Jimma University

College of Social Sciences and Humanities

Department of Sociology

Social Exclusions; the Case of Manjo in Keffa, Southern Ethiopia

By: Debregenet Yohannes

<u>Supervisors:</u>

Tesfaye   Zeleke (PhD)

Adamu Amenu (MA)

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Acronyms

AAE……. Action Aid Ethiopia

DFID…….. Department for International Development

ECS………. Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat

FDRE…….. Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

FGDs……....Focused Group Discussions

ILO…………International labor Organization

JBCS……….Jimma-Bonga Catholic Secretariat

NGOs ……… Non-Governmental Organizations

SNNPRS……South Nation, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State

ODI………….Oversea Development Institute

Abstract

This study primarily focuses on assessing the practice of social exclusions on Manjo minority groups in Keffa. A qualitative research approach was employed in order to get depth data to understand and interpret the lived experiences of Manjos. Accordingly, in-depth interview, focused group discussions and observation are employed and a total of 25 in-depth informants, 4 FGDs constituting of 6 individuals in each group and who were recruited through snowball sampling. Informants were selected purposefully from Gimbo woreda (Kaya-kella and Qaja – araba) kebeles. There have been studies conducted by different scholars on the marginalization and discrimination practices on Manjos by Keffa society. However, the studies have given more emphasis on the socio-economic impact of marginalization and discrimination practices on Manjos. Hence, this study tried to assess the current socio-cultural conditions of Manjos. Manjo minority groups are one of the marginalized and discriminated social groups in broader Keffa society due to their clan identity. The study emphasizes social organization of Manjos and various manifestations of the exclusions. Moreover, the study explores the overall living conditions of Manjos in terms of economic, social, and political features within the socio-cultural activities of the dominant groups. The finding showed that there is improvement on their economic aspects. However, they are still experiencing the total exclusion that manifested in terms of social, cultural, political and spatial dimensions. There were intervention strategies by Ethiopian government as well as other nongovernmental organizations including religious organization for the inclusion of Manjo but, it was not satisfactory. Based on the finding, the study forwarded policy implications and the possible recommendations. Therefore, the Ethiopian government and policy planners should plan for longer time frame for intervention, the responsible stakeholders (keffa society, Manjo themselves, government civil servants and nongovernmental organizations, religious institutions and so forth) should work together for the great inclusion of Manjos.

Key Words: Social Exclusions, Manjo, Keffa, South West

Glossary

Alamo – on who sprit descends from heaven

Asho— human

Debo --- The type of social cooperation by farmers working in each of farm land turn by turn

Dejjoo--- the culture of giving sacrifices to God who is lords of fertility and good harvesting.

Derg— Military government that ruled Ethiopia prior to the existing regime

Ekko—sprit inherited by Alamos

Idiro ---- The type of social cooperation for funeral ceremony

Kaffecho/Gommero --- The majority group excluding the Manjos

Kebele---- The Smallest administrative unit in Ethiopia and a Sub- division of Woreda

Manjo ---- The excluded minority group

Manji Gafoo--- *Manjos village*

Mannoo ---*tanners*

Manoo---- *brother*

Tsiwa --- *celebration of saint's day*

Senbete --- *the custom of bringing breakfast with coffee every Sunday*

Taleyanenao ---- unclean

Woreda------- An Administrative unit which is a Sub- Division of Zone

Zone-- An Administrative unit which is a Sub- Division of regional State

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Social exclusion has been defined by the Department of International Development DFID in (2005) as follow:

> *"a process by which certain groups are systematically disadvantaged because they are discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity, race, religion, sexual orientation, caste, descent, gender, age, disability, HIV status, migrant status or where they live. Discrimination occurs in public institutions, such as the legal system or education and health services, as well as social institutions like the household".*

According to Kehan (2012) Social exclusion is multidimensional; it encompasses social, political, cultural and economic dimensions, and operates at different social levels; it is also dynamic, in that it impacts people in various ways and to differing degrees over time and it is relational, it is the product of social interactions which are characterized by unequal power relations, and it can produce ruptures in relationships between people and society, which result in a lack of social participation, social protection, social integration and power.

As a result socially excluded people are often denied the opportunities available to others to increase their income and escape from poverty by their own efforts. So, even though the economy may grow and general income levels may rise, excluded people are likely to be left behind, and make up an increasing proportion of those who remain in poverty (DFID 2005).

Silver (2007) also believed that Exclusion is *multidimensional*. However, which dimensions are relevant and how they are related vary across time and space. Most frequently, the dimensions include both economic and social aspects of disadvantage.

But the economic dimensions need not refer only to monetary poverty or insufficient income; scholars have also considered exclusion from land, credit, and other assets like that of food and other consumption goods, and the labor market.

Governments can institute and enforce legal norms that establish and uphold citizenship rights and entitlements for social protection. A variety of institutional arrangements promote rights-based social inclusion, including legal guarantees to social protection, affirmative action to reach and support disadvantaged groups, and minimum labor standards. In such way they address some drivers of social exclusion that limit individual ability to benefit from social protection and economic opportunities, and help them claim their rights to decent working conditions and protection against abuse and injustice (ODI 2012).

Social exclusion has been caused by various factors as noted above is often cause of poverty, conflict and insecurity in turn. If we are to tackle it effectively, we need to recognize where it becomes a critical problem, understand it better, and, where appropriate, find different ways of working with partner governments, the international community and civil society organizations to overcome it (DFID 2005).

In developing countries the concept of social exclusion related to "basic capabilities" risk aversion, vulnerability and sustainable livelihood (Saith 2001). In this regard Ethiopia, a country home to many minority groups consisting of hunters and craft workers and other despised groups in different nation nationalities of the country. But it must be noted that the groups often considered as minorities, they play important roles in economic, social, cultural, and political development to their respective societies and areas. These days the gap between the standard of living of minorities and majority has got narrowed. However, in the social wing, the minorities are still excluded from the main stream of social life and are discriminated against by dominant groups; they have low status and excluded by the majority (Yoshida 2013).

To this effect this was attempted to assess the current social exclusions experience of *Manjos* from dominant *Kaffa* society in relation with their socio cultural aspects.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In Ethiopia, where more than 80 ethnic diversities exist, ethnocentrism has so far been the major precedent cause of political and social dispute across the nation. It has been becoming clearly evident that such ethnic diversities serve as an attraction while accompanying segregation and class-formation (Mesfin 2005).

In southwest Ethiopia, scattered all over the Keffa Zone and also present in the neighboring zones, live people called *Manjo*, a marginalized minority group of former hunters. The *Manjo* minority groups are included under the ethnic group of Keffa (Leikola 2014:1).Any person who speaks *Kafi-noono* is called Keffa. But inside the Keffa society; people identify themselves as being *Gomoro*, *Manno*, and *Manjo* (Yoshida 2013).

The *Kafi-noono*s speakers not belonging to occupational groups are called *Gomoro* (hereafter referred to as Kaffa) in the Kaffa society and this is the way they call themselves, too. The *Manno* people who are tanners and artisans are discriminated against by the Kaffa people. This exclusion is based on their occupation.

The Kaffa distinguishes themselves from the *Manjo*, by not including them in to their own category of *asho* ('people'), and regard the *Manjo* as sub-human (ECS 2009). Social discrimination is particularly observable in greetings, at local restaurants, hotels, in communal labor exchange arrangement, in the choice of partner and in the location of funeral places (Lange1982).

There have been studies conducted by different scholars about the *Manjo* minority groups. For instance, Gezahegn (2003) revealed the social and economic changes undergone by the *Manjo*; he confirmed that the *Manjo* is changing its way of life from hunting and gathering to farming. However, Gezahegn's perspective is limited in dealing with economic aspects of the groups.

Freeman and Pankhust (2003) published a book focused on the various minority groups in southern Ethiopia, and developed theoretical frame-work for understanding why these groups have been excluded and why they have been marginalized in such different ways; these studies are important in understanding a general view of these minority exclusions. Yet, the study did

not illustrate the societal relationship that exist among the dominant Keffa society and *Manjo* minorities.

The other finding under Yoshida (2009), showed that due to the conversion of *Manjo* to protestant, the social relationship between *Manjo* and keffa became changing, the study was gave the distinct image of the *Manjo*, not as victims of in-humane discrimination but as agents living on their own accord selecting their own religious identity. However, this study could not distinguish various intervention strategies and mechanisms of religious institution to deal with the social exclusions.

Action Aid Ethiopia (2005) an international NGO, in collaboration with Keffa zone council has taken the lead in launching advocacy work of demystifying discrimination of *Manjo* community unprecedented commitment for the victims by assessing effects of discrimination on the social relation of Manjos and tried to looked at root causes of persisting discriminatory action on *Manjo* minority society segment, but it is limited only in two Woredas of the area namely *Decha* and *Bitta* woredas.

In general the studies which have been conducted in the *Manjo* minority groups have given more emphasis on the socio economic aspects of the marginalization and discrimination. In addition to that creating a genuine structure of social inclusion is challenging because of the multi-dimensional nature of the social exclusions and it needs further investigations and studies. Although there were improvements, as shown through different studies over time, the social exclusion of *Manjo* has not been entirely eliminated. Hence, this study was aimed to assess the current social exclusion experience of Manjos in relation with their current socio cultural conditions.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of this study was to describe the social exclusions and the current socio cultural status of *Manjo* minority groups in Keffa Zone, Southern Ethiopia.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of this study   include the following:

- To study the social organization of *Manjo* in relation to dominant groups;
- To see the practices of the social exclusions of *Manjos*;
- To identify the intervention by various organization for the social inclusion of *Manjo society*
- To discuss the coping strategies of the Manjo themselves to cope up with the exclusions.

1.4 Significance of the study

The study is ultimately an attempt to assess and describe the existing social exclusion of *Manjo* minority groups in keffa. There have been studies and actions taken by various organizations including governmental and NGOs

However, creating a genuine structure of social inclusion is challenging because of the multidimensional nature of the social exclusion these minority groups are still subjected discrimination and marginalization; economically disadvantageous, politically disempowered and socially excluded. Therefore, it needs further investigation and studies.

Hence, this study will make its own contribution for assessing the current social exclusions of *Manjo*s in Keffa. It will also help to understand the different factors which contribute for the persistence of the exclusion and pervious efforts done by various organizations to tackle the social exclusion. Moreover, this particular study will pave the way for future investigation of minority group exclusion from the mainstream of the social hierarchy of Keffa society.

It will possibly provide data for interested parties in the promotion of these excluded segments of the societies. In other words academic researchers who might works on social exclusion of such minority groups, it will also have a contribution for the social policy makers and development planners to take into account such social groups which have been actively discriminated against, in improving the way of living for those at the of bottom social ladder like *Manjo* minority groups as specialized areas of investigation and intervention as their ultimate objective. Therefore, government and nongovernmental organization will be benefited from the research out comes.

Chapter two: Literature Review

2.1 The Concept and Definition of Social Exclusion

The notion of social exclusion has been understood in various terms and concepts. Theorists of social exclusion stress its *multidimensional* nature. Social exclusion, they argue, relates not simply to a lack of material resources, but also to matters like inadequate social participation, lack of cultural and educational capital, inadequate access to services and lack of power. In other words, the idea of social exclusion attempts to capture the complexity of powerlessness in modern society rather than simply focusing on one of its outcomes (Muddan 1999). According to Hillary Silver (2007), Social Exclusion defined as following:

> *"Social exclusion is usually defined as a dynamic process of progressive multidimensional rupturing of the 'social bond' at the individual and collective levels. By social bond, I mean the social relations, institutions, and imagined identities of belonging constituting social cohesion, integration, or solidarity. Social exclusion precludes full participation in the normatively prescribed activities of a given society and denies access to information, resources, sociability, recognition, and identity, eroding self-respect and reducing capabilities to achieve personal goals."*

Peace (2001) social exclusion is a concept that can be defined and deployed in two terms, the narrow definition of the social exclusion as income poverty and refers to those people who are in low- wage work.

