

Development of Community-Based Organization by Agro-Pastoral Women: A Case in Southwestern Ethiopia

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The Arbore Women's Association is an organization for mutual aid initiated by women of the Hor in southwestern Ethiopia. The organization has developed and continued its activities for 20 years. The Women's Association brought the members financial profits through retails of commodities and cash crops in local markets. By participating in such activities, members learned how to earn profits in business. Financial profits that they earned themselves and opportunities for learning enabled them to gain self-confidence, and empowered them.

The conditions under which the Women's Association was organized and continued were as follows: 1) Women felt discontented with their patriarchal tradition, which inhibited them from accessing the wealth brought by the highlanders and the money economy penetrated to the Hor. 2) Slackness of the state rule seems to have induced them to begin a new project. 3) They could combine the two networks, which had different features. The one is a bonding network based on women's age system, and the other is a bridging network that a male mediator had. 4) Though the aims of the organizers and followers differed, the organizers incorporated the aim of the followers into their frame. Consequently, the Association has been keeping in touch with what the members desired. 5) The Association took a low profile strategy, and did not affiliate with external organizations such as NGOs and the government. Not owing any accountability and responsibility to external organizations, the Association could change its aims, plans and activities flexibly as the local situations changed.

Key words: Ethiopia, NGO, Community-Based Organization, Women, Empowerment

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to show how a community-based organization has been established and developed by women of the Hor, a group of agro-pastoralists in southwestern Ethiopia. The members of this association have developed this organization by earning money and accumulating profits through cultivating cash crops and trading commodities, but most of them have not been educated in schools, and cannot understand Amharic, the common language of Ethiopia. They call the organization the "Arbore Women's Association" (*arbore modeiya mahabar*, hereinafter referred to as the Women's Association). Arbore is the name of the northern territorial sections of the Hor, to which they belong.

In southwestern Ethiopia, there are dozens of agro-pastoral peoples who exist on a subsistence economy. Anthropologists have studied those agro-pastoral peoples for some decades, and have demonstrated how their subsistence systems, social structures and cultural systems work (cf. Fukui 1977, Almagor 1978). As some development projects have been introduced in this area recently, the responses of agro-pastoralists who cope with the projects have also been studied (Buffavand 2016).

However, there have been no reports on organizations of local inhabitants like the Arbore Women's Association, which have newly emerged from the existing communities but are quite different from traditional community organizations. How can we describe and explain the emergence of the Arbore Women's Association?

The importance of community-based organizations (CBOs) has been widely recognized by development agencies since participatory development entered the mainstream of development strategies (cf. Shigetomi 2006).⁽¹⁾ For participatory development projects to be implemented, organizing local inhabitants into target groups of projects was considered to be indispensable by some development practitioners and theorists, since the autonomy and coordination of local inhabitants were necessary for those projects to be sustainable (cf. Burkey 1993). Many development projects implemented in the third world tried to work upon local inhabitants to organize community organization. However, though some projects were successful and continued for long periods of time, others stopped immediately after the agencies left the fields (Shigetomi 2006). The reasons those projects failed are various. For instance, the projects planned by development agencies in the North might not fit the needs of local inhabitants (Murayama 2004: 66). Beneficiaries might become passively dependent on development agents (Inaoka 2004: 146–147). The profit brought about by projects might benefit only certain groups of inhabitants and might induce social conflicts within the community (Sato 2004: 28–30).

Examining the discussions concerning community organizing in development projects, Shigetomi (2006) criticizes the approaches adopted by some development practitioners and theorists who emphasize the importance of making community organizations. Instead, Shigetomi emphasizes the importance of analyzing the system of making community organizations. Shigetomi points out that the ways inhabitants are organized are different between communities with different social systems, and proposes comparing social systems in which the development projects are implemented. Shigetomi's theoretical framework is interesting since it focuses on the social system from which a CBO like the Arbore Women's Association emerges. However, since it focuses on the CBO as a target group of development projects, it is not comprehensive enough to cover all the conditions on which some organizations newly emerge. I will make up for this deficiency by introducing the framework of social movement theory.

In Africa, participatory development is currently a dominant approach for development projects, and many studies have been carried out on those projects (Asano 2008, Coppock and Solomon 2013, Kumashiro 2014, Kurosaki 2010). From our point of view, the cases of the 16 self-help groups formed by pastoralist women in northern Kenya is worth examining in order to better understand autonomous rural community-based organization (Coppock and Solomon 2013).

According to Coppock and Solomon (2013), the women who formed those groups were destitute and illiterate. However, once they created informal groups with other women, they expanded their activities to various fields and improved their lives. Groups undertook activities including microfinance, livelihood diversification, and mitigation of drought effects. Those groups emerged either spontaneously or after encouragement from local development-agency staff. Groups have elected leaders and are governed under constitutional frameworks with extensive bylaws.

Since there are few case studies on CBOs of pastoralists in Africa, the case of Kenyan pastoralist women reported by Coppock and Solomon is very informative to our analysis, and I will return to this study later. However, this study lacks details about each group's structure and social background. It is difficult to know what kind of social conditions induced members to organize certain kinds of CBOs. It is the system of making organization, to borrow the phrase of Shigetomi, that should be analyzed, and ethnographic research is necessary for such analysis (cf. Masaki 2004).

By ethnographic research of CBO, I mean research that investigates not only the CBO itself, but also the historical and social background in which the activities of CBOs are embedded. By examining those backgrounds, it is possible to explain why a certain CBO emerged from a certain society at a certain period of time. For the description to be sufficient to cover all the relevant social conditions, I introduce the framework of social movement theory.

Social movement theory seeks to explain why a social movement occurs by elucidating the social conditions and background from which it emerged. Since the activities of the Women's Association have been highly autonomous, social movement theory, which deals with the collective activities that aim to establish a new order of life, is more appropriate than development theories that consider CBOs to be receptacles of development projects (Burkey 1993: 130–163, cf. Sato 2004: 12–19). Social movement theory contains some small paradigms that attempt to explain the cause of certain collective actions. It is necessary for a framework of analysis to comprise a variety of approaches if we wish to fully understand social movements (Tarrow 1998, Crossley 2002). Based on the synthesis of those approaches (Crossley 2002), I will demonstrate the conditions from which the Arbore Women's Association emerged.

1) Structural Strain

Social movements are induced when members feel dissatisfaction with the society they live in. However, it is important to note that “strain is not simply a matter of objective factors in the environment of agents but rather arises out of an interaction of such conditions with the expectation and assumptions which those agents have about them” (Crossley 2002: 35–36). In this regard, we should outline the expectations of the members of the social movement, how those expectations were formed, and what social conditions interrupted the realization of those expectations. In the case of Arbore Women's Association, I set the following questions: Why did those women want to establish the Women's Association? What kind of complaints did they have, and in what kind of social conditions were they placed?

2) Structure of Political Opportunities

The strength of a social movement is affected by political opportunities. Social movements may decline under repressive governments, and may flourish if the members consider the political atmosphere to be supportive of them. Thus it is necessary to take into account how the relationship between the movement and authorities such as governments and traditional patriarchal institutions are, and how the members recognize such a political situation. Concerning the Arbore Women's Association, I will examine how the men of the Hor responded to their activities, and how the local government treated the Association.

