

## NATURALOGRAPHY OF CO-EXISTENCE AMONG EAST AFRICAN PASTORAL SOCIETIES: AN INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW OF JAPANESE SCHOLARSHIP<sup>(1)</sup>

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### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this special topic of *African Study Monographs* (ASM) titled “Naturalography of Co-existence among East African Pastoral Societies” is to introduce some of research achievements on East African pastoral societies in Japan. In this Introduction, we review previous researches mainly referring to articles and books written in English,<sup>(2)</sup> though we sometimes refer to important articles and books written in Japanese.<sup>(3)</sup> Three articles are published following this Introduction.

It is interesting that anthropological researches of pastoral societies have flourished in Japan where historically no pastoralists have lived. One of the triggers leading to this flourishing was an article titled “On the Nomadic Pastoralism” by Kinji Imanishi, an ecologist at Kyoto University who set up a bold hypothesis on the origin of animal domestication based from his field research of Mongolian nomadic lifestyles (Imanishi, 1948J<sup>(4)</sup>). His argument was based on the symmetrical and interactive perspectives of human-animal relationships, rather than perspectives that were Western-oriented and human-centered. Stimulated by this novel article, Tadao Umesao and Yutaka Tani developed a discussion on the domestication process and the pastoral culture (Tani, 1976J; 2017; Umesao, 1976J).

Many anthropologists in Japan have taken inspiration from this groundwork and conducted intensive and long-term fieldwork in the pastoral societies of Eurasia, Africa, and South America. Many share an attitude of tackling research which can be termed as “naturalographic” (Sugawara, 2017J: cf. Itani, 1980J).<sup>(5)</sup> This refers to the method of assembling thoughts based solely on what people (including the researchers themselves) grasp from inside the life-world, and originates from such a trend of thought as Imanishi was attempting to overcome the narcissism of the human species (Imanishi, 1949J). The naturalographic attitude differs from a naturalistic attitude, which assumes that the natural world, as the entirety of all beings, can only be understood through scientific knowledge which convergences natural scientific law. However, the inexhaustible phenomenon of a creature’s behavior and interaction as witnessed within the life-world is spreading, which reflects with the naturalographic attitude. The link between human orientation and the action that is intricately intermingled with it is crowded.

The categorization of entities is empirically recognized through sensitivities built into human cognition during phylogenetic processes. Therefore, human reason can also be regarded as a continuation of animal intelligence that picks up appropriate information from the environment and acts upon entities and other life forms in a functionally specific way. The human mind and the cognitive world are generated as one part of the direct experiences that the human body receives and acts upon within the world (Kitamura, 2017), and the naturalographic attitude consciously projects its thoughts into this ecology of enaction.

It can be said that the anthropologists in Japan have carried through with this attitude partly because they have encountered nomadic pastoralist lifestyles in the field, which are thoroughly different from the historically dominant sedentary agricultural lifestyles in Japan. Such strong alterity has prevented them from relying on easy and ready-made interpretations of their field data.

Unfortunately, research achievements in Japan concerning pastoral societies are not well known outside of Japan. Therefore, the purpose of this special topic is to introduce some of these achievements, though the scope is limited to the researches of East African pastoral societies.<sup>(6)</sup> In this article, we briefly summarize the central and unique themes of the researches in Japan such as the environment and livelihood; man-animal relations; transaction and ownership; society and body; inter-group relations; and social interactions.

## BRIEF HISTORY OF RESEARCH IN JAPAN

Firstly, we provide a brief history of the anthropological researches on East African pastoral societies in Japan. In Japan, academic interest in African societies increased after the end of the Second World War. The substantive foundations for the study of African human<sup>(7)</sup> societies began with the formation of the “First Kyoto University Africa Primatological Expedition” party led by Imanishi.<sup>(8)</sup> The expedition party was composed of a primatologist group and a social anthropologist group (Imanishi, 1967: 2). In November 1961, group members visited Tanganyika, which was under British rule, to begin intensive field research in plural sites. This expedition group continued until the sixth party in 1967. In Japan, many of these party members are considered as pioneers of anthropology and African studies.

It is often said there are two contrasting trends of anthropological research in Japan; the “West,” as centered at Kyoto University, and the “East,” as centered predominantly at the University of Tokyo, Tokyo Metropolitan University and Hitotsubashi University (Kurimoto, 2005a; Matsuda, M., 2014J). The former tends to proceed with their research as a group unit; the latter as an individual unit. The former emphasizes an ecological anthropological orientation that considers the human-nature relationship and the latter takes the more orthodox social and cultural anthropological style. Researches concerning East African pastoral societies have mainly been promoted by the “West” researchers, especially during the early period,<sup>(9)</sup> although there have been many personal and institutional relationships

between the “West” and the “East” (Shiino, 2008J). There were two “lineages,” or lines, inside the “West” group; the Tomikawa (and Umesao)-Fukui line, and the Itani-Tanaka line, which were both under the same “clan” that was founded by Imanishi (Kurimoto, 2005a: 76). This composition reflected the group’s organization during the aforementioned expedition, where Tomikawa was the leader of the social anthropologist group, and Itani was the leader of the primatologist group. In order to avoid any misunderstandings, we note that there have been many personal and institutional relationships beyond these two lines and two lines have been converged with the passage of time.

