A BRIEF HISTORY OF MANGOLA HADZA:

I. Introduction to Hadza History

II. Land Alienation and Resource Degradation

III. Settlement Schemes

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I. INTRODUCTION TO HADZA HISTORY

The Hadza (previously known as Kangeju, Kindiga, or Tindiga)[1] are a small but socially and culturally unified society of people living in the semi-arid land surrounding Lake Eyasi in northern Tanzania. The total Hadza population is estimated at 800 - 1000 individuals, distributed through three administrative regions: 500 - 550 in Mbulu District, Arusha Region, 150 - 250 in Iramba District, Singida Region, and 150 - 200 in Maswa District, Shinyanga Region (Barnicot, et. al., 1972, UTAMADUNI, 1980, and Mbulu D.D.D., unpublished, 1980). There is no evidence that the population of Hadza society was ever any greater.

Despite its small size, Hadza society is entirely distinctive in language, culture, and mode of production. Early studies of the language (which contains click consonants and other distinctive features) postulated its distant relationship to Khoisan (Bushman-Hottentot languages--Bleek, 1931; Westphal, 1956; Greenberg, 1963). But more recent studies based on original fieldwork suggest that the relationship to Khoisan or to Sandawe (another Tanzanian language with click consonants) is superficial. These studies propose that Hadza may be remotely related to Erythraic languages of northeast Africa, but even these propositions are unsubstantiated (Tucker, 1967a, 1967b; Elderkin, 1979). In sum, the evidence from language study is that the Hadza people have been living for a very long time with a culture distinct, but not necessarily isolated, from those of surrounding societies.

The distinctive culture and social organization of Hadza society are closely coordinated with the traditional mode of production, which is nomadic hunting and gathering. Myths, stories, songs and religious rituals are rich in motifs concerning hunting, nomadism, and relationships between the people and wild plants and animals

[1] The name Hadza is their own, the people (plural) being Hadzabe and the language Hadzane. "Tindiga" may derive from the Isanzu language, meaning "run-away", and refer to the Isanzu who fled famine or colonial aggression to live with the Hadza.

(Berger, 1943). The Hadza social organization is remarkably flexible and egalitarian. It permits a maximum of physical mobility and ensures that personal autonomy and a reliable high standard of living are accessible goals (Woodburn, 1964; McDowell, 1981).

The Hadza people maintain that their society has always been one of nomadic hunters and gatherers and that they have always lived in the geographical locality they now occupy. Although other societies undoubtedly occupied the Yaeda-Eyasi basin in ancient times (Köhl-Larsen, 1943), there were probably no people other than Hadza in most of their traditional homeland during the last two centuries at least (Obst, E., 1912; Kohl-Larsen, L., 1943). Non-Hadza who did move through the area, especially Maasai and Datoga pastoralists, were regarded as hostile and avoided by the Hadza (Woodburn, 1979).

Although the escarpments and tsetse-infested bushland around Lake Eyasi kept Hadza society geographically isolated from the surrounding people, there were important, if intermittent, economic and cultural contacts. For example, the Hadza assert that they have always used iron arrow-heads and knives for hunting big game, having obtained iron in trade with the Isanzu people and cold-pounded it themselves. It is difficult to know whether Hadza use of iron extends back to the period of first Arab and European trade influence in central Tanzania, or whether iron from indigenous Bantu iron-forgers was available to Hadza. However, the Hadza know nothing of stone technology and it is unlikely that they or any other East African people were living in the "Stone Age" during the last several hundred years at least.

The Hadza people do not differentiate any moeities, clans, or other sub-units within their society. In fact, they apply kinship terms, real or fictional, to every other Hadza and there are no formal social restrictions on where any Hadza can live (Woodburn, 1964). Their camps constantly change in size and composition, and no person or group ever claims special rights to any locality, resource, or territory. However, many Hadza spend

almost their whole life in one or another area of Hadzaland, and people are commonly referred to by the name of the area they stay in. The pertinent areas east of Lake Eyasi are Tli'ika, Han!abii, Sipunga, and Mangola (Woodburn, 1968). Thus, people living mostly in Mangola are Mangolanebe. This is the group of people upon which the rest of this brief history dwells. They currently number about 160 people, although the youths are much more mobile and difficult to assign to a locality. Their recent history is described in two sections: II. Land Alienation and Resource Degradation, and III. Settlement Schemes.

