localities visited and re-visited with quite regular intervals, but I also stayed elsewhere in other homesteads and occasionally with Maasai.

Towards the end of fieldwork I made a larger round-trip in Kiteto Simanjiro districts in part on foot and in part using available local means of transportation. After visiting Simanjiro I had planned to visit Akie settlements in Handeni district but my regular field assistant fell sick. As I was still dependent on a person speaking the Akie language as well as mastering the language of the Maasai, (and who could understand my particular ‘brand’ of Kiswahili well, and vice versa) - this short trip required relatively systematic in-depth interviews, I decided to abandon this last project.

I will return to the language situation in a section further below. First I want to inform the reader on how I tried to manage myself in the process of fieldwork employing participant observation.

**Self-Management, Fieldwork and Participant Observation**

I made seven major trips into the research area of between four to eight weeks duration each during my fieldwork, covering a twelve-month period. This periodically interrupted fieldwork was a strategy of self-management in order to clean-up field notes, create emotional and intellectual distance to get a perspective on the collected data, and prepare myself for the next field visit.

Everywhere I went during the fieldwork period I was welcomed and invited to stay with Akie in their houses. I chose to stay with them rather than in a tent, or setting up my own house in the settlement where I spent most of my time. I felt that living with the Akie in this way made me a more natural member of a household while in field. I found, however, that the only chance to take down field notes to any extent was in the middle of the night when waking up to revive the fire in the hearth at the foot end of the bed. Most often others would wake up too and we would end up talking quietly, warming ourselves close to the fire chewing tobacco or snuff, and sometimes joined by someone from another house in the same homestead coming in to borrow a burning piece of wood.\(^{19}\)

\(^{19}\) I took no precautions of boiling water or required food prepared in any particular way when with them in the bush and never had stomach problems, while I got diarrhea almost every time I left the bush for the larger towns despite taking all precautions generally recommended to foreigners. On two occasions I caught scabies, which is very common among the Akie (as the Maasai) as one
Generally I felt taking down notes would disturb or hinder my own participation and create unnecessary distance between the Akie and me. I found it impractical, it had less to do with an eventual distrust from participants as sketched as common dilemmas experienced by field researchers when deciding when and where to take down field notes (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995:20-21). I did not experience distrust on the occasions I did, but it inevitably made me more of an outside observer than a participant. Many of my best ‘interviews’ were done during quite strenuous activities (like standing practically on the head in a water hole for hours on end alongside the women trying to scoop up water into calabashes and then carrying them home in a bag made from animal hide resting on the back and with the strap across the forehead, during the long journeys walking from one village to another, or when collecting wild honey).

Participant observation, maybe better described as participant reflection, which requires participation and that the researcher steps back to reflect (Årheim, 1994:25), proved to be useful. It may be inaccurate, however, to refer to participant reflection or participant observation as a single method. It may cover a number of methods employed in producing data, with varying emphasize on watching, wandering, listening, and participating in various activities (Tonkinsen, 1984). As noted I have also drawn on other sources besides participant observation during fieldwork. ‘Data’ is only a convenient summary term for the documented and memorized results of conducting research, either based on own first-hand experience or based on those of others in a given text, as voiced by Ellen

2 Author and Akie woman at work

usually shares beds and often the same blankets in the night that could be quite cold. As to being sick during my total stay I experienced a single light attack of Malaria despite the use of prophylactics throughout, but then I never used a mosquito net when staying with the Akie. As it also turned out, the out-door part of fieldwork was not hard for me when in field, as urbanized people in Tanzania and Norway tend to think when hearing about my fieldwork. But then I stayed with Akie over a period of time when the maize harvest from the small gardens was relatively good and the rains were on time. It was as many Akie said, a quite ‘good year’. I suspect, however, that the Akie generally went to great lengths to ensure my well-being by collecting food for me among them.

20 Author at work.
Conducting research is truly a complex and interpretive quest that goes through several stages and phases. I agree with Eriksen (1992) in that whether a fieldworker does a good job or not do not necessarily depend on the methodological training and learnt interview techniques. First and foremost it depends on ability to participate in other peoples lives.

I was generally accepted and could join in on most of the activities of the Akie from the beginning, the limit only my own self-confidence and capabilities. In field I found myself in various roles, a privileged guest, a friend, and a relatively ‘natural’ member of a household and family (I will elaborate on my position when in field in a separate section below). I felt that after a short period of introduction my presence generally did not intrude significantly upon their every-day life (with the exception of the ‘village doctor-period’ that I will also describe further below). Learning and participating, however, is always an interactive process with influence on the social setting (cf. Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995:3). The day often started at 05.00 a.m. going with the women to the water hole, collecting firewood, attending the maize gardens, crushing maize to make flour, collecting wild vegetables, etc. I joined various members of my host family or others on visits to other settlements, sometimes more than one day’s walk away away and often to the monthly market in Kibaya. Repeated visits were made to a health station in the area run by the Medical Missionaries of Mary.

Participant observation was augmented by open-ended interviews in a conversational form to more structured interviews in particular on the few occasions I worked with translators coming from outside, or when on a shorter visits to a settlement or village. The interview is a social process, and conversations are governed by a variety of cultural conventions and expectations which have to be learned (Mitchell, 1984). During conversation I found ‘appropriate’ questions to ask if not without a fair number of mistakes and learning by doing (cf. Cohen, 1984). Questions were posed with different people present, or in a group, and as far as possible checked again when in private with individuals of different age and gender. I added more structured and systematic techniques to participant observation as fieldwork progressed and my language abilities improved.

In the course of fieldwork I recorded personal belongings and inventory lists from different households, their derivation and origin, genealogies and marital relations, exchange relations,

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21 A Catholic Mission with head Office in Arusha town.
individual life stories and household history, work and school experience, travel and migrations, as well as language abilities quite systematically. Unfortunately, my small rucksack containing my separate file on genealogies and affinal relations, among other things (including my stock of medicine) was stolen from me on the local bus between Kibaya town and Handeni town towards the end of my stay in Tanzania. Economic activities and organization was followed up comparatively in the five different localities over a twelve-month period. I also tried to keep track of diseases and epidemics, and made an effort to keep overview of central ceremonies and rituals among the Akie in the area. In short, I collected a mass of mainly qualitative information of which a part will be presented in this work.

**Particular Challenges; Language, Interpretation - and Transportation**

Considerable time was spent trying to learn languages. I had difficulty improving my Kiswahili (Kiswahili is crucial for movement anywhere outside the major towns in Tanzania) and learn the Akie tongue adequately, mixed up as it is with a varying amount of Maasai loan-words in particular. In some Akie homesteads the Maasai language is also more or less the everyday language and many Akie no longer speak Akie at all. I found it impossible to find Akie who spoke sufficiently English to help translate. Most Akie speak some Kiswahili, however, so I managed basically with my own rudimentary Kiswahili as a working language. Throughout fieldwork I worked on a comparative ‘dictionary’ of Kiswahili-Akie-Maasai Maa for my own personal use.

An expert gatherer of wild honey with an extensive social network initially volunteered to be my guide and field assistant. Unfortunately he could not speak the Akie language to any extent. At a later point another man from a neighboring homestead who spoke the Akie language fluently became my field assistant and informant. He eagerly shared his knowledge of wild animals and animal behavior, edible wild berries, leaves, roots, tubers and indigenous medicine with me, and

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22 To the extent I have employed indigenous terms in this work it may be helpful for the reader to use the glossary in an appendix at the back. I have tried to take tonal and phonologic notation of the Akie language, but sometimes missed the distinction between singular and plural. I have inserted the language, whether Akie, Maasai Maa or Kiswahili, in brackets to the point I have been able to find out. The varying use of the different languages does not necessarily reflect the everyday use of Maasai Maa or Kiswahili loan-words in the vocabulary of the Akie I met or lived with. It may reflect the mixture of languages used in relation to me, how things were tried explained by individuals in order to try to make me understand. I should also make the reader aware of from the beginning that despite that the dialect spoken by Akie in Tanzania and Okiek in Kenya are belonging to the same branch of a language group there are dialectical differences between them to the point that many Okiek terms are incomprehensible to the Akie.
made great efforts of learning more from older women and men, for his own interest and mine. His strong and prominent pride in Akie foraging had possibly been strengthened by periodic work for a hunting company in the Seolous Game Reserve further south. Hunting tourists from Europe and elsewhere had shown respect and recognition for these Akie abilities and skills commonly down-valued by people outside the Akie community. This young man (and his brothers) was also among the relatively few I met who had received a few years of formal schooling. He often carried my pocket tape recorder and was free to make his own ‘interviews’ and tape anything he chose, which has provided interesting material free of my own intervention and participation. Three Akie women in the settlement I stayed the longest were especially helpful in the domestic sphere, translating from Kiswahili to Akie/Maasai Maa and vice versa. Unfortunately, it was usually not possible for any of them to travel with me on a more permanent basis as it prevented them from taking care of everyday household tasks.

I several times considered bringing in people from outside who could speak English in addition to Kiswahili. Finding someone who could speak Akie outside the Akie community proved impossible. I also found that however eager various people were to help me the prospect of strenuous walking in the wilds put them off. This was considered to be a fearful business also by people living close to the bush in the larger villages along the major roads. There was also anxiety about that the food one would have to eat among the ‘Dorobo’.

Roughly half way through fieldwork, and after asking the permission of the Akie beforehand, I brought an English speaking Maasai on two occasions (one from the Parakuyo section of Maasai and one from the Kisongo) from the neighboring district, Handeni, to help translate. I made some interesting observations. The Akie often under-communicated certain characteristics of ‘being Akie’ in the direct presence of a Maasai, and particular characteristics of ‘being Maasai’ were over-communicated. It contributed to confirm insights in the relations between the Akie and the Maasai that had become gradually apparent through fieldwork and made me focus even closer on interaction between various members of the respective groups and also in village meetings and politics. I have dealt with the relations between the Akie and their neighbors in this context in Chapter seven. Apart from the above mentioned experiments I chose to work without translators coming from outside.
Even if my language skills gradually improved they remained relatively shallow, but then there is more to understanding than by language in terms of advanced verbal communication. I do not wish to underplay the importance of language skills of course but this possibly rendered me more perceptible to tuning in on the basis of my own experiences in life making it possible to connect with the Akie I lived so closely. I became well acquainted with this phenomenon when getting to know the locals when working with tourism in several Mediterranean countries before I started my university studies. How, I believe, I intimately shared the course of everyday life in particular in the Akie homestead and settlement I spent most of the time enabled me, at least in part, to co-experience how things articulated themselves to the people themselves. The danger of course is imposing one’s own experiences on people to the point of severe distortion or violation in interpretation (Wikan, 1994 and also Rosaldo, 1984). What happened when I came to field is what usually happens when one meets another person, or persons (cf. Wikan, 1994). I made numerous guessing assumptions constantly revised throughout and made numerous ‘passing theories’ in my efforts to understand - contextualize, position myself and others. It is reflected in temporary notes and in dated side comments in my field diary, and hopefully in parts of the text as it may contribute to reveal how insights came to me. As noted in the introduction I like to think of this process in terms of Bateson’s ‘zigzag ladder of dialectic between form and process’, applied to mapping of phenomena with recurrent self-correction in the learning process (Bateson, 1979:194-195).

During fieldwork I was dependent on means of unreliable local transportation when coming and going to field and when trying to spare time on particular longer trips between Akie settlements. During the rain season this was particularly troublesome. Scheduled buses ‘never came’, stuck in the mud somewhere sometimes for weeks on time along with other motorized

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23 I recall an incidence when a young woman, the sister of the woman I lived with, was taken to the house when she was in the process of going into trance to ‘call’ the ancestral spirit *tiamisi* in a horn blowing ceremony. It took two days on this occasion to reach the peak of trance and the mediation could begin. I was with her nearly all the time and she held my hand when during her trembles and spastic movements which was the mark of the spirit possessing her. Was she sick? I was assured that this was something different. We slept together body to body in a fitful sleep in her preparation to meet the ancestral spirit. It took me a long time, months actually to understand at all of what this was about. What I understood from my first experience of this event, however, was that it seemed to be painful for her somehow - but that she wanted it, the co-participants seemed to be excited, there was an atmosphere of a mixture of joy and perceived danger. I was made aware of that it could be danger involved if I as a woman and non-Akie came to see the actual horn to be played later on. What I experienced and the explanations provided to me were utterly confusing, however. I did not understand much of what was said, it was about a beast, a lion (*ngetunda*) in the forest, the ancestors (*assiswe*), and about men going to become very drunk. Was there an actual lion about in the neighborhood? Was there someone coming to the event drunk and violent enough to actually to harm me? Confused and not knowing what to think I took a large club with me when I at last went to bed. On several occasions later when I had understood at least a little bit more, my Akie friends would ask me teasingly, ‘Marianna (Akie tended to pronounce my name with an ‘a’ at the end) on the night of the *tiamisi*, what were you thinking about when you went to bed with that club...?’
vehicles one can usually hitch a ride. Also under drier conditions I sometimes spent up to several
days waiting patiently under a tree along the roadside to try and hitch a ride with a passing vehicle.
While lack of private means of transportation limited the range of movement the elimination of the
cost of a motorized vehicle made a relatively long fieldwork possible, and allowed me to follow a
full annual cycle\textsuperscript{24}.

Understandably, considerable ground was covered on foot alongside Akie. As soon as my
body fluids got balanced and I no longer needed water for every 500 meters, I skipped carrying
extra water like the Akie. The lesson had to be learnt, however, that chewing that incredibly strong
tobacco they are so fond of - and walking with the blazing sun over my head the whole day was
something I could not handle\textsuperscript{25}. All this walking in the bush and forest are among my dearest
memories, and I believe earned me respect among the Akie. Apart from a camera and a pocket tape
recorder (mainly used to tape songs, if not exclusively) no other technical equipment was carried. In
fact, my belongings when in field were otherwise restricted to a blanket, notebooks and a stock of
medicine, and allowed me to travel light.

**Being a White Woman from Europe**

I have already said that I was generally welcomed among the Akie and could take part in most
activities from the beginning. I never encountered the initial problems of suspicion the Tanzanian
researcher Bwire Kaare (1995; 1996a) who was mistaken for a *meeeye*, and was received and
welcomed everywhere without suspicion. Being a *mzungu* – a person from Europe or simply a
white person - placed me in a category of people that gave me immediate contact with the Akie (as
well as the Maasai). In one of the sections in Chapter seven I show how ‘the mzungu factor’
encourages Akie interest and confidence in the new sub-district land management project (LAMP)
in Kiteto district after negatively perceived experiences with previous governmental projects and
Tanzanian governmental officials.

\textsuperscript{24} Even if my regular field assistant never quite got over that I finally decided not to buy that Yamaha motorbike I went all the way
to pick up in Dar es Salaam in May 1996.

\textsuperscript{25} The Akie acquire this tobacco in the form of circular lumps from larger the ‘shopping villages’ along one of the main roads cross-
cutting the district. Both men and women may chew this tobacco, or alternatively grind it into snuff that is sniffed.
I moved relatively freely between the domains of women and men in a society I found more structured along gender lines than the society I see myself as coming from. I still had similar experiences as Ulrike von Mitzlaff (1988) in working with the Parakuyo section of pastoral Maasai in Handeni district as to there was ‘no getting rid of my Bwana’ – man or husband in Kiswahili. Constantly questions were asked also in my case about a man in my life whether it was a husband or a father. Contrary to her experiences it did not seem to be a problem that I had no children and I never felt overlooked or pushed aside by elder women, even if female authority and status rises with child bearing also among the Akie. The connection between women’s rising status and motherhood among the pastoral Maasai is noted by Talle in her study of Maasai in Kenya/Tanzania (Talle, 1988) and also by Dahl when among the pastoral Waso Boran in Kenya (Dahl, 1977).

The fact that I occasionally I went with the men on hunting and honey gathering expeditions was clearly accepted if considered as mainly a male activity. My participation was considered as one of the many peculiarities of white people. Men who had worked as trackers for hunting and safari companies knew European women sometimes enjoyed hunting and the word had spread. Even if I refrained from hunting myself, the men had no problem with me tagging along once I had been put to test and proved I could keep up the walking pace. If a woman somehow betwixt and between after Akie standards, the fact that I was mzungo overrode their notions of what was perceived as ‘correct behavior’ for women. Being somehow anomalous was an exciting and mind-freeing process, and encouraged many interesting discussions about what Akie men and women do and what men and women like me from Ulaya (Europe) do.

As noted, I felt that after a short period of introduction my presence did not intrude significantly upon their everyday lives - with the exception of the ‘village doctor’ period in the settlement I stayed the longest. Apart from my own labor (taking part in daily cores) I contributed with small gifts of sugar, tea and the cherished tobacco. I also shared the emergency medicine I carried with me, however, and lost control to the extent I almost became a kind of village doctor. White women were obviously associated with health workers. People came from afar, Akie, and Maasai alike. Groups of people were waiting outside the straw house from dawn. I believe this illustrates the pressing needs for health services and access to medication to address malaria,
venereal diseases, tuberculosis, etc. as health services are insufficiently developed in the area as a whole.

Usually, my involvement was limited to handing out ordinary painkillers - a few Paracetamol, cleaning and dressing wounds and cuts, and providing malaria medicine when people were suffering from what I perceived as a deadly attack of malaria. Nevertheless, there may be several objections to this kind of involvement on my part. I found myself in the same dilemma as ‘Kelly’ when doing field research in the Western Tropics, a case sketched in ‘Cases and Solutions’ by S.E. Ellen (1993) as to medicate or not to medicate when in field. ‘Kelly’ carried a large supply of medication, much more than she needed for her personal use, should she distribute the surplus? Contrary to me this fieldworker decided not to give any medication to villagers who were exhibiting symptoms of malaria for instance. Her argument was that medication does not confer permanent immunity to the disease and because she would not be present to provide medication during future outbreaks of the disease.

Right or wrong, I was not able to disengage myself from human suffering and my role as ‘village doctor’ gradually took up more and more of my time until I learned to be more restrictive. I did not have the economic means or the time available. I had also become aware that Akie and Maasai generally have great trust in modern medicine and dawa (medicine) was taken quite indiscriminately whenever they could acquire any. For instance, antibiotics (commonly called rangi mbili which literally means two colors in Kiswahili with reference to that the capsules usually come in two colors) were high in demand from my first day in field. I usually did not hand out antibiotics but noticed that if anyone had any - a pill would be taken every now and then and often for preventive measures. I observed the same thing with the malaria medication I handed out. One or two pills were often taken and the rest of the cure hidden for another occasion. This was too difficult to control. Treating various diseases in this way is a big problem in Tanzania (and many other countries) and in part responsible for the increasing immunity many decease’s develop to medication - and not the least in the case of various strains of malaria.

26 ‘Kelly’ found it more important to allow affected villagers to develop their own resistance to malaria ‘naturally’. On the other hand, as pointed out in a reader’s response (S.E. Ellen, 1993) malaria is often fatal. One does not acquire immunity to the decease in the same way as to measles, for instance. If one chooses to distribute surplus medication, however, one is obliged to inform oneself of the medical facts as pointed out in another reader’s response. Lacking professional medical training I discussed the problem of malaria (in particular) with health workers in the area who gave me instructions. The issue was also discussed in the elder council in the village.
The ‘village doctor’ incidence was not the only ethical dilemma I found myself in when doing fieldwork among the Akie - or in writing this thesis.
Ethical Considerations

It is inevitability that the selection of material and general representation is my doing influenced by conscious or unconscious academic conditioning and personal training, for all my aspirations to present some aspects of Akie life from the ‘inside’ (cf. Ellen, 1984:100; and Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995:3).

Again, the outcome of fieldwork does not necessarily depend wholly on formal education, when it comes down to it has to do with the ability to participate in other peoples lives (Eriksen, 1992). To get post-field read-back in the writing process that could allow for some adjustments from Akie involved has not been possible. This is not surprising knowing that few Akie know how to read and write even Kiswahili. I have sent parts of the draft to some Akie individuals - with reference to specific others in the area who might be helpful in translating, but without response. Unfortunately it has so far been impossible for me to make another trip to the Akie. I discussed the initial research report I was obliged to provide to the Tanzanian Commission of Science and Technology in Dar es Salaam in return for my research permit when I was in Tanzania, with several Akie beforehand, however. This report (1996) was the basis for a larger report I had to submit after I left field and had returned to Norway (1997a) which was also forwarded to the Institute of Resource Assessment at the University of Dar es Salaam, the Land Management Program Kiteto LAMP Support-Office in Kibaya and Orgut Consulting AB in Stockholm as well as institutions that have funded this research, the Carl Lumholz Fund and the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala.

In this thesis (as the reports), I have used fictitious names for specific persons with the exception of a few well-known individuals in order to protect the integrity and private lives of informants. I have blurred the faces on the photographs used, also because the Akie constitute such a small group. Names of specific localities other than the very general are left out. I have not provided a detailed map of research localities for the same reasons. I expect however, that a person well known in the area will be able to figure out some of the places. I have also to an extent altered or mixed the facts in some cases in order to anonymize the people and places involved, without I hope distorting the larger picture.
The need to anonymize, in this sense, however, is not the same as the problem of politics of representation. One may come in danger of presenting alienating and negative stereotypes of people as a group. Focusing on marginalization carries the danger of representing a social group as poor or entirely powerless, or by focusing on negative events that may reproduce a negative bias (Bougois, 1995), and possibly an undue ‘paternalism’ a well known dilemma also in feminist anthropology (Wolf, 1996). Even in situations of uneven and fundamental power differences, people take initiative, display creativity, make choices, and try to make the best of the situation (Keesing, 1981:497). The Akie are no exception. Nevertheless, I refrain from presenting a glossy picture of the Akie situation. If one does not write to evoke an understanding of the politics of power and discrimination a vital part of the anthropological enterprise becomes meaningless to me.

Anthropological interest and documentation may directly or indirectly over time contribute to drawing attention to vital aspects of the dynamics of marginalization. It might open for that the Akie might be able to speak for them selves and be heard. It might allow what we think of as ‘traditional societies’ liberate themselves and influence the direction of their own future. I have tried to avoid falling into into one-sided and unrealistic arguments for ‘cultural autonomy’ (ref. Keesing, 1981:497). Finally, it depends on who will read my work, and how the reader chooses to read it. There is always the possibility that any involvement from outsiders may have unforeseeable and possibly negative consequences whatever the good intentions, as I have shown in Chapter eight.

The reading of this material might ideally require some acquaintance with preexisting literature on hunters and gatherers, some knowledge of the pastoral Maasai which in my research area are the closest neighbors of the Akie and maybe generally Tanzanian and East African conditions.
3/ THE AKIE AND ANCIENT AND PRE-COLONIAL HISTORY

Akie – ‘The First People of the Land’

The Akie on the southern Maasai Steppe refer to their language, a language clearly distinguishable and incomprehensible to the other inhabitants in the area, as well as themselves as Akie. According to the Akie – A-kie means people of the land. Land is kie in the Akie language (cf. Kaare, 1996). The singular form of Akie is Akiantem (one Akie). Akiantem also closely resembles the number used for one when counting – akienge. The Akie relate this to that they were ‘first and opened up the area’. The Maasai and Bantu (mainly Zigua and Nguu) in the area generally support the view of Akie ‘Dorobo’ as the first people who inhabited the land. As noted in the beginning of the introductory chapter, the Akie are commonly referred to as Dorobo by their neighbors. I should add, however, that many of their neighbors are well aware that the category Dorobo may encompass people with different languages and different origin but all are associated with hunting and gathering.

Akie oral report vaguely supports that they once come from juu (up or above in Kiswahili) in the distant past, as also noted by Maquire (1963:135). They came from the north over the Maasai Steppe and before the pastoral Maasai. One Akiantem informant suggested Mount Kenya in Kenya as a point of origin and another Mount Elgon in Uganda with reference to coming from juu.

Ancient Migrations and Origin

With reference to Ehret’s reconstruction of Southern Nilotic history relying heavily on linguistic analysis (1980, 1971)27, the hunting and gathering Akie on the southern Maasai Steppe in Tanzania speak a Kalenjin related dialect classified as South Kalenjin, belonging to the Southern Nilotic

27For elaboration and explanation of collection of evidence and interpretation, linguistic sources and dating, additional ethnographic sources and meager archeological evidence - see Ehret, 1971:1-30. For examples of loan words from different sources see back of the referred volume.
branch of the Nilotic language group. The various Okiek (Dorobo) groups of the Kenya rift-valley country which Ehret refers to as hunters and gatherers formerly speak a Kalenjin related dialect classified as East Kalenjin belonging to the same Southern Nilotic branch of the Nilotic language group. By contrast the Maasai Maa-speakers closely associated with pastoralism belong to the Eastern Nilotic branch. The Nilotic language group also encompasses the Western Nilotic branch.28

The Southern Nilotes of today live mainly in Tanzania and Kenya (Ehret, 1971).29 Linguistically they fall into two major groups: The Datog of southern Mbulu Area and other nearby country in Tanzania, and the Kalenjin of Western Kenya, of which some extend also slightly into Uganda just north of Mount Elgon. Except for the hunting and gathering Akie living among the Maasai on the southern Maasai Steppe in Tanzania and the Okiek in Kenya, who are hunters and gatherers all formerly according to Ehret, the Kalenjin peoples are herders and cultivators. Totally they number about a million; the largest subgroup is the Kipsigis with about 350,000 people, the second largest is the Nandi with 300,000, and the Pokot, Tuken and Keyo with about 100,000 people each. Kratz (1994:60) suggests that the Kenyan Okiek may possibly total 15-16,000 if the other groups are roughly the size of the Kaplelach and Kipchornwonek she studied, with about five to six hundred people in each. As also noted in the introductory chapter, she mentions the problems with the Dorobo category - also relevant in the case of the Akie (ref. also Rottland and Vossen, 1977). The Tanzanian Akie might total 2000-3000 according to my rough estimations.

Starting out in the far end of Southern Nilotic history the Southern Nilotes in the early and middle pre-Southern Nilotic periods, maybe between 3000-1500 B.C., probably lived and descended from the northern periphery of East Africa in contact with other Nilotes and the ancestors of today’s non-Nilotic peoples on the borderland of northern East Africa and the adjoining plains of Sudan and Ethiopia. These early Southern Nilotes probably had age-sets, practiced the bleeding of cattle and generally placed a high emphasize on cattle - an influence often seen as Eastern Cushitic (‘Hamitic’) but it is most probably of more centrally located Nilotic origin according to Ehret. The earliest Southern Nilotes in south and western Kenya encountered Southern

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28 The Eastern Nilotic branch encompasses; Bari, Lotuko, Teso, Karamajong, Maasai and Ongamo, and the Western Nilotic branch; Dinka and Nuer, Burun and the Luo dialects.

29 The Southern Nilotes are also referred to as Highland Nilotes, Eastern Nilotes are referred to as Plain Nilotes, and the Western Nilotes as River-Lake Nilotes (B.A. Ogot and J. Kieran, 1968). The divisions refer to different locations and different migratory routes.
Cushites and indigenous groups of hunters and gatherers, but in succeeding areas Bantu expansion, eclipsed the Southern Cushites almost everywhere. The Southern Nilotes did not escape the effects of this new population pressure. The contact with remaining Southern Cushits remained important long after the first meeting with Bantu. The Maasai and Karamojong-Teso, through their expansions across considerable land of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, have affected the course of Southern Nilotic history more than either. Over the last two millennia Southern Nilotes have had a widespread competition for territory with these Eastern Nilotes in the largest part of the area they settled in, eventually with Maasai over the southern Kenya plains and Tanzanian Masailand. They have competed with Karamajong-Teso for dominance over the lower country north of the western highlands, etc.

Following Ehret, eight to ten centuries ago the proto-Kalenjin ‘homeland’ is probably to be located in the western highlands of Kenya from Mount Elgon in the northwest to the rift valley in the southeast as the subgroups of Kalenjin dialects are all tightly clustered there today except for South Kalenjin. The earliest speakers of South Kalenjin, once the most widely spoken Kalenjin dialect, probably first neighbors of the East Kalenjin in south central Kenya, probably began to spread southwards into present day Tanzania at least no later than the middle of the first millennium A.D. Moving southwards the South Kalenjin populations must have assimilated a large part of the Dadog who had preceded them in the larger parts of northern and central Tanzania, if not southern Maasailand. Ehret (1971) finds that evidence of loan-words in Akie indicate that the South Kalenjin encountered Southern Cushites (‘Hamites’) speaking a language closely related to Aramanik spoken by hunters living among the Maasai in central Tanzania - and Bantu speaking a Bantu dialect close to Zigua and related dialects in eastern Tanzania. The traces of Southern Cushitic loan-words in Akie might bear evidence of an earlier Southern Cushitic food producing community - large enough to leave their mark on the South Kalenjin vocabulary. It may also be evidence of the language spoken by hunters in south Maasailand before they absorbed the speech of the dominant South Kalenjin encapsulating them.

The Maasai, who succeeded the South Kalenjin in that region by the 1700’s, might have been preceded by another wave of Maasai speakers. At the height of the South Kalenjin expansion they were spread from the south of Kenya to the south end of Maasailand – the area also referred to
as the southern Maasai Steppe. According to Ehret (1971) they must have exerted a dominant influence on Maasai history. The influence apparent in a heavy general set of South Kalenjin loan-words found in Maasai Maa, apart from vocabulary related to cattle-keeping. The early South Kalenjin could have been predominately pastoral, emphasizing cattlekeeping, with cultivation of lesser significance as this mobility may have influenced their settlement through the vast Maasailand areas of Tanzania as proposed by Ehret. Much of the livestock vocabulary is inherited from proto-Kalenjin, while vocabulary related to cultivation is made up of loan-words, most of them from a Maasai-related dialect from a non-recent source, and some from the eastern Tanzania Bantu dialect referred to above. The Maasai-Maa speaking people sufficiently involved with cultivation to have influenced the Akie vocabulary might have entered southern Maasailand after the South Kalenjin, or possibly interacted at a earlier point in history further to the north, in southern Kenya or further north in Tanzania. The later Ehret takes as most likely, and is supportive of the possibility of two Maasai expansions. Probably already by 1600 the extent of South Kalenjin-speaking territory had decreased considerably before the advance of Maasai peoples. (Ehret, 1971:73-76)

According to Ehret (1971) the underlying assumption of migratory movements is that people move for variety of reasons, war and famine, dissatisfaction with their status, natural catastrophes, and numerous other personal reasons. The most probable determinants are basically economic, subsistence patterning - people have a preference of moving where they can pursue what they know best. An economy based on herding and with a little grain cultivation, would allow for mobility and also greater ability in more arid areas, more than for instance an economy with emphasis on cultivation with for instance bananas as root crops, along with some herding, requiring a wetter area and climate influencing the options of movement and areas of migration and settlement. Resource competition would occur where subsistence patterning would overlap encouraging assimilation or absorption. The Maasai expansions might have drawn on the development of a stronger military organization that might account for their more rapid expansions over large areas, than for instance the expansion of Southern Nilotic peoples that was on the same scale but not nearly as fast. Migration in general, however, may involve the immigrants’ assimilation of or into the previous
population rather than the direct expulsion or extermination of the earlier people. (Ehret, 1971:82-85).

The South Kalenjin populations, so important at mid-millennium throughout Maasailand, were mostly absorbed into Maasai speaking society during the 17th and 18th centuries; and today only one hunter-gatherer people of South Maasai District [southern Maasai Steppe] still maintain the Akie version of the South Kalenjin language. (Ehret 1981:74 - my insertion)

Ehret explicitly brings up the question ‘for future investigation’ how Kenyan Okiek groups - where left separate when the social reorganization in the wake of the Maasai expansion consequence in the absorption of Kalenjin pastoralists, which I take it could also hold for the Tanzanian Akie groups. In reference to Kenyan Okiek Blackburn (1982) is of the opinion that the distinct ecological niche occupied by hunters and gatherers has not created grounds for resource competition between them and the pastoral Maasai. The pastoralists have had little use for forests utilized for gathering honey and hunting so the assimilation of the small and scattered groups into the larger and more powerful group has not been encouraged. But then, how did the Akie and Okiek Dorobo - if remnants of Cushitic hunters and gatherers for instance, come to speak a Kalenjin dialect in the first place (the Akie South Kalenjin and the Okiek East Kalenjin) if even the subsequent long dominant Maasai presence was insufficient to influence them to adopt Maasai in place of Kalenjin? It must be kept in mind that the South Kalenjin was most probably herders too (with cultivation of lesser significance according to Ehret).

It seems to remain an open question if the Akie on the southern Maasai Steppe today are of Cushitic or Nilotic derivation. It cannot be completely ruled out either that the present day Akie may be remains of an earlier indigenous hunting and gathering people present before the invasions of Cushitic or Nilotic speaking peoples if there is no linguistic evidence found up to now, which could point in this direction.
As pointed out by Spear (1993a:23-24) commenting on linguistic analysis of the Eastern Nilotic Maa language but not less relevant in this case\(^3\), it is very important to maintain clear distinctions between different categories of data. The genetic development of a language can be dated relatively or sequentially, assigning absolute chronological dates to linguistic developments is highly problematic at best. Language is not the same as people. People can change the languages they speak, the places they live and the way they live. Still, Ehret’s hypothesis is fascinating, and when it comes to history of the Akie as Southern Kalenjin and as a Southern Nilotic people preceding at least the 1600’s it inevitably has to become this kind of history, beyond oral traditions and human memory as it appears in documents.

The Akie stance that they were first in the area prior to any of the present peoples is at odds with, for example, Sutton’s suggestion (1994) (also making inferences drawing on linguistics and archeology). According to him the Akie as one group of Okiek may have migrated to the southern extremity of the Maasai Steppe in company with a section of the Maasai, as they expended southwards - possibly as late as two hundred years ago. Sutton’s estimations are not in line with Ehret’s, arguing for that the Akie as South Kalenjin could not have migrated southwards from Kenya into Tanzania any later than the middle of the first millennium.

Sutton claims that identity and language might be preserved among the Akie, but that they are generally unaware now of the existence of other Kalenjin, and have no knowledge of the Okiek to the north. Myself, I found that the Akie on the southern Maasai Steppe are not living in the immediate vicinity of the Kalenjin Datog speakers and do not, for instance, acknowledge any affinity with the ago-pastoral Barabaig in north central Tanzania. Many Akie know of their existence, however, and refer to them as Mangati. I also found that the Akie themselves do not seem to have any oral accounts indicating a possible link with the Okiek in Kenya. A few individuals have heard about the Okiek, but this might be through researchers or others that have traveled through the area making inquiries.

\(^3\) Blackburn (1973) has made an examination of Okiek ceramics and finds that it bears resemblance with archeological Sirikwa pottery. The Akie do not make or use ceramics at all today according to my own observations.
Fig. 1: The Nilotic Language Group (after Ehret, 1971:10-11)

1) Eastern Nilotic branch

2) Western Nilotic branch

3) Southern Nilotic branch
   a) Dadog subgroup (Dadog dialects)
   b) Kalenjin subgroup
      (1) Nandian (Nandi, Kipsigis, Keyo, Tuken, and Marakwet dialects)
      (2) Pokot
      (3) Elgon (Kony, Sabiny, Pok, and Bongomek dialects)
      (4) East Kalenjin (various Kalenjin Dorobo dialects of Kenya)
      (5) South Kalenjin (Akie dialect)
Fig. 2. Time Line of Southern Nilotic History (after Ehret, 1971:31)

According to the linguistic chronological framework proposed by Ehret inherent in the scheme of genetic relationships which implies a common ancestor language, four periods can be defined: 1) the proto-Nilotic; 2) the proto-Southern Nilotic; 3) the proto-Kalenjin and 4) the proto-Nandian period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Time Frame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-3rd millennium BC</td>
<td>proto-Nilotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>introduction of iron</td>
<td>-1 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1 B.C.</td>
<td>proto-Southern Nilotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-A.D. 1000</td>
<td>proto-Kalenjin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the present</td>
<td>proto-Nandians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Distribution of Akie on the Maasai Steppe

Ehret’s above-mentioned works (1980, 1971) provides no closer information on territorial distribution or reference to particular groups of Akie on the southern Maasai Steppe, other than that colonial officer Maquire makes reference to them as well as their language as Mosiro.

I investigated the territorial distribution of Akie groups on the southern Maasai Steppe with the observations made by colonial officer R.A.J. Maquire (1963 (1948) (1928)) in the middle of the 1920’s, as a starting point. Mapping Akie according to group and area was in no way a straightforward matter as already pointed out by my colonial predecessor, trying to distinguish between various groups of Dorobo ‘during three years among the Masai’ at Station Kibaya ‘in a vast area populated entirely by nomads ‘(1963: 127-129). He complained he was at least twenty years late, if so, then I am almost hundred years late and similar wise left with a mass of confusing and in part contradictory information. What is clear is that the term ‘Dorobo’ certainly may refer to a larger non-homogenous category of people, encompassing several ethnic groups.

Maquire (1963) found that there was ground for assuming the existence of eight ‘types’ of Dorobo, living in, or adjacent to the area then labeled as Tanganyika Maasai Reserve. As noted, Maquire’s work is well in line with the main themes in the discussion that has permeated the existing literature on the Dorobo up to today concerning origin and also in part relations to neighbors. Maquire was mainly interested in distinguishing between the ‘true’ Dorobo hunters and gatherers with a possibly separate origin and history from their immediate neighbors as opposed to ‘false’ Dorobo who have been forced to employ this subsistence strategy as impoverished break-off’s from other groups as a more recent phenomena.
Maquire came to the conclusion that Balanga and Kinyalangat were not ‘real Dorobo in the true sense of the word’ as he could not find any traces of distinct languages or evidence that indicated they might be peoples apart. He thought that Kinyalangat he found living on the southern border of the Maasai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts, were impoverished Maasai belonging to the Parakuyo section. Balanga who ‘lived with the Maasai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve’ but presumable from the Kisongo area (an area south-west and west of Arusha) were possibly impoverished Maasai belonging to the Kisongo section. The Kinyalangat and the Balanga led a ‘bush life’ through the force of circumstances’. They practiced hunting and gathering, ‘the only mode of life which promised to keep them from starvation’ apart from a ‘few heads of cattle’, presumably re-acquired. Kinyalangat were speaking Maasai Maa with the typical intonation of the Parakuyo and Balanga Maasai Maa with the Kisongo intonation.

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31 Maquire chose to present the group names with the Maasai Maa articles which I have left out here.
32 He makes particular reference to one Balanga he met living with Maasai of the Moipo area who ‘has one of the largest herds in the southern part of the Maasai Reserve’.
As to the *Aramanik* Maquire found living in central areas of Tanzania, at Moipo (the area bordering the Pangani river - also called Ruvu river, north-west of Korogwe) and possibly north to the ‘Serenget’ plain’, they could be ‘real’ Dorobo as he found that they had a distinct language different from the Maasai, a language he thought could be of Cushitic origin. Ehret (1971) classifies their language as close to Southern Cushitic.

Maguire singles out *Mosiro, Mediak and Kisankasa* and thought they were basically belonging to the same main group of Dorobo. They were distinguishable among other things by a language related to Kalenjin spoken by the Nandi in Kenya and unintelligible to the Maasai, and therefore possibly remnants of indigenous hunters and gatherers from a distant past - ‘real’ Dorobo but of different origin than *Aramanik*. Maquire chooses to refer to the *Mosiro, Mediak* and also the *Kisankasa* under the collective label *Mosiro* that he employs in the remaining of his article, noting that the other two could be alternative names for *Mosiro*, or possibly names for sub-groups. By his estimate they amounted to about 1000 people which he found fairly numerous for Dorobo. He suggests that the Talamai (which is what the Maasai call a range of hills in the vicinity of Kijungu to the north of and overlooking the Handeni-Kibaya-Kondoa road) is their ‘home’, relying on his main informant who was from this area.\(^{33}\) He admits to, however, that he has never met a *Kisankasa* in person and again suggests this could be an alternative name for either *Mosiro* or *Mediak*, or both. He points out that the *Mosiro* and *Mediak* live and hunt together all over ‘the southern half of the Masai Reserve today’, and in many cases are almost ‘outwardly’ indistinguishable from the Maasai. (ref. Maquire, 1963:134-135)

Maquire further writes about the *Kisankara* and the *Kitokordai* on his list that he had little opportunity of meeting them or making inquiries about them as they lived to the east and outside his main work area. He is unable to say if they are ‘closely connected’ to the *Mosiro, Mediak* and *Kisankasa*, or belong to different groups (but suggests that they may be Nilotic in origin). The Bantu who were their close neighbors did not acknowledge consanguinity with them. He notes that the *Kitokordai* and *Kisangara* live in the country of the Guu and Zigua\(^{34}\), and are stated to have

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\(^{33}\) ‘Kijungu’ is the name used by the Kiswahili speaking people living in the area.

\(^{34}\) To the west of Handeni Station in the Pangani District which today is Handeni town in Handeni District.
lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Maasai Reserve in 1923, the Guu and Zigua inhabiting the Talamai-Gitu-Mtambalo area were moved eastwards. With them went the Kitokorda and Kisangara. The Kitokorda and Kisangara, dependent for the necessities of life on the Guu and Zigua (particulary in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) went perforce. Further, he notes that the Kitokorda and Kisangara spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Maasai language, as a general rule, but know Kinguu or Kizigua and often both. They are stated to have a tongue of their own. He is inclined to think that the presence of a ‘few Mosiro’, who live in scattered settlements just on the Handeni-Masai border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.’ (Maquire, 1963:252)

The colonial officer does not know if any of these groups or subgroups ‘call themselves Okiek’ (1963:128, footnote 2) and makes no references to Akie. Maquire mentions this in relation to Hobley’s suggestion that the East African highlands were inhabited by an aboriginal hunting tribe - possibly the Okiek who may have been the ancestors of the Dorobo (ref. Hobley, 1910). He is open to that the Dorobo he chooses to collectively refer to as Mosiro might be historically related to the Kalenjin speaking Nandi in Kenya. In his article (1963:259) he makes a comparison of a selection of Maasai, Nandi and Mosiro terms, as well as Aramanik terms. Kannenberg however, encountered people in the area who called themselves ‘Agie’ in 1909 according to Kaare (1996a).

On Blackburn’s map of Okiek mentioned in the introduction in Chapter one - the Mosiro - and also Mediak and Kisankasa appear as Akie (1971). Kratz (1994:63) makes reference to two groups - Mosiro and Kisangara on her map of Okiek and Akie groups obviously on the grounds of her own field visit to Tanzania (1994:63). She does not specify localities and only makes very general reference to ‘Akie in Tanzania around the Maasai Steppe’ in the text (page 61-62).