The leader of the social anthropologist group, Morimichi Tomikawa, stayed in the Mangola area on the eastern shore of Lake Eyasi, northern Tanzania, to conduct research on the Datoga (Tomikawa, 1967; 1970; 1972; 1978; 1979; 1986). Tadao Umesao, who later became the founding director of the National Museum of Ethnology in Japan, also conducted an intensive research on the Datoga (Umesao, 1966; 1969a; 1969b). Toshinao Yoneyama and Shohei Wada conducted field research among the Iraqw, who neighbored with the Datoga (Wada, 1969a; 1969b; 1971; 1975; 1979; 1980; 1984; 1992; Yoneyama, 1969; 1970; 1973). They (Itani mentioned below should be included) are a first generation of African studies in Japan.

Katsuyoshi Fukui mediated the first generation and future generations. After conducting research on the Iraqw (Fukui, K., 1969; 1970a; 1970b), he began a field investigation on the Bodi (or Me’en) of southwestern Ethiopia in 1973 (Fukui, K., 1979; 1988; 1994; 1996a; 2001), and the Nalim of southern Sudan in 1982 (Fukui, K., 1984; 1986; 1996b). Fukui encouraged many students to conduct field researches on pastoral groups and their neighbors in southern Ethiopia and southern Sudan. In southern Sudan (presently South Sudan), Eisei Kurimoto began researching the Pari in 1978 (Kurimoto, 1984; 1986; 1992a; 1994; 1995a; 1996a; 1998; 2009) and later, the Anywaa of western Ethiopia (Kurimoto, 1992b; 1995b; 1996b; 1997; 2001; 2002; 2005b) due to the influence of civil war in Sudan (Kurimoto, 1996J). Masayoshi Shigeta conducted research among the Acholi in southern Sudan and later the Aari of southern Ethiopia (Shigeta, 1990; 1996a; 1996b; 1997; Shigeta & Kaneko, 2017). In southern Ethiopia, Hiroshi Matsuda researched the Koegu (or Muguji) (Matsuda, H., 1994; 1996; 2002; 2008), while Yukio Miyawaki studied the Ts’amakko and Hor (or Arbore) peoples in the late 1980s (Miyawaki, 1994; 1996a; 1996b; 1997; 2006; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2018a; 2018b). The 1990s saw Gen Tagawa commence research on the Borana (Tagawa, 1997; 2007; 2017), and Ken Masuda on the Banna (Masuda, 1997; 2000; 2009a; 2009b). Around the same time, Hiroshi Nawata focused on the Beja of eastern Sudan under Fukui’s guidance (Nawata, 2001; 2005; 2006). Fukui and Kurimoto organized international symposiums at the National Museum of Ethnology, and the academic meetings focused on the eastern and northeastern African societies which bridged Japanese and foreign scholars (Fukui & Turton eds., 1979; Fukui & Markakis eds., 1994; Fukui, Kurimoto & Shigeta eds., 1997; Kurimoto & Simonse eds., 1998; James et al. eds., 2002).<sup>(10)</sup>

Meanwhile, Junichiro Itani was the leader of the primatologist group and was later awarded the Thomas Huxley Memorial Medal in 1984 for his achievements

on the “Evolution of Primate Social Structure.” Based on his concerns for human evolution, he gradually extended his research objectives toward human societies, including hunter-gathers, shifting cultivators, and pastoralists. Itani and Jiro Tanaka, who is famous for his pioneering works on the San (or Bushman) in southern Africa, organized a research team to focus on the arid and semi-arid areas of northern and western Kenya (Harako, 1982; Imai, 1982a; 1982b; Itani 1980; Kurita, 1982; 1983; Tanaka, 1980; 1982). Some of the members of this team continued their intensive researches on pastoralist societies over a long duration of time, including Shun Sato’s focus on the Rendille from 1975 (Sato, 1980; 1984; 1986; 1988; 1992; 1997; 1998) and later the Garri (Sato, 1996), Itaru Ohta’s focus on the Turkana from 1978 (Ohta, 1980; 1982; 1984; 1987; 1989; 2001; 2005a; 2005b; 2007a; 2007b; 2017; 2019 in this volume; Tachiiri & Ohta, 2004)<sup>(11)</sup> and Kazuhiro Shikano’s study of the Samburu from 1982 (Shikano, 1984; 1986; 1988; 1990; 2002).

From these foundational works, the Itani-Tanaka line member’s researches have been enriched both quantitatively and qualitatively from the late 1980s. Koji Kitamura and Shinsuke Sakumichi conducted research among the Turkana (Kitamura, 1988; 1990a; 1997; Sakumichi, 1997). Kaori Kawai focused on the Chamus (Kawai, 1988; 1990; 1998; 2008; 2018) and Dodoth (Kawai, 2013; 2017; 2019).<sup>(12)</sup> Toru Soga first studied the Gabra Malbe in Kenya (Soga, 1997a; 1997b; 2001; 2005) and later Gabra Miigo in Ethiopia (Soga, 2006; 2009; 2011), while Shinya Konaka studied the Garri, and later the Samburu (Konaka, 1997; 2001; 2010; 2017a; 2017b; 2018). In the late 1990s, graduate schools increased the numbers of students and Ph.D. candidates engaging in research activities on the East African pastoral societies, predominantly under Ohta’s supervision at Kyoto University.<sup>(13)</sup>

## ENVIRONMENT AND LIVELIHOOD

Ecological anthropology addresses the most basic necessity of being human: the requirement of food. This approach analyzes how people obtain sustenance, and recognize and work with the natural environment. Through analyzing this process, this theory attempts to understand human beings in relation to nature. Tanaka has been conducting ecological anthropological research on the San hunter-gatherers of the Kalahari Desert since 1966, and has researched the Rendille and Pokot pastoralists of the arid areas of northern Kenya since 1975. His comparative study concludes that in Africa, hunter-gatherers and pastoralists demonstrate extensive land utilization by frequent migration, have a quantitatively limited material culture, have elaborate demographic regulations, and enjoy flexible social structures as a result of their adaptation to an arid environment (Tanaka, 1982).