3) Mobilization of Resources

It is well known that social movements do not occur even if some members of the society are suffering from severe strain, if there are not effective resources available. Those resources include “anything from material resources – jobs, incomes, savings, and the right to material goods and services – to nonmaterial resources – authority, moral commitment, trust, friendship, skills, habits of industry, and so on” (Oberschall 1973: 28). In explaining the organization of local inhabitants, development theories point out the importance of investment of funds, transfer of skills and education by development agencies. Other resources, such as existing social networks and cultural norms, should be considered as well. In organizing the Arbore Women's Association, what kind of resources did the women utilize?

4) Framing

To organize a social movement, it is necessary for organizing members to persuade their followers. A set of discourses that enable members to grasp the problems they tackle from a certain point of view is called a “frame” in social movement theory. The organizers need to secure the support of their followers, but if their frame and that of their followers are distinct, they may attempt to link their frames. Thus, it is important to investigate how the members grasp the situation they are placed in and how they express the aim of their movement. It is also necessary to examine whether the frames held by the members were similar, and whether the linkage of frames occurred and the frame itself changed. In the case of the Arbore Women's Association, I will show what kind of difference there was between

the ideas of the organizing members and those of the followers, and how the organizing members explained the aim of their activities to the followers.

5) Relationship between donors and CBOs, and its consequences for the sustainability of CBOs

In addition to the conditions mentioned above, I will examine the relationship between donors and CBOs, and its consequences for the sustainability of CBOs. Though the relationship between donors and recipients is too particular to be considered in social movement theory in general, it is important to consider the strategy of donors (northern NGOs and governments in the third world) to control local NGOs and CBOs, and strategies of local NGOs and CBOs to evade such control and to achieve autonomy (Bratton 1989). Though evading control of governments and northern donors is important for local NGOs and CBOs to achieve and maintain their autonomy, it is a double edged-sword for those organizations. Since most local NGOs and many CBOs in Africa depend for their financial resources on northern NGOs and for official authorization on their government, a complete severing of the relationship with those authorities makes it difficult for them to continue their activities. Furthermore, the management know-how of organizations are brought to them through the trainings of donors, and this know-how enables the organizations to be sustainable even after their relationships with donors have ended (Kumashiro 2014). Thus, in the case of Arbore Women's Association I set the following questions. What kind of strategy do they adopt to control their relationship with donors and the government, and what consequences are brought about by their strategy?

I have observed their activities since 2000, and have started to investigate the conditions that enabled their activities since 2012.⁽²⁾ Based on the interviews with principal members and financial documents recorded by a literate member, I will show how they established and developed the Women's Association.

The next section shows the social background of the Hor. The third section provides a short history of the Women's Association. The fourth section describes their activities up to 2013, concentrating on how they earned profits through retail of commodities. The fifth section shows what kind of benefits the Association has brought to the women. The sixth section shows some conditions on which the Association was organized and maintained by referring to the framework of social movement theory.

2. THE HOR

2.1. Social Organization of the Hor

The Hor are Cushitic agro-pastoralists with a population of approximately 6,000 residing in the South Omo zone of the SNNP region in southwestern Ethiopia. They subsist on flood-retreat cultivation along the Woito River and on livestock herding in the savanna grassland. The Hor are divided into four territorial sections. The northern two territorial sections (Gandarab and Kulam) refer to themselves as Arbore, and the southern two territorial sections (Murale and Egude) refer to themselves as Marle. Each territorial section has its own chiefs, age organization and generation system.

The age organization is the most important social arrangement of the Hor. They organize age-sets for every eight years, and boys and girls enter a new age set of each territorial section after they reach puberty. They have their own leaders in their age-set, and make strong ties among their peers. Four male age-sets constitute a generation set called *herr*. They hold a ritual called *ngaar*, which is conducted approximately every thirty years, and become elders. From this new generation set, the leading elders called *jaldab* are elected from each clan, and they start to administrate the territorial section. Girls withdraw from their age-set when they marry; thus the female age-set becomes disorganized when the members reach their twenties. Nevertheless, strong ties among age peers continue even after marriage.

The generation system called *luba* is another important organization. A Hor enters a generation set (which is different from that of age organization) below the generation set of his or her father. The

members of the higher generation sets play an important role in the rituals of marriage. Since marriage is the foundation of the Hor's kinship system, those who belong to the upper grade *luba* are considered to have strong power. Once married, women belong to the *luba* of their husbands. A woman who has a husband who is old and belongs to the upper grade *luba* holds strong power even if she is young. She can wield power for long after the death of her husband.

The Hor is a typical patriarchal society when we see it from their kinship system and customary laws. Each territorial section has patrilineal exogamous kin groups called *birr*, and woman moves from her natal kin group into her husband's kin group through marriage in exchange of bride wealth such as cattle and small stock. Wives are considered to be subordinate to their husbands, and women do not have any right to own livestock, the most important property among the Hor.

2.2. Historical Background

The Hor have lived in the Turkana Basin, an area where many pastoral groups have met and parted. At the end of the 19th Century, the army of the Ethiopian empire invaded this area, conquered pastoralists and incorporated the area as a territory. Since then, the Hor were ruled under the Ethiopian Empire and the mediators called *chika shum*, who themselves were Hor and mediated between the empire and the local people, wielded power over the inhabitants. The Hor were disgusted by the ruling Amharas, whom they called *Sidaama*, and tried to maintain their ethnic identity by practicing their patriarchal tradition, called *aada*.

After the empire had been dismantled by the military junta called Derg in 1974, peasant associations were organized in rural societies as the smallest administrative units. The Hor were also organized into a peasant association, and some men began to participate in local administrative politics. After Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) purged Derg in 1991, and Ethiopia became a federal state based on ethnicity, local administrative offices were occupied only by staff that came from the dominant ethnic group of the area. Some young Hor men who had been educated entered these offices. However, most of the Hor were not educated and disliked them since they considered them to be "disgusting" *Sidaama*. The patriarchal tradition had been maintained, and there was no room for women to have education or to enter the administrative office.

Since Derg ruled the state, NGOs started to enter the Hor's territory to carry out development projects. After the political change in 1991, the number of NGOs implementing projects among the Hor increased.⁽³⁾ Educated young Hor men were eager to be employed by those NGOs, although their projects, which continued for a few years, failed to leave any fruitful results after they ended. Only rumors about misappropriation of NGOs' funds by Hor employees remained.

The living spaces of the Hor changed drastically during these decades. In the 1950s a small police station was constructed in the northern edge of their territory, and a number of policemen began to reside there. The police station gradually attracted people around it and became a small town called Erbo. In the latter half of 1970s, merchants of the Konso, agricultural people who live in the highland nearby, started to settle and ran small shops and restaurants. The local government built an elementary school and a clinic. Monetary economy gradually penetrated into Hor households through payments for shops and clinic visits.

As their social and political environment has changed, their traditional culture and social system have been undermined gradually from within. In the 1960s, possession cults spread among the Hor, and expanded their influence through the 1970s to the 2000s. Spirits called *ayana*, which were considered to come from countries far from the Hor, possessed mediators, and ordered the followers to bring goods such as blankets, clothes, and money. Many spirits adamantly declared that they were Ethiopian highlanders, whom the Hor regarded as their disgusting enemies (Miyawaki 2009).

3. ESTABLISHMENT OF WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

3.1. The Women's Association in 2014

In this section, I will outline the current organization of the Arbore Women's Association observed in 2014, and will then show how it has developed since its inception in 1995.