Any unreferenced information was gathered in interviews with Hadza and other Mangola residents during the author's field research in 1979-1980.

II. LAND ALIENATION AND RESOURCE DEGRADATION

In pre-colonial times the Hadza people's access to natural resources was largely uninhibited by ecological competition or political forces. Quite simply they were the only people in the area, and within Hadza society itself there is no territoriality, no social restrictions on where or with whom a person may live (Woodburn, 1964, 1968b). All natural resources--wild game, wild vegetable crops, water, bee hives, pipestone--are openly available to anyone who wants to seek them, and even harvested food (except honey and specified sections of a large animal carcass) is shared with anyone who asks for it.

In the last 35 years the Hadza people's previously uninhibited access to their resource base has been severely limited by the immigration of pastoral and agricultural people. This immigration of outsiders into Hadzaland is part of a complex demographic trend in the highlands of Mbulu and Hanang Districts. This trend involves a dramatic increase in human population, an increase in the proportion of land cultivated, and a subsequent expansion into marginal lands by pastoralists and agriculturalists alike (Schultz, 1971).

The Mangola area, with its abundant springs, was one focus of this expansion. In 1928 a German farmer named Schnabbe opened the area to agriculture with a plantation at Gengadend. Tanzanians soon opened small irrigated farm plots all over the Mangola river area, and a succession of Europeans operated irrigated plantations at Schnabbe's location for the next 30 years (Woodburn, 1980). In 1948 there was a major migration of Datoga pastoralists into the Yaeda, Endanyawish, and Mangola areas. These herdsmen were fleeing a famine in the Dongobesh and Karatu highlands, but most have settled in the new areas permanently (Brooke, 1967; Schultz, 1971; pers. ob.). This immigration of pastoralists into the arid lowlands of Mbulu District has continued until the present time. Datoga and Iraqw pastoralists and their livestock are now present in every section of Mangola Ward, and the livestock density is often high. The 1977 Ward Livestock census, considered a low estimate, showed 25,121 cattle and 33,180 other stock in the area of the six ward villages (Mangola Ward Livestock office, 1977).

The massive immigration into the Mangola area in the last 35 years (Ward population in 1978 census: 6,846 people in six villages) has resulted in the alienation of Hadza from much of their former land, and, in some cases, the destruction of important Hadza subsistence resources. Their small numbers and flexibility in adapting to the changing condition of their resources makes an organized Hadza defense seem not worth the risks (Woodburn, 1979). Indeed in Mangola Ward the Hadza have simply abandoned large areas of their traditional living and hunting land in response to the invasion of immigrants. Areas in the ward like Laghang Gehreda, Malekichanda, and, especially Gengadend, were once among the prime Hadza living sites in the whole area. But now these areas are heavily occupied by farmers and pastoralists, and rarely visited by Hadza except to do periodic wage labor on the farms (Tomita, 1966).

The Hadza are easily alienated from their former land by dense settlement for two reasons. The first reason is that Hadza fear their society will disintegrate in a situation of ethnic intermixture. Although Hadza describe it as fear of witchcraft, the fact is that Hadza depend on each other for economic and social support.

Fragmentation threatens both Hadza economic survival and social security (see McDowell, 1981). Therefore the Hadza prefer to stay together as an integrated unit, separate and distinct from other peoples. When settlement becomes dense Hadza are obliged to move out in order to maintain their social integrity.

The other reason Hadza become alienated from densely settled land is ecological. Their basic subsistence resources, such as berries, honey and wild game animals are rapidly depleted in areas of dense human settlement.

In the Mangola area the destruction of basic Hadza subsistence resources is quite advanced. For example, at Kambi Nzige in the early 1960's and again at Gengadend in 1979, large tracts of the tree Cordia sinensis (midabi in Swahili), the berries of which are the staple of the Hadza diet from December to February, were destroyed to clear land for cultivation (Tomita, 1966; pers.ob.). Currently the last large tract of this tree in the Mangola area is being destroyed by a growing charcoal industry.