One of the first trends in East African pastoral research in Japan was to explore the adaptation strategies used by pastoral peoples in overcoming the conditions of the natural environment, including famine caused by drought (Ohta, 1980; Tanaka, 1980; Imai, 1982b; Itani, 1982J; Fukui, K., 1984). Sato’s study in 1975

Rendilleland also clarified the Rendille's socio-ecological adaptation strategies against natural constraints such as climate change, and the physiological ecology of livestock. Based on detailed data on livestock (camels) ecology such as the dietary habits, quantities of milk produced, age-sex composition, population dynamics of herds, livestock management, livestock exchange systems, and consumption and distribution of livestock products, Sato advanced astonishing research results. As a result of the regulation of camel inheritance by the eldest son in their age-system, the average value of the marriageable age increased. Accordingly, this has the function to suppress population growth, as a stunning consistency can be seen between the growth of the camel and human population in Sato's study (Sato, 1980; 1984; 1992J).

Researchers have provided the definition of pastoralism as a way of life that is created by converting plant resources that humans cannot use for food into livestock bodies such as blood, milk, and meat (Ohta, 1980; Tanaka, 1980). Itsuhiro Hazama quantitatively examined the edibility of plants among the Dodoth in north-eastern Uganda, and noted that their livestock actively ate plants that humans themselves did not eat. He concluded that the savanna is a fertile ecological resource, and livestock are an extended body of the pastoralists (Hazama, 2015J). In order to sustain pastoralism, it is necessary to increase the efficiency of resource usage in order to keep a variety of livestock, to maintain a high mobility of livestock camps, and to flexibly utilize the skills and strategies of subsistence (Sun, 2005). How then, is the ecological knowledge of pastoralists generated and passed on to the next generation? What is the correct way to carry out pastoral activities as transmitted across generations? Tian Xiaojie's empirical research on the Maasai of southern Kenya regarded questions surrounding daily life, such as children's play, and direct or indirect participation in subsistence related activities (Tian, 2016; 2017a; 2017b; 2018a; 2018b; 2019 in this volume).

Sato's research initially intended to examine the implications of human life from an ecological perspective, yet the focus gradually shifted to the issues of distribution and exchange. Although this was within the framework of ecological thinking, this led to research trends in which a strong orientation for a socioeconomic theory over a socio-ecological theory was recognized (Sato, 1996; 1997; 1998). Since the 1980s, several studies focused on the implementation of sedentarization policies and development plans, and the social change that resulted from them. Much less attention was paid to nomadic activity as the basis of people's lives, and there was little indication of a positive future for nomads. Sun Xiaogang, using Sato's accumulated research on the Rendille, considered the ambitious practices started in recent years of contact between local communities, nation-states, and global societies in relation to the sustainability of life (Sun, 2005). Sun found that the number of camels in the research area was larger, and the number of camels per household was greater immediately after the 1980 drought. He convincingly claimed that the Rendille's nomadic management had the power to recover from disaster and recover the herd. The number of cattle per household that could be converted into a monetary economy quadrupled between 1993 and 2003. The cattle were moving around Rendilleland more extensively due to the

high demand for water and pasture than the camels that were able to travel long distances without water.

Socio-economic theories as based on ecological anthropology have also played a role in elucidating the unique combination of the global and local, and presents a framework for identifying the arts of the pastoralists' survival within their areas using humanitarian assistance. Konaka described the ingenuity with which the internally displaced persons from pastoral communities have incorporated everyday commodities, as distributed by humanitarian agencies, into their local building techniques in ways that were not anticipated by humanitarian agencies, in order to make full use of them in their refugee lifestyles (Konaka, 2017b).<sup>(14)</sup> Sun researched the settlement of the Rendille, to whom the United Nation's World Food Program distributed food relief to every two weeks after a severe drought. Although food distribution is only made for so-called "fragile households" that are certified according to global standards, Sun (2017) found that after the aid agency staff had left, the villagers collected the total food received and redistributed it to include all households. Reciprocal social relationships are paramount to sustaining life in the face of chronic food shortages and the uncertain threat of natural disasters. Hence, the villagers were re-adjusting themselves so that their collective life defense system did not collapse from an imbalance in the distribution of relief food.

## MAN-ANIMAL RELATIONS

Biologists use "symbiosis" as the term for when two species are in contact and live without harming each other. Pastoralists and livestock as domesticated animals are incorporated into one system of interaction, while living in different bodies.<sup>(15)</sup> Researchers, based on the naturalographic attitude, block the "psychologization" of projecting subjectivity onto animals, and discuss the relationship between this silhouette and human subjectivity. Then, they ask the practical question of whether the "preconceptions" of both livestock and pastoralists are appropriate for sustaining the relationship, and concentrate on the essence of the interactions across human/animal boundaries. In the naturalographic approach, pastoralists and livestock face each other with their own "preconceptions" which drives relational behavior in the pastoral world (Tani, 1976J; Ohta, 1982). The only way to tackle pastoral culture using a naturalographic approach is to unravel the logic and meaning of the relational behavior.