The number of the members of the Association has increased for these 20 years (Figure 1). In 2013 the Association had 100 members, and was divided into two branches, the Gandarab and the Kuile.⁽⁴⁾ Table 1 shows the composition of the Association by branch and estimated age of the members.

Each branch had one representative (*likamember*), one vice representative (*mitikil likamember*), one secretary (*tsahafi*), one inspector (*tekotateri*), and one accountant (*genzab yaji*). These positions were set up by appropriating the organization of the Women's Association established during the previous Derg regime. All posts were voluntary and no wages were paid to those who were appointed to them. In addition to the representatives, two men participated in the Association. One was HS, whom I will refer to in the following sections; he was in charge of laying in stock and recording accounts in account notebooks. The other was a young man who had once worked as a driver in the Birale Cotton Plantation, located 10 km upstream from the Hor's area; he taught women how to manipulate tractors.

The Women's Association undertakes two enterprises, cash crop cultivation and the retailing of

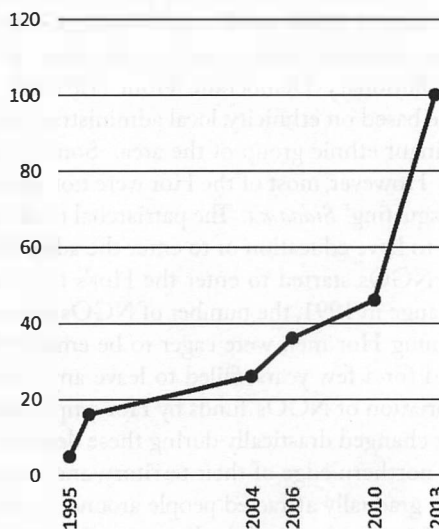


Figure 1. Number of Members

Table 1. Composition of the Women's Association in 2013

Branch			
	Gandarab	Kuile	Total
Estimated age*			
23–46	3	14	17
47–78	35	22	57
79–	11	2	13
Unknown	1	12	13
Total	50	50	100

*Age is estimated from the age-set one belongs to.

commodities. Cash crop cultivation started in 2004 in the field opened in the riverine forest along the Woito River. The field was irrigated by water pumps. They cultivated the plots by tractors bought through the aid of NGOs, and grew cash crops such as cabbages, carrots, tomatoes, red peppers, and onions, and sold them in the towns of Erbore and Turmi, 100 km away from the Hor. They also cultivated maize and sorghum for self-consumption. The accounting of this enterprise is done at a rough estimate and there are no documents that record income and expenditure. The incomes seem to have been expended for buying new machines and fuel for tractors and pumps.

Retailing of the commodities started in 1995 when the Women's Association started. The commodities they sold changed as their network of purchasing from wholesalers expanded, starting from local beer and moving to coffee shells, salt, and finally to beads and cowrie shells. Until 2013, retailing was the main sector in which the members of the Association could earn personal profits. The accounting of retailing between 2009 and 2012 has been entered into the notebooks in Amharic, recording the date of retailing, names of retailers, and amount of retailing performed by each retailer. In the following sections, I will show how the Arbore Women's Association has developed.

3.2. *Early Times (1995–2003)*

3.2.1 *Initiator*

The Women's Association was established in Gandarab, the northern territorial section of Arbore, in 1995. The woman who initiated this organization was SA, who was about 40 years old at that time. According to SA, she saw Konso merchants earn money by selling petty commodities to Hor inhabitants in Erbore town, and thought that Hor women could also earn money if they were able to sell such commodities.⁽⁵⁾

SA talked about this idea to three women who live in her neighborhood and whom she knew well, and they all agreed with her. However, no one among them had any experience outside of their territory, or with negotiating with merchants. Petty commodities such as salt, coffee, and clothes were wholesaled by merchants in towns far from the Hor territory. It was thus impossible for those women to start their project. Hence, they looked for an agent who could mediate between them and the world outside of the Hor territory.

3.2.2 *Mediator*

SA chose a man, HS, to be an agent of their project. HS belonged to the same age set as SA, and was in the same kin group that SA married into. Furthermore, HS was a man endowed with an enterprising spirit. HS distinguished himself during the Derg regime as a mediator. He had been a fierce reformer, and attempted to change the tradition of the Hor. He had tried to abolish chieftainship, had persuaded the local government to construct an elementary school, and he himself had gathered Hor children and taught Amharic. At the later period of the Derg regime, he was ordered by the local government to transfer to Addis Ababa, and he worked there for some years. In 1990 he returned to South Omo as a vice administrator of the district (*woreda*). However, after the Derg was dismantled in 1991, he lost his position, and started to live in the Hor, tending livestock and cultivating crops.

Asked to join the project, HS agreed. He had experience in developing a women's association during the Derg regime, but it was not successful. He wanted to try again, and enable Hor women to start retailing businesses like those of the Konso merchants. He named the organization "Arbore Women's Association."⁽⁶⁾

3.2.3 *Organizing Women's Association*

In 1995 Redd Barna, an international NGO, was distributing grains for aid to Hor inhabitants. Around this time, the membership of the Association increased to 15 persons. HS suggested that the women brew local beer, utilizing the distributed grains for ingredients, and sell them in local markets. Though some of the women hesitated, saying that they did not want to be like "disgusting" Konso and Amhara women, they eventually did start this business. Their efforts were successful, and they were able to earn money. They deposited their profits with the Women's Association.

The Association then acquired a stock of dried coffee shells, which Hor used for drinking, from local merchants, and the members sold them in the weekly markets in Erbore. Around 2000, the women dispatched HS to Addis Ababa to lay in a stock of salt, and started to sell it. The money deposited with the Association increased.

While purchasing commodities, HS made the maximum use of his social network to bring commodities from the towns to the Hor. He asked anthropologists who came to the Hor by car to get a lift to nearby towns and sometimes asked them to contribute money to the Association. He asked the manager of the Birale Cotton Plantation to bring a large amount of commodities by truck. The Women's Association occupied one of the rooms of my residence in the Hor in order to store their commodities.

Though the project was successful at first, it quickly ran into a major obstacle. HS was a former vice administrator of the Derg regime, and during the election he adamantly supported the opposite party. The local government suspected that the Women's Association was a cover for anti-governmental activities. After the general election in 2000, they arrested HS, and banned the women from engaging in their activities. The women continued to meet in secret, and HS was eventually discharged for lack of reliable evidence.

3.3. Support by Foreign NGOs and Start of Cash Crop Cultivation (2004–2011)

The year 2004 was a turning point for the Women's Association. They embarked on cash crop cultivation. They had already returned to their trading business and the number of members increased to 25.

I was asked by HS to buy a water pump for irrigation in Addis Ababa. The Association had cleared a large field in the riverine forest along the Woito, where the soil was fertile but the flooding of the river did not reach. Irrigating the field by the water pump that I brought from Addis Ababa, they started to grow maize and other commercial crops.

The cash crops they grew were cabbages, carrots, tomatoes, red peppers, and onions, which the Hor had not grown until then. Once harvested, HS brought those crops to a town called Turmi, 100 km from their territory, and sold them in its weekly market.

In 2005 HS again stood as a candidate of an opposite party to the general election, and was defeated. During the political disturbance that prevailed in Ethiopia after the election, HS was arrested in 2006, and detained in Addis Ababa for several months. After being released, he quit politics.