Kaare (1996:22-23) who did fieldwork in mainly three Akie ‘villages’ in western Handeni District, divides the Akie into three main groups on behalf of what he found Akie reported to him, Kisangara, Kinyalangat, and Akie. He finds that Mosiro is primarily the name the Parakuyo use for the Akie. The Kisangara is a group of Akie associated with their Bantu neighbors. He suggests this is the most recent Akie succumbing to Zigua and Nguu life. He finds Kinyalangat to be Akie as well as Balanga and groups closely associated with the Maasai. Elsewhere (1996:30) he mentions
that the *Kinyalangat* are primarily associated with the Parakuyo. I am not sure that *Kinyalangat* or *Balanga* are of Akie ‘origin’. Like Kaare, however, I found that those who usually readily labeled themself as Akie also perform most of the rituals which also the *Kinyalangat* attend and hold control over the most important ‘ritual paraphernalia’ associated with the ancestral spirit. In fact, the *Kinyalangat* I encountered participated less often in Akie ceremonies which could indicate that if generally ‘Dorobo enough’ whether Akie or not - they did not belong to the hard-core Akie. In many respects they seemed to stick closer to Maasai. They interacted more frequently with Maasai and in particular to the extent they owned a little livestock, which is not uncommon among the *Kinyalangat*. Kaare proposes (1996a:30) that the group labeled *Akie* are the ‘Akie proper’ today as they live more independent and are not identified with their neighbors to the same extent as the other two groups.

According to my own investigations the *Kinyalangat* I came across are ‘Dorobo’, people associated with hunting and gathering but do not necessarily refer to themselves as Akie and are not referred to as such by other Dorobo. Generally they do not speak the Akie language. Most often they speak only Maasai Maa as pointed out by Maquire, and have a few heads of cattle. Responses to my inquiries and explanations covering the full range are provided, however, among Akie as *Kinyalangat* themselves, and well supplemented by Kisongo and Parakuyo Maasai.\(^{35}\) One of the Maasai, the Parakuyo who once accompanied me to field, was of the opinion that the Maasai Maa spoken by the *Kinyalangat* we encountered was with the typical intonation and dialect of the Parakuyo, as opposed to that of the Kisongo. This corresponds well with Maquire’s findings.

My own inquiries among the Akie confirms that *Mosiro* and *Mediak* are Akie by selfascription and if they to varying degrees speak the Kalenjin related dialect they clearly acknowledge it as their own and distinct language referred to as Akie\(^ {36}\). Personally I never met *Kisangasa* individuals which some Akie say must be *Kisangara* Akie living over the border in present day Handeni District. This might indicate that both Blackburn and Maquire is confusing *Kisankasa* with *Kisankara*? I was not able to trace *Kitokorda* either.

\(^{35}\) a)- *we*/*they* are Akie but have forgotten to speak the language due to being close/or being intermixed with the Ilumbwa (the Akie generally refer to the Parakuyo as *Ilumbwa* and Kisongo as *Maasai*), b)- *we*/*they* are Dorobo “close” to the Ilumbwa, but not Akie, c)- *we*/*they* are “like” the Ilumbwa, we have cows, d)- the *Kinyalangat* are Dorobo

\(^{36}\) Maquire refers to their language as *Mosiro*.
I came across individuals from possibly seven or eight groups and/or subgroups commonly referred to as Dorobo by their neighbors that I found call themselves Akie – or where generally referred to as Akie by other Akie.

Fig. 4: My List of Akie Groups and/or Subgroups

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mosiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mokiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mediak and/or Kimee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Sele</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Looju</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Kisangara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Kiptasu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are indications in my material that there might be more but I have chosen to leave them out on this list as the information is either too discrepant or unclear, I will return to some of them further below, however.

An old Mokiri living in the Talamai/Kijungu area informed me while discussing enthusiastically with his wife where Akie groups or clans (ghata or kata) lived ‘before’ but emphasized that the ‘Akie have moved considerably around since, splitting up into smaller and fragmented entities’.

The Mosiro used to live along the Talamai to Endonyo Naito Ngani. The Mokiri were once to be found in an area covering Kijungu, Lolera, Ngababa, Napilokonya, Larmakan through Ole Sarambe to Ole Moti. The Mediak and/or Kimee lived from Naiushi through Supaker to Oldonyo Onyokie,

<sup>37</sup> Some of my informants could not agree on if Mediak and Kimee were two different groups or the ‘same’ one. My regular field assistant, for instance, claimed to be Mediak, when an elder from another settlement said that the Mediak was the same group as Kimee, he could not agree to this.

<sup>38</sup> I never personally met a Kiptasu individual.
ending at Kimaki, the Kisangara from around Kwediboma, Mswaki, Kitingini, Kikwembe, the Sele from Ole Moti, Ole Saramba, Olturo Etonyoki to Elwai, to Kalema. The Kimariki were to be found in Kalema, the Larkaria through Oloronyo ending at Menjurai, the Looju at Terere through Oldonyo Dadaih to Loonderkes through Naanairabalaa.

He also added on *Kinyalangat, Balanga* and *Aramanik*:

The *Kinyalangat*, who are Dorobo but not Akie, were found from Surutia to Lengatei, Sunya to Lormukatan to Kikunde and westwards and ends at Olenjoke/Dongo, the *Balanga*, who are Dorobo but not Akie, lived along the Balanga [lake?]. The Aramanik, who are Dorobo but not Akie, were found from Moipo/Ruvuh all along the river.

Different Akie have presented slightly different pictures of the former distribution of groups, named groups associated with a particular group/clan territory. In many cases the names of many of those places referred too are not to be found on any present-day maps. It is noteworthy, however, that to the point these two Akie and Maquire make references to the same groups it is in part correspondence in geographical location, as well as agreement on *Kinyalangat, Balanga* and *Aramanic* as ‘different kinds of Dorobo’.

When I asked the former Principal Ecologist in Tarangire National Park who I hitched a ride across the Maasai Steppe (who hated the Dorobo for their silent hunting with bows and poisoned arrows) - if there could be Akie ‘Dorobo’ be living on the Serengeti plains or in the vicinity of the Tarangire National Park to the north. He said there were Dorobo there but could not say if they were Akie. But then people in general know no other name for ‘Dorobo’ than ‘Dorobo’. Recalling Maquire’s information that an Aramanik informant also claimed that some had moved north to the ‘Serenget’ plain’, it might be so that the Dorobo there and possibly around the Tarangire also to the north might be *Aramanik*. I also met Maasai living in that area that acknowledged Dorobo living there but they could not enlighten me further. I never visited myself.

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39 Tarangire National Park is best known for the thousands of elephants that take refuge here in the dry season, along with a rich wild game congregating along the river. The northern entrance to the park is about 60 miles to the southwest of Arusha below the Rift Valley escarpment. The northern section of the park lies close to the southeastern shores of Lake Manjara and stretches southwards approximately 60 miles into the Maasai Steppe.

40 Today the Serengeti is a National Park covering 14.763 sq. km of land in Northern Tanzania. In the language of the Maasai the word ‘serenget’ means ‘endless plains’. The grasslands roam more wild animals than anywhere in the world depending on season. There are over a million wildebeest alone. Throughout the winter months of December to March, many of the animals are concentrated in the park’s southern regions, near Ngorongoro. During the spring months of May or June, the vast herds of wildebeest
It was difficult for me to undertake a systematic overall survey in such a large area to evaluate to the extent the distribution of Akie groups corresponds with the former groups in reference to specific localities as indicated above. The Akie homestead clusters and settlements in the Talamai/Kijungu and the Kibaya area covered during my fieldwork are all located in the former clan territories of the Mosiro and Mokiri, however, and with a few Kinyalangat living among them. Several Akie claimed to be Mosiro and Mokiri Akie, but my overall experience is that it was general ambiguity and confusion among the Akie, and not only young people, as to claiming clan membership and naming specific group’s altogether. This also goes for being able to agree on what constitutes eventual main groups/clans and sub-groups. Hence, I have chosen to refer to the Akie in my research localities simply as Akie, if otherwise is not stated.

**Clans, Subgroups or Other’s**

As to in part other confusing references to members of Dorobo or Akie clans/groups or and sub-groups living mainly in Handeni district I have not had a chance to investigate myself: In Kikwembe/Munimuni there are Mokiri and Njekeria, in Mtonga Njekeria, Keiya, in Kilitwe Samo and Kuenda with Kisangara and Laitaiyook, Kinyalangat, and Laitayook in Gitu, Mtambalo/Songe, and in Kikunde Kinyalangat.

I never heard Laitayook referred to as Akie by Akie. Foosbroke (1948) refers to ‘Laitayok’ as a sub-tribe possibly absorbed by the Maasai. Also Talle (1988) refers to them as Maasai of presumably mixed origin. It is noteworthy that even the Parakuyo who may refer to themselves as Maasai (if not always accepted as Maasai ‘proper’ by members from the Kisongo section as they are more dependent on cultivation today) are reluctant to include the Laitayook in the Maasai category.

According to Adam Kuleit ole Mwarabu, a young Parakuyo Maasai from Lengusero village in south-western Handeni district who provided me with this information post-field, an Akianta he had gone to school with had claimed; Njekeria is the major clan among the Akie, Mokiri is the clan and zebra start to head west in search of water, a part of a circuitos migration that take some of them to shores of Lake Victoria, and others to northern areas and to Kenya’s Maasai Mara park just across the border. Virtually every African game animal can be seen in the Serengeti.
of witch-doctors. *Gatte* are hunters. *Motie* is the clan of arrow makers. *Kuenda* is the clan of bow makers (kuenda means bow). *Kilitwe* is the clan that allegedly once waged war against *Mokiri* over their spells of witchcraft. The *Kilitwe* once defeated *Mokiri* regardless of their powers in witchcraft. *Samo* are hunters and gatherers constantly on the move, simply wanderers.

As to labeled Akie groups all groups do not necessarily have to refer to *ghata* as clan in the sense presuming decent from a common ancestor. It could be lineage’s - *sotwe* - where decent has a more direct genealogical reference. Most Akie refer to *ghata* and *sotwe* in what I perceived of as a ‘mixed up fashion’. In some cases it might also be local groups associated with certain crafts, as indicated in some of the examples above.41

One should keep in mind that the anthropological enterprise of labeling might go beyond the actual significance the people themselves give to it. The inability to provide accurate information on clan/group membership among the majority of the Akie, might be that it never was of any great social importance? On the other hand, this knowledge might be in the process of becoming lost or irrelevant possibly related to the fragmentation of larger groups and the near break-up of a specific form of territorial affiliation and organization related to primarily the utilization of wild resources. I will problematize this further towards the end in Chapter five.

‘Traditional’ Territorial Organization and Utilization of Wild Resources

According to older Akie the various Akie clans (*ghata*) used to live within defined clan territories, as noted above. Each clan was associated with a specific ancestral spirit ‘the father and mother of the Akie’ in that area - and adding a totemic aspect to it by likening the spirit with a lion or beast. Tracts of land (*kie*) crossing several vegetational or ecological zones with grasslands (*turkuita*), thickets or open woodlands (*tulele*), and denser forests (*tameita*), often crossing hills (*tulwe*) and lower mountains (*ipite*) were divided among up to several lineage’s (*sotwe*), and again sometimes

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41 When writing up this thesis it has come to my mind that *ghata* closely resembles the Akie name for arrow which may be called *kate* and it could be that various groups of Akie could resemble different arrows from the ‘same quiver’ so to speak. It never crossed my mind when in field so I never questioned Akie about it. *Kata* can also mean simply ‘cut’ in Kiswahili.
among smaller family units (*pfii*). The natural resources in the different zones were utilized according to seasonal variations.

Each family (*pfii*) in a sense ‘owned’ (*kokachu*) the smaller tract of land with relatively exclusive user (*amachan*) rights to trees for access to wild bee’s honey, inherited down the patrilineal line, from father to son. Wild animals were generally free to hunt for anyone everywhere. Quite similar systems of land use are documented among some of the Okiek groups in Kenya. There is, however, variation in emphasis on clan or smaller local group, lineage, and family, when it comes to ownership and ultimate control in terms of inclusive or exclusive using rights to land and resources (ref. Huntingford, 1951; Blackburn, 1971, 1982; Kratz, 1994 and Moorhead, 1993). It might also have been variation among the Akie. For instance Kaare (1996a:22 and 126) places emphasis on the clan, and myself the patri-lineage.

It was common that a man, his wife and children or an extended family group would move and live within the different vegetation zones depending on the seasons. The Akie would also periodically aggregate into a cluster of families living in several homesteads (*kau*) sometimes consisting of several lineage’s. This settlement (*kokwe/kaari*) was often in between *tulele* (thickets and open woodland) and *tameita* (denser forest) that was quite often on the slope of hills (*tulwe*). The Akie tended to revert to this semi-permanent base-camp in between shorter or longer hunting and gathering expeditions. On shorter trips whether hunting or gathering honey women and children would usually stay behind, on longer trips the whole household would move.

A council of elders (*orkai lokokwe*) consisting mainly of men according to Akie, headed by a prominent elder (*orkaiante*) was responsible for mediating and settling conflict over eventual usage of resources on the *kokwe* level, for instance honey theft. There are no indications in oral rapport that position or office as leading *orkaiante* was inherited or even formalized in a strict sense. It seems to have been a hierarchy of councils of elders that could be activated on different levels, in matters concerning several families within a settlement, or between settlements, lineages and clans.

I found that this system is at least partly in operation today despite that the Akie economy has undergone changes and takes place in a quite different socio-political context. I will return to
this in other chapters in this work. The use of ‘traditional as in the heading of this section may need an initial closer elaboration, however.
Traditional

I have used ‘traditional’ to illustrate how older Akie describe how when they lived a basically hunting and gathering life in the past (ikaakeny), before they were exposed to colonial and post-independence influences in particular, as opposed to ‘now’ (horyo), when the Akie economy has undergone considerable changes.

I found nothing in Akie oral report that the Akie may have lived significantly different prior to this – with exception of their myth of origin, which I will return to in Chapter seven. We must keep in mind - following Ehret’s analysis with emphasis on mainly linguistic evidence that goes beyond oral report and written documentation in the main, the Akie may not have been hunters and gatherers from time immemorial. The linguistic ancestors of the Akie may and may not have been herders and/or cultivators, and there has been considerable population-movement in the past. (Ehret, 1980, 1971). It is Akie conviction, however, that their neighbors first introduced cultivation and livestock-keeping to them.

In the next chapter we will look to the colonial and post-independence period in the main.
4/ THE COLONIAL AND POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

In this chapter I will focus on colonial and post-independence economic policy and intervention that may have had implications for relatively recent changes in the Akie economy in particular. The actual changes in the Akie economy as well as some of the implications will be discussed further in subsequent chapters.

I will begin by introducing present day Kiteto district, situated at the extreme south in Arusha Region on the dry Maasai Steppe, the main locus of my fieldwork among the Akie. I will also draw attention to relatively recent changes in the encompassing ecological and social environment of the Akie, the present situation of land pressure and conflict in the area and the new sub-district land management program introduced to manage and curb some of these effects.

Kiteto District

Rainfall in Kiteto district is generally variable and unpredictable, in particular in the northern part of the district. Annual rainfall varies from 350-400 mm falling mainly between the month of January and March in the northern part of the district to 500-650 mm in the southern part, falling mainly between the months November to May. There are short rains with occasional showers around November/December, with then a short stop before the heavy rains from February to May. There are some variations as to the likelihood of short rains depending on where in the district. The basic rhythm of the seasons influences all life in the area. Wild animals of different species are found all over the district, especially in areas where the vegetation has remained undisturbed, but according to the Akie in far less numbers than before.

The district is relatively isolated geographically in terms of distance and in terms of communication with the larger centers Dar es Salaam and Arusha. The Handeni - Kondoa road cross-cuts the district from east to west and the Arusha - Kongwa road from north to south. The road has historical significance because of its use in the past as a slave and ivory route, and also as route of access into the Tanganyika hinterland by European explorers and missionaries later.
center of district administration Kibaya town is in the central elevated part, and is located close to where those two major roads cross. In addition there is a network of smaller roads or rather tracks, connecting the small villages and clusters of habitation. There are no tarmac roads. Bus services to bigger towns like Arusha, Dodoma, Handeni and Kondoa are unreliable. In the dry season buses may pass through once or twice a week. Buses, trucks and ordinary cars may be stuck for weeks on end in the mud during the rainy season, as I experienced many times when going in and out of the area. The Akie usually travel on foot, and only occasionally catch a ride with a passing vehicle.

Radios are rare and the reception is poor. Newspapers and magazines are practically non-existent; this is not regarded as important by Akie as few can read, in general lacking even elementary formal schooling. National television does not reach this area. The fact that Kiteto district as a whole is without electricity with the exception of a few private generators in Kibaya town, the telephone system is unreliable, the postal network relatively poorly developed, that it exists air-strips in the Kibaya town, Engusere and Lolera villages mainly used by flying doctors, is of little interest to most Akie as it is not perceived as belonging to their life worlds. There is a government hospital in Kibaya and a health station run by the Medical Missionaries of Mary in Lolera which Akie visit once in a while.

Taking into consideration the distances and unreliable modern communication networks, news may travel remarkably fast. News follow the monthly circulation of markets starting out north on the Maasai Steppe close to Arusha town, continuing south through Simanjiro district into Kiteto district and west into Handeni district in Tanga region. This is an effective communication network all things considered, if hardly comparable to the Internet.

The following estimations are primarily based on information in the Land Management and Environment Program 1996-1999 for Kiteto district (LAMP Kiteto) (URT, 1996), if otherwise is not statet. Administratively the district is divided into 7 divisions broken down into 14 wards and 44 villages covering an area of 16,685 square kilometers. The total population of the district in 1995 was estimated to 121,000. Population density is estimated to 7 persons per square kilometer with a considerable variation in the district as a whole with more people in the south. In the Official Population Census of 1988, the total population of the district was given as 74,463. The increase in
population has been estimated to an annual total growth rate of 7.8 %, the birth rate 2.6 % and the immigration rate 5.2 %.

Small scale crop cultivators have migrated into Kiteto from districts as Handeni, Kondoa, Mpwapwa, Kongwa, Kilosa, Iringa, Njombe and also the Kilimanjaro region, largely as a result of land pressure in their home districts (URT, 1996). The opening up of large scale farms and plantations and also gemstone mines in Simanjiro district has also intensified pastoral land use in Kiteto district (as Handeni district), as the eviction of pastoralists from the Mkomanzi Game Reserve, cutting them of from former grazing lands. (ole Moono and Bakken, forthcoming)

The southern part of the district is more densely populated and generally more cultivated than the drier northern part. There are three main ethnic groups of people living in the district, the Maasai make up 33 % mainly belonging to the Kisongo section, the Gogo 27% and Rangi 18% (Bantu). Most of the villages are multi-ethnic, in twenty-three of the forty-four villages, however, Maasai are in majority. Major land use in the district is pastoralism mainly practiced by the Maasai covering 60-65% of the land area and practiced most extensively to the north. 20% of the land is under cultivation.

The district is an important wildlife area with giraffe, lesser kudu, Grant’s gazelle, impala, gerenuk and ostrich, hare, leopard and lion. Since the 1987 hunting ban the elephant population is increasing after almost becoming extinct due to heavy poaching for ivory between the early 1970’s and late 198043. Rhino is considered as extinct from Kiteto because of poaching for rhino horn. (Orgut Consulting AB, 1996) Presently there are four hunting blocks in the district allocated to different hunting operators in Arusha by application of permit, Kibaya Wildlife Management Area - WMA, Talamai WMA, Ilkwishibor WMA and Maasai South Open Area - OPA 44. Kibaya was in 1996-97 not assigned to any hunting operator as the vegetation is dense and underbrush has to be cleared to make this kind of tourist hunting feasible. The Talamai, however, is allocated to Tanzania

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43 Elephants used to the dominant wildlife species in the district, migrating to Tarangire National Park to the north (Orgut Consulting AB, 1996)
44 1) Talamai WMA is located north of the Kijungu-Kibaya road 2) Ilkwishibor WMA, on the west side of the old road to Arusha from Kibaya 3) Kibaya WMA, south of the Kibaya-Kijungu road 4) South Massai OPA, north of the Kijungu-Kibaya are around Makame and encompasses a small part of Ndido. This OPA is a small part of the Kitwei/Handeni Game Controlled Area. While WMA’s have a formal conservation status and OPA’s not, the difference between them are minor as to restrictions in land use. Cultivation is not allowed inside the hunting blocks, but grazing is allowed (URT, 1996)
Safaris and Hunting, Ilkwishibor to Traditional Hunting Safaris, and Maasai Open South also to Tanzania Safaris and Hunting.
Map 2: Kiteto District (after URT, 1996)

Shows intensive farming area, grazing area, natural forest area and Game Controlled Area. The other three commercial hunting blocks do not show on this map, but location is provided in the text. The Akie groups and settlements that are in the main focus in this work are found in the Talamai/Kijungu and Kibaya area, two on the southern side of the Kijungu-Kibaya road and three on the southern side of the road.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Maasai Steppe Zone</strong> to the north</td>
<td>is characterized by flat and open plains covered by grasses, shrubs and thorny bushes at an altitude of 1000 to 1200 meters above sea level. The soils are of sandy types and rainfall is short an unpredictable with 350-400 mm annually falling between the months of January and March making it suitable for pastoralism and in this zone pastoralism is practiced extensively by the Maasai. It is also considered a good habitat for wildlife. The zone is located to the northern part of the district covering most of Makami division that is considered as a good habitat for wildlife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Central Elevated Zone</strong></td>
<td>is relatively elevated with altitudes ranging from 1300 to 1500 meters above sea level and is covered by woodlands, interrupted occasionally by moderately high hills. Annual rainfall is estimated to 500-650 mm, falling during the months of November to May. The zone comprises Kibaya division which is situated in the central part of the district and is ideal for growing crops as maize, sorghum, groundnuts, sunflower, etc. Soils are generally of a sandy loamy type.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The South Western Savannah Zone</strong></td>
<td>encompasses an open wooded grassland or savanna to the south-west at an altitude from 1000 to 1400 meters above sea level. It receives a moderate rainfall of 500-650 mm per year mainly from November to May making it suitable for production of maize, sorghum, finger millet beans etc. As a result of influx of farmers, much of the vegetation in this area has been cleared for agriculture and settlement. The relatively densely populated divisions of Olboloti, Matui and Dosidosi is encompassed by this zone, which is receiving immigrant cultivators, mainly from the neighboring districts of Kondoa and Mpwapwa in Dodoma region. This is considered as the district granary zone where large maize farms have taken over the natural vegetation cover and shifting cultivation is practiced at an alarming rate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Miombo Woodland Zone</strong></td>
<td>encompasses a big block in the south eastern part of the district including the wards of Dongo, Laiser, Samathwa, Orkitiki and Olgira. Altitudes range from 1000 to 1350 meters above sea level. Annual rainfall is estimated to 500-600 mm per year. The area is a still relatively well-wooded zone with typical miombo species of trees, black wood, sandal wood etc. (In this part a pilot project based on participatory land use planning at village level is run in Sunya village to try and check land use conflicts erupting from agriculture and settlement encroachment to protect the natural forest.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Akie groups and settlements that are in the main focus in this work are found in the Talamai/Kijungu and Kibaya area on both sides of the Kijungu-Kibay road and according to the various zones located more or less in the intersection between the Central Elevated Zone and the Maasai Steppe zone to the north. (see also Map 2.)

**Land Pressure and Conflict**

Kiteto district (as Simanjiro district to the north, and Handeni district to the west, I may add) is today facing considerable problems concerning what can be defined as ‘sustainable use of land’. Land pressure that has accelerated the last ten years is high and mainly due to uncontrolled activities, cultivation, logging of timber trees and destructive hunting of wild animals. Illegal logging is taking place in the southern relatively well forested area. Contrary to Simanjiro district charcoaling is not considered a problem on the same scale, mining is of minor importance and few farms in Kiteto exceed 100 acres. (URT, 1996)

There are conflicting interests over the utilization of the wildlife resources as well as conflicts over land in general, the later primarily between cultivators and pastoralists.

Cultivation and poaching by cultivators have had adverse effect on wildlife (Orgut Consulting AB, 1996). In areas under extensive cultivation the population of elephant, buffalo, gerenuk, giraffe, ostrich and eland has become seriously reduced, due to the expansion of cultivation and poaching (Orgut Consulting AB, 1996).

The district received more than 6 million T.Sh from hunting fees in the hunting blocks and 1.5 million T.Sh from local hunting in 1994/95, however. The central government gets an even higher amount in hard currency. No revenue or benefits goes back to local communities. The allocation of hunting blocks to companies in Arusha is done without consulting the local communities on which land the hunting is taking place. (URT, 1996). It is hardly a surprise that people like the Akie previously dependent on hunting within the hunting blocks are more than annoyed. As noted in the land and environment program for Kiteto district
... it might well be that the only benefit that local communities are getting from the wildlife resource is whatever they themselves can get their hands onto, i.e. from illegal hunting activities (URT, 1996:13).

Provided that a license is obtained at the District Game Office in Kibaya and the rifle/gun registered at the police station, hunting by local residents is in principle permitted from July to March, whereas hunting by tourists is permitted from July to November. (URT, 1996) I found that Akie are generally reluctant to obtain hunting licenses even when they clearly could afford it. First and foremost, because this would imply an eventual registration of eventual firearms that could increase mistrust towards particular individuals as potential ‘poachers’ hunting on the side of the regulations, and enforce the stigmata associated with their hunting activities. Limitations caused by restrictions on hunting makes subsistence hunting risky from Akie point of view, according to Tanzanian legislation hunting is considered as poaching. On a five day conflict resolution training workshop held in Terrat (in Simanjiro district to the north of Kiteto district) in 1994 ‘it was even alleged that there was a ‘shoot to kill’ policy against the Ngorobo’ (Bradbury, Fisher and Lane, 1995:32).

Poaching control is generally weak, however. The District Game Officer in Kiteto District, responsible for both Kiteto and Simanjiro Districts, makes about 60,000 T.Sh. a month, has assistants but no motorized vehicle for his everyday use. Systematic poaching control is almost impossible as there are little resources allocated to wild life control and management. Every three or four month raids are made, however, mainly aimed at deterrence rather than control, according to the District Game Officer. Until 1983 wildlife protection in the district was under the direct supervision and responsibility of the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife. An increasing lack of resources at the ministry level gradually reduced the supervision of wildlife resources in the district in the WMA’s and in the OPA. The responsibility is now in the hands of the District Council and lack of resources results in inadequate control. Statistics are also considered as unreliable. (District Game Officer for Kiteto and Simanjiro Districts, J. Ndabagenga - personal communication).
The numbers below refer to recorded ‘anonymous’ incidents by the Poaching Prevention Force/PPF, of illegal possession of ivory/teeth, wild meat, hides and rifles/guns resulting in fines, or in the case refusal to pay court cases over a ten year period (acquired at the District Administration in Kibaya).

Fig. 6: Project of Wildlife Protection in Kiteto District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>IVORY/TEETH</th>
<th>MEAT</th>
<th>HIDE</th>
<th>RIFLE/GUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Provided by the District Game officer for Kiteto and Simanjiro Districts. The insertions are mine as the summations are incorrect.
The Land Management and Environment Program 1996 - 1999

In the new Land Management and Environment Program (URT, 1996) it is recognized that it is the unplanned opening up and establishment of farms in particular in the last decade, disrupting the traditional use of the land as in particular evolved by pastoralists, which is to be considered as the ‘overshadowing problem’ within the land use sector. In the Environmental Impact Assessment of Land Use Related Activities in Kiteto District\(^45\) (Orgut Consulting AB, 1996) it says that ‘the changing pattern of land use has been encouraged and made possible by Government policies favoring food crop cultivation’.

Cultivation in combination with other unplanned land use activities, logging of timber and destructive hunting of wild animals, the pressure on the land has become too high. The problems to be addressed include land grabbing, land use conflicts (which in some villages has come to armed clashes, mainly between pastoralists and cultivators), degradation of the rangelands and a generally unstable situation. (URT, 1996).

The development objective is to control and increase productivity in a sustainable way. The development strategy is to strengthen the capacity of the district’s extension service and the district’s subject matter specialists’ capacity to facilitate integrated land use planning and management by using a participatory approach at village level.

Out of 44 registered villages in Kiteto District, 29 villages are surveyed and issued with title deeds to the land, ‘based on traditional right of occupancy’, and plans are underway for the remaining villages.\(^46\) The requirement is to map them. An exercise promoted and facilitated by LAMP and supported by an Arusha based Catholic Mission, Arusha Diocese Development Office (ADDO). (District Land Development Officer J.A. Mahoo - personal communication)

As noted, the LAMP project that was in its very initial phase of implementation towards the end of my stay in the area, explicitly acknowledges pastoralists and also agropastoralists as main target

\(^{45}\) The Environmental impact assessment of land use related Activities in Kiteto District belongs to the Tanzania-Sweden Forestry and Environment Sector Support Program (Orgut Consulting AB, 1996).

\(^{46}\) I will return to land rights and ‘traditional rights of occupancy’ in Chapter eight.
groups to work with besides crop cultivators, lumber-jacks, beekeepers and villagers adjacent to wildlife areas.

In addition, small numbers of Ndorobo hunters and gathers who live in a close relationship with the Maasai have been identified and will be targeted as an especially vulnerable group (URT, 1996).

No proper pre-study of the Akie had been done at the time of my fieldwork. They are not mentioned at all in the Environmental Impact Assessment of Land Use Related Activities in Kiteto District (Orgut Consulting AB, 1996).

Pastoralists as a target group in policies of land use in colonial and post-independence history, in one way or the other, is nothing new in this area. The few hunting and gathering Akie may have been assigned relatively minor importance when taking a larger perspective. Nevertheless, the dispositions of the colonial and post-independence governments have still been of consequence to the Akie.

**Encompassed Within a Shrinking Maasai District during Colonial Rule**

When East Africa was colonized by Britain and Germany towards the end of the 19th century the Maasai expansion in East Africa, starting in the 17th century migrating south from the Lake Turkana area in northern Kenya, had reached Kibaya and Talamai before European encounter (Fosbrook (1948). By interpreting chronological dating of Maasai age-groups and age-sets as a guide to ‘tribal history’ and what individuals could remember in 1939, colonial officer Fosbrook finds that the Kisongo Maasai took Naberera (north of Kiteto district in today’s Simanjiro district) from the ‘Lumbwa’ in 1821, Kibaya in 1836, and Talamai in 1866. According to Fosbrook the first encounter with German administration is dated to around 1896 in this area.

In the following I will refer to the ‘Lumbwa’, also called ‘Kwavi’ or ‘Parakuyo’ - as ‘Parakuyo’ as this is name which is most often used today. According to many Akie they assisted the Parakuyo in the Parakuyo – Kisongo Maasai feuding and warfare, in their efforts to ward off
Maasai ‘trying to steal their cattle’. Other oral accounts presented to me by Akie, Kisongo and also Parakuyo, supports that Akie on occasions entered into the warfare on the side of the Kisongo, and often in return for small gifts of livestock. Akie also acted as ‘go-between’s between the two parties. When further reference is made to this period in this work, I will also refer to it as the ‘Maasai wars’. The Parakuyo and the Kisongo can both be viewed as Maasai, the Parakuyo and the Kisongo are thus two sections of Maasai, if there is some debate to this in the literature, as among the Parakyo and the Kisongo. A reserve was eventually gazetted in 1926 as the Maasai District to include an area of 23,000 square miles, most of what then was still perceived of as mainly inhabited by ‘Tanganyika

47 Parakuyo and Kisongo do not quite agree on the ‘history of facts’ as to the causes of their indifferences. It is, however, related to the phenomenon of raiding cattle and ‘who raided cattle from whom first’ in the past. (Bakken & ole Moono, forthcoming)

48 According to Sommer and Vossen’s genetic tree of languages (1993:25-38) which offers a wide definition of Maasai - all those who speak Maa are Maasai, the Parakuyo section is defined as belonging to Southern Maa and the Kisongo section as Northern Maa. Fosbrooke (1948) is reluctant to define Kisongo as a singel section of Masai, rather ‘that group of sections that follow the Mondul laibon’ and points to that the Kisongo divide themselves internally into two groups, the Kiteto and Moipo, with reference to his investigations in 1939. My use of ‘sections’ might be an oversimplification but has no significance as to the major themes in this work. There is some discussion among the Parakuyo and the Kisongo today as to who are ‘pure’ Maasai in the sense of relying more or less on cultivation pastoralism. Many Kisongo argue that the Parakuyo are not Maasai as they are seen as have becoming more reliant on cultivation than pastoralism today.

Masai’ Århem (1985). This was initially planned as a closed area into which no person was allowed to enter without a signed pass from administrative officers.

Agricultural encroachment was largely kept at bay by the British administration up to the 1930’s, was followed by allocation of land to white and native settlers in the Mbulu-Mbulu area, parts of the Ardai plains east of Arusha were ruined by heavily mechanized war-time wheat cultivation, Monduli Juu and Makuyuni were largely taken over by European settlers and native farming and thousands of acres was taken over by one white European rancher in Manyara - in the period between the late 1930’s, 1940’s and 1950’s. In 1947 the Maasai were evicted from important dry season areas in the Sanya corridor between the Meru and Killimanjaro, the following year from Ol Molog, then large areas in Oljoro and Lepurko Essimingor were allocated to settlers for maize and wheat production in the early 1950’s, the Maasai District was reduced to allow settlers establish themselves in the Kisongo and Longido areas.

During British rule there were also created wildlife sanctuaries for the exclusive use of wildlife in areas as the Serengeti, Manyara, Tarangire and Engodoto National Parks (ole Nangoro, 2003).

The Akie became increasingly encompassed by more extensive pastoral land use within and to the south in this decreasing area primarily intended for the Maasai. Cultivators have also continued to penetrate into the Sinya plains, the Monduli mountains, the Loliondo highlands – and the Kijungu-Kibaya area (Århem, 1985).

Post-Independence Rule: Villagization and Resettlement Programs

The Maasai District was initially not affected by the villagization program initiated by President Nyerere in the 1960’s, after independence in 1961. Villages were first registered in the Tanzanian rangelands in the middle of the 1970’s - based on the Ujamaa ideology. Originally ‘ujamaa’ means ‘familyhood’ or ‘family solidarity’ in Kiswahili. Emphasis was on communal living and collective production according to the vision of building the country into a socialist self-reliant state ‘the Tanzanian way,’ but built on the Chinese model of socialism (Nyerere, 1969a (1962); 1969b (1962)).
The famous Arusha Declaration of February 1967 outlined the long-term Tanzanian Government policy. It emphasized state control over the means of production, and explicitly stated that the road to Tanzanian development and modernization was through rural agricultural production to repay loans from abroad used in the development of urban areas, and ultimately finance industrialization (Nyerere, 1969c (1967)).

The scattered homesteads of the population in the rangelands presented special problems to the post-independence government determined to improve the living standard of its people through increased agricultural productivity and provision of various social amenities, including improved water facilities, electricity, schools, medical care and transport. The resettlement program *Operation Vijijini* (literally meaning ‘villagization’ in Kiswahili) was to be implemented through subsequent stages. (Nyerere, 1968)

In particular pastoralists were considered to be a problem, and efforts were first directed at groups believed to be easier to deal with, i.e. the cultivators. When the voluntary movement into nucleated settlements largely failed, it was realized that development among pastoralists had to take a different rut than among sedentarized cultivators. A new program was initiated named *Operation Imparnati* (‘imparnati’ means ‘permanent habitation’ in the Maasai language) in 1974-75 stressing the necessity of permanent and proximate dwellings but with emphasis on livestock development (Århem, 1985). By May 1976 36 % of the population in Kiteto district (then including today’s Simanjiro district) had been resettled) (Århem, 1985).

In the late 1970’s reform programs – also Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) - were designed by the World Bank in the 1980’s to address the economic crisis in Tanzania in the late 1970’s\(^{50}\), emphasizing political decentralization and economic liberalization as means to increase productivity and integrate Tanzania into the wider international economy. Market liberalization, has, however, encouraged changes in tenure systems towards individualization of land - and intensified destructive land use and scramble for land – as also seen in present day Kiteto district.

\(^{50}\) The economic crisis ‘was partly the result of the world economic downturn, partly the result of regional events (the acrimonious break-up of the East African Community with Kenya and Uganda, a war with Idi Amin’s Uganda, and two severe droughts), and with hindsight partly the result of the development policies at the time’. (Bagachwa, Shechambo, Sosovele, Kulindwa, Naho & Cromwell, 1995) Different scholars give varying priority to the factors of influence.
In 1974 the Maasai District was divided into Kiteto, Monduli and Ngorongoro districts. This was a part of the decentralization reform that started in 1972 and introduced new regional administrations as means to control land use and increase productivity. In effect it resulted in increased state penetration and greater government control over village matters (Århem, 1985). Kiteto district was also administratively divided in two in 1993 - the northern half became Simanjiro district. While there no longer exists’ a single ‘Maasai District’ in the formal sense, this area south of the Arusha-Moshi road and also extending slight into Handeni district in Tanga region east of Kiteto district is still commonly referred to as Southern Maasailand or the Maasai Steppe.

In the 1970’s large tracts of land on the Ardai plains and in the Lenkijbae hills near Monduli were allocated to military installations and a national wheat program (Århem, 1985). The economic liberalization scheme opened for new allocation of land to investors from inside and outside Tanzania. The four hunting blocks in the district allocated to different hunting operators in Arusha is a part of this process. Economic liberalization has encouraged the opening up of large scale farms, plantations and also gemstone mines, in particular in Simanjiro district to the north, cutting of pastoralists from former grazing land, resulting in that pastoralism is practiced even more extensively in the district as in the neighboring district Handeni. The eviction of pastoralists from the Mkomanzi Game Reserve, has also contributed to this. (Bakken and ole Moono, forthcoming).

As noted, it is the ‘unplanned’ clearing of farms in particular in the last decade in Kiteto district ‘disrupting the traditional use of the land as in particular evolved by pastoralists, which is perceived as the ‘overshadowing problem’ within the land use sector, according to LAMP (URT, 1996). This is certainly a turn-around as to acknowledgment of traditional pastoral land use, former attitudes has been much in line with Hardin’s ‘tragedy of the commons’ (Hardin, 1968). As to ‘unplanned’ clearing of land – this might have accelerated and intensified over the last decade in the course of market liberalization. Cultivation in this area first and foremost has its basis in the former ujaama villagization and resettlement programs, however, a policy emphasizing that the way to Tanzanian development and modernization was first through rural agricultural production.

To address land pressure, conflict and non-sustainable land use the LAMP project 1996 – 1999 (URT, 1996) has chosen pastoralists and also agropastoralists as main target groups to work with besides crop cultivators, lumber-jacks, beekeepers and villagers adjacent to wildlife areas - in
addition to the brief notice of the Akie (‘Ndorobo’) In a sense it is again time for ‘villagization’.
Villagization has returned in a form difficult to escape. Demarcation and registration of remaining
villages (some are to be resurveyed) is encouraged and title deeds to land by legal certificates are
the means to ensure land security and sustainable land use. ‘The underlying rationale behind LAMP
(URT, 1996) is that unless a land user is secure on the land, no investment in improved land use is
likely to take place’.

Previously few government plans have been directly aimed at the Akie as a social group.
They have escaped repeated and concentrated effort at resettlement and sedentarization on the scale
of the hunting and gathering nomadic Hadza to the east, south, and west of the Lake Eyasi in

The successive government failures to transform the Hadza, however, raised concern in the
Ministry of National Culture and Youth, and in 1978 ‘The Rift Valley Project’ was launched with
the intention of conducting research on the culture of the Hadza, Sonjo, Datog (Barabaig),
Sandawe, including the Dorobo. These communities were considered to be the most ‘backward’ and
according to the Ministry of Information and Culture. Government officials were discouraged by
the ‘antidevelopment’ attitude found in the communities in question. In 1982, however, the
Ministry asserted that it that these communities were not necessarily opposed to development, it
was rather that adequate ‘strategies’ had not been found so adequate research on values and norms
had to be carried out to assess the implications of government policy. In future intervention the
participatory aspect would have to be addressed. (Ndagala, 1991, Kaare, 1996b).

The Ngababa Case

While it is uncertain to what extent systematic research was actually carried out if at all ‘action’
was taken to ‘ensure aggregated sedentarization and resettlement of the Dorobo’ in Ngababa village
in Kiteto district in 1990, on direct orders from the Prime Ministers Office’ (District Land Officer,
J.A. Mahoo - personal communication). Approximately 250 Akie came in from various places in

51 According to Ndagla (1991) the Hadza have been subject to governmental action directed at this specific group in 1927, 1937 and
1964 with the explicit aim of resettlement, and have received ‘special offers’ of formal education and adult education including free
the district (Leruk, Kitwai, Ndido, etc.), ‘persuaded’ by promises of a well, help to develop workable cultivation system, health services and a school (I will return to the nature of this persuasion in subsequent chapters). Nothing materialized due to lack of governmental funding (Division Secretary in Kijungu, Edward. N. Munjaw - personal communication).

I found out later that several villagers had left the village to live elsewhere primarily because the governmental authorities had failed to fulfill any of their promises.\textsuperscript{52} The Akie, however, had already cleared a road up to the village as a part of the deal. When I first visited this village in February 1996 several Akie were seriously considering leaving, as the water situation is extremely difficult for a large part of the year\textsuperscript{53}. At that time nobody in Ngababa had heard about the new land management program, and the ongoing privatization of land and individual titles to land with its implications was not understood.

When I asked the village leader if he thought he would go to the District Administration in Kibaya and make inquiries, the answer was negative. The Akie definitely had a wait-and-see attitude. Later in 1996, however, this village was subject to repeated visits from district administrative personnel first to re-evaluate the water situation, and later to introduce the new sub-district land management program. This created somewhat renewed interest as to what was thought could come out of it. As I later came to understand this had something to do with that \textit{muzungu} - Europeans were involved in the land management program and as such are not associated with the negative experiences with \textit{meeyee}, - Tanzanian government officials associated with Bantu whom the Akie generally try to avoid. Administration by Bantu \textit{akidas} (local colonial administrators) and \textit{ilwalis} (local judicial administrators) was introduced under German rule was (Kaare, 1996a:172). It is questionable, however, to the extent the \textit{akidas} and \textit{ilwalis} were able to exert any significant control over the Akie due to their relative inaccessibility in the bush. Great Britain introduced ‘indirect rule’ in 1925, which on the part of the Akie did not result in that the ‘tribe’ should govern itself through traditional leaders (Native Authority) within a defined territory, as pointed out by some of my Akie informants. They were placed under local Bantu chiefs as was the case with the Maasai and Parakuyo in this area (Kaare, 1996a:172). Possibly because they were considered to

\textsuperscript{52}According to estimations made in the Division in 1993 there were 201 Akie in the village. My own investigation implied that there were about 150 individuals left. I will return to this in particular in Chapter eight.