Ohta used a focal sampling method as developed in primate sociology to quantitatively elucidate the inter-individual proximity among a goat herd during a herding day trip with the Turkana. As the herds maintain an integration within pasture grounds, this does not relate to a "collectivity that is structured by a specific dyad relationship," and as such, an amorphous group structure arises as an unintentional consequence of the pastoralists' management of relationships, such as castration, the separation of mothers and infants, and the repeated herding day trips (Ohta, 1982). Shikano compared the social behavior of the goats of the Samburu with the feral goats he observed in Ogasawara Island, as based on a focal sampling

method, and proved that such a large herd as goats showed in Samburuland was quite peculiar to domesticates in general. He pointed out that the internally uniform herd had a peculiar boundary that was formed by domesticated goats results agglomerated in the movement from settlement they recognized as home range (Shikano, 1984; 1990).

The working hours spent by the shepherds was very small as grazing is left to the autonomy of animals themselves (Ohta, 1982; Shikano, 1984). The main aspects used to control behavior was the shepherds' accompaniment to the herd, body movements, and vocalization (Hazama, 2015J). The Turkana gave their animals individual names, which were mostly derived from characteristics of their appearance, given only to parous females, and are called at the time of milking (Ohta, 1987). If animals learned to correlate the milking situation and the voice (individual name) uttered by the person, then the individual name for animal was a signal that informed the animal that milking would be performed. However, Ohta noted that a cow whose name was called during milking did not show a clear reaction.

If the system that unites humans and domesticated animals is termed "pastoral culture," it is natural that there is a difference between the cultures, and that this cultural difference can be confirmed by human-animal communication. In response to Ohta's report on the Turkana, Hazama conducted a name calling test during a cattle herding day trip among the Karimojong, and demonstrated that names were recognized by parous and mature nulliparous females, as well as males (Hazama, 2015J). Throughout the suckling period, each animal may bond to the person who calls their name and brings them to their mother. Based on such initial memories, Hazama revealed the establishment of primordial communication between humans and animals.

A study on the vast vocabulary of the colors and patterns representing the body color and hair pattern of livestock was pioneered by Fukui (Fukui, K., 1979; 1986; 1996a). Using color recognition theory as developed in cognitive anthropology as his starting point, he brilliantly elucidated the Bodi's sense of color in southwestern Ethiopian. The Bodi had eight basic color terms and 15 pattern vocabularies. Moreover, the fine folk Mendelism concerning the expression of animal body colors and the eye for the colors of pastoralist landscape are highly developed. The colors and patterns are known as *aegi* and have close relations to the personal names of the Bodi. The emotions revolving around the *aegi* have been passed down from generation to generation and are quite specific, and when a *morale*, or cattle, as strongly identified through its *aegi* dies, the owner madly grieves and murders a member of the neighboring ethnic groups (Fukui, K., 1979; 1991J).

The great precision of the East African pastoralists' cognition at the vocabulary level demonstrates the ability to differentiate various attributes such as the sex, stage of growth, body color, pattern, and horn shape, which has amazed researchers.<sup>(16)</sup> For those born and raised in this society, each of the animals appears as a unique individual from the beginning. As Ohta noted, the body color and pattern of the livestock animals was a source of irreplaceability when being commoditized, as it accounted for the most dominant part of the animal's individuality, or

“face” (Ohta, 2001). Hazama collected the oral poem that sing the individual life history of the Karimojong that were created using the visual imagery of everyday life as a source of inspiration. The visual world was given a form of expression through the reversal of the grounds and figures that surrounded the livestock’s body color and pattern, the shape-shifting of the scales between constituent objects of landscape, and the use of optical illusions (Hazama, 2012).

## TRANSACTION AND OWNERSHIP

The gift, exchange, and lending of livestock is fundamental for pastoralists to form and maintain social relationships with others. Many researches in Japan have addressed a warning in applying the assumptions and concepts of market economy, commodity exchange, and private ownership to the economic activities of pastoral peoples, and clarified the pastoralist’s own logic when regarding the transaction of livestock.

Sato and Soga focused on the complex trust system (or long-term loan) of camels among the Rendille and Gabra of northern Kenya (Sato, 1992; Soga, 1997a; 1997b). People formed various dyadic relations and extended their networks by widely leasing and subleasing camels with people who were from beyond their patrilineal clans. The system increases the solidarity of the people and provides a sense of belonging to the wider society. One of the interesting points in this system was the relationship between the camel owner and the trustee who acquired the camel from him (Ohta, 2019J). Although it was clear that the ownership of the entrusted camel belongs to the owner who lent it first, there was a belief that the owner cannot freely exercise their ownership, and that they were required to negotiate with others in order to receive their own property back. For example, the owner was required to give a valid reason when asking the trustee to return the entrusted camel, such as the belief that the trustee did not properly care for the camel (Soga, 1997a). It was believed that an owner who forcibly collected an entrusted camel would suffer something unpleasant. We cannot apply our concepts of ownership or debt without a careful modification to the camel trust system.

Ohta criticized the discussion that livestock functions as a “primitive money” within pastoral societies, as based on his research on the Turkana. While it is true that the Turkana recognized the general exchange “rate” between their livestock and other livestock or goods, livestock were not exchangeable at fixed rates, but were always the object of long negotiations during each occasion. By strictly examining actual transactions and the epistemology of verbs on the exchanges, Ohta concluded that, although they shared superficial similarities, the function and meaning of livestock within East African pastoral societies was fundamentally different from the money in a market economy (Ohta, 2001; 2002J). Ohta also focused on the begging activities among the Turkana in his influential article, unfortunately only written in Japanese (Ohta, 1986J). He emphasized that there was no “duty to reciprocate” among the Turkana, and that the right to their own property was always debated through face-to-face negotiation. Among the Turkana, the uncer-



tainty of ownership was not negatively evaluated as the cause of a sense of insecurity, but created a sense of conviviality and mutual recognition with others (Ohta, 2017; 2019 in this volume).