Heavy grazing and browsing pressure from livestock also can destroy Hadza subsistence resources. Observation suggests that large areas once vegetated with, among other species, the important Hadza foods Grewia villosa (karanga ya porini in Swahili) and Grewia lilacina (tatu-tatu in Swahili) have been degraded by heavy livestock pressure, and now consist largely of species unpalatable to humans or livestock, such as Croton sp. and Acacia nubica. Examples include the area surrounding Gengadend and the Murs valley, which lies 12 kilometers SSE of Gengadend.

Heavy livestock pressure almost certainly constitutes direct competition with the wild game species used as a meat source by Hadza. Reports from Hadza and from sport hunters attest to the rapid depletion of wildlife in the Mangola area as livestock increased. This depletion of game is partly attributable to illegal hunting by the immigrant population. Hadza say that the mere presence of livestock frightens many species of wildlife, like eland, out of an area entirely.

The settlement of outsiders in Hadzaland also entails direct

competition for highly desirable resources like honey. Hadza complain that recent settlers now harvest a large proportion of the wild honey which they themselves would have gotten in previous times.

These examples of resource degradation by immigrants and their livestock illustrate why Hadza have difficulty in maintaining traditional economic self-sufficiency in the settled areas of Mangola Ward. When Hadza enter the heavily settled agricultural areas of the Ward, some members of the group must by necessity work as farm laborers. However, because the traditional economic system has health, social, and political advantages which the people are reluctant to sacrifice, Hadza usually prefer to abandon a densely settled area rather than abandon their traditional economy (see McDowell, 1981).

III. SETTLEMENT SCHEMES

The Mangola Hadza have been involved in at least three government-organized settlement schemes, two of them since Tanzanian independence. The threefold goal of the settlement schemes was to persuade the Hadza to 1) abandon their traditional economy of nomadic hunting and gathering, 2) become sedentary and participate in national educational, political, and economic institutions, and 3) become self-sufficient in food production as agriculturalists. Each scheme failed insofar as the Mangola Hadza abandoned the settlements and returned to their traditional nomadic economy without ever being self-sufficient in food production as agriculturalists. Unfortunately, the concrete reasons for the Hadza's abandonment of the settlements are not well known. The assumption is widely made that the Hadza simply refused to "develop" themselves and never showed any gratitude for the services they were given. The facts contradict this assumption, especially if interpreted, as they should be, from the Hadza people's viewpoint.

The Hadza viewpoint is that sedentary agriculture is a viable economic option only if its social and health benefits, including the quality of nutrition, clearly and dependably outweigh those of their traditional economy. When social restrictions and/or health conditions become unsatisfactory in a village settlement, the Hadza

simply leave and rely on the familiar rewards of their traditional economy (McDowell, 1981).

The question for Mangola Hadza is not one of an absolute choice between agriculture and hunting/gathering, for they regularly do seasonal agricultural work and have even cultivated their own farms. The question is: What kind of a combination between traditional economic practice and agricultural work will give the highest and most dependable standard of living?

A. THE CASE HISTORIES: COLONIAL ATTEMPT

The first settlement scheme for the Mangola Hadza was organized by the British Colonial authorities in 1939 and supervised by a local game scout. Although no details are available, it is reported that the game scout abused his position of power and the Hadza left the settlement in less than a year (Woodburn, 1979; 1980).

B. YAEDA CHINI VILLAGE, 1964-65

In 1964 and 1965 a large-scale Hadza settlement scheme was initiated by the Mbulu District authorities with some material support from an American Church of God missionary named Ralph Farmer. In late 1964 or early 1965 the Mangola Hadza were incorporated into the scheme. Two lorries with armed police on board came to Mangola, collected the Hadza from their various camps, and took them to Karatu. There they were given clothing and a place to sleep. But at this point a number of the Hadza slipped out and walked back to Mangola. The next day those remaining were taken from Karatu to Yaeda Chini and dropped off among the other Hadza who had been gathered there.

In the succeeding months supplies of food aid and clothing were reported to be adequate, but the people were living in crowded conditions and sanitation was very bad. Many Hadza were taken ill and a significant number died, probably of respiratory and diarrehal infections. One Mangola elder described how first one, then another of his grandchildren died, and, because several elders also had died in those months, the Mangola people as a whole decided to abandon the Yaeda Chini settlement village. They returned directly to Man-

gola, probably in early 1966.