In broad terms, social exclusion refers to much more than poverty, income inequality, deprivation or lack of employment, rather the concept is useful for developing different and more complex understanding of the factors and influences that leads to well-being and relative advantage on the one hand, and disparities, inequalities and relative disadvantage between members of a community on the other hand.

Kehan (2012) noted that ethnic (as well as racial) exclusion can result from discriminatory institutional rules, as well as social attitudes and practices. This discrimination is particularly

problematic when it occurs in public sector organizations, which are responsible for public service provisioning.

2.2 Global View about Social Exclusion

"Social Exclusion" the term used in the field of intellectuals and policy planners worldwide for identifying the gaps for the development of the neglected people and the relating country. The causes for exclusion can vary from country to country in different times; reflecting deferent situation such geographically, historically and politically. The exclusion is practiced worldwide mostly on the identity of gender, caste, religion, ethnicity, color, race, nationality, and others (Kadunand and Gadk**ar** 2014).

The followings are some examples of definitions of social exclusions in different countries from **ILO** country case studies (Gore &Figueiredo, 1997:17-18) as cited in Kadun and Gadkar (2014).

"Peru: "Social Exclusion is the inability to participate in aspects of social life considered important. These are economic, cultural and political. "Hardcore" social exclusion occurs when there is mutual feedback, rather than offsetting, relationships between the inabilities to participate in these three dimensions of social life."

India: "Social Exclusion is the denial of the basic welfare rights which provide citizens positive freedom to participate in the social and economic life and which thereby render meaningful their fundamental negative freedoms."

Thailand: "Social Exclusion is a process through which citizenship rights on which livelihood and living standards depend are not recognized and respected. This involves relationships between people, in which rights are challenged and defended through negotiations and conflict."

Russia: "Social Exclusion is both an objective and a subjective feature of people's lives. As an objective condition, it is characterized by material deprivation and infringement of social rights (including rights related to employment for the employed and the unemployed). As a subjective Feeling, it is characterized by a sense of social inferiority in the community or a loss of prior social status."

Tanzania: "Social Exclusion is both a state and a process. As a state, it is equivalent to relative deprivation; as a process, it refers to the socially determined structures and processes which impede access on the part of some members of society to economic resources, to social goods, and to institutions which determine their destinies."

Yemen: "Social Exclusion is the opposite of social integration. It is present when some individuals and groups cannot participate, or are not recognized, as full and equal members of society, at local community or national level."

2.3 Social Exclusion and Marginalization

Marginalization is a slippery and multi-layered concept like that of social exclusion. Whole societies can be marginalized at the global level while classes and communities can be marginalized from the dominant social order. Similarly, ethnic groups, families or individuals can be marginalized within localities. To a certain extent, marginalization is a shifting phenomenon, linked to social status. So, for example, individuals or groups might enjoy high social status at one point in time, but as social change takes place, so they lose this status and become marginalized. Similarly, as life cycle stages change, so might people's marginalized position (Burton and Kagan 2003).

According to Burton and Kagan (2003) People who are experiencing marginalization are likely to have weak attachment in the economy. The sources of their income will vary. Some will be waged and some will depend on state benefits, insignificant economic activity such as casual work, or charity it is not unusual for people to combine, or move between, these various ways of getting money in their struggle for survival. Poverty, dependency, and feelings of shame are everyday aspects of economic dislocation and social marginalization.

2.4 Empirical review

2.4.1 Features of Minority Groups

The idea of marginalized minority groups understood in different ways depending on diverse contexts. According to Dunn (2010) understanding minority groups has much to do with social dimension instead of numerical condition. In other words, unlike the implication of the term, what makes a section of society minority is the subordinate position it occupies in particular social system.

A minority group is not necessarily a minority because they are a smaller population than the dominant group. It may consist of any group that is subnormal with respect to a dominant group in terms of social status, education, employment, wealth and power. In this case, minority is viewed as synonymous with inferior and dominant implies the superior.

2.4.2 Social Exclusion Practice in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, Since the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) came to power; the federal government has followed a policy of ethnic federalism. The new Constitution, enacted in 1994, acknowledges that all nations, nationalities, and peoples have an unconditional right to self-determination, including a right to secession. Article 39 defines the complex concept of nation, nationality and people as a group of people who have, or share in large measure, a common culture or similar customs, a mutually intelligible language, a belief in common or related identity and a common psychological make-up, and who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory.

Based on this definition, affirmative measures for minority nationalities and peoples are introduced. Recently, zonal and regional governments have given these groups priority in education and employment. As a result, some members of these groups have completed their education and secured jobs with their local administration. The purpose of this affirmative action is to correct imbalance among the ethnic groups in the local administration. The following are various examples of minority groups in Ethiopia

Ayilles in Wollaita

Wolaitta society characterized by firmly stratified and complex hierarchy of the '*Goqqa* - Clan system, '*Ayille'* and the *Hilancha* (craft workers) (Haileyesus 1996) as cited in (Akalework 2011). Therefore, the minority groups that occupy the lower stratum include artisans and the so called '*Ayilles'*. Hence, the *Goqqas (Tigre, Woilitta malla, Amhara, Guderata* and so forth) include the dominant social groups that comprise the majority of the population and enjoyed an upper social status in the history of Wolaitta.

The *Ayilles (slaves)* and artisans, on the other hand, are subordinated in the social stratum and have been compelled to experience social exclusion and inequality as compared to the *Goqqas*

(Akalework 2011). The *Ayilles* are considered by wider society of Wolliatta as commodities to be sold at the market. Even though, such phenomena have been abolished legally, it has not yet affected the values and attitudes of the Wolaitta society at large.

Fugas in Oromia

The *Fuga* people live in Oromia region of West Shewa Zone. They sparsely settled in three neighboring woredas of west Shewa, namely: Dire Enchini, Toke kutaye and Nono woreda. The land where they have been located is suitable for agriculture but the people are not economically engage on agriculture as their neighboring Oromo community, rather they are skilled workers who make things by hands.

The Fuga are despised and marginalized by the Oromo farmers, and also considered impure due to their consumption habits, namely, eating the meat of animals that have not been ritually slaughtered. Prior and post to the ethnic federation, the name Fuga" has been seldom used in the Woreda activities and they neither considered as parts of the Oromo people in Dire Enchini nor recognized as independent ethnic groups.

There are different ideas on the language categories of the Fuga people some call them as they are branch of Cushitic and other told as they are Omotic from Southern Nation, Nationality and people of Ethiopia. Even other group also calls them as they are Negroid from outside or they are outside from Beta Israel people (Girmaye 2016).

Falasha and Wayto

Both are despised artisan groups within the wider Amhara society. The Falasha worked mainly as blacksmiths, weavers and potters. And The Wayto work mainly as the makers of grinding stones and as boat men ferrying people across Lake Tana.

Neither group can own land or intermarry with the farming majority. Beyond this they are considered very in a different way. The Falasha are stereotyped as being *Buda*, the bearers of the evil eye who devour others out of jealousy of Amhara land and wealth. The Wayto on the other hand, are stereotyped as polluting sub-humans who eat disgusting food and live a wild and disordered life (Freeman and Pankhust 2003).

Freeman and Pankuhust (2003) categorized four different categories of marginalized groups in southern and northern Ethiopia based on the form of their stereotyping by the majority farmers:

1) **Respected *non-polluters***

The first categories of minorities are those that are the least marginalized. They are unusual in that they all owned land prior to Menilek's conquest, and they are the only groups not to be considered as polluting or impure by the farmers. Groups in this category include the Nefrwe (smiths) and the Shamer (weavers) in Gurage, the Yirfo (smiths) in Yem, the K'emo (smiths) and Shamano (weavers) in Kafa, the Kejo (smiths) in Shekacho and the Wogach'e (smiths) in Dawro.

Stereotyping

There is currently very little stereotyping of the minorities in this category. They are not seen to be radically different from the majority farmers, and there is little social distance between them.

They live among the farmers, and are not forced to the periphery like some of the other groups. Most of them owned land and practiced agriculture even before the land reform of the Derg, and in all cases they are the highest ranking of the artisans. The YemYirfo say they have always married regular farmer clans, and Kafa K'emo and Shamane have recently been accepted as marriage partners by farming clans.

2) *Sterile polluters*

The second categories of minorities are those that are viewed by farmers as being fairly polluting, and also not good for fertility. Groups in this category include the Awacho (tanners) of Sidama, the Ch'inasha (potters) of Wolaita, the Hawuda (weavers, smiths, tanners, potters, butchers) of Konso, the Degala (tanners) of Dawro, Wolaita and Gamo, and the various groups of Mana (tanners, potters), with the exception of the Mana smiths in the communities of the Gofa area.

3) Fertile polluters

The third category of minorities are marginalized to a very great extent and are viewed by surrounding farmers as being extremely polluting and yet also associated with fertility. Groups in this category include the Manjo (hunters), the Fuga (woodworkers, tanners, potters) and possibly the Hadicho (potters) of the Sidama.

Stereotyping

The groups in this category are stereotyped by their farmer neighbors as being lawless, uncivilized people associated with the wild bush rather than the domesticated village. They tend to live on the periphery of settlements, close to the forest, rather than among the farmers. They are considered to be deeply polluting, and are accused of eating impure meat, such as monkey and porcupine, and meat from other animals that have died without being slaughtered. These impure dietary habits, even when they are denied or said to have been abandoned, are used by farmers to explain and justify the impurity of the members of these groups. In many cases they are believed to smell, and are buried separately from the farmers.

4) *Dangerous Polluters*

The fourth categories of minorities are the most marginalized of all. They are thought to be extremely polluting and they are also feared for their alleged dangerous powers. Groups in this category include the blacksmiths of Oyda, Malo, Maale, Ari, Bako and Dime. These societies are all located in the general Gofa area of southwest Ethiopia. The smiths are known as Gitsu or Gito, and often get subsumed in the category of 'Mana' as Gita Mana.

Stereotyping

The stereotyping of these groups by the farmers is the most extreme in the whole region, and they are considered to be a radically different kind of people. They are believed to be the most polluting of all such groups and contact with them is avoided as far as possible. These smiths are feared and are thought to control fantastic powers.

Manjo in Keffa

The people of Keffa are further subdivided to about 200 clans. In the ancient times, there were three major parameters, occupation, descendent and status employed to differentiate between groups or individuals within the bigger Keffa kingdom (Tekle 1992). Where as in the case of *Manjos* their clan is the prime identity and occupation just follows to represent them – unanimously all over the zone.

According Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat (ECS) 2009 the *Manjo* are still labeled as bad clan by Keffas having the following distinguishing features.

- Dietary practice: The *Manjo* are blamed as eating "unhygienic" or "contaminated" and "dirty" food. This includes among others meat of religiously barred animals such as the savanna ape, baboon, dead animals that are not slaughtered and the like.

- Physical appearance: *Manjo* are also discriminated against because of their bodily appearance. They in comparison with Keffa are undersized, have curly hair and broad nose. *Manjo* are as well branded as being not careful for their personal and communal sanitation and do not wash their bodies and clothing and have distasteful or repulsive smell which in some cases is believed to be attributed to skin disease

- Distinctiveness: The Keffa consider *Manjo* as being immoral and hypocrite, with no aspiration to get education. The *Manjo* are in addition considered as badly informed, sluggish or idle. They have no consideration for tomorrow but interested about their daily consumption rather than to solid material progress. In extreme cases *Manjo* men are labeled as possessing tails at the backside of their head. In response to the tag they gave to *Manjo* Keffa are in turn branded as being pretender or liar all the time ready to deceive *Manjo*. Keffa are also regarded by *Manjo* as being weak and exceptionally distrustful of others. But, in spite of the mistreatment of *Manjo* by Keffa it is easier said than find significant variation in the way of life of the two groups. With the expansion of education and advancement of civilization *Manjo* have started to wash their clothes and keep them clean. Hence, we can dispute that *Manjo* sticky tag does not have any considerable basis and that Keffa make use of this phrase to validate or rationalize their bias against *Manjo*.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

Regarding the social exclusion of certain groups from various facets of the society, literatures studied and scrutinized using different approaches and paradigms as a result; there are many theories that tried to understand the notion and its manifestation in a particular society. In these sections, some of these have been discussed in relation to social exclusion of *Manjo* minority groups.