In the latter half of the 2000s some international NGOs entered the Hor, and the Women's Association started to utilize funds from those NGOs, again using HS for negotiations. In 2006, Farm Africa (FA) launched a project of microfinance among the Hor. HS gave FA the names of 35 members of the Women's Association and recommended them as recipients of the microfinance. Those members were given 300 birr each from the FA. Once they received this money, they deposited it in the Women's Association. The deposited money was used to purchase salt from the wholesalers in nearby towns for retailing in the local Erbore market. FA also helped cash crop cultivation of the Association by giving them two water pumps.

In 2007 a member of Friends of South Omo (FOSO), a Canadian NGO, visited the Hor to look for a field of their new project. HS persuaded him to help the cash crop project of the Women's Association, and asked him to contribute money to rent a tractor from the Birale Cotton Plantation. By the financial assistance of FOSO, the Women's Association could take out a lease on a tractor for a year by 7500 birr from the Plantation. In 2008, by responding to the demand of HS, FOSO sent him money and the Association bought three water pumps. In 2009, the Association bought a walk-behind tractor with the financial assistance of FOSO as a response to HS's demand. The results were shown on FOSO's website as evidence of the spectacular success of their aid project.⁽⁷⁾

In 2010, the Association again bought two walk-behind tractors with their own money. At that time, the field cleared in the riverine forest could not be irrigated due to the change of the Woito's watercourse. They negotiated with the elders of Gandarab to distribute the flood plain to them. As they could till a large field efficiently thanks to the three walk-behind tractors, they decided to redis-

tribute small plots to the women who participated in cultivation. They grew sorghum for self-consumption, and stored the grain in case of a drought. This project attracted women in Gandarab as well as Kuile, and many women joined the Association. In 2012 they decided to divide the organization into the Gandarab branch and the Kuile branch due to the increasing number of members.

3.4. Stagnation of Trading and Introduction of New Cash Crop (2012–Present)

As the wholesale price of salt increased in 2011, making a profit on salt retailing became gradually more difficult. The members of the Association and HS discussed how to cope with the new situation and decided to sell beads. The beads HS had purchased from Addis Ababa became very popular among Hor women, and sold well in 2012; the members made a great profit.

HS again purchased beads from Addis Ababa in 2013, but they were different from the first ones, and the second ones were not popular among the Hor. The beads were not sold, and trade stagnated. In agriculture, they started to grow sesame, and the harvest was good in 2014, and they were sold in weekly markets of the nearby towns.

4. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

The activities of the Women's Association have consisted of cash crop cultivation and retailing of commodities. Though it is difficult to bring out the details of cash crop cultivation due to the lack of records, the records of retailing between 2009 and 2012 are available in the account notebooks of the Association. The members could earn personal profits by retailing, and they usually refer to retailing as the most profitable activity they experienced, not only from an economic point of view but also from the perspective of learning to carve out their new life. Based on those records, I will present the details of retailing during this period.

4.1. How to Earn Profit

By retailing commodities in weekly markets in Erbore, the members of the Women's Association accumulated cash for the Association and gained profits for themselves. They obtained profits in the following way (Figure 2).

For purchasing commodities from the wholesaler of the towns, the principal members of the Association and HS discuss what kind of commodities they should purchase. Once the commodities are decided upon, HS goes to distant towns where the necessary commodities can be purchased at a cheaper price. The commodities are purchased and brought to the Associations' storage facility.

In Erbore a market is held once a week. In the morning the members gather at the Association's storage facility and bring out the commodities they want to sell. The secretary checks the amount of the commodities each member has brought out by unit of measurement, such as the number of cups if they are coffee shells, number of strings if they are beads, and kilograms if they are cowries. Then the secretary converts the amount to the corresponding price. This price equals the aggregated price of the purchasing price from wholesalers and the profit the Association adds. The members purchase the commodities from the Association at this price, and they sell those commodities at a slightly inflated price so that they also make a profit. The members can decide their selling price by themselves, observing the situation of the market.

If the commodities are sold out at the height of the market, the members may return to the storage and bring out the commodities again and sell them. At the end of the day, each member takes her own profit, and returns back to the Association the money equivalent of the purchasing price of the commodities. The name of the members who participated in the retail and the amount of money they returned are recorded in the account notebook by HS.

If the commodities remain, the amount of money they should return is recorded as "debt." The member can bring back the remaining commodities to her settlement, and can sell them to her neighbors. Then she will take her profit, and return her "debt" to the Association.

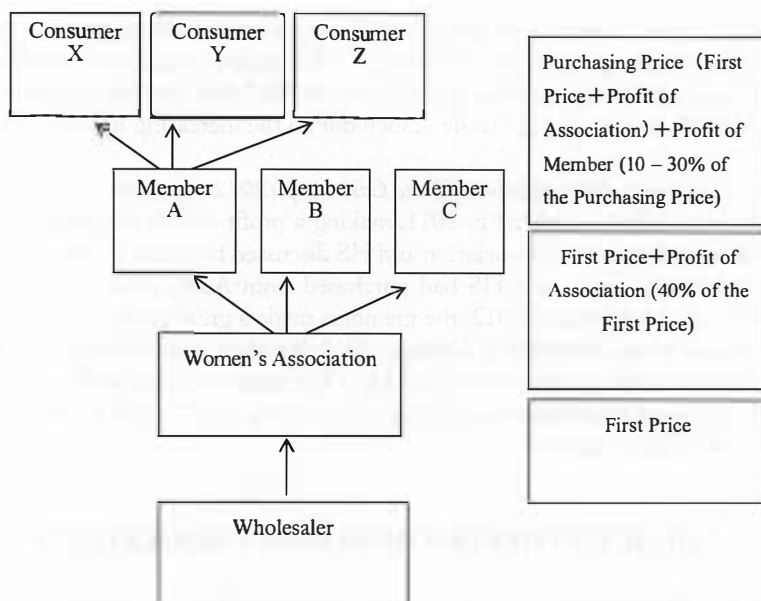


Figure 2. How to Earn Profits from Sale of Commodities

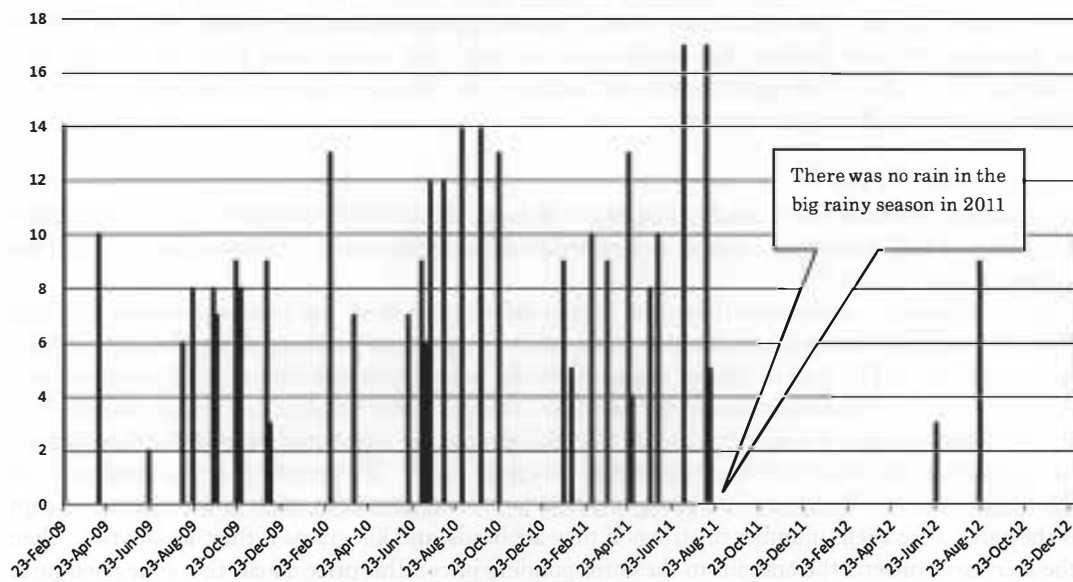


Figure 3. Number of Participants Who Joined Retailing at Erbo Market

4.2. Seasonal Pattern of Retailing and Frequencies of Retailing by Members

4.2.1 Frequency of Retailing and Seasonal Patterns

Figure 3 shows the number of members who sold commodities in the Erbo market between February 2009 and December 2012. During this period they sold commodities on 37 days. On the market days when the most numerous members participated, there were 17 participants. On the market days when the least number of members participated, the number of participants was 2, and the average number of participants was 8.9.