How then, does the penetration of a market economy influence the subsistence economy that is centered on livestock? Konaka comprehensively revealed the logic of articulation within a market economy, and the response to the introduction of money to the Samburu (Konaka, 1997; 2001). While the Samburu often sold their livestock at markets, most of them were male or castrated. The money received from sales was used for buying new female livestock and contributed to the increase of herds. Pastoralists are neither solely conservative, nor entrepreneurs, but flexible and tough subjects who incorporate a market economy into their livestock-centered economy. Konaka termed this way of articulation as “a dual economy of pastoralism” (Konaka, 2006J). He proposed that the external development actors needed to respect the pastoralist’s logic of a dual economy and treat livestock as community currency. In fact, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) later implemented a development project in northern Kenya based on Konaka’s research achievements. Konaka recently dealt with the localization of humanitarian assistance within East African pastoral societies and continues his work in bridging research and practices (Konaka, 2017b; 2017c).

## SOCIETY AND BODY

In recent years, meritocracy is rapidly sweeping seniority. However, still it is not unusual that social roles are determined by age, and more authority is given to older people. In East African pastoral societies, such age-based systems are well developed, and people are organized into groups according to age (or generation), and each group has its own role.

There are three directions of the researches on functions related to the age system: those that focus on the aspects of military, political, and social roles as generated and maintained by the age system (Sato, 1984; Kurimoto, 1995a); those that focus on the ritual and cognitive aspects of creating a sense of time and structural order within a community that shares a system (Miyawaki, 1996b); and those that focus on the interrelation of these two aspects to elucidate the historical and political importance that is included (Kurimoto & Simonse eds., 1998). Tagawa (2017) revisited that which social anthropologists term “the structural problem of demographic contradiction” between the generation-set system and the age-set system; both of which are the two wheels on which everything rolls around the *gadaa* sociopolitical system of the Borana. Tagawa detailed the age gap the Borana expressed. Previous studies have pointed out that the rule of how generation-set recruits increase the age gap of members of the generation-set over time, thereby causing dysfunction. Tagawa found that most people who can reach the final ritual of the age-grade of the generation-set are latecomers and that they can act on behalf of the dead who could not reach it. He persuasively concluded that the age gap was indispensable for perpetuating Borana *gadaa* practices.

Kawai, in her research on the Chamus society, revealed that women, as individuals, advanced their age-grade through ceremonies related to biological change, such as their first childbirth, menopause, and the social changes in becoming adults and getting married (Kawai, 1998). Interestingly, the Chamus, after being exposed to the effects of modernization, responded to social change by creating several new categories for the “unmarried women who have been circumcised,” in order to prevent uncircumcised women from becoming mothers, which was thought of as being a sinister symptom. Kyoko Nakamura, who conducted research on Samburu society in central Kenya, also focused on creating an age category of “unmarried circumcised women” against the context of school education and international health activities. She revealed that the Samburu positively understood the new age-related attempt as a practice that enabled the avoidance of abortion and infanticide (Nakamura, 2007). These researches into the age system have contributed not only to the development of the viewpoint of human beings as represented in social categories, but also to the description of flexible social practices that adjust to the new placement upon individual corporeal beings in response to social change.

Kawai originally investigated ethnographic researches on the ethnomedicine of the Chamus. The Chamus observed medical symptoms in detail and tried to arrange them into a system of anatomical and physiological knowledge. The Chamus, as pastoral peoples, projected the anatomical processes of domesticated animals onto their own bodies in order to understand their physical conditions, based on common anatomical and physiological structures. At the same time, they were able to accept logical inconsistencies in the structure of disease theory as “they can happen” (Kawai, 1998J). This indication seems to resonate with Ohta’s consideration of the Turkana’s etiology of animals. He writes that fatalism underpins their attitude, meaning that there is a scarce treatment system in the event of animal illness. For the Turkana, the cause of illness is not worth discussing because it was beyond their understanding, and they were too powerless to stop it once it occurred (Ohta, 1984).

Based on this approach to illness by the Turkana, Sakumichi (1997) confirmed that they explained illness at the physiological and anatomical levels, and ramified the concept of illness as part of the magico-religious system. The Turkana coping mechanism personified or objectified the cause of illness. Sakumichi argued that these practices prevented the patient and their families from falling into the unlimited exploration of cause- and -reason, and distanced themselves from authoritative intervention. Sakumichi clearly demonstrated the changes in health care and social and economic change as the context for the emergence of a new illness called *ewosinangachin* or “feces of anus.” *Ewosinangachin* was understood in conformity with the bodily structure in the context of hunger and the changes in food and livelihood, which is compared to the divisions of periods such as “before,” and “since,” the great drought of 1980 to 1981 (Sakumichi, 2012J). Therefore, illness can be socially discussed, manipulated, and affirmed in a way that reflects and gives meaning to how the sick experience and understand their body and ailments.

## INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

Since E. E. Evans-Pritchard's work on the Nuer in 1940, British social anthropologists had analyzed the social structure of each ethnic group as if it were isolated from its neighboring groups. In the 1960s, when this research framework was still dominant, Tomikawa clarified that the Datoga of northern Tanzania had formed a "multi-tribal (or multi-ethnic) society of co-existence" with neighboring groups, and pointed out that each ethnic group must be perceived as a unit consisting of the wider regional or total society (Tomikawa, 1967; 1970; 2005J). In his review article (Tomikawa, 1971), he stated that a characteristic of the African anthropological studies in Japan is the emphasis on the regional perspective and the focus on inter-ethnic relationships, which contrasted with the British anthropological traditions.<sup>(17)</sup> It can be said that such characteristics were formed partly because the research at group unit necessarily arouses the interest to other societies which other members of team research.