\textsuperscript{53}I will also provide a closer account of the water situation in in Chapter eight.
lack a traditional basis for chieftancy to build upon, as suggested by Talle in the case of the pastoral Barabaig in Tanzania (Talle, 1974:12). The Zigua and the Guu Bantu had developed chieftainships in the course of the political and military struggle of territority and influence over the slave and ivory trade, prior to the establishment of German rule.\(^5\) The duty of the chiefs was to keep the peace, catch thieves and control poachers - and collect tax to Native Treasuries - which ideally was to be redistributed to the tribal members in the area through development projects. Collection of tax, however, was no success among the Akie as Maasai, also reluctant to enlist their children in school. When it comes to successful tax collection this is even today a general problem in Kiteto district (URT, 1996a). This task is tried pursued mainly by Maasai tax collectors in most places were Akie live today.\(^5\)

Tanzanian government officials are regarded with suspicion related to earlier broken promises related, first and foremost, to their compelled villagization. This also has something to do with that Akie at times are caught and fined when hunting, even if this is seldom officially registered. I was told about an incident only the previous year when an Akianta had been caught and beaten to death by the ‘police’. It is obvious that this has been impossible to verify by other sources. Kaare (1995) mentions that about nine years before his field work a district official came to collect statistics on infant mortality. The same information was employed by district education officials to enroll Akie children in school. This seems to have had limited affect on the Akie, however, as very few know how to read and write. In the settlements covered during fieldwork practically no children were in school regardless of if the nearest Primary School, for instance, was half an hour or one days walk away.

In the next chapter changes in the Akie economy are examined in reference to externally generated forces of push and pull and how it has articulated on the local level.

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\(^5\) According to Kaare (1996a:172:173) the Maasai sections in this area (Handeni district and Kiteto district) remained almost untouched by the slave trade but there is indications that they to some extent participated in the trade in ivory). The suggestion is made that the Akie provided their neighbors with ivory although there is no concrete evidence to prove that the Akie responded directly to the needs of ivory trade in Zanzibar.

\(^5\) Tax collecting was initially introduced during German colonial rule in 1898 in German East Africa.
5/ A DIVERSIFICATION OF THE AKIE ECONOMY

Primarily Hunters and Gatherers during the Maasai Wars

Some Akie acquired a little livestock in the Maasai wars in the 19th century, if they primarily lived by hunting and gathering. This period of warfare and feuding between the Parakuyo and Kisongo was in the wake of the Kisongo expansion reaching the area before the coming of the colonialists from overseas.

According to Akie they assisted the Parakuyo during the Parakuyo - Kisongo feuding and warfare, in warding off Kisongo ‘trying to steal their cattle’. Other oral accounts presented to me by Akie, Kisongo and Parakuyo also supports that Akie on occasions entered into the warfare on the side of the Kisongo. Akie also acted as ‘go-between’s’ between the two parties. Sometimes the Maasai gave them a little livestock in return for their favors.

The Akie claim, their neighbors first introduced livestock and cultivation to them. Some learned a little livestock herding from pastoralists and a little cultivation from cultivating peoples.

Primarily Hunters and Gatherers at the Time of Colonial Encounter and Early Colonial Period

The Akie claim they for the most part lived by what they could hunt and gather in the bush, prior to colonial encounter. Following Fosbrook (1948, 1956), the first encounter with colonial administration was around 1896 in this area. The Akie were also basically hunters and gatherers according to colonial officer Maquire’s observations in the 1920’s if not without a few exceptions, which also goes for their settlement pattern:

The Mosiro [Akie] are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particular when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls. More often, however, the Mosiro live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife
and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai...

..A few Mosiro till the land, but in a half-hearted manner. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A Mosiroi will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour’s work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time. (Maquire, 1963:135-136)

According to colonial officers’ observations, they most often lived in small communities or groups in the depth of the bush where they lived by hunting and gathering, particularly honey. They only occasionally took ‘refuge’ among their pastoral Maasai neighbors in temporary response to ecological stress and scarcity of resources. Involvement in cultivation and livestock was sporadic in the main. Maquire add’s that a few were working as herders for various Maasai, a few have also begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds (Maquire, 1963:138).

According to the Akie, they also still lived by hunting and gathering in the main, moving between different vegetation zones (turkuita, tulele, tameita) at different altitudes according to seasonal variations in honey and wild animals on their clan lands. Occasionally, the migratory routes of hunting and gathering Akie and pastoral Maasai would cross and most often in the turkuita – grasslands, utilizing different resources.

An Overview of Five Present Akie Settlements

An overview of five Akie settlements in the former clan territories of the Mosiro and the Mokiri Akie, four settlements in the Talamai/Kijungu area and one closer to the Kibaya area at the time of my fieldwork, gives a quite different picture of Akie subsistence and settlement pattern. The settlements presented here are the Akie localities in Kiteto district I came to know best by following the social networks and kinship relations of individual Akie, and which I repeatedly visited or lived
in during fieldwork from February 1996 to February 1997. The overview is brief. I will elaborate further below before discussing the external forces of push and pull. I provide a more detailed account of subsistence technology, the technical processes and social relationships whereby the foods and other physical means are produced and consumed (including ideological components) will be examined and discussed further in the next chapter.

First, an Akie settlement - *kokwe*, may consist of from one or more Akie homesteads (*kau*) more or less clustered. A homestead may be almost fence to fence of the next, or with up to a kilometer to the next. An Akie homestead is usually surrounded by two to three meters high thorn-bush fence to protect people (and as we will see sometimes livestock) against predators. The size of a homestead with reference to members may vary considerably, from one single family (*pfii*), a man his wife and eventual children in a single house, or an extended family group living in several houses. A man may have several wives - usually only if a man holds livestock and when this is the case every married woman has her own house. The homestead may also consist of several families related by no other ties than friendship. A homestead usually carries the name of the man who is considered the founder of the homestead.56

As to my reference to settlements in villages below, all villages are registered by the government but several of the village boundaries are still to be surveyed or resurveyed and issued with title deeds to the land – I will return to this in Chapter eight.

Settlement A.

This Akie settlement consists of two homesteads is situated on the slope of a hill and on the fringe of a larger village. There are a few shops, a maize mill, three churches (Anglican, Catholic and Moslem), a Primary school and Police Station at the center of the village on the side of one of the larger roads cross-cutting Kiteto district. The total number of residents is 1,500, mainly cultivating Bantu (Nguu and Gogo) and pastoral Maasai. 7 Akie live in the settlement with the two homesteads. Their closest neighbors are pastoral Maasai living about 700 meters away and almost

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56 The population figures in this overview are primarily based on a local survey carried out quite recently, and provided by district administrative personnel. In the case of the Akie numbers are tried cross-checked and adjusted by me.
settlements. The Akie in both homesteads cultivate small maize gardens. A few chickens are found in one of the settlements.

Settlement B.
There are four Akie homesteads in this settlement situated on the slope of a hill on the fringe of a larger village with a few shops, a maize mill and at its center further below. There is also a health station run by catholic missionaries. The village has one 1,500 residents, mainly pastoral Maasai but also with cultivating Bantu, the Akie number about 33 people. The closest neighbors of the Akie are pastoral Maasai. The nearest Maasai homestead is about 400 meters away. Nearly all Maasai homesteads are in a lower part of the village compared the homesteads of the Akie. The Akie settlement is about a three and a half hour walk from one of the larger roads cross-cutting the district. The Akie in all four homesteads cultivate maize, in one a little bean. A few chickens are found in three of the homesteads. Four men in this settlement work as guides and trackers for hunting and safari companies.

Settlement C.
The Akie settlement consists of two homesteads in the immediate vicinity of several hills and in the upper realm of a Maasai village which has no shops, no school, etc. The total number of residents is 900, of which the Akie number twenty. It is approximately a five hours walk from the Akie homesteads to the nearest shopping village. The Akie settlement is approximately a four hours walk from one of the larger roads cross-cutting the district. The Akie in both homesteads cultivate small maize gardens. A few chickens are kept in one homestead and also smallstock - over fifty goats and a few sheep. One young man works in a Mission office in Dar es Salaam.

Settlement D.
Thirteen Akie homesteads are situated on a slope of a hill roughly a three hours walk from one of the larger roads cross-cutting the district. The Akie residents make up 200 people, 20 Bantu live in two homesteads approximately 600 meters away from the nearest Akie homestead. The village is approximately a four hours walk from the nearest shopping village. The Akie in all homesteads
cultivate small maize gardens, in one homestead beans are cultivated in addition to maize. Cattle and smallstock is found in two homesteads. About fifteen young men are employed as trackers and guides for hunting and safari companies.

Settlement E.

Nine Akie homesteads are situated around the foot of a steep hill located approximately a three and half hours walk away from one of the larger roads cross-cutting the district. Total number of residents is about 300 of 30-40 are Maasai and Bantu. The nearest shopping village is approximately a one day walk away, another approximately two days walk away in the other direction. Akie in all homesteads cultivate maize, livestock is found in seven homesteads.

**Present Observations: Fringe Dwellers with Multi-focal Resource Use**

No Akie settlement in my overview is located more than roughly four hours walk from one of the main roads cross-cutting the Kiteto district. None of the Akie homesteads belonging to these settlements are found further away than a day’s walk at the most from a shopping village. A ‘shopping village’ refers to a village where one finds larger shops and/or the smaller kiosk type where a variety of items may be acquired.

Three of the five Akie settlements above are found more or less clustered on the fringes of larger villages. In two villages the residents are largely Akie and these villages are well known in the area as ‘Dorobo places’. One of the two Akie villages (settlement D.) is Ngababa, the village that originated on the Tanzanian government’s particular initiative to ensure settlement of the Dorobo. I find that Akie living in villages almost ‘by themselves’ is quite exceptional in Kiteto district. I make no claims to have visited all Akie settlements in the district but my roundtrips confirm that the Akie most often live in small settlements on the fringes of larger villages with non-Akie residents in clear majority. Kaare (1996a:110) finds that in his research localities (mainly in the neighboring in western Handeni district and few across the border in Kiteto district) the Akie tend to form ‘satellite villages’ – break-off’s from larger villages in order to avoid living intermingled with their neighbors. Settlement E. can be taken as an example of this, it is a sub-

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village, the smallest Tanzanian administrative unit, belonging to a larger village roughly a day's walk away. The main village is in this case is a day’s walk away. The Akie homesteads in three of the other villages in the overview above are spatially more or less clustered on the out-skirts of the larger villages - but relatively close to their Maasai neighbors, seldom more than 500 m away as also noted by Kaare.

The Akie settlements in my overview are found on either the slope of a hill, at the foot of a hill or in the immediate vicinity of hills and more or less in the intermediary of thickets and open woodland, and denser forest. Akie explain this with reference to that it is close to denser vegetation and forest on or near the hills and a suitable point of departure for searching for trees the wild bees tend to settle in and produce honey, in particular. In chapter five I have described Akie traditional territorial organization and utilization of wild resources. As noted, an Akian, his wife and children, or an extended family group would move and live within several vegetation zones utilizing natural resources according to seasonal variations. The Akie would also periodically aggregate in a cluster of families living in several homestead’s, and this larger settlement or base-camp was also often in between thickets and open woodland (tulele) and denser forest (tameita), often on the slope of a hill. These settlements have become permanent today, however. While men may move around on shorter or longer trips hunting or honey gathering - relative to the extent they hunt and gather - women, children and old usually stay behind. Kaare (1996a:31) claims that the Akie settlements in villages in his research area ‘are only temporary in practice but are permanent as far as the government is concerned’, as he finds that many Akie spend very few days of the year in their government recognized settlements. They spend most of the year either wandering in the bush hunting or collecting honey or visiting kin or others in other villages. In the settlements in my research area, I found that this also went for some of the men in the settlements in my overview. I regard the homesteads and settlements as permanent however, as women, children and older people generally stay put.

Every homestead is involved in cultivation. The crop cultivated is first and foremost maize. Every married woman cultivates her own garden, seldom larger than one ha. Daily maintenance is women’s responsibility, however, this requires that they by large stay put.
Livestock is found in almost half of the homesteads. With regards to number of homesteads livestock is found in almost half of them. Of all the Akie homesteads I visited only two had as many as ten heads of hump-backed East-African Zebu cattle attached to it, one had about fifty. Usually it is only a very few animals – often only one or two and the same for eventual smallstock, and well below the minimum pastoral survival limit of 5.5 livestock units per capita, using the survival limit provided by Talle (1997) in the case of the Maasai. Livestock is moved on a seasonal base depending on access to water and grazing in the manner of the pastoral Maasai. A whole homestead does generally not move with the herd, as is also the case with most of the Maasai in this area today. Pastoralism is practiced extensively by the Maasai in this area, but most Maasai have as the Akie taken up a little cultivation and settled in permanent villages. 70 % of the Maasai have taken cultivation with fields ranging from less of one ha to over to ha (URT, 1996.

In some homesteads a few chicken are kept for household consumption, and only occasionally traded in the few shopping villages along the major roads by women.

While livestock keeping and cultivation is subsistence oriented in the main, the cherished honey from natural beehives in trees is the most important cash crop among the Akie, if personal consumption seems to be the priority. The honey can be sold, or alternatively bartered, to local beer bars in the larger shopping villages along the road. Honey is always high in demand. Akie sell roughly rinsed honey for up to 2,500 T.Sh. per three liters depending on seasonal variations and scarcity. Honey is also traded with the Maasai.

A few men in two of the settlements in my overview work seasonally as guides or trackers for hunting and safari companies like Tanzania Safaris and Hunting, and Traditional Hunting in the tourist hunting season, which is from July to November. In 1996 companies that were operative in the Selous Game Reserve were popular among these Akie with reference to that payment was better. Depending on the company pay varies from about 10.000 T.Sh. a month to about 40.000 T.Sh. a month. At any rate these men can come home after ended season with a considerable amount of money after Tanzanian standards. Average monthly income in Tanzania in 1996 was estimated to 17.000 T.Sh.

57 The Selous is the largest game reserve in Africa, with about 55.000 sq. km the reserve carves out a huge portion of Southern Tanzania. The immense size of the game reserve makes it ideal for tourists seeking a sense og isolation, exploration and discovery.
I have noted that in one of the settlements a young man worked for a Mission office in Dar es Salaam.

Other activities that can generate cash income are work as land laborers for Bantu cultivators, or herders for Maasai generally richer in cattle. Pay is just as often in kind, however. This is labor that was presented to me as low status, and I was assured that this is something they only do when the food situation was desperate. No one in the Akie settlements referred to above admitted that either they or relatives were working as land laborers for Bantu or Maasai during my year of fieldwork - possibly related to that my year of fieldwork was such a good year in terms of maize harvest, or because it is considered as shameful. There is more status associated with working as a tracker and guide for safari/hunting companies, which is also generally more feasible economic wise. When Akie young men live or work in a Maasai homestead on the basis of, for instance, kinship ties through inter-marital relations it is perceived of differently, however. They see themselves as simply participating members of the homestead and do not see themselves as ‘working for’ the Maasai.

When I periodically had to go to Dar es Salaam I also met a few Akie from Handeni and Kiteto districts working as a night watchman (askari) in shops and guesthouses among the many Maasai. None of the Akie came from any of the settlements I lived in, or visited during fieldwork. I often heard the possibilities for finding this kind of work discussed by Akie when in field, however. Towards the end of my stay in field a young man in settlement E. made a round-trip to Arusha and Dar es Salaam to explore the possibilities for this kind of work.

Photographs are frequently proudly shown to foreign visitors following an immediate introduction to skilled individuals if present in the settlement, as noted.

I will return to intermarriage between the Akie and the Maasai as well as other exchange relations in other chapters.

As to this phenomenon it has been first and foremost Maasai that have left for the larger towns and taken up wage work as watchmen. In 1996 the market for Maasai watchmen seemed to explode in Dar es Salaam, There appeared to be many more compared to when I first came to Dar es Salaam late October 1995. In the beginning of 1997 it seemed to be Maasai to be seen everywhere after dark, almost in front of every shop, guesthouse or bar. Initially it was the big tourist hotels and clubs that wanted Maasai as watchmen and mainly for two reasons. People are generally afraid of Maasai as they have a reputation of being fierce and therefore scare off thieves. Tourists also fancy the Maasai in their colorful shuka’s - wrap-around sheets of cotton cloth - and red blankets that they often continue to wear when in the city. In the beginning it was mainly Parakuyo from the southeastern borders of Kiteto district and Handeni district who took up this work. Now it is increasingly also Kisongo from Kiteto and Simanjiro (Ole Moono and Bakken, forthcoming). A Maasai I met working in bungalow complex for tourists on the northeastern coast of Zanzibar made 7,000 T.Sh. which he considered to be a quite good payment, but payment can vary between 9,000 and 90,000 T.Sh.

Older people, women in particular, are suspicious and concerned about diseases brought back from town and generally reluctant to let their offspring leave and take up work as watchmen, as are the men’s wives and girlfriends. It is not known to me if any Akie women sell beadwork or herbs in the larger towns, as is the case with many Maasai woman (I came across Maasai women even in Zanzibar). I never met or heard of Akie women doing this.
I was first surprised about how little the Akie utilized wild growths but then this picked up towards the end of my fieldwork period when the last maize from the rich harvest that year was consummated. When it comes to hunting, one Akiante put it to me like this the first time I visited and made my first inquiries:

Most Akie hunt at least periodically regardless of cultivation or livestock because we are not able to live by either. Most Akie are not able to obtain enough money from cash-income-generating activities. We are forced to pursue hunting despite the restrictions on hunting because we are ‘njaa’ (hungry).

**Good Years, Bad Years and Worse?**

An analysis based on data collected in a randomly chosen year will usually provide limited insights into people’s economic strategies. Only after repeated visits one may find that there is no such thing as a ‘normal year’ (Colson, 1979:18). My fieldwork among the Akie barely covers an annual cycle and I have not yet had chance to re-visit the Akie. Nevertheless, one can always draw on what people say to provide clues (Broch, 1985:26).

As noted, the Akie settlements in referred to above are found more or less in the intersection of the Central Elevated Zone and the dryer Maasai Steppe Zone, according to zoning of natural resource base and utilization in the land management and environment program (URT, 1996a). Average annual rainfall must be somewhere between 500-650 mm and 350-400 mm in the Akie localities. This little rainfall results in that cultivation is a risky enterprise (Dyson-Hudson, 1980). Due to topographical variation the chance for bimodal rainfall, however, is slightly higher in three of the five settlements in my overview, allowing for an earlier sowing of maize, preferably already in November – December during the short rains, and with better prospects for a good harvest.

Nevertheless, according to the Akie ‘all Akie’ try to cultivate maize every year. Harvest failure causes considerable distress. With reference to why they choose to cultivate maize - and not for instance sorghum or millet that should have approximately the same chances as to a good harvest -

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62 There is an overview of the different zones in Chapter four, section 'Kiteto District'.
Akie point to that maize ripens far quicker than millet or sorghum. This is also noted by Colson (1979) with reference to the Gwembe Tonga in Zambia, maize ripens quickly and if the previous harvest has been bad it make a make a difference in averting hunger.

Akie often speak of ‘good years’ and ‘bad years’ with reference to the rains. A good year has short rains as well as long rains and ensures good maize harvests, good grazing for livestock, and benefits wild growths as well as wild animals. In ‘bad years’ there may be no or little short rains and/or delayed long rains. How ‘bad’ a year can get depends on total absence of the short rains and for how long the long rains are delayed. 1996 was ‘good year’ according to the Akie and the maize harvest was perceived of as exceptionally rich. There were short rains starting in November when I first went through this area in 1995, and heavy rains starting out in February 1996 and lasting well into May. It is more than probable that this ‘good year’ influenced the relatively poor extent Akie utilized natural resources. The utilization of wild growths gradually picked up as the stores of maize came to an end and towards the end of my fieldwork in February 1997.

Tanzania has in the recent years been hit by a number of severe draughts that have affected also this part of Tanzania badly. In 1996 the short rains never came except for a few extremely light showers in November in the area where Settlement A., B. and D. are located, this not promising well for the year to come. When I made my last visits to some of these settlements in February 1997, I had the chance to see for myself that many had not yet sown. Those who had taken the chance to sow their gardens in November faced the depressing sight of dead and dying maize plants. According to post-field information the Akie maize harvest almost failed completely. My regular Akie field assistant Karani, living in Settlement B., sent me a letter dated 12th May 1997 describing the situation. The near absence of short rains and much delayed heavy rains had disrupted the growth pattern of maize and the plants had died. His family and many of his friends spread in the various settlements were suffering from the acute shortage of maize. This was certainly a very ‘bad year’ for the Akie, as well as for many of the other inhabitants in the district, as confirmed by Eva Kjellström, co-councilor at the LAMP Support Office in Kibaya at the time (personal communication).
Towards the very end of my fieldwork in February 1997 some of the cattle keeping Akie in Settlement E. were already planning for what to do if the long rains would continue to be delayed, there had no short rains. They were discussing if they would need to move their cattle eastward towards the ‘wetter’ highlands across the Handeni border this year, abandoning water and grazing areas usually utilized in response to seasonal variation in less extreme years. According to Rafael Reyet Ole Moono, coordinator and secretary of a local pastoral Non Governmental Organization in the neighboring Handeni district, many Maasai had also taken their cattle to the ‘wetter’ highlands in southwestern Handeni in the direction of the Kiteto border (at Kilindi and near Kwediboma), when he returned from abroad in April 1997 (personal communication). The clustering of cattle, however, caused cattle diseases to spread fast and cows died. Many Maasai, including his own family, was on relief food from Dar es Salaam. (Letter, dated 30.04.97). I have been unable to find out if Akie, or Maasai for that matter, anywhere in Kiteto received relief food at any time during this period.

1997/98 was later to be declared by President Mkapa as a year of severe drought and famine in Tanzania. Food shortage was caused by drought that hit the country during the 1996/97, the worst in 15 years. Both short and long rains ‘performed poorly’, as many areas got less than 50 per cent of normal rain. Food relief was administered in several parts of Tanzania. (Daily News Tanzania, 24.12.97).

1993 was another extremely ‘bad year’ of severe drought according to Akie, the Akie in several places in the district received relief food allocated through the district administration. My field assistant Karani, among others, told me that the cattle keeping Akie were forced to slaughter and eat whatever remaining livestock they had. Many men left to look for wage work among rich Maasai, or farmers with private wells or dams. Eventually many Akie, previously with or without livestock, had to leave their settlements, they scattered and took refuge in the higher hills and lived solely by what they could hunt and gather. The Akie still have extensive knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers, and also animal behavior. They can also manage quite well without surface water or wells as they make use of a particular tuber with a potato like skin (but much larger than a potato). Under the skin there is a sticky layer of about an inch and a half in thickness, and the
inner core which looks like a raw potato, is very moist and when chewed gives relief to thirst. The Akie also draw water from hollow trees and vegetation with the help of a hollow straw or metal tube.

I suspect that some Akie, especially women with very small children, also left their homesteads relatively to live with relatives in other settlements, or even Maasai, who might be better off for whatever reason. Before I left field in 1997 when the maize store’s had come to an end and well’s and springs were almost completely dried out, there had been no short rains, and delayed long rains made the situation increasingly difficult, especially in Settlement E., this is what happened. When it comes to the Maasai homesteads these Akie woman took ‘refuge in’, they were often those where Akie had relatives through in-married Akie woman.

By report, the Akie will not abandon their homesteads and settlements all together except for in ‘extremely bad years’, while they formerly moved within different ecological zones on their clan territories according to seasonal and annual variations in honey and wild life.

**Changes in the Akie Economy, Forces of Push and Pull**

The Akie who at the time of colonial encounter and in the early colonial period led a primarily hunting and gathering life in the ‘depth of the bush’, now live in permanent settlements in small clusters and most often on the fringes of larger villages. Pastoralists and/or cultivators usually outnumber them by far in these villages on the former clan territories of the Akie. An Akie settlement is also seldom further away than a day’s walk at the most from the nearest shopping village, where a variety of items may be acquired. The Akie economy has also undergone considerable diversification. Risky subsistence cultivation is the rule rather than the exception among the Akie today and some have also acquired livestock if on a relatively small scale. Nevertheless, most Akie continue to gather honey - and hunt at least periodically despite the restrictions on hunting, as they by own account are not able to live by either. They have become a

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63 Ref. Maquire (1963:140) who claims that the Akie call it *kicherembwee*.
64 In Chapter I have devoted a sub-section to items found in the homesteads of the Akie and their origin.
part of the money economy. Money may be added to the economy by several cash-income-generating activities if not sufficient to abandon hunting for most Akie.65.

According to Dyson-Hudson (1980), there are three specializations or traditional strategies as persistent responses to semi-arid environments. 1) Hunting and gathering, which given the marked seasonality requires a relatively high mobility and low densities of people, 2) Pastoralism, which requires a degree of mobility, 3) Cultivation by replacing the existing vegetation with crops that provide higher food yields for humans and obviates the need for high mobility and allows higher population density. But then sedentarization and cultivation imposes considerable risks of failure of the food supply when the rain fails, and has proved an unacceptable solution over much of East Africa. These three strategies may be practiced as specializations’ by different groups of people, or as mixed strategies by a single group (Dyson-Hudson, 1980) - as is the case among the Akie today. The combination of pastoralism and cultivation alone is complicated as the household has to combine herding and cultivation activities (Bovin and Manger, 1990).

Following Colson (1979) it is possible to view a mixed subsistence and multi-focal resource use as found among many hunter-gatherers (also pastoralists, and subsistence cultivators) as a mixture of coping strategies reducing long-term vulnerability to climate and other ‘adverse’ conditions that affect food supplies.

When Akie talk about before (ikaakeny), the time when they lived a basically hunting and gathering life as opposed to now (höryo), when they have settled in villages and become dependent on risky cultivation and sometimes livestock in a small way, the past may be represented as a time when honey and wild life was rich. Nevertheless, it may also be represented as a time when ‘one often had to go without food for a long time’ and they had to ‘eat even the skins of the wild animals’. I take it that Akie life must have fluctuated between the two extremes, if not every year. What Akie had a tendency to underline to me, however, was their perception of a problematic present. They stressed the hardships they endure, the problems of risky cultivation, no or little

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65 I take my observations of the Akie to be fairly representative for the Akie in Kiteto district as my findings based on the overview of five settlements are supported by roundtrips to other settlements in the district. I have also noted above when any of the findings in the overview diverge from what I take to be the general pattern.
livestock to support them, lesser wildlife than before - and restrictions on hunting. I will return to this in Chapter seven.

The changes in the Akie economy over a period of little more than 200 years, has taken place through social and economic interaction in a shifting socio-political context of change.

According to the Akie their neighbors first introduced livestock and cultivation to them. Some learned a little livestock keeping and herding from the basically pastoral Maasai, and a little cultivation from the Bantu.

Oral report indicates that some Akie received a little livestock in exchange for their support of one side or the other during the Maasai wars in the nineteenth century, before encounter with German administration towards the end of the century. Maquire (1963:127-128) as the Akie agree to that they were still primarily hunters and gatherers living in the depth of the bush in the early colonial period. They only occasionally took refuge among their pastoral neighbors in temporary response to ecological stress and scarcity of resources. Cultivation and livestock was sporadic, a few Akie had, however, small herds and followed a pastoral life style (Maquire, 1963:135-136 and 138). Colonial officer Maquire, who made his observations in the middle of the 1920’s, describes the area as a ‘vast area populated almost entirely by nomads’, mainly pastoral Maasai (1963:127-128). Fosbrooke (1948) carrying out an administrative survey of the Maasai social system in the area in 1939 also notes that the majority of the population are Maasai. According to Akie, the first to take up a little cultivation in the Talamai/Kijungu area where there also lived cultivating Guu and Zigua. Nevertheless, the British largely prevented agricultural encroachment up to the 1930’s, for instance in 1923 Guu and Zigua where evicted from the Talamai/Kijungu area.

As noted the Akie initially had relatively little direct contact with colonial administration and for many years experienced colonial induced changes from some remove. Bantu *akidas* (local colonial administrators) and *ilwalis* (local judicial administrators) were introduced under German rule was (Kaare, 1996a:172). I have questioned to the extent the *akidas* and *ilwalis* were able to exert any significant influence over the Akie due to their relative inaccessability in the bush. When Great Britain introduced ‘indirect rule’ in 1925 this did not result in Akie self-governing through traditional leaders, they were placed under local Bantu chiefs (like the Maasai in this area) (Kaare, 1996a:172). It is also questionable to the extent they were able to exert any significant influence
over the Akie for the same reasons. During colonial rule (first German then British) between the end of 1880’s and 1961 the Akie became increasingly encompassed to the south within a shrinking Maasai District as noted in the previous chapter. Fertile land to the north was allocated to white and native settlers in order to increase production, including production of war-time wheat cultivation. Under British administration there were also created wildlife sanctuaries for the exclusive use of wildlife (Serengeti, Manyara, Tarangire and Engordoto National Parks). The reserve was also reduced several times after independence. Land previously utilized by the pastoral Maasai in particular in the dry season was lost to them resulting in that pastoralism became gradually more extensively practiced within the reduced reserve. The implication of this is most probably that Akie and Maasai would meet more and more often on their crossing migratory routs, intensifying interaction and developing closer relations.

In the transition from a basically hunting and gathering life in the depth of the bush, to settled village life with permanent cultivation and in some cases a little livestock, cultivation and eventual livestock initially must have interfered very little with their organization of subsistence. According to Akie they first planted small gardens, and left them to pursue their gathering of honey and hunting of wild animals moving between different vegetation zones on their clan territories. They would return to the small gardens up to several months later, to harvest whatever had grown there in their absence. Those small gardens just meant another welcome additional food supply. Domestic animals were also regarded as any other animal, as just another source of meat and when acquired from Maasai often eaten on the spot, as also noted by Maquire (1963:136). Akie say that they had no liking for cow’s milk in the past, if cherished by their Maasai neighbors. In this transitional period they continued to live in their clan lands in the main. They still migrated through different vegetation zones along the length of their lineage and family territories according to honey seasons, hunting whatever animal were plentiful, also noted by Kratz describing the transition of the Okiek economy in terms of diversification in Kenya (1986; 1994:74-75).

By Akie report, most Akie had settled in permanent villages and taken up permanent cultivation in the late 1970’s, with reference to ‘Ujamaa’ and ‘Nyerere’ - the post-independence compulsory villagization and resettlement programs initiated by president Nyerere mentioned in the previous chapter, if few were aimed directly at the Akie as a social group. Unable to resist the
government’s resettlement and villagization programs fully, many sought to resist living directly intermingled among their neighbors by forming more or less clustered settlements on the fringes of existing villages, but relatively close to their Maasai neighbors. This contributed to their fragmentation and dispersal. Settlement E. is an example of trying to form an own village further away from neighbors.

In 1990 the pressure to abandon hunting and gathering practices in exchange for permanent sedentary village life based on cultivation increased. Akie make particular reference to the Ngababa village project implemented in 1990 to ensure aggregated settlement of the ‘Dorobo’. As noted in the previous chapter, approximately 250 Akie came in from various places in the district. The Akie were under considerable pressure if never outright physically forced and rounded up and transported there in trucks, as rumored took place some places in Tanzania in the course of ‘villagization’. The Akie say this pressure was in the form of persuasion as well as threat. In the future ‘the police’ would hit down harder on ‘poaching’ and increase fines. The Akie were promised a well, help to develop a workable cultivation system, health services and a school, guaranteeing a better life, than a ‘poor’ hunting and gathering existence in the bush, nothing materialized. Several Akie where considering to leave for the bush. In fact, some had already left, with particular reference to the difficult water situation in this village, if there are slightly higher chances for bimodal rainfall allowing for better prospects for the maize harvest. I found some of those ‘Ngababa’ Akie, in the other settlements in my overview.

Many interacting factors have without doubt influenced Akie economic diversification and change in settlement pattern, ecological shifts, intensified interaction with pastoral Maasai and cultivating Bantu through population influx and increase in the area due to eviction and land pressure elsewhere - related to colonial and post-independence economic policies and interventions. The implementation of villagization and resettlement programs in the area, land pressure and inappropriate land use – which has accelerated during the recent two – three decades also due to national economic liberalization schemes, has reduced the land and resource base of the Akie even further. Wild animals are in fewer numbers than before. The restrictions on hunting in the four hunting blocks in the district are also a part of this picture.
It is difficult to say when the Akie entered the monetary economy. As to involvement in trade and exchange relations, this is not a recent phenomenon. Kaare (1996a) make references to hunting and gathering ‘Dorobo’ who lived close to Maasai and Bantu Zigua and Nguu villages and had established trade and other links to their neighbors towards the end of the 19th century based on Last and Bauman. From their accounts it is evident that these ‘Dorobo’ (whether Akie or not), were engaged to some extent in supplying ivory either to the Maasai or to the Bantu who had access to slave and ivory dealers along the Pangani-Dodoma-Tabora route, prominent as a slave and ivory trade route. Colonial officer Maquire makes reference to Akie who reported to him that they killed many elephants for the Maasai before European rule (1963:136). This is most probably in relation to the trade in ivory. He also notes that honey obtained in large quantities by Akie had ‘a ready sale among the Masai’ at the time of his observations (Maquire, 1963:137).

Before we take a closer look at the ‘internals’ of the Akie economic system in the next chapter, I would like to add some notes on the break-up of former Akie clans and territories.

Some Further Notes on Fragmentation of Former Akie Clans and Lands

As noted, most elder Akie agree to that the area, for instance, were we today find the five Akie settlements in my overview above is former Mosiro and also Mokiri territory. Some Akie acknowledge that many Akie found in this area today are Mosiro and also Mokiri but then, when actually asking individuals many Akie are not able to claim membership in a particular clan. Usually this is explained by Akie with reference to the break-up of these clan territories, the clan members ‘have dispersed and moved considerably around since’. The consequences of colonial and post-colonial administrative measures, whether indirectly or directly, has without doubt resulted in dispersal, fragmentation and resettlement (as I have argued above). I am not sure if this can account for the ‘amnesia’ I found among individual Akie - and already noted by Maquire (1963:129) in the early colonial period, however.

66 According to Roberts (1969) the world’s demand for East African ivory accelerated during the nineteenth century, formerly it had gone to India, now it had ready demand in Europe and America. The area known as Tanzania was drawn into the international trade in ivory.
A particular time of ‘upheaval’ pointed to by Fosbrook (1948) with implications for the Maasai was the period between 1890 to about 1920 with famine in the wake of rinderpest and smallpox in the 1880’s, civil war and European intervention. It is possible that 90% of all cattle in East Africa died as a result of the rinderpest (Århem, 1985). Fosbrook suggests that this resulted in break-up and submergence of many previous sections among the Maasai, together with the loss of previous loyalties that held those sections together and generally of political cohesion. I can only but speculate - this might have also have affected eventual loyalties between previous groups or sub-groups of Akie if in part indirectly – by the formation of mutually beneficial alliances with members of different sections of Maasai – and thus contributed to fragmentation and dispersal. I say in part indirectly because most Akie were not directly affected by the outbreak of rinderpest that was a major problem to the pastoral Maasai, as very few Akie had cattle.

This period of fragmentation and dispersal may have started before, however, as the Akie also obviously entered into shifting alliances with opposed sections of Maasai – during the Parakuyo and Kisongo feuding and warfare in the area in the nineteenth century. Recall the Kisongo Maasai took Naberera (north of Kiteto district in today’s Simanjiro district) from the Parakuyo in 1821, Kibaya in 1836, and Talamai in 1866, according to Fosbrook (1948).

Akie fission and fusion among into smaller or larger social entities is by no means something we can pre-assume is confined only to the period between 1890 and 1920. We can only take into account that this particular period might have been particularly turbulent by the ‘coincidence’ of several factors together, as indicated by Fosbrook in the case of the Maasai, this may have resulted in considerable fragmentation and also re-grouping.

Maquire (1963:129) notes that the description ‘without any great social coherence’ tallies with the characteristics of the ‘Tanganyika Dorobo’ in the 1920’s. Elsewhere (page 135) he describes one of his ‘Mosiro’ informants as the only man holding even semblance of authority among these people’ but without closer elaboration. Now, eventual social coherence and unity as well as leadership and authority are in the eye of the beholder, and relative to comparative measures employed whether explicit or implicit. It is possible that Maquire was thinking in terms of absence of ‘formalized chieftency’s’ when he drew his conclusions, which the Akie claim they have never had. It is also possible that the particular turbulent period between 1890 and 1920 that I suggest
may have resulted in fragmentation of former clans and land’s, set their former management system out of order. In Chapter three, I have noted that a hierarchy of male elders could be activated on different levels, in matters concerning several families within a settlement, or between settlements, lineage’s and local groups/or clans. On the settlement (kokwe) level the council of elders (orkai lokokowe) was headed by prominent elder (orkaiante) responsible for mediating and settling conflict over eventual usage of resources on the settlement level, for instance large honey theft. There are no indications in oral rapport that position or office as leading orkaiante was inherited or even formalized in a strict sense. But on the whole it indicates a degree of social coherence and unity. The Akie claim that this system was in operation prior to colonial and post-independence influences – and as will be seen in subsequent chapters it is in part today.
6/ SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, A BETWIXT AND BETWEEN ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Subsistence Technology

I will explore Akie subsistence technology further, the technical processes and social relationships whereby the foods and other physical means are produced and consumed – including eventual ideological components, to see if we can get a deeper understanding of the economic system and maybe how is has changed over time. I take the Akie settlement/village I came to know best during fieldwork as a point of departure for description, analysis and discussion further below.

The village is equivalent to Settlement E., one of the five settlements in my overview in the previous chapter. The village setting with homesteads and interrelated households need’s an initial elaboration. I will also sum up some points from the description of the village provided in my brief overview in the previous chapter.

The Village Setting, Homesteads and Interrelated Households

As noted, the village is located about a three and half hours walk off-road from one of the larger roads cross-cutting the district on a trail that is actually no more than a path. The village is located about a day’s walk away from the nearest shopping village, and a two days walk in the other direction to the other nearest shopping village. There are only few Maasai and Bantu compared to Akie in this village. Total number of residents is about 300 of which 30-40 are Maasai and Bantu. The village is somewhat exceptional in Kiteto district because the Akie constitute such a large part of the inhabitants in the village (the other ‘exceptional’ village in the district in this sense is Ngababa, Settlement D.).

Most of the Akie claim to have moved in from various places in the district and settled permanently over a period of twenty years on the former clan territory of the Mokiri. Not able to
escape the governments resettlement and villagization programs, they sought to resist living directly among their neighbors by forming their own village (or more or less clustered settlement on the fringes of existing villages which is by far more common – see previous chapter). Several ‘sub-reasons’ are given as to why they settled here in the first place.

First - the area is highly valued because of the many Baobab trees that the wild bees tend to make their hives in. Some Akie first used to come here on honey gathering trips following the many Baobab trees where wild bees often make their hives before it was chosen for a suitable site to settle more permanently. Subsistence cultivation is possible but risky as the chance of short rains in November/December is somewhat lesser than some of the other settlements mentioned in my overview in the previous chapter, due to its location furthest north as to the Maasai Steppe Zone. No land shortage is experienced if the water situation in the village is perceived as difficult. Land has been obtained by just clearing it - or more recently by requests to the village chairman who is a part of the government’s administrative set-up at the local level. The village is now officially registered as sub-village to a larger village almost a day’s walk away. There are wild animals in the area, in particular to the north – if in lesser numbers than before. The place is considered as relatively remote and away from police and bureaucratic officials.

There is a set of smaller trails leading to the village from different directions and between the fourteen homestead’s spread halfway around a relatively small but steep hill. Nine of the fourteen homesteads are Akie, two Kisongo Maasai, one Arusha Maasai, and two Nguu Bantu homesteads. The various homesteads are in part scattered and spread with distances up to one kilometer from each other, while others can be more closely clustered in two’s and three’s sometimes with the characteristic thorn fencing surrounding a homestead almost up to the next. The Maasai and Bantu homesteads are found some larger distance away from the Akie homesteads.

Akie in all nine homesteads cultivate small maize gardens. Livestock is also found in seven homesteads, from one cow to ten in six homesteads - and one with fifty that I find is quite exceptional among the Akie. A few chickens are found in one of them. In all Maasai and Bantu homesteads small maize gardens are also cultivated besides that livestock are attached to all, numbering from twenty to fifty cattle, smallstock in a larger number is found in one of them. A few donkeys are found in the Maasai homesteads. Cultivation and livestock keeping is subsistence
oriented in the main. The most important ‘cash-crop’ in most Akie homesteads is honey from wild bees nesting in hollow trees. In Settlement E. there were no men working as guides or trackers for safari and hunting companies during my period of fieldwork, no homestead members were working as herders or herders or farmhands for Maasai or Bantu. I take this as ‘coincidental’ and related to the extremely good maize harvest this particular year, as several Akie have been previously engaged in this kind of work.

The Akie homesteads (kau) are surrounded by fences made from thorny vegetation. The small maize gardens (usually not exceeding 1 ha) are outside the fenced in homesteads and some are fenced in similar way. In homesteads where there is livestock, there is usually an additional smaller enclosure in the middle of the homestead to keep cattle and eventual smallstock in at night. Sometimes there is a separate enclosure for smallstock. The Akie homesteads vary in size depending on number of members, from one single family (pfii), a man his wife and eventual children in a single house, or an extended family group living in several houses. If a man has several wives – which usually coincide with the keeping of livestock - every married woman usually has her own house. Other families may also live in separate houses within the same homestead on the basis of friendship ties.

Some of the homesteads contain several types of houses. Most of the Akie houses are slightly oval and rounded in shape and with a relatively flat roof, basically made from a cross-work of branches, with a spiral entrance and usually containing two rooms – quite similar to the houses of the Maasai in the district. The houses found within a homestead where there are no cattle are usually clad with clay, if not always. In homesteads with cattle attached to it the houses may be clad with cattle dung. There are also often one-room houses made from more fragile branch-work and simply covered with straw. The Akie claim that these houses closely resemble their houses of the past, before they...
became settled and took up cultivation as today and also became subject to the increasing influence of their Maasai neighbors which has also led to that some have taken up livestock. The Akie also relate polygamy to the influence of their Maasai neighbors.

At least five of the Akie homesteads in this village are linked to each other through kinship and affinal relations. The members of these homesteads would visit each other most frequently, which is not to say that there was no interaction and contact with individuals living in other homesteads in the village whether Akie or none-Akie - and also beyond, as will become apparent in this chapter.

When I stayed in this village I used to live in ‘Lengei’s’ homestead but frequently visited other Akie homesteads also Maasai and Bantu and. Lengei’s homestead is one of the three which has no livestock attached to it. In this homestead there are five houses within the homestead enclosure. Lengei, who is the oldest man in the homestead, lives in a house together with his mother ‘Koko’ and another brother, unmarried as himself. In the second house a daughter of Koko lives with her husband and five children and for the time being her young married daughter and her husband. Another married daughter lives in the third house, an old widowed woman related to Koko in the fourth and a married couple with their son and little daughter in the fifth – friends of other members in the homestead. In Lengei’s homestead there are members who have close relatives in at least four other Akie homesteads, a brother, sister, a cousin, uncle or aunt.

Utilization of Domestic and Wild Resources

Maize

I joined ‘Selena’, (one of Koko’s daughters) who shared her house with me when I lived in ‘Lengei’s’ homestead in many of her daily activities. She spent a large part of the day in her garden like the other women in the homestead, especially after the ripening of the first maize cobs. She left early in the morning walking some fifteen minutes to her garden to check out the maize plants, and made a careful selection for dinner when the maize cobs started ripening.