2.5.1 Social Exclusion by Sens Capability Approach

Social exclusion can also been seen as a part of Sen's (2000) capability approach, which is based on the ideas of 'functioning's' and 'capabilities'. 'Functioning's' are those things that an individual is able to do or be in leading a life, such as having a healthy body, being educated, having self-respect, participating in community life, etc. 'Capabilities' are combinations of various functioning's which allow an individual to lead the kind of life he or she values. Social exclusion can thus be seen as a process leading to a state in which it is more difficult for certain individuals and groups to achieve certain 'functioning."

The impossibility of reaching a functioning leads to a state of deprivation, and the 'state' of social exclusion can be defined as a combination of deprivations. Capabilities are absolute requirements for full membership of society.

Entitlements refer to rights, that is, the command the families have over goods, using various economic, political and social opportunities within the legal system (Sen2000).

2.5.2 Silvers (1994) Three Paradigms of Social Exclusion Approaches

Solidarity:

This approach is based on the Emile Durkheim notion of "social order" in which social order is conceived as a central moral and normative rather than grounded in individual, groups, or class interest. National and collective consciousness or general will ties the individual to the larger society. This approach deeply emphasis on the way which cultural or moral boundaries between groups socially construct dualistic categories' for ordering the world. Like deviance or anomie, exclusion both threatens and reinforces social cohesion. Moreover, this paradigm focused on exclusion inherent in the solidarity of nation, race, ethnicity, locality and other cultural and other elemental ties that delimits boundaries between groups.

Specialization:

The specialization paradigm is based on the Anglo-American liberalism; exclusion is the consequence of specialization, of social differentiation, the economic division of labour, and the separation of these spheres. Social exclusion in this paradigm results from inadequate separate applications of rules inappropriate to a given sphere or from barriers to free movement and exchange between spheres.

Monopoly:

Finally, the third paradigm sees social exclusion as a consequence of formation of group monopoly. Weberian and to lesser extent Marxist, views social order as coercive, imposed through a set of hierarchical power relations.

In this theory, exclusion arises from the interplay of class, status and political power and serves the interest of the included by ignoring excluded ones. Social closure is achieved when institutions and cultural distinctions not only create boundaries that keep others out against their will but are also used to perpetuate inequality. Those within delimited social entities enjoy a monopoly over scarce resources. The monopoly creates a bond of a community interest between otherwise unequal insiders. The excluded are therefore, simultaneously outsiders and dominated.

2.6 Application of Theories to the Study

In order to deal with the social exclusion of *Manjos*, the researcher demand to use both **Sen's** capability approach and silver solidarity paradigm.

Sen's Capability: Despite the *Manjo* minority groups in Keffa have ability and capability to get what they values in their life, due to the social exclusions which they faced from the dominant groups, they lack opportunities in the various facets like, economic, social, political and other effects which are normal for the dominant groups.

Poverty consists of a systematic or structural denial of basic freedoms, as articulated by Amartya Sen (2000), resulting in agency constrained to the extent that individuals are lack the "capability "to meet their basic needs .The poverty that *Manjos* suffered and still suffering is the result of unjust cultural discrimination that excludes them from equally sharing resources of the society as equal citizens. "Being excluded can sometimes be in itself a deprivation and this can be of basic

importance on its own. For example, not being able to relate to others and take part in the life of the community can directly impoverish a person's life. It is a loss on its own, in addition to whatever further deprivation it may indirectly generate" (Sen, 2000:13).

Solidarity Paradigm by Silver: In this paradigm social exclusion of the *Manjos* are the result of social anomie which caused from weak social bond as a result, the dualistic categories of people appeared which consider Keffa as superior and *Manjo* as inferior or sub human by labeling *Manjos* as " unclear and stinking" by Keffa.

Monopoly paradigm by Silver: this paradigm views social order as a coercive imposed through a set of hierarchical power relations.

The Manjo-Keffa relationship is characterized by hierarchical power relations. In which the Keffa occupied the highest social status where as the *Manjo* occupy the lowest social status among Keffa society. The *Manjo*s are always considered by Keffa as inferior and good for nothing.

Cultural beliefs, values, rules and regulations of the Keffa society is always in favor of Keffas and do not take in to account the *Manjos* or the excluded. The culture by itself contributed in perpetuating inequality and makes the social exclusion persistent. As a result, the Keffas, monopoly enjoy by controlling the scarce resources; and such exclusion of *Manjos* from the main stream makes them outsiders and equally dominated in which manifested through various facets of their day to day social interaction; Economical, cultural, political and also spatial dimension.

Chapter Three: Research Methods

3.1 Study Population

3.1.1 The physical feature of study population

Keffa is located south western part of Ethiopia. It is the name of both people and area in South Nation, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNRP) located between 6 $6^0 24'$ and $8^0 13'$ norh latitude and $35^0 48'$ and $36^0 78'$ east longitude.

It is located about 454 km from capital city Addis Ababa, and 724 km from Hawassa the southern regional capital. Keffa is one of the thirteen zones of South nation, nationalities and people's regional state, which has also 10 special woredas and one administrative city Bonga.

The altitude is approximately 2000meters above sea level. The climate ranges from "kola" to "Dega" mainly (89%) Dega, 2200-3000 meters, "Woinadega" (70%) mid land 1300-2200 meters and followed by kola (22%) 500-1300 meters.

Gimbo Woreda is located in central Kafa zone between 7023' – 7049' North latitude and 36000' – 36047' East longitude. It has 36 kebeles, of which 4 are rural town kebeles and the other 32 are rural kebeles. It has an altitude of ranging from of 1001 to 2500 meter above sea level covering a total area of 832.5 M2 of land. The majority of the Woreda is known by "Woyena Dega'' (mild weather condition) accounting for 68.12 %, followed by 14.98 % high land and the remaining 14.91% of the Woreda is low land (Keffa Zone Finance and Economy Development Agency 2014).

3.1.2 Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the study area

Based on CSA (2007) the total population of Keffa Zone estimated 1,104,487 from which 545, 239 males and 559, 248 females. The average population density of the Keffa zone is 104 people per square kilometer (ppkm2). Gimbo Woreda (study area) has an estimated a total population of 107,481 people of whom 94,748 (88.15%) people live in rural areas and the remaining 12,733 (11.85%) people live towns (Keffa Zone Finance and Economy Development Agency 2014).

Gender-wise 53,511 (49.79%) of them are male and 53,970 (50.21%) are female. As it already mentioned above 88.15 % of the total population live in the rural areas. The population density is 129 people per KM2. The composition of the population in terms of religion found to be 87.92 % Christian, 6.2% Muslim, 5.4% are followers of traditional belief and the rest 0.48% follows other religions (JBCS 2014).

The major crops grown in the area include; maize, teff, wheat, barley, sorghum, bean, and, pea. The farmers in the area farm using two oxen and follow traditional ways which always kept the production even below the subsistence level. The inhabitants also practice crop cultivation, cattle breading and traditional honey production.' Enset' or false banana is a very common plant that is in every one's backyard and serves as main food (JBCS 2014).

3.1.3 Selection of the research sites

The study area is located in the Keffa zone in Southern Ethiopia particularly at the *Gimbo*Woreda. Two villages were selected for the research; these villages include Kaya-kella, and Qajaaraba. The selection of these sites was not done randomly, but by considering various factors.

- ✍ Being born and grew up in that particular area, the researcher's knowledge of language, shared values and symbols were made the researcher to uncovered the situation of this groups and also the researcher was more advantageous in the features of time and other possible constraints.
- ✍ As academicians, the researcher was interested to look at their particular condition and have a say for understandings of such groups.
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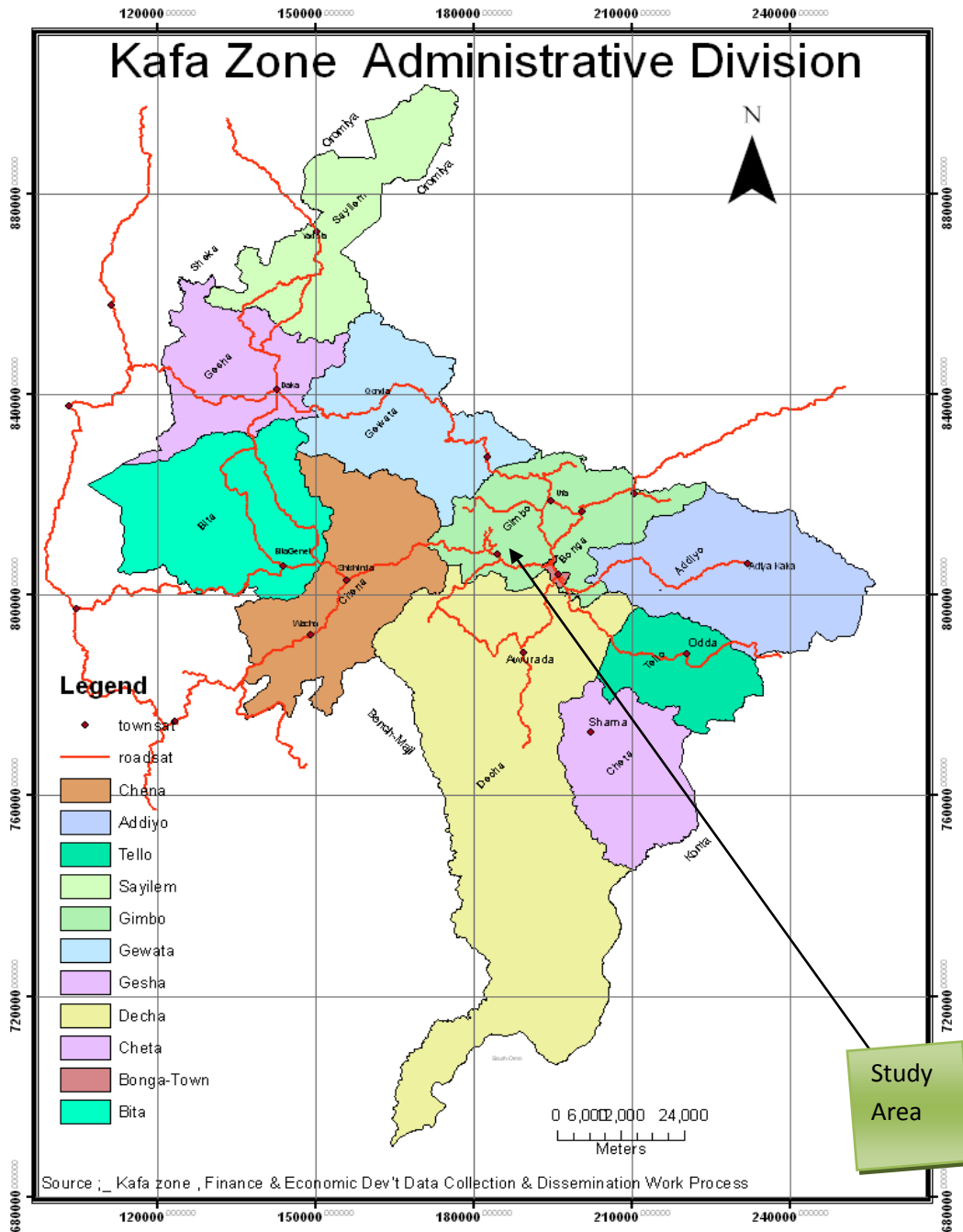
Figure: Administrative Map of Keffa Zone. Source: Keffa Zone Finance and Economy Development Agency (2014).