This example illustrates three problematic situations common in Hadza settlement efforts. First, the Hadza involved obviously did not understand or endorse the settlement scheme prior to its initiation. The methods used to secure their cooperation were implicitly forceful and some of the Hadza absconded during the move. The central problem here, which continues today, is that the Hadza do not understand whether their government's primary intention is to help them improve their standard of living or to punish them for living outside of villages. Hadza participation in the planning process must increase dramatically if settlements are to succeed.

The second problematic situation is the health conditions in the settlement villages. The shock of transport and change of environment, the monotony of the food-aid diet, and the poor sanitation in crowded settlements all contribute to the danger of disease among settled Hadza. Therefore it is recommended that, as a minimum, four health improvement measures be incorporated in Hadza settlement schemes: 1) immediate vaccination against serious infectious diseases, 2) permission for Hadza to choose their own living sites in the villages, 3) permission for Hadza to supplement their diet by gathering traditional food, and 4) a health education campaign responding to specific problems the Hadza suffer in the villages. These measures will not solve all the health problems in settlement villages, but without these measures settlements are almost certain to fail for health reasons alone.

The third point to note is that the Mangola Hadza abandoned Yaeda Chini, the village where they had suffered poor health, but they did not abandon association with agricultural settlement. Bennett et al. (1970) considered three of four groups they met at Mangola in 1966 to be "settled": either doing agricultural work for wages or cultivating themselves. The fact is that the Mangola-area Hadza have frequently found agricultural activity to be a good economic option in the late dry season from August to October. Some have even cultivated for themselves successfully. This readiness to cultivate is illustrated in the next historical episode.

C. ENDAMAGHAY VILLAGE, 1971-1975

In 1971 a Hadza elder named Matina Majui, who was working seasonally in the small agricultural settlement at Endamaghay Village, tried to convince other Mangola-area Hadza to settle there on a permanent basis. This idea was well received by Mbulu District authorities and funding was obtained to establish an Ujamaa village for the Hadza at Endamaghay.

In the next four years, 1972 to 1975, a tremendous amount of money and effort was expended by the District to establish a modern village for the Hadza at Endamaghay. A school, 12 houses, and a dispensary were built and furnished, a maize-grinding machine installed and housed, water piped into the village, food aid and game meat transported to the village, clothing and farm utensils, including plows, donkeys, and modern beehives were provided for the residents. A government-contracted tractor visited the village each year from 1972 to 1975 to cultivate a village plot, and maize and millet seed were provided.

At first, the Mangola Hadza were present en masse, having been persuaded by their elders to settle in the new village. The village roll book for December, 1973, shows the names of 31 Hadza men, 28 of whom were still living in the Mangola area in 1979. However, the Hadza people's daily attendance in the village agricultural, political and educational activities was erratic, especially after 1973. The reasons for this erratic attendance are not clear. However, village records (visitors book) suggest that food shortages were common, and beginning in 1975, water supply to the village was often cut. Also it appears that the Hadza temporarily moved out of the village when traditional foods were particularly abundant, such as in January when Cordia sinensis (madabi) berries are ripe. The implication is that Hadza responded to erratic food and water supply in the village by temporarily resorting to traditional food sources.

Endamaghay village, like the earlier Yaeda Chini Scheme, suffered from the fact that the facilities were provided on the basis of what planners thought the Hadza should have, rather than on the basis of what Hadza said they needed. However, the eventual abandonment of Endamaghay by the Hadza can be traced primarily to a failure of food supply.

Agricultural production at Endamaghay declined steadily through the four years of Hadza residence. In 1972 the acreage planted (unknown) to maize and millet produced a harvest estimated at 50 bags total. In 1973 the harvest was significantly smaller, and in 1974, due to very poor rainfall, the harvest was estimated at only 10 bags total (fide residents).