Women are allocated their own gardens when they marry and move into their husband’s homesteads. Both women and men participate in the process of cultivation of maize. Women
however take care of daily maintenance and men help with the heavier work like clearing and sowing. The clearing of maize gardens is initially by slash and burn. Cultivation techniques are simple and only aided by a hoe or digging stick (kilitue), no fertilizer is used. Maize for sowing is acquired at one of the shopping villages if there is not sufficient suitable corn left from the previous harvest, which is most often the case.

Women are not only responsible for the daily maintenance of their gardens; they are also largely responsible for harvesting and preparation for storage, as well as the processing and distribution for consummation often with the help of children, girls in particular. Generally, Akie men involve themselves more in the whole process of cultivation at old age when they are no longer fit to participate in the strenuous search for honey or hunting wild animals in the open woodlands and forests, which is considered as the tasks of men. Young men, however, may sleep in little straw shelters in the gardens, guarding the maize from bush pigs and an occasional stray cow or donkey owned by livestock owning Akie, Maasai or Nguu.

After the main harvesting in July/August (depending on the rains) when the women take turns in helping each other, the cobs are dried and in special elevated ‘beds’ made from branch work outside the houses. Cobs are also strung up in trees to dry. Suitable maize for re-sowing, big healthy looking cobs, are carefully selected and hung up under the ceiling of the houses to dry, slowly turning from white to yellow, and eventually golden. Stored maize is kept inside the houses, usually in a small ‘bed’ made from branch work in a corner when on cob. A storage of maize corn usually does not last long however - because less fortunate relatives, friends or others will come and beg and the Akie generally feel they must give.

Maize corn for consumption is rinsed of the corn by rubbing one cob against another, and then spread on hides on the ground for additional drying in the sun. Pounding maize corn into meal in the traditional way in a wooden mortar is time-consuming and heavy work, as I soon found out myself. There is no maize mill in this village and it is approximately a day’s walk to the nearest one.
and carrying maize such a long way is too strenuous. On some occasions Akie borrowed a donkey from the Maasai for this purpose in return for honey to be collected by the Akie later. In some of the other Akie settlements where it was a shorter distance to a maize mill, the Akie would occasionally go to have their corn ground in this ‘luxurious’ way depending on amount – and also available cash.

Maize is boiled or roasted on the cob when fresh in the fireplace in the house, and sometimes outside. The corn from the dried cobs may be used after soaking in water sometimes for several days and then boiled, or in boiled porridges made on grounded meal, fresh porridge or sour porridge. Soups are also made from maize meal, with or without mashed pumpkins in it. I have eaten a salted and sweetened version of this soup, but as the Akie usually do not have either sugar or salt at a daily basis, the plain version is most common. If animal fat is available it is mixed in the porridges and the women always strive to set aside fat for this purpose, for themselves and the children first and foremost. Porridge is preferable eaten with meat or stews made from wild leaves and plants.

In a homestead consisting of several houses and households like Lengei’s the women first and foremost prepare and cook this kind of food for own husband and children in the fireplace in the house. They also take care that an eventual old mother or father, whether own or the husband’s, get a share. Nevertheless, they may also take turns at preparing and distributing it to each other within the homestead, and occasionally also to close relatives or friends in other homesteads.

Wild growths
The gathering of edible wild growths and preparation for distribution and consummation is generally the work of women. It is distributed and shared much in the same way as maize. Gathered edible wild growths are seldom stored, however, it is usually not gathered more than can be eaten on the same day. Depending on the availability of maize and season – time is dedicated to the gathering of mushrooms, wild vegetables, fruits, berries and also different tubers in the bush.

When the Akie became involved in the cultivation of gardens, the gardens also became a place to look for edible wild growths. In the aftermath of the heavy rains Selena picked edible mushrooms growing wild in between the growing maize plants in her garden to take home and
prepare later as Akie women do. Later in the season she would bring home pumpkins growing in between the maize and would either cook them for consumption in the homestead later or make calabashes for carrying water, storing maize corn, dried meat, or eating utensils like spoons and bowls. Various growths with edible green leaves also grew wild in the garden and she would often take a little supply home to be cooked together with other foods. The children who often accompanied her to the garden would also pick wild fruits and berries to bring home if not eaten on the spot which is most often the case. As her stock of stored maize after the maize harvest gradually became smaller she and her children spent increasingly more time gathering edible wild growths in the bush. Sometimes several women would go together. In times of great scarcity the Akie also utilize growths normally avoided, either because they were not thought to have high nutritional value, or that they did not taste particularly good.

Women also gather herbs and bark in the bush for different medical purposes, cleaning sores and wounds, soothing flews and coughs, treating malaria, etc. Women in a homestead may take turns gathering firewood for the homestead, collecting and bundling it with a long leather strap strapped across the forehead and resting on the back, so that they do not have to perform this task every day. In times of great scarcity the Akie also utilize growths normally avoided, either because they were not thought to have high nutritional value, or that they did not taste particularly good.

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Finding building material for the building of the houses in the bush is usually also the task of women, but men may help out with the heavier building material and with raising it. Men usually also take care of the fencing of homesteads and also an eventual fencing of maize gardens outside the homestead enclosures.

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67 Women also frequently take turns when collecting water in calabashes and an occasional plastic can at the waterhole and carrying them home in bags (makate) made from animal skin - strapped across the forehead and resting on the back.
Wild honey

The gathering of honey from wild bee’s hives in trees is men’s work. Eventual preparation and also
distribution is also usually men’s responsibility. Akie men spend a large part of their time gathering
honey - they always seem to find time. At all times there is at least one man missing from every
homestead in particular in October to February, when it is scarcer and one has to go further in
search of it. High season is around June/July, depending on the rains. Honey trips can take from a
few hours, a day, a week, or over a month depending on the time of the year.

Honey is collected from wild bee’s hives in trees and bushes of various species at different
times of the year in different vegetation zones. As noted, traditionally tracts of land where divided
among patrilineage’s (sotwe) and principally inherited down the patriline, the lineage territories
could again be sub-divided among smaller family units (pfiit) with rights to the wild bee’s nests in
the trees. It is my impression that the division of land for this purpose is less fixed and more
resembles ‘if you go that way I will go this way today’ at least among close kin, fathers and sons or
among brothers. Other people visiting for the purpose of gathering honey must ask permission from
the eldest lineage member, however. The visitor also sometimes leaves a portion of the collected
honey behind. The grasslands (turkuita), thickets or open woodlands (tulele), and denser forests
(tameita), often crossing hills (tulwe) and lower mountains (ipite) are traversed according to
seasonal variation in wild honey, however. As noted, this is much as before - with the exception of
that women are now generally left behind with the children and some old men to take care of the
daily maintenance of the gardens and other daily affairs in the now permanent settlement.

Stationary man made hives are used to a very limited extent among the Akie in this
settlement as among Akie in general, as also noted by Kaare (1996a). This is contrary to the
observations made by Blackburn (1971) and Kratz (1994) of Okiek groups in Kenya, they report
extensive use of man made hives. The Akie say they do not know to make stationary hives.

When men from Lengei’s homestead went on honey gathering trips they went alone or in
pairs, sometimes three or more, kin or friends - as common among the Akie. They may also split up
underway to meet up at a selected known location. I joined the men on several trips of different
duration and also Akie from other homesteads and also settlements. Usually no water is carried. If
there was no surface water anywhere - and there is usually only surface water during the heavy
rains and in the aftermath of the heavy rains in this area, drinking water is dug out at special places in dried out riverbeds. As noted the Akie also know particular tubers that can consist of a lot of moisture. Water can also be extracted from hollow trees and vegetation with the help of a hollow straw or metal tube. If extra food is taken at all it is usually a few cobs of maize or a little dried corn, carried inside the blanket or the rectangular piece of cotton textile that is tied at the shoulder and belted at the waist. Rolled up honey bags (*makate*) of different sizes and made from animal hides is carried over one shoulder and when full carried over the shoulder or on the back with the strap across the forehead. A long leather strap used for bundling together firewood or the honey bags is often tied to the waist, along with a knife (*silele*). An axe (*ndole*) is always carried and is of invaluable use to get access to the honeycombs inside the hives. Sometimes a bow (*kuenda*) and poisoned arrows (*motie*) is carried to add some meat to the diet, which in any case often consists of honey, honey and honey - as long as the trip lasted. Honey is eaten by sucking it straight of the broken combs and spitting out the wax, at the site or in an eventual camp later. Eventual dead bees are plucked out as ‘they are poisonous’. Honey can also be mixed with water for drinking (*kampo*). If staying more than one night and a calabash or plastic is brought honey mead (*kumi(ande)*)) is set and drunk the following night, after eventual visitors from other close camps have left, to avoid sharing. Various roots and tubers are dug out of the ground close to camp for consummation. Fruits and berries are picked from trees and bushes during walking, eventual edible mushrooms eaten raw on the spot.

The gatherers are constantly on the lookout for signs of bees and beehives, knocking on the trunks of trees to find out if they are hollow – and can contain a hive, and looking and listening for specific birds that eat bees and honey. A particular bird, *Cheekee* (*Indicator Indicator*) often seems to lead the gatherers to the hives, stopping and waiting for the gatherers to catch up, flying on again to settle in some tree to wait again and so on until the tree with the hive is finally found. The birds are always rewarded with bits from the honeycombs. The huge Baobab trees, which are particularly numerous in the area, are common targets for gathering honey as well as certain other species of trees. The Baobab trees are climbed with the help of sharpened sticks driven into the
bark. New sticks are cut rather than relying on old ones, many of the Baobab trees in the area are scarred and with a considerable number of sticks sticking into them.

The bees in the hives are pacified with smoke. Grass is cut and carefully twisted and bundled tight, preferably with a nest from a weaving bird inserted in the middle, which makes it easier to light. Fire is usually made in the same way as in the homestead, with the help of two sticks - one whirled between the palms of the hands into the hole of another of a softer kind of wood, a pair is often carried in the arrow quiver. It is important that the grass is bundled and twisted in the right way in order not burn too fast. If it burns too fast it does not last the time required for climbing a tall tree - and taking out the combs. The smoke is blown and directed into the beehive with the help of the hollow straw or metal tube also used for drawing water, mentioned above. The hole to the hive often has to be enlarged with the axe first in order to get access to the honeycombs, which are thrown to the ground as they are taken out or put directly into the bag. Before leaving, an eventual enlarged hive hole is reduced by inserting and jamming in pieces of wood in such a way that the bees would want to settle there again. The bees obviously come back to settle as the trees often bear the marks of previous visits from the gatherers.

If more honey is found than it is possible to carry back in the bags made from animal hide (strapped across the forehead and resting on the back), the bags are hidden in the bush. The gatherers come back for them later together with women and other family or homestead members to help carrying.

When gathering honey (and sometimes hunting which I will return to further below) the men often use relatively regular sites for camps in the area which can be popular meeting places, as I experienced when going on a ten day honey gathering trip with Lengei, his brother and another man.
from the homestead. In the high season in the aftermath of the long rains there can be up to twenty and thirty Akie from different villages and settlements at such camps, clusters of bags of different sizes may hang high in the trees fat with honey. Once in a while a honey gathering Maasai joins the camp. I am informed that this is impoverished Maasai that do not have cattle. The camps can be difficult to find for outsiders even when it is a frequently visited, as the paths leading to it seems to form a labyrinth. Anyone approaching these camps gives a shout of introduction, ‘Dorobo’. In between searching for honey the time in camp is spent sharpening axes and knives on stones, and mending bags for collecting honey. This is the time for exchanging news with fellow men, which I think must be a socially motivating factor, along with that it is good sites to camp – near seasonally dried out riverbeds or waterholes, where water can be dug out of the ground without to much labor.\textsuperscript{68}

Locations for sleeping can also be rock shelters, hollow Baobab trees or simply on the ground. A camp is always secured by marking it with a particular ‘item’ always carried in the arrow quiver or in the belt. I have checked a number of arrow quivers and always found this inside along with the arrows, a needle for repairs of honey bags and often a small and very sharp knife. This is a part of a procedure in which a selection of wild animals are named one by one and asked to leave the Akie in peace, it also aims at ensuring that the camp becomes ‘invisible’ to other humans.\textsuperscript{69} In the sleeping place all undergrowth and vegetation is cleared away to make it less attractive for scorpions and snakes. Grass is cut for the sleeping place - avoiding grasses with seeds that are difficult to get out if gotten into the eyes\textsuperscript{70}. Firewood has to be collected, and enough to last through the night. People sleep with only one of the two pieces of textiles that are used as garments or a blanket, wrapped around them. Once in a while, sometimes every second hour, one wakes up to feed the fire and stay close to it to get warm as the nights can be cold on the Maasai Steppe. It is not uncommon that several people are awake at the same time and sit and talk quietly for a while before going back to sleep.

\textsuperscript{68} Some of those camps are also used by young Maasai men for slaughtering a cow and having meat parties (ol pul), but never at the same time as when visited by honey gathering Akie.

\textsuperscript{69} I have promised not to reveal further details as this is considered as secret Akie knowledge, I will return to the phenomenon of secrecy as such in the next chapter.

\textsuperscript{70} Conspicuously many Akie suffer from eye damage, many are blind on one eye, I have wondered if this may be due to their extensive bush life, walking and rushing through thorny vegetation can probably in part account for this.
Honey for making mead is popular among the Maasai and Bantu. Honey is often traded with them and exchanged for milk (or for borrowing a donkey as seen above), either by immediate exchange, or delayed exchange either way depending of how well one knows each other, or sold for cash. Honey may also be sold or traded to beer bars in the larger shopping villages along the road where it is always high in demand. A few individual Akie men spend most of their time gathering honey, and constantly circulate in a wider area only staying shorter intervals in the permanent homestead’s, they are so to speak full time expert commercial honey gatherers. For the cash-return a goat is bought now and them and often soon slaughtered, maize is bought for consumption or for sowing of the gardens, torches and batteries, cheap watches breaking down in short time, or two or Swiss pocket knives made in Taiwan that do not even last a day. The money is often spent in the beer bars in the shopping villages. After a week or less a sometimes a considerable amount of money is spent, the man returns home - sometimes without his blanket, which has been taken as security for credit as some individuals are well known and bound to return in relatively short time.

It is my experience that the Akie generally consummate most of the honey them selves, as also noted by Kaare (1996a) among the Akie groups he researched, and by Blackburn (1971) and Kratze (1994) among the Okiek groups they studied in Kenya. It is consumed at least every week or more often, with the exception of the peak of the dry season when honey is less. It is always taken care to that the children get their share. Honey is not given to very small children, as it is not considered to be good for them. Honey may be eaten as it is or added as sugar in tea made from local herbs or purchased tea from one of the shopping villages. It may also be mixed with water for drinking (kampo). A large part of the honey is set aside to brew mead (kumi). As noted, it is usually prepared by men, but not exclusively. An appropriate amount honey is mixed with water and adding ratinyante – root from tangaratwe (Aloe Secundiflora) to make it ferment in a big calabash placed near the fireplace in the house. After about one day and a half it is good and ready and is consumed after being filtered through preferably a weaving bird’s nest. The brew gets stronger with time but seldom gets older than two days at the very most. Making mead for ‘private’ consummation is a secretive business. It is prepared inside or behind the house sometimes in the dark of the night. It is also often drunk in secret in order to not have to share with too many. Women and men may drink together, or in separate groups.
Honey whether eaten as it is, mixed with water and drunk, or alternatively as mead, is as noted not necessarily subject to widespread sharing outside the immediate family or homestead in the settlement. Honey is also used for medical purposes, in case of stomach disorder, coughs and flews. The Akie do not make use of bees-wax. Misfortune will be brought on any Akie that burns bees-wax, myself I tried to use wax to get the fire in the fireplace going and was told not to do this ever again, but never found out the details. This is a prohibition also noted among honey gathering Nyaturu in Babati district to the north-west of Kiteto district (Ntenga and Mugongo, 1991).

As to the more communal consummation of honey mead \((kumi(ande))\) - it is central in several important Akie rituals, for instance the separate initiation of girls into womanhood and boys into manhood, or rather warriorhood (Kaare, 1996a:61-75). For boys initiation is through \(kalandaisye\) rituals with the following \(latime\) ritual – circumcision by removing most of the foreskin except for a small piece on one side, for girls only the \(latime\) ritual where labila minor and a part of the clitoris are removed. Honey mead is also important in the \(saisee tororeita\) rituals that are a part of God worship, and \(tiamisi\) rituals dealing with ancestral worship and communication with the ancestors \((assiswe)\) which normally seek to restore mishaps among the Akie in general. It may also be economic mishaps related to failing maize harvests, little honey to be found and the like.\(^{71}\)

These rituals usually involve the larger Akie group and where men and women have different roles. I have already mentioned that it is men who generally make the honey mead. Nevertheless, in the \(saisee tororeita\) rituals, it is women who make the mead. In Kaare’s interpretation (1996a:174-175) this is a re-enactment of an incident in mythical time to underline complementary relations between Akie men and women. \(Kumi\) was first introduced by a woman. She tried to make poison to kill her ailing husband to relieve him of pain. Instead the man was healed and invited other men to enjoy the drink containing alcohol. Men then learnt to make honey mead and has taken over the task ever since.

**Wild animals**

Wild animals may be hunted everywhere as before if necessary, according to the Akie - if not compatible with the present day governmental restrictions on hunting. Men are traditionally the

\(^{71}\) I will return to aspects of Akie cosmology in the next chapter.
hunters of wild animals - even though women may set snares for wild fowl and children throw stones to hit down birds from the trees.

Snaring of larger animals is not common. The Akie do not hunt with nets, spears or dogs. Individuals hunt alone or in two's and three's with their bows (kuenda) and poisoned arrows (kate), usually by lying in wait behind a bush or in bush covered ditches at waterholes and salt licks. They may also sit in the trees awaiting an animal to pass underneath on a well-known animal track. When on the ground the animals are fronted squarely and shot from a crouched position, not sideways and upright as among European and American modern bow and arrow hunters. A few individuals have rifles (gobore) made by smiths in the shopping villages. In the past when elephant (peleek) and rhino (nyioosie) were plentiful these animals were much sought because they were rich in fat which is being described as being ‘sweet as honey’. Today the most common hunted animals are bush pigs (warthogs) ravaging the maize gardens or an occasional small gazelle or antelope.

Larger animals are shared and distributed among the Akie on a wide scale, small animals are usually retained for the hunter’s own household consumption or the members of the homestead with the exception of close kin or friends in other homesteads. While men and primarily the hunter who has killed the animal performs’ the initial distribution of meat among his fellowmen and wife, it is usually the wife who carries out an eventual secondary distribution of meat. The hunter’s wife, or his mother - who might live in the same house in case the son is unmarried, shares out meat to the women in the other households in the homestead, and also other homesteads, later. Close kin seems to have first priority but not exclusively, friendship may be just as important.

The meat is generally not sold or traded to the Maasai or Bantu. The Maasai do not under normal circumstances eat wild meat because of a cultural taboo. The livestock keeping Guu Bantu in this village in many respects conceived of them selves as ‘Maasai’ and lived and behaved very much as they do. Nevertheless, fat may be welcomed among the Maasai and Bantu and fed calves and sick animals.

Meat, if not immediately consumed in the homestead roasted or boiled, is cut in strips and hung in trees and bushes to dry, or inside the house under the ceiling. Later the strips of meat are cut into smaller bits and stored in calabashes inside the houses. Everyone enjoys chewing on these dried and delicious strips of meat, not the least the children. For a larger meal the dried meat is
softened by pounding it with a stone or with a pole in the wooden mortar used for pounding maize before boiling it with water in a pot, for a larger meal. Men take a particular interest in the participation in preparation of meat, while refraining from taking part in for instance the making of porridges from maize meal or wild vegetable stews as noted above. Men and women may eat together when consuming maize porridges and wild vegetables as well as meat.
Livestock

In the Akie homesteads with cattle and/or small stock the Akie may initially have acquired livestock in several ways. It may have been acquired in exchange for circumcision of young Maasai men, a service that is performed almost exclusively by Akie men in areas where they are found. Alternatively livestock may have been acquired in exchange for an Akiante wife to a Maasai, or purchased for money usually earned by working as guides or trackers for safari and hunting companies.

Livestock is owned by men and also the domain of men - if not solely. Men take care of slaughtering, eventual exchanges and sale (the later is rare). Livestock is often slaughtered and consumed quite immediately or after a short period of time today as when colonial officer Maquire (1963:163) did his observations. Cattle meat is distributed and shared in similar way as larger wild animal’s, and smallstock often as described for smaller wild animals.

If the Akie succeed in keeping a few animals or building up a small herd, women milk eventual milk producing cows morning and evening. The milk is first and foremost given to the children in the homestead. It may also be used in the homestead member’s tea or given to eventual young men living in the homestead to drink, either fresh or sour. Milk is also given to relatives or friends without milk producing cows, depending on availability. Milk can also be exchanged for dried wild meats from other Akie.

Herding boys accompany the cows during the day. Akie may also make arrangements between themselves to leave their animals with other herders to free labor. This is important if honey gathering or hunting is to be pursued which it is in most homesteads with only a few animals. When present in the homestead the male owner oversees the departure of the animals in the morning and the arrival in the evening, he may also visit when the livestock is taken for water and grazing in other places in the dry season. The feet and general condition of the animals are carefully checked for diseases. Women milk the cows’ in the morning and evening.

The livestock, which has to be moved up to several times during the dry season in order to find water and grazing, is accompanied by herding boys, a few young men and sometimes with a
few girls to accompany them. In this case the young men milk the cows with the help of the girls. Remaining homestead members stay put.

In most of the homesteads keeping livestock is an additional activity rather than alternative to gathering honey and hunting. In some of the homesteads the members claim to refrain from eating wild meat, Maasai style. They also claim to leave the gathering of honey to other Akie and prefer to exchange milk for honey. Nevertheless, on a number of occasions I have observed that individual women from such homesteads may turn up at an Akie homestead that still has meat to get a share to take home. I have also come across men from such homesteads gathering honey. In ‘Tito’s’ homestead where there were approximately fifty cows, it seemed as if there was no consummation of meat from wild animals at all and no honey gathering by any homestead members.

Delayed-Return, Immediate-return – and the Notion of Sharing

Meillasoux (1973) makes a distinction between land as an object or instrument of labor in agricultural societies and pastoral societies, and land as a subject of labor in hunting and gathering societies. Woodburn (1982, 1991) and Barnard and Woodburn (1991) shows how Meillasoux’s distinction is applicable to hunters and gatherers as two ‘types’ within the hunter and gatherers category, delayed-return systems where people do not obtain a direct return from their labor - and immediate-return systems where people receive return from their labor without having to wait. Cultivators and pastoralists also have delayed-return systems.

Immediate-return systems have the following basic characteristics. People obtain a direct and immediate return from their labour. They go out hunting or gathering and eat the food obtained the same day or casually over the days that follow. Food is neither elaborately processed nor stored. They use relatively simple, portable, utilitarian, easily acquired, replaceable tools and weapons. 1) Social groupings are flexible and constantly changing in composition, 2) Individuals have a choice of whom they associate with in residence, in the food quest, in trade and exchange, in ritual contexts, 3) People are not dependent on specific other people for access to basic requirements, 4) Relationships between people, whether relationships of kinship or other relationships, stress sharing and mutuality but do not involve long-term binding commitments and dependencies of the sort that are so familiar in delayed-return systems. …

Delayed return systems, in contrast, have the following basic characteristics. People hold rights over valued assets of some sort, which either represent a yield, a return for labour applied over time or, if not, are held and managed in a way which resembles and has similar social implications to delayed yields on labour. In delayed-return systems these assets are of four main types, which may occur separately but are more commonly found in combination with one another and mutually reinforcing: 1) Valuable technical facilities used in production: boats, nets, artificial weirs, stockades, pit-traps, beehives and other such artefacts which are a product of considerable labour and from which a food yield is obtained gradually over a period of months or years, 2) Processed and stored food or materials in fixed dwellings, 3) Assets in the form of rights held by men over their female kin who are then bestowed in marriage on other men.’ (Woodburn, 1982:432-434)
As the Akie cultivate and some also hold livestock today readily places them in the delayed-return category as it implicates a yield, a return for labor over time. Following Barnard (1983) part-time hunters and gatherers employed in cultivation and/or keeping of livestock (even when cultivation or livestock-keeping are relatively minor for subsistence purposes) also necessitates delayed-return social organization. Social organization must encompass work specialization sufficient to allow a surplus so that those engaged in long-term tasks are supported by those actively engaged in more immediate pursuits. The cultivation and livestock practices of the Akie - as their hunting and gathering practices have aspects of both economic systems, however. In the following we will look at some of these aspects or characteristics based on the section above, some need closer elaboration.

In immediate-return systems activities are oriented to the present (rather than to the past or the future). The Akie obtain a direct and immediate return from gathering and hunting, generally using relatively simple, portable and easily acquired replaceable tools, go out hunting or gathering and eat the food obtained the same day or casually over the days that follow. Wild vegetables, fruits and berries are not elaborately processed or stored, if meat may be dried for storage and as to this it may fit better with the characteristics of a delayed-return system. The Akie do not improve or increase wild resources by culling wild herds selectively or tend to wild food-producing plants. They tend to the wild bee’s nests, however, by reducing an eventual enlarged hole into the hive after the honey combs have been extracted, in order to make the bees settle their again, as such this is preparation for delayed-return. Also in the past they tended to the wild bee’s nests in the manner described, and they dried their wild meat if they had more than they could consume over a few days, by Akie report.

Their now fixed dwellings, following Woodburn’s outline of the two economic systems basic characteristics (1982:432-434), also fits better with a delayed-return system. A characteristic of immediate-return systems is that social groupings are flexible and constantly changing in composition, individuals have a choice of whom they associate with in residence, in the food quest, in trade and exchange – individuals are not dependent on a specific other. The Akie probably had higher mobility and flexibility when they led a ‘more nomadic’ life than today. Nevertheless, their
lineage’s relevance to the territories where they lived and where they gathered honey from wild bee’s nests in trees, indicate that kinship and descent was still important in social and economic organization on a scale that does not fit with the basics of immediate-return hunting and gathering systems.

In delayed-return hunting and gatherings systems activities are oriented to the past and the future as well as the present. People hold rights over valued assets of some sort, which either represents a yield, a return for labor applied over time or, if not, are held and managed in a way which resembles and has similar social implications to delayed yields on labor. According to the Akie they traditionally held assets in the form of patrilineal rights to wild bee’s nests in trees within more or less defined clan territories, the divisions inherited in the patrilineal line. The patrilineal divisions of tracts of land establishing exclusive rights to wild bee’s nests in the trees seem to have become less formalized in this settlement, as noted above. Still, Akie and others from other places have to ask the permission from the oldest lineage member to collect honey on their lineage territories. The patrilineage (sotwe) ‘ownership’ (kokachu) which in effect implied user rights (amachan) to wild bee’s nests within the lineage territory as it is presented or represented by Akie, is more than means of identifying oneself and others in relation to a territory - primarily a way of mapping out social relations spatially, as Woodburn claims is the case among the immediate-return !Kung Bushmen (San) of Botswana (with reference to the work of Lee, Marshall, Lee & Devore and Wiessner).

The patrilineage also plays a role in Akie marriage practices. Women and men from the same lineage are not allowed to marry but the details are unclear to me as to kinship distance and generation. Women marry into their husband’s lineage. Men also hold rights over women who are bestowed in marriage by other men. The father has the final word when it comes to whom a daughter shall marry. Today it is common that a daughter is exchanged for cattle, preferable between four and nine. Before, it was common that the bride price was a few bags of honey. A wife acquires her own garden from her husband after marriage, but the husband has a right to enforce that her labor gives a yield that benefits himself and his own children. After marriage the husband

73 As it may seem all patrilineally related persons belong to the same lineage. Blackburn (1971:47-48) found that when three or four generations separate into collateral lines within a lineage, each begins to be known by a separate senior ancestor among the Okiek in Kenya.
has the right to punish his wife, for instance if she has neglected her garden or failed to prepare a maize meal - she may get a sound whipping, as I observed (and heard) on several occasions. When I asked the women afterwards if they found this right, I was answered that it was the duty of a man (chiich) as a husband to keep his woman (karaka) in line as women are ‘like children’, prone to follow their most immediate impulses. It is difficult to evaluate if the Akie have become more ‘patriarchal’ in this sense since cultivation has been taken up and their dependence on maize has increased opposed to ‘before’ if we take the last hundred years into consideration. When asked the Akie underline the complementary nature of their relations as to divisions of labor if men are seen as the ultimate caretakers of women before and now, as such, women are ‘owned’ (kokachu) by men.

The lineage is also important as to settling conflict if a woman or man wants to get out of a marriage, or if for instance a woman runs away from husband and takes refuge with another man - as illustrated in the following example. When ‘Ngetito’, a woman from another settlement left her husband and moved in with a man living in this settlement, the husband and his father had to meet with her father to see how the matter could be settled. Her previous husband wanted compensation in terms of a number of cows for what he considered as the ‘stealing’ of his wife. When they failed to come to an agreement, other male members from their respective lineage’s had a number of subsequent meetings until they finally decided on that six cows was an appropriate economic compensation. The compensation was to be paid over four year’s as Ngetito’s new husband did not own cattle and he would have to look for wage work to be able to fulfill his obligations. It was also confirmed that Ngetito’s two older children would stay with the father - the previous husband, but she could take with her the youngest one, a baby which was still dependant on the mother’s milk, as common in such cases.

As it turned out Ngetito’s twelve-year old son also ran away and set out on foot on the two days journey to find his mother. He reached the settlement late at night and not knowing in which homestead he would find his mother in he crept into an Akie homestead and cut open a honey bag hanging in tree, being desperate from hunger and thirst. The next day he was found in a ‘confused

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74 Ngetito’s new husband is referred to in Chapter five, the young man who made a roundtrip to Arusha and Dar es Salaam to explore the possibilities of finding wage work as a night watchman.
state’ in the bush surrounding the settlement. The bereaved homestead head had a meeting with Ngetito’s new husband and his father – considered the homestead head in his homestead - to try and settle the matter. As Ngetito’s son ‘belonged’ to her previous husband a messenger was sent to him to call for a meeting as he would be responsible for eventual compensation. The meeting was held with older lineage members from the three parties involved. Among the Akie honey theft is considered a serious matter, and the father of the boy had to pay two cows in compensation – again over a period (two years) as he had no cows at the time. Two cows were regarded as appropriate compensation considering that the boy was only a child (lagwe). Now I am not saying that women have no say in these matters, only that they usually do not participate directly in such meetings.

As noted several times, the Akie traditionally had a system based on that a hierarchy of male elders could be activated on different levels, in matters concerning several families within a settlement, or between settlements, lineage’s and local groups/or clans. This is much as I find it today. On the settlement (kokwe) level the council of elders (orkai lokokowe) was headed by prominent elder (orkaiante) responsible for mediating and settling conflict over eventual usage of resources on the settlement level, for instance large scale honey theft. There are no indications in oral rapport that position or office as leading orkaiante is or was inherited or even formalized in a strict sense. In this settlement/village there is a formally elected village leader today which is referred to as orkaiante. As the village is now formally registered as a sub-village to a larger village according to the modern administrative set-up. The sub-village leader is elected by the village assembly composed of all adult members of the village, persons above the apparent age of eighteen, for a period of six years. The sub-village chairman automatically gets a seat on the main village council and is expected to be a spokesman for his co-villagers and represent their interests. Of the five settlements/villages in my overview in the previous chapter, there are only two officially elected sub-village leaders that are Akie and none chairmen on the main village councils, which I will also return to in Chapter eight). In the case of the other Akie settlements within larger villages with non-Akie inhabitants they have their own informal orkaiante lokokwe operating on the side of the governmentally induced administrative set-up. He operates much ‘as in the past’ – he deals

75 Kratz (1991, 1994) is of the opinion that among the Okiek groups she studied in Kenya, the cultural definition of who are the most appropriate verbal blesser’s helps to establish, and also reinforce the authority exercised in particular by male elders in consequential matters as marriage and dispute cases.
specifically with Akie matters when needed and his position is due to that he is recognized as a fair and responsible person.\textsuperscript{76}

According to Woodburn it is in small-scale delayed-return pastoral, agricultural - and hunting and gathering societies we find kinship commitments and dependencies; lineage’s, clans and other kinship groups; and marriages in which women are bestowed in marriage by men on other men. Some of these systems may be ‘egalitarian’ in the sense that they lack formalized chieftancy but there may be intergenerational inequality, were people of senior generation has authority over the younger as it seems to be – and has been – among the Akie. Even if men are considered as womens superiors, female authority and status rises with child bearing among the Akie, the connection between women’s rising status and motherhood among the pastoral Maasai is noted by Talle in her study of Maasai in Kenya/Tanzania (Talle, 1988) and also by Dahl (Dahl, 1977) when among the pastoral Waso Boran in Kenya.

The Akie also have an age-set system which in many respects is like the age-set system of the Maasai but they refer to age-set as \textit{ipindet}, a name of Kalenjin origin. Central rituals also differ in rites of passage (see Kaare, 1996a:61-62). Boys are initiated to warriors (\textit{murenik}) through \textit{kalandaisye} rituals with the following circumcision \textit{latime} ritual, and later into senior elders through another ritual. Girls are initiated to womanhood through a separate circumcision \textit{latime} ritual and later women are initiated into motherhood when they give birth to children but do not belong to the \textit{ipindet} age-set system other than that they in a sense belong to their husband’s age-set after marriage. Nevertheless, esteem and authority rises with age and progressive initiation for both men and women. The older one gets the more ‘saying’ one has in different matters. Initiation defines obligations based on age as well as gender. In relatively clear-cut immediate-return systems where individuals have direct and immediate access to resources and are not dependent on ‘specific others’ there are little basis for such authority structures other than between the sexes (Woodburn, 1982:434).

\textsuperscript{76} ‘In the past’ - \textit{ikaakeny}, before they were exposed to colonial and post-independence influences in particular, as opposed to ‘now’ \textit{(horyo)}, when the Akie economy has undergone considerable changes.
In the section above I have mentioned that women prepare and distribute the maize from their gardens and the gathered edible wild growths primarily to their own households (husband and children). The women within a homestead may also take turns at preparing and distributing it to each other, occasionally also to close relatives or friends in other homesteads. Women’s gathered wild vegetables are distributed and shared much in the same way. Men’s gathered honey, for consummation as it is, or for drinking in the form of *kampo* or *kumi*, is usually not subject to distribution or sharing outside the immediate family or homestead in the settlement (other than when mead is prepared for collective ceremonies). Nevertheless, the fact that the cherished mead in particular is sought prepared and consumed in secrecy to avoid sharing indicates that there is an expectation of sharing on a larger scale. Small hunted animals are usually not subject to sharing other than within the family or homestead. The meat from large animals is distributed and shared on a wider scale. In the case Akie slaughter their domestic livestock, this meat is also expected to be distributed and shared much in the same way.

It is at the point when there is potential for or actual development of inequalities of wealth, power and status related to assets which can be accumulated and distributed, this is when leveling mechanisms come into operation (Woodburn, 1982:440). The Akie notion of sharing – *ipchee* – underlies what resources are to be immediately distributed and shared with whom. Breaches of the prescriptive rules may result in verbal fights that can be heard a long way and also result in that older women or an household head may have to break in and mediate in order to set things right. To break the rules of meat sharing, of large animals in particular, is considered to be most serious and may consequence in a serious curse of misfortune (*choptaise*) normally administered by male elders (Kaare, 1996a:176). To lift a particular severe *choptaise* one must appeal to the goodwill of the ancestors through a *tiamisi ritual*. Another sharing practice also noted by Kaare is the more general ‘to give’ – *konaan* - whatever is in excess or not in use, to another Akie. If a person fails to do so he or she is subject to asking and asking from which there is no escape other than to submit, if one wants to maintain good relations. In practice this applies to everything that might be in store like maize or dried meat, as well as material items as I will show below.

I noticed that if gave tea or sugar to the homestead I lived in, however much I brought it was usually finished in a few days due to distribution and sharing with relatives and friends in other
homesteads. If I gave a woman or a man a new piece of cotton cloth to a woman, or a blanket to a man – I often saw it worn by someone else a few days later. When I asked why they had given them away it was referred to that they had an old one from before and could not refrain from giving the new one away, when asked.
During fieldwork I made household inventory lists of material items and personal belongings. There may be some variation in material items and personal belongings among the Akie depending on distance from a shopping village – and if the Akie are livestock owners or not. What is noticeable is that it generally differs little, which I take to be a result of their more general practice of sharing and giving away everything which is in excess or not in direct use.

In Akie homesteads personal belongings and material items are usually contained within the houses and often at the back of or under the beds. In the clay or dung clad houses with two rooms there are usually two beds in the inner room made from branch-work and usually covered with dried grass with a scraped animal skin over it. At the back of the house there is a large bed where the husband usually sleeps along with larger children or youngsters. The large bed is also where eventual visitors sleep. A smaller bed is placed along one of the sides and is considered the bed of the wife and where she sleeps with the smallest of the children. In eventual straw houses there is usually only one bed where all family members and eventual visitors sleep together. This bed may be elevated of the ground and made from branch-work but it may also be directly on the earthen floor on a scraped animal skin with dried grass under it.

Calabashes of different sizes made from hollowed out pumpkins growing in the maize gardens are used to store foods, maize meal, dried meat, and also tea, sugar and salt when purchased in one of the shopping village’s, are considered as women’s belongings. They are stored at the back or under the woman’s bed along with eating and cooking utensils. Spoons made from the shell of Baobab nuts, usually a single aluminum spoon and plate along with an aluminum cooking pot
the later also acquired at one of the shopping villages, from the shops or rotating market - or from relatives or friends with an extra. Women’s porcelain beads for making ornaments purchased at one of the rotating markets in the shopping villages are stored in a few small calabashes or plastic boxes – the later often empty pill boxes acquired in one of the shopping villages, and kept in the same place, together with ornaments. Women keep a few calabashes for carrying and storing water and an occasional plastic can, the later acquired in one of the shopping villages - or from a relative or friend with more than one, in the first room where the entrance is if it is a house with two rooms. This is also were women keep a rectangular homemade bag (makate) made from animal hide used for carrying the water calabashes, also a digging stick (kilitue) and an eventual hoe, the head of the later acquired from blacksmiths in the shopping villages.

Most women own a single out-fit, usually one or two pieces of cotton cloth worn twined around the waist and knotted at the shoulder like a toga – shuka (and also used to strap babies and small children to the back). Similarly men usually own a piece of cotton cloth and sometimes a thicker blanket worn in the same way. Children and youngsters usually make do with a single garment made from one piece of cloth. The cotton cloth and blankets are acquired from one of the shopping villages, from the shops or the monthly rotating markets – or from a relative or friend who has happened to acquire an extra. The characteristic sandals made of car and motorbike tires worn by most Tanzanians in rural areas and available in the shopping villages and rotating markets are also worn by Akie men, but women and children do not always own a pair and walk barefoot.

Garments, sandals and also ornaments made from porcelain beads, wire armlets and anklets, are often borrowed from other Akie women and men within the same homestead, or from relatives and friends in others on occasions one wants to look as good as possible. For instance when visiting the monthly markets which the Akie often do to purchase goods, or more often just for chancing to meet relatives and friends from other settlements and villages to socialize and exchange news.

77 Women usually use one of the two pieces of cloth as covering when sleeping, men with the blanket. Children and youngsters make do with the single piece of cloth.

78 In this area there is no open water – streams or dams – except for during the long rains and in the immediate aftermath of the long rains. As long as there is sufficient water clothing is washed maybe as often as every two days, and usually when the Akie go to bath. In the dry season water has to be dug out in the dried out stream and it may take many hours to collect sufficient water for consumption so the washing of clothing and baths have second priority. The Akie often clean them selves by smearing on animal fat and wiping off dirt and dust with a piece of old cloth, however, much the same way as make-up is removed in our society. The fat also makes the skin shine, which is considered as beautiful.

79 Preferred garment colors for women are shades of red or blue, for men red.
A man is usually in possession of a bow (kuenda), arrow case (mootie), arrows (kate) with poisoned metal tips, knife (stilele), axe (ndole), and stick or club. These are considered as personal belongings and usually stacked away at the back of or under the bed where men sleep, when not in use. They are usually not subject to sharing and borrowing as every grown man is supposed to have them, and generally knows how to make them. The sharply pointed metal tips on the arrows are made from scrap metal from one of the shopping villages, and knives and axe heads acquired from Bantu blacksmiths in one of the shopping villages. Every grown man also own a few homemade bags (makate) made from animal hide which is more or less exclusively used for collecting honey, and usually hang on one the walls of the first room when not in use. These bags are slightly of triangular shape when compared to the more rectangular shaped bags women use for carrying their water calabashes among other things. A single large calabash used for making kumi is regarded as one of the personal belongings of men and usually kept close to the beds where they sleep if not standing close to the three stone fire place during the fermenting process into honey mead.

A few men, and also women, may also be in the possession of a torch, a watch, a small ‘Swiss knife’, and occasionally a battery run radio (despite that radio reception is often poor) – and preferably with a cassette player. These are usually derived from one of the rotating markets in the shopping villages, and occasionally from Dar es Salaam or Arusha where a few men have visited in relation to passing through due to previous work for a hunting and safari company. These items usually bear the mark ‘made in Korea’ or ‘made in China’ and break down quite quickly. These items are much sought after, however, as it is status to own them. I was frequently asked to bring such gifts (and preferably from Ulaya as the Akie are of the opinion that the quality was better). Again, if I had given someone a watch or knife I often found that they were given away to someone else shortly after. Often an older sister or brother, a mother or a father – which also shows that age as well as kinship gives privileges as to the distribution of items. On a few occasions I encountered someone in the proud possession of a China made bicycle, if not in this village, usually owned by a man who was working/or had worked for a hunting and safari company. Anyone owning a bicycle is subject to frequent asking from others wanting to make a faster trip somewhere than by foot – or

80 Most Akie (whether men or women) have not visited these major Tanzanian towns.
having to pay for a ride on passing car or truck on the road, or the bus supposed to pass once a week on the same road.\textsuperscript{81}

As to material items which are most often found in Akie homesteads in settlements and villages which are closer to shopping villages than in this settlement – there are sometimes small kerosene lamps made from various scrapped tins and cans – purchased in the shopping villages. I did not find any of these in this settlement. The actual distance of transportation of kerosene seems to have something to do with this, rather than personal economy. I also noted that bars of purchased soap are more common among Akie closer to shopping villages, as sugar and tea, which in any case do not last long due to the obligations of konaan. Nevertheless, the Akie know the use of bark from particular trees which after boiling may be suitable for washing and cleaning, as well as the making of tea from locally found herbs which may be sweetened with honey instead of sugar. The taste for adding salt to foods does not seem to be well developed among the Akie in general and I only occasionally came across anyone with salt.\textsuperscript{82}

In the section above I have already noted that in most of the Akie homesteads with livestock this is an additional activity rather than alternative to cultivation - and also gathering honey and hunting. Personal belongings and material items are the same with little variation but with a few exceptions. Women are usually also in possession of particular calabashes used for milking cows and keeping the milk, and a particular small type is used for feeding milk to smaller children. These are kept at the back of or under their beds along with their other personal belongings. Men may have a spear in addition to their bow and arrows and carry it when they are herding the livestock and keep it leant to one of the walls in the first room, when not in use. They usually also have a curved knife used to clean the cloves of cattle. The spearhead and knife is usually acquired from blacksmiths in one of

\textsuperscript{81} On my visits to homesteads in other settlements (also Maasai) I was on a few occasions provided a rubber foam mattress to sleep on. Women want their husbands to buy them one, as it is considered as better to sleep on and also very ‘modern’. Personally I preferred to sleep on the regular scraped animal skin as they were not so heavily infested with bedbugs. Rubber foam mattresses are difficult to keep clean in such areas where water is seldom in excess. The scraped animal skins are easier to keep clean and usually subject to frequent airing – they are lain out in the sun in order to run out some of the bed bugs. The dried grass and straw underneath the skins may also be exchanged for new for the same reason.