3.2 Research Approach

In order to meet the suggested objectives, the study was employed qualitative research approach with the aim of gathering information social exclusion of *Manjos* in Keffa in relation with their current socio cultural conditions. The qualitative research approach in this study was helped to get quality of information regarding the issue i.e. the attitudes, perception, the social interaction which exist between the dominant and minority groups and understanding of the study population towards the exclusion deeply.

3.3 Research Methods

In dealing with the social exclusions practice on *Manjo* minority groups, the needed information was collected through qualitative research methods. Thus, the methods were in-depth interview FGDs and observation which were guided by unstructured questionnaire. The interview was carried out by using local language, "*kafinonoo*." All interviews were taped with the consent of informants.

The qualitative study was conducted to collect the needed information on the social exclusion practices on *Manjo* groups from March 15 to April, 15 2017. The following are a detail discussion on research methods and procedures that were employed in order to get the necessary information for the study:

3.3.1 In-depth interview:

Before engaging in data collection activities in the selected sites, the researcher was determine who were going to be appropriate informants by consulting the local community about how to gain access to the population, how best to approach people, and possible obstacles to recruitment in order to meet the objectives of the study.

Informants were purposely select from *Kaya-kella*, and *Qaja-araba* kebeles of *Gimbo* Woreda by their seniority and willingness to offer the data in order to obtain wide-ranging information about the forms of relationship with dominant groups, attitudes towards the minority, coping mechanisms by *Manjo*, in line with social exclusion practices.

In addition, in the interview, an effort was made to obtain wide-range of data on the manifestations of the social exclusions, social and economic activities of the minority groups.

The size of in-depth interview informants was not predetermined. It was directed by theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling is the principle of grounded theory which dictates continuous process of dealing with the study subjects until the data collected becomes sufficient to respond to the stated research objectives. But due to the importance of numerical guidance; the saturation point that mentioned in the research proposal was 20 subject participants. However, the researcher continued to interview 25 informants until the information collected is saturated. The table below shows number of individuals interviewed in each selected research sites.

Research sites	Number of individuals interviewed
Kayi-kella	12
Qaja-araba	13
Total	**25**

From the total of 25 in-depth informants, 17 males and 8 females were interviewed from both *Manjo* and Keffa groups. Hence, 15 from *Manjo* and and 10 from Keffa were interviewed.

3.3.2 Focus group discussions (FGDs)

The focus Group Discussion was arranged with the help of knowledgeable informants in the community. A discussion was held in permissive environment in order to uncover opinions and share ideas and perceptions with the participants.

The main aim of conducting FGD was be to get important information about their social interaction, the attitudes towards the dominant groups, social exclusion practices and intervention mechanisms by various organizations to deal with the social exclusion experiences of *Manjos*. The total of 24 participants who did not take part in-depth interview involved 4 focused group discussions at each research sites, comprising a group from both Keffa and *Manjo* social groups on different time frame. In each research sites two group discussions were conducted by forming one from Keffa and other one group from *Manjo* social groups.

Each discussion group consists of 6 individuals; who were recruited through snowball sampling. The compositions of the groups were homogeneous in terms of age and gender.

In Qaja-araba kebele the discussions were conducted between the *Manjo* and Keffa female participants. On the other hand, in Kay-kella kebele, the discussions were conducted among the *Manjo* and Keffa males. The participants included in this discussion were above 35- years old. Since they are expected to have much experiences and knowledge regarding the issue of social exclusion practices towards *Manjo.*

3.3.3 Observation

The direct observation was one of the predominant instruments of data collection to investigate the social interaction of Manjo-Keffa society.

3.4 Methods of Data Analyses

First the researcher carried out the interviews and then facilitated and the focused group discussions. Observations and document analysis were made in line with the interviews and the focused group discussions. In performing each task the researcher immediately filled the summary form. This includes details about time and place, participant's background, duration of the interviews, detail contents and the like.

The second step of the analysis was translating the interview, focused group discussions recordings and observation notes from Kafinono to English in order to avoid redundancy make it readable and transcribe them.

The third step was to organize the data based on their sources and prepare for analysis. This involves providing code for the interviews conducted with different participants and information collected through different kinds of instruments in to different categories. The researcher began with grouping together answers from different participants on common questions for analyzing different views on key issues. After this, the researcher tried to identify meaning from participants' explanations, from their actions and from documents through repeatedly reading the interview formats, focused group discussion and observation notes as well as recorded documents.

As themes found out, the researcher put them on separate headings in the data analysis and presentation section of the study. In order to strengthen the themes, there were also some cases and quotations placed under some of them.

Finally, in the conclusion and recommendations part the study discusses the overall contents of the research in short way and forwarded some of essential recommendation for the social inclusion of *Manjos*.

3.5 Research Ethics

Informed consent is one of the most important tools for ensuring respect for persons during research. Hence, the researcher received the formal letter from Jimma University Collage of Social Sciences and Humanities Department of Sociology; and the participants were informed about:

- The purpose of the research,
- What is expected of a research participant,
- The amount of time likely to be required for participation,
- Expected risks and benefits,
- Participation is voluntary and that one can withdraw at any time with no negative repercussions and
- How confidentiality will be protected.

3.6 Delimitation of the study

This study was limited to *Manjo* ethnic group specifically in incase of Gimbo woreda of *Kaya-kella, and Qajaaraba*, kebeles nearby Bonga town administration, keffa zone southern western Ethiopia. It looked in to the social exclusion practice on *Manjo* minority groups.

3.7 Limitation of the study

The existing limitation of this study were included the following

- It is not the inclusive study of the entire *Manjo* ethnic groups in keffa due to time and budget constraints

- ✎ This study was given due emphasis for *Manjo* ethnic groups and less on dominant ones or the Keffa.

Chapter Four: Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1 Social Stratification and the Practice of Social Exclusion in Keffa Society

The people of Keffa are among the (more than) 80 ethnics of Ethiopia that exist in the country. They are further subdivided in to about 200 clans and each clan is hierarchical.

"Historically, the highest ranking class were those can be called upper class. These people were the owners of the land at the same time they were the owner of the slaves "(Lange 1982:242). Clans of the second rank were those that can be termed as middle class, with chiefs, or councillors to the head chief in the society. "The third group was comprises the majority of Keffa people or the common people" (Orent 1967:6). The fourth and the last class are the outcastes, all of who are from the one *Manjo* clan (Orent 1967).

Another occupational classification among keffa people is that of being *Gomoro, Manno* and *Manjo*, the Manno peoples are tanners and discriminated against by keffa people by their occupation, and justification for their discrimination is due to the claims that Manno eat the meat remaining on the hide, when they process the hide into leather. Thus in keffa society the Gomoros occupy the highest social strata, where as the Manno and Manjos subordinate position among keffa people and experienced exclusion. In Keffa society the term *Manjo* is automatically refers to some persons with inferiority.

Manjos are former hunter-gatherer group of within Keffa society, and they are not excluded by their occupation because hunting is highly appreciable task that a man can do in the keffa society. However, it depends on the kind of animals that they hunt; there are animals that should be hunted and eaten by the dominant groups. The *Manjo* kill monkeys, baboon, "Columbus" (the white monkey") which is not eaten by the remaining Keffa people. On the other hand the Keffa hunter kills Buffalo, and like big animals, which are accepted by the wider Keffa society

4.2 The Origin of Exclusion Practices

Social exclusion is multi-dimensional in its nature; and it manifested through different ways it might be in economic, social, cultural, spatial, environmental and so forth. When we realize the social exclusion of *Manjos* these dimensions are obviously visible. In all levels of social life they faced discrimination and exclusion due to their clan identity.

Widely accepted reason for their exclusion is that their dietary practice, even if the others include their task of hunter and potters. In fact the *Manjos* are blamed for eating the forbidden wild animals that are considered as impure in traditional Keffa society. However it is very weak to explain the exclusion practice because even if they stopped eating such forbidden animals through religious activities they are the victims of this exclusion acts.

In line with the above terms it is equally important to see how the local people use the myth us justification for discriminatory attitude towards *Manjo* and its power to shape the society.

> *Myth: an unmarried daughter of Manjos secretly had sexual intercourse with a beast. She becomes pregnant and her father, who then told for his servants to throw her in to a valley and they did. However, she is not killed by the throw not even get hurt. She just sat in the valley by a river and gave birth eventually to a boy child by the bank of the river. She collected worms from the river side as nourishment for herself and her son. Upon maturing, her son hunted wild pigs, monkeys and baboons in the forest. He ate all, which he killed and also fed his mother with result of his hunts. After some time both left the valley and travelled a long way before reaching an inhabited area where they settled. The son did not change his habits and eating all the wild animals he hunted and killed. The people saw this and did not like it; they told him and his mother to stay out of their houses and to live in the forest. The people chased the woman and her son to in to the forest this is how Manjo were created (Lange, 1982:265).*

4.3 Social Organization

Describing the social organization of *Manjos* in relation with the Keffa people allows us to understand basic exclusion practice that imposed up on *Manjos* in terms of marriage system, social groups, religion, and other related issues.

4.3.1 Marriage

Marriage is a vital role in establishing the family. It ensures the continuity of generation. It also plays a role in establishing the relationship of inclusion and exclusion. In the case of *Manjo-*Keffa relationship, the marriage is strictly endogamous in such a way that they establish

relationship between the two is based on exclusion of one groups but inclusion of own groups. keffa cannot marry Manjo and vices versa.

A case in points informant explain the reason for avoidance of Keffa to marry *Manjo* as 'if Keffa marries to *Manjo*, it would likely to be infected by skin diseases, irrigation of the skin. The avoidance is mainly exercised by the Keffa as a result of the above myth.

Thus, it is unthinkable to form marriage among keffa and *Manjo* group. 49 years old in-depth informant from *Manjo* from Kaye-kella kebele said that:

> *"In my village I have never seen that any one from our group who married with Keffas. In fact it is the democratic right of any person to form a marriage union according to the current government, if they love each other or they have the common feeling. However, when we come to the realty; the Keffas never try to accept this. It is unthinkable for us to ask them for their daughters or sons because some of them are not willing to give the food that they have even for our dogs from their house, so how can they agree to give us a human? When they are not in condition of accept us as a human being. I heard that in some woredas the educated individuals from both sides start to marry each other; but they obliged to change their residence to other towns where no one can recognize their origin; and to avoid the extreme exclusion which they faced from the dominant groups."*

When we look at the life style of both groups, it is difficult to differentiate because; they share common cultures, beliefs and rituals. Furthermore, their wedding ceremony is like that of keffas.

The musical instruments; even the music of the ceremony is the same with same languages. According to my informant from Qaja-araba kebele, they even ask for help and advice during their wedding preparation. Nevertheless, they don't invite them to participate during wedding ceremony. That's why; they also celebrate their wedding with their own group without inviting them too. Even though they ready to invite from Keffa group they never agreed to attend the ceremonial occasion. But in some cases in recent times few *Manjos* get the chance to be present at in such occasions

4.3.2 Religion

Religion is one of the fundamental social institution in which people share and practice the same beliefs and values which included spiritual rituals; by worshiping the supernatural entity or "God". Moreover, it creates the sense of belongingness and also strengthens social solidarity. Most of *Manjos* are the follower of protestant, catholic, and orthodox religion. There is also an influential traditional belief that is practiced among keffa society i.e. *"Ekko"*. Accordingly we are going to see this religious organization in line with the exclusion practice which imposed by dominant groups.

"Ekko"

In Keffa there is traditional belief system which known as *"Ekko"*. It is a sprit inherited by the so-called "Alamos" (on who sprit descends from heaven). There is hierarchy within the *Alamos.* Ibedagodo is the superior whom others once in a year consult.