This tradition has been succeeded by junior researchers. Based on his research in the lower Omo valley of southwestern Ethiopia and southern Sudan, Fukui explained that each ethnic group maintained its boundary between us and them through their individual cultural apparatus, such as an ideology that legitimized the attack against an enemy, which itself is formed through inter-ethnic interactions. He referred to this organic linkage among the ethnic groups as an "ethno-system" (Fukui, K., 1999J). Thus, Fukui and his team elucidated the various facets of inter-ethnic relationships in the lower Omo valley. For instance, Matsuda compared the "annexation" and "assimilation" with the neighboring pastoralists of non-pastoral minority groups of the Koegu (or Muguji) and Kara (Matsuda, H., 1994), while Takeshi Fujimoto focused on armed conflicts from the viewpoint of the Malo agriculturalists, who were the target of attack by neighboring pastoral groups (Fujimoto, 2009). Miyawaki used his research on the Hor (or Abore) to introduce the framework of historical center-peripheral relationships in Ethiopia (Miyawaki, 2006; 2008; 2010). Masuda analyzed how the proliferation of firearms influenced the inter-ethnic and community-state relationships of the Banna (Masuda, 2009a: cf. Matsuda, H., 2002; Hazama, 2009b; Sagawa, 2010a).

Following the Tomikawa-Fukui line (Kurimoto, 2005a: 73), Kurimoto, who first visited southern Sudan under Fukui's guidance, argued that the various aspects of social organizations and cultural elements, especially age system, are shared beyond the ethnic boundaries in the area as they have been mutually borrowed and copied beyond each ethnic group. He termed this phenomenon as a "resonance" (Kurimoto, 1998; Kurimoto & Simonse eds., 1998), and stated that the "resonated" age system provided the common code of behavior and recognition at the meta-ethnic level. He also considered how the *monyomaji* age system, shared among more than a dozen ethnic groups on the east bank of the Nile in the Eastern and Central Equatoria states in South Sudan, had been concerned with conflicts and co-existences before and after the independence of South Sudan (Simonse & Kurimoto eds., 2011).<sup>(18)</sup>

Kawai also examined the inter-ethnic relationships between the Dodoth and neighboring pastoralists, focusing on livestock raiding. While Tomikawa and others focused on social organization and cultural apparatus, Kawai paid attention to the individual's viewpoint and the facets of face-to-face interactions. She placed the raiding as an issue of "the perception of others and communication," and examined the circumstances behind these hostile interactions at the individual level. For the Dodoth, the "enemy" was not a fixed object, but one that was relative and context-dependent. Kawai discussed that pastoral groups in east Africa shared "the indifference to other's attributes," and formed "supracommunal pastoral value-sharing sphere" beyond the ethnic boundaries (Kawai, 2004J; 2013; 2017; 2019).<sup>(19)</sup> Hazama, who also researched the Dodoth and Karimojong, pointed out that the flexible inter-ethnic relationships in the area were based on the pastoralist's attitudes toward each other, and the individual relationship was superior to the group category (Hazama, 2014; 2015J: cf. Naito, 2005; 2007). Toru Sagawa showed the various individual cross-cutting ties beyond ethnic boundaries among the Daasanach and their "enemy" groups, and processed how these relationships were formed by focusing on face-to-face interactions (Sagawa, 2010c; 2019). Sagawa emphasized that it was necessary to consider the periods of war and peace in East African pastoral societies as a continuum and a pendular-like dynamic of enmity and amity, rather than a binary opposition (Sagawa, 2011J). Kawai and others pursued the commonality beyond the ethnic boundaries in East African pastoral societies by focusing on the pastoralist's "living attitude or posture," which cannot be reduced to social structure and cultural apparatus.

Pastoralists have also formed co-existent relationships with non-pastoral groups that include not only neighboring agriculturalists (Izumi, 2017) but also "strangers." Ohta examined the individual amicable relationships between the Turkana and refugee in Kakuma camp, who had an antagonistic relationship at the group-level, through the exchange of goods as their livelihood (Ohta, 2005a; 2005b). Toshio Meguro depicted the difficult but patient co-existence between the Maasai and external actors in the Amboseli National Park of southern Kenya (Meguro, 2011a; 2011b; 2014; 2017; 2019 in this volume).

## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

One effective way to understand the experience of intercultural interactions from the inside is to closely observe the processes where the observers themselves are inevitably involved in the interactions. Ohta approached the principle of reciprocity, consistent with interpersonal relationships, by accurately rewriting the anguishing experience of how he experienced the constant begging from the Turkana (Ohta, 1986J). Kitamura developed Ohta's method more consciously, and logically arranged very specific episodes of "being unable to communicate with a joke," and "telling a lie," in order to portray the Turkana's relentless way of life that demanded the full involvement and immersion of interactions (Kitamura, 1990a). He argued that for the Turkana, negotiations addressed the task of creating "my"

justice (Kitamura, 1997).

Ohta detailed the Turkana's patrilineal groups that contended with each other over bridewealth negotiations across two days. In a society where dietary life is converged on livestock products, the bridewealth negotiations, which result in an increase or decrease of livestock, influences the survival of the people involved by the giving and receiving of livestock. He found that in bridewealth negotiations, the bride's party asked for an unreasonable request, and the groom's party endlessly haggled against this. Eventually, both sides became disinterested. The groom's party gave the animals generously, and the bride's party terminated their requests (Ohta, 2007a). The analysis of these negotiations suggested that their "agreement" came naturally from the contentions in which the people each considered it natural to demand thoroughly or to reject thoroughly. There was no dominance, victory, or defeat within the communication space in which they contended with each other in a given situation.