\textsuperscript{82} Myself, I found food without salt tasteless in the beginning, after a while I did not miss it at all.
the shopping villages. There might also be particular syringes used to sporadically vaccinate cattle against diseases, these are usually acquired at one of the larger shopping villages or town.

I have noted that a few Akie have acquired wealth in terms of larger herds of livestock, as in Tito’s case in this settlement. In Tito’s homestead – and other Akie homesteads with larger herds of livestock attached to it in other settlements I usually did not find the characteristic bags used when collecting honey. There may be a bow, however, but the heads of the arrows are not of the sharply pointed type used when hunting wild animals – the heads of the arrows have a more rounded cutting edge. These arrows are used for bleeding cattle by shooting it into a vein in the neck from short distance while several others hold the animal in position. The blood is mixed with milk and drank when someone is sick or weak, in particular.

In most cases Akie with a little livestock or no livestock go a long way to adhere to the sharing and distribution practice of both *ipchee* and *konaan*. I suggest that one of the reasons for that Akie usually hold little livestock and seldom seem to be able to build up larger herds is the that that it is difficult to escape pressure to slaughter when meat is scarce, and deny prescribed obligations to share. This might also be the reason for that Akie generally cultivate relatively small maize gardens’, an eventual store of harvested maize is difficult to hold on to for any longer period of time. I take that the relatively little difference in material items and personal belongings, is related to the Akie practice of giving away everything which is in access or not in direct use.

*Ipchee* and *konaan* is an effective leveling mechanism as to the accumulation of wealth as it ensures relatively immediate consumption and distribution. Still, however irritating individual Akie can find having to share and surrender eventual extras to other Akie at times (they do), the reciprocal advantages are generally underlined by most Akie in my research localities, it benefit’s themselves at times of need. The cultivation of relations to kin and fellow Akie (and the relations to ancestors) through these forms of sharing then, is in fact preparation for delayed-return. When it comes down to it, nothing is given for nothing - in line with the main argument in Mauss’ famous *The Gift* (1954). The Akie notion of sharing is different from sharing practices in immediate-return systems if one is to follow Woodburn, as there are binding commitments among the Akie to share with specific others with expectation of reciprocal return enforced by sanctions. Indeed, it is
difficult to picture the possibility of non-binding commitments of sharing, even to a little extent among spouses as Woodburn (ref. Woodburn, 1982:440-442 and Barnard and Woodburn, 1991b:16-18, on different forms of sharing) finds it among the Hadza.

**Flexibility in Social Organization?**

In the foregoing chapter I have focused on changes in the Akie economy. I have argued that change of settlement pattern and the development of mixed subsistence and multi-focal economy and forces of push and pull must be understood in relation to colonial and post-independence policy and intervention particular, and how this has articulated on the local level. But is there anything in Akie internal economic and social organization which may explain why ‘all’ Akie have taken up cultivation and some a little livestock over a period of a little more than hundred years when the hunting and gathering Hadza further to the north, for instance, have not? I have noted that few government plans have been directly aimed at the Akie as a social group with the exception of the Ngababa project, compared to the Hadza. The Akie have also escaped repeated and concentrated governmental effort at resettlement, sedentarization and education on the scale of the Hadza (ref. in particular Kaare, 1996b:315-331, on Hadza).

The Akie economic system has aspects of both immediate-return and delayed-return as I have shown in this chapter. As the Akie have taken up a little cultivation and some hold livestock this places them in the delayed-return category as it implicates a yield, a return for labor over time. As to the hunting and gathering activities of the Akie the economic system has aspects of both, as it had in the past according to the Akie. Woodburn (1982:449, footnote 3) points to that hunting and gathering immediate-return economic systems almost always have some aspects of delayed-return and delayed-return hunting gathering economic systems have some aspects of immediate-return. Nevertheless, he notes (1982:433) that most are surprisingly easily classified into one or the other category. He admits however, that there are some groups that cause difficulties, as is inevitable with any simple binary distinction.

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83 The Hadza live to the east, south, and west of the Lake Eyasi.
The Akie in a sense have an economic system which is betwixt and between with reference to the ‘relative ease’ they may be placed within the ideal types of immediate-return and delayed-return economic systems. The economic system is in a sense also anomalous as it does not readily fit with the characteristics of either immediate-return or delayed-return practices when applying it to the two ‘types’ within the hunter and gatherers category, as their hunting and gathering practices have aspects of both. I have borrowed the concepts ‘betwixt and between’ and ‘anomalous’ from Turner (1964, 1970), if he primarily employs them in relation to the liminal ‘threshold’ stage of transition in rites of passage when an initiate is in ambiguous state, and I use them in the more general sense.

Pedersen and Wæhle (1991a:76) argues that whole societies, ethnic groups or ‘tribes’ can not be depicted as having the one or the other return system. There can be local variation with regards to resources as well as to political affiliations with outside groups among different groups, which has implications for social and economic organization. Kaare (1996a:31) notes that the Akie settlements in Saunyi in Handeni district located between the Mkomazi Game Reserve and the Tarangire National Game Reserve in his research area are only temporary in practice but are permanent as far as the government is concerned’, as he finds that most Akie spend very few days of the year in their government recognized settlements. Most of the year is spent year either wandering in the bush hunting or collecting honey or visiting kin or others in other villages. I have noted that in the settlements in my research localities around the Talamai/Kijungu area and one closer to the Kibaya area in Kiteto district, in a semi-arid area of open woodlands and grasslands with rolling hills and ridges, I found that this also went for some of the men. I regard the homesteads and settlements as relatively permanent however, as women and children and older people generally stay put. This may be taken as indicative of local variation between different Akie groups as to residential organization and mobility today. The Akie in Kaare’s research localities then must be more sporadically involved with cultivation and also livestock than in my research localities possibly related to that ‘the area is endowed with a variety of antelopes and other fauna which provides the Akie with meat’ (Kaare, 1996a:21) in the more fertile eastern highlands in Handeni district.84

84 Kaare (1996a) notes however, that the Akie have taken up a little cultivation and som also keep livestock.
Nevertheless, Kaare and myself however, find that the Akie (as the Okiek groups studied by Blackburn (1971) and Kratz (1996)), with their system of honey territories have an organization that is and was centered on the control and management of honey assets, typical of delayed-return systems. It is in small-scale delayed-return pastoral, agricultural - and hunting and gathering systems we find kinship commitments and dependencies; lineage’s, clan’s and other kinship groups; and marriages in which women are bestowed in marriage by men on other men. Woodburn proposes that once appropriated by hunters and gatherers this type of organization can be used for other purposes.

Delayed-return hunter-gatherer systems are, in a sense, pre-adapted for the development of agriculture or pastoralism. They have the organization (the binding ties and the social groups) which should make the development of an economy based on agriculture or pastoralism easy when the techniques become available.’ (Woodburn, 1991a:57)

Woodburn (also 1982:447; 1991:57) suggests that hunting and gathering economic systems that have these characteristics of delayed-return organization in a sense are predisposed for the adoption of cultivation and pastoralism. It does not force a substantial in the organization of subsistence.

According to Keesing:

There is strong and accumulating evidence that there is no inherent drive to technological ‘advance’ that leads people either to strive to ‘improve’ their technology or to adopt a ‘better’ technology when they are exposed to it, when doing so would force a substantial in the organization of subsistence. Hunting and gathering is highly labor-efficient and permits a relatively unconstrained and mobile life. For instance, to practice cultivation for hunters and gatherers requires more work and sharply constrains options of mobility. Humans seem to have made these sacrifices only when they have had to, because of demographic or ecological or political pressures. (Keesing (1981:117)

Keesings’s view may be taken as resting on assumptions of the Sahlin’s type of ‘affluent society’ (Sahlins, 1972:31) that may give a biased representation of many hunters and gatherers as to living in a permanent state of natural abundance (Sahlin’s attack on previous ethnocentric writers overemphasizing material wealth). Now Keesing may be taken to adhere to the abundance-
hypothesis. Still he is anxious to stress that hunters and gatherers are not and were not a uniform
category of people living in the same way everywhere, with the same social organization, under the
same climate conditions and with the same resource base (Keesing, 1981:121).

The Hadza, differ from both Akie (and Okiek) in that they have a clear-cut immediate-return
economic system where kinship relations or specific others do not define right’s to major resources.
Woodburn (1982:447; 1991:49) suggests that for groups with an immediate-return organization like
the Hadza it is particularly difficult to take up cultivation. The Hadza do not have the organization
or the values to ease transition, the later manifest in sharing and distributing practices which
ensures relatively immediate consumption. Woodburn (1982:447) argues that almost all Hadza
understand basic agricultural techniques and almost everybody is prepared to carry out some
cultivation. Those that succeed in obtaining a good crop find that their gardens are raided by other
Hadza, however, and once harvested those with grain in storage are under relentless pressure to
share with other Hadza rather than to ration its use. Even the most successful farmer is likely to
give up. The Akie do not normally raid each others gardens or honey hives, but as noted the Akie
are also under pressure to share everything which is in excess which results in that an eventual store
is usually soon consumed. I have proposed that the Akie notion of sharing (*ipchee* and *konaan*)
effects in relatively immediate consumption but is different from sharing practices in immediate-
return systems as there are binding commitments to share with specific others with expectation of
reciprocal return enforced by sanctions. The reciprocal element is in fact preparation of delayed-
return in the longer run. Still, the relatively immediate consumption that is the result of their sharing
practices seems to be an effective leveling mechanism as to accumulation of wealth in terms of
cultivation or livestock on a larger scale, if specific elements of their social and economic
organization may have eased introduction.

In order to avoid the sharing and distribution practices and escape sanction’s, it seems as
one would either have to move away - or take the chance of breaking of from the larger community
by taking up another form of living. In a sense this means breaching with the Akie community. I
will return to this in more detail in the remaining chapter along with the phenomenon that some
claim to have done so - when in fact they have not as briefly mentioned in the section above. This
implies exploring ‘liminality’ in another sense – it is concerned with the possibilities of becoming
more full-fledged cultivators and/or livestock keepers, in the case the two are combined one may employ the term ‘agropastoral’.

I would like to pose the question - how the hunting and gathering Akie developed an economic system where they used kinship relations to define rights to major resources, firstly the right to wild bee’s honey in trees within a lineage territory, clearly delayed-return in this aspect.

In Chapter three (the section ‘Ancient Migrations and Origin’) I have noted that the linguistic ancestors of the Akie - the early South Kalenjin could have been predominately pastoral as this mobility may have influenced their settlement through the vast Maasailand areas entering Tanzania from north to south (Ehret, 1971:73-76). They could have been pastoral with cultivation of lesser significance. A large part of the livestock vocabulary is inherited from proto-Kalenjin. I have noted that the Akie have an age-set system which has many similarities of that of the Maasai today, but the name for age-set is *ipindet* – a term of Kalenjin origin. Further following Ehret, vocabulary related to cultivation is made up of loanwords, most of them from a Maasai-related dialect from a non-recent source, and some from an eastern Tanzanian Bantu dialect. The traces of Southern Cushitic loanwords in Akie might bear evidence of an earlier Southern Cushitic food producing community however (large enough to leave their mark on the South Kalenjin vocabulary).

As noted, we will probably never know for sure if the Akie are of Nilotic or Cushitic origin, but their linguistic ancestors were probably herders and/or cultivators, which implies’ delayed-return economies (if we can not rule out the possibility that that the Akie may be remains of an earlier indigenous hunting and gatherers whether with delayed-return or immediate-return economic systems - if there up to now is found no linguistic evidence that can indicate this). A small-scale delayed-return pastoral, and/or agricultural group may however, have changed into a small-scale delayed-return hunting and gathering group depending on circumstances, environmental and/or political pressures making up the forces of push and pull. In small-scale delayed-return pastoral and agricultural systems we find kinship commitments and dependencies; lineage’s, clans and other kinship groups; and marriages where women are bestowed in marriage by men on other men.
From this point of view it is not impossible then that the Akie once had aspects of social and economic organization that was in a sense predisposed for a change in the economy in the direction of a hunting and gathering system with delayed-return aspects.

As noted by Woodburn (1991:61) the historical data available to us, and the historical data ever likely to be available, cannot tell us why for instance the Hadza (and the Mbuti) now have an immediate-return organization. Nor why the Okiek now have strong features of delayed-return organization which I find also goes for the Akie – other than that aspects of former hunting and gathering delayed-return organization may have eased introduction to a little cultivation and pastoralism depending on ecological and or social circumstances. A process that in the course of history might just as well has been vice versa. To try to sort ‘internals’ from ‘externals’ in this way can only be assumptive however, and masks complex historical processes.

Further Notes on Delayed-Return and Immediate-Return Hunting and Gathering Systems

As to the development of a delayed-return or immediate-return hunting and gathering systems in general Woodburn (1991:32-33) proposes that both are likely to have existed in the past as the present, even in the pre-Neolitic period. He suggests that in the course of histories it is likely that there have been changes in both directions, and suggests in a preliminary way a range of factors. Contact with other groups is one such factor. Hunter and gatherer immediate-return systems appear to be commonly associated with encapsulation by small-scale agricultural and pastoral neighbors when they first entered the historical record (the !Kung Bushmen (San) of Botswana and Namibia, the Mbuti of Zaire, the Hadzabe of Tanzania, the Malpantaram (Hill Pandaram) in India, the Naiken of South India, and the Batek Negritos of Malaysia), while hunters and gatherers with delayed-return systems are apparently not often thus encapsulated when they first entered the historical record (the many different Inuit groups, the peoples of the northwest coast of North-America, the Australian aboriginals in general), all (or almost all) appear to have a delayed-return organization at the time of the first descriptions of their social organization, and were not thus encapsulated. Woodburn (1991a:36) uses ‘encapsulated’ for whole or partial enclosure or enclavement of units
that may be variable in size and frequency of contact – but neighbors are seldom more than a long
day’s walk at the most. In this respect he notes that the Okiek or Highland Dorobo in Kenya, in a
sense constitute an anomaly as they were encapsulated and yet had strong aspects of delayed-return
organization.

As to this the correlation does not necessarily apply to the Akie either. The German
missionary Krapf (1854:21-28), notes that he came across Dorobo among the ‘Wakuafi’ probably
Akie living among the Parakuyo section of Maasai (Wakuafi) in this area, or close to this area.
Recall – colonial officer Maquire, who provides the first effort to distinguish between the various
‘types’ of Dorobo he found on the southern fringe of the Maasai Steppe, also notes that the Akie
(‘Mosiro’) primarily lived in an area inhabited by pastoral Maasai in the 1920’s (Maquire,
1963:127-128). He also notes that they most often lived ‘in the depth of the bush’ but a few had
settled relatively close to their Maasai neighbors (page 135). Other groups mentioned lived closer to
cultivating neighbors of Bantu stock, the Guu and Zigua (page 252). In Maquire’s view the Akie
and their neighbors had developed exchange relations, and mentions food exchanges with milk,
meat of livestock, and sometimes livestock in the direction of the Akie – and honey and wild meat
in the other direction (page 136). He also mentions that Akie woman are married by the Maasai.
The colonial officer has little to provide in the direction of a detailed description of their social
organization related to territorial organization and utilization of wild resources. Apart from noting
that they most often lived in small communities in the depth of the bush where they lived by
hunting and gathering, particularly honey. He adds however, that the description ‘without any great
social coherence’ tallies with the characteristics of the ‘Tanganyika Dorobo’ (page 129). He takes
one of his ‘Mosiro’ informants ‘as the only man holding even semblance of authority among them’
(page 135) but without any closer elaboration. This could indicate that the Akie were encapsulated
– but had a social organization that is more commonly associated with immediate-return hunter and
gatherer systems. I have implied towards the end of the previous chapter, however, that Maquire’s
description may have been influenced by an eventual comparison with chiefdoms with more
complex organization. Further, I have suggested that the period between 1890 and 1920 may have
been particular turbulent by the ‘coincidence’ of several factors together (ref. previous chapter),
leading to a periodic fragmentation and dispersal of former clans and lands which set their land
management system temporarily out of operation. Their system of honey territories has, and possibly had an organization that was centered on the control and management of honey assets, typical of delayed-return hunting and gathering systems – prior to this period. The Akie claim they ‘always had’ lineage’ territories to control rights to wild bee’s honey in trees within the lineage territory, if acknowledging that they have undergone periods of fragmentation and dispersal.

In the case of some of the Okiek in central Kenya Woodburn (1991:59-60) argues that their social organization linked with honey production is more a product of internal use than of external exchange. They produce far more for personal use than for exchange with their neighbors, ‘though it is of course a product of both’. Thus, the delayed-return economic system of the Okiek centered on honey assets can not be fully explained by contact with neighboring agricultural and pastoral peoples, if their delayed return economic system in a sense is predisposed for changes in the direction of cultivation and/or pastoralism. So one can argue is possibly in the case of the Akie – they also produce more honey for own consumption than external exchange, by my evaluation. Again, to try to sort ‘internals’ from ‘externals’ in this way is only assumptive, masking complex historical processes.

Noting that evolutionary status of hunting and gathering groups with immediate-return economic organization has become somewhat controversial, their social and economic organization may be a product of encapsulation and that their egalitarian values are oppositional, developed in opposition to political domination, Woodburn (1991a, 1991b) clearly disagrees. He proposes however, that oppositional solidarity may well have played some part in the perpetuation of immediate-return systems at particular points in their history when they were under great pressure. In this respect it should be mentioned that Woodburn is reluctant to view the immediate-return hunting and gathering system of the Hadza as reaction of oppositional solidarity in the face of political pressure and domination - in the first place. Kaare (1996b) shows how the Hadza consciously and actively resist assimilation initiatives by the government in realization that their cultural identity is under threat.

We do not know Akie ethno-genesis in time. ‘The first fact of ethnicity, is the application of a set of systematic distinctions between insiders and outsiders: between ‘Us and Them’ (Eriksen,
1993a:18). Barth (1969:17) suggests that the development of occupational specialization and the development of group complementarity’s, gradually encourages the creation and enactment of distinguishing signs, eventually the emergence of distinctive groups, with separate genealogies, each of which considers the others to be culturally distinctive from themselves (referred by Eriksen, 1993a:79). ‘The relations and dynamics of such groups may derive from what may be described as their mode of production within a larger regional economy’ (Barth, 1973:16). Further, ethnicity arises in a field of power relations (Wilmsen, 1996), ethnic identities are only relevant to the point they structure interaction (Barth, 1969). A hunting and gathering praxis seems to be central in Akie identity today as also exemplified in an Akie myth of origin, with which the next chapter begins in the analysis of relations to neighbors, stigmatization and avoidance strategies.

85 Barth (1973:16) uses the expression ‘mode of production’ – with reference to an economic regime and its associated context of social organization.
Bees and Wild Animals, God’s Special Gift to the Akie (Akie myth)

Once, in the beginning of time, the earth and the heavens were joined together by a strap – *talaita*. Heaven was made of water, and God (*tororeita*) lived in this water. God lowered down a makata - a leather honey bag to the *eitumuna* ancestors of the Akie, small dwarf-like beings that nested in hollow trees, like the bees of the Akie do today. The *eutumuna* cut the strap and opened the makata and out poured out all the living things of the world, the Akie as we know them now, tall and beautiful, and later their neighbors, the Maasai.

As a special gift from God the Akie where given the bees and all the wild animals, which were in plenty, along with the bow and arrows. In the same way the Maasai received the domesticated animals and the Maasai way of life dependent on cattle.

(Akie myth)
‘.. if the woman from Ulaya will come back and is able to live with the Dorobo ..’

Going through my diary and initial field notes I recall a particular incident. On my first trip to the District Administration in Kibaya in order to get introduced before proceeding to Arusha and get some papers in order - a brief stop was made on the road between Handeni and Kibaya in Kijungu village to greet the village secretary. After signing the ‘visitor’s book’ and giving an account of my later intended ‘business’ in the area, I found that a considerable group of people, among them many Maasai, had gathered outside. A woman was let into the encompassing circle of curious spectators. She was introduced to me as a ‘Dorobo’. The woman invited me to her home in another village nearby and welcomed me to stay in her house. This caused laughter and comments which finally resulted in that she ran away with her hands covering her face. One comment was,

.. if the woman from Ulaya [Europe] will come back and is able to live with the Dorobo - maybe she will give you a kanga..

As noted, Dorobo is what Maasai as well as other non-Akie call the Akie – it refers to poor people who do not own cattle. A kanga is a colorful piece of cloth usually worn wrapped around the waist by many women in Tanzania many of them of Bantu stock, who the Maasai refer to as ilmeek or alternatively Swahili. Ilmeek is a term that also carries derogative connotations associated with Bantu cultivators and sometimes other non-Maasai ‘foreigners’ who do not own livestock.

From the beginning to the end of my stay non-Akie never stopped being surprised that it was possible to live with the ‘Dorobo’. During fieldwork I frequently came in contact with Maasai who usually were the closest neighbors of the Akie in my research area - as well as local Bantu cultivators, including representatives of the District Administration. Over time I became well acquainted with the ‘poverty’ of the Akie as other people generally perceive it if not without ambivalence – and the strategies the Akie have developed to cope with stigmatization.
What their Neighbors Think of Them

The Maasai refer to the Akie as ‘Dorobo’ – people who to little or no extent have been able to acquire cattle and therefore are seen as forced to live by hunting and gathering. Akie readiness to eat the meat of wild animals is perceived as repulsive. The Maasai claim that they themselves will eat no other meat than from domestic cattle, goats and sheep, possibly with the exception of the eland antelope which they may find ‘passable’ possibly due to its likeness to their domestic cattle.

All the Maa-speaking groups generally keep livestock as a mainstay of existence or as a supplement to their subsistence economy and as a medium of exchange. To an extent, even other Nilotes value livestock higher than any other commodity, an orientation towards livestock seems to be a characteristic feature of most Nilotic cultures, whether or not agriculture or pastoralism is the main way of life (Talle, 1988:23). Just like the pastoral Maasai, the more agriculturally oriented Maasai regard livestock as the most attractive form of wealth (cf. Huntingford, 1969). Various sections of Maasai rely on and are affiliated with semi-nomadic pastoralism to different degrees. Some sections or sub-groups (iloshon) are relying on agro-pastoralism. The Maasai would ideally live from dairy products like fresh milk, sour milk, butter, and meat and from cattle alone, if most Maasai in this area also add maize to their diet from own small cultivated gardens today, or trade it from their cultivating Guu and Zigua neighbors as they most likely did in the past. Most of the Maasai in Kiteto district are Kisongo, as noted only few Parakuyo remain within the eastern borders of Kiteto district in the present. The Kisongo have by their own accord relied less on own cultivation than the Parakuyo. As noted the original ‘Maasai Reserve’ has decreased and the Kisongo have been barred from many of their former dry season grazing pastures to the north and intensified land pressure. Further, a combination of cattle decease, recurrent droughts and the government’s settlement programs emphasizing agriculture has caused increasing impoverishment in terms of herd size - and forced them into greater reliance on precarious cultivation (Bakken & ole Moono, forthcoming). If subject to many of the same external forces influencing changes in the Akie economy, and both groups have experienced the distribution of relief food, Akie poverty in terms of cattle wealth is explained as if they are ‘born to suffer’ and primarily by their own fault.
According to a Maasai narrative a ‘Dorobo’ cut God’s leather strap from the heavens above to the ground below, the strap from which cattle descended, and thereby committed the ‘original sin’.

One day N’gai - God called upon Masinta the first Maasai, and asked him to make a large enclosure (enkang) and when it was finished he would give him something called cattle - but he would have to be very silent. When the enclosure was finished and the cattle began to descend down the rope the earth shook and thunder rolled. A sleeping Dorobo woke up and was so surprised that he loudly exclaimed ‘ayieyeyie’ – God responded by pulling up the strap and the cattle stopped descending. Masinta then became furious with the ‘Dorobo’ as he was actually the one who cut God’s strap and cursed him, ‘Dorobo, you are the one who cut Gods thong – you will remain as poor as you have always been, you will live of animals in the bush and you and your offspring will for ever be my servants’.

This kind of narrative provided by Maasai is defined by Naomi Kipuri as a myth. A myth usually explains the origin of various phenomena often related to origin and early history (Kipuri, 1983:16). It explains the origin of cattle, why the Maasai see themselves as the rightful owners of cattle, and why the Dorobo are either cattleless or few have acquired larger herds and therefore born to suffer. Further it explains ‘the subjugation of the Dorobo to the Maasai to this day.’ As to ‘subjugation’ I will return to this further below. In a sense, myths and other narratives serve as a historical reconstruction where the past is mobilized to mark social transformations, ruptures and development (Kaare, 1996a:37).

Most Maasai also find the houses of the Akie ‘poor’ as their houses are often clad with clay and not cows dung as is the manner among the cattle owning Maasai today, and some Akie simply live in houses made from straw. The Maasai say that the ‘Dorobo’ prefer to live in hollow Boabab trees and rough rock or grass shelters - and this they do when on long hikes gathering wild honey or hunting. A few individuals who are on the move a large part of the year gathering honey certainly also make extensive use of these kinds of shelter. In any case these types of housing and shelter were probably more common in the past before the majority of the Akie became relatively sedentarized. Note the passage ‘They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the Wakuafi

86 For a version of the same myth recorded by Kipuri in the Kijado district in Kenya, see Kipuri (1983:15-16).
[Parakuyo Maasai], who therefore boast of their own superior houses’, in missionary Krapf’s description (1854:21-28) commenting on the housing of the Dorobo (most probably Akie) and how their neighbors perceived of them. Colonial officer Maquire notes that at the time he made his observations in the 1920’s that they live in the depth of the bush, ‘there they exist, houseless, save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockage (1963:135). He also came across Mosiro who lived in ‘odoriferous dug-outs’ about eight feet below the ground’ and the cave was generally scooped out beneath the roots of Baobab tree or other suitable tree, and despised by the Maasai for their ‘troglodytic existence’ (1963:141).

The Maasai also find the appearance of the Akie decidedly poorish. Truly, individuals can have a somehow tattered appearance which can be related to their ‘bush activities’. On the other hand one may argue that so it is with many Maasai. Indeed to a Norwegian trying to keep up when walking the bush whether with Akie or Maasai, it can seem that every growth has needle or knife like thorns that catches hair and clothes, leaving any garment in rags in remarkably short time. Some Akie men have also developed a taste for fancy hats, shirts and jackets they wear proudly, besides the kanga which may be worn by both women and men, clearly a negative deviance in dressing as perceived by Maasai. Generally, however, the Akie wear garments, beadwork and ornaments which can seem similar to that of the Maasai, also already noted by Maquire in the 1920’s (1963:137-138). Akie women and Akie men were the same type of shuka’s one or two pieces of red or blue pieces of cotton cloth knotted at the shoulder, men sometimes with a thicker blanket over the thinner one. Akie and Maasai women alike have abandoned the skin garments mentioned by Maquire, however. Women also have shaved heads as among the Maasai and young Akie men (murenik) wear the hair long and plaited in the same way as the Maasai young men (moran). Akie girls and and young men also often smear their bodies with a mixture of red ochre and fat with particular patterns on the legs, arms and face like Maasai girls and young men.
Nevertheless Maasai, and in particular women, pointed out to me on my visits to the monthly marked in Kibaya, who were ‘Dorobo’ on the basis of what they perceived as distinctively non-Maasai in beadwork and ornaments, if not easily detectable to me. The fact that it is Maasai women that take note of this is most probably because it is women who do the beadwork and make ornaments for both men and women.

According to my experience the Maasai also find the Akie language strange and laughable, and often ridiculed when mentioned by me. Even if almost all Akie speak Maasai Maa and some have adopted it entirely, it does not sound seem right in the ears of the Maasai.

Further, Akie women are known to drink honey mead and beer and Maasai women are generally prohibited drinking alcoholic drinks, possibly with the exception of very old women with the status of Koko, grand mothers (or grand-grand mothers) and only then within the enclosure of the enkang, the homestead.

In fact most Maasai are also of the opinion that Akie men are excessive and uncontrolled drinkers as they may be seen drinking large amounts at the local bars in the larger villages. While many elder Maasai men may be observed doing exactly the same this is obviously perceived differently. Talle has noted in the case of the Maasai, even excessive drinking among men in the public realm of the village may not affect their reputation and status (Talle, 1988). On the contrary Maasai may gain prestige and influence if they distribute beer to less fortunate clans-men and age-mates. As Akie are poor by definition – not rich in terms of livestock wealth – Akie drinking is considered as wild and unrestrained as they only in a limited way succeed in accumulating livestock, if any kind of possessions at all. The fact that Akie women are seen drinking alongside Akie men in the larger villages makes it even worse from the Maasai point of view.

Like the Maasai the Guu, Zigua and Gogo generally see the Akie as maskini - poor, forced to rely on the gathering of honey and the hunting of animals related to what they see as their inability to learn to cultivate and maintain gardens successfully by their standard. The lack of what they see as proper housing - square clay clad houses on their part, and appropriate clothing and behavior was also frequently pointed out to me.

Kaare (1996a:151) notes that the Guu and Zigua are said to have been one ethnic group until they separated and spread to in part different locations thereby acquiring separate identities. In one
of their myths the Akie as the indigenous people of the land, initially welcomed them and taught them how to live in the new environment.

Seuta [a forefather] is said to have learnt the trick of making bow and arrow from Akie and in turn taught his people (personal interview, Canon Mainde, May 1993; Mochiwa, 1954). The Akie are mentioned in both Nguu and Zigua stories as having shown the two communities the bow and arrow by which they both managed to live in their new environment. In this legendary story, the legendary Seuta is referred to as the son of a bow (Mochiwa, 1954:3). It is narrated in these stories that bow and arrows enabled them to successfully fight of Portuguese conquest (Mochiwa, 1954:33). (Kaare 1996a:151)

If acknowledging the central place the Akie played in their own history when they first entered this area in this myth, it also in a sense underlines their own present situation as mainly cultivators. The Guu and Zigua see themselves as people who have evolved since -from a hunting and gathering way of life to a life as more advanced successful cultivators in the present.

Now the Guu and Zigua do not necessarily refrain from adding wild meat to their diet but to adopt a hunting and gathering lifestyle in the manner of the Akie, is clearly perceived as a step down the social ladder. On the other hand to ‘become Maasai’ and livestock owners on a large scale may be viewed differently. Rigby (1969) proposes in the case of the now agropastoral Gogo that to become ‘people of cattle’ has had a strong pull on the former cultivators. People in the larger towns, however, tend to view Maasai and Akie alike as ‘dirty and backward’.

As Talle (1997?) finds in the case of the Maasai ‘dirtiness’ is associated with the wearing of the shuka (toga), together with the smearing of the body with animal fat (mafuta), and their habit of blowing their nose and spitting ‘everywhere’. As noted by Talle the shuka also became an idiom in the development discourse in the late 1960 and early 1970’s. This resulted in that the Tanzanian government forbade the use of this traditional dressing and ordered the use of ‘civilized clothing’, trousers and dresses. In part this had to do with that being wrapped around the body loosely - there is a chance of exposing the genitals. Many Akie and Maasai cope with this by wearing trousers and dresses when visiting larger towns or compromising by wearing shorts and underwear underneath,

87 The Gogo in central Tanzania are agro-pastoral in the main (Rigby, 1969)
usually discarded when at home. While the tolerance of the traditional type of clothing to an extent has increased in large towns like Arusha and Dar es Salaam which I take has to do with tourist’s appreciation of these colorful garments, I have experienced that my Akie and Maasai companions alike have been denied access to restaurants and hotels when wearing the traditional dress.

**Negative Socio-Cultural Constructs of ‘Otherness’**

The concept of stereotyping used in social anthropology, usually refers to the creation and consistent application of standardized notions of cultural distinctiveness of a group (Eriksen, 1993a:23). Although stereotypes not necessarily need to be pejorative, this often tends to be the case (Eriksen, 1993a:22).

If the Akie economy has changed in the direction of a little cultivation and in part in the direction of a little livestock keeping – the Maasai associate them with a hunting and gathering life seen as detrimental to their ideal standard. Galaty who has studied the relations between the Maasai and the Dorobo in Kenya suggests that the Dorobo (Okiek) are suitable raw material of a convenient ‘other’ that confirms the pastoral ideal of living and (Galaty 1977, 1982), what it is to be Maasai on an ideological level. ‘The mirror in the forest’, deviance conveniently marked first and foremost by what is associated with their primary livelihood (Kenny, 1981) resulting in a stereotyped and negative view of the Akie also shared by the now agropastoral Gogo, in part shared by the cultivating Guu and Zigua who in the same way perceive their own lifestyle as superior.

The Maasai, Nguu and Zigua may have an overwhelmingly negatively colored view of their Akie neighbors reflected in their stereotypes, if not without ambivalence and contradiction.

For example, when discussing a serious drought with a Maasai who then had lost nearly all his cattle like many other Maasai in the area, I asked him how the ‘Dorobo’ had managed. ‘They just left for the hills and sat in the trees killing wild animals that passed underneath with their arrows and remained fat that way’ - so much for the ‘endless suffering of the Dorobo’.

The Akie are also perceived as somewhat mysterious and secretive. It is a common belief among their neighbors that the Akie have the ability to make themselves ‘invisible’ in the bush,
invisible both to man and beast when they choose to. As noted in the foregoing chapter Akie also perform certain rituals when setting up a night camp when on honey gathering trips or hunting expeditions to ensure an agreement with wild animals to turn a blind eye on the Akie and leave them in peace.

Now it is not in my particular interested to provide alternative or additional explanations as to the rationality question itself. I just want to draw attention to how the neighbors of the Akie perceive them in the light of such beliefs which also are common among them, if I found that their Maasai and Guu and Zigua neighbors generally know little of the details of ritual and ceremonial practice.

The Akie are thought to possess powers over the natural environment due to perceptions of their relations with the super natural, which in effect is intimidating. When the Dorobo horn is heard being played during a *tiamisi* ceremony, sometimes for a few hours and sometimes for days on end in their homesteads or bush, the Maasai, Guu and Zigua literally take to their feet removing themselves and eventual livestock as far as possibly in space, preferably to their own homesteads. It is known to induce death either by fatal decease or by seemingly accident if any none-Akie actually sees the horn, or any of their private ceremonies. On one of the two occasions I brought an English speaking Maasai to help translate (nearly all Akie can speak the Maasai Maa language along side some Kiswahili) there was performed a *tiamisi* ritual in the Akie homestead we were going to stay. Despite the assurance of the Akie that he would come to know harm provided he stayed inside one of the houses – nothing could make him stay. We spent the night well outside the homestead in a straw house in the middle of a maize garden, a frightful night on his part.

I found that the district administration had invited some of the Akie in this area to Kibaya town (the centre of district administration) to perform a ‘Dorobo ceremony’ a few year’s back, which the Akie did. Several of the Akie that participated at the event, however, assured me that they had not revealed any significant details, acknowledging that a certain secrecy and mystic is well in place as it may keep people at a somewhat awesome distance.
Akie may also present stereotyped views of their neighbors. For instance, the Maasai are often said to be ‘stealers’ with particular reference to the raiding of cattle. In an Akie myth ‘the nature’ of the Maasai in this respect is explained, along with why the Akie are poor in terms of cattle.

Once upon a time a group of five Akie murenik (warriors) where returning home with a big herd of cattle. Each and every one of these young men considered himself to be very brave while the ones at home were seen as cowards. On the journey home with different colored cows and oxen they saw a Maasai homestead on the way, and which seemed quite deserted. The decided to rest for the night, they were also feeling hungry and it was a good time for them to prepare dinner. Inside the hut entered by the first warrior there was a Maasai woman who was left alone to give birth as she was unable to walk and follow the others where they went with livestock in search for new pastures. When this first warrior he became afraid and left quickly saying that he was going to fetch some firewood. The second, third and fourth warrior did the same and the last promised to look for his friend who had been away for a long time. The Maasai woman, however, went out of the hut calling the last warrior: ‘Do not leave with your cattle, I am a woman who has given birth to a male child do not leave your cows’. The warrior hastened away as his fellow warriors had done and the cows were left without any of them to look after the cows until morning. In the meantime the Maasai woman’s husband had returned along with many Maasai warriors and the Akie were unable to get their cattle back. The Maasai woman’s son inherited all the cattle.

This is why the Maasai have cattle and the Akie are ‘Dorobo’. (Recorded by Adam Kuliet ole Mwarabu - personal communication)

Akie report that there have been clashes and warfare between them and the Maasai in the past. At times pfuni (Akie may refer to Maasai as pfuni) have been the koroita – enemy of the Akie. Acknowledging that the Maasai often won over them due to their larger numbers they still claim the superiority of their bows and arrows in many cases because the arrows have a further reach than the Maasai spears. Accounts are also provided of situations when Akie have been caught and beaten by Maasai when just passing each other in the bush. ‘Mingo’, a young man living in Settlement E., returned severely bruised and beaten from Kibaya town one day, and said that he had beaten up by Maasai outside a beer bar. The details of the cause never became quite clear to me, but at it was my impression that he had been ‘in the wrong place at the wrong time’. I will return to how Akie
generally manage space and place in order to pass comfortably among their neighbors, further below.

Nevertheless, most often Akie tend to underline friendliness in the relations between them and the Maasai in the past and the present, if acknowledging that they are outnumbered by far. They often point to that they have particular friends among the Maasai and where the Maasai receive gifts of honey in return for gifts of meat or milk. Maquire (1963:136) notes that the Maasai are ‘good’ to them and seldom refuse them a share of whatever food is obtainable, milk, meat or grain and emphasizes that the Akie expect this, as they have helped the Maasai in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 1890’s) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Maasai to wild meat. The Akie can provide numerous accounts of how they have been of mutual help to each other in the past. Maasai have come to live with the Akie when they have been deprived of their cattle in severe draught and in a similar way Akie have been helped with milk and meat when they have been in need.

On the other hand most Maasai do not readily admit that they have needed the hospitality or help of their Akie neighbors and lived in the manner of the ‘Dorobo’ (Bakken and ole Moono, forthcoming), a matter of particular annoyance to several Akie. Myself, I experienced that when leaving field and changing buss in Handeni town in Handeni district I asked a Maasai traveling companion to hold my Akie bow and arrow case (a farewell gift) for a moment while collecting my luggage, he simply refused. He offered to hold whatever other luggage I had but clearly did not want to be taken for an inferior ‘Dorobo’ by holding the typical Akie weapon in public.

The Akie tend to underline their perceived equality of Akie and Maasai livelihood by likening the bees which provide them with the cherished honey with the cattle of the Maasai, ‘the bees are our cattle’. When presenting their own myth of how the ancestors of the Akie cut God’s strap and opened the makata and God provided the Akie with the bees and the wild animal, with which this chapter begins, it was presented to me as a special gift to be proud of, not a sign of God’s condemnation. The Maasai received their gift of cattle in the same way, and it was the eutumuna ancestors of the Akie that started it all.88

88The eutumuna are the small and dwarf-like ancestors of the Akie before being in a sense recreated by God into their present form and stature (ref. Akie myth in the beginning of this chapter), assiswe is what Akie call their ancestors after this point.
To the Maasai to live from wild animals is a mark of inferiority, and probably enforced by that they are seen as ‘poachers’ by government officials in the area. The Akie are also seen as subjugated to the Maasai as they at times work for them as herders, and also provide a ritual service seen as polluting, the circumcision of Maasai young men. Dorobo are perceived as ‘unclean’ from the bloodshed of hunting, as proposed by Kratz with reference to the Okiek in Kenya (1994:66). Kaare (Kaare, 1996a:156) also offers an additional explanation with reference to Galaty (1982), who proposes that the Maasai regard the Dorobo as polluting also because shedding blood is symbolically associated with women considered unclean when menstruating. Galaty has focused on this phenomenon in several of his works related to praxis and anti-praxis in relation to Maasai identity (1977, 1979). Pollution beliefs arise from the process of classifying and ordering and related to moral values defining ‘matter out of place’, what contradicts and confuses cherished classification (Douglas, 1975). The subjugation of the Akie is explained in Maasai myth of the origin of cattle, how a Dorobo cut the strap from heaven from which the valued cattle descended, and from that time deemed to live by hunting and gathering.

As we see the Akie also hold negative stereotypes of their Maasai neighbors but not on the same scale. They also acknowledge the closeness of the Maasai as they perceive it, in their origin myth. The Maasai were most often explained to me like their next of kin.

When it comes to Akie stereotypes of their cultivating ‘Swahili’ Guu and Zigua neighbors there is the strong belief that they may be dangerous witches that can be able to kill Akie by witchcraft referred to as sumu - ‘poison’, a belief that also applies to the agro-pastoral Gogo in the area. I was often told that I had to take great care when visiting them. A brother of one of my field assistants claimed to have been ‘poisoned’ by a ‘Swahili’ he had worked with in a safari company. He found himself recurrently confused and sick, and was convinced that he had been bewitched. When I asked my field assistant if the Akie had not performed a tiamisi ritual to try to restore his brother to his normal self by the help of the assiswe (ancestors) – this they do to restore mishaps and misfortune, and also lift curses, the answer was that they had tried but so far it had not helped.
Swahili *sumu* could be very strong, they were going to take him to a Gogo *ganga* (a doctor, in this context a witchdoctor and herbal specialist), however, and see if he could do anything about it.  

The Guu, Zigua and Gogo may also be viewed with suspicion because of their negative experiences with *meeyee* - Tanzanian government officials associated with the Swahili and whom the Akie generally try to avoid. The Akie perceive of government officials as ‘outsiders’ who have intervened in their live in a most unfavorable way (Kaare, 1995), through the government initiated sedentarization and villagization projects (ref. Chapter four, in particular the Ngababa case).

Comparing the stereotypes held by pastoral and agricultural neighbors of the primarily hunting and gathering Hadza in further to the north in Tanzania with stereotypes held by the neighbors of the until recently hunting and gathering Okiek in central Kenya, Woodburn find’s that both groups are stigmatized as inferiors by their neighbors, and that the stereotypes held are surprisingly similar (1991:36-43). Like I find in the case of the Akie, their neighbors see them as ‘poor’ and that by their own fault, they eat unacceptable food, they are seen as unrestrained and displaying inappropriate behavior, they are seen as unable to hold on to property, and also as somewhat mysterious with special knowledge.