All the Alamos follow the same procedure as the Ibedagodo. There is a wide spread belief that they should be sustain from a number of contacts (not to sadden the sprit) with like *Manjos,* people ate meat of sheep, cabbage, who recently had sexual intercourse, women at menstruation that are regarded as unclean (*Taleyane na'o*). They fear bad thing to happen if they made contact.

As mentioned by most informants, most of the followers are from orthodox Christianity and pagans (a person who holds beliefs that are not part of any f the world's main religions). In case of orthodox Christianity, The question to its fundamental deviation from the holy bible: God created Adam and Eve (Genesis 1:17) and the second commands of Jesus Mathew (16:32) "love your friend in your absolute heart, soul as yourself… will be appropriate under a very painful confusion for most of the informants.

Almost all followers of "Eko," as mentioned from Keffa informants in FGDs indicated that the reason they go to "Alamo" cult is to know their present and near future fortune mostly related to healing from sickness and marriage situation. Because most Alamos attend churches followers regard them as selected "holy" people with whom the holly sprit resides. Hence disobey their orders is not an easy task to ordinary followers.

The followers often visit for sharing bad happenings and forecasting fortunes. After subsequent traditional ritual ceremony their fortunes and the according behaviors will be commanded. Always Alamos are against *Manjos*. They regard *Manjo* as subhuman-without justification

Catholic

It does not obey various taboos for pushing out people from the church. Because the followers in a surrounding are small their close attachment with the priest, church and each other's is strong. Almost all are members of church associations such as *Senbete* (food and drink services in bimonthly or monthly) and *Tsiwa* (celebration of saint's day with food and drink service once in a year). Even though *Manjos* themselves appreciate the inclusive attitude and behaviour of priests they see difference from the followers. One of my in-depth informant priests of the Qaja-araba village shared his life experiences in serving the *Manjos* and Keffas as follows;

> *In my experience, as community priest in one of the remotest areas where both the Manjoo and the Keffa live together, after the Sunday Eucharist there is a custom that everybody brings breakfast with coffee ("Senbete") but, the Manjoos are not included in the weekly program of turn to bring. There is also an orthodox church near the parish where I have worked, which the burial grounds are different for Manjoos.*

Protestant

Currently the dominant numbers of *Manjos* are followers of Protestant Christianity. As most of informants indicated, house to house preaching of priests and their encouragement to be given justice by God for the biased situation was the inspiring point for mixing. The priests are still appreciated for the extended truly service both in the church and at home. They feel the priest fairly visit and worship each house voluntarily. However, this is not fully appreciated by the group. FGD participants of kay-kella kebele they revealed such facts:

> *"They made separate churches here in our village and they do not come except one or two teachers/priests. When we attend the nearby churches where more non-Manjos worship, immediate to the ending of the program, they rush out of*

church and flee. We observe them and we know that they run away to avoid mixing with us - probably eating and drinking. "

Orthodox

This religion abides old and new testaments all together. The application of acts and behaviours are mostly taken from old testimony. Food, menstruation, women and clothing taboos are among those openly forbidden. Of these food and menstruation are more of individual indoctrinations that are not publicly notified. *Manjos* are blamed for eating biblically forbidden foods or dead animals. On the other hand women and clothing procedures are those can be seen and possibly commented openly.

Most of the informants complain about the orthodox followers about their discrimination practice they never try to change their mind even if they baptized and converted in to orthodox. Their prejudice attitude towards *Manjos i*s still in question. One FGD participant of Qaja-araba kebele from *Manjo* group said:

> *"It is not only the followers, but the problem also exists among the priests because most of them are secretly the follower of "Alamos" especially the inferior ones (Gishiishi Alamena'o) who simply consider us sub human."*

4.3 Manifestations of the Social Exclusion.

4.3.1The social dimension

In rural areas there is close social interaction among people; this also works for keffa society. The people engaged in different kinds of interaction starting from birth to death.

*Manjos w*ho are segregated from social interaction by being excluded from the category of being Asho (human); it is very difficult for them to share the same beliefs, values and customs as the dominant ones. As a result they are out of traditional social association like "Idir" "Debo" and "dadoo".

Mourning is a very strong tradition that firmly determines the existing and future social relation between people. Similar to urban and semi-urban areas Idir is the social institution established for mourning and burial purposes. Besides people shows their social relation by attending burial ceremonies; and going to houses to solace.

Provision of food and drink is part of the solacing tradition. Whatever closer the relations are and how far distance to other villages of similar community abides Idirs in the rural areas are separate for *Manjos*. My in-depth informant from kay-kella village indicated this separation accordingly:

> "We never participate in Idir association with Gomoros sometimes we go to their house for solace. But we never entered in to inside of their houses. We eat and drink the food/drink which served by them; in turn they never eat/ drink food/drink ours. So, we prefer to keep our distance away from them."

The other Major traditional groups found in the area include "Dafo" "Dadoo" and "Dafo" is a community level voluntary participation of about 15 persons to assist in agriculture related or house construction activities (roof thatching, fencing, etc.) for one full day.

Food and drinks will be served during these activities. "Dadoo" is also same as "dafo" with the exception of the time duration (about half a day), number of participants (approximately 5 persons) and as well only drinks are served.

The *Manjos* cannot join Dafo or "Dadoo" association with Keffas. Of course, such traditional labour arrangements are organized either between neighborhoods or relatives. Since *Manjos* are neither neighborhood nor have lineage with Keffas, they hardly involve in the local cooperation arrangement as a social relation.

The *Manjos* have their culture of" Dafo" and "Dado" too. In researcher observation of "dado" the researcher observed in roof hatching there is high social team spirit among *Manjo* themselves than Keffas. There is also food and drinks served for the voluntary participants in case of *Manjo*. However, what makes it exceptional is that: they work by their all energy supporting with traditional music's and it was incredible.

The other challenge of *Manjo* because of the exclusion practice is they hardly used public transportation especially before 2000 E.C. They had to walk on foots for hours. One of my informants from Keffa in Qaja-araba Keble indicated that as follows:

> "I am a driver but most of the time I hesitate to give ride for Manjos because if anyone from Keffas identify their identity no one dare to sit near to them so I

prefer not to give them the ride; because most of my customers are from Keffas. In fact their behaviour is hard to cope up, they drink too much in market day, they, easily get in to fight since they are given so much right by current government."

Manjos are most of the time labelled us being not careful for their personal hygiene or sanitation and also don't wash their bodies and clothes, due to this they have unpleasant smell which believed by most of Keffas attributed to skin disease. Hence it is hard to them to interact socially with the mass people because it creates a feeling of inferiority. One of my in-depth informants from Kay-kella kebele described such facts as the following:

In fact in pervious time there is a problem in our sides, it is true that there is a problem in sanitation, we wear the same close that we use for work as well as in public gathering, nowadays things are changed and we give much attention for our hygiene and also we wear clothes which used by Gomoros. If that is a case why they hesitate to eat/drink with us? They even not allow us to inter in to their house. There is no difference in the housing shape, material and construction style. Even we often construct for them. But after the house starts the service we stay outside while our dog inter into the house and move around"

Social interaction is one of the basic aspects of life either an individual or a group. Lack of social interaction hinders people's realization of their needs as well as their psychosocial growth. As the researcher observed in both research sites, *Manjo-keffa* social interaction was very limited in a way that the keffas refuse for hand shake, the Keffas also hesitate to share seats during Kebele meeting in both research sites.

The other problem that raised by most informants in *Manjo-Keffa* social relationship is exclusion practice in school. Nowadays, kids of any ethnic origin have legal right to attend school. As a matter of fact, however, there is more probability for the friendship of students of non-Manjo irrespective of their village (same or not) than to find *Manjo* to non-*Manjo* friendship. Most families and met students also appreciate the efforts of teachers to avoid segregation. But (still) hesitation to sit, to group work and play in the field is a problem. Even some *Manjo* students prefer the half-day school than full day for the very reason that one and half hour break is misery

to them that intimidation, gossip and segregated sitting make them mad. If they tell the wrong doers of non-*Manjo* and if punished they wait outside school and hit them. 25 years old informant from Kay-kella kebele explained his life experience on the school environment as follows:

> *"I drop out of school in grade 5 in year 2000 E.C. when I pass in to grade 5 there is no school in this village therefore, I started school in Bonga secondary school and I was the only one from Manjo groups at that time. However, I was suffered a lot from a headache; most of the time I fainted in his school environment but, no one could tried to help me because of my identity, that challenged me a lot, because, I did not have any friends like me or from other non Manjos in the surroundings. In fact there was no one that dared to tell for my families or relatives and I could not tolerate the exclusion that I faced from the Keffa children's. Thus I did not have other choice therefore I dropped out of school. When I thought about that time I regretted a lot. Now I am farmer and married."*

Manjos children access to education is so low is not because the school is closed due to the exclusion that school closed for them rather, it is the attribute of children to children interaction in school environment that exist between *Manjos* and Keffas.

It is the same as their family; because the children learn from their family about the *Manjo* is untouchable so that the majority of Keffas children practice it on school.

4.3.2 Cultural dimension

Cultural values, beliefs, rules and regulations are a fundamental to a given society. Values are the building blocks of culture. Culture can be defined as the interactive aggregate of common characteristics that influence a human group's response to its environment. Culture determines the identity of a human group in the same way as personality determines the identity of an individual.

According to Mesfin (2005) the introduction of Christianity and new rule in the history of Keffa has brought both positive and negative implications on the current culture of the people of Keffa.

The culture of uniformity and the associated food taboo may have its mark for the present collective discriminatory behaviours. Food can be regarded as one culture that can be attributed to the discriminatory behaviour against *Manjos*. Foods and drinks always accompany feasts, community gatherings, and communal works in the rural areas.

Sharing foods and drinks together, is one of the most cultural value and the sign of being brotherhood in the rural Keffa. It is not limited in Keffa this culture also works for all Ethiopians; family eats food using the same dish together. Food is not consumed by single person rather shared as many people as the dish could afford. People enjoy not only food but also the company of being brothers, sisters, friends and neighbourhoods.

Eating and sharing the same dish and the same cup is the indication the close bond of individuals who live in same environment and surroundings. Being excluded from such culture is big loss for the *Manjos*.

As mentioned by informants from Keffa, in Keffa there is a culture that people come together when the harvest is collected, to offer sacrifices to the sprits who mediate to the creator of the heaven and the earth. People prepare near the field where the harvest is ready to be collected and give sacrifices to Gods who are the lords of fertility and good harvesting such culture is known as "*Deejjo*". After the offering people share foods and drinks together, they express their joys by dancing and singing, in such occasion the *Manjo*s may be participate to beat the drums and blow the flutes. The *Manjos* served the food or drinks after Keffas, and most of the time they offered for them by leaf.

Kinship and marriage relations still are a functioning blocks of culture in rural settings. Most settlements in the rural are based on clan kinship and marriage connectedness. Despite the numerous positive elements it encompasses, it also has been a source of unwillingness for change. In such an area collective norms easily put its influence than diversity prevails. Individual behaviours can be easily shaped either by elders' through positive persuasion or collective coercions. Provided the conservative nature of elders, it will be hard for any liberal new generation to deviate from normal culture- surrender him to collectivistic mentality.

Fatalism is one of the cultural rigidity still persist in rural areas. People believe *Manjos* are ostracised because of fatalism. Blurrily most past religious, social, economic and institutional

norms are now synchronised within the bigger culture. The recognition of *Manjos* by their clan is the culture and it keeps the reminder of former feeding habits that nowadays differ from individual to individual being governed by the economic capacity – between better off and worse-off. My 21 years aged in-depth informant indicated,

> *"They blamed us for eating contaminated and the animals that are not slaughtered, in our generation we do not practice such things, in fact we heard from our elders as story, because nowadays most of us baptized and we are Christians, but we face exclusion without our sin."*

The cultural dimension of exclusion between Keffa and *Manjos* as described above had cultural justification which both groups accepts as a normal, because the discrimination was internalized by the firm conviction of both groups.