The frequency of the retailing fluctuates according to the seasons. From March to July, the big

rains fall, and the Woito River floods. From November to December, small rains fall. Since they sell commodities in an open-air market, their activity slows in rainy seasons, except for 2011 when there was no rain. Between October 2011 and June 2012, retail became sluggish since the purchasing price of salt became expensive, and it was difficult to make profits. In 2012 they started to sell beads and cowries, but the second turn of bead retail failed, and commodity retail stopped.

4.2.2 Frequency of Sales by Member

Figure 4 shows the frequency of retailing by members between February 2009 and December 2012. During this period, 42 members sold commodities in the Erbore market. The most active member participated in retailing on 32 days, and the least active members participated only once, with an average of 7.7. Table 2 shows the breakdown of the frequency of retailing by enrollment period of the retailers of the Association.⁽⁸⁾ The core members who have joined the Association since 2006 were the most active. On the other hand, the average of the frequency of the 15 women who had joined between 2009 and 2012 was only 1.6. They tried retail in the market once or twice, and then left the Association. Though the members of the Association have been increasing, the entry and withdrawal of the members seems to have been frequent, and some of them who considered the Association to be beneficial seem to have remained.

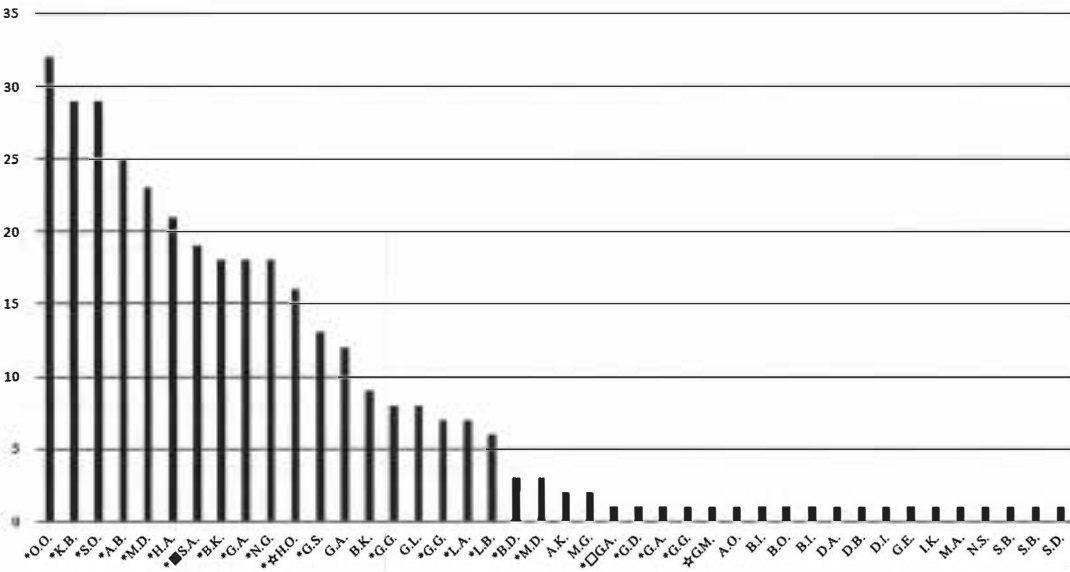


Figure 4. Number of Days Each Member Joined Retailing at Erbore Market
 Remarks: ■ Representative □ Vice Representative ☆ Secretary
 *35 Members who had joined in 2006

Table 2. Enrollment Period of Members and Participation in Sales

Enrollment Period	Number of Members	Average Number of Times Participating in Sales
2006–2014	14	17.1
2006–2012	8	7.4
2009–2012	15	1.6
2009–2014	5	4.8
Total	42	7.5

Table 3. Total Proceeds of a Market Day, and Proceeds per Person

Year	Number of Sales Days	Number of Total Participants	Average of Participants per Market (birr)	Proceeds of a Year (birr)	Average of Proceeds per One Market (birr)	Average Proceeds per One Participant (birr)
2009	13	90	6.9	8,387	645.2	91.4 (1)
2010	11	111	10.1	9,177	834.2	82.7
2011	11	107	9.7	9,028	820.7	84.4
2012	2	12	6	9,360	4,680	780
2013	1	10	10	14,314	14,314	1,431.4
Average (2)			8.9		1,322.8	157.4
Average (3)			8.3		699.8	76.1

(1) Since the number of participants on March 3, 2009 is not available, the proceeds from that day are excluded.

(2) The average from 2009 to 2013

(3) The average from 2009 to 2011

4.3. Profit

4.3.1 Profit of Member

Table 3 shows the total proceeds of a market day, and proceeds per person. The proceeds became large after 2012 because they started to sell beads and cowries, which were very expensive. Excluding this income, the average proceeds per person were 76 birr. The amount of profit they added to the purchasing price depended on each woman's discretion, estimated to be 10–30% of the purchasing price according to my informants. Therefore, the profit per person per day is estimated to have been between 8 and 23 birr. Considering the prices of the petty commodities the Hor women need to buy, these profits would help the members fulfill their daily necessities.

4.3.2 Profit of Association

The profit the Association has gained is difficult to estimate, since profits might be gained not only from trading but also from cash crop business, but the data on cash crop business are unavailable. According to my informants, the Association added an approximately 40% profit to the first price paid to the wholesalers when the Association sold the commodities to the members. According to the account notebook, the Association had cash on hand of 3,679 birr in March 2009, 7,368 birr in September 2010 and 14,000 birr in February 2012. The cash on hand accumulated in the Association was used not only to purchase new commodities but also to give loans to members who needed money for children's marriage or for medical care. In the account notebook, 15 loans ranging from 35 to 300 birr are recorded.

5. THE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION AND EMPOWERMENT

The members of the Arbore Women's Association assert that they were able to gain benefits through joining this organization. What they gained was not only economic benefits, but also the basis on which they achieved self-independence and autonomy from the restraints that the patriarchal Hor society imposed on them. I will show how the activities of the Women's Association helped to change its members' social status and empower them in three ways: 1) improving livelihood, 2) developing faculties, and 3) achieving autonomy.

5.1. *Improving Livelihood*

As one of the members says in the following, the members gained profit through selling commodities, and it improved their livelihood.