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89I received a letter from my field assistant after I returned to Norway, nothing had helped and they had decided to take his brother to an asylum in Dodoma town. I found that the Akie switch between different belief or knowledge systems, with relatively ease. Most Akie adhere to their ancestral beliefs and their own concept of God - Tororeita and also attend *tiamisi* rituals frequently. The Akie speak of Tororeita as the ‘father above’ and the mother below’, in this world of ‘below’ is where the *assiswe* ancestors coexist, as noted by Kaare (1996a:51). The powers of the world below are linked up with the powers of the ancestors, and can be both benevolent and malevolent. They are mediated by the *tiamisi* spirit, which according to my experience, is also likened with the mother and the father of the Akie – and also as a beast ‘like the *ngetunda* – lion’. Kaare refers to the *tiamisi* spirit as a male spirit (1996a:51). Further, he notes (1996a.73) that in the *saisee tororeita* ritual which is performed in the beginning of the rain season women - and only ‘when there is a real and persistent threat to wellbeing’ (consistently bad hunting season, continuous miscarriages by women, and the like) women determine the possibility of Tororeita descending, - by first entering a meditative state which may resemble an ‘epileptic seizure’ I may add. The Akie say it is also only women can do this because Tororeita listens to women (Kaare, 1996a:71) According to my experience it is also women who ‘call’ for the *tiamisi* spirit in the same way in the *tiamisi* ritual, if they may be forbidden to see *tiamisi*, as men are forbidden to see Tororeita.

In all the Akie settlements I visited in Kiteto district Christian Sunday services are are also held and attended enthusiastically, if mainly by woman and children. Those which are not in the immediate vicinity of an regular church in the larger villages or town perform their own open air services, with ‘benches’ cut quite crudely from tree trunks, and with thorny vegetation framing the rectangular space. In all settlements visited there is also a quire of children, usually approaching singing. The ‘priest’ stands up front quoting bits and pieces of the bible by memory (usually no one has a bible) learnt at one of the mission stations in the area which is considered suited to the topic of the day, or a particular problem. Individuals frequently stand up, or go up front, and hold additional speeches. On Sunday’s activity in the homesteads is markedly less than on other days. Even when on honey gathering or hunting trips most men prefer to stay in camp on a Sunday. The same Akie attending a Christian Sunday service, or holding the Sunday as a holy day of rest may be seen the next day attending a *timiamisi* ritual. I think of the relative ease the Akie switch between different belief systems as a ‘risk spreading strategy’. If one does not work, maybe the other.
Now stereotypes do not necessarily hold to be true (Eriksen, 1993a:24). From an ‘objective’ point of view it is difficult to evaluate for instance if the changes in the Akie economy has been for better or for worse, when compared to their neighbors - in the present context. If not sufficiently successful livestock-keepers or cultivators in the view of their neighbors to deserve their respect, it is possible that the present mixed subsistence and multi-focal resource use of the Akie is a relatively successful mixture of coping strategies reducing long-term vulnerability to the climate - and the fact there are less wild animals *horyo* (now) by Akie report, and their subsistence hunting is perceived as poaching by the government authorities.

In any case, their small maize gardens alone, or their livestock-keeping alone, seems to be impossible to survive by. As noted in the previous chapter, livestock keeping among the Akie is usually well below the minimum pastoral survival limit of 5.5 livestock units per capita, as a suggested survival limit in the case of the Maasai (Talle, 1977). In this context I should add that in estimations of ‘survival limits’ in terms of nutritional requirements seasonal fluctuation must be taken into consideration, and also an eventual combination of large and small stock as small stock can be more easily slaughtered than are large, also because of a faster reproduction rate (Hjort av Ornäs, 1990:94). As pointed out by Kingamkono and Lindström (1989), wild products also play a significant role with regards to security with reference to agro-pastoralists in Babati district to the north-west of Kiteto district in the Arusha region. This is a type of study that I have not undertaken, and would require close protein and kcal calculations taking the combinations of mixed subsistence and multi-focal resource use into consideration.

In the previous chapter I have noted that aspects of hunting and gathering delayed-return organization (it also has aspects of immediate-return organization) may have eased introduction to cultivation and pastoralism. I have also suggested, that one of the reasons for that Akie usually hold little livestock and seldom seem to be able to build up larger herds under the present circumstances, is that it is difficult to escape pressure to slaughter when meat is scarce, and deny prescribed obligations to share. This might also be the reason for that Akie generally cultivate relatively small maize gardens’, an eventual store of harvested maize is difficult to hold on to for any longer period of time. Most Akie adhere to the sharing and distribution practice of *ipehee* and *konaan* - and the mutual reciprocal advantages are generally emphasized.
When confronted with questions of how the Akie themselves conceive of their situation, ‘Koko’, an old woman, put it to me like this - ‘we are poor today because we can not hunt wild animals, and most of us do not have much cattle either’, acknowledging that wild animals in sense have first priority, and cattle second priority. In this context precarious subsistence cultivation is viewed as a ‘must’ but never perceived as enough. A certain orientation towards livestock may be understandable under the present circumstances, recall that an orientation towards livestock also seems to be a characteristic feature of most Nilotic cultures, according to Talle (1988:23). It might be, however, that how the Akie perceive of economic marginalization and a problematic present, has to do with failed expectations as to exchanging a basically hunting and gathering life for a relatively permanent sedentary village life based on cultivation. They are also learning to see themselves as poor and backward, something I think has to do with previous experience with the attitude of government officials, and how their neighbors generally see them. Bordieu’s term ‘doxa’ may cover what is unquestionable and taken for granted (1977), and the ‘doxic’ negative stereotype created by a dominating group (or dominating groups), can become self-fulfilling to the point that it may become a part of how a group views itself (Eriksen, 1993a:51 and also 34). I am inclined to think, for instance, that in some Akie homesteads were the members claimed to refrain from eating wild meat, Maasai style, and also claimed they leave the gathering of honey to other Akie, when in fact it was not so (ref. previous chapter) - these individuals were actually shameful of the Akie way of living (and not playing up aspects of ‘being Maasai’ to me as a general passing strategy – a phenomenon I will return to in the section below).

In the political context in which overwhelmingly negative stereotypes flourish on the part of hunters and gatherers, or groups strongly associated with a hunting and gathering way of living, is one in which numbers of people in these groups are usually (but not always) so small that in spite of formidable weapons they can be treated as politically impotent, as conquered or conquerable. ‘The combination of stereotyped inferiority and of political impotence is potentially very dangerous, for those so characterized.’ (Woodburn, 1991a:44). Typically they are, or where, treated as people that

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90 Bordieu’s term ‘doxa’ which may cover what is unquestionable and taken for granted (1977) bears resemblance to that which appears to be ‘a common sense reality of everyday life’, Berger and Luckmann (1966).
do not deserve equal social status, they may be excluded as marriage partners, or at best only being acceptable when it comes to marrying hunters and gatherers women and not the other way around.

The Akie are no exception, they do not deserve equal social status in the eyes of their neighbors. The Maasai have a long history of marrying Akie women. This is already noted by Maquire in the 1920’s (1963:266). The bride price is usually considerably lower than for Maasai women. By Akie report the bride price is from three to nine heads of cattle. Maasai are however, required to pay from nine heads of cattle and up to other Maasai. Among the Maasai Akie women are reputed to bear many children but are said to be unreliable in that they are prone to run away and return to their own family (!). Maasai do not readily marry away their women to Akie. The major obstacle when it comes down to it could be the inability of most Akie to provide the sufficient bride price in cattle by Maasai standards. In the few cases I have come across marriage exchange in the other direction it is when Akie have built up larger herds beforehand, as for instance in Tito’s case referred to in the previous chapter. Tito had one Akianta wife and six Maasai wives. What I take to be an important observation on my part was that he seemed also to have broken with Akie ways. It seemed as if there was no hunting of wild animals, no consummation of meat from wild animals at all in this homestead, and no honey gathering by any homestead members. I never saw anyone from his homestead attend Akie ceremonies and rituals. The homestead members also seemed to have broken with the rules of ipchee and konaan.

Avoiding the Social Stigma

For anyone that has spent some time in this area it is apparent that to be ‘Dorobo’ is a stigmatized identity, the categorization of people as ‘Dorobo’ carries a considerable stigma. On an occasion I was told by a person working in the Kiteto district administration that a Maasai man holding a central position in the administration ‘is rumored to actually be a Dorobo’. When I voiced that I would like to interview him, the response was - ‘he is a Dorobo but do not question him about it, he will most likely take offence’. Now I never found the opportunity to pursue the question of the ‘Dorobo’ness’ of this particular person further, directly face to face.
Not surprisingly Akie may be reluctant to reveal a ‘Dorobo identity’. Kaare provides an illustrative example in reference to his own field work experience (1995). On his first day he had to report to the government official in the village he was staying and who immediately sent out a person to call out a ‘Dorobo’ to come to the village and visit him. When Kaare asked the person that turned up to meet him whether he was an Akie, he replied that he would not say before they were alone in the Akie village nearby. He later came to learn that the Akie are not willing to speak about anything that concerns them in the midst of their Bantu neighbors, which as noted, relates to the Akie’s mistrust of their Bantu neighbors, closely associated with meeyee. government officials who the Akie generally try to avoid near contact with. The Akie also initially took Kaare for a meeye as he was a black Kiswahili speaking Tanzanian. He mentions that it took about five months for the Akie to fully recognize that he was not a government official. Then they subsequently started to refer to him as mzungu (white person). He notes that a white person to the Akie is not a mere question of color, but a kind of relation which the Akie compare with a variety of other relations with other people they encounter in their life. Mzungu are generally not associated with people that have tried to make them to abandon their way of life. In Chapter two I have described how the Akie readily accepted me into their everyday lives almost from day one, and allowed me to move freely among them, the domains of women and men alike. As a mzungu the Akie readily placed me in a category of people that gave me immediate contact with the Akie. Many Akie men have also worked for hunting or safari companies and experienced that mzungu from Europe and elsewhere have shown respect and admiration for Akie skills related to tracking wild animals and knowledge of the bush, skills commonly down-valued and associated with a detrimental Dorobo way of life by most non-Akie.

As my own field work proceeded I learned how some aspects of ‘being Akie’ was clearly under-communicated, and aspects of ‘being Maasai’ over-communicated depending on context, and how they generally manage space and place in order to pass comfortably among their neighbors. I use ‘under-communication’ and ‘over-communication’ inspired by Goffman (1990:141), in my case in reference to how particular cultural traits may be shown of and alternatively down-played depending on different spheres of interaction.
However amiable and congenial the relations between the Akie and the Maasai may seem – not much ‘provocation’ is needed before negative and noisy attention is turned on an Akie individual, as illustrated in the ‘If the woman from Ulaya will come back and is able to live with the Dorobo ..’ incident described above. Akie may be reluctant to reveal a provocative ‘Dorobo identity’ when in the midst of their neighbors. They refrain from speaking of Akie matters when among their Bantu neighbors - they usually even refrain from speaking the Akie language at all when within hearing distance of their neighbors, whether Bantu or Maasai. This became apparent to me on our visits to the monthly market in Kibaya town, and in the larger shopping villages. When friends and kin meet and want to exchange news, they typically separate themselves spatially from non-Akie by clustering in small groups on the outskirt of the market place, or under a tree where they talk together in a low-voiced manner. In fact they only speak Akie freely in the secrecy and privacy of their own homesteads and settlements, or when alone in the bush. Understandably, you do not often come across an Akiante carrying his bow and arrows when in town either, or firearms for that matter. As noted, local residents can in principle hunt from July to March provided that a licence is obtained at the District Game Office in Kibaya and that firearms are registered at the police station. Akie are generally reluctant to obtain hunting licenses, because this would imply an eventual registration of firearms that could increase mistrust on particular individuals as potential ‘poachers’ hunting on the side of the regulations (not all animals are free to hunt), and enforce the stigmata associated with hunting activities.

In this context any place where the Akie are in the close presence of their neighbors constitutes a public sphere where the Akie choose to under-communicate and down-play aspects of being Akie that can be perceived as being provocative in the perception of their neighbors, or in the vicinity of government officials. Anywhere they find they can do so freely, in a sense constitutes a private sphere. My use of ‘public sphere’ and ‘private sphere’ corresponds well with Goffman’s use of the ‘front stage’ and ‘back stage’ metaphor when analyzing human interaction in terms of a play or a performance (1990).

When I went with a group of Akie to Kibaya town, and we were in the direct company of a Maasai – as was the case on the two occasions I brought with me a Maasai to to field to help translate, I noticed that the Akie men and woman sat down to eat at separate tables when we went to
eat in a *hoteli* – tea house or guest house. Kaareni and Mingo - the two Akie men sat down at one table with the Maasai man, and Ngetito and Selena - the two Akie women at another. Exactly the same thing happened on the other occasion with the other Maasai and another group of Akie when visiting a *hoteli* in Kibaya. Now among the Maasai, woman and men generally do not sit together when eating whether at home or in public - and neither did the Akie on the occasions described. In the privacy of their own homes, however, not much attention is given to this kind of division of gender when it comes to eating habits, not even when they visit each other in other settlements. In other words, Akie tend to set up a front stage performance when in the presence of a Maasai ‘audience’ by under-communicating aspects of being Akie and over-communicating aspects of being Maasai, and leave to the back-stage to behave in their regular way. In fact, that the Akie choose to live more or less clustered on the fringes of the villages where their neighbors are more numerous or form ‘satellite villages’ some distance away from larger villages (see Chapter five), can be understood in terms of trying to retain some privacy in relation to their neighbors.

I am inclined to think that in the case when Mingo was being beaten by Maasai outside a beer bar in Kibaya referred to above, he most probably lost control of the situation in the setting he was in. Being drunk, as he admittedly was, he might have made too much of himself, and he may have failed to realize when it would have been convenient to retreat, considering that the Maasai were most probably drunk too and likely to turn aggressive, as people often do when severely intoxicated by alcohol.

Retreat is what the Akie generally do when perceiving that they receive too much unwanted attention in public, or when being made a fool of in public (like in the ‘.. if the woman from Ulaya will come back and is able to live with the Dorobo ..’ incident’), simply to avoid the possibility of escalating conflict. Even when hearing approaching groups of Maasai *murenik* (warriors) in the bush, they creep quietly into the bush waiting for them to pass, as they are known to sometimes act aggressively towards them. The Akie generally do not retaliate, acknowledging their numerical weakness (ref. also Blackburn (1982:293-296) on Okiek avoidance behavior). I also experienced that when the Akie encountered a few Maasai warriors in the bush and the Akie did not perceive the situation as particularly threatening – the Maasai would stretch out their hands and require that the Akie, old and young alike, would spit out and hand over their ‘chewing gums’ (gum extracted from
particular trees) and thereby asserting their ‘dominance’ over the Akie, in my interpretation. I never saw an Akiane refuse, they would give up their chewing gums and quietly retreat.

They will also move away if the hostility of their neighbors is perceived as intolerable, or when perceiving that they will stand little chance in the face of the opposition. In colonial officer Maquire’s words,

> If trouble is in the wind, the Mosiroi [Akie] will always make for the haven he knows best – the bush. There he will live apparently quite independent of the products of civilization, an in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey.’ (Maquire, 1963:140)

When visiting a village in Simanjiro district towards the end of my stay, I went to greet the official Village Chairman (as one always has to do when traveling in this area) who was a Maasai. When I asked if there were any ‘Dorobo’ living in the village, the answer was that it had been rumored that a Dorobo family had settled on the outskirt of the village some weeks ago. They had considered running them off but when they went to find them (they did not want ‘such people’ there), they had already gone. Most probably the Akie had left sensing the hostile atmosphere in the village. My Akie traveling companion, who was seething with rage afterwards, told me that this was sadly often the case. Acknowledging that arguing the case would probably be of no help, the Akie just left.

It goes with the story that he also chose to introduce himself as a ‘Maasai from close to Kibaya

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91 In fact retreating, or moving away, is also a strategy of avoidance in order to cope with severe conflict among themselves, or when conflicting interests may seem insolvable. One of my young Akie male informants in Settlement B. dreamt about setting up a small kiosk-type shop with biscuits, soft drinks, soap, cooking oil etc. for sale, in one of the larger villages along one of the two major roads cross-cutting the district. As he periodically worked as guide and tracker for a hunting and safari company he clearly could come home with enough cash to set up such a shop and by the necessary stock of goods. He was thinking of setting up the shop in a village along the road on the Handeni side of the border between Kiteto district and Handeni district, however. He had few relatives and friends near this village and thought it might be easier to be able go hold on to his stock of goods there – escape sharing obligations, so that he could and be able to make a living from the shop. His ultimate goal, however, was to be able to acquire enough cattle to pay the required bride price to the father of the girl in question, living in another village than his own. This illustrates that in order to escape sharing sanctions he would have to move far enough away from relatives and friends. Also in the case of Tito who had acquired about fifty heads of cattle, and also a considerable amount of small stock, I found that he moved away from close kin and friends and settled in Settlement E. His homestead was also located some distance away from the other more or less clustered Akie homesteads.

92 Blackburn (1996) proposes that ‘that the Okiek have a generalized fear of others who are not kin or with whom relations are not established’, certainly a well founded fear given the confrontations the Okiek repeatedly have experienced with more numerous peoples around them, arguing that it is also reinforced by their own methods of socializing aggression also by avoidance behaviour. He demonstrates how interpersonal conflicts have arisen, how these conflicts have often resulted in residence changes, and how these changes resulted in other social and cultural changes, contributing to Okiek diversity, processes of fusion and fission.
town’ when we introduced ourselves to the Maasai Village Chairman. Whether he actually believed him or not, I do not know, he left it at that and made no further inquiries.

In light of the above it is tempting to interpret the fact that Akie wear garments and ornaments which can seem similar to that of the Maasai as a passing strategy employed in order to pass among their neighbors. Maquire refers to this as ‘aping’ (1963:138). As noted, Maasai readily pointed out to me on my visits to the monthly marked in Kibaya, who were ‘Dorobo’, however, on the basis of what they perceived as distinctively non-Maasai in beadwork and ornaments (if not easily detectable to me). Klump and Kratz (1993:199) suggest in the case of the Okiek in central Kenya, that maybe Okiek are mocking Maasai by making their ornaments just slightly different from the Maasai. Perhaps non-Maasai’ness is deliberately demonstrated by using ornaments in ways Maasai would not. Or perhaps they are simply copying what they think looks beautiful and making it even more beautiful in their own interpretation.93

Nevertheless, in general terms one can say that in order to move relatively freely and avoid the social stigma of inferiority, it can be convenient for Akie to act out a ‘Maasai identity’, to behave in a way which is more readily accepted by Maasai standards, and playing down aspects of being Akie that may be perceived as provocative in the eyes of their neighbors, whether Maasai or Nguu, Zigua or Gogo, or possible government officials, depending on space and place as illustrated in my examples above. In Aspects of the Lappish Minorit Situationy Eidheim (1971) describes how the stigmatized identity of the coastal fishing and cultivating Saami people (‘Lapps’) resulted in many of the same ways of identity impression management on the part of the Saami, in the face of

93 According to Klump and Kratz:

‘While the majority of Okiek share some outward signs of Maasai identity with their pastoral neighbors, those signs and social memberships are simply part of a wider set of cultural options, with significance quite different from that of understood by the Maasai – be it language, costume, social membership, song, beadwork or whatever – it is recontextualized as it becomes a part of Okiek practice. This means it is open to reinterpretation as it becomes a part of another peoples history and modes of expression, understood within the values and interests that inform their lives rather than Maasai ones’. (Klump and Kratz, 1993:199). This discussion takes place within a framework of exploring processes through which ethnic identity is claimed advertised, and negotiated by examining ‘a key visual index of ethnicity in East Africa’, beaded personal ornament. In another essay Kratz (1980) discusses if the Okiek are really Maasai, or Kipsigis, or Kikuyu , in the context of domination of two Okiek groups now living with at least one larger neighboring people. She argues that if the Okiek seem to hold a yielding attitude towards the choice of communicative codes, the yield is as much – or more an expression of the Okiek’s considerable abilities and cultural repertoire (and as such a part of Okiek self-identity), as it is a matter of deference. In yet another essay (1986) she examines ethnic interaction, economic diversification and language use comparing the two Okiek groups to illuminate both processes of linguistic and cultural differentiation within a group and those of adaptation, or cultural and linguistic ‘assimilation’ to neighboring ethnic peoples. She argues that in some circumstances the only difference between these processes may be created by the perspective taken by the researcher.

In other words, it may depend on what one is looking for or the focus of the analysis.
dominant Norwegian standards.\textsuperscript{94} Passing strategies that, in fact, when viewed collectively can be expressed as an avoidance strategy to escape stigmatization and persecution. When potential or actual conflict occurs, the Akie may momentarily retreat and may also even move away.

In the African context Turnbull in \textit{The Lesson of the Pygmies} (1963) and Wæhle in \textit{Elusive Persistence} (1988), provide examples of stigmatized hunting and gathering pygmie groups which have many similarities with Akie with respect to avoidance strategies employed in relations to their neighbors. The groups studied by Turnbull and Wæhle in the Ituri forest in Zaire, in the same way as the Akie, employed passing strategies based on under-communication of ’pygmy traits’ when in contact with cultivating villagers. When in the rainforest they continued their hunting and gathering practices and life style. The Akie, however, have somewhat different economic relations with their closest neighbors than the ‘pygmy’ groups studied by Turnbull and Wæhle, if both groups in a sense accommodate and defer to the standards of their neighbors depending on space and place.

Stigmatized groups respond to their vulnerability to persecution in two main ways, either by dealing with outsiders only through ephemeral relations and retaining control over themselves and their own labor, or alternatively, by entering into relations of clientship with outsider patrons, to whom they will have to defer, but who may offer paternalist protection against other outsiders (Woodburn, (1991:55-57).

\textbf{Relatively Balanced Economic Relations, but ..}

Woodburn (1991:50-57) has compared the economic relations between the Hadza and their neighbors around Lake Eyasi, the Mbuti ‘pygmies’and their neighbors in the Ituri forest in Zaire and the Okiek and their neighbors in central Kenya, in particular.

He argues that that the Hadza, apart from the occasional person who works as a herder boy or farm hand do not normally work for their neighbors or are commissioned by them to hunt meat or gather honey or other bush products from them. The Hadza generally avoid commitments to outsiders (as they also do in relation to other Hadza) and are seldom even interested in ‘maintaining

\textsuperscript{94} The reindeer herding Saami are generally better known when discussing Saami issues.
face or respectability’. Woodburn makes no mention of the impression management techniques noted among the Akie and also the Mbuti. Honey is the most valued trade good, however, and even in this case probably more is eaten than traded away, if some other bush products are bartered or sold to outsiders, zebra tails (for making ornaments), zebra fat (used as medicine), hartebeest and wildbeest hides, herbal medicines and a small amount of game meat. Most of the objects the Hadza seek are of relatively little value, a handful of tobacco or a piece of broken hoe to make arrow heads, easily obtained also by begging, an axe is harder to come by. According to Woodburn (1991:52) there is nothing to suggest that Hadza enter or even entered into patron-client relations with their neighbors, though some individuals establish friendly ties with individual outsiders. The Hadza remain relatively autonomous.

The Mbuti on the other hand are engaged in patron-client relationships with agricultural village patrons, and considerable time and effort is devoted to production to outsiders. The Mbuti provide meat, mushrooms, fish, honey, wild yams, nuts, building materials, plant fibers for mats, poisoned arrows and medicinal plants together with much agricultural labor. Villagers provide cultivated food, arrow-heads, knives, machetes, spears, cooking posts, tobacco, marijuana and salt, the latter three items being particularly desired. Nevertheless, both parties obviously derive benefits from the relations. Every Mbuti has a patron in the area Wæhle worked (1981), but he can change from one patron to the other, as he chooses. Turnbull (1963) also points out that so-called dependence is voluntary and temporary in the group studied by him, the forest constitutes ‘a sanctuary of independence’. In my understanding, Wæhle also emphasizes that their relative autonomy in the forest in a sense also depends on the manipulation of those village based patron-clients relations, as it also to an extent prevents their cultivating neighbors from penetrating to far into their forest because ‘their Mbuti’ also provide them with wild meat and other bush products they would otherwise go in and fetch themselves. So then, it is just as much because of their relations to neighbors, as despite of, however voluntary.

In the case of the Okiek, Woodburn argues (with reference to Blackburn’s ethnography) that more goods are engaged in trade with their neighbors than the Hadza, buffalo shields, ivory and buffalo horn tobacco containers, giraffe and wildbeest tail-hair fly-whisks, lion mains, ostrich feathers for head-dresses, animal hide for leather thongs, eland meat for food, colobus monkey
skins for leg bands, kudu horn for a trumpet, rhino horn and ivory for a chief’s club, ivory, animal hides, bow and arrows, sword sheaths and decorative skin necklaces. More time and organization is devoted to obtaining and making goods which are traded. The Okiek trade in particular large amounts of honey which is produced in bee hives which they make and maintain, in contrast to Hadza honey which is all obtained from the nest of wild bees, and the total harvest is small when compared. Okiek honey is traded directly to the Maasai in return for domestic meat and milk, or sold to shops that resell it to Maasai or others. The honey may alternatively be given to Maasai as gifts by Okiek individuals on the basis of relatively freely negotiated formal relations of friendship, in return for occasional gifts of meat and milk and livestock, not comparable to relations of clientship with outsider patrons to whom they will have to defer, but who may offer paternalist protection against other outsiders. Even in the case of the Okiek, however, far more honey is produced for own consumption than for trade or barter to outsiders, with reference to Blackburn’s estimations. Blackburn finds the trade in honey and goods, more important than that they circumcise Maasai boys, and are given a heifer in payment, and sometimes help in slaughtering and cooking oxen in the bush or in herding cattle. Blackburn finds the total of the economic transactions as reasonably balanced and complementary, if not necessarily perceived as such by their neighbors. He also suggests that the Maasai are more dependent on the Okiek than the other way around, the Maasai need honey but the Okiek do not need any Maasai product to the same extent. Nevertheless, in other areas where there are no Okiek they meet with their needs in other ways. The most important item received by the Okiek is domestic stock, often slaughtered shortly after (Blackburn, 1982:298-300).

Woodburn finds grounds for arguing that in these three cases (unlike the nineteenth-century Bushman cases described by Schapera and Mackenzie), serious exploitation of the politically dominated and stigmatized groups do not occur. The Hadza, the Mbuti and also the Okiek manage to transact without being manifestly exploited. In all three cases they can and do retreat into the bush or forest, and live there ‘incommunicado’ for long periods without having to obtain new supplies of trade goods, with reference to the observations made at the time of his own investigations among the Hadza, the observations made by Turnbull and Wæhle at the time of their
investigations among the Mbuti, and Blackburn’s among the Okiek at the time he made his investigations.

Of the three cases described above the Akie I have done field work among seem to have most in common with the Okiek with reference to economic relations and neighbors in the present. I think that in the case of the Akie one can also say that the economic relations with immediate neighbors are relatively balanced, if not always perceived so by their neighbors, and they manage to transact without being manifestly exploited. They also still can and do retreat and move away when found necessary, if it seems to become increasingly more to difficult to move and just settle elsewhere, as I will also return to in the next section. Like in the case of some of the related Okiek groups in Kenya there seems to be more goods involved in trade than among the Hadza. Wild honey (not produced in man made bee hives like the honey of the Okiek, they tend to the wild bee’s nests, however, by reducing an eventual enlarged hole into the hive after the honey combs have been extracted, in order to make the bees settle their again) is also their most important trade ‘crop’ today like among the Okiek, if far more seems to be used for own consumption as I have noted, than what is bartered or traded to neighbors, or sold to shops. Maybe with the exception of a few Akie individuals who spend most of the year gathering honey.

Wild honey provides the main economic mean to acquire by barter or trade a range of personal possessions and material items from shopping villages and rotating markets in the larger villages and town in the area found in their homesteads, for most Akie, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Goods and material items like an aluminum spoon and single plate, a cooking pot, porcelain beads for beadwork and ornaments, cotton cloth for shuka’s, the occasional blanket that men wear, and sandals made from car and motorbike tires are acquired from the rotating markets, occasionally maize meal for sowing or more immediate-consumption, tea, sugar, rarely salt and now and then a bar of soap and the occasional kerosene lamp made from scrapped tins and cans from shops in the shopping villages, scrapped empty pill boxes for storage and the occasional plastic can, scrap metal for arrow heads from wherever it can be found in the larger villages or

95 In the previous chapter I have noted that the Akie do not use man made hives like the Okiek but they still in a sense maintain the wild bees nests by reducing an eventual enlarged hole into the hive after the honey combs have been extracted, in order to make the bees want to return and settle again.
town, knives and axe heads acquired from blacksmiths. I have also mentioned an occasional torch, wrist watch and a ‘Swiss knife’, and also occasionally a battery run radio (preferably with a cassette player) acquired at one of the rotating markets, or in Dar es Salaam or Arusha by men seasonally employed as guides and trackers for hunting and safari companies, and in a very few cases a bicycle. I take it that seasonal wage work as guides and trackers among some of the Akie may account for buying abilities, if there is relatively little difference among the Akie as to the accumulation of personal belongings and material items among them - due to the obligations of sharing and giving away everything which is in excess or not in direct use. Among livestock keeping Akie one may find an occasional spear and a curved knife used for cleaning the cloves of cattle, the spearhead and knife are obtained from blacksmiths, an occasional syringe is found and used for sporadic vaccination of cattle against diseases.

As noted the Akie are seen as subjugated to the Maasai by the Maasai as they at times work for them as herders, and also provide a ritual service seen as polluting by the Maasai, the circumcision of Maasai boys. The fact that Akie male individuals occasionally work as herders for their Maasai neighbors or as farm hands for Bantu neighbors holds no esteem in the view of the Akie, however. Recall, I was assured that this is something they only do when the food situation is desperate. One has to take into consideration of course that this is considered as demeaning work and might lead to that this is something the Akie do not like to talk about. I have also noted that when Akie young men live or work in a Maasai homestead on the basis of, for instance, kinship ties through inter-marital relations (usually when Akie women are married to Maasai) it is perceived of differently. They see themselves as simply participating members of the homestead and do not see themselves as ‘working for’ the Maasai. As to the ‘polluting’ circumcision of young Maasai performed by Akie men, Akie do not perceive of it as a polluting and a menial service. The Akie have other conceptions of blood pollution and shedding blood takes on their own meaning, in particular because of their reliance on ‘bows and arrows’ for lively hood in the past (ref. Kaare, 1996a:156-157). They usually receive domestic meat, a goat or cow in return, and consider themselves as well paid. An old man in Settlement E. was called for during my stay and took particular pride in that he was known to be a good circumciser and that his service was asked by Maasai living more than a day’s walk away. I have also noted relations of friendship with Maasai
with mutual and reciprocal exchange of help and gifts, which at least on the part of the Akie are viewed as of mutual benefit, and can hardly be described as patron-client relationships, as neither among the Okiek groups and their neighbors referred to above.

The most important item received by the Akie is domestic stock if often slaughtered shortly after, as also noted by Blakburn (1982:298-300) in the case of the Okiek, which I will return to shortly. It is my impression that the most valued other material items acquired by barter or trade in terms of economic importance today is aluminum cooking pots, scrap metal to make arrow heads, axe heads and hoe heads that Akie acquire from various others. I have similar made similar observations to those of Maquire in the 1920’s (1963:140) however, that the Akie manage without many of their acquired goods when on long honey gathering trips and when hunting (ref. description in previous chapter) and most probably can make do for a long time without them, as the Akie say they do.

As to differences between actual needs and want’s, it is difficult to it is difficult to evaluate and also of independence and inter-dependence in the economic relations between the Akie and their neighbors because of the time factor (‘good years’ and ‘bad years’) and because there may be variations between individuals, homesteads, and also local groups outside the scope of my investigations depending on time and place, relations to neighbors and local availability of resources.

I do propose, however, that the Akie in my research locality’s, have been able to develop economic relations between themselves and their neighbors that are complementary and also relatively well balanced, and that they have escaped ultimate control and domination. They have however had to, to accommodate and defer to the standards of their neighbors depending on space and place by avoidance strategies employed to escape the social stigma. A social stigma related to the ideological devaluation of a lifestyle associated with a hunting and gathering existence providing a basis for political domination by their far more numerous neighbors. The stigmatization of hunters and gatherers is in part related to their political impotence and the ease with which they can be classed as alien or abnormal (Woodburn, 1991).

What is really disturbing is the fact that Akie readily marry away women to Maasai, and generally not the other way around. During fieldwork it seemed as conspicuously many Akie men
were unmarried, old as young. They can usually not compete with Maasai on brideprice in cattle. Another serious matter is that according to Akie women as I found it, they would rather marry Akie, feeling unsecure as to settle among the Maasai whatever other benefits it could bring in terms of material wealth. The bride price is usually from three to nine heads of cattle, and when given the opportunity most Akie can not resist, whether the domestic stock is for more immediate consumption – or with the intention to try to build up a larger herd. Building ties of friendship and alliance through intermarital relations is a part of the picture. Being dependant on risky cultivation leaves them vulnerable, wildlife is less than before and there are restrictions on hunting. It must also be remembered that some Akie have learned to become shameful of their way of life and would like to climb a step on the status ladder (their pastoral neighbors have set the standard) - if not without social costs in relation to fellow Akie.

It is possible that the Akie, as the Okiek as proposed by Blackburn (1982), where initially able to resist the waves of Maasai coming from the north because they lived in forested areas and occupied an ecological niche that did not create grounds for serious resource competition between them and the pastoral Maasai. The pastoralists have had little use for forests utilized for gathering honey and hunting so the assimilation of the small and scattered groups into the larger and more powerful group has not been encouraged. However, the Akie have not been able to prevent the accelerating encroachment of their neighbors over time (nor the Okiek in central Kenya, nor the Mbuti pygmies in the Ituri forest, Zaire, nor the Hadza around Lake Eyasi in the north of Tanzania for that matter).
Loosing Control over Land and Resources

Where there is a state organization seizure of whole hunting and gathering communities and their land often occurs. Domination over and stigmatization of people defined as alien, of whom hunters and gatherers are almost the prototype – can be particularly severe (Woodburn, 1991a:45). Historically such peoples have been subject to massive slaughter, and forceful assimilation and neglect – the Australian aborigines were not even counted in national censuses until the 1960’s (Eriksen, 1993a:126).96

The Akie became encompassed to the south within a shrinking Maasai Reserve/District during colonial rule (between the late 1880’s and 1916 the Germans made an attempt to restrict the Maasai within a reserve south of the Arusha-Moshi road (Fosbrook, 1948), the reserve was eventually gazetted in 1926 by the British as the Maasai District). Encroachment by cultivators largely kept at bay under British rule until the late 1930’s was followed by allocation of more and more fertile land to the north to white and native settlers in order to increase production (Århem, 1985). Grazing land utilized by pastoral Maasai in particular in the dry season and in extreme years, was no longer available to them, resulting in that pastoralism became gradually more extensively practiced in the reduced reserve. Under British rule there were created wildlife sanctuaries for the exclusive use of wildlife in areas utilized by Maasai. Cultivators continued to flow into the Maasai District including the Kijungu-Kibaya area (Århem, 1985). The Akie became increasingly encompassed within and to the south in this decreasing area originally intended for the Maasai by the colonial administrations, a process that continued after independence in 1961.

Villages were first registered in the rangelands in the middle of the 1970’s according to President Nyerere’s Ujamaa ideology, the resettlement and villagization program emphasizing

96 See Chapter one, Economic and Social Change, and the Forces of Marginalization.
communal living and increased agricultural production. Operation *Vijijini* was to be implemented through subsequent stages (Nyerere, 1968. When the voluntary movement into nucleated settlements largely failed *Operation Impernati* was introduced in the early 1970’s underlining the need for permanent and proximate dwellings. The villagization program by establishing village boundaries allowed for the influx of migrant sedentary cultivators ‘who dominated, and still dominate the Village council in some villages. Reform programs in the late 1970’s and also Structural Adjustment Programs in the 1980’s as a part of the economic liberalization scheme to address the economic crisis in Tanzania, opened for new allocation of land to investors from inside and outside Tanzania. The allocation of four hunting blocks in Kiteto district to different hunting operators in Arusha is a part of this economic liberalization process imposing restrictions on Akie subsistence hunting and with no revenue going back to them (in theory 25 % of the fees collected for game licenses should reach the villages on whose land the hunting is actually taking place). In 1974 the Maasai District was divided into Kiteto, Monduli and Ngorongoro districts as a part of the decentralization reform and new regional administrations were introduced as means to control land use and increase productivity. As noted by Århem (1985) this has in effect resulted in increased state penetration and greater government control over village matters. In particular in Simanjiro district to the north economic liberalization has encouraged the opening of large scale farms, plantations and gemstone mines. This has resulted in that pastoralism is practiced even more extensively in Kiteto district as in Handeni district, because pastoralists are again cut off from former grazing land (Bakken and ole Moono, forthcoming). Major land use in Kiteto district is pastoralism mainly practiced by the Maasai and most extensively to the north and covering 60-65 % of the land, 20 % of the land is under cultivation (URT 1996).

The new sub-district land use program 1996 is introduced to cope with considerable problems related to sustainable use of land. As outlined in *LAMP Kiteto* (URT, 1996) it is the ‘unplanned’ clearing of farms in Kiteto district disrupting the traditional use of the land as in particular evolved by pastoralists, which is perceived as the main problem within the land use sector. When it comes to the unplanned clearing of land, this has intensified over the last decade (before the project outline was provided) as an effect of market liberalization. Increasing land pressure must also be understood as the more long term effects of small scale crop cultivators
migrating into the district from other districts, largely a result of land pressure in their home
districts, and general population increase (from 1970 to the present, the total population in Tanzania
is more than doubled). Other ‘uncontrolled activities’ in the district apart from small scale
cultivation mentioned in the LAMP project outline, is logging of timber trees taking place in the
southern relatively forested area, and general destructive hunting of wild animals - if previous
statistics may be inadequate (District Game Officer for Kiteto and Simanjiro Districts, J.
Ndabagenga - personal communication). There are conflicting interests over the utilization of the
wildlife resources as well as conflicts over land in general, the later primarily between cultivators
and pastoralists. Cultivation and poaching by cultivators have had adverse effect on wildlife (Orgut
Consulting AB, 1996) Land grabbing and land use conflicts have resulted in armed clashes several
places in the district, in particular between pastorlists and cultivators.

**Non-Permissive and Ambiguous Land Legislation**

Land rights and legislation in Tanzania needs elaboration, if only an outline can be provided here.
Customary land use as traditional right of occupancy is rights protected by the Constitution’s Bill of
rights, but ambiguity in legislation in the division of land rights in Customary rights and statuatory
rights, Granted Rights of Occupancy - land lease granted by the president, has resulted in a legal
quagmire in Tanzania. Customary land rights to land in Tanzania are enshrined in the preamble of
the 1923 Land Ordinance.\(^\text{97}\) All land was also declared to be ‘public land’ in the Ordinance (section
3) and conferred power over its disposition to the Governor - now President, ‘for the use and
common benefit, direct or indirect, of the natives’ (section 4). A following Amendment in 1928
gave customary rights statutory recognition as a Deemed Right of Occupancy – defined as;

the title of a native community lawfully using or occupying land in accordance with native law and
custom.

\(^{97}\) *Whereas* it is expedient that the existing customary rights of the natives of Tanganyika Territory to use and enjoy the land of the
territory and the nature; fruits therof in sufficient quantity to enable them to provide for the sustenance of themselves, their families
and their posterity should be assured protected and preserved.

And whereas it is expedient that the existing native customs with regard to the use and occupation of land should as far as possible be
preserved.’ (Lane, 1993: 60 – Lane’s emphasis)
The use of ‘indirect’ ‘expedient’, ‘(as well as as far as possible’ and also ‘common benefit’ in the text – see footnote) are illustrative of the government’s intention to apply the law to serve its political ends, if it goes against the interest of the people native to the land, as noted by Charles Lane, Senior Research Associate with the Drylands Programme, International Institute of Environment and Development, London (IIED) (1993:60).

The post-independence government inherited the conceptual, and by large the legal framework on land tenure from the colonial period (URT, 1994:17). Lane also shows how Customary rights have been treated as inferior to those of the state despite legislative provision that theoretically protects them, with particular reference to the land cases of Meru cultivators, pastoral Barabaig, and pastoral Maasai. Pastoralists and also hunters and gatherers who rely on communal access, or in part communally regulated access to resources, for their livelihoods have also been most affected by national programmes that attempt to transform Tanzanian society into settled village communities with economies based on crop cultivation (Lane, 1993:62). Further, most probably the policy of ‘villagization’ has been the most significant of these and where coercion was used to force Tanzanians to live in settled communities. Little attention was given to existing land use systems and the culture and custom in which they are rooted (Lane, 1993:1963).

The ‘top down’ approach was employed to unify the diversity of land use arrangements into more centralised statutory tenure (URT, 1994:124). The lack of clarity in law of the new land use arrangements resulted in arbitrary encroachment, invasion and alienation in favor of outside individuals and institutions including the governments against the interest and wishes of former land users. Maybe as much as approximately a quarter of a million pastoralists, mainly Barabaig and Maasai relying on communal lands for grazing and watering of livestock, have been deprived of their most vital lands and their movements restricted because there was thout to be a surfeit of fertile land (Lane, 1993:63). Political liberalization in the 1980’s, has resulted in that local land

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98 The Meru were forcibly evicted from their homes in favour of white settlers in the 1950’s during British rule, the pastoral Barabaig in Hanang district lost more and more grazing land in particular to the Tanzania Canada Wheat Scheme (TCWP) sponsored by Canada (CIDA) by the governments allocation of land through the parastatal National Agriculture and Food Cooperation (NAFCO) throughout the 1970’s and into the mid 1980’s (ref. also Tenga and Kakoti, 1993). The pastoral Maasai have lost land to white settlers first during first German and later British colonial rule. Ref., from the late 1880’s to 1916 the Germans attempted to restrict the ‘Tanganyika Maasai’ in a Reserve to the South of the Mosh-Arusha-Dodoma road to secure the most fertile areas in the north to intensify production by white settlers (Fosbrooke, 1948). Further, after 1919 and the defeat of the Germans during the first world war the ‘Maasai District’ was again reduced. The Maasai were evicted from important dry season grazing areas in the Sanya corridor between the Meru and Killimanjaro, and large areas in Oljoro and Lepurko Essimigori. The Maasai District was reduced to allow white farmers to establish in the Kisongo and Longido areas. (Parkipuny, 1975), etc.
users understanding that their customary rights have been violated began to challenge the government in courts.