The *Manjos* cannot take part in cultural celebration of the society. They are not allowed to enter with the Keffa under the same roof to celebrate. Nowadays such attitudes are changing in urban areas especially in Bonga towns, as my elderly female FGD participant indicated,

> *"The Bonga peoples are our brothers "Manena'o" especially in church of Catholics surrounding they share everything with us we share foods, drinks and also we can celebrate under the same roof on saints' day celebrations."*

4.3.3 Economic dimension

It is found out in the field that agriculture is the primary source of income for both *Manjos* and Keffa groups**.**

Keffa zone is well known for its potential in agricultural and natural resource production. On the other hand rural people have extensive marketing network where (often) people appear in a couple of markets in a week. Manjos also share the same behavior in attending market days as often as others and very far distance to travel. The economic element of exclusion is obviously manifested in two big taboos in the commodity marketing*:*

Taboo of product sale: *Manjos* face critical problem of selling products. In the smaller market near (rural) villages, people know each other and *Manjos* face market problem for wide range of

products including cereals like maize, teff, enset. As indicated by a woman from in-depth informant in Qaja-araba kebele*:*

> *If they recognize us in "Qochii Gebeya" (village markets) they are unwilling to buy grains even for seed*

Normally milk and milk products are marketed to a very lesser probability, if at all, in bigger markets like Bonga. The most likely clients will be outsiders or very few well-educated Keffas that might buy otherwise it will (definitely) be *Manjos.*

Very often in rural and urban periphery markets, if a woman tend to buy products like cabbage, egg, maize or other products and if others feel she was not aware that the owners are *Manjos i*t is more likely that she will be told to pull back and not buy the goods she is up to. Even though there is slight betterment in woreda capitals and Bonga market they sell for low price as forfeit. Meaning that *Manjos* are expected to sell not only for low price but also without hesitance to a person/client who is interested to buy in the first instance, otherwise if someone sees it will be automatic withdraw of the client injected by others. The most conformed win-win trade is among *Manjos* themselves.

In FGDS a woman from Obera village in Qajaaraba Kebele portrayed the difficulties they face in selling their products as follows:

> *"Selling products in the Market is particularly difficult task we are facing here in our village especially Qaja-arabs, market. If a woman is approaching us to buy for any reason, then others watching step near to her and give sign to skip from buying, sometimes to the extent that the woman who is backed-off become very confused. Therefore the only possible hope remains with us is waiting persons like us/Manjos to buy us. Perhaps this has been the greatest hope we ever have even when we think of market."*

Taboo in purchasing goods: As a general incidence *Manjos* have access to buy goods from markets and shops. There is also (not frequent) conditionality to purchasing attributed to competition when supply is short. In such (rare) situations it will be inevitable for fondness to others. They experience delayed dealing despite their first arrival than others. As most of informant Indicated, in the open market women have very limited freedom (if any) to touch and

check the qualities of products mainly of cooked food items. For the very discriminatory reason they do not touch products they ultimately own by buying. This is completely prominent among Women who are responsible for their family. If they want to check the quality of the product they will be shown at the hands of the salesperson. Even this is not done as politely as expected to the manner of handling clients.

They are expected to bargain (only) on the price. Market day is not only of buying-and selling. It is a place where majority people prefer to go for enjoyment-food and drink. Perhaps meeting relatives, exchanging information are some of the purposes of attending market days.

In most rural and peripheries of urban people do not show willingness to serve *Manjo* with food and drinks. Entering to drink and food houses is also one area where *Manjo* discrimination still prevails. Irrespective of slight improvement, which is questionable indeed, *Manjos* are not still treated as clients.

When it comes to drink and food houses they are offered with three options: deny entering, arrange separate sit and utensils or enjoy special houses that give service only for *Manjos*. In the first option they will be told that they are not allowed to enter. This has been modified a little after the coercive directives of local government in such a way that they protect by telling that they have finished food and/or drink or tell them very high price that is not the case for others.

The choice is left with the *Manjos* in interest. If they will to bear then the other problem will be serving with unwashed, broken utensils and mixing the drink or food with water to spoil the test-attempt to frustrate *Manjos*. Perhaps this varies with the values of owners some do and others do not do that and prefer a simple response of "we are just finished." The widely observed and reflected sort of arrangement in relation to food and drink service is unique client system where *Manjos* are the only customers. One FGD participant in Kaye-kella kebele explained such situation as follows:

> *"When I enter in to drink house ("Borde Kexochi") they treat me with the same utilities like that of Gomoros, because I give attention to my personal hygiene however so many times I have been noticed that they serve other Manjos with separate drinking utilities i.e. white for Gomoros, Yellow or red drinking utilities*

> *for Manjo customers; at that times I feel sorry for my groups and stop drinking in Keffas house."*

In agriculture, production system highly linked on the availability of ox, labour and relative settlement history. It is found out in the field is that majority of the Manjos communities are ox-less.

Therefore the farming of cereals is very greatly hindered by lack of oxen. As mentioned by informants in addition to ox-less land holding right had great effect on their socio-economic status of *Manjos*. Most of *Manjos* in the field end up holding below one hectare.

The maximum number which found out in the field was 2 hectare which gained through division to family and relatives. Similar to production and service provisions, employment opportunity has its negative effect on *Manjos.* The bigger of farm labour force is absorbed by government offices and to lesser extent private institutions. The existing employment schemes under the government offices are open for competitive selection on qualities. Education and experience are the most frequent shopping lists of good point.

Most *Manjo* youngsters (potential seekers) have quitted their education at lower level usually below grade four or illiterate at all. They are less competent with others and often do not have experience. If it happens, as has been identified, they are engaged in the lowest occupational position- valued as inferior. Even for the labour works they don't prefer to hire the member of Manjos. In FGD one participant of Qaja-araba village described the situation he faced as follows:

> *Few months ago Keffas come for road construction in our village, when we try to work on that site they recruited among themselves and when we get there they told us they already have the labourers. You can see we can't get the chance to get advantage even it is for our sake the beneficiary is the Gomoros themselves.*

Manjos are late starters of agricultural activities. The most likely reason is lack of farm implements at the moment. All production attempts are just not beyond from consumption. Even this is not sufficient that always off farm activities like fuel wood and charcoal supply for those

near towns remain a must. Both in the rural and semi-urban areas they are still people being the most vulnerable category and live in persistent poverty.

Except to few elite *Manjos* the majority, especially old, women (often widows) and orphans still do lack money to buy including their basic needs (food, cloths) and live in poorly constructed houses. They are often sick as well. Low interest from the consumers and limitation of means of production result agricultural activity remain not rewarding.

Thus let alone producing surplus they do not feed family year round. Mostly fuel wood supply and charcoal sell become a coping mechanism as "easy entry" sector. They are busy with casual labour works. Physical weakness can be read from their faces.

The existing credit institutions are Omo micro finance, primary cooperatives, and regional council (commercial bank). However, complex bureaucracy, predetermined purposes and collateral criteria trap them from giving the articulated purposes. No credit organization has protective strategy from deliberate exclusion of *Manjo* clients. The collateral obligations and down payment requirements coupled to trap by local elites, primary cooperatives and banks are not as such much appreciated credit opportunities. My in-depth informant from Obera village explained their situation as follows:

> *"In this small village there are 15-20 households; and we do not even have one ox. To get out of such problem we applied so many times to get access to credit for Omo micro finance however, we could not get the money because they ask Ethiopian 10,000 birr for collateral so how can we get such amount of money? If we do have such amount of money, why did we ask for credit? Hence, we are just struggling for subsistence life and still vulnerable for poverty. Perhaps it is the reason why the Gomoros always consider as inferior. Our poverty"*

In these two kebeles of Gimbo woredas the villages of *Manjos* are segregated and situated very deep into the inner ages of most Kebeles, often far from elites (probable kebele officials) i.e. near to forest, because there economic activity is mostly based on the product of the natural resources in fact it is the inheritance of the social exclusion or its impact.

In the first hand the zone in general has a very poor network of social services and infrastructures like roads, water supply, schools, credit institutions, extension services, markets etc. Hence they are always outside the minimum distance supposed to get service. In (almost) all cases *Manjos* are very distantly situated and they lack access. Most people going out for any reason prefer to call them to the centre (usually kebele office, school etc) and less chance to visit home and in their villages.

There are two other factors that limit changing the socio-economic positions of *Manjo* notably low market acceptance and relative distance from markets hinder capital growth. By virtue of the relative low socio-economic position, there is a widely accepted mode of occupational categorisation.

In urban and in the peripheries most people easily identify *Manjos* as fuel wood and charcoal sellers. In the rural and among many elites and institution leaders they are seen as deforesters and labourers. Eventually as opposed the changing situation both internally and externally the mentality of resistance to accept *Manjos* as having new socio-economic status in the household livelihood remains one big factor.

In general in each research sites, the relative landlessness, ox lessens, late start of agricultural activities, and taboo of marketing products forced them remain in inferior activities worsening-off their socio- economic position and persistent factor for their exclusion.

4.3.4 Political dimension

As mentioned by informants, in feudal Ethiopia the Manjo is totally out of political system to the extent that they were not considered even as citizens. In Derg regime they were forcefully integrated in to the society, however it was not successful, since the societies were not convinced. As indicated by informants during that regime there was no *Manjo* who elected to represent in the in local as well as a district Woredas or zonal council administration.

Still now, *Manjo* minorities have been excluded from village level political institutions, such as the peasant association or service cooperative, and even when they were permitted to take part, they never obtained leadership position. As indicated by the informants, even today, in most instances, the Keffas do not consider the idea of giving the minorities the leadership place and representing them. Even if they acquire such opportunity in kebele offices, they would stay only

for limited time due to the opposition and disapproval of the host community or they do not take part in most of meeting, the man from Kaye-kella kebele explained such situation as follows:

> *"The current government very good for us, but most of the time it treat us differently. we don't have a leader by name Manjo, in order to follow the rules and regulation of the government our group represent there as a symbol; they are not actively participate in all political process, we can see this reality in way that they recruit for such activity are peoples who are always remain silent and never raised any question to improve our situation."*

As to the information obtained from the informants, no *Manjo* is acquiring government authority either as a chair man at peasant association level or other high ranking positions in the village, local as well as regional level. On the other hand, few *Manjos* are serving as militias at village levels in the areas. Possibly, it seems that this is the widely entertained political status by the young *Manjos*.

As mentioned by informants, some elites from *Manjo* started the movement of the right to represent in parliament under ethnic group *Manjo* but, it was not successful.

4.3.5 Spatial dimension

In Keffa society the *Manjos* live near to forest. They are segregated during social situation, although the present situation of *Manjos* seems better than that of the past times segregation is still persisting. As indicated by informants, even today the *Manjo*s don not mix themselves with dominant groups *Manjos;* they also hardly get land in the cities, in rare case as explained by informants those who are succeeded in their studies and become teachers (very few) start living in the cities of course in rented houses.

For the *Manjo* being close to the Keffa is not allowed. Not only in life time but also the *Manjo* should not be buried in the same compound with Keffa. They have their own separated burial ground. In very rare case they happen to be near the town only when the town extends to the out skirts where the *Manjo* are living but not the *Manjos* are migrating from peripheries to towns. It found out in the field that the *Manjos* do not have residence in local town like Gimbo town as well as Bonga town as mentioned by informants in some other woredas the few individuals, who are economically well of and the educated are residing in the other woredas towns.

4.5 Coping Mechanisms

The real pain and feelings of *Manjos* due to the practice of such exclusion remain among themselves who bearing it. Because the others just imagine from experience or instinct. What is important in dealing with it is; to relate with the felt needs of these people. The subjects, *Manjos,* and they feel it differently.

They found it mismatched to their level of realization, and the time was too much wasted. They consider the number of workshops and trainings where in most cases *Manjo* elites and non-*Manjos* were participants not brought much bright as they expected; even it just resulted prejudices.