The Women's Association helped me to gain profit through selling various commodities. I can buy anything by the money I earned. (GA, Gandarab, August 17, 2014)

The members recognize the advantage of the Women's Association not only in enabling them to earn a small amount of profit, but also in enabling them to borrow a sizable amount of money when they need it.

I could let my daughter marry thanks to the Women's Association. I borrowed money for the marriage ceremony of my daughter. The profit of the Association is great. Before I joined the Association, I often sold goats when someone in my family became sick. But now I can borrow money from the Association. (BK, Gandarab, August 19, 2015)

The main property of the Hor is livestock. Previously, when they needed cash, they would have to sell livestock in the local market. Most livestock, though, are kept in a cattle camp far from their settlement. The local market is held once a week, and there may be no demand for livestock. Moreover, women are responsible for family matters, and do not have any right to property. When they need cash to take their children to the clinic, they have to ask their husbands for permission to sell livestock. The loans given by the Women's Association were well accepted by women who faced such problems.

5.2. *Developing Faculties*

The Women's Association offered its members opportunities to learn new skills that they had never known, and to bring out their hidden talents.

Now I can grow carrots, red peppers and garlic in my field and cook them. I learned how to grow those new crops. (KB, Gandarab, August 17, 2014).

The know-how of growing new crops is the most referred-to skill members of the Association have learned. Even more important is that they learned how to earn profits through the retail of commodities. The following quotes demonstrate how women regard borrowed money a means of increasing their funds by exchanging it for commodities to sell and make a profit off. It is this Money–Commodities–Money chain that they learned from the Women's Association.

Before I joined the Association, I didn't know anything. I couldn't tell the difference between 1 birr bill and 5 birr bill, and 10 birr bill and 100 birr bill. Now I am a skillful merchant. When I see commodities, I can tell how much profit I will earn from them. I learned it in the Women's Association. (SA, Gandarab, August 16, 2014)

By joining the Women's Association I experienced a big change in my life. After I joined the Association I have never sold cattle. I can take my children to the clinic without borrowing money from my relatives and neighbors. It is because I am a member of the Association. My neighbors ask me how I can earn money. We know how to earn money through the method the Association offered us. Before I joined the Association, I had to borrow money from relatives, and had to sell cattle. Now I borrow money, and earn profit by selling the commodities that I purchase on the loan, and I return it. I borrow a loan not from the bank of Jinka (capital town of South Omo) but from the bank of the Women's Association. (SO, Gandarab, August 16, 2014)

For the Women's Association to continue as an organization, profits must accumulate not only for the members, but also for the Association. Therefore, it is necessary to carefully record the purchases and retails of the commodities. However, originally there was no one among the female members of the Association who had an education, and no one had any experience with calculating money. One of the women described how she overcame this difficulty.

When I was told to calculate the purchase and retails of commodities in markets, I said I didn't know how to do it. I said I didn't want to do such work. But I invented how to do it.

In one market day I made a string from weeds for each member who joined the market retails of the day, and when a member brought out a cup of salt, I tied a knot on her string. When she came back, and returned the money to the Association, I untied the knot. I did it for each member in the day. So I could record each member's purchases.

Then as I continued this way in market days, these strings gradually entered my mind, and finally I could do this work by heart. I could recollect all dealings of the day, and at the end of the day, I told HS the record of all the dealings, and he wrote it in the account notebook. Then all the members were pleased and applauded. (HO, Gandarab, August 14, 2014)

This woman was appointed to the position of secretary of the Association. When the Hor are going to hold a meeting after several days, they make a string from a piece of bark and tie the knots corresponding to the number of days remaining. They then untie a knot as each day passes so as not to miss the meeting. This woman applied this method for recording dealings. Finally she was able to recollect all the dealings by heart.

5.3. Achieving Autonomy

The members of the Women's Association have not only benefited financially and learned new skills but have also achieved autonomy by obtaining financial independence from men.

Now I need not to bother my husband and children. I pay by myself when I want to grind grains by motor mills in the Erbore town. I need not to depend on others. The money I earned in the Women's Association helps me a lot. When I buy salt, or a blade to shave the heads of my children, I will buy them by myself. If I borrow 70 birr, I know how to use it. I will buy tobacco, then I will divide them into small cups and sell them. I will earn profit. I have four children, and I can now help them if they have a financial problem. I can live by myself. This is a great change. (SA, Gandarab, August 16, 2014)

Women couldn't have any property. But now we can have it. Now it is I that administrates my husband. (KB, Gandarab, August 17, 2014)

The advantage of the Women's Association is that we can borrow money from the Women's Association for treatment of sickness of our children and ourselves, for honey and beads for the marriage of our daughters. Before we started the Association, women asked husbands to offer them. But now on the contrary, we women help men. (HO, Gandarab, August 14, 2014)

Suspecting the Women's Association of undermining their power, some men tried to hinder their activities when the association started. When the members left for the meeting, for cultivating fields, and for selling commodities, some of their husbands blamed their wives. When the Association accumulated the cash on hand, some men criticized the Association, asserting that Hor women should not own property. However, the members continued their activities. When the Association started to give loans, some of the men who had financial problems came, and borrowed money by placing a mortgage on their gun, which is the most important property for men.

Some men blamed us, insisting that women shouldn't have property. But we didn't agree, saying that it was we women that earned the money. Then men gradually came to us to borrow money, asked to allow them to join the Association. We persuaded men that the money the Association had had been earned by ourselves. Then men came to ask us to let them join. (SA, Gandarab, August 20, 2015)

According to Hor tradition, women cannot own livestock. They say that since brides marry into grooms' families in exchange for cattle, women and cattle are equal and the same, thus women cannot own livestock. However, the property the Women's Association accumulated was not cattle but money. The members of the Association could reject the criticism by men, since money is not included in the category of traditional property of the Hor. Then men gradually admitted the advantage of the activities of the Association, and some of them even wanted to join it.

6. THE CONDITIONS ON WHICH THE ASSOCIATION WAS ORGANIZED AND DEVELOPED

In this section, I examine the social conditions on which the Arbore Women's Association was organized and developed according to the framework of the social movement theory.

6.1. *Structural Strain*

Many CBOs that have been examined by development studies were organized by the initiatives of exogenous agencies such as NGOs and the government. The Arbore Women's Association is different in that it was organized by a pastoralist woman. To understand why she attempted to organize the Association and why her friends agreed, it is necessary to note that they all felt discontent with traditional life.

As I have shown in explaining the historical background in the 1970s and 1980s, the Hor came to know how the highlanders whom they called *Sidaama* lived when they came into contact with Konso merchants and Amhara officials in Erbore town. The recognition of the difference between the life of the highlanders and that of the Hor, and their desire for the material wealth those town dwellers owned, induced strains among the Hor, which were expressed through the form of spirit possession. Those spirits were considered to come from distant countries, and behaved like *Sidaama* and foreigners, whom the Hor were disgusted by and regarded as undermining their tradition. Those who were possessed by the spirits demanded blankets, modern clothes, alcohols and cash money, all of which were used by Erbore town dwellers. Most of the followers of the cult were women, and they enjoyed freedom of behavior, which usually was controlled by their husbands, on the pretext of joining possession ceremonies (Miyawaki 2009).