The consequence has been that legislation has undergone several regulations, and several efforts have also been made to abolish customary rights altogether (Lane, 1993; Tenga and Kakoti, 1993; ref. also Tenga, 1992; Shivji, 1994). Lane makes reference to the Government Notice (GN) 659 – Extinction of Customary Land Rights Order – in 1987, which abolished customary rights to land in 105 villages in the Arusha region. This GN was extended in 1989 by the Extinction of Customary Land Rights (Amendment) order to include the villages whose Barabaig residents were contesting the government’s allocation of land by the parastatal National Agriculture and Food Cooperation (NAFCO) to the Tanzania Canada Wheat Scheme (TCWP)99. Further, the Regulation of Land Tenure (Established Villages) Act 22 of 1992 replaced the GNs and was designed to extinguish all customary rights to land with the boundaries of all villages in Tanzania incorporated between 1970 and 1977, without compensation, and by terminating any suit or other proceedings already instituted. As also noted by Lane (1993:69) the act was tabled in Parliament only few days before the submission of Report of The Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters (URT, 1992 - published in 1994) by the Chairman of the Commission Professor Issa G. Shivji to the President.100 The report on the contrary recommended the recognition of customary rights to land, and also the involvement of local elders in the registration of titles, besides the abolition of existing legal and administrative provisions treating customary rights as inferior.

At the time of my fieldwork a new land bill of rights was under draft. The land development goal according to the land management program (URT, 1996), is to control and increase productivity in a sustainable way, by strengthening the capacity of the district’s extension service and the district’s specialists to facilitate integrated land use planning and management. Using a participatory approach at the village level is considered crucial in acknowledgment of the inadequacy of employing former top down approaches where the planning process was not transparent and intelligible to the villagers. 29 villages out of 44 registered villages in the district

99 The GNs were issued under the Rural Lands (Planning & Utilisation) Act 1973, empowering the President to declare ‘a specified area’ to cancel or modify ‘deemed rights of occupancy’ (customary title) by the Minister of Lands (Lane, 1993:68).
100 The President announced his decision to appoint the Commission on January the 3rd 1991, and the Commission were given their commission on the 14th of January the same year (URT, 1994:1)
are already surveyed and issued with title deeds to the land based - allegedly in accordance with ‘traditional right of occupancy’ which is the equivalent of Customary rights (ref. URT, 1996).

Since the formal establishment of villages under the Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act, 1975, registered villages are organized around three major organs - the village assembly, the village council (often called the village government) and village committees. In relation to land matters, it is important to note that the Village Assembly (composed of all villagers over eighteen years) has had little power over them at all, land is under the control of the Village Council\(^{101}\) (can number up to twenty-five persons), to the extent that decisions on land are not made at the village level at all. In practice it is the Land Committee of the Council, and more often the chairman and secretary who make important decisions with regard to land as found in The Report of the Presidential Commision of Inquiry into Land Matters (URT, 1994:8:94-96). Furthermore, there are abuses of power and authority in respect of land by the chairman and secretary of the Village Councils. In law, however, the ultimate body with power over village land is the District Council where a few village chairmen are nominated to sit. The Commission found that this indirect representation of the villagers, has had little practical significance nor did villagers in general have much faith in it. The Commission also received evidence also from Kiteto District, among others, that the lack of proper procedures has been a source of instances of abuse and malpractices on the part of the land management officers. (URT; 1994:3:36) The Commission received considerable evidence that the demand of the villagers to have their villages surveyed and titles issued is intricately tied with their fear and apprehension that their lands are under threat of alienation to outsiders. This perception links survey with security. The officials on the other hand are not able to meet this demand nor do they have any guide-lines as to the procedure and sense of priority in implementing the project.

Some of these more general evaluations are obviously supported by LAMP on the basis of a survey carried out by a district planning team that started in June 1995 (ref. URT, 1996). It is underlined that the underlying rationale behind LAMP is that unless a land user is secure on the land, no investment in improved land use is likely to take place. The strengthening of institutions and empowerment of villagers will be necessary to support democratic development and participation from below. It is suggested that in the process of titling definable land in the villages

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101 May be referred to as the Village Government.
in the district that remain to be titled - this should primarily be carried out directly through the 
Village Councils and preferably not through separate Land Commitees.

LAMP adheres to than an important step is the mapping and establishing of village 
boundaries so that a legal certificate of ownership can be issued to the Village Council, and 
individual title deeds issued to regulate the allocation of village land. Further, this requires careful 
land planning to curb uncontrolled land grabbing and detrimental land use. By-laws is intended to 
reduce the conflict potential between, for instance, crop cultivators and pastoralists in mixed 
villages by regulating access to resources. An important aim is to provide knowledge among 
villagers of legal issues that will make them more confident in defending their rights. According to 
the project proposal, the role of the members of the Kiteto District Administration and Council is to 
assist to stimulate landright activities which are geared towards self reliance, on the one hand, and 
increased productivity in the use of natural resources in a sustainable way, on the other.

The project proposes pastoralists, crop cultivators, agropastoralists, lumber jacks, beekeepers and 
villagers adjacent to wildlife areas as target groups to work with on the proposed project focusing 
on sustainable land use. Pastoralists and agro-pastoralists are acknowledged, as the main target 
group by LAMP as pastoral livestock production is the major form of land use. Pastoral livestock 
production is perceived as the most ecological suitable land use in the district (1996a:12; 1996b:4). 
As noted the ‘Ndorobo’ are listed last if targeted as an ‘especially vulnerable group’ (URT, 
1996a:4).\footnote{Small numbers of Ndorobo living in close relationship with the Maasai are identified and targeted as an especially vulnerable group’. (URT, 1996b:4)} The program does not provide any guidelines as to what is ment with ‘especially vulnerable group’ contrary to the outlined difficult situation of pastoralists, the main land users in 
terms of land area occupied and used. A recurrent theme in the project outline (URT, 1996) well as 
the report on environmental impact assessment of land use related activities in Kiteto District. (Orgut 
Consulting AB, 1996) is that pastoralists are increasingly barred from access to vital water and 
grazing in accordance with their system of seasonal rotational grazing. Further: Former grazing land 
is being converted into less productive land for cultivation. This development has taken place, as 
the land use policy in Tanzania does not favor pastoralism as a land use system. As a result, Kiteto  

\footnote{Small numbers of Ndorobo living in close relationship with the Maasai are identified and targeted as an especially vulnerable group’. (URT, 1996b:4)}
District is today suffering conflicts over land use and different groups are competing over access to land. The weaker and less educated groups have always been the losers. Any longterm solution must include proper and sustainable land use that in turn will necessitate the participation of the local people.¹⁰³

Many of the villages and sub-villages inhabited by Akie in Kiteto District (in 1996-97) were registered but not titled. Village land remained to be mapped out or had to be resurveyed, as village boundaries were still unclear, or/and there were disputes over village boundaries. Settlement A. belonged to a village surveyed and issued with a title deed as was the case for Settlement B. Settlement C., however, formally belonged to a sub-village registered within the same village as Settlement B. but the boundaries of this sub-village remained to be surveyed and had no title deed of its own. Settlement D. (Ngababa) was a sub-village also registered within a larger village issued with title deed, but also this sub-village in itself remained to be properly surveyed boundary-wise and had no title deed of its own. Settlement E. was found in a sub-village registered within a larger village which was also surveyed and issued with a title deed but again, the sub-village’s boundaries remained to be surveyed, and it had no title deed of its own. (Land Officer John A. Mahoo - personal communication). During my period of fieldwork there were ongoing disputes over access to land and water in the titled main village between pastoralists and cultivators which on several occasions had amounted to violent clashes. It was discussed among the Akie if the main village would be split administratively into two independent villages. Also in the titled village Settlement A. belonged to, there were recurrent disputes between pastoralists and cultivators over access to and usage of water in a dam buildt by Maasai in cooperation with cattle-owning Somalis running the largest shop in the village.

As mentioned above, in the LAMP project-proposal it is suggested that in matters concerning decision making and allocation of land the Village Council should become a central administrative unit. The Akie in Kiteto by large mainly live in one, two, three homesteads in

¹⁰³ I was once invited to listen in on a Gender Workshop held in Kibaya by Eva Sävfors, from ORGUT Consulting AB in Sweden, for LAMP staff in Kiteto district. The participants had to come forward to talk about what they new about various groups of people in the district in general, and in particular related to gender and group organization. The exercise was interesting – also to see the enthusiasm of the participants, even if I was not particularly impressed about what was thought known about the ‘Dorobo’.
settlements on the outskirts of Maasai dominated villages or sub-villages, within larger administrative village units composed of Maasai or mixed Maasai - Bantu inhabitants in clear majority (see Chapter 5). They have limited access to a seat on the Village Councils (total 25 seats) as Councilors on the basis of pure numbers. According to my experience their village neighbors also have no interest in voting in ‘poor Dorobo’ who in their eyes do not share important values with themselves. I have described how their neighbors think of the Akie and negative socio-cultural constructs of ‘otherness’ in the previous chapter.

A village as an administrative unit in itself may be made up of several sub-villages. The sub-village level was originally introduced in 1993 to encourage local participation from below. Even if the elected Leader of a sub-village automatically gets a seat on the Village Council of the larger administrative unit (URT, 1996), the Akie usually constitute a too small numeric minority even in most sub-villages to have realistic chances to become elected as the Sub-Village Leader by the sub-village’s inhabitants collectively. As to two exceptions in Kiteto district, the sub-villages which, for instance, Settlement D. and Settlement E. separately belong to, the Akie are in majority. They are ‘Dorobo places’ and in these cases Akie, in fact, hold office as Sub-Village Leaders and are automatically provided a seat on the Village Councils of the larger administrative units as councilors.

I may add - none of those Sub-Village Leaders were women. Among the Akie the informal leader of the traditional council of elders in a village (orkai lokokwe) was usually a prominent male elder (orkaiante) (see Chapter 4) and they did not find it suitable to elect a woman as their sub-village leader to represent them on the larger Village Council. It is still common among the Akie, however, that women choose their particular spokeswoman, but she does not have the possibility of becoming the leader of a village as a whole according to Akie traditional standards, as it was explained to me. The consequence is that Akie women have not been considered as an alternative when electing a sub-village leader to fit the governments imposed administrative set-up.104

Since the Local Government Act, 1982 the Chairman and Secretary is elected by the Village Assembly and the Chairman and Secretary of the Party branch in the village no longer

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104 After the structure change following the Local Government Act, 1982, the Village Council must have a minimum of one third of female members (URT, 1994:85).
automatically double up as the Chairman of the Assembly and the Council. (URT, 1994:95). As far as my knowledge goes no Akie held the position of main Village Chairman or Secretary in Kiteto district and therefore had no representative on the District Council. No Akie are represented on regional and national levels of administration.

Voting with the Feet

On one of my early visits to the District Administration in Kibaya it was commented on that the ‘Dorobo’ had had a tendency to fail to attend main Village Council meetings in the few cases they were elected onto the Village Councils, and did not participate in Village Assembly meetings to any significant extent. This was considered as most unfortunate as it not only weakened their already poor representation but also made it very difficult to find out how they perceived of their own situation – not the least related to the difficult situation of interest competition and conflict over land and resources many places in the district.

I found that in Settlement D. – Ngababa village (sub-village to a larger village) - the Akie Sub-Village Leader was away a considerable part of the year as he worked as a tracker for a hunting and safari company in the Selous (the tourist hunting season is from July to November). The Sub-village Secretary in Ngababa (an Akiante too) also pointed out to me that a call for a Village Council meeting or Village Assembly usually necitates a courier, who might happen to be a person who is traveling through the area (and most often on foot or in some cases on bicycle, because the sub-villages the Akie tend to live in usually are found some distance away. The courier may never come at all, or on to short notice so that the person in office in the case of a main Village Council, if home from his occupation as a tracker, may be away honey gathering or away with eventual cows, etc. The Sub-Village Chairman in Ngababa and also in Settlement E.where both livestock owners. When a main Village Assembly meeting was called for so was the case of Akie sub-village members in general (whether men or women) - either they did not get the message at all, or often on to short notice to be able to organize themselves to get away from daily cores and duties. This is only a part of the picture, however.
During the early days of my fieldwork a few Akie in Settlement E. expressed concern that the Sub-Village Leader at the time had not attended main Village Council meetings or even main Village Assembly meetings because they were afraid they might have missed important information. Most Akie, however, expressed little interest and trust in such meetings at all. As Village Assembly meetings generally do not attract much attendance as land matters have been outside the Village Assembly’s realm of influence and that regular councilors on the Village Council’s have had little if any say (URT, 1994:95) - the particular lack of Akie attendance and participation is hardly a surprise. When recalling that the Akie hold a stigmatized identity in the eyes of their Maasai and Bantu neighbors (ref. previous chapter) - who are generally in majority in main Village Assemblies and main Villages Councils, it becomes even more understandable that the Akie Sub-Village Chairmen, as well as Akie in general, have taken little interest - and vote with the feet by not participating. As noted the pressure of a stigmatized identity generally effects in a strategy of impression management by avoiding expressing Akie traits and interests that can be perceived as provocative to the dominant cultural majorities, and they often choose to retreat in anticipation of possible conflict.

Being invisible on the modern local and regional political arenas according to the administrative set-up and involving other non-Akie perceived as more powerful than themselves, the Akie are confined to their own traditional system based on that a hierarchy of male elders can be activated on different levels (between families within a settlement – guided by a prominent elder \textit{(orkaiante)}, or between settlements, lineage’s and local groups/or clans) to sort out conflicts between themselves. This system however, operates on the side of the modern administrative set-up and has no influence on any level of the modern administrative set-up and usually only deals with Akie internal affairs.

In Chapter five I specified closer the details of ‘persuasion’ in relation to ensure the settlement of ‘the Dorobo’ in Settlement E., Ngababa village. The Akie were never outright physically forced and rounded up and transported there in trucks (as rumored took place in some places in Tanzania in the course of villagization). By Akie report pressure was employed in the form of coercion as well as persuasion. In the future ‘the police’ would strike harder down on eventual ‘poaching’ and increase
fines. If the Akie moved to the village, however, they would get help to dig a well, help to develop a workable cultivation system, health services and a school. Approximately 250 Akie came in from various places in the district (Leruk, Kitwai, Ndido, etc.). To fulfill their initial part of the deal the Akie, however, had already cleared a road up to the village, but nothing more had come of it from the other party. According to Division Secretary Edward N. Munjaw based in Kijungu, this was due to lack of funding (personal communication). Most Akie villagers had chosen reluctantly to wait and see what is going to happen, but many where seriously considering ‘to leave for the bush’ again. I also learned that villagers had also left the village to live elsewhere, because the governmental authorities had failed to fulfill any of their promises.105

A particular reason that was pointed out to me was also the difficult water situation in this sub-village, even if the soil in this locality is considered as relatively fertile and suitable for cultivation, and the chance for bimodal rainfall is slightly higher than for instance in Settlement C. and E. One informant first attracted my attention to this when telling me about his family history. He had left Settlement E. for Ngababa with all homestead members but had decided to return to Settlement E. as he found that he was just as well off there, despite an also difficult water situation in this village. He expressed that he might reconsider to move to Ngababa again but he had little trust in that the living conditions there would be actually improved in the future. As to moving to Ngababa under the present circumstances I found that in two of the present settlements in Settlement B., one in Settlement C., and at least two in Settlement E. Akie expressed reluctant interest. They had decided to stay put, however, and see if anything more would come out of it. The explanation given was general disappointment with what is perceived of as deceit as to failing to improve living conditions of those who had settled in Ngababa, and in particular with reference to the water situation. Taking into consideration that the Akie have become relatively sedentarized and dependant on precarious cultivation, there was at least need for a permanent reliable and sufficient water source throughout the year. The following illustrates the difficult water situation in Ngababa with severe implications for the Akie there – not the least for the women, which I also experienced

105 According to estimations made in the Division in 1993 there were 201 Akie in the village. My own investigation suggested that there were about 150 individuals left.
myself going with women to fetch water (collecting water is usually the work of women) when visiting.

1996 was considered to be a ‘good year’ with respect to rainfall. The short rains were slightly delayed towards the end of 1995 but the long rains were on time in 1996 and the maize harvest that year was considered as exceptionally rich. With reference to available water, however, the women spent from four to six hours by the natural spring waiting for turn and collect the slow trickle of water in calabashes and the occasional plastic can, to be taken home for household consumption and domestic use already in the end of July, only two months after the heavy rains. In December the short rains had not yet come (and were largely absent this year). The women spent up to ten hours waiting for their turn and collect sufficient water to fill one or small calabashes or small plastic cans for each household. Water was scooped up literally cup by cup from a dug out hole in the ground under the cliff from where the water came from, the water slowly seeping up from the ground.

The water situation was also difficult for a considerable part of 1996 in Settlement E. I usually joined Selena who I lived with and the other women in this particular homestead (as well as others) to fetch water, when staying in the village. In the aftermath of the heavy rains water from a stream on the outskirt of the village was sufficient for livestock owners and not livestock owners alike. When water the in the stream became less two a small dam was dug out to collect the water. Akie men, with and without livestock, and also the other livestock owners worked together deepening the dug-out as water became more and more scarce. Eventually a collective meeting with both women and men was held in the sub-village and it was decided that that the young men from homesteads with livestock was to take over the digging as more water was needed for livestock than for peoples domestic needs, water for drinking, cooking and washing. When available water became even less it
was decided collectively that the livestock holders would have to move their animals to find water elsewhere. Depending on the size of the homesteads a few cows were allowed watered from the dam so that at least the small children had milk to drink. In the end of July it was decided (again collectively) that the remaining animals had to be moved. Only weeks later the water situation was almost as bad as in Ngababa, and soon women spent a large part of the day waiting for their turn and collect water (cup by cup) for domestic use, and later limited to in all one or two calabashes per household by collective agreement. A few years back ‘someone from the District Administration in Kibaya’ had visited to evaluate the water situation and to see if it could be feasible to dig a proper well, but found that that the water was most probably ‘chumvi’ (salt, saline) so that it was no use in digging a proper well there. The Akie were not willing to accept this, having little trust in meyee in general.

‘If they come here we might be here, or we might have left’

As noted, there was definitely a wait-and-see attitude at best as to what would come of it in Ngababa among the Akie living there, as among those that had left, and among some of the Akie living elsewhere who had chosen not to go and live there in the first place. Understanding that most Akie had little faith in main Village Assemblies as main Village Councils as arenas to voice their problems - I asked Akie men and women if they had considered sending a representant or delegation direct to the District Administration in Kibaya to explain the difficult situation and argue the case. They did not believe that it would be of any help however, whether in relation to improving the difficult water situation or in relation to their frustration over no legal access to wild animals in the Wildlife Management Areas or the Open Area. Loss of their traditional subsistence base with respect to wild animals is perceived of as one of the main factors leaving them increasingly impoverished despite that some Akie now own a little livestock and all Akie have taken up a little cultivation, the later a particular precarious occupation considering the unreliable rainfall in the area they live in.

Also when I first visited Ngababa village the Village Leader and found that he had heared nothing about LAMP and knew little about the process of resurveying village boundaries and title
deeds to land, I found that the attitude was very much the same. ‘If they come here we might be here, or we might have left’.

When I visited Kibaya in the company of Akie I sometimes had to visit the District Administration compound in order to do interviews. No Akie even wanted to go near the place. Again it must be remembered that Tanzania government officials are generally regarded with suspicion not only related to earlier broken promises with regards to the Ngababa case - but also Nyerere’s compulsory villagization and resettlement programs (*ujamaa*). As noted most Akie had settled in permanent villages and taken up a little precarious cultivation in the late 1970’s. Unable fully to resist the government’s resettlement and villagization programs, many sought to resist direct control by forming more or less clustered settlements on the fringes of existing villages (ref. Chapter five). Settlement E. is an example of trying to form an own village even further away from the main village. Akie have also been caught and fined when hunting (I was told that the previous year when an Akiante had been caught and beaten to death by the ‘police’). Recall, Kaare mentions that about nine years ago a district official came to collect statistics on infant mortality the same information was employed by district education officials to enroll Akie children in school (Kaare, 1995). Kaare’s experience of how long it took him as a black Tanzanian to develop relations of trust with the Akie also shows how deep their mistrust are of anyone that could be a *meeyee*, understandable on the basis of their former experiences.

Lacking formal political means to assert themself and under the pressure of a stigmatized identity Akie try to cope by employing a strategy of avoidance. They vote with feet, by not attending main Village Assemblies, and Councils in the few cases they hold a seat because of little trust in them (acknowledging that they are outnumbered by in part hostile neighbors in particular), if calls for meetings reaches them in time at all. They are in general reluctant to approach the District Administration to explain their problems and acquire information based on previous negative experiences. Disencouraged, they choose to retreat and isolate themselves as best they can, displaying a passive ‘wait-and-see attitude’ at best.
‘The Mzungu Factor’, a Turning Point?

In the course of 1996 Ngababa village was subject to repeated visits from district administration personnel, first to re-evaluate the water situation, and later to introduce the new sub-district land management program (if not yet formally approved it was anticipated that it would be accepted) and hear out the Akie on how they experienced their own situation. A visit to Settlement E. was also under planning. Over time it could be possible to draw ‘Dorobo’ into community based wildlife management, beekeeping projects, cultivation schemes and water harvesting projects etc. (District Land Officer John Ambrose Mahoo - personal communication). I was able to follow the process of establishing a line of communication between the LAMP administration and Akie in its very initial phase.

Ngababa village received the first visit by LAMP staff on 22.11.1996 in order to sound out the situation and provide information about LAMP. A group of villagers, women and men, attended the meeting according to the list of participants made available to me at the Kibaya District Administration. I noticed that neither the name of the Village Leader nor the Village Secretary was listed. When I commented on this I was informed that the announcement of this meeting was only the evening before by LAMP staff visiting by car. I later found out on a visit to the village that the Village Chairman had been away on a longer trip into Kitwei to bring back a wife and the Village Secretary had been out honey gathering. This is an example of too short notice when a meeting is called for (as pointed out to me by an Akiante is often is the case in relation to the announcement of main Village Assembly and main Village Council meetings). The value of such meetings must be questioned, even an initial meeting aimed at establishing primary contact, when central villagers elected by the sub-village collectively are not given a fair chance to participate.

Nevertheless, on this meeting it was found that the Akie in Ngababa wanted formal status as an independant village with an own title deed. Resurveying and demarcation of village boundaries would possibly be carried out in 1997. It became very clear that the very poor water situation in the village was of high priority. The Akie, who collect honey from natural bee hives in trees in the woodlands, were interested in improving their beekeeping practices, in particular in learning how to
make good stationary loghives. (District Beekeeping Officer Mr. Meela - personal communication 06.12.96).

Ngababa received another visit from LAMP staff quite shortly after to check out rumours about Gogo (Bantu) cultivators planning to move to the village. The interest shown from LAMP representatives had obviously facilitated speculation to a possibly improved water situation in the village in the near future. Recall Ngababa is known to have a slightly better soil fertility than many of the surrounding villages in the area and therefore relatively suitable for cultivation, but water is a considerable problem. It was found, however, that the villagers represented by the Sub-Village Leader and/or Village Secretary had already turned down eight requests for land from non-Akie outsiders. The LAMP representatives encouraged the village to request that the intended survey of village boundaries would be initiated as soon as possible in order to title the village and through title deeds secure Akie a legal foothold on the land. On my last visit to the village in January 1997 I was told they were working on a letter draft (the Sub-Village Leader and Secretary where among the few that had a few years of formal schooling) to be sent to the District Executive Officer M.H. Senyagwa.

As can be seen Ngababa villagers had been able to prevent land grabbing in the village - by turning down requests for land by outsiders. This shows that Akie awareness of their own vulnerability in the land question was on the rise, even if I found that a deeper understanding of the concept of titling and private land rights was still lacking. The Akie had certainly gone a long way since my first visit to this village in February 1996 when even the Village Leader had heard nothing about LAMP, and the remaining villagers were near total resignation as to if anything would come of any of the earlier plans for the village ever. Clearly the interest and engagement by LAMP staff was largely evaluated in positive terms by the Akie, even if there were still doubts, which were not voiced openly - to if it would lead anywhere at all. Moreover, there was a change in the attitudes towards government officials in general - if in degree more than kind. There was definitely less hostility and renewed interest was detectable. I heard it being discussed often among the Akie in the settlements I visited or stayed in before leaving field for the last time. I take it that the ‘mzungu factor’ has played a role in this.
LAMP is supported by *mzungu* – a Swedish woman present as a co-councilor and resident in Kibaya town. She had accompanied the LAMP representatives on their visits to different villages all over the district, something which obviously had a confidence-inspiring effect among the Akie. Europeans and white people are not associated with previous negative experiences in the same way as Tanzanian authorities. Many Akie men have also worked for hunting and safari companies and experienced that many *mzungu* seem to have respect and admiration for Akie skills related to tracking wild animals and knowledge of the bush, skills that have been commonly down valued and associated with a detrimental Dorobo way of by Maasai, Bantu and government officials. How I was welcomed and received by the Akie compared to the Tanzanian researcher Bwire Kaare is illustrative. Now as noted by Kaare (1995) a white person to the Akie is not a mere question of color but *mzungu* are usually not associated with people that have tried to force them to abandon their way of life. After five months the Akie also started to refer to him as *mzungu*.

In Settlement E. a few Akie villagers took initiative themselves in October 1996 (before the Ngababa visits by LAMP staff) and decided to go to the LAMP administration in Kibaya town to find out what the new district land program was all about and what possible implications it could have for their village. Quite symptomatic, the Akie did not want to go to the regular District Administration compound but went to the LAMP Support Office in a building some distance away in town, where the Swedish co-councilor worked and also lived in an apartment next door. Some of these Akie in question had met this woman (and her Swedish husband) earlier, first on the monthly market in Kibaya, later at their home as they had been invited there for tea. Some of them had also accompanied me there. In fact, they had on a few occasions driven Akie a part of the way home with one of the LAMP administration cars, and once when one of the women had become sick. A point to be made is that I do not think that these Akie would have taken direct initiative and approached the LAMP Support Office on such a mission because of the affiliation with the district administration, if some confidence and trust had not already been established by previous informal, friendly and forthcoming contact, even if there was *mzungu* involved.

_Worry over Conflicting Interests_
The small delegation of Akie from Settlement E., four men and three women, that left for Kibaya expressed worry to me at the time that ‘Maasai interests’ in the sub-village could take over the scene, and went in secret early in the morning before dawn. They were also at first reluctant to give out information to the other villagers upon their return as to how they were received, what they had got to know and so on - before they had discussed it among themselves and got at least an preliminary overview of the situation. What is of particular interest here is who was thought to represent ‘Maasai interests’ and what these were perceived to be.

I found that ‘Maasai’ in this context seemed to refer first and foremost to those in the village that kept cattle on a larger scale (more than one or two animals), and regardless of if they were Akie or not. Of the Akie that left this first time, only one of the men owned livestock and also very few. I think this is an example of a potential division between Akie with and without cattle, and where cattlekeeping Akie are placed in the Maasai category together with all others in the sub-village with respect to membership in a subsistence category as cattlekeepers. Nearly all livestock holding members of the sub-villager were perceived as potential threat of interest competition and conflict. I came to this conclusion on the basis of observations of who was drawn in on the discussions between the Akie that preceded the first visit and the reasons given to me when I asked beforehand if they not were going to hold a larger collective sub-village meeting first.

As to possible divergent ‘Maasai interests’ this referred to, among other things, possible solutions to how one could improve the very difficult water situation in the village in the dry season. If a primary concern to all villagers - generally rated above the need for a maize mill, improved access to health facilities and formal education, the Maasai as livestock keepers, which also included livestock keeping Akie in this context, might possibly settle for a further away solution giving priority to animal needs - and which they could take the animals to and fro for example on a daily basis. Water for human use could be taken home on the donkeys. The Akie who did not have livestock or very few, and generally no donkeys, were of course not particularly interested in this as they were more concerned with improving the water situation in the village for direct human consumption. It was said, ‘Maasai will eventually place the needs of cows above people’ if previously livestock owners and non-livestock owners in this sub-village, whether non-Akie or Akie, seemed to have been able to cooperate well in making the best of it in relation to the
difficult water situation (ref. water situation in Settlement E. accounted for above). It had already been some talk in the village about a dam which might be built in or close to the main village approximately half a day’s walk away and possibly with the economic support of KINNAPA, a pastoralist non-governmental organization (NGO) operative in the district. It had been discussed in a meeting that all villagers would have to contribute to the project, possibly ‘Maasai’ with one small cow per household and ‘Dorobo’ with 1,500 T. Shillings per household.

For the Akie that left to find out more about LAMP it was important to establish good relations to people that they thought might have some influence in the long term in for instance improving the water situation - in the direction they wanted. They had a strong wish for that the possibilities for digging a proper well in the village was reexamined not convinced that the water would be *chumvi* (ref. above).

There had also been competition over the office as Sub-Village Leader which had resulted in that the sub-village was somewhat split in this matter, and it might have had some relevance. One of the members of the small delegation of Akie was the former Sub-Village Leader. He had left office when he moved to Ngababa some years before, later to return when nothing came of the plans for the village. The sitting Sub-Village Leader was expelled from the main Village Council, however, and the former Sub-Village Leader had received a letter by a courier from the main village saying that he was reinstated, as the sitting Sub-Village Leader was understood to have ignored his responsibilities by not having attended some vital meetings with the main village Village Council. A collective meeting was held in the sub-village which proceeded over several days in order to discuss the matter, and find out how to go about it. Elders, men and women, and also younger individuals took turns at speaking. It was now pointed out that it was very important to have a Sub-Village Leader who took his office seriously by participating at the meetings and obtaining necessary information on the ‘new things’ also concerning allocation of land and resources, resurveying of village boundaries and title deeds to land. After all, it was the Sub-Village Leader who was to represent the sub-villagers interests in what could turn out to be important decision making processes on the main Village Council, and that might affect all the sub-villagers. Several pointed out that the former had always done his duty and he should therefore be reinstated. Others complained that he had himself abandoned the village in the first place and moved elsewhere before
he had sat out his six year period - something which was clearly held against him. Both of them had
the chance to argue their cases. The Sub-village Leader expelled by the main Village Council
explained his absence from a particular important meeting with the need to stay at home as one of
his wives had been seriously ill. The villagers finally decided by vote to give the expelled Sub-
Village Leader a second chance - a three month period of trial. The meeting ended not only with the
regular blessings by Akie and Maasai elders, mainly men, in this particular village, but on this
occasion also with the blessings of older women and a few young men. At last the villagers stepped
forward one by one to drink to that the village had to stand together as one, ‘Maasai and Dorobo’
despite the disagreement - from a drink made from water, grass, milk and honey, symbolically
asserting the one’ness of ‘Maasai and Dorobo’ alike. The sub-village still remained somehow split
in this matter - and this was the situation when the former Sub-Village Leader and the others set out
on their mission to Kibaya.

The outvoted Sub-Village Leader also asked for a letter of support from the Swedish co-
councilor to bring back to the village that would confirm that the decision was firmly taken on a
higher lever confirming he was back in office overruling the result of the vote where the the
expelled Sub-Village Leader had been given a second chance with small margins. From the point of
view of some of the Akie in question this could be an advantage as he in some ways was thought to
be a better representant of their interests in the future. He was thought to be more courageous and
better at talking to people. Even if he had a few heads of cattle, he did not consider himself to be
more ‘Maasai’ than that he would collect honey himself - contrary to the other alternative also
holding a few heads of cattle but more reluctant to adhere to the ways of the Akie. Again, this might
be an oversimplification, because it seemed to me that he made nothing of the fact that other
members of his homestead, gathered honey or in other ways followed the traditional ways of the
Akie.

The LAMP co-councilor could not provide such a letter of course, it was outside her
jurisdiction in the first place - and even if it had not been so it would be unwise to choose side and
encourage a division between the sub-villagers possibly based on indifferences related to
competition for office. She heard out the small delegation and suggested that they returned to their
village and called for a collective village meeting where they could decide what was considered as
main problems and questions in the village. Later they returned to the LAMP Support office with a letter stating what was considered as problems which she suggested would be delivered directly to the LAMP administration in the District, which was agreed on and also done. She also suggested that they should meet with the rest of the LAMP administration at the District Administration compound, which the Akie at first wanted to avoid (LAMP co-councilor Eva Kjellström - personal communication). The Akie were still somewhat reluctant to approach Tanzanian LAMP representatives.

The Akie received several informal, or rather private, visits from the LAMP mzungu later which were much appreciated. I was not there at the time but received detailed accounts from the Akie afterwards. Which houses the mzungu had drank chai in, what homesteads they had been to etc. Akie also continued to visit them occasionally at their house in Kibaya on an informal and friendly basis. A formal LAMP visit to the village as a whole was anticipated sometime in the beginning of 1997. District Executive Officer M.H. Senyagwa also confirmed this in late December 1996 (personal communication), the last time I visited Kibaya and shortly before I left field to return to Norway. By this time one of the LAMP Administration cars had become known to some people in Kibaya as the ‘Dorobo Express’ as Akie had been observed given a ride on some occasions (ref. above). Some people were also obviously concerned about Akie getting a too close contact with the LAMP Administration as well as the possible influence of ‘Mama Dorobo’s’ presence in the area. ‘Mama Dorobo’ was the name I had come to be known by.

Akie in Settlement E. told me that afterwards that ‘some Maasai’ in the main village had made it quite clear that it was considered as unpopular that they had not approached the matter through the main Village Council and Village Chairman first - before they had gone to the the LAMP Support Office. It was assumed I had some doing in this and it was rumoured that it would be see to that I was ‘thrown out’ of Tanzania. I checked this out quite immediately at the District Administration. They claimed there that it had not been heard any complaints from anyone. Further, initiative from below is exactly what is encouraged and any person or persons are welcome and entitled to information. The whole thing was possibly exaggerated and I never heard anything

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106 I have to add that I never participated in or even observed any meetings between Akie and the District Administration on any level - and when asked about how the ‘Dorobo’ perceived problems or their own situation as to this or that, my standard answer was that it was first and foremost important that the Akie got an opportunity to define there situation themselves.
more of it. I do not know if any kind of repercussions were taken against any of these Akie in any way later, as I have not been able to derive information on this after I left Tanzania.
Not Politically Organized, No Process of Indigenization

I have shown how the Akie have become muted in the land quest. ‘Muted groups’ can be a term for groups with marginal political influence. The Akie have become muted through a process of structural marginalization taking place in a shifting political context of socio-political change. The early relationship between the colonial state and the indigenous peoples of Tanzania has been replaced by a structurally similar relationship of internal colonialism. The Akie have lost control over land and resources through forces outside their realm of influence and non-permissive and ambiguous land legislation. The Akie have become impoverished fringe dwellers, generally outnumbered in settled villages by pastoralists and cultivators, the former (in particular) have in their turn been dislocated from areas of central grazing importance during colonial rule and after independence. I have also shown that despite their general avoidance strategies, the manner of voting with the feet (by not attending main Village Assemblies, and Councils in the few cases they hold a seat), retreating and trying to isolate themselves, and a generally passive attitude - based on previous negative experiences in the past - the Akie can mobilize renewed interest and take initiative themselves. It is suggested that the ‘mzungu factor’ has played a role in this in the course of 1996. I have also shown that there is a potential division – primarily between non-cattle keeping Akie and cattle-keeping Akie related to the possibility of divergent subsistence interests, and worry over that the later may side with the more numerous Maasai. Further, I have illustrated that the ‘mzungu factor” may be a two edged sword. On the one hand it has encouraged a beginning active mobilization among the Akie. On the other hand becoming to closely associated with mzungu in the political context, is not necessarily perceived positively by other inhabitants in the district afraid to loose ground in the present scramble for land in particular – and with unknown consequences. The Akie are only beginning to realize that in the accelerating competition for land, useful water resources and possibly other welfare services, they might find themselves loosing completely out. It is becoming increasingly difficult to retreat, move away and avoid conflict.

It is difficult to see how the Akie will be able to manage without a close follow-up by LAMP or other projects based on a proper two-way communication in recognition of the nature of
their vulnerability and marginalization. Positive discrimination should be considered but must be handled carefully in order to prevent that the minority group will be further stigmatized and ostracized. What then should be the definitive category, their subsistence strategy or their ethnicity? Should they be dealt with as hunters and gatherers or Akie? As with the hunting and gathering Hadza both categories are possibly to fluid to be definitive, depending on the conditions prevailing at a particular time (ref. Ndagala, 1991 in relation to the Hadza). The increasing competition over resources and possibly increasing fluidity of categories complicates work dealing with the minority in question.

The Akie have not yet formed modern political organizations or non-governmental organization’s (NGO’s) to represent them as many pastoralists and agro-pastoralists in Tanzania facing many of the same challenges. Pastoral and agro-pastoral Maasai have organized in ‘Ilaramatak Lolkonerei’ and ‘Inyaet e Moipo’ and joined forces in ‘KIPOC’ – Korongoro Integrated Peoples Oriented to Conservation. Other active Maasai pastoralist organizations are ‘Inuyat a-Maa’/’Maa Pastoralist Development Organisation’ (Saruni Oitesoi ole-Ngulay, 1993) and ‘IMUSOT e PURKA Pastoralist Association in Handeni District’, the later a locally based NGO in the making in the neighboring district during my fieldwork in Tanzania (Bakken and ole Moono, forthcoming). Agro-pastoral Barabaig have organized in ‘Bulgada’. The hunting and gathering Hadza have organized in ‘Mongo wa Mongo’. Some of these organizations are represented in the umbrella forum ‘PINGO’s, a forum for Pastoral Indigenous Non-governmental Organizations, which aims at building solidarity between the various groups. PINGO’s is a forum for four pastoral NGO’s: Ilaramatac Lolkonerei, Inyat e-Moipo, KIPOC, and Bulgada. Ilaramatac also supports Mongo wa Mono among Hadza hunters and gatherers. The formation of NGO’s is a reaction to the widespread alienation of communal lands and the socio-economic and ecological problems that follows. These moves are symptomatic of the political inability to exert influence by other means, and must be seen as an effort to promote self-awareness, unite and more effectively be able to negotiate on the local, regional and national level, and also in some cases on the international level. Political weakness has been realized by previous displacement and resettlement, denial as counter partner in consultation,
planning and implementation in the realm of land use and resource management (Bradbury, Fisher and Lane, 1995).

Late Saruni Oitesoi ole Ngulay, the former Maasai leader of Inuyat a-Maa/Maa Pastoralists Development Organization, held that the NGO’s formed on local initiatives among the Maa speaking pastoral people, the first in the late 1980’s, have had a variety of goals but most of them with a material focus. For instance he mentions that KIPOC’s original goals were land rights, education and community empowerment, one of the two groups that have united in KIPOC, also has women and child survival problems on the agenda in addition (ole Ngulay, 1993:103). Inuyat a-Maa/Maa, however, explicitly focuses on moral and spiritual possessions in addition to material possessions and development.107

As noted by ole Ngulay, formation of own NGO’s are often triggered by previous or ongoing involvement by external NGO’s. At the time of my fieldwork there were no signs of that the Akie will or can join the increasingly organized Maasai with regards to NGO’s. As expressed by an Akiate without livestock, this was of no particular interest to them as the Maasai organizations were ultimately directed towards protecting pastoral land rights and a pastoral land use system. It could be different of course for those of them who were engaged in cattlekeeping. Nevertheless, Akie and Maasai have a resource utilization that inevitably goes over and beyond village boundaries which creates problems as to the ongoing process of land privatization. Akie and Maasai have in common massiv land alienation, discrimination and stigmatization. On the general level - support from external NGO’s may have negative implications (Heggum, 2000). External organizations may be more devoted to own interests and ideology than the group’s needs and development. Further, support may create dependencies that undermine own initiative and independence. Changes decided and carried through by the people themselves is preferable but knowledge about networking and lobbying as well as how to organize to be able to handle the outside world may be lacking as among the Akie. A leader may also promote own interests, rather than the interests of the larger group – which may be internally divided with reference to interests and goals (Nederveen Pieterse, 1996; Sharp, 1996). For instance Rafael ole Moono, coordinator of

107 “Apart from doing what other NGO’s are doing in the area, Inuyat e-Maa will work to enhance the social values and cultural traditions of our people. We believe that our people need not only material but also spiritual possessions as given by their cultural world” (ole Ngulay, 1993:104).
the IMUSOT e PURKA Pastoralist Association in Handeni district, points to that this has been the case in another Maasai organization he previously worked with in Tanzania, in particular in relation to handling economic funding (personal communication).

No Akie had, as far as I know, attended local, national continental or international conferences as an attempt to take of charge of their development in economic and cultural terms. In the case of Maasai pastoralists in Tanzania the first Maa Conference on Culture and Development was held in Arusha in December 1991. Aside from any institutional and developmental consequences it marks the importance of transition from being objects of development aid to becoming actors of identification of problems and solutions – the conference has also encouraged other grassroots initiatives emerging for pastoral transformation (ole Ngulay, 1993:104). The Kisongo section and Parakuyo section of Maa-speakers in the neighboring Handeni District who have a history of hostility and warfare, are increasingly brought together on occasions of land conflict and are trying to work and lobby for equal land use consideration and equal representation on their district forums, to prevent injustice and violence. This shows how alliances of cooperation can be the result of conflict depending on the recognition of shared interests which is pastoral interests first and foremost related to land rights. (Bakken and ole Moono, forthcoming).

No Akie was present on the five day conflict resolution training workshop held in Terrat (in Simanjiro district to the north of Kiteto district) in 1994 organized by the Education, Research and Planning Committee of PINGO’s, jointly funded by the Drylands Programme of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED in London, and the Forests, Trees and People Programme (FTPP), Sweden. Logistical support was provided by the Tanzanian office at the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO). The workshop was and aimed at conflict and conflict resolution in realization that conflicts existed both over natural resources in general and also between members of PINGO’s, aiming to protect those resources (Bradbury, Fisher and Lane, 1995).

A positive outcome of the workshop on the part of the Akie in my view – if no Akie participated at the workshop, was that attention also was drawn to the fact that land alienation does not only affect pastoralists but also hunters and gatherers like the ‘Ndorobo’ and Hadza. In a
particular reference to the ‘Ndorobo’ in Simanjiro district it is stated in the report in the wake of the workshop:

The Ndorobo in Simajiro District face the same problems as the Hadzabe. Hunting blocks have been allocated to commercial hunters in certain villages where people have customary rights and, in some instances, even title deeds to land. These are ignored by the government in favour of the hunters. The foreigners claim the right to hunt because they have a license, while those with customary rights are deemed to be poaching. Human rights abuses against the Ndorobo have been reported and it was even alleged that there was a ‘shoot to kill’ policy against the Ndorobo. A Maasai participant in the workshop asked why, if the Hadzabe way of life is disappearing, they don’t build houses and settle down? This it was explained, was exactly the same kind of prejudice that pastoralists face just because they want to preserve their way of life. (Bradbury, Fisher and Lane, 1995:32).