Due to the small harvests the resident Hadza continued to depend on food aid in each of these years. In early 1975, while the planted crop was still unripe, the District Commissioner announced to the village residents that their "success" in agriculture meant that no further food aid would be provided. However, the 1975 drought totally destroyed the crop in the field. With food aid cut, and no prospect for a harvest, the Hadza had no choice but to leave the village and seek out traditional food sources. This situation was complicated when the Mbulu District Natural Resources Office sent a letter to the village, dated 29/5/75 (Na. NRT/H/MB/GAME/95), to announce that, despite the issuance of a Presidential License to the Hadza to allow them to hunt without paying fees, the District had decided to sieze and prosecute any Hadza found hunting with bow and poisoned arrows. This meant that subsistence hunting, the Hadza's last resort after food aid and their crop had both failed, was officially forbidden to them as village residents. Therefore it is not suprising that the Hadza almost entirely abandoned Endamaghay in 1975.

The village was finally abandoned because Hadza failed to become self sufficient as food-crop farmers, and their access to other key resources, especially food aid, water, and game meat, was cut off by environmental or political conditions. The fact is that non-irrigated maize and millet cropping, like that tried at Endamaghay, is not a dependable means of food production in the arid Mangola environment. Essentially all Mangola farmers currently depend on irrigated crop systems. Therefore, a successful Hadza settlement scheme in Mangola would also have to depend on irrigated farms.

It should be noted that Hadza mention the problem with subsistence hunting as one main reason they left Endamaghay. The border of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area is very close to Endamaghay, and on at least one occasion Hadza youths were siezed, and beaten, by Conservation Area game guards for alleged offenses. This incident contributed

to the Hadza decision that the Endamaghay area was inappropriate for their settlement.

Access to subsistence hunting is very important to the success of Hadza settlement schemes because the people depend on the meat obtained to supplement and vary their diet and to provide an alternative food supply if agricultural products are temporarily unavailable. Arrangements for the legalization of subsistence hunting are provided for in the 1974 Wildlife Conservation Act under the auspices of the Minister for Natural Resources and Tourism (McDowell, 1981).

D. CURRENT STATUS OF MANGOLA HADZA

Since 1975 the Mangola Hadza have been depending upon a combination of traditional economic techniques and seasonal farm labor. In the period November through July, when traditional food resources are widely available, the Hadza use their traditional production techniques, and in August through October most of them live around agricultural settlements doing some farm labor. Considering their alienation from areas with permanent surface water, this seasonal commitment to farm labor around the ward villages is a virtual necessity for Mangola Hadza. However, many Hadza recognize that cultivation of their own farms, either seasonal or full-time, would offer more security than seasonal farm labor.

It is for this reason that Mangola Hadza are keenly interested in the possibility of government aid to help them establish an agricultural settlement. In January, 1980, these Hadza proposed, in meetings with representatives of the Rift Valley Project research team, to establish such a village in the Balai River floodplain six kilometers east of Gengadend. The choice of site obviously reflects the Hadza's desire to maintain their social integrity through isolation, and also their interest in living where they can continue to do some hunting and other food-gathering.

As no government action was taken on the Balai area proposal (for the good reason that the land is not irrigable) the Mangola Hadza assembled their entire population at Mikocheni in September/October, 1980, and again proposed to establish a settlement with government aid. In two meetings with the Mbulu District Commissioner these Hadza requested that farm implements and food aid be provided

to them by the District government so they could open their own farms at Mikocheni.

The Hadza chose the Mikocheni area themselves, and they are acting on an independently recognized concern for economic security. This, together with the availability of irrigable land in that area, portends well. The challenge which lies ahead is for Hadza to secure and maintain rights to sufficient land at Mikocheni despite the continuing influx of land-hungry immigrants. If this is possible the Mangola Hadza will have the opportunity they desire to establish themselves as self-sufficient farmers.

The transition to subsistence farming will take some years for the Hadza. They will undoubtedly choose to pursue traditional activities, like honey collecting and subsistence hunting, during and after the transition. This prospective diversity of production techniques should be wholly encouraged. Diversification is sound economic strategy in Mangola's Rift Valley environment. The Hadza are experts at exploiting the area's natural resources, and they realize that their standard of living will be best served by a combination of food-crop farming and traditional production activities. Moreover, some of the traditional Hadza subsistence activities, especially honey collecting, could be modified to provide the people with the capacity to earn significant cash income (McDowell, 1981).

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