At present time the socio-economic condition among *Manjos* are changing due to the access to education and social services is that has been offered to everybody by the present government. Nevertheless, their ascribed status of being born or belong to that clan still cannot be cancelled from the mind of the dominant groups.

They lack self-confidence and always anxious about their surrounding whenever they are away from villages or start to form new relation with Keffas. For instance my in-depth informant from kaye-kella kebele indicated as the following:

> *"I do have everything as any Gomoro has. I do have house, I am economically better off from most of them, I saved my money in bank as most of them do, however in eyes of the Gomoros I am still Manjo and I cannot change that not only me but also them."*

In order to deal with the pain and feelings of the exclusion practices they use categorically three coping mechanisms. The first one is just keeping distantly and accepting whatever comes. Coping of hunger and thirsty, for example is just endurance. The second is confrontation with why and taking cases to police, councils and justice what can be termed as immediate reaction. The third is political inquiries for right, freedom and human dignity.

4.6 Intervention Mechanism for Inclusion

Intended discouragement of discrimination began since the 1975 land reform of the Derg regime. Impartially the attempts were focused to eradicate the subordination of Manjos. Now we are in

the 21st century where the world becomes like a village through information and the population more closely tied with commodity exchange- interdependence.

Here in Keffa at least since the last two decades discrimination demystification actions have been initiated and cooperation towards effective mechanisms employed through governmental and non-n governmental organization for the social integration of Manjos, and yet no satisfactory result has been entertained. In this regard efforts were made to look at the major regimes in Keffa kingdom and their contribution for reducing or increasing the discrimination acts, the role of Derg as well as FDRE to tackle the exclusion and their intervention mechanisms.

4.6.1 Overview of Major Regimes

Kingdom of Keffa

Manjo was believed to be the first king in the history of Keffa kingdom as mentioned by most informants; and there is also related oral telling in relation to this. Nevertheless**,** many people and historians commonly accept that this era is the starting of exaggerated *Manjo* segregation. Mesfin (2005) indicated that in the regime *Manjos* were by de jury slaves of the king and royal families. As Bekele (2003) pointed out the king assumed himself as the master receiver of "Eko" sprit. By this fact it may be he the one who introduced this banal subhuman mentality for the current Alamos. Together to the different responsibility given to *Manjos*, territorial gatekeepers they were left out from the widely spreading Orthodox Christianity that introduced food taboos. It can easily be said that this era had left discriminatory scare.

Feudal Era Beliefs and Values

There are two views by most elderly informants as long as the social inclusion of *Manjos* concerned, the first one is Law enshrined to abandon slavery has been appreciated by some communities of *Manjo*, conversely, even the abolishment of slavery at least in practice has been regarded as measures taken by the Italian invasion what they called the "*Ferenj"* meaning white people.

As most of elderly informants indicated in each site the second argument sounds more acceptable for the very reason that in the one hand the regime was highly class-system where nobility is preached somewhat higher than humans (divine gift) and second the continuation of tenant

system for royal families that was a little different to slavery in avoiding selling in the open - new oppression by the new political officers.

As mentioned by informants the enshrined law that exist in the constitution was just banal with no functional effectiveness. It is believed that this regime is a facilitator to the strengthening of *Manjos* exclusion that facilitated the transformation of forms of oppressions from slavery to the king towards servants/property/ of many local rulers and their families – popularising their low social status to a wider society. The introduction of landlords and village chiefs from the same dehorned Keffa royal families proves the multiplication of bosses.

Derg

It was the Derg regime that first declared individual freedom from class, occupation and descendent despising. In its early periods the regime organised actions towards inclusion of *Manjos* to all religious, social, economic and cultural relation was emphasized. *Manjos* were baptized and joined Orthodox Church, they were included in the production cooperatives, sat together and attended literacy program, were given equal right to land, settled, fed and closely worked in one village. Nevertheless they were being integrated forcefully in the society.

All forceful acts of the regime at least gave answer for many questions of *Manjos*. They realised no one died because of mixing, eating, working and being under same shade. But most of the actions were forceful and offensive that prejudices and revenge took its place when Derg was overthrown. The chased Alamos, partly by the accusation of *Manjos* become the most enemies. Besides it coercive action resulted resistance from others. My 65 years elderly in-depth informant from kay-kella indicated the situation as follows:

> *"During literacy campaign they called all women of Manjoo, Alamo, Balabat (land lords) and ordered to sit side-by-side. This was a miracle for us. At that time most of the Alamos used to hide in order to keep away their distance from us."*

Most informants mentioned the Derg regime as the starter of radical demystification of the exclusion. Based on the information obtained in the FGDs as well as in-depth informants on the field indicate that Derg regime is the most preferential intervention they remember for inclusion

of *Manjos.* However, it was the begging of the demystification of exclusion. It was a beginning in the sense that all parties, the state, the excluders and the victims did not have exposure for any experience at all. From the government side it is tackled because either spontaneously met as taboo for the then land reform intervention or because it is part of the reform action without targeting specific to *Manjos* or it worked for all. And yet no preparation and institutional adjustment was made for the argument. From the victim side it was climax self-depreciation.

Manjos had internalised the exclusion to the extent that they are good for nothing and even subhuman indeed. In FGDs as well as in-depth informant mentioned such situation. Yoshida (2009) also pointed out about such situation as when a *Manjo* happened to come across a Keffa, it was not uncommon for the *Manjo* When a *Manjo* happened to wear the same clothes and shoes that a Keffa wore, *Manjo* was, more often than not, beaten and forced to take them off. Moreover, when a *Manjo* encountered a Keffa on a road side, the *Manjo* was expected to humiliate himself, stepping aside, bowing and greeting the Keffa with the phrase *'showocchi qebona'* literally meaning, "let me sleep on floor for you" Especially the last phrase of *Manjos* showed how they deeply the internalize such discrimination practice and they even agreed and already taken it as a normal condition. They remember the state where they were convinced of their own unfitness to compute with others. Even it was the time their beliefs of damn creation and fear of devilish consequences of mishandling these differences.

The excluders believe they are superiors and blessed by the creator hence, maintaining this (what they see) natural gift seems an obligation. This was not just only from ethnocentric point of view but also they were scary of disaster that may happen on individuals, family or relatives. This sort of belief mainly (hitherto) prevails with Alamos and their followers.

FDRE

After Derg collapsed, FDRE was busy coping with central rule. In so doing it left local rule for who ever get closer. *Manjos* felt the main principle of ethnic based administration of FDRE for the reversal of segregation. The FDRE is trying to enhance their opportunities to participate in political system at least in local level.

Protection of human and democratic right, decentralised governance and investment on education are the three most popular policy instruments referred to.

Ethiopian constitution stated in article (10) 1 Human rights and freedoms, emanating from the nature of mankind, are inviolable and inalienable. Article 10(2)   Human and democratic rights of citizens and peoples shall be respected. Moreover, article (14) states the right to life, the security of person and liberty.   Article (18), prohibition against inhuman treatment 18(1), everyone has the right to protection against cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment 18(2), No one shall be held in slavery or servitude. Trafficking in human beings for whatever purpose is prohibited (3), No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour. However, Institutions implementing may be one area for the practical failure or delay.

The impact of the ethnic federalism arrangement of Ethiopia is not favourable for to the minorities who live within the majority. Ethiopian constitution of article 39(5) states that "A "Nation, Nationality or People" , is a group of people who have or share large measure of a common culture or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological make-up, and who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory." This constitution has been criticizing for because of the minorities who claims to have different identity and wants to be treated as different ethnic groups. Even though the *Manjos* have different customs, beliefs, behaviour and culture they speak the language of dominant group and as a result, the provision of the constitution does not recognize them as different and distinct identity. As mentioned by informants in some other Woredas they began to fight for political representation up to federal level however the movement failed because of the language which the share with the dominant groups.

The current government of Ethiopia has opened equal opportunities to the *Manjo* in such way they might have access to all necessary resources including education and social services.

One of the benefits of decentralised governance is active participation of the people. Democratic participation and decision making in a smaller group enables dialogue and debate on various issues. The representation of *Manjos* at woreda, kebele and sub-village committee looks working towards reducing interaction gap – frequency and intensity. Obviously decentralised governance created enabling environment for participation and interest of *Manjos* to follow, monitor and evaluate decisions made and actions takes with respect to its usefulness and justness. However, the strong centralised command system and low level of investment to capacity building for local governors has been a single most taboo hindering the pace of progress.

The role of NGOs for such inclusion process is essential. However in case of Gimbo woreda the involvement of such organization is inadequate. The case of Kay-kella village For example, Action AID Ethiopia has launched a project that has sole role of awareness creation and advocacy work for local community as well as the woredas levels but it was stayed for short period of time the role of NGOs according to my in-depth informant from kay-kella kebele indicated:

> *"It was just one day meeting and they promised to come back again, however they did came. There is no such NGOs movement in our kebele."*

The other NGO that mentioned by informants and worked for the socio-economic improvement of the *Manjo* community in Qaja-Araba Obera village was that FARM Africa but it was not satisfactory because there was not strong intervention mechanism and moreover from their group lacked cooperation with one another and the organization did not meet its objective of helping the community poor's.

In addition to NGOs the role of religious institution equally has its own contribution for the betterment of *Manjos*. In case of both research sites, Catholic Church was mentioned by informants.

The church build the kindergarten for *Manjo* children's because of the inaccessibility of the road and most of *Manjos* cannot afford for school expenses for their children.

In general the intervention mechanisms at government level for the social inclusion of *Manjos* started during Derg regime and still continuing by the current government of Ethiopia. However, tacking social exclusion needs a long time frame; beecause of the multi-dimensional nature of social exclusion.

In case of *Manjos* of the study area, the interventions mechanisms are not satisfactory at all most of them are living in poor condition, they lack infrastructure, like road, water, electric power and there economic activity is very subsistence.

The women have to walk more than two hours even for sell or buy for her household. For the same fashion, they cannot afford to send their children for school; most of *Manjo* children

married with their early age by dropping from school and they engaged in low socio economic activities like charcoal and wood selling.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1 Conclusion

This study has attempted to assess the social exclusion of *Manjo a*long with their socio-cultural setting in the wider Keffa society.

The analysis has been principally emphasised on marriage, religion, the various manifestations of the exclusion, as well as the coping mechanism of *Manjos* to deal with such exclusion practice. Besides, an attempt has made to assess the intervention mechanism by government, NGOs and various religious organizations for the social integration of *Manjos*.

Consequently, the condition of *Manjos* is described by the social exclusion and segregation in many aspects denying the fact that they can live like that of any dominant groups that reside in the Keffa society. In some cases such exclusion practice hinders the contribution of their part for the betterment and development of the society.

In relation with their societal relationship that exist between Keffa and *Manjo*, the *Manjo* social groups are viewed in such way labelled with various sorts of foul languages and constitute the lower social status in which the social inequality and rights are clearly prevailing. The name *Manjo* in Keffa society is the imprecation of the person who is inferior. In addition to that they treated as sub-human by the host society.

The socio-cultural has been the most persuasive means of exclusion by the through confirming the *Manjos* not to take participation in various social contexts. This fact is vividly shown in martial relationship. It is unthinkable or prohibited to form marriage union with keffa, the main factor behind this fact is that they are considered by dominant groups as contaminating clan. Therefore, they are firmly restricted to form martial relationship from their own groups.

The traditional beliefs and values as well as various religions have their own contribution for the persistent of the exclusion. The traditional belief system of Keffa "Ekko", is the major one, that considered *Manjos* as unclean and regarded them us sub human without any justification.

Consequently they are still facing segregation and exclusion in various aspects of their social life. Such practice is not only limited on the traditional belief rather it is also hard for them to participate fully in religious organization, they face ignorance by the followers of the given

religion. For instance, in catholic and orthodox Christianity they could not take part in eating and drinking together.