Penetration of the money economy was another important condition that rendered women discontent with their traditional life. Beginning in the 1970s, the Konso settled in Erbore town started petty shops and restaurants. A weekly market was held in the town, and the Hor bought commodities in the shops and market. A public clinic was opened in Erbore and the Hor came to the clinic for treatment. Money became indispensable for their life. Domestic chores, including procurement of daily necessities, were regarded as a woman's role, but women were prohibited from having their own property. They did not have any means of getting money by themselves, which made them dissatisfied. SA, the initiator of the Association, was the first woman who expressed such discontent in mundane language.

HS, the mediator between the women and the world outside of the Hor, also felt discontent with the status quo of the Hor society. His father was the strongest mediator of the Hor during 1960s who had wielded power with the officials of the local government as backers (Miyawaki 2006). He maintained a good relationship with the officials, and invited them to his house when they came to the Hor. Since HS often attended the occasion when his father entertained the officials, he was not afraid

of having friendly relations with the highlanders, whom most of the Hor called “enemies.” During the 1960s, he was taken to a town called Buska by one of the officials. Buska was the town where the office of the local government was located, and HS had stayed there for three years. He was impressed with the life of highlanders, which was materially well off compared to that of the Hor, and he thought that the life of the Hors should become like that of highlanders. During the Derg regime, he attempted to improve the life of the Hor as a vice administrator by changing their traditions, but most of the Hor resisted the radical changes HS tried to introduce. After being dismissed from the government in 1991, HS felt that his effort would be brought to naught by the new government, and that the Hor would return to their traditional way of life.

SA and HS, who played a leading role in organizing the Association, felt discontented with the Hor society at the beginning of the 1990s; SA's concerns in particular were shared by many Hor women. It is under the changing social situations in the 1990s that they were able to imagine the possibility of organizing the Association.

6.2. Structure of Political Opportunities

The force of a social movement depends on its relationship with the institutions that wield power over it. Social movements gain traction when the participants recognize that the sociopolitical context is going to be favorable for their activities.

After the collapse of the oppressive Derg rule, the political atmosphere of South Omo in the early 1990s was chaotic. As the grip of the state slackened, various movements, including warfare and rebellions, occurred. The Borana invaded the Hor in 1991, resulting in more than 100 casualties. A large assembly called Peace Ceremony was held in Gandarab in 1993 to call a cease-fire with the Borana, and the representatives of agro-pastoralists in South Omo, staff of NGOs, and Ethiopian and foreign anthropologists gathered there. The local government could not control the assembly. In 1995, Tsamako rebels attacked the office of Birale Cotton Plantation. Also in 1995 the first election in the multi-party system was carried out, and candidates from EPRDF and the opposition party contended vehemently with each other. The slackness of the state rule might have induced the initial members, including HS, to feel that the political atmosphere was supportive for starting a new project.

However, the grip of the state rapidly strengthened in the latter half of 1990s, and the situation immediately deteriorated for the Association. Since HS was eager to concern local politics as a candidate of an opposite party, the local government suspected their activities of being anti-governmental. Hor men were also repressive of their activities. Husbands of the members opposed having their wives go to the market to sell commodities. The members knew the situation was adverse, and continued their activities in secret.

However, these relationships have changed since the latter half of the 2000s. This was partly because HS withdrew from politics and concentrated himself on the projects of the Women's Association. The local government stopped watching him as a suspect. Their innovative methods of crop cultivation with machines attracted the attention of the agricultural sector of the government, and the Association gained a positive reputation. Once their activities had been running smoothly, Hor men also gradually accepted it, and some of them even joined it.

The Association started with only four members in 1995. Until the middle of the 2000s, there were 25 members. In 2006 the number increased to 35, and in the 2010s it reached 100. The number of the members has increased as the relationships with the local government and with the men of the Hor changed.

6.3. Mobilization of Social Resources and Networks

Mobilization of social resources is one of the major factors enabling the movement to be successful. After the dismantling of the socialist regime of Derg in 1991, various NGOs and foreign researchers came to South Omo, and some of them started to work among the Hor. In the case of the Arbore Women's Association, foreign funds were very important resources to begin their project, but for the women who did not have any experience working with such NGOs a mediating network was indis-

pensable. In this regard, HS played a crucial role in organizing the Association.

HS developed a bridging network (Putnam 2000) and that allowed the Association to communicate with the world outside of the Hor. He was the first Hor who had been educated in school, and was fluent in Amharic. He had worked in Addis Ababa, and had many friends in neighboring ethnic groups, among highlanders and foreigners. He was also very active in making new networks. He asked foreign researchers to lend him a car to transport commodities. He negotiated with NGOs to offer funds to start the project and to buy agricultural machinery. He also played an important role in introducing new ideas to the Association, such as cash crop cultivation.

The other network was also important for the Women's Association. Social movements that pursue communal goods often suffer from free riders. One of the solutions some social movement theorists offer for this problem is to develop strong networks (Crossely 2002: 93). Sanctions and rewards pertaining to participation are effectively instituted in closely knit networks, and the women's network within the Hor enabled them to recruit and regulate members. As I have shown, women's networks are based on a strong age-set and generation system. When SA initiated the Association in 1995, she utilized this network. As initial organizers, she selected the women who would accept new ideas, and who were well respected among women. One of the women belonged to the uppermost grade of the generation system, and was very influential among the Hor. Since those well-respected women in their traditional institutions joined the project, the project did not appear as a major deviation from tradition. They could also control new members, and encourage them to contribute to the Association, preventing free riders. The bonding network of women was also a rich social resource for the Women's Association.

6.4. Framing

To organize a social movement, it is necessary for the organizing members to persuade their followers. In the case of the Arbore Women's Association, the aims of the initiators and the followers differed. SA said that she wanted to organize the Association since she had thought that Hor women should learn how to earn money like Konso did. HS agreed with her. However, many women regarded doing business as a violation of their tradition and degrading to their ethnic identity. When HS proposed in 1995 that women sell local beer, some of them hesitated, saying that they did not want to be like the "disgusting" Konso and Amhara women.

When the frames of the organizer and followers differ, it is necessary to link those frames. One way to do so is to extend the basic frame of the organizer to incorporate the interests of their followers (frame extension) (Crossely 2002: 135), and this is the way the organizers of the Arbore Women's Association took. They proposed that the aim of the Association was to release Hor women from the daily toil of grinding grains.

Hor live on sorghum and maize, and women ground grains with a saddle shaped stone mill. It took several hours for them to grind grains each day, and they suffered from muscle pains as a result. It was this toil that they wanted to be released from. Collecting money and buying a communal machine mill was an aim all of them agreed with, and this roused them to continue their retail activities.⁽⁹⁾ As they continued to earn money by retailing in order to buy a machine mill, they gradually learned how to do business.

Around 2002, a Konso merchant in Erbore town bought a machine mill before the Association bought it, and the members of the Association started to utilize it. Until then, however, the Association had been running smoothly, had brought profit to its members, had accumulated cash on hand, and had started to lend to its members. They had already learned how to do business, enjoyed its advantage, and were able to continue even though they had already achieved their initial aim.

6.5. Low Profile Strategy and Fragile Structure of the Organization

Finally, I will point out the efficiency of their strategy in coping with the difficulties they have faced, and the drawback of this strategy that affects the development of the Association. For CBOs, donors and the government are important agencies since they offer facilities such as funds and authorization

for their activities. However, donors and governments often hamper their autonomy by attempting to control CBOs in exchange for the facilities they offer. Thus, CBOs should elaborate a strategy if they want to evade this dilemma (Bratton 1989).