The Akie had not at the time of my fieldwork been through what might be described as a process of ‘indigenization’, meaning the development of a type of self consciousness or ethno-political consciousness as a response to social inequality seeing how indigenous rights may becoming useful. Groups that in similar ways are disadvantaged have, along with human rights organizations and others, demanded forms of positive discrimination. In Tanzania the Hadza, the Maasai and the Barabaig have used indigenous as self-definition and claimed indigenous rights (Wæhle, 1997). The terms of the definition are adopted as the basis for mobilization and collective assertion, in realization of subordination (Wilmsen, 1996). In anthropology ‘indigenous’ is generally used to describe not-dominant and aboriginal groups of people within a delineated territory and, regardless of their indigenous status is officially accepted or not. Such groups are affiliated with pre-industrial production systems or production modes, like horticulture, cattle or reindeer pastoralism, and hunting and gathering etc, and represent a way of life which renders them particularly vulnerable in relation to the state (Eriksen, 1993a, 1993b). The definition of ‘indigenous’ is clearly problematic but the concept is in use within the UN system (the Draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples) as in the World Bank, allowing for a general understanding of the problem. The ILO (International Labor Organisation) Conventions 107 and 169, however, draws a boundary between the ‘tribal’ peoples of Asia and Africa and ‘aboriginal’, original or first comers to the land in which
they now live in America and Australia (Wæhle, 1997). This leaves avoidance space for Tanzania and other African governments. Also, only fourteen countries have ratified the newer Convention 169, three of these are European countries (Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands, almost all the others are Latin American.\footnote{The ILO Convention No. 169 of 1989 replaces the ILO Convention from 1989 No. 107 concerning the Protection and Integration of Indigenous and other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent countries. Convention No. 107 is still binding for the countries that have ratified it but is not open for new ratifications. In the new Convention No. 169 protection is still the main objective, but it is based on respect for indigenous and tribal peoples’ cultures and their traditions and customs.}

At the international level an issue of central importance has been the revision of the ILO Convention relating to tribal and indigenous peoples as well as the UN process by the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) that has resulted in a Draft declaration on indigenous peoples. The Rio Conference has also led to a series of meetings and international processes. The report of the World Conference on Culture and Development, launched by the UN and UNESCO, strongly supports the efforts of the WGIP and the declaration process, and joins other governments and international organizations that have introduced the idea of a Permanent Forum (now permanent) that will be the voice of indigenous peoples at the international level (Wæhle, 1997).

Don Handelman (Handelman 1977) has developed a typology of ethnic incorporation in relation to social and political organization. The incorporation of the ethnic factor can say something about the importance of ethnicity. Handelman’s lowest level of ethnic incorporation is ‘the ethnic category’. The members have an ethnic identity in that they are aware of a particular identity and reproduce it over several generations. On this level the ethnic identity is not corporately organized, and it is given few social and political expressions. The next level is ‘the ethnic network’ where the interaction pattern is increasingly influenced by ethnic membership. The third level is ‘the ethnic association’. On this level one may use the term ethnic group, membership in the ethnic category is corporate in some political contexts. The ethnic community has a goal oriented organization, which works for more or less common goals often related to territorial interests. The fourth and last level is ‘the ethnic community’ and most often within defined territorial boundaries. On this level the members of the ethnic group has common interests in their ethnic identity, in their ethnic networks, in their ethnic organization and their common capital. Handelman’s model can be taken as an ideal
typical model with movement from the lowest to the highest level of ethnic incorporation. Empirically, however, ethnic groups may have aspects of the different levels at the same time, or shifting depending on historical contexts and situations depending on interethnic processes.

As to the Akie and social and political organization with reference to the incorporation of the ethnic factor according to Handelman’s typology, ‘ethnic network’ may be the most fitting at the time I started my fieldwork among the Akie. A network like this is based on principles of ethnic categorization, creating enduring interpersonal ties between members of the same category and can also serve to organize contacts between strangers (Eriksen, 1993a:42). Their ‘ethnic network’, however, does not function as an outward directed visible corporate interest-promoting body if the traditional Akie system of councils of elders that may be activated on various levels (often guided by a prominent elder) may serve to solve conflicts over divergent interests among themselves. The Akie way of distributing and redistributing resources among themselves through the sharing practices of ipchee and konaan also indicates an ‘ethnic network’ - more than the ‘ethnic category’. According to Eriksen (1993a:42) ‘the main difference between categories and networks consists in the latter’s ability to to distribute resources among group members’.

It is possible to view the incidence when the small delegation in Settlement E. that went to the LAMP Support Office in Kibaya to find out what the new district land program was all about and what possible implications it could have for their village - as an indication of situational development in the direction of an ‘ethnic association’. As noted by Eriksen (1993a:43) Handelman describes the ‘ethnic association’ as a political pressure group encompassing only its members, but it may be usefull to extend the notion to include ethnic categories where larger or smaller segments of the members are active in this kind of organization, ‘the ethnic association then, embodies the presumed shared interests of the ethnic category at a collective, corporate level’. As I have noted, the delegation of Akie consisted more or less of Akie without livestock and the secrecy around this first trip may indicate a potential division between Akie with and without cattle. Cattle holding Akie were placed in the Maasai category together with all others in the sub-village with respect to membership in a subsistence category as cattlekeepers. More or less all livestock holding members of the sub-villager were perceived as a potential threat of interest competition and conflict. For instance in relation to a possible solution to how to improve the difficult water situation in the
village, the few none-livestock Akie were afraid that livestock holding Akie would side with the livestock holding Maasai and settle for a further away solution supported by governmental interests or the Maasai pastoralist NGO, KINNAPA, that was not of any particular benefit for themselves.

To take a larger perspective, to be able to develop for instance an own NGO like many pastoralists and agro-pastoralists have done in Tanzania in order to be able to negotiate more effectively for their interests for example related to land use and resource allocation and management on the local, regional and national level, and also in some cases on the international level, requires ethnic incorporation ideally on the level of the ‘ethnic association’, which embodies at least the presumed shared interests of the ethnic category at a collective, corporate level. This also goes for the process of indigenization - the development of a type of self consciousness or ethnopolitical consciousness as a response to social inequality seeing how forms of positive discrimination or indigenous rights may becoming useful. At the time of my fieldwork the Akie also lacked the knowledge and the means to do so.

In 1999 – two years after I left field, I learned that the overall situation of the Akie had not improved, they were still loosing out to stronger and better educated groups. If their vulnerability was realized there had not been allocated sufficient attention and resources because of the pressing needs in the district as a whole was in (LAMP co-councilor – personal communication).
Akie Participation on Conference on Indigenous Peoples’ in 1999

In the final report (IWGIA, 1999) from the ‘Conference on Indigenous Peoples of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa’ held in Arusha, Tanzania, in January 1999 - two years after I left field – I found an Akie representative on the participant list. The Akie representant was listed as a ‘community representative’ if with no reference to a particular NGO as was the case with many of the other participants.

There were 52 representatives in all. Other hunters and gatherers were Hadza from Tanzania, Okiek from Kenya, San from Namibia and South Africa, Batwa from Rwanda, Pygmies from the Democratic Republic of Congo, BaSua and Abayanda from Uganda. The invited San from Botswana were unable to attend. The pastoralists were Maasai from Tanzania and Kenya, and Pokot, Samburu, Rendile and Somali from Northern Kenya. There were also representatives from regional and international indigenous networks as the Working Group on Indigenous Minorities of Southern Africa (WIMSA), African Indigenous Women’s Organization (AIWO), the International Alliance for Tribal and Indigenous Peoples of the Tropical Forests, and the Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating Committee (IPACC). Present were also African experts and Human Rights activists as well as representatives from international institutions like the African Commission for Human and Peoples’ Rights, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (ACHPR), the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the European Commission. The Swedish Embassy in Tanzania was represented by the socio-cultural analyst and from non-indigenous northern NGO’s there were representatives from The Forest Peoples’ Programme (UK), Survival International-UK, CUSO (Canada) and the Danish Association for Development Cooperation – MS. The conference was co-organized by PINGO’s Forum and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA). The Norwegian Agency for Development (NORAD) and the Danish
Development Agency (DANIDA) provided the funding of the conference together with the EU Commission.

According to the final report from the conference the overriding objective of the conference was to contribute to the empowerment of indigenous peoples in Africa and their organizations. Immediate objectives were to bring indigenous representatives from Eastern, Central and Southern Africa together so that they may share and exchange experiences, ideas and forward looking strategies; give them an opportunity to meet and hear representatives from international institutions such as the African Commission on Human Rights and thereby get an idea of how they might utilize these institutions to promote their case. (International Work Group of Indigenous Affairs, IWGIA, 1999:3)

For the first time an Akiane met with hunters and gatherers and pastoralists from different parts of Africa to share experiences - and found that they were not alone with problems like land alienation, discrimination and stigmatization, poor coverage and poor quality of social services, lack of education and development opportunities, and often human rights abuses. As noted in the report hunters and gatherers and pastoralists had many problems in common, including (IWGIA, 1999:5) Further, it was underlined that much could be gained by cooperating, particularly important in the case of Tanzania where important legislation was being discussed in Parliament and in the case of Kenya were the Constitution was being revised. Some of the more experienced organizations shared experiences and results, in particular in terms of negotiation strategies towards governments. The important role regional organizations can and already do play as networking agents was underlined. The participants were provided with new knowledge on how to approach and utilize these organizations.

The participants and also representatives from international institutions - like the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR) which had never earlier dealt with the issue of indigenous rights, exchanged experience and information. ACHPR is committed to ensure the promotion and protection of Human and Peoples’ Rights throughout the African Continent.

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109 The African Commission on Human & Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR) was formalized on the 2nd November 1987 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, after its members had been elected in July the same year by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) 23rd Assembly of
An outcome of the conference was a number of resolutions and recommendations for future action at the local, national, regional, continental and international level related to rights to land, rights to natural resources and rights of indigenous peoples in general – as adopted by the delegates to the conference. As stated in the final report, the Conference:

*Urged African countries to ratify all international legal instruments relating to indigenous peoples and to incorporate them into domestic law in order to empower indigenous communities.*

*Requested the EU, in their political dialogue with the different African government authorities to urge these governments to ratify diverse international instruments for indigenous peoples to ratify diverse international instruments for indigenous peoples and to monitor the ratification.*

*Demaned adequate representation of hunter-gatherers communities in all contexts and in particular that all relevant hunter-gatherer communities be represented in any relevant national or international body that may be established as well as in all future conferences. (IWGIA, 1999:19)*

Particular reference was also made to rights to education adapted to indigenous peoples’ needs and the strengthening of indigenous women’s rights. In reference to the African Commission on (ACHPR) Human and Peoples’ Rights it was decided to request that the Commission included the rights of indigenous peoples in Africa on the agenda and to consider establishing a working group on indigenous rights in Africa, etc.

The participants also asked IWGIA, as an NGO with accreditation to ECOSOC, to forward the resolution to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. IWGIA also requested that the document was translated and forwarded to the ad hoc working group on the Permanent Forum meeting soon after. A letter signed by all delegates was sent to Special Rapporteur, the United Nations’ High Commission for Human Rights, opposing his view that indigenous peoples in Africa only can have individual rights as members of minorities, not indigenous rights, etc.

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110 Heads of State and Governments. In November 1989 a permanent Secretariat was secured for the Commission in Banjul, Gambia – its first activities were coordinated from the OAU General Secretariat in Addis Ababa. (ACHPR, 2004)

110 “Practical gender needs to be taken into consideration in every sector (economic, education, development, etc.) in order to alleviate and solve some of the problems experienced by indigenous women. .. Legal instruments to be created to allow indigenous women to own property/land” (IWGIA, 1999).
The African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights and Politics of Difference

In IWGIA’s annual yearbook for 2002-2003 (2003a), which takes aim to provide an update on the state of affairs of indigenous peoples around the world111, it is stressed in the section on Tanzania (page 372-380) that the ‘Dorobo’ (as the hunting and gathering Hadza and pastoral Maasai and Barabaig) continue to experience marginalization and exclusion from local and national development processes. It is concluded that recent regulations and guidelines for wildlife policy and wildlife management areas still give priorities to commercial hunting and other forms of utilization of wildlife resources, and with no revenue going back to the local communities. Further, if Tanzania is perceived as a success economically by the Bretton Woods institutions hunters and gatherers (nor pastoralists) have benefited from economic growth and socio-economic development112. National development policies based on the Structural Adjustment Programmes does generally not favor hunters and gatherers (or pastoralists).

However - the human rights of indigenous peoples are now on the agenda of the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR). Representatives claiming indigenous status have participated actively in the ordinary sessions of the ACHPR and made statements in the public sessions. On the 34th Ordinary Session that took place in Gambia, November 6-20 2003 the ACHPR commited itself to work actively on the issue of indigenous peoples’ rights. The commission adopted ‘The Report of the African Commission’s Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities’, and a resolution on the report passed (ACHPR, 2003).113 The report is published by ACHPR in partnership with IWGIA and distributed to Member States and policy makers and on the international arena of development114. The report contains an analysis of criteria for indigenous peoples for identifying indigenous peoples in Africa, their human rights situation in

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111 IWGIA’s annual yearbook for 2002-2003 issued in June, 2003 is financed with support from NORAD and DANIDA.
112 Official statistics show that 80% of Tanzanias population of now 36 million 80% have access to basic health care. Economic growth is estimated to between 5.8% and 6.5% and per capita income is estimated at US$ 220. (IWGIA, 2003:372)
113 The Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities was established on the 28th Ordinary Session of ACHPR in Cotonou, Benin October 2000.
114 IWGIA is actively involved in the most important international and regional processes where indigenous issues are discussed; The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, The Organisation of American States (OAS), the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights, and the Arctic Council.
relation to the African Charter and its potential for promoting and protecting indigenous rights with recommendations.

As noted by IWGIA (2003c) the adoption of this report with its findings and recommendations give important signals. First and foremost that the existence of indigenous peoples in Africa is realized by ACHPR, further that indigenous peoples are subject to human rights violations (often including fundamental collective rights), that the African Charter should be used to protect the human rights of indigenous peoples – and that the ACHPR will work actively on the issue in accordance with the principles of the Draft Declaration on Indigenous Peoples Rights and ILO convention 169. The resolution also provided for that the Working Group on the Rights of Indigenous Populations/Communities will continue for the next two years to gather information, undertake country visits, formulate recommendations and submit reports to the ACHPR.

It remains to be seen if the politics of difference, forms of positive discrimination or indigenous rights, will be pursued by the Akie. Paine in *In Ethnodrama of the ‘Fourth World’* (1985) has shown in a particular case related to the Saami in Norway, that the Saami lacking formal political means could not have gained ground without the mobilization of support from the outside. It goes with the story that the Saami lost the case (a dam was buildt in Alta River against their will). The Saami later however, succeeded in acquiring particular rights as indigenous people in relation to the Norwegian state. After first learning to use modern political methods and by raising an international opinion for their cause their ethnopoltics got a major break-through in relation to the Norwegian state. They have an advisory Parliament, and have to an extent become incorporated within the larger society on more equal terms, also with reference to different cultural values - and are no longer stigmatized to the same degree by the Norwegian population.

Sharp (1996:89) points to that in the case of the Maori awareness of rights in Australasia, Indians in Canada and the United States have been influential in demonstrating methods of protests that could strike at ‘the weak points of the dominant culture’. Both Maori and Indians had access to

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115 Indigenous peoples are ofte referred to as ‘fourth world peoples’ as they can be viewed as being colonized from within national states and suppressed and exploited, as opposed to ‘second world’ colonialization of American and ‘third world colonizalization’ of Asia and Africa – with Europe as a ‘first world’ and a starting point.

116 Ref. Eidheim, 1971 in Chapter seven, section ‘Avoiding the Social Stigma’.
television already in the 1960’s living in advanced industrial states and the Maori constantly 
learned about what happened to the Indians in Canada and the United states. The Akie live in an 
area with no access to national television and poor radio reception. Newspapers and magazines can 
be found in Kibaya town, but as most Akie do not know how to read it makes little difference. I 
have noted, taking into consideration the distances and unreliable modern communication networks 
like bus services, news may travel remarkably fast. News follow the monthly circulation of markets 
starting out north on the Maasai Steppe close to Arusha town, continuing south through Simanjiro 
district into Kiteto district and west into Handeni district in Tanga region. This is an effective 
communication network - all things considered - if hardly comparable to the Internet.117

**Akie and Virtual Reality**

Following IWGIA (2003b), new information technology is playing an important role in enabling a 
growing number of such minorities to communicate quickly and effectively with the outside world. 
Still:

> Extremely marginalized and impoverished indigenous peoples in remote areas of Africa and 
elsewhere have, for instance, fewer possibilities than indigenous peoples in Scandinavia, Canada or 
the United States. (IWGIA, 2003b)

It is no overstatement to say that Akie belong to the later, as impoverished and marginalized village 
fringe dwellers, lacking even basic infrastructure and with no direct access to new information 
technology enabling fast communication and exchange of information with the outside world. A 
search on the internet shows that many peoples that claim indigenous status and have organized 
themselves now have their own web-sites but the Akie are yet to be found among them. I found the 
Okiek on [www.ogiek.org](http://www.ogiek.org)118, and yet another website [www.peopleteamsorg/default.htm](http://www.peopleteamsorg/default.htm) under 
construction.

117 Chapter three, section ‘Kiteto District’.
118 The ogiek.org website is a partnership of human rights organizations around the world and who support the rights of the Okiek 
and indigenous peoples in Kenya. In the heading on the homepage it says ‘supporting the rights of all ogiek people in East Africa’, 
but there is made no particular reference to the Akie.
The Akie appear on the internet in various other contexts, however. Information, however little, is accessible to anyone typing ‘Akie’ or ‘Akie Dorobo’ into a major search engine, if through others at this point.

For instance, I have recently found them referred to in a report prepared by Crawhall (2003) on ‘African Indigenous Peoples’ Workshop on Traditional Knowledge, Identity and Livelyhoods (Tanzania, South Africa, Rwanda, Gabon)’ sponsored by Norwegian Church Aid and UNESCO, available through UNESCO’s web-portal, www.portalunesco. Non-governmental agencies and indigenous peoples’ organizations co-operated in organizing an exchange visit between hunters and gatherers and post-hunters and gatherers from East, Central and Southern Africa. The purpose of exchange was to further dialogue on the issue of land rights, maintenance of knowledge systems, languages and cultures, management of conservation areas and the creation of livelihoods. The focus was on giving grassroots indigenous people an opportunity to meet different communities and share and reflect on their mutual experiences. No Akie was present but in the workshops recommendations it is noted that the Hadza representants - asked for help in facilitating ‘assistance to conduct our own exchange program with neighboring Akie Dorobo communities’.

Surfing the net I also found that Dorobo Safaris, one of the organizers of the workshop, in presenting itself also draws attention to the ‘Dorobo Fund for Tanzania’:

Dorobo’s focus on establishing partnerships and linkages with local communities led naturally to the formation of Dorobo Fund for Tanzania, a non-profit corporation which is committed to empowering communities to actively and sustainably manage their natural resources including wildlife and wilderness. A dedicated group of Tanzanians work with communities on holistic natural resource management. Educational support to individuals, particular women, is also an important component. Many Dorobo travelers choose to contribute to this Fund that can make a difference.

(www.marilynmason.com/dorobo.html)

In cyber space I also found African Dream Safaris (www.africandreamsafaris.com) announcing one of their walking safaris for what seems as in a strictly commercial purpose: ‘Akie hunter-gatherers

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198 Nigel Crawhall is working with the Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating Commitee (IPACC).
(Dorobo): 3 – 6 days are spent tracking game and collecting honey with these extremely knowledgeable bush-living people’.

More interesting, I found ‘Akie Dorobo’ referred to on African Initiatives webpage (www.african-initiatives.org.uk/), a UK based social justice organization which has taken the aim to work in partnership with Akie (also Maasai) in Tanzania with the aspiration to secure access to traditional lands and natural resources, address conflicts, implement an education and economic literacy program that addresses educational needs and delivers human rights awareness training, and facilitate meetings between Akie communities to establish a community centre to work with and represent the interests of the Akie. Lack of political representation, lack of access to education and no security over tenure over traditional lands is noted.

On the web I found ‘Akie Dorobo’ mentioned shortly in relation to Kratz’ works on Okiek Dorobo in Kenya several places, as in relation to the works of Woodburn, Kaare’s works on the Akie is referred to several places. I found my own research referred to however shortly in Jerman’s working paper ‘The Cultural Process of Development, Some Impressions of Anthropologists Working in Development’ (1998) (www.valt.helsinki.fi/staff/jerman), etc.

Human rights Commissions, national and international human rights organizations, NGO’s and others lobby for positive discrimination in cooperation with marginalized minorities. The concept ‘indigenous people’ as a juridical tool is constructed to secure particular minority rights in national states if there are uncertainties in UN as more generally when it comes to the criteria which provides status as indigenous. These are first and foremost related to requirements to history and to social, political and economic status. ILO convention 169 and the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples try to secure such groups rights if the definition is problematic. If signed and formally binding it is the national state that has the responsibility in securing indigenous peoples rights, in the last instance, however.

Identity politics as ethnopolitics - the politics of marginalization (Wilmsen, 1996), may have a larger chance in succeeding in industrialized states with mature systems of social welfare that can meet with the generally moderate demands of small minorities (Sharp, 1996), when it comes down to it. According to national ideologies in many of the African states ethnic lines should be
irrelevant. It is outside the scope of this study to discuss this further. Nevertheless, South Africa is on the move and adopting new policies in line with UN instruments including ILO Convention 169 and the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples (Crawhall, 2003). Rwanda has allocated eight seats in the Senate to representatives of ‘historically marginalized communities’, Kenya is in the process of re-writing its constitution (and hunters and gatherer lobbies are working for a constitutional basis for recognizing the rights of indigenous peoples in line with international instrument), Marocco has unbanned the language of the Amazigh (Berber) and created a royal institute of Amazigh language and culture. Even in countries where indigenous peoples have not entered formal dialogue with governments (including the Central African Republic, Cameroon and the Democratic Republic of Congo) the interventions by the ILO and the promotion of ILO 169 have been welcomed. (Ref. Crawhall 2003).120

End Note

The subject of this thesis is economic and social transformation and marginalization of Akie hunters in northern Tanzania. The Akie better known as ‘Dorobo’ have constituted an almost blind spot in the ethnographic sense, until recently. In this work it has become apparent that they have also been largely invisible in a political sense and subject to marginalization.

Economic and social changes have been explored within a wide historic frame, through a process of fitting and contesting different sources of data. I have drawn on various sources (linguistic evidence going beyond oral report and human memory as it appears in documents, early travel and missionary reports, the reports of colonial officers, relatively scarce ethnographic material, land management programs, environmental impact assessments – and what Akie report, what their neighbors report and my observations during fieldwork in Kiteto district to the extreme south in Arusha Region on the dry Maasai Steppe, the main locus of my fieldwork among the Akie in 1996/1997 etc.), moving back and forth in history. Other ethnographical sources have been

120 Unfortunately the Working Group on the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was unable to provisionally adopt any of the articles discussed on its ninth session in September 2003. The working group was established with a mandate to complete the adoption of a Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People within the timeframe of the International Decade of the World’s Indigenous Peoples. The implications is that the future of the Working Group – and of the Declaration now largely, depend on intergovernmental negotiations that will take place on this during the forthcoming sessions of the Commission on Human Rights. (IWGIA, 2003c)
drawn on when it can through light on my own research. Different conceptual tools and theoretical frameworks of understanding evolve gradually in accordance with presentation of material.

Chapter three and four, the former on the Akie and ancient and pre-colonial history and the later the colonial and post-independence period, are historical background chapters to the discussion of changes in the Akie economy in Chapter five (as well as discussions in following chapters). Chapter two is about my fieldwork among the Akie. If this work is set within a relatively wide historic framework and various sources are drawn on, my own revealing observations and insights aquired over twelve months among the Akie are central in the analysis.

In Chapter five I have explored changes in the Akie economy in terms of diversification. The Akie are no longer primarily hunters and gathers or living in the depth of the bush as at the time of the Maasai wars around the middle of the the nineteenth century and in the early colonial period however, as the Akie see as their original way of life. As my overview of five settlements shows, the Akie have become fringe dwellers on the outskirts of larger villages (with a few exceptions) and with multi-focal resource use. All have taken up a little maize cultivation and many keep livestock if on a relatively small scale. They have also become a part of the money economy. Most Akie continue to gather honey however - and Akie also hunt at least periodically despite the restrictions on hunting. Risky cultivation in this semi-arid environment even with sometimes a little livestock in addition and eventual money from available cash-income generating activites is not enough to avert hunger for most Akie. Akie in several places in the district have also received relief food allocated through the district administration in years of severe drought. The changes in the Akie economy has taken place through social and economic interaction in a shifting socio-political context of change. The Akie (who see themselves as the first people who inhabited the land - before any of the present peoples) report that their neighbors first introduced domestic animals and cultivation to them.

Akie initially experienced colonial induced change and intervention from some remove. The Akie became encompassed to the south within a shrinking Maasai Reserve/District during colonial rule (first German then British) between the end of the 1880’s and 1961, however. The reserve was reduced several times, more and more fertile land to the north was allocated to white and native settlers in order to increase production. Wildlife sanctuaries with exclusive use for wildlife were
introduced under British rule. Pastoralism became more extensively practiced within the reduced reserve as land utilized by the pastoral Maasai in particular in the dry season as well as grazing land in general was lost to them. The implication of this is most probably that the Akie and the Maasai would meet more and more often on their crossing migratory routes, intensifying interaction and developing closer relations. By the late 1970’s most Akie had taken up permanent cultivation of maize and become relatively sedentarized with reference to post-independence compulsory villagization and resettlement programs initiated by president Nyerere with emphasis agricultural production. Reform programs introduced in the late 1970’s and Structural Adjustment Programs designed by the World Bank in the 1980’s to address economic crisis emphasizing political decentralization as means to increase productivity and integrate Tanzania into the wider international economy, has intensified the influx of pastoralists and cultivators and scramble for land. Cultivation and poaching by cultivators has had adverse effect on wildlife. The allocation of hunting blocks to Arusha-based companies and restrictions on hunting has further encouraged this process of diversification.

In Chapter six I have described subsistence technology including ideological components in relation to the utilization of domestic and wild resources further (maize, wild growths, wild honey, wild animals and livestock) and analyzed particular features of Akie internal social and economic organization to try to explore further how the economic system may have changed over time. The Akie economic system has aspects of delayed-return and immediate-return. In delayed-return systems people do not obtain a direct return from their labor and in immediate-return systems people receive return from their labor without having to wait (ref. Woodburn, 1982, 1991, Barnad and Woodburn, 1991 on immediate-return and delayed-return as two ‘types’ within the hunters and gatherers category). As the Akie cultivate and some also hold livestock today this places them in the delayed-return category as it implicates a yield, a return for labor over time. The cultivation and livestock practices of the Akie - as their hunting and gathering practices have aspects of the two economic systems, however. The economic system is betwixt and between in more than one sense.

The Akie however, with their system of honey territories have an organization that is and also probably was - prior to the colonial and post-independence era according to Akie - centered on the control and management of honey assets, typical of delayed-return systems. It is in small-scale
delayed-return pastoral, agricultural - and hunting and gathering systems we find kinship commitments and dependencies; lineage’s, clan’s and other kinship groups; and marriages in which women are bestowed in marriage by men on other men. Woodburn (1982:447; 1991:57) proposes that once appropriated by hunters and gatherers this type of organization can be used for other purposes. I have proposed that the Akie notion of sharing (ipchee and konaan) effects in relatively immediate consumption but is different from sharing practices in immediate-return systems as there are binding commitments to share with specific others with expectation of reciprocal return enforced by sanctions. The reciprocal element is in fact preparation of delayed-return in the longer run. Still, the relatively immediate consumption that is the result of their sharing practices seems to be an effective leveling mechanism as to accumulation of wealth in terms of cultivation or livestock on a larger scale (as well as other material possessions), if specific elements of their social and economic organization may have provided flexibility and eased introduction.

In order to avoid the sharing and distribution practices and escape sanction’s, it seems as one would either have to move away - or take the chance of breaking off from the larger community by taking up another form of living. In a sense this means breaching with the Akie community.

We will probably never know for sure if the Akie are of Nilotic or Cushitic origin, but their linguistic ancestors were probably herders and/or cultivators (Ehret, 1971, 1980), which implie’s delayed-return economies (if we can not rule out the possibility that that the Akie may be remains of an earlier indigenous hunting and gatherers whether with delayed-return or immediate-return economic systems - if there up to now is found no linguistic evidence that can indicate this). A small-scale delayed-return pastoral, and/or agricultural group may however, have changed into a small-scale delayed-return hunting and gathering group depending on circumstances, environmental and/or political pressures making up the forces of push and pull. In small-scale delayed-return pastoral and agricultural systems we find kinship commitments and dependencies; lineage’s, clans and other kinship groups; and marriages where women are bestowed in marriage by men on other men. From this point of view it is not impossible then that the Akie once had aspects of social and economic organization that was in a sense predisposed for a change in the economy in the direction of a hunting and gathering system with delayed-return aspects. As noted by Woodburn (1991:61) the historical data available to us, and the historical data ever likely to be available, cannot tell us
why for instance the Hadza (and the Mbuti) now have an immediate-return organization. Nor why the Okiek now have strong features of delayed-return organization which I find also goes for the Akie – other than that aspects of former hunting and gathering delayed-return organization may have eased introduction to a little cultivation and pastoralism depending on ecological and or social circumstances. A process that in the course of history might just as well has been vice versa. To try to sort ‘internals’ from ‘externals’ in this way can only be assumptive however, and masks complex historical processes. I have however, allowed myself to speculate a little further in relation to the development of delayed-return and immediate-return systems in relation to the Akie.

In Chapter seven relations to neighbors, stigmatization and avoidance strategies are analyzed. Bourdieu’s term ‘doxa’ may cover what is unquestionable and taken for granted (1977)\textsuperscript{121}, and the ‘doxic’ negative stereotype created by a dominating group (or rather dominating groups), can become self-fulfilling to the point that it may become a part of how a group views itself (Eriksen, 1993a:51 and also 34). Neighbors’ conception of Akie in terms of poverty, are central. Under the disability of a stigmatized identity and uneven powerrelations the Akie respond to social inequality by employing various techniques ranging from relative avoidance and pursuits of isolation in various ways – to actively seeking to pass as Maasai. Impression-management techniques are employed in order to control ‘front-stage’ and ‘back-stage performances’ (ref. Goffman, 1990). These strategies express a dichotomy in various spheres of interaction with the culturally and politically dominant pastoral neighbors in particular, but also in relation to their cultivating neighbors. I have argued that the Akie have been relatively successful in developing and maintaining relatively balanced economic relations with their neighbors – if not necessarily perceived as such by their neighbors.

A disturbing fact, however, is that the Akie readily marry away women to Maasai, and generally not the other way around. Conspicuously many Akie men are unmarried, old as young. They can usually not compete with Maasai on brideprice in cattle. Another serious matter - according to Akie women as I found it, they would rather marry Akie, feeling unsecure as to settle among the Maasai whatever other benefits it could bring in terms of material wealth. The bride price is usually from three to nine heads of cattle, and when given the opportunity most Akie can

\textsuperscript{121} Bourdieu’s term ‘doxa’ which may cover what is unquestionable and taken for granted (1977) bears resemblance to that which appears to be ‘a common sense reality of everyday life’, Berger and Luckmann (1966).
not resist, whether the domestic stock is for more immediate consumption – or with the intention to try to build up a larger herd. Some Akie have also learned to become shameful of their way of life and would like to try to climb a step on the status ladder (their pastoral neighbors have set the standard), if not without social costs in relation to fellow Akie. I have noted in this chapter (and Chapter six) that Akie with livestock herds of any size tended to refer to themselves as Maasai and some had denounced many of the ways of the Akie. I also found that some in fact had not if they claimed to have done so to me. This can be taken as illustrative of the stigmata involved in ‘being Akie,’ and that ‘being Maasai’ can be viewed as a wanted higher step on the status ladder in the present context, if not without social costs in relation to fellow Akie.

In Chapter eight I have set focus on how the Akie have become muted in the land quest and lost control over land and vital resources. The Akie have become muted through a process of structural marginalization taking place in a shifting political context of socio-political change. The early relationship between the colonial state and the Akie has been replaced however, by a structurally similar relationship of internal colonialism. The Akie have lost control over land and resources through forces outside their realm of influence. Tanzanian non-permissive and ambiguous land legislation in part inherited from the colonial period is a part of this picture (ref. Lane, 1993; Shivji, 1994; URT, 1994; etc.). Customary rights have been treated as inferior to those of the state despite legislative provision that is intended to protect them. The ‘top down’ approach was employed to unify the diversity of land use arrangements into more centralised statutory tenure (URT, 1994, etc.). The lack of clarity in law of the new land use arrangements has resulted in arbitrary encroachment, invasion and alienation in favor of outside individuals and institutions including the governments against the interest and wishes of former land users.

The Akie have become impoverished fringe dwellers, generally outnumbered in settled villages by pastoralists and cultivators. The former have in their turn been dislocated from areas of central grazing importance during colonial rule and after independence. I have also shown that despite Akie general avoidance strategies, the manner of voting with the feet (by not attending main Village Assemblies, and Councils in the few cases they hold a seat), retreating and trying to isolate themselves, and a generally passive attitude – understandable in the light of their marginal influence, stigmatized status and previous negative experiences - the Akie can mobilize renewed
interest and take initiative themselves. It is suggested that the ‘mzungu factor’ has played a role in this in the course of 1996 (mzungu - white person, Europeans). A white person to the Akie is not a mere question of color but mzungu are usually not associated with people that have tried to force them to abandon their way of life (Kaare, 1995). I make particular reference to the interest and involvement of the LAMP Support Office (Land Management Program, Kiteto) involving a Swedish co-councilor.

I have also shown that there is a potential internal division – primarily between non-cattle keeping Akie and cattle-keeping Akie related to the possibility of divergent subsistence interests, and worry over that the later may side with the more numerous Maasai. Further, I have illustrated that the ‘mzungu factor” may be a two edged sword. On the one hand it has encouraged a beginning active mobilization among the Akie. On the other hand becoming to closely associated with mzungu in the political context, is not necessarily perceived positively by other inhabitants in the district afraid to loose ground in the present scramble for land in particular – and with unknown conequences. The Akie are only beginning to realize that in the accelerating competition for land, useful water resources and possibly other welfare services, they might find themselves loosing completely out. It is becoming increasingly difficult to retreat, move away and avoid conflict. The Akie are also not politically organized, lacking the knowledge and means to do so. To be a able to develop for instance an own NGO like many pastoralists and agro-pastorlists have done in Tanzania in order to be try to negotiate more effectively for their interests for example related to land use and resource allocation and management on the local, regional and national level, and also in some cases on the international level, requires ethnic incorporation ideally on the level of the ‘ethnic association’, which embodies at least the presumed shared interests of the ethnic category at a collective, corporate level (ref. Handelman, 1977 in particular, with reference to ethnic organization in general). This also goes for the process of indigenization - the development of a type of self consciousness or ethnopolitical consciousness as a response to social inequality seeing how forms of positive discrimination or indigenous rights may become useful.

In 1999 – two years after I left field, I learned that the overall situation of the Akie had not improved, they were still loosing out to stronger and better educated groups. If their vulnerability
was realized there had not been allocated sufficient attention and resources because of the pressing needs in the Kiteto district as a whole was in (LAMP co-councilor – personal communication).

Finally, in this chapter (Chapter nine) I have pointed to some other changes that have occurred after I left field, if with uncertain consequences. An Akiante participated at The Conference on Indigenous Peoples of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa in Tanzania in 1999 (IWGIA, 1999). The African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR) has made a major reorientation on the politics of difference (ACHPR, 2003; IWGIA, 2003c). The existence of indigenous peoples in Africa is realized by ACHPR, further that indigenous peoples are subject to human rights violations (often including fundamental collective rights), the African Charter should be used to protect the human rights of indigenous peoples – and that the ACHPR will work actively on the issue in accordance with the principles of the Draft Declaration on Indigenous Peoples Rights and ILO convention 169.

The existence and marginalization of the Akie hunters and gatherers in northern Tanzania is becoming accessible to parts of the outside world if with yet no major implications on the local level or on the national level with reference to empowerment. A search on internet shows that In the African Indigenous Peoples’ Workshop on Traditional Knowledge, Identity and Livelyhoods (Tanzania, South Africa, Rwanda, Gabon) the Hadza representants asked for help in facilitating assistance to conduct their own exchange program with Akie ‘Dorobo’ with the aim to share and reflect on their mutual experiences on the issue of land rights, maintenance of knowledge systems, languages and cultures, management of conservation areas and the creation of livelihoods (Crawhall, 2003). Attention has been drawn to their situation by various others interested in working on a partnership base with the Akie if with different overriding or parallel aims; holistic natural resource management and wildlife preservation (Dorobo Safaris), social justice and human rights (African Initiatives). Others (like African Dream Safaris) seem to be interested in the Akie for strictly commercial purposes. The Akie are mentioned briefly in works of Woodburn on the Hadza and Kratz on the Okiek, if however short. Kaare has made a major contribution focusing

122 Three distinctions can be made with reference to marginalization and disempowerment. 1) Marginalized groups that get their interests on the political agenda without any recognition 2) Marginalized groups that do not get their interests on the political agenda at all, and remain invisible 3) Marginalized groups that are more exposed to ad-hoc processes of disempowerment.
explicitly on the Akie. I found my own research referred to however shortly, in Jerman’s working paper (1998).

Human rights commissions, national and international human rights organizations, NGO’s and others lobby for positive discrimination in cooperation with marginalized minorities. The concept ‘indigenous people’ as a juridical tool is constructed to secure particular minority rights in national states if there are uncertainties in UN as more generally when it comes to the criteria which provides status as indigenous. ILO convention 169 and the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples try to secure such groups rights if the definition is problematic. In the last instance, if signed and formally binding it is the national state that has the responsibility in securing indigenous peoples rights, however. Identity politics as ethnopolitics, the politics of marginalization, may have a larger chance in succeeding in industrialized states with mature systems of social welfare that can meet with the generally moderate demands of small minorities. Nevertheless, several African states are on the move, and adopting new policies in line with UN instruments including ILO Convention 169 and the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples.

The plight of the Akie is also slowly becoming visible on the continental and international arenas of human rights among other marginalized peoples, if mainly through others at this point. Whatever the outcome in terms of institutional and developmental consequences, eventual workshops, national, continental and international conferences - possible attendance by direct participation also in human rights forums, marks the transition from being objects of development to becoming actors of identification of problems and solutions. Whether in cooperation with other agents (with different or parallel aims be it holistic natural resource management and wildlife preservation, or social justice) or not.

I take it that the works of researchers including this thesis, BECOMING VISIBLE: Economic and Social Transformation and Marginalization of Akie Hunters and Gatherers in Northern Tanzania, will contribute in this process.
GLOSSARY

amachan to use (Akie)
askari watchman, guard (Kiswahili)
asiiswe (sgl. asiiswante.) ancestors of the present day Akie (Akie)
chai tea (Kiswahili)
chiich man (Akie)
chumvi salt, saline (Kiswahili)
chine down, below (Kiswahili)
choptaise serious curse (Akie)
enkang homestead (Maasai Maa)
engaita (pl. engatin) wildbeast (Akie)
eutumuna ancestors of the Akie (Akie), small and dwarf-like
ganga doctor, in the context it is used in the text it refers to a Gogo
witchdoctor and herbal specialist (Kiswahili)
gobore rifle made by local smiths (Kiswahili)
ghata group/clan (Akie, possibly from ‘kata’ – division or part in
Kiswahili)
habari news
hoteli guest house/hotel, also teashop (Kiswahili)
iloshon Maasai sections or sub-groups
ilmeek Bantu, or foreigner (Maasai Maa)
ikaakeny in the past, before (Akie)
ipindet age-set (Akie)
ipite mountain (Akie)
juu up, or above (Kiswahili)
kabila group, tribe (Kiswahili)
kalandaisye  initiation rituals for Akie boys, as a part of transition into manhood (Akie)
kampo  drink made from honey and water (Akie)
kanga  colored piece of cloth wrapped around the waist and body, first and foremost used by Bantu women (Kiswahili)
karaka  woman (Akie)
karatasi  documentation, paper (Kiswahili)
kate  arrow (Kiswahili)
kau  homestead (Akie)
kie  land (Akie)
kilitue (pl. kilitue)  digging stick (Akie)
koikachu  to own (Akie)
kokwet/kaari  settlement or village (Akie)
konaan  to give (Akie)
koroita  enemy (Akie)
kumi(ande)  honey beer/mead (Akie)
lagwe  child (Akie)
latime  a circumcision ritual where boys are removed of the most of their foreskin except for a small piece on one side, and separate circumcision ritual for girls where labila minor and a part of the clitoris are removed. (Akie)
maskini  poor (Kiswahili)
mafuta  fat, oil
meeyee  Bantu, government officials (Akie)
moti  pot (Akie)
motie  arrow (Akie)
murenik  warrior (Akie)
muzungu  European, white person (Kiswahili)
N’gai  God (Maasai Maa)
ngetunda (pl. ngetuinyik)  lion (Akie)
njaa  hungry (Kiswahili)
nyiee (pl. nyioosie)  rhinoceros (Akie)
ol pul  meat party held by Maasai warriors (Maasai Maa)

Operation Vijijini  literally meaning ‘villagization’ in Kiswahili, a resettlement program to be implemented in stages in line with Nyerere’s Ujamaa ideology after independence. The post-independence government was determined to improve the living standard of its people through increased agricultural productivity and provisions of various social amenities, improved water facilities, electricity, schools, medical care and transport.

Operation Impernati  when the voluntary movement into nucleated settlements largely failed, Operation Impernati was launched in the early 1970’s stressing the necessity of permanent and proximate dwellings for pastoralists.

orkaiante (pl. orkai)  elder, or significant elder (Akie)
orkai lokokwe  council of settlement elders (Akie)
peliandee (pl. peleek)  elephant (Akie)
pfii  family (Akie)
pfisi  hyena (Kiswahili?)
pfuni  Maasai (Akie)
rangi mbili  antibiotics, literally meaning ‘two colors’ (Kiswahili)
saie (pl. saieeni)  buffalo (Akie)
silele  knife (Akie)
sotwe  lineage (Akie)
tameita  forest (Akie)
tiamisi  ancestor worshiping ceremony (Akie)
tianganyiet (pl. taanganyo)  giraffe (Akie)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tororeita</td>
<td>God (Akie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulele</td>
<td>thickets or open grasslands (Akie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkuita</td>
<td>grasslands (Akie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saisee tororeita</td>
<td>particular rituals that are a part of God worship (Akie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shauri</td>
<td>counsel, advise (Kiswahili)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuka</td>
<td>toga, cotton sheets worn wrapped around the body and tied at the shoulder (Maasai Maa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikirie (pl. sirkon)</td>
<td>zebra (Akie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumu</td>
<td>poison (Kiswahili)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td>what the Akie often call their Guu, Zigua and also Gogo neighbors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiamisi</td>
<td>particular rituals dealing with ancestral worship and communication with the ancestors (assiswe), tiamisi also refers to the mediating spirit between the Akie and their ancestors (Akie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulaya</td>
<td>Europe (Kiswahili)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ujamaa</td>
<td>originally a word meaning familyhood or family solidarity, the word commonly refers to the particular ideology underlying Nyerere villagization emphasizing communal living and collectivization of production (Kiswahili)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zamani</td>
<td>before (Kiswahili)</td>
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Okiek websites: www.ogiek.org and www.peopleteamsorg