Most of the time, they served foods and drinks from Keffa and the reverse is unthinkable. Still in orthodox Christianity they have different burial ground. Such social attitudes and perceptions strongly established through generation, being conveyed all the way through the process of socialization.

The social exclusion of *Manjo* has various manifestations, it include social, cultural, economic, political as well as spatial dimensions. The social dimension is manifested through in limitation of social interaction. They are being excluded from the category of being a human; therefore it is very difficult for them to share the same values, beliefs, and customs of the mass society. Since, they are out of the local social association like that of "idir" traditional labour cooperation association "deboo."

Such limited interaction also exists in educational institutions. The relationship that exists between Manjo and Keffa student is like that of their family. *Manjo* student faces so many challenges sometimes they decided to drop out of the school.

The cultural dimension of exclusion is manifested in food taboo. Sharing food and drinks in Keffa as well as most of Ethiopian culture it is the sign of being brother hood or it creates the sense of belongingness one to another;

However, *Manjos* are excluded from such cultures and they could not participated different kinds of cultural celebrities with Keffa. In current time the attitudes are changing in some woredas towns especially in Bonga.

Economically they faced two taboos in the community market, they critical challenging of selling the products in rural markets, thus they have to walk more than two hours on foot even though the current situation of transportation system is improving because of their residence in peripheries challenge them to get what they deserve. The other taboo is that taboo of purchasing goods; they have limited freedom to buy.

In current time the government of Ethiopian constitution guaranteed human and democratic right by for minority groups, however article 39 of the constitution is being criticized by some elites

of *Manjo*, because they claims to have different identity and wants to be treated as different ethnic groups. It is the inquiry of not only democratic right but also the matter of dignity and pride for them.

The intervention mechanism of to integrate *Manjos* with dominant Keffa society was started in Derg regime, they integrated in to the society forcefully as result it was not successful because it was not easy to change the beliefs and values of the given society in short period of time. However, many of *Manjos* admire the integration efforts of the Derg regime.

Until today, there have been so many intervention mechanisms by government as well as nongovernmental organisations. Nevertheless, the result is not satisfactory and most of *Manjos* still subjected to poverty, there very high rate of illiteracy, limited social interaction, they are all the huge legacies of the social exclusion practice.

In general social exclusion covers multiple dimensions. Hence tackling the social exclusion of Manjos and promoting their inclusion require gradual and incremental approach.

5.2 Recommendations

In dealing with the social inclusion of *Manjo* social group the following policy implication as well as community participatory for practical intervention are recommended:

- **The government and policy planners should plan for longer time frame for intervention**

Forming new social relation between *Manjo* and Keffa takes time. Therefore, the responsible stake holders including government, civil societies, NGOs, the host community as well as *Manjo* should participate in this process. The role government and policy planners should be arranging the opportunity for both groups to talk and realize destructive behaviour of both groups.

- **All stakeholders should contribute for the inclusion of *Manjos***

The need for the inclusion of *Manjos* should be something that has been realised by all stakeholders. Sensitivity is needed while addressing *Manjos* discrimination. Equally respect for local culture and religion is indispensable. However, this should not be used as an excuse to treat in cultural stereotypes. It is very essential to recognise that every situation is different. In addition it should be important to recognise that the societies and the culture are not static but continuously changing and adapting/adopting to both outside and inside pressures and influences.

The responsibility for social inclusion of *Manjos* of *Manjo* issues and ensuring representation and participation of *Manjos* throughout local organisations' policies must be defined. A decision should be made as to how it can be established and taken foreword.

- At the level of awareness and training, there is a need to organise the transmission of technical, economic, cultural and legal messages to all the role players connected with the discrimination, rather than to isolated levels of the social pyramid

- At schools of all level, the most focused awareness to civics and ethical education should be more practical oriented by linking to *Manjo* exclusion.

- **Establish Partnership and collaborations**

Partnerships and collaborations with locally available organisations (like, FARM Africa, JBCS, AAE, government organisations and religious organisations) will have a positive facilitating role in addressing discrimination issues that may be beyond the remit or strength of organisations. The capacity building of partners or potential partners should be a priority area to increase awareness and support action. Policy implementation obviously depends on sufficient institutional capacity. Building linkages amongst and between actors and groups, through coalitions, alliances and networking would strengthen efficiency.

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Annexes

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<u>Annex1</u>: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DOMINANT GROUPS

Dear informant:

Dear informant the objective of this interview is to collect data from Gimbo area regarding various dimensions and social exclusions of *Manjo*s in milieu to wider society. Since you are part of the community, the researcher recognizes that your experiences are most relevant to the purpose of this study. Thus you are kindly requested to elaborate your view based on the discussion guide, but not only restricted to it.

The information obtained will only be used for academic purposes. Thank you in advance for your collaboration.

<u>General Information</u>

A) Name of the informant_____

B) Sex (male=1, female=2) _____

C) Age_____

D) Educational level_____

E) Economic activity_____

F) Place of residence_____

G) Place of interview_____

H) Date of interview_____

I) Ethnic background_____

An interview guide:

1. How life seems in your village?
2. How do you see the relationship that exists between Keffa and *Manjo* groups?
3. Do you have friends from *Manjo* groups? Do you marry, eat and sleep with Manjo? If no why not???
4. If so, how do the people (dominant groups, family) around you say about your relationship?
5. What is the outlook of the keffa   in your village on *Manjo* groups?
6. To what extent do you think that this minority groups excluded from the wider Keffa society?
7. What are the manifestations of these social exclusions?
8. Would you please discuss some "unpleasant" terms which used for *Manjo* groups?
9. How do you think these offensive words affect the other aspects of their live?
10. To what extent do you think the attitude of Keffa constrain the possibility of integrating the groups with the wider milieu of the society?
11. **What would you suggest to improve the outlook of Keffa groups towards *Manjo* minority groups?**
12. Do you work with the Manjos??? Do they involve in environmental and natural resource protection??
13. Are the Manjos politically represented?
14. What do you think are the main factors behind the subjugation of the Manjos?

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<u>Annex2</u>: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MANJO GROUPS

Dear informant:

Dear informant the objective of this interview is to collect data from Gimbo area regarding of social exclusions of *Manjo*s and various manifestations of social exclusions practices in the milieu of dominant groups. Since you are part of the community, the researcher recognizes that your experiences are most relevant to the purpose of this study. Thus you are kindly requested to elaborate your view based on the discussion guide, but not only restricted to it.

The information obtained will only be used for academic purposes. Thank you in advance for your collaboration.

<u>General Information</u>

A) Name of the informant_____

B) Sex (male=1, female=2) _____

C) Age_____

D) Educational level_____

E) Economic activity_____

F) Place of residence_____

G) Place of interview_____

H) Date of interview_____

<u>An interview guide</u>**:**

1. Social condition

1. Do you have friends from Keffa groups?
2. How do you describe the relationship exist between you and dominant groups?

3. Do you engage in" iddir", ekkub" and also; "dafo" and "dadoo" with keffa groups?

4. If yes, how do you see the outlook of members of such institutions towards your participation?

5. Do you participate in funerals, weddings, or other social gatherings with the Keffa groups?

6. If so, what is the reaction of majority towards your participation?

7 To what extent do you believe that you are included in activities that your friends are engage in? In the community? In politics? In Environment??? In local development? Etc

8 How do you indentify your involvement in the community in the society?

9 Do you think that your experience of stigma and exclusions as a result of your identity?

10 How do you explain your marriage system in comparison of Keffa group?

11 What do you suggest to improve the social status of *Manjo* group in the society?

2. **Economic condition**

1. What is your occupation?

2. Do you practice farming?

3. If yes, what is the total size of your cultivated land?

4. Do you provide the farming products for sell?

5. If yes, who are the customers of your products?

6. How do you describe your economic status in comparison with Keffa groups?

7. What do you think the factors contribute for your current economic position in the community?

8. What do you suggest to improve the economic condition of the *Manjo* minority group?

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Annex 3: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION with MANJO GROUP

Dear informant:

Dear informant the objective of this discussion is to collect data from Gimbo area regarding various dimensions and social exclusions of *Manjo*s in milieu to wider society. Since you are part of the community, the researcher recognizes that your experiences are most relevant to the purpose of this study. Thus you are kindly requested to elaborate your view based on the discussion guide, but not only restricted to it.

The information obtained will only be used for academic purposes. Thank you in advance for your collaboration.

General information:

- o Date of discussion_____
- o Types of participants _____
- o Number of discussants_____
- o Moderator_____
- o Other relevant note_____

I. **General profile of participants**

Name	Age	Sex	Religion	Economic activity	Education

1. Would you discuss about your participation in funeral, weddings, and other social gathering with keffa groups?
2. To what extent do you think that you are included in activities that your friends from keffa groups are engaged in?
3. How do you explain your status and low prestige in your surroundings?
4. What are the factors that contribute for the persistence social exclusions of *Manjos?*
5. Are there any actions which held by various organizations to tackle this social exclusion and marginalization?
6. What should be done to increase participation in social activities and improve the status of *Manjo* group in the society?

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<u>**Annex 4:**</u> FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION with KEFF GROUP PARTICIPANTS

Dear informant:

Dear informant the objective of this discussion is to collect data from Gimbo area regarding various dimensions and social exclusions of *Manjo*s in milieu to wider society. Since you are part of the community, the researcher recognizes that your experiences are most relevant to the purpose of this study. Thus you are kindly requested to elaborate your view based on the discussion guide, but not only restricted to it.

The information obtained will only be used for academic purposes. Thank you in advance for your collaboration.

<u>General information</u>:

- o Date of discussion_____
- o Types of participants _____
- o Number of discussants_____
- o Moderator_____
- o Other relevant note_____

I. **General profile of participants**

Name	Age	Sex	Religion	Economic activity	Education

1. How do you see the relationship exist between Keffa and *Manjo* groups?
2. What is the outlook of the dominant groups in your village on *Manjo* groups?
3. To what extent do you think that this minority groups excluded from the wider Keffa society?
4. What are the manifestations of these social exclusions?
5. Would you please discuss some unpleasant terms which used for *Manjo* groups?
6. How do you think these offensive words affect the other aspects of their live?
7. To what extent do you think the attitude of dominant groups constrain the possibility of integrating the groups with the wider milieu of the society?
8. What would you suggest to improve the outlook of dominant groups towards *Manjo* minority groups**?**

Annex: 5 Social, economic and demographic characteristics of in-depth interview informants

Selected sites	Informant code	sex	Age	Marital status	Level of education	Economic activity
Qaja-araba	1	F	50	Married	Illiterate	Pity trade
	2	M	40	Single	12+5	Priest
	3	F	18	Married	Illiterate	Farmer
	4	M	29	Married	Illiterate	Pity trade
	5	M	43	Married	Illiterate	Farmer
	6	M	67	Married	Illiterate	Farmer
	7	F	35	Married	Illiterate	Pity trade
	8	F	22	Married	Illiterate	Pity trade
	9	F	50	Married	Illiterate	Pity trade
	10	M	49	Married	Illiterate	Farmer
	11	M	25	Married	Illiterate	Farmer
	12	M	55	Married	Illiterate	Farmer
	13	M	24	Married	Dropped out in grade 6th grade	Farmer
Kay-kella	1	M	55	Married	Illiterate	Farmer
	2	M	21	Married	Dropped out in grade 6	Farmer
	3	M	65	Married	Illiterate	Farmer
	4	M	46	Married	Illiterate	Farmer
	5	M	50	Married	Illiterate	Farmer
	6	F	35	Married	Dropped out from	Pity trade

					3rd grade	
	7	M	30	Married	Dropped out in grade 3	Farmer
	8	F	39	Married	Illiterate	Farmer
	9	M	50	Married	Illiterate	Pity trade
	10	F	29	Married	Dropped out from grade 5th grade	Farmer
	11	M	67	Married	Illiterate	Farmer
	12	M	50	Married	Illiterate	Farmer