In Ethiopia, large organizations for self-help or charities are registered with the government. If the organization is registered with the government, it will gain credence and may be able to loan funds from city banks. Another way for such a small organization to gain credence is to become a subdivision of a large national NGO. If it becomes a subdivision of a large NGO, it will be able to approach to a larger network, and be able to gain a larger fund.

I used to suggest that they register their organization with the government, and sometimes suggested that they become a branch of a big NGO and proposed to introduce to such a national NGO that wanted to spread its activity to South Omo. However, my advice has been politely rejected. Deep distrust of *Sidaama* shared by the Hor seems to be the main reason for their rejection. The bitter memory of having their activities oppressed by the local government may have also made them hesitant.

If an organization is registered, the government may intervene in their activities (Bratton 1989, Coppock et al. 2012). If the organization becomes a subdivision of a larger NGO, they will have to meticulously account for the expenditures of funds, which may trigger their detachment from the necessities of local inhabitants (Igoe and Kelsall 2005). By maintaining a distance from formal organizations, they could spend the funds for microfinance on accumulating the Association's cash on hand, and expand subsistence agriculture into cash crop cultivation. For such a small, peripheral organization, remaining grassroots may allow it to avoid being overtaken by authoritarian powers, and continue as it is.

However, this low profile strategy seems to inhibit the Association from improving the abilities of its members. Some studies on CBOs have suggested that the affiliation with the donor organization helped CBO members develop their ability to manage their project and organization (Coppock et al. 2012, Coppock and Solomon 2013, Kumashiro 2014). For example, in northern Kenya, the CBO of pastoralist women had a solid organizational structure. Those groups were self-governed and adhered to a constitution and bylaws. In most groups, leaders were elected, with elections occurring every 2 or 3 years. Leadership meetings were held regularly. New applicants were carefully screened based on their trustworthiness, and were required to pay entry fees (Coppock and Solomon 2013). The Arbore Women's Association lacks these organizational features.

According to Coppock and Solomon, half the groups they interviewed had formed after women had received encouragement from a governmental (GO) or nongovernmental (NGO) organization, and the other had formed after observing the success of groups elsewhere. All the groups formed long-term relationships with GO or NGO partners, and were legally registered with the Kenyan government. GO and NGO partners mentored with respect to the implementation of group constitutions, along with start-up technical and financial assistance, and later leadership capacity building and improving the management of microfinance and microenterprises (Coppock and Solomon 2013).

Compared to those groups, the Arbore Women's Association lacks opportunities for systematic trainings. All the roles that are very important for the Association have been carried out only by HS. It is thus doubtful whether the Association will continue if HS withdraws from this activity. Furthermore, since the number of members has increased, managing the organization with the way they had done within a small network of acquaintances may become difficult. The Association may thus suffer from a fragile organizational structure.

7. CONCLUSION

I have described the social background, history, and activities of the Arbore Women's Association, and demonstrated the conditions under which the Association had been organized and continued for 20 years, based on the framework of social movement theory.

The conditions under which the Women's Association was organized and continued were as follows. 1) Women felt discontent with their patriarchal tradition, which prevented them from accessing the wealth brought by the highlanders and the money economy penetrating their society. 2) The slackness of the state rule seems to have induced them to begin a new project, but in the initial stage, during the 1990s to 2000, the relationship with the authorities such as the local government and men of the Hor was tense. After the 2000s, the relationship with the authorities improved, and the number of members increased. 3) They could combine the two networks, which had different features. The one is a bonding network based on women's age system, and the other is a bridging network that a male mediator had. The male mediator played an important role, not only as a link between Hor women and outside resources, but also as a source of new ideas. 4) Though the aim of the organizers and followers differed, the organizers incorporated the aim of the followers into their frame. Consequently, the Association has been able to keep in touch with what the members desired. 5) The Association took low profile strategy, and did not affiliate with external organizations such as NGOs and the government. Not owing any accountability and responsibility to external organizations, the Association could change its aims, plans and activities flexibly as the local situations changed. On the other hand, this strategy prevented the Association from gaining opportunities for the members to be trained for project management by well-established organizations.

Studies on CBOs have focused their analysis on the factors by which CBOs persist from an organizational point of view. In this paper, I focused instead on the social conditions from which a spontaneous organization emerged, and attempted to interpret how the Association had been organized and developed based on those conditions. The Arbore Women's Association would not exist as it does were one of those conditions different. This kind of study will elucidate the conditions under which such movements occur and make it possible to carry out further comparative studies in areas where certain conditions are shared.

NOTES

- (1) By CBO, I refer to the organizations that are organized by local inhabitants to achieve certain aims by means that are foreign from their traditional life.
- (2) The interviews were carried out in August 2012 in Addis Ababa, and in August 2013, August 2014, and August 2015 in Gandarab. Those interviews were carried out in Amharic and Hor language partly with a research assistant who translated the Hor language into Amharic. The financial records between 2009 and 2013 that I utilized were written in Amharic in three notebooks.
- (3) Since the 1970s, Catholic Missionary brought a few Arbore children to school. During the 1980s, Redd Barna (Save the Children Norway) constructed an irrigation channel in the Hor territory. Since 2006, EPARDA (Ethiopian Pastoralist Research and Development Association) started the project to cease wars among the pastoralists in South Omo, and the Hor were included in the projects. In 2006, Farm Africa began a microfinance project among the Hor. In 2007 Hor Project launched a project to save the Dassanetch, neighboring agro-pastoralists of the Hor that were hit by flood at the time; Hor Project bought small stock from the Hor to donate to the Dassanetch. From 2006 to 2008, Mekani Yesus tackled the abolition of FGM. In 2007, FOSO (Friends of South Omo) came to the Hor and launched a project to improve their agriculture. In 2011 AEPDA (Atowoykesi Ekisilil Pastoralist Development Association) held an assembly called Peace Dialogue in Erbore town as a part of the project that they carried out in South Omo to cease ethnic warfare.
- (4) Kuile is a small settlement located in the north of Gandarab where the kin group of the chief of the Tsamako, a northern neighboring group of the Hor, reside. Since the Tsamako have kinship with the Hor, many Hor live there.
- (5) Interview with SA on August 20, 2015 in Gandarab.
- (6) Interview with HS on August 19, 2013 in Gandarab.
- (7) Their success was shown on their website as follows: "Until recently, the only agricultural practice in South Omo was the raising of cattle. However, for the past several years, the Agricultural Program of FOSO has created a situation where an entire community weathered the drought without a single member going

hungry!!! This is miraculous! With a few 'tractors' and a lot of determination, great leadership and the strength of the women of the tribe, crops were grown. For the first time in recorded history, food was actually STORED and everyone was able to eat all year round." (<http://www.friendsofsouthomo.com/>. Accessed on March 21, 2015. Their website has been completely deleted and could not be accessed in 2017.)

This report shows how the recognition of the foreign NGO is sometimes far from the reality of the field. The Hor have depended on flood retreat cultivation, and their harvest has been sufficient to support not only themselves but also neighboring peoples. They indeed have stored grains to feed them all year round. During the project, most of the FOSO's funds were actually used for the cultivation of cash crops.

- (8) Since the dates of entry and withdrawal of the members have not been entered in the notebooks, the exact period of enrollment of each member is unknown. The enrollment period of Table 2 is thus a rough estimate.
- (9) When I came to know their activities in 2000, they repeatedly explained to me that their aim was buying a machine mill.

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