

教法人)傘下の神社の場合、宮司の任免をめぐって紛争が生じるケースがある。特に、神社本庁から地方の有名神社の宮司に「天下り」する人事の際に争いが生じる場合がある。こうした宮司の地位をめぐる争いでは裁判になることが多い。

つい先日には有名神社の宮司の地位をめぐって、弟(前宮司)が姉(現宮司)を殺害するという事件が起こり、世間の耳目を集めた。この神社は世襲の社家(代々の神社の家柄)が宮司を継いできたが、神社本庁との間で宮司の任免問題が生じたため、神社本庁を離脱して単立神社になったばかりだった。このように日本においては、包括宗教法人傘下

の神社の場合は包括団体との関係や、宗教法人としての法律問題も絡んでくるので多少複雑だが、基本的な争いの構図はドゥアニのピアンジュと同じである。

このようにピアンジュと神職は、仕事内容のみならず、その地位をめぐる権力争いまでもが、似ているのである。それが、ピアンジュと神職の「地位の共通性」からくるものなのか、ドゥアニと神社の「聖地としての在り方の共通性」によるものなのか、その両方なのか、あるいはそれ以外の要因があるのかについては、今後フィールドワークを深める中で、考えていきたいと思う。

In Pursuit of Livelihood: Significance of Cash from Tourists to Local People's Livelihood in Ethiopia

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I was in South Omo Zone of Ethiopia for three weeks in the months of August through September of 2017 to conduct my preliminary research for my Ph.D. dissertation. Two women heads of households were selected in two villages.

Ms. Mare (individual names are pseudonym hereinafter) lives in village A, approximately

3 km away from the zonal city of Jinka in South Omo Zone. Mr. Degefe, the chair of a local tourist guide association called "New-Future for Tomorrow's Humanity," introduced me to Ms. Mare as one of the households visited by tourists in the village. She agreed to host me to conduct my research to understand how tourism sector contribute

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to the livelihood of the local people. So she is one of the two women heads of households who agreed to participate in an in-depth interview to understand my case. In contrast to the peri-urban setting of Mare's realities, Ms. Gowa, an agro-pastoralist also had agreed to be my host in village J., Salamago Wereda, of the Mursi people, one of the 16 ethnic groups in South Omo Zone, approximately 70 km from the zonal city of Jinka. I was introduced to Ms. Gowa by a member of another tourist guide association called "Pioneer Vision Local Guide Association."

Mare's Daily Toil, the Case of Village A

Ms. Mare, lives in a single rented house with her six-year old daughter. She is originally from a bordering Bench Maji Wereda, which is west of South Omo Zone. When Ms. Mare was four years old, her mother fled with three of her siblings from a conflict that killed her father during a cattle raid by a neighboring ethnic group to settle in the village they live now. The village is one of the settlement areas of the villagization scheme of the 1980s in Ethiopia that was in acted to bring sprawled villages together along grid lines [Naty 2002]. Ms. Mare said the people in village A were very welcoming and had made them feel at home. Ms. Mare makes *Areke*, a local distilled alcoholic drink, a skill she had learned from her mother. She sells her *Areke* to a retailer every week who gives her

a better deal than the market price. During my interview and observation, I learned that her weekly activities are focused on making *Areke*. There is not a single hour that is left for repose. The day after I arrived, Ms. Mare invited me to join her to the nearby forest, to collect firewood. She needs about one hour for the round trip and another one or two hours for collecting firewood. She told me she takes such trips sometimes up to twice a day.

She collects twigs and leaves in this forest hiding from the forest guards. The villagers nearby, like Ms. Mare, are prohibited to collect wood in the forest, even if just leaves and twigs. A bundle of wood cost up to 75 Ethiopian Birr, equivalent to \$3.26. She cannot afford to buy wood for *Areke* making, therefore she has to make trips to the forest. In addition, she exchanges the residue from the *Areke* for two bundles of wood with a neighbor who use it for cattle feed. Once back from the forest, Ms. Mare runs out to fetch water from the near-by river, because the neighborhood tap water is often out of order.

On Mondays, it is Ms. Mare's turn to sell her *Borde*, a grain beer that she makes alongside *Areke* during the week. Thanks to the arrangement among the female *Borde* sellers, each woman, like Ms. Mare, can also use the common kitchen to herself all day to receive her customers who come to buy her *Borde* and snack. All villagers come to drink



Photo 1. *Areke* Making

Borde and eat the snack she prepared, with farmers starting early in the morning before they go to their fields.

I calculated Ms. Mare's one week income and expenditure to see what she earned from her main activities. Her total weekly expenditure of 1,357 birr (\$59.00) is over her total weekly income of 1,219 birr (\$53.00). Ms. Mare is at a loss. I went to the local market to check the prices of all inputs for *Areke* and *Borde* against the quotation she gave me. Except for a few variations, the prices she provided were consistent.