Ohta discussed how the Turkana found an agreement during a deadlock of claims where both conflicted parties followed parallel lines (Ohta, 2017). The consensus was based from the power of conversation by speaking to others vigorously, listening to the spoken language, exploring the consensus, and eventually creating a form of co-existence; rather than borrowing the authority or power of a third party and relying on communication that was based on rational reason, as is emphasized in Western political philosophy (Ohta, 2017). Ohta regarded the field of consensus building (as based on the power of conversation) to be a palaver and extracted it as the potential for conflict resolution that is widely recognized within African societies. Ohta (2005a; 2005b) confirmed that when the Turkana interacted with refugees at the Kakuma refugee camp, as the complete cultural others, they demanded both parties to be co-involved in the "here and now," and that speakers were to bring out the listeners activeness. The Turkana sought mutual consent in their own self-confident ways without relying on external reference points.

Soga argued that in the Gabra societies of Kenya and Ethiopia, people had acts that were bound to cultural categories such as ethnic groups, but were also committed to interactions with the person in front of them to perceive a new "unit group" (Soga, 2013). Soga stated that the Gabra flexibly created various relationships based on empathy, while making full use of the ability which is shared with non-human primates and extracted it as a feature of human society. Naoki Naito also examined the relationship between sharing experiences and social categories in the context of clan belonging among the Ariaal (Naito, 2005; 2007).

As Kitamura clearly stated (Kitamura, 1990b; 2013; 2017), to focus on the form of intercultural interaction is not to seek the invisible meanings behind a person's miscellaneous behavior, but to illuminate the way in which people's experiences are organized through the adaptation of social interaction systems. Such research also sharpens the sense of various "promises" that we are obsessed with. It is in this sense, as researches of pastoral societies have clearly shown, that elucidating the cultural program of interaction cannot but help contain a trigger for the fundamental criticisms of one's own culture.

What is the meaning behind the exploration of the life-world of the East African pastoralists, or, as we call, the “egalitarian,” “acephalous,” and “anarchical” societies? This exploration provides almost the only observable model for the question of how society can exist without a concentration of hierarchical power (Itani, 1980J; 1982J; Ohta, 1986J; 1987; Kitamura, 1990b; Sagawa, 2011J; Hazama, 2015J). It can be said that pastoralists have created an “institution” of contentions, clashes, negotiations, and communication simply to ensure the act of “interacting over conflict,” which is disregarded by institutions from the beginning (Kitamura, 2017). This act is probably organized by a cultural schema as shared by the people. However, its path is never predetermined. Rather, the script begins every time a new conflict arises. Through experience, people relearn the sense that they cannot help but leave other’s autonomy. In short, during each period and level of conflict between individuals such as begging, friction, and general consensus, and the ethnic confrontations between groups, the impossibility of “coercive power” and the realized state of horizontal co-existential relationships are re-lived.

#### ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

Previous researches in Japan have consistently analyzed positive practices of pastoral peoples in East Africa which have enabled the co-existences between the livestock and human being, individuals in the community, and the community and neighboring communities. However, the foundations of these co-existences are currently at a critical moment because of the climate change, economic differentiation, and politicization of ethnicity. Researches which examine and propose the viable future possibilities of pastoral societies experiencing daily struggle for subsistence and increased uncertainty, utilizing previous research achievements, are required today. It is hoped that three articles in this volume will give readers a glimpse of such possibilities.

Tian Xiaojie focuses on how the knowledge and skill concerning subsistence activities is learned during everyday interactions. One of the characteristics of pastoral societies that distinguishes them from other small-scale societies is that small children actively engage in the daily chores. She focuses on the way in which the Maasai children interact with the adults and other children through the processes of learning-by-doing. With rich ethnographic data, her study elaborates the difference between the adult-child relationship and the children’s senior-junior relationships. In regard to the Maasai’s social categorizations, the adults make implicit requests to the children and the children respectfully respond. In contrast, older children give detailed instructions to the younger ones according to their personal preferences in peer interactions. Tian’s article clearly shows the importance in the roles of social norms and interactions within the knowledge generation processes.

Toshio Meguro focuses on social changes and the Maasai’s perception of change in the Amboseli National Park of southern Kenya. First, he analyzes the discourse around the “Maasai Olympic” conservation program that was launched by an NGO. The NGO represents the Maasai as capable of innovating their culture under today’s

globally changing world. However, the Maasai themselves recognize that the core of their tradition has not changed. How then, can we understand this gap? Meguro clarifies this enigma by carefully assessing the Maasai word, *enkanyit*, meaning the sense of respect. He also implies that the differences between the Kenyan Maasai and Tanzanian Maasai in the sense of social change might be related to the differences of land ownership.

Itaru Ohta examines the relationship between the rules and negotiations of livestock entitlement among the Turkana of northern Kenya. Ohta criticizes that previous researches tend to focus solely on the ideological and legal aspects of property relations. In contrast, he shows that the rules and norms are only effective during a specific time and place among the Turkana. He also points out that the “bundle of rights”, the concept that many researchers in East African pastoral societies have used without critical consideration, only emerges performatively during the negotiation process. Last, he identifies “directives” during the negotiation processes such as “one must listen to others,” or “we do not follow rules unquestioningly.” Based on his intensive field research of around forty years, Ohta vividly depicts the Turkana’s style of negotiations.

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#### NOTES

- (1) Two authors contributed equally to the manuscript.
- (2) Many journal articles in English have been published in *African Study Monographs* (periodical journal of the Center for African Area Studies, Kyoto University), *Senri Ethnological Studies* (irregularly published journal of the National Museum of Ethnology), and *Nilo-Ethiopian Studies* (annual journal of the Japanese Association of Nilo-Ethiopian Studies).
- (3) The following are the main ethnographies and edited volumes that focus on East African pastoral societies and are written in Japanese. Ethnographies concern: Itani, 1980J; 1982J; Fukui, M. 1981J; Fukui, K. 1991J; Sato, 1992J; Kawai, 1998J; Tomikawa, 2005J; Ikeya, 2006J; Konaka, 2006J; Miyawaki, 2006J; Nakamura, 2011J; Sagawa, 2011J; Sakumichi, 2012J; Sun, 2012J; Meguro, 2014J; Oba, 2014J; Hazama, 2015J; Komma, 2017J; 2018J; 2019J; Hashimoto, 2018J; Kusunoki, 2019J. Edited volumes concern: Sato ed., 2002J; Tanaka et al. eds., 2004J; Konaka, Ohta & Sun eds., 2018J; Ohta & Soga eds., 2019J.
- (4) “J” means the book and article written in Japanese. In REFERENCES, we listed the book and article written in English and those in Japanese separately.
- (5) Naturalography is the translation of Japanese word, *shizen-shi*.

- (6) Some articles reviewed the anthropological researches of Africa in Japan (Tomikawa, 1971; Peek, 1990; Ichikawa, 2005; Kurimoto, 2005a; Takada, 2018).
- (7) Although Imanishi and Junichiro Itani had started their primatological research in Africa in 1958, human societies had not been their direct research objectives.
- (8) After the second expedition in 1963, the name changed to the “Kyoto University Africa Scientific Expedition.”
- (9) One of the notable exceptions is Toru Komma, who was educated in the “East.” He started his long-term research among the Kipsigis in 1979 (Komma, 1981; 1984; 1992; 1998). He recently published three unique monographs among the Kipsigis focusing on political governance, women-marriage, and children and chiefs (Komma, 2017J; 2018J; 2019J).
- (10) Kazunobu Ikeya independently researched the Somali (Ikeya, 1998; 2006J) and also held international symposiums at the National Museum of Ethnology, promoting comparative researches on nomadic peoples throughout the world (Ikeya & Fratkin eds., 2005; Ikeya ed., 2017).
- (11) Ohta developed a research project titled “Comprehensive Area Studies on Coexistence and Conflict Resolution Realizing African Potentials” funded by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science from 2011 to 2016 (Ohta et al. eds., 2014; Gebre, Ohta & Matsuda, M. eds., 2017). This project promoted to build and extend research network among Japanese and African researchers and practitioners.
- (12) Kawai organized a unique research team consisting of ecological anthropologists, primatologists, and cultural anthropologists under the theme of the “Evolution of Human Sociality” at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Kawai ed., 2013; 2017; 2019).
- (13) The followings are researchers who had completed their Ph.D. theses in Kyoto University as of 2018: Itsuhiro Hazama on the Karimojong and Dodoth (Hazama, 2004; 2009a; 2009b; 2012; 2014; 2017; 2018a; 2018b), Kyoko Nakamura on the Samburu (Nakamura, 2005, 2007, 2011), Naoki Naito on the Ariaal (Naito, 2005; 2007; 2009; 2010), Soichiro Shiraishi on the Sabiny (Shiraishi, 2006), Sun Xiaogang on the Rendille (Sun, 2005; 2007; 2009a; 2009b; 2017), Toru Sagawa on the Daasanach (Sagawa, 2006; 2010a; 2010b; 2010c; 2010d; 2019), Naoaki Izumi on the Sukuma (Izumi, 2017), Samuel Tefera Alemu on the Hamar (Samuel, 2017), Kazuki Kusunoki on the Somali (Kusunoki, 2019J), Tian Xiaojie on the Maasai (Tian, 2016; 2017a; 2017b; 2018a; 2018b; 2019 in this volume). There are also some researchers who focus on East African pastoral societies in their Ph.D. theses in other universities; Toshio Meguro on the Maasai (Meguro, 2011a; 2011b; 2014; 2017; 2019 in this volume), Eri Hashimoto on the Nuer (Hashimoto, 2013a; 2013b; 2017a; 2017b; 2018), Chikage Oba-Smidt on the Borana (Oba-Smidt, 2016), and Manami Hayashi on the Maasai.
- (14) In contrast, Soga showed how the Gabra Miigo survived as refugees without humanitarian assistance (Soga, 2011).
- (15) Kusunoki recently proposed the stimulating concept of “pastoral collectivities,” which consists of the pastoralists and livestock of East African pastoral societies set in the context of the historical analysis of the governance and resistance in the northern drylands of Kenya (Kusunoki, 2019J).
- (16) The works of Umetsuo, focusing on the kinship and genealogy of the cattle herd, and Tomikawa, focusing on the cattle brand among the Datoga, are pioneering works on the man-animal relationships within East African pastoral societies (Umetsuo, 1966; Tomikawa, 1972).
- (17) Other characteristics Tomikawa (1971) identified were the interdisciplinary approaches; micro-demography; urban anthropology; the study of oral tradition; the study of material culture; and ecological anthropology.
- (18) Hashimoto recently published many articles on the roles of prophet and prophecy among



the Nuer and their neighbors in pre- and post-independent South Sudan (Hashimoto, 2013a; 2013b; 2017a; 2017b).

(19) Hazama (2010) briefly reviewed Kawai's work on the raiding activities of the Dodoth.

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