Every Little Cent Helps

One afternoon Mr. Degefe's guide association visited Ms. Mare with two Spanish tourists. They were excited. I asked them what in particular they liked about their experience. They said, "this is real—showing people's life and experience, which for us is amazing to see how people live with little means." Their visit was very short but the guide from the

association gave Ms. Mare 25 birr (\$1.08). On another day, two young Israelis came and they too were happy to visit the households. They said "this is the visit we enjoyed and learned positively from the experience." In the other sites, they felt out of place. They said, "sort of like us being the White Walkers returned...as in the Games of Thrones." They hoped that these households would get enough money from the fee that they paid. Ms. Mare received another 30 birr (\$1.30) from the visit. For the households, the business relationship is a kind of a love-and-hate. They complain that the amount the guide association gives them is meager and inconsistent, but then they do not want to complain openly because they are scared they will lose the income altogether. At the very minimum, the cash she receives from tourists is going towards her daily needs, something she uses instantly.

Waiting for Tourists, the Case of Village J

I traveled to the second village, Village J of Mursi people to continue the relevant investigation. Village J is located in the wooded grasslands of the Lower Omo valley of south-western Ethiopia at an elevation of 645 a.s.l., approximately 10-20 km east of the Omo River. Village J is a cattle settlement about 20-minute walk off the road that crosses the Mago National Park and Tama Wildlife Reserve towards the Omo River.

This road also gives access the tourist to the tourist sites that are by the side of the road. The day after I arrived, the morning was cool and it was drizzling slightly at around 5 am in the morning. Ms. Gowa, my host, the first to get up, was having a conversation with her three-year-old daughter. Ms. Gowa is a mother of six girls and two boys. She lives in the settlement with four other households. All the mothers get up early and hurry to milk the cows.

After breakfast of porridge (*Tilla*) and buttermilk (*Kirana*), the cattle leave with their herders who are men and young boys. The women then leave for the tourist site to get prepared and wait for the tourists. Painting their face to earn 5 birr (\$0.21) per photo-shoot and last-minute decoration of their lip plates to be sold to tourist as souvenirs for 50 birr (\$2.17) each. During our interview, I asked when they do their other tasks. Rain fed cultivation is the women's main task in Mursi land and provides 75% of their food need. Normally, they start rain-fed cultivation by March/April [Turton 1986] near their cattle settlement. They also engage in a flood retreat cultivation by the Omo River that begins from September or October. Flood retreat cultivation is a type of cultivation that utilizes the difference between water levels in the rainy and dry season to grow crops on the riverbank slopes [Matsuda 1996]. Ms. Gowa told me that they have not done cultivation



Photo 2. Cattle in Village J

for the last five years. I asked how they manage. Ms. Gowa replied that they received enough money from tourist to cover for their needs. Porridge from maize and sorghum flour is their staple food combined with *Kirana*. The women spend a lengthy time of their day milling flour. At this quick glance, it seems that the money from tourists is used to buy maize flour, which means the women do not have to mill all day. It saves them energy and time as well as cutting the task of cultivating of the grain.

On another occasion, Ms. Gowa's granddaughter was crying nonstop. Everyone was worried. Suddenly a car came to the village for a visit and Ms. Gowa and all the women begged the driver to take the mother and child to the hospital in the city. Ms. Gowa gave her daughter money to pay for necessary expenses. Her leave happens without notifying her husband who is away herding. Earlier in my interview, Ms. Gowa had told me that typically their cattle are the means

to raise cash for all incidentals, and that is normally the decision of the husband [Turton 1986]. This leads to another observation that the money coming from tourists seems to be giving the women freedom to decide. Even the young girls have their own mobile phones, look at Facebook pages, and enjoy songs from the cities while living in the middle of the forest where there is no electricity or running water.

I notice that tourists are further penetrating into their secluded parts. One morning while we were staying at the cattle settlement, we heard people coming; they were tourists! They came to see the bloodletting process to mix with milk (*Ergehola*) to drink. Later Ms. Gowa told us that the tourists will pay up to 1,000 birr (\$43.47) but the village will be given 600 birr (\$26.08). Typically, the money is given to the father/husband. Ms. Gowa said, "If the local guide would stop being a barrier, they would earn even more."

Preliminary Conclusion

In this short study, it appears that local people's

earning from tourism is enabling them make their ends meet, therefore an amount they cannot ignore. Women, particularly in case two, are benefiting from the cash they earn giving them the freedom to use as necessary. What is striking is also to note that the unique life experience and culture of the local people is the source of engine and the very pull factor for the sector in this